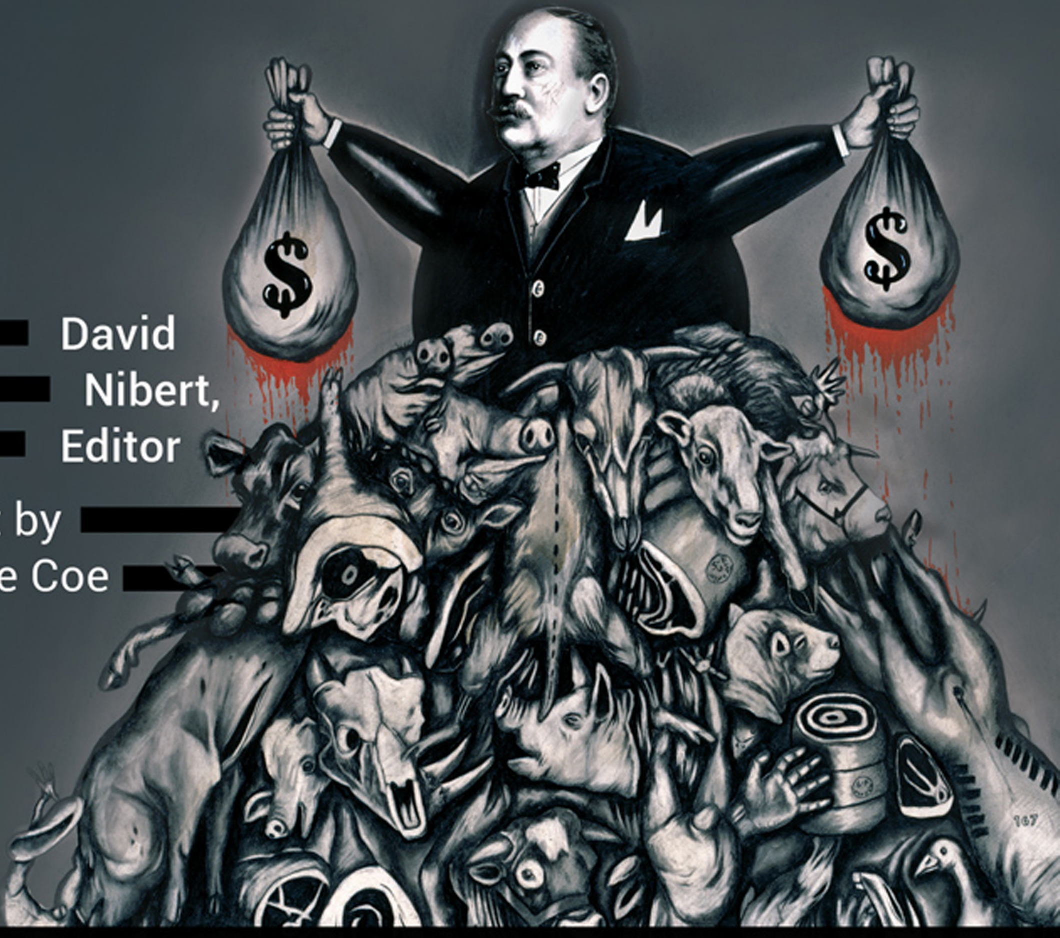
ANIMAL OPPRESSION AND CAPITALISM

David Nibert, Editor

Art by Sue Coe



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Animal Oppression and Capitalism

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Volume 1: The Oppression of Nonhuman Animals as Sources of Food

David Nibert, Editor

Art by Sue Coe

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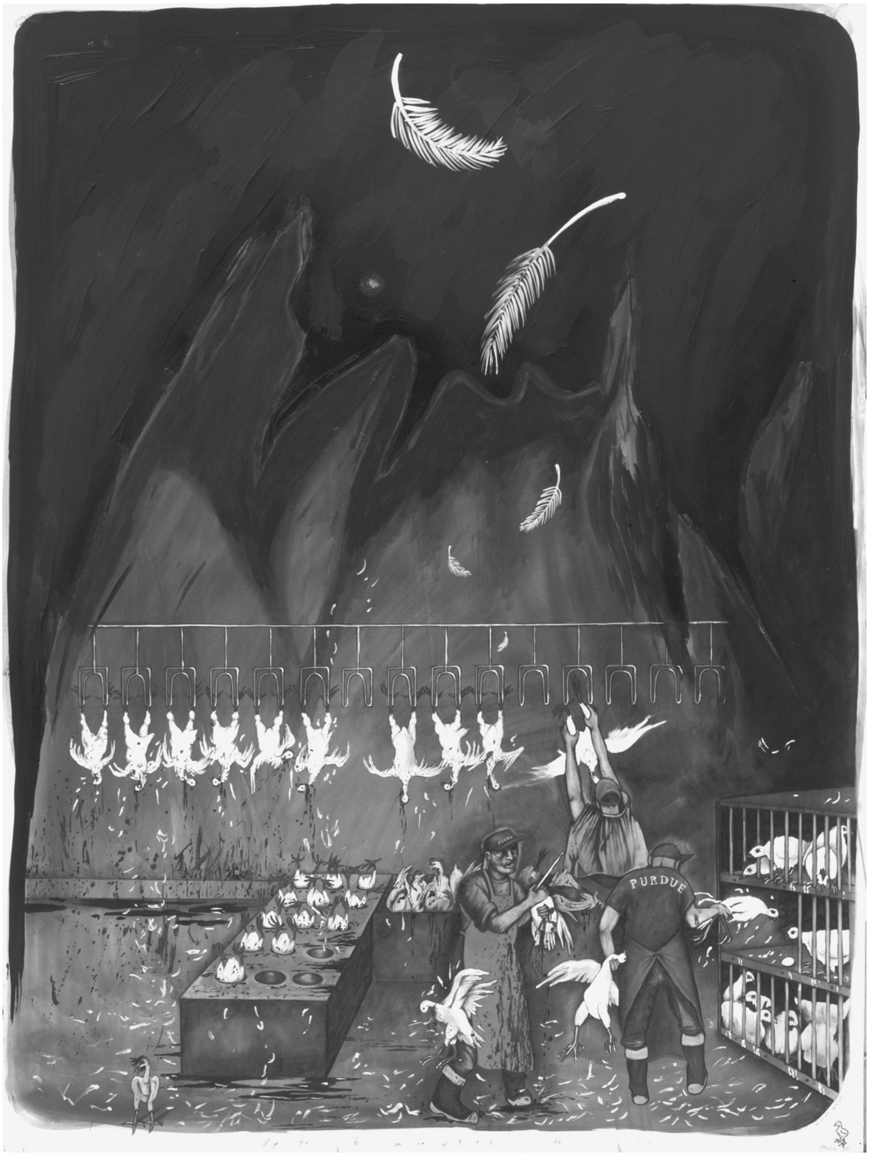
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Up to 6 minutes to

Chicken Slaughterhouse. (Copyright © 1988 Sue Coe. Courtesy Galerie St. Etienne, NY)

Introduction

David Nibert

THE UNSAVORY ORIGINS AND NATURE OF CAPITALISM

Today, in the early part of the twenty-first century, the vast majority of humans in the United States and around the world are suffering in some significant way. Inequality is growing, millions are imprisoned, climate change is advancing, death rates from coronary artery disease and cancer continue at epidemic levels, more than a billion humans are hungry, and billions more have little access to healthy food. Violence against women and girls endures, millions of indigenous peoples throughout the world suffer displacement and marginalization, and warfare and bloodshed are both constant and widespread, leading to countless deaths and the displacement of millions who are desperately seeking a secure home for themselves and their families.

What is more, the other animals who inhabit the Earth are doing much, much worse than humans. Countless other animals are hunted and killed, trapped, subjected to laboratory experimentation, or exploited for human entertainment. The oppression of other animals as food is unquestionably the deadliest practice; globally, more than 65 billion land-based beings are killed to be consumed as food every year, while the water-based other animals killed for food number in the hundreds of billions. The physical and emotional suffering from such horrific treatment experienced by each individual being, multiplied by the billions of individual animals who undergo it, results in a degree of severe distress and pain—every *second*—that defies comprehension.

Most humans know little about the daily oppression and suffering of other animals. Few ponder the sentience or experience of life of other animals; most are too busy trying to make ends meet financially, or merely to survive day to day. Even among the relatively few human animals who *do* consider, grieve, and even protest their circumstances and those of the other animals on the Earth, even fewer consider the underlying roles played by the capitalist system and patriarchy. Pervasive problems such as illness, warfare, and inequality are thought to be merely the way of the world, perhaps the product of human nature, and simply not amenable to change. But such a point of view fails to explain why human animals lived relatively peaceably and communally with one another, as well as with other animals, for most of the 200,000-plus years that our species has existed in our present form.

Humanity's systematic killing of other animals, as well as the subjugation of groups of humans, did not begin until males created weapons and began hunting other animals, approximately 50,000 years ago. The emergence of increasingly aggressive males, brandishing weapons, began to degrade the egalitarian nature of human societies, and the status of women and less powerful males began to decline. This corruption of human society was powerfully furthered 10,000 years ago, when humans began to capture and confine other animals and control their reproduction, and the consequences for human societal development were enormous and tragic.

The possession and control of large numbers of other animals—including horses, cows, pigs, sheep, goats, and camels—came to signify the social status and power of those men who wielded enough martial strength to hold off "their" other animals against challenges from other humans. As other animals came to be viewed as personal property, so too did the growing numbers of women and other devalued humans who were enslaved to serve the interests of powerful, warlike men. While a small class of skilled artisans emerged and were put to work on the homes and projects of the social elites, the masses of humans came to be regarded as mere "peasants" and laborers.

While human oppression and suffering grew in early Eurasian societies, the oppression of other animals increased to a staggering scale. They were exploited as laborers, food, and weapons of war, especially through the rise of nomadic pastoralism. For thousands of years, patriarchal and warlike societies, living off the bodies of oppressed other animals, rampaged much of the continent in search of fresh grazing lands and water sources. Waging violence from the backs of oppressed horses, these men covered hundreds of thousands of miles of territory and viciously invaded settled communities and cities, killing hundreds of thousands of humans, enslaving women, children, artisans of various sorts, and taking possession of the oppressed other animals in the region.

The enslavement of other animals *necessitated* invasion and large-scale warfare due to the continual need for fresh pastures and water, and their oppression *enabled* the widespread warfare due to the use of other animals as rations, laborers, and weapons of war. For thousands of years, violent, patriarchal societies led by warmongering men continually seeking greater wealth and power did enormous harm to the formation of human societies and to human relationships with other animals. Millions of humans and countless other animals suffered enslavement, torture, and death—and their fates were deeply intertwined.

While hundreds of thousands of humans died violent deaths over the past several thousand years, many more died from diseases like smallpox that emerged through the crowding together of large numbers of oppressed other animals. While nomadic pastoralists brought violence and repression, elites in emerging powerful empires also relied on the oppression of other animals for their own violent invasions and expropriation of land and resources.

This violent, predatory, and oppressive form of human social organization, as well as the accompanying warped views of relations among humans and between humans and other animals, tragically came to plague the rest of the world through European colonization. The European invasion of much of the world was violent and genocidal, driven by a quest for economic gain and enabled by the ongoing oppression of other animals as instruments of war, laborers, and rations. While colonizers certainly sought gold and silver, much wealth was obtained through what came to be a never-ending war on other animals. Riches came to those who controlled the trapping and hunting of other animals for their skin and hair ("fur"), and a great deal of the expropriation of land around the world was for the development and expansion of ranching operations, as the skin, hair, body fat—and, over time, flesh—of cows, sheep, and other animals were very profitable. Incalculable numbers of other animals who were perceived to be a threat to ranching profits were murdered wantonly. Wolves, bears, buffalo, lions, kangaroos, and many other animals labeled as "pests" were killed. For the past several thousand years, the capture and killing of fish, whales, and innumerable other water-dwelling other animals for their flesh and body fat also grew steadily. Malicious belief systems, including racism, speciesism, sexism, and classism, were created to rationalize and normalize the terrible treatment of indigenous humans, women, devalued workers, and other animals.

The profits flowing back to Europe—wealth generated by all this horrific violence, bloodshed, and death—made possible the rise of the capitalist system. As the ill-gotten wealth of merchants, traders, and their investors grew in Europe, the landed gentry there sought to improve their economic standing and began seizing commonly held land to create large areas for ranching oppressed cows and sheep. People forced from the land migrated to developing urban areas, where they sold their labor to survive. Many in this new "working class" were exploited in mechanized textile mills that transformed the hair of sheep into commodities, while others eked out a living manufacturing merchandise from the skins of cows and other animals. Land became private property, and highly exploited human labor became simply a basic aspect of doing business. Not only that, it was all sanctioned and protected through the control of the state exercised by the ascendant capitalist class.

The capitalist system was and is not a benevolent social force created to best serve the needs of humans through the "marketplace," contrary to the propagandizing that has inundated at least the citizens in the West for a century and a half and that continues in educational systems and mass media today. Indeed, it would be impossible for an egalitarian, beneficial political-economic system to emerge from thousands of years of hypermasculine, violent, oppressive, and war-torn reality. In truth, capitalism, which morphed from the highly oppressive systems of "economic development" of the Eurasian past, simply represents a more sophisticated form of social relations in which the accumulation of wealth continues to result from exploitation, predation, and violence. Under the early capitalist system, genocidal invasions and oppression of indigenous humans and other animals around the world continued. Spain ravaged what is now Latin America, Britain wreaked havoc everywhere from Ireland to Australia to North America, and the capitalist class in these and other nations of Europe scrambled to accumulate wealth through the plundering of Africa—with the bodies of countless humans and other animals left in their wake.

The rise of the capitalist class in North America similarly was founded on terrible exploitation. Some enriched themselves through the killing of beaver, deer, and other animals for their skin and hair, while others continued and expanded the deadly expropriation of the homelands of indigenous humans and other animals for ranching enterprises. Still others began exploiting children, women, and men in mines, nascent factories, and fields, where tens of thousands of people were ruthlessly enslaved.

In the late eighteenth century and through the nineteenth, the U.S. government, serving the interests of the moneyed class, dispatched its military against people opposing unfair laws, workers struggling for better pay and conditions, and Native Americans resisting the theft of the remainder of their lands. It also used its army against Mexico, which lost roughly half of its territory after a U.S.-provoked war. The lands expropriated from Mexico were disproportionately used for the expansion of ranching operations, as wealthy investors from the United States and Europe profited handsomely from the entangled oppression of oppressed humans and other animals. Capitalist elites in other powerful nations benefited from similar exploitation, expropriation, and oppression, in both their countries and the areas that they colonized.

After the expropriation of lands from indigenous humans and other animals in North America and Mexico, U.S. imperialism continued with a war against Spain, through which powerful capitalists acquired control of the Spanish colonies of Cuba, Puerto Rico, and, with particularly great loss of life, the Philippines. All the while, other animals continued to be terribly exploited as instruments of war, laborers, and especially "food" in greater and greater numbers. In the middle and late nineteenth century, slaughterhouses grew in size and became increasingly mechanized as exploited workers—disproportionately newly arrived immigrants—were forced to work in hellish conditions, performing unspeakable tasks. Workers, people of color, women, and other animals all struggled against their intertwined oppression as racism, classism, speciesism, and sexism were employed to naturalize and legitimate such appalling exploitation.

In the early twentieth century, the development of broadcast communication was used by influential capitalists and emerging powerful corporations to further control public consciousness and to garner enough political and government backing that challenges to the system were disparaged and repressed. This technology, as is true of most highly lauded technological "developments," was used primarily to further advance the accumulation of profit. Although individuals in society, especially in nations like the United States, once had been able to function (at least to an extent) as citizens and to resist their exploitation in struggles against societal elites, the use of mass media largely worked to transform them from citizens to consumers. The concept of "freedom," as celebrated particularly in the U.S. media, was not freedom from hunger, homelessness, untreated illness, exploitation, or violence. Rather, it consisted of a freedom to "choose"—that is, to choose from the various commodities that could be bought from capitalist enterprises. Such social engineering included the construction of a public consciousness that largely accepted corporate narratives explaining and justifying malevolent domestic and foreign policies, even to the point of rallying public support for deadly and destructive world wars and regional military interventions.

The mid-twentieth century saw the rise of the World Bank, the International Monetary Fund, and the General Agreement on Tariffs and Trade, all functioning in part to keep many humans around the world yoked to oppressive political and economic arrangements. Meanwhile, elites in the United States pursued deindustrialization and the export of jobs to regions where workers could be superexploited—harming working families everywhere.

At the same time, the world saw the beginning of factory farming of other animals, a profitable practice that would come to create unimaginable levels of deprivation, pain, and suffering for hundreds of billions of other animals in the United States and throughout the globe. People in more affluent nations were exhorted to consume ever-growing amounts of "products" derived from the corpses of other animals, including "food" that has led to chronic illness and premature death for countless people. In addition to the wanton deaths of people persuaded to eat large quantities of "meat," "dairy," "eggs," and "seafood," the horrific oppression of the farmed animals also has brought profound environmental harm, including air and water pollution, fresh water depletion, the spoiling of the oceans, the squandering of precious topsoil, and human-made climate change.

While some humans in powerful, militaristic capitalist nations continually purchased highly advertised commodities, enjoying some comfort and new forms of entertainment, many simultaneously experienced workplace exploitation, financial debt and insecurity, lack of decent housing, poor-quality education, and little access to health care. Many women, whose bodies were profitably objectified and "commodified," experienced physical, sexual, and emotional abuse and widespread discrimination. Years of struggle by people of color for basic civil rights resulted in the reduction of some overt social and political discrimination, but economic justice was denied.

By the mid-twentieth century, elites had to find ways to surmount the natural limitations to the basic and destructive imperative of the capitalist system—the imperative for unending growth and expansion—in order to continue the accumulation of vast wealth. They turned to the ideology of neoliberalism in a renewed drive for laissez-faire policies, in which government largely withdraws from "interfering" with the economy, leading to nearly unrestrained profit-taking. While capitalists were able to fend off or minimize government interventions proposed or created to improve the quality of life for countless humans, they were quite focused on putting the power of the state to work to aggressively protect and advance their interests (i.e., "corporate welfare"). Through deregulation, tax breaks, and the squandering of taxpayer dollars, large corporations and elites have flourished while masses around the world face harsh austerity programs. And in the United States, enormous public resources are diverted into the military-industrial complex and twenty-first-century invasions and warfare.

Among the most harmful capitalist programs have been the ongoing support and promotion of industries that violently oppress other animals, especially the "animal industrial complex (A-IC)." In the United States, well into the twenty-first century, there continue to be enormous U.S. Department of Agriculture (USDA) support; subsidies for feed crops; the use and destruction of public lands by ranchers; the killing of millions of free-living other animals—from prairie dogs to wolves—to protect "livestock"; and legislation to silence and even criminalize industry critics.

This very brief review of the origins, nature, and consequences of the capitalist system is the beginning of a critique that likely is new to many readers. The works in these two volumes of *Animal Oppression and Capitalism* further that critique and contribute to a broader understanding of the true nature of the capitalist system (including its connection to hegemonic masculinity) and the entangled nature of the oppression of humans and other animals. The contributors, among the most thoughtful and committed scholars and activists from the United States and around the world, bring into focus the role of capitalism in the oppression of humans and other animals—and important recommendations and actions are discussed.

Critical Animal Studies (CAS)

The grave issues confronting humans and other animals in the twenty-first century and the underlying role of capitalism are presented in these volumes through the lens of critical animal studies (CAS).[1] In 2007, after several years of dialogue, scholar-activists Anthony Nocella, Steven Best, Richard Khan, and others saw the urgent need for an interdisciplinary field—one grounded in critical theory—that could highlight, deconstruct, and challenge the terrible, oppressive treatment of the other animals of the Earth. Unlike contemporary, mainstream advocacy efforts that simply call for better treatment of other animals or urge only the creation of societies based on veganism, CAS highlights and analyzes the historical and social structural basis of oppression and the central role of the capitalist system.

CAS is further based on a number of related principles, including the recognition that the claims of objectivity and neutrality of mainstream academia, long a tool for promoting the interests of elites, are shallow at best. Indeed, while the oppression of other animals in teaching and research continues at high levels at many colleges and universities throughout much of the world, most newly popular courses in "Human-Animal Studies" largely examine the relationship between humans and other animals in relatively detached and speciesist ways and do little to challenge the oppression or its political-economic roots. CAS promotes scholarship and activism that recognizes and challenges the deeply entangled nature of all forms of oppression—that is, the myriad ways in which speciesism, sexism, racism, ableism, and classism are mutually reinforcing systems of domination, as each form of oppression both augments and reinforces the others. Such recognition leads to the realization that scholars/activists in the struggle against the oppression of other animals should work with other groups fighting various forms of oppression and the capitalist system.

CAS encourages critical scholars not only to become activists in a united struggle against oppression but also to support a variety of tactics, including forms of nonviolent direct action that challenge laws created to reinforce and protect oppressive policies and practices. In the spirit of important champions for social justice, from Harriet Tubman to Mahatma Gandhi, to the Reverend Martin Luther King, Jr., to Chelsea Manning, to Edward Snowden, CAS scholar-activists support acts of civil disobedience, whistleblowing, economic disruption, and similar activities in the pursuit of total liberation and justice. To that end, CAS proponents also theoretically support the Animal Liberation Front and celebrate when oppressed other animals are freed from horrific circumstances.

Avoidance of Oppressive Language

Each of the contributors to these volumes addresses one or more of the key tenets underlying CAS. Most of the contributors have written in a style that brings into clear focus the political and ideological use of language and the ways in which many words and phrases serve to normalize systems of oppression. Words such as "cattle," "meat," "dairy," "pork," "poultry," and "livestock" all serve to objectify other animals—to cast their very existence in terms of the industries that use and kill them for profit. When such terms appear in these two volumes (unless they appear in quoted material), they are placed in quotation marks; this serves both to acknowledge and respect the other animals so oppressed and to keep readers aware of the insidious nature of such commonly accepted and used language. The contributors also use the phrase "nonhuman animal" or "other animal" when referring to earthlings other than *Homo sapiens*. Such phrases are used to highlight the fact that humans also are animals and as a way to challenge the entrenched patriarchal, dualistic way of perceiving the world as involving "man" (purportedly rational and "civilized") on one hand and women and other animals (inferior) on the other. However, while it is useful for challenging the falsely constructed binary opposition, the phrase "nonhuman animal" nonetheless is problematic because it still places human animals in the center of the frame—i.e., human and *nonhuman*. Some of the contributors, as well as the book editor, are not comfortable with the phrase; CAS scholars will continue to seek and develop alternative language and badly needed new formulations of terms that are not grounded in an oppressive reality.

Volume 1

The primary focus of Volume 1 is the oppression of other animals as sources of food. In Chapter 1, Kimberley Ducey documents how the elite-white-male-dominance system oppresses both chickens and factory workers. She illuminates the economic motivations behind this institutionalized oppression, which serves the mostly white, male capitalist titans who have long profited from the brutal treatment and killing of millions of humans and billions of other animals. In Chapter 2, Matthew Cole explains how "dairy" advertising in Britain manages to persuade consumers that the lifelong drinking of cow's milk is normal, natural, and "cool." This obscures the fact that cow's milk is obtained by forcibly separating cows from their calves and killing or exploiting those calves, who are denied their mother's milk. Cole closely analyzes two commercials for cow's milk, showing how they connect cow's milk drinking with a male hipster identity and with the fraudulent idea of cow's milk as a timeless, traditional, and universal part of the human diet.

Jana Canavan, in Chapter 3, explores the exploitation of cows in the Swedish "dairy" industry. Her material reveals the various ways in which farmed cows are constructed as exploitable material resources and the insidious nature of the narratives underlying this—namely, that there are "animal-friendly" farming practices and cows are framed as "happy workers." Her chapter highlights the specifics of this speciesist discourse, illustrating both how proponents of the "dairy" industry use the idea of animal welfarism to promote national "dairy" production in Sweden and how the oppression of other animals functions to uphold human privilege while nurturing ideals of capitalist competition and reinforcing Swedish nationalist identity.

The analysis of the ideological control fostered by such speciesist narratives as those examined by Cole and Canavan facilitates understanding of the material in the next chapter regarding public comments to Canadian press coverage of the oppression of baby chickens at an industrial "hatchery." In Chapter 4, Tracey Harris's analysis of responses to the horrific killing of the baby chickens reveals little public awareness of the institutionalized but "hidden realities" of industrialized factory farming of other animals, realities that Harris connects to human health, worker safety, and environmental crisis. Such lack of awareness and empathy for the increasing numbers of farmed other animals, as well as the industry's efforts to socially engineer societal perceptions and attitudes, are also the subject of Mary Trachsel's work in Chapter 5. In the story of how her childhood friend, a pig named Wilbur, opened her eyes and her heart to the importance and value of the lives of other animals, she suggests that such experiences and narratives can play an important role in the struggle for the rights of human and other animals and the development of a peaceful world.

While capitalists in many areas of agribusiness have begun to face rising criticisms of their oppression of other animals who live on the land—and, thus, have made substantial efforts to control public and consumer attitudes—those who profit from the vast oppression of water-dwelling inhabitants of the Earth have so far avoided most such condemnation. The oppression of fishes does not receive enough critical attention, and in Chapter 6, Taichi Inoue discusses both the minds and lives of these other animals and the fact that these water-dwelling individuals are murdered yearly, by the hundreds of billions. He focuses on the vast oppression of tuna, both free-living and farmed, and how their deaths are enriching select Japanese corporations and their suppliers.

In Chapter 7, Peter Li examines the oppressions resulting from China's "state capitalism" and the economic development policies that disadvantage humans in rural regions. Experiencing deprivation, and with few opportunities to improve their situation, people in rural areas of China survive by capturing and killing dogs and selling their flesh as food. Much as Chinese government officials promote increased consumption of other animals as food and demonstrate little concern for the plight of dogs or any other nonhuman animals, the government agency responsible for compiling national dietary guidelines in Estonia, the National Institute for Health Development, insists on the consumption of other animals while declaring veganism a nonviable diet for humans, as Kadri Aavik discusses in Chapter 8. Such powerful ideological messages from the state, messages that Aavik notes are contrary to the calls of international organizations to reduce or eliminate the consumption of products derived from other animals, illustrate how both so-called science and the state function as part of the Estonian A-IC.

In Chapter 9, Marcel Sebastian discusses the historical rise of the industrial slaughterhouse, a development prompted by the capitalist imperative for profit maximization. Sebastian examines the consequences of contemporary slaughterhouses both for the other animals dispatched there in ever-increasing numbers and for immigrant workers in the United States and Germany, with the oppression of both groups being deeply intertwined. As so-called scientific technology is used to aid in the killing of growing numbers of other animals more rapidly, in Chapter 10, Arianna Ferrari brings into focus the continuous efforts to genetically engineer pigs, cows, sheep, goats, fish, and other nonhuman animals for more profitable uses of their bodies as food. The ability to directly manipulate virtually every gene of a living organism has been expanding, even while society is also seeing the growth of cognitive ethology and increasing respect and value for the lives of other animals—beings who experience enormous levels of suffering and death at the hands of the highly speciesist scientists working as agents of corporate capitalists.

While capitalist efforts to conceal the horrors of the slaughterhouse and biotechnological laboratories remain strong, some members of the public are growing aware of such uses of other animals and seek alternative commodities. In Chapter 11, Vasile Stănescu deftly reveals that the rise of "humane" farming of other animals and the popular "locavore" movement both serve as "false proxies" that actually help to mask the realities of the massive factory-farming system. Stănescu shows that current fashionable practices of raising and killing one's own "meat" merely reinforce nonhuman animal oppression and support the growth of factory farming around the world. He suggests a more ethical and practical alternative to the factory farming system: ethical veganism. In Chapter 12, Corinne M. Painter persuasively argues that, while capitalism is structurally responsible for promoting speciesist ideologies and the horrific oppression of nonhuman animals, given the availability and affordability of healthy meal alternatives, everyone should adopt a vegan diet and lifestyle, regardless of the social and psychological difficulties—actions that are necessary for achieving justice for other animals.

Volume 1 concludes with the work of Livia Boscardin, who critically analyzes capitalists' efforts to defend the global expansion of nonhuman animal–based agriculture, noting, "Capitalism is naturalized, and nature is capitalized on." She follows a sobering description of the enormous level of environmental destruction caused by oppressing other animals as food with a call to action, urging concerned people everywhere to unite in a common struggle against capitalism, environmental destruction, and the oppression of all humans and other animals.

Volume 2

The chapters in Volume 2 continue to examine the underlying oppressive and destructive role of capitalism. The contributors address the oppression of other animals as entertainment and experimental subjects, the commodification and extirpation of free-living other animals, the entangled oppression of other animals and women, and the destructive forces of hypermasculinity and patriarchy. It ends with analysis and strategic recommendations for the movement toward justice for both humans and other animals.

The volume begins with a chapter by John Sanbonmatsu, who outlines the reasons why capitalism as a mode of development is inimical to all nonhuman animal life. The commodity system treats nonhuman beings as mere matter on the way to becoming abstract value (profit), enslaving them within a totalitarian structure of domination and mass violence. Capitalism, Sanbonmatsu maintains, undermines the ecological basis of nonhuman animal life and places both the state and the technological sciences in service to the system of speciesist controls. In Chapter 2, pattrice jones deftly highlights the harmful and destructive elements of the patriarchal-based capitalist system—aspects of "modern" life rarely contemplated by most humans but which jones examines and illuminates from the standpoint of other animals, especially pigeons and cows. Society as it exists, jones maintains, is not what it always *has* to be, due to the "behavioral plasticity" of the human species and our ability to remake ourselves when circumstances require.

The discussion of the experiences of other animals continues in Chapter 3, in Núria Almiron's study of the exhibition of orcas in marine parks; the examination shows that this form of enslavement and exploitation is a modern phenomenon, one that allows us to accurately track the linkages between capitalism and speciesism. She addresses the history of whaling, the business of keeping orcas in captivity, and the ideological conditioning constructed by the industry's public relations and lobbying arms to legitimize their exploitation. Similarly, in Chapter 4, Rob Laidlaw maintains that zoos and aquariums largely are entertainment facilities—capitalist entities that commodify and exploit other animals while continually striving to enhance their brand in order to maximize revenues. Laidlaw reveals that while zoos claim that their purposes are educational and in the interest of conservation, their energies are primarily focused on increasing attendance (and revenues), while the true interests of the other animals are eclipsed by efforts to enhance visitor experiences and ticket sales.

The exploitation of other animals in university research programs is the topic of Chapter 5. After noting the numerous and compelling reasons why this form of oppression should be abolished, Carol Glasser perceptively points to the capitalist-based, corporate/university partnerships through which experiments on other animals bring revenues to universities and profits to corporate leaders and stockholders. The use of other animals as sources of revenue is further explored in Michele Pickover's incisive study in Chapter 6 of the growing commodification of "wildlife" in South Africa. Giving examples of the trade in elephant and rhinoceros body parts, she describes how the macroeconomic context in Africa involves a heavy dependence on extractive resource-intensive commodity exports, mainly through massive exploitation of its "natural resources." Under the guises of "sustainable development" and "sustainable use," Pickover finds that what is actually "hypercapitalism" is having a direct and deadly impact on the lives of other animals on the African continent—leading to their extirpation. Pickover's important, strategic action recommendations should be read by all who believe in social justice.

In Chapter 7, Lara Drew explores the economically driven oppression of kangaroos in Australia, who are murdered by ranchers, are exploited as "food," and have parts of their bodies sold to tourists as souvenirs. She ties their oppression to both capitalism and the hegemonic masculinity that characterizes Australia (and so much of the world). Julie Andrzejewski, in Chapter 8, synthesizes the alarming evidence of the sixth mass extinction and discusses how capitalism, through pervasive and global exploitation and pollution of the Earth, has created and shaped the driving forces of extinctions: hunting, “wildlife” trafficking, nonhuman animal agriculture, global climate disruption, habitat loss, and pollution. She explores why the U.S. public is still unaware of the severity and consequences of the extinction crisis, and concludes by recommending steps that must be taken immediately if we want to stem the tide of extinctions of other animals and plants—and possibly even save ourselves.

In Chapter 9, Corey Wrenn examines the intersection between systemic violence against women and against other animals. Using a vegan feminist theory of the state, she argues that a gender- or species-neutral approach inappropriately identifies the privileged human male experience as the universal one. Wrenn’s analysis unveils a system of oppression that is anything but even or universal in its effect, and points out that only by examining the experiences and suffering of those who are generally made invisible in society can the true mechanics of the capitalist system be revealed.

In Chapter 10, Luis Cordeiro-Rodrigues looks at the entangled oppression of other animals and gay and bisexual men. He examines nonhuman animal metaphors that refer to gay and bisexual men in Portugal and how they have been used to promote a heterosexist system that perpetuates discrimination against gay and bisexual men in the areas of health, family law, and protection from hate crimes. Such discrimination, both in Portugal and throughout much of the world, serves to divide the working class and society as a whole and undermines the development of a united struggle against the capitalist system.

The final three chapters of Volume 2 address obstacles posed by capitalism to effective challenges to the oppression of human and other animals. In Chapter 11, Lauren Corman persuasively argues that a movement for justice for other animals that singularly portrays them as victims, at the expense of bringing to light their personhood and individuality, risks focusing public attention on their treatment at the expense of developing appreciation, respect, and acknowledgment of their rights to a natural life. Instead of reducing the subjectivity of other animals to their suffering, she calls for richer views of other animals’ lives and capacities for pleasure—an awareness necessary to garner broader support for their liberation.

In Chapter 12, Richard White explores the complex relationships between capitalism, commodification, and the exploitation of human and nonhuman animals. Drawing attention to the limits of merely promoting veganism as an effective counterstrategy to capitalism, he argues for the importance of promoting nonhierarchical and cooperative forms of group interaction and organization inherent in anarchism, starting in the here and now in homes and local communities. White points to the emancipatory potential that a prefigurative critical vegan praxis offers as a means of ushering in postcapitalist worlds.

In Chapter 13, Roger Yates critically assesses the state of the movement for the liberation of other animals. He brings an important focus on the tendency for large nonhuman animal advocacy organizations to ignore the importance of the social structural basis of oppression, as many groups instead are coopted by capitalist forces and strive to "sell" veganism. Yates astutely argues that efforts toward the outright abolition of oppression of human and other animals have become lost "in modern-day consumerism and shallow celebrity culture," and that activists must recognize and challenge the structural roots of oppression and the capitalist system in order to overcome oppression.

In the Afterword, John Sorenson eloquently reviews the underlying role of speciesism and capitalism in the oppression of humans and other animals and the value of CAS. He highlights the problematic nature of reformist organizations while challenging the reluctance of the political left to engage issues involving the oppression of other animals. Reflecting on the chapters that make up these volumes, Sorenson calls for the elimination of the unnatural human relationship with other animals—including their commodification and exploitation—and for the rejection of capitalism and speciesism.

Finally, the vitally important writings in these volumes are strongly enhanced by the work of the legendary artist and activist Sue Coe. Her powerful images convey both the reality and the urgency of the need for concerned humans everywhere to join in the struggle against the cruel and destructive forces of the capitalist system.

It is the hope of all these brilliant contributors and the editor that these volumes will contribute to greater awareness and understanding of the capitalist, patriarchal roots of all forms of oppression. Individuals and groups now promoting animal liberation and veganism—and becoming increasingly aware of the ways in which all forms of oppression are deeply entangled—must become involved in the wider anticapitalist movement and forge alliances with leftist, antiracist, antisexist, and other social justice groups in the United States and around the world.

NOTE

1. For more on the principles of CAS, see Best, Steven, Anthony J. Nocella II, Richard Kahn, Carol Gigliotti, and Lisa Kemmerer (2007), "Introducing Critical

Animal Studies." *Journal of Critical Animal Studies*. 5(1), 1–2; and Nocella, Anthony J., John Sorenson, Kim Socha, and Atsuko Matsuoka (2014), *Defining Critical Animal Studies: An Intersectional Social Justice Approach for Liberation* (New York: Peter Lang). For further information and updates on CAS research, conferences, and activism, go to http://www.criticalanimalstudies.org/.

1

The Chicken-Industrial Complex and Elite White Men: Connecting the Oppression of Humans and Other Animals

Kimberley Ducey

> The animals of the world exist for their own reasons. They were not made for humans any more than black people were made for whites or women for men.
>
> —Alice Walker, from the foreword to *The Dreaded Comparison*

INTRODUCTION

John Webster, author of *Animal Welfare,* describes the treatment of chickens raised for food as the "most severe, systematic example of man's inhumanity to another sentient animal" in both scale and brutality (Stachowski 2011, 24). Like the enslavement of human beings earlier in U.S. history, today the enslavement of other animals generates dramatic economic prosperity and wealth for a *small,* mostly white male elite, though this fact is commonly concealed. Take, for example, the growth of agribusiness and the so-called Green Revolution. The affluent capitalists who create and run giant factory farms increasingly frame chickens and other animals as commodities, products, and things, as opposed to the living, complex beings that they are. Wal-Mart's self-styled "Great Value" buffalo wings, chicken strips, chicken tenders, and popcorn chicken are but a few examples of the commodification of chickens (Harris 2014). The elite are mainly culpable for the "disassembling" of chickens and other animals and the horrendous conditions in which they live. They run agribusiness with the same gluttonous appetite for money and other capital that their imperialist forefathers had for conquering the globe (Nibert 2002, Chapter 4).

In this chapter, I document how the elite-white-male-dominance system oppresses chickens and factory workers simultaneously. In the tradition of sociologist David Nibert, I discuss the economic motivations behind the institutionalized subjugation of chickens and factory workers. I focus on a "*small* number of humans"—the mostly white male capitalist titans who have long benefited from the brutal treatment and killing of "millions of humans and billions of other animals . . . because their existence somehow hindered, or their exploitation furthered, the accumulation of private profit" (Nibert 2002, 3, 94; italics in original).

In *Animal Rights/Human Rights*, Nibert skillfully shows that all devalued and oppressed groups, including women, lesbian/gay/bisexual/transgender/queer (LGBTQ), racialized peoples, those made poor, the differently abled, and nonhuman animals, are casualties of capitalism. Moreover, he vividly documents the true roots of oppression: Advancing and institutionalizing domineering routines is predominantly "material, not attitudinal. Such arrangements are not generic or innate, and prejudice is the product of these arrangements not the principal cause" (Nibert 2002, 52).

I begin my discussion of the role of elite white men in creating and maintaining the chicken-industrial complex by describing this ruling class. My focus is on U.S. chief executive officers (CEOs). Despite decades of formal attempts to desegregate institutions, the vast majority of individuals in charge of major economic and political organizations remain white and male. I also argue that the U.S. legal system's conception of private property, as envisioned by previous generations of influential white men, is clearly influenced by slavery-centered capitalism. To speak in terms of the present-day enslavement of other animals is a truthful representation of capitalism. Akin to how chickens are viewed by most people today, enslaved workers were viewed by whites as property, as *embodied capital*. They generated profits for an elite by procreating and working on slave plantations and farms. Nowadays, chickens are "commodities" in regional and national capital markets. Finally, in this chapter, I examine the elite's characterization of animal activists as "ecoterrorists," as well as the enduring Great

Chain of Being, as possible reasons for indifference and/or ignorance on the part of nonelites when it comes to the suffering of other animals.

To begin, however, an important caveat is in order. Typically, people view the comparison of the oppression of other animals and human animals as insensitive, or even offensive. However, I would suggest, as Marjorie Spiegel wrote in the late 1980s:

> Comparing the suffering of animals to blacks (or any other oppressed group) is offensive only to the speciesist; one that has embraced the false notions of what animals are like. Those who are offended by the comparison to a fellow sufferer have fallen for the propaganda spewed forth by the oppressors. To deny our similarities to animals is to deny and undermine our own power . . . . It is to say that we would rather be like those who have victimized us, rather than like those who have also been victims (Spiegel 1988, 31).

THE ELITE-WHITE-MALE-DOMINANCE SYSTEM

Connecting the oppression of other animals to human oppression, Nibert (2011) writes:

> Racism is an ideology that rationalizes and explains why humans of color should be treated unequally. Sexism is an ideology that rationalizes the oppression of women. And speciesism is an ideology that defends the oppression of other animals. So, speciesism by itself is not the problem. Challenging speciesist beliefs is important, but challenges also have to be made to the system that drives the single-minded quest for profits—some of which are used to control the political processes necessary to legalize and support such an oppressive system.

Most human beings hold speciesist beliefs; they are largely uninformed regarding the oppression of chickens and other animals under capitalism. The elite-white-male-dominance system purposely keeps humans uninformed. Take, for example, McDonald's "McNugget Buddies," who first appeared in 1984 in *The Wacky Adventures of Ronald McDonald* series of animated videos. Far from the realities of debeaked, egg-laying chicks, "broiler" chickens toppling over from their irregular body weight, and fettered birds on conveyer belts plunging toward a brutal, throat-slashing death, the McNugget Buddies were portrayed as happy, anthropomorphic nuggets with chicken beaks (Stachowski 2011).

Capitalist titans wield an unprecedented amount of power and influence that allow them and their acolytes to disguise the violence and suffering behind corporate profits. Indeed, the elite are masters at propagandizing. As Nibert (2002, 199) explains, they control ideas as well as other resources: "political, educational, religious, and familial institutions . . . were shaped and molded by the economically motivated oppression of humans and other animals."

In the nineteenth century, the political economist Karl Marx studied the material realities of capitalism, concluding that the logic of modern capitalistic societies "made injustice, alienation, and exploitation inevitabilities rather than contingencies" (Wolin 1969, 1080). Routinized wheeling and dealing among the mostly white male decision-makers who develop, manage, and profit from the exploitation and brutal destruction of chickens and other animals, and who exploit workers (many of whom are women, people of color, or both), continue to make social inequality the rule rather than the exception. One need only turn to the mainly white male–controlled U.S. government to witness the economically motivated oppression of humans and other animals of which Nibert speaks. Take, for example, the decision by the U.S. Department of Agriculture (USDA) to "process" U.S. chicken in China (Huehnergarth and Siegel 2014; Moberg 2004). For one thing, we need to keep in mind that there is an alliance between big business and the USDA. They work in concert to promote the idea that the consumption of other animals and animal products as food is indispensable to human nutrition, though this is *not* the case. Indeed, Nibert offers a sundry of cases of laws and congressional hearings that have dealt poorly with the rights of other animals. Unmistakable is the conflict of interest in the USDA's role as a health inspector and an agent for the promotion of products that contain other animals. Nibert (2002, 188) rightly concludes that "strategists for liberation of humans and other animals should continue to pursue liberation through political measures, but they must also challenge the control of the capitalist elite over the various powers of the state while striving to change the structure of the state to one that is responsive to public, not monied, interests."

But also, as the USDA's decision to "process" U.S. chicken in China demonstrates, the cruel exploitation and slaughter of chickens are not about human nutrition or the well-being of people in general. It is about the almighty capitalist dollar. The horror that chickens endure before they are "processed" is tied to the horrific working conditions that Chinese factory workers endure, not to mention the assault on the environment by agribusiness. The mistreatment and exploitation of marginalized humans and other animals have long gone hand in hand and have been intertwined with other damaging social arrangements. Chinese factory workers and chickens are but one example.

Notably too, even though the North American hierarchy of other animals clearly places "pets" far above chickens, the USDA and the elite seem to care very little that there is a possible relationship between illnesses in dogs and cats and the consumption of chicken "jerky products" (sic) from China. Recently, 600 dogs and cats in the United States died from "pet treats" containing chicken (or duck) from China, while thousands of others fell ill. The Australian media similarly reported an association between illnesses in dogs and the consumption of chicken "jerky," leading at least one Australian company to recall chicken from China (U.S. Department of Health and Consumer Services 2016; Siegel 2014).

Substantially lower labor costs make exploitative overseas agreements lucrative for the elite. Economic motivations have long justified exploitation, oppression, and cruelty. It is estimated, for example, that a factory worker in China earns no more than $2 an hour. The capitalist elite exploit workers in the United States too. In fact, the average wage for factory workers in the chicken-industrial complex is $8 an hour. These workers have languished with the same poor wages for at least a decade, in spite of increasing productivity and ever-increasing riches for the elite. Shedding additional light on just how exploited these workers are is the fact that in 2000, every single one of the 51 "chicken factories" inspected by the U.S. Department of Labor was found to be violating rules concerning workers' overtime pay (Huehnergarth and Siegel 2014; Moberg 2004).

Unmistakably, a main reason for the genuine lack of concern for the well-being of other living beings on the part of the elite is the threat that progressive societal change would bring to the undeserved and unjust material standing that they have long enjoyed. What's more, in spite of the market causes of the massive financial meltdown of 2008–2010, most capitalist titans remain convinced of the promises of neoliberalism. Their tireless devotion to capitalism and neoliberalism legitimizes the exploitation of humans and other animals and the continuing pursuit of even-greater material aggrandizement (Beder 2006, 151; Feagin 2013, 10).

This small capitalist elite rules the globe while remaining mostly unseen to the billions of people whom they consistently dominate. For more than four centuries, since European imperialistic and colonial expansion, elite white men have gained inordinate amounts of wealth from the extensive and systematic theft of the labor, land, and other resources of peoples around the world. In turn, this exploitation and callous economic concentration and centralization incited discrimination and ethnocentrism against all potentially vulnerable and devalued humans and other animals (Nibert 2002, 64).

Many social science studies support the notion that racialized people are unfairly made unequal to whites as a group; women are unfairly made unequal to men as a group; LGBTQ are unfairly made unequal to heterosexuals as a group; other animals are made unequal to humans as a group; and so on. While these hierarchically prescribed classifications are assumed to be normal or natural, they are in fact socially constructed. The hierarchies that emerged in North America originated in early European colonization, conquest, and subjugation, which were spurred by a need to seize water and land to sustain large groups of animals. Military power itself originates in the material benefits of the exploitation, exchange, and sale of animals. Indeed, the domesecration of animals proved to be a prerequisite for the subjugation of human animals, specifically indigenous peoples. Such injustices are essentially impossible to overcome while the material interests of the elite remain intricately tied to the oppression of other animals (Nibert 2013).

White men's genocidal crimes against indigenous peoples spanning centuries, both prior to and following the formal creation of the United States in the late eighteenth century, is not usually part of the country's origin story. Instead, tales are told of the gallant arrival of Europeans (self-defined as white in the 1600s) on North American lands that were supposedly undeveloped or mostly uninhabited. The violence and cruelty directed at other living beings, which was vital to what white Americans saw as an indispensable land grab for their own agricultural prosperity, is the true origin story. The actual genesis of the United States is also the story of substantial expanses of land pilfered from indigenous peoples to make possible inordinate white wealth. Native American and African workers were enslaved to work that land.

The African American sociologist Oliver Cox writes about the pilfering of the labor of non-Europeans by Europeans, with their intertwining systems of capitalism and racism. In so doing, he explains, Europeans fashioned the modern world. Similar to Nibert, Cox sees the impetus for the expansion and institutionalization of tyrannical practices as essentially material, not attitudinal in the way that most people think about the rise of oppressive systems. "[P]rejudice is the product of these arrangements not the principal cause," writes Nibert (2002, 52). By the same token, Cox (1948, 332–333) writes:

> Seizing the labor of non-Europeans in North America and elsewhere is actually the beginning of modern racial relations. It was not an abstract, natural, immemorial feeling of mutual antipathy between groups, but rather a practical exploitative relationship with its socio-attitudinal facilitation .... As it developed, and took definite capitalist form, we could follow the white man around the world and see him repeat the process among practically every people of color.

Over centuries, in this capitalistic and imperialistic process, the elite—mostly white men—came to dominate the world order and human animals and other animals alike. In his book *Capital,* Marx (1977, 926) described the impact of this massive exploitation in forceful terms: "[C]apital comes dripping from head to foot from every pore with blood and dirt."

Elite White Men's Construction of Private Property

In the U.S. legal system's conception of private property, we can plainly see the enduring influence of slavery-centered capitalism as created and preserved by elite white men and their acolytes. Slavery and Jim Crow segregation advanced a dominant racial perspective regarding who was legally a person and a full citizen, what was personal property and what was collective property, who did what labor, and how the country should develop geographically. They generated profits for the elite by procreating and working on slave plantations and farms. Like chickens today, enslaved humans of African descent were "commodities" in local and national capital markets. They were human "collateral" that a slave-owner could borrow against, just as CEOs who control the chicken-industrial complex today, use chickens as "collateral" (Rockman 2009, 213–230).

Clearly, this human labor and commodity system, developed by powerful white male slaveholders, molded many facets of the U.S. legal system, specifically property laws. With the passage of time, this rather excessive property-rights configuration significantly affected other animals, as well as workers of all racial and ethnic backgrounds. It has assisted in making the capitalist elite and their corporations very powerful, and workers and their organizations very weak in comparison. In fact, today most European and Canadian workers and their organizations are far less weak, vulnerable, and restricted than their U.S. counterparts (Einhorn 2008.).

Moreover, to the present day, the extreme legal protection of corporate and other "private" property has blocked important changes to the U.S. system of human animal and other animal oppression. Given the enduring emphasis on the inviolability of private property, it should come as no surprise that private property rights are given precedence over the rights of humans and other animals (MacLean 2006, 20–21, 31).

White Male CEOs and the Chicken-Industrial Complex

Despite decades of official efforts to desegregate institutions, the vast majority of individuals in charge of major economic and political organizations in the United States remain white and male. They continue to constitute most of the higher-level executives across many business sectors. In a recent tally, whites constituted 96 percent of CEOs of *Fortune* 500 companies, while 93 percent were white men. These data do *not* match the U.S. workforce, which is presently approximately 64 percent white, with only roughly a third white and male (Burns, Barton, and Kerby 2012, 4; Washington 2009). This is a long-standing phenomenon: Over the last 100 years, nearly all *Fortune* 500 corporate CEOs have been white men (Covert 2013). They continually dominate among the top executives and owners of major U.S. companies, including agribusiness. White men also continue to dominate lists ranking the wealthiest Americans. A 2012 *Forbes* study concluded that virtually all (96 percent) of the richest Americans are white. Oprah Winfrey was the only African American on the list, while women of all backgrounds constituted a mere 10 percent (United for a Fair Economy Staff 2012).

Billionaire Joe Grendys's corporation, Koch Foods, has been on *Forbes*'s list of largest privately held companies consecutive times, while Grendys himself, with a personal net worth estimated at over $2 billion, has appeared on the magazine's list of the 400 richest Americans. The brutal deaths of millions of chickens and the exploitation of workers made Grendys a billionaire; yet, he still seeks more riches and power. Operating in six states, Koch Food "processes" in excess of 50 million pounds of chicken and kills more than 12 million chickens weekly (Harris 2014). Clearly, as a group, the elite who run the chicken-industrial complex have more than sufficient power and assets to stand in the way of the advancement of the rights of other animals and workers.

While data exposing the collective corporate dominance of elite white men are striking, the stories behind the elite are arguably even more telling. Grendys was found guilty of violating immigration laws. One of his plants was raided by U.S. immigration agents in the mid-2000s, leading to the arrest of over 160 illegal workers and a fine of $500,000—small change for him. Further revealing his obsessive economic motives, Grendys once responded to an interviewer's question about personal acquisitions that he would like to make, but could not afford, by explaining he would "buy more chicken businesses" and lamented that they're too expensive (Harris 2014). Such fanatical economic enthusiasm suggests that the elite white men, who mainly control the fate of chickens and other oppressed and exploited living beings, must be deposed if true liberty and equality is to reign supreme. Grendys, an elite white man already responsible for the processing of "Great Value" chicken "products" for Wal-Mart (another highly controversial company) and a supplier of "chicken nuggets" to Burger King and grocery stores like Kroger, longs for even more money and power. He is clearly motivated by the idea of limitless wealth and power (Harris 2014).

Another revealing example of an influential white man who is part of the elite's collective corporate dominance is Sanderson Farms CEO Joe Sanderson. His annual income was recently estimated at over $6 million. In his role as head of one of the largest chicken corporations in the United States, Sanderson has claimed that public health concerns regarding antibiotic-resistant bacteria are exaggerated. He thus refused to reduce antibiotics use in his factories (Equilar Atlas 2016).

Of course, in a human-centric world, concerns focus on humans rather than chickens when it comes to antibiotics. At the center of the debate is the question of whether antibiotics that are used to treat illnesses in people should be administered to other animals. Many nations in the European Union and Canada—but *not* the United States—have banned subtherapeutic use of antibiotics due to growing concerns about the effect of drug-resistant bacteria on human health. There is little wonder, given the colossal amount of power and resources that men like Sanderson hold, that the U.S. government has steered away from such a ban, even as the World Health Organization (WHO), which insensitively and prejudicially refers to other animals as "food animals," stated its goal to "reduce the overuse and misuse of antimicrobials in food animals for the protection of human health" (Frontline 2002).

Other revealing stories about influential white men concern Foster Farms. Privately owned and operated by the Foster family since 1939, Foster Farms became the first major "broiler" chicken producer in the United States to carry the American Humane Association's (AHA) seal of approval. This fact is yet another testament to the power and influence of the elite who run the chicken-industrial complex and their intimate connections to countless organizations, even those purported to advocate for other animals. The Foster family earned the seal on the basis of their alleged "commitment to follow requirements that include giving poultry more space in their barns, keeping ammonia levels down, and controlling lighting to simulate day and night" (Finz 2013).

For anyone aware of controversies surrounding the AHA, it will come as no surprise that the organization would support Foster Farms. In 2001, as inquiries into the association's effectiveness were being raised, the *Los Angeles Times* reported that the AHA film unit was "slow to criticize cases of animal mistreatment, yet quick to defend the big-budget studios it is supposed to police" (Frammolino and Bates 2001). Reported too were possible instances of AHA agents ignoring the injuries of other animals during the making of films (Frammolino and Bates 2001). More recently, in 2013, the *Hollywood Reporter* reported that AHA agents discounted the underreporting of the abuse of other animals in film and TV productions. To illustrate, despite receiving a "no animals were harmed" disclaimer, nearly 30 nonhuman animals died during the making of the 2012 film *The Hobbit: An Unexpected Journey*. During the making of another 2012 film, *Life of Pi*, the tiger "King" almost drowned; however, the AHA essentially tried to cover up his near-death (Baum 2013). *The Hobbit* grossed over $300 million in the United States and Canada alone, grossing over $1 billion worldwide. Worldwide, *Life of Pi* grossed in excess of $600 million. Again, the almighty buck took precedence over the well-being of other animals (Box Office Mojo, 2016).

The Foster family is also well known for long-standing conflict with unionized workers, despite the company's revenues, estimated at approximately $2 billion in 2007. Foster Farms was also at the center of a salmonella epidemic from which more than 600 people became ill. Salmonella is a concern, for example, in regard to the abovementioned drug-resistant bacteria. Shedding serious doubt on Foster Farm's genuine concern for other animals, humankind, and the environment, the company discarded 11 million gallons of contaminated water containing chicken manure into a National Wildlife Refuge. Consequently, Foster Farms pleaded guilty to a violation of the U.S. Clean Water Act (*Los Angeles Times* 1997; *Los Angeles Times* 2005; U.S. EPA 1998; *Meat+Poultry* 2014).

As the agribusiness giants rake in billions in profits, the quality of life of factory workers and chickens degenerate. Dorothy McKenzie, who worked in "processing" factories in the southern United States for more than a decade, poignantly described connections between chickens and the largely racialized-gendered work force of which she is a part. Both workers and chickens have limited freedom of movement, for example. For as many as 12 hours a day, "hanging 40 chickens a minute on the disassembly line at a plant owned by Cagle's Inc.," the mostly African American women, new immigrants, and former farm workers are free to go to the bathroom only once (in addition to two slated breaks). The tedious drudgery of the job produces chronic arm and hand pain. When McKenzie and her fellow workers complained, management advised them to consume "less water" and proposed job rotations "as long as they still hung chickens" (Moberg 2004). They protested and were fired for "insubordination" (Moberg 2004). It took the efforts of the Retail, Wholesale, and Department Store Union (RWDSU), a division of the United Food and Commercial Workers, to get their jobs back, along with back pay. But there is still no union at Cagle's Inc. In fact, fewer than 30 percent of workers involved in the chicken-industrial complex in the United States are members of workers' unions (Moberg 2004).

Just a handful of powerful corporations make up the elite-white-male-dominance system that largely controls the chicken-industrial complex. In fact, five corporations currently control 55 percent of all such production. The elite give priority to the accumulation of wealth, not the civilized treatment of factory workers and other animals. Factory workers, for example, have the third-highest level of skeletal and muscular ailments and injuries among all industries (Moberg 2004).

NONELITES

Constructing Ecoterrorism

In sociologist John Sorenson's *Constructing Ecoterrorism*, one can find insights into why the vast majority of nonelites remain largely unaware of, or even apathetic to, the oppression and exploitation of other animals. For one, advocates for other animals—individuals with the potential to enlighten the masses—are callously attacked by the elite, who effectively fund and produce propaganda. Animal rights advocates are portrayed as contemptible, antihuman, and a threat to the whole of Western civilization. This is in keeping with capitalism, explains Sorenson, which ensures that individual interests trump mutual and benevolent goals. Also, by curbing criticism of and concealing institutionalized violence and brutality, global warming, ecological calamities, and the like, the elite mostly hide the true nature of their brutal exploitation of humans and other animals from nonelites. Finally, by purposefully framing animal activists as terrorists, the elite generate moral panic and fear among nonelites, which proves convenient when advancing nondemocratic political goals (e.g., antiterror legislation) (Sorenson, 2016).

The Great Chain of Being

I suggest that we might also understand why capitalists are so easily able to exploit and oppress chickens, other animals, and human animals, without much objection from the vast majority of the nonelite, if we consider a particular worldview brought to North America by European colonizers. They emphasized a hierarchical structure called the Great Chain of Being—a Divine Order, sometimes called the *Scala Natura,* or scale of nature.

This hierarchy dates to the ancient Greeks. Plato ranked human souls in the *Phaedrus,* while Aristotle believed that the ability to act upon reason separated human animals from other animals. In the early Christian era, the Christian God and angels were placed at the top of the Great Chain. Below them was a hierarchy of superior and inferior human beings, other animals, plants, and minerals. The elite men who headed up the Christian groups that increasingly dominated Europe, and soon North America, ranked virtuous Christians above unvirtuous non-Christians, virtuous aristocrats above less virtuous ordinary people, and men above women. Other animals ranked below them all, but above plants and minerals (Lovejoy 1936).

The powerful European men who aggressively perpetuated the Chain expected all others to accept the hierarchy and rationalizing frame as a Christian duty. Disrupting the hierarchy would result in social chaos—or so decreed the elite. As Sorenson suggests, animal rights activists are today similarly deemed a threat to Western civilization by the modern capitalist elite.

Notably, each link in the Chain enjoys the traits of the cluster just below it, and one additional trait—assumed to be superior—as illustrated here (The Great Chain of Being 1936):

God: existence + life + will + reason + immortality + omniscient, omnipotent
Angels: existence + life + will + reason + immortality
Humanity: existence + life + will + reason
Animals: existence + life + will
Plants: existence + life
Matter: existence
Nothingness

It is crucial to keep in mind that within the broad groupings, there is also an internal pecking order.

Other animals are obviously living beings, capable of free movement, possessing physical appetites, sensory perception, and much more. Yet, the degree of such capacities—as assumed by the elite—determined their position on the Great Chain of Being. With a presumed narrow intelligence and inattentiveness to their environment, other animals were declared to possess no soul or ability to use logic and language. Other animals placed higher on the Chain by the elite were deemed nobler, more powerful, and more intelligent than those below them. For this reason, the lion or elephant was dubbed the "King of Beasts." Reptiles, amphibians, and insects had no chance to be king. The nethermost level among other animals were said to be those who lived in marine or brackish habitats (e.g., oysters and clams). Like the plants beneath them, they were said to lack agility and were thus assumed to lack sensory organs (The Great Chain of Being 1936).

The fact that human beings continue to think in terms of a Great Chain of Being is undeniable. The Chain has enduring ramifications. People who feel intense sadness at a stray dog's death or the killing of a lion named Cecil generally do not think twice about buying a meal at Kentucky Fried Chicken (KFC). The Chain can be seen in ostensible scientific research as well. The dietary guidelines for Americans from the U.S. Office of Disease Prevention and Health Promotion (ODPHP), which recommend two to three daily servings of "dairy" products, even though racialized people are more likely to be lactose intolerant than whites, are another example of the lingering influence of the Great Chain of Being (Berton, Barnard, and Mills 1999, 151–157). There is also research that purports to study the brainpower of other animals, but that regularly uses cognitive tasks that advantage human animals, failing to value or even acknowledge the fact that other animals have cognitive strengths different from one another and from us (Human Liberation Animal Liberation 2009).

In contrast to the Great Chain of Being, Bernard Rollin, professor of animal science at Colorado State University, remarks, describing the intelligence of chickens: "Contrary to what one may hear from the industry, chickens are not mindless, simple automata but are complex behaviorally, do quite well in learning, show a rich social organization, and have a diverse repertoire of calls. Anyone who has kept barnyard chickens also recognizes their significant differences in personality" (Stachowski 2011). Chris Evans, professor of psychology at Macquarie University in Australia, has also described the intelligence of chickens (Stachowski 2011):

> Chickens exist in stable social groups. They can recognize each other by their facial features. They have 24 distinct cries that communicate a wealth of information . . . including separate alarm calls depending on whether a predator is travelling by land or sea. They are good at solving problems. As a trick at conferences I sometimes list these attributes, without mentioning chickens, and people think I'm talking about monkeys. Perhaps most persuasive is the chicken's intriguing ability to understand that an object, when taken away and hidden, nevertheless continues to exist.

Recent research also suggests that chickens feel empathy (*The Telegraph* 2011).

The Great Chain of Being was an integral part of European men's speciesist and otherwise discriminatory framing of *the Other*. In the Americas, for example, a social system was constructed with a racialized division of labor. The soon-to-be self-styled "whites," then known as "European Americans," assumed themselves superior to all other groups, framing subordinated humans and other animals as lesser and weaker than they (Feagin 2013; Woodard 1999).

It is worth remembering that during the course of history, oppressed human groups have been given the characteristics of other animals. In the United States, enslaved Africans were called "livestock." In Nazi Germany, Jews were referred to as "beasts," "rats," and "mice." During the 1994 Rwanda genocide, Hutu extremists, who murdered at least 800,000 Tutsis, called Tutsis "cockroaches." Today, it is not uncommon to hear women referred to as "fat cows," "bitches," and "catty." To refer to a person as a "pig" is to imply they are filthy, greedy, or otherwise disgusting. When a person is dubbed a "lemming" or "sheep," they are seen as careless followers, with no minds of their own. A foolish person is sometimes called a "monkey." Indeed, images of monkeys are regularly used to debase African Americans. Even powerful and moneyed blacks like former President Barack Obama and First Lady Michelle Obama are victims of this kind of white racial framing. Human qualities deemed lesser are also considered more animalistic. Indeed, on the Great Chain of Being, supposed subordinate "races" are placed closer to other animals than to humans (Human Liberation Animal Liberation 2009; Patterson 2002; Messenger 2015). Logic would dedicate that in reply to such rankings, or so-called insults (e.g., "You're a chicken"), we humans ought to say "Thanks" (Messenger 2015).

The Great Chain of Being is so deeply entrenched that even individual actors from within the elite male establishment who challenge it make tiny inroads. Take, for example, the current Roman Catholic pope, who even adopted the name of the patron saint of other animals, St. Francis of Assisi. Pope Francis urged his followers to "forcefully reject the notion that our being created in God's image and given dominion over the earth justifies absolute domination over other creatures," adding that the "Bible has no place for a tyrannical anthropocentrism" (Kawczynska 2015). Pope Francis has also said that there is a place in Heaven for other animals, and that the Virgin Mary—mother of Jesus of Nazareth—"grieves for the sufferings" of ill-treated "livestock" (Kristof 2015). Whether other animals or human animals go to a place called Heaven is arguably an interesting discussion, for many reasons. However, regardless of one's views on everlasting life or other spiritual matters, all animals deserve to enjoy a quality life here and now, whether they are chickens or people.

CONCLUSION

The hierarchical oppressions that resulted in the chicken-industrial complex involve the successful assertion of bodily and other material control by a dominant group. This is but one of many hierarchies in which a great many living beings are oppressed by *the few*. Alas, nothing seems able to shake the elite's faith in capitalism—certainly not a need for compassion for vulnerable populations, including factory workers and chickens. As Nibert has suggested, the emancipation of groups of humans deemed inferior and weak by a small elite is implausible in a world that uses other animals as fodder for the unending expansion of multinational corporations. Like Nibert, I believe that the emancipation of other animals will not occur when human animals continue to be exploited and oppressed.

Given their dedication to capitalism and putting profits over people and other animals, I consider elite white men the center of the problem and the principal obstacle to genuine liberty and justice for humans and other animals alike. As such, like Nibert, I see promise in the bonding of liberation movements to vanquish material exploitation and capitalist rivalries; to create balanced power structures; to end ideological control by the elite—including via the mass media, the family, educational institutions, and the like; and to challenge budding and influential agribusinesses. I believe that socialism is the answer, but it would be a socialism that involves more than white male actors at its center.

We have a long struggle ahead. Even dedicated souls fighting for human rights and genuine democracy find it difficult to perceive links between the oppression of humans and other animals. But contrary to what the Great Chain of Being suggests, all living beings experience pain and suffering, and there is no justification for the misery that we or anyone else inflicts.

Philosopher George Yancy's response to a series of violent verbal racist attacks that he received following the publication of his brilliant essay "Dear White America," stood out to me for many reasons, including its application to the current fate of billions of other animals. Yancy writes: "The fact that we don't hear cries of pain doesn't let us off the hook. . . . Violence is all around us. Yet we prefer to remain asleep—the walking dead. . . . The objective, though, is to continue, to remain awake, to keep fighting for a better world even as one endures the dark night of the soul" (Evans and Yancy 2016).

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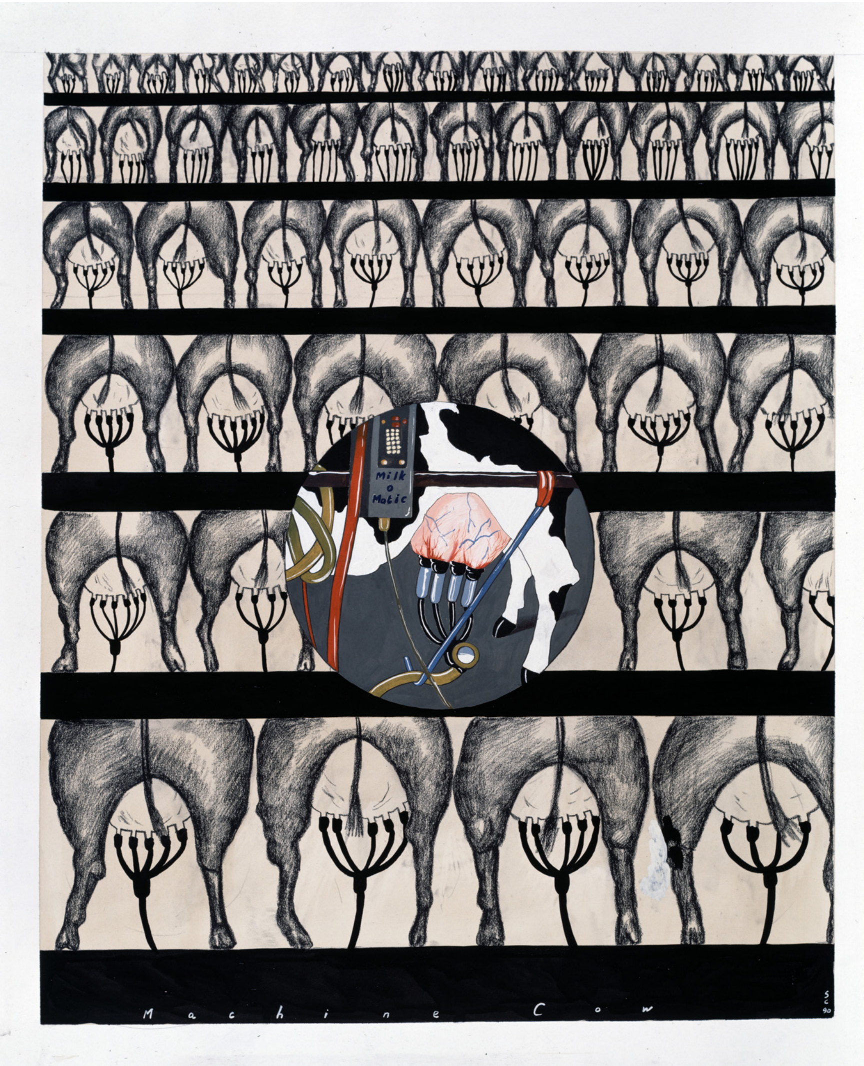
Milk o Matic
Machine Cow
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Machine Cow. (Copyright © 1990 Sue Coe. Courtesy Galerie St. Etienne, NY)

2

Hiding and Legitimating Oppression in "Dairy Product" Advertising

Matthew Cole

Advertising is one of the most obvious ways in which the consumption of "animal products" is encouraged and legitimated (that is, made to appear normal and unproblematic) in capitalist societies. History suggests that advertising can be very successful at this: David Nibert (2016) provides an overview of the development of 20th- and 21st-century U.S. print, radio, film, and television campaigns that drove up the consumption of "animal products," such as SPAM ["a product made from the shoulders of murdered pigs" (Nibert 2016, 78)], cow's milk, and "burgers" made from the flesh of bovine animals. These campaigns provided an expanding market to satisfy the increased "production" made possible by the industrialization of the confinement and slaughter of nonhuman animals, as well as the mass transportation of their corpses and reproductive by-products. Claire Molloy (2011) provides an example in the United Kingdom (U.K.) of how the state can also govern and stimulate capitalist enterprise in "animal products" through the creation of the Milk Marketing Board (MMB) in 1933 and the British Egg Marketing Board (BEMB) in 1956. In the post-rationing era of 1950s Britain, they became famed for advertising slogans such as "drinka pinta milka day" and "go to work on an egg," respectively. Vasile Stănsecu

(2016) provides a more recent example of Burger King's successful "The Whopper Virgins" advertising campaign in 2008, which was followed by "one of the largest stock increases in the history of Burger King." These are illustrations of the fundamental role that advertising has come to play within capitalism: to create and reproduce markets for its products rather than satisfying preexisting demands or the genuine needs of consumers (such as the need for adequate nutrition). This is a process that can be illuminated by social theorist Herbert Marcuse's concept of "false needs" within capitalism: encouraging consumers to feel "needs" for commodities that they did not realize that they "needed" before, or that they "needed" in much greater quantities or much more regularly than they had previously thought. Marcuse (2002, 7) defines the term *false needs* thus:

> "False" [needs] are those which are superimposed upon the individual by particular social interests in his repression: the needs which perpetuate toil, aggressiveness, misery, and injustice. Their satisfaction might be most gratifying to the individual, but this happiness is not a condition which has to be maintained and protected if it serves to arrest the development of the ability (his own or others) to recognize the disease of the whole and grasp the chances of curing the disease. The result then is euphoria in unhappiness. Most of the prevailing needs to relax, to have fun, to behave and consume in accordance with the advertisements, to love and hate what others love and hate, belong to this category of false needs.

So, while a given individual might enjoy drinking cow's milk or eating a "burger," Marcuse's point is that these temporary gratifications inhibit recognition of the oppressive systems upon which those gratifications depend. Opposition to oppression is thereby sidelined for the sake of ephemeral "euphoria." This inculcation of false needs is problematic enough when it relies on the exploitation and oppression of human labor, the exacerbation of humankind's environmental impact, and the stimulation of overconsumption that is physically, economically, or socially harmful for humans. All these problems remain present but are compounded when the "products" being advertised are taken from other animals, because by necessity they harm those animals. These harms most obviously inhere in the murder of billions upon billions of nonhuman animals for human food across the globe every year. But they also include routine mutilations (such as the amputation of hens' beaks or pigs' tails); the fostering of diseases (such as mastitis—a painful inflammation of the udders of "dairy" cows); the physical and emotional distress of confinement (often manifested in stereotypies—repetitious behaviors that evidence extremes of frustration and boredom); of rape (forcible impregnation, for instance of cows or "sows", that is euphemized as "artificial insemination"); and the forcible separation of mothers and their offspring, such as the abduction of calves from their mothers soon after birth. These basic facts that the capitalist promotion of "animal products" depends on are not widely discussed in the capitalist media—see the analyses of U.S. news media coverage of "farmed" animals by Carrie Packwood Freeman (2014, 2016)—and not at all in the context of "animal product" advertising.

This demonstrates a central fact about such capitalist advertising: "the power to re-present another species is an act of domination" (Merskin 2016, 11). It is self-evident that "farmed" animals are not willing victims in the violent and degrading practices just described: they do not volunteer for assisted suicide in the slaughterhouse any more than they offer up their body parts to be amputated or branded, or their bodies to become diseased, or their children to be taken from them and subjected to their own degradations, mutilations, and murders. In this light, then, the advertising of "animal products" must always be a grotesque distortion of the "truth" of what happens to the nonhuman animals whose "products" are being promoted, especially so long as humans identify ourselves in relation to positive values of compassion, empathy or care for vulnerable others [see Cole and Stewart (2014) and Stewart and Cole (2009) for discussions of the juxtaposition of care for, with the killing of, nonhuman animals]. In the remainder of this chapter, I focus on the reproduction of the "false need" for humans to consume the milk of cows, emphasizing how the character of that "need" has both a gustatory component (constructing the consumption of cow's milk as a desirable, or even, in Marcuse's term, "euphoric" experience) and an ethico-affective component (constructing the notion that we can express our caring capacities for cows through consuming their milk).

There are, of course, myriad examples of "dairy" advertising that could be considered here, but rather than provide an overview of this segment of "animal product" advertising as a whole, this chapter focuses in detail on just two advertisements for cow's milk, from the U.K. brand Cravendale, owned by the Danish-based cooperative Arla Foods. The ads are entitled "The Milk Drinker" (first broadcast on television in 2015) and "Milk Me Brian" (first played in cinemas in 2011). They are both examples of Cravendale's marketing strategy of producing quirky and humorous ads that attempt to differentiate the Cravendale brand from competitors. As Stănescu argues (2016), the use of humor in advertising also has a rhetorical function to "ward off all criticism," including academic analyses such as his critique of "The Whopper Virgins" campaign and this critique of Cravendale's advertising. It is for just that reason that it is important to pierce the comedic armor of advertising—to stop laughing long enough to be able to recognize the attempted reproduction of "false needs" for "animal products" before our eyes and ears.

"THE MILK DRINKER"

This 30-second-long advertisement centers on the titular "Milk Drinker" (played by actor Guy Combes), a twentysomething or thirtysomething white man with a bushy moustache, stubbly beard, and collar-length dark hair. As the marketing website Campaign puts it, "The Milk Drinker" is "an urban cowboy type who always has a glass of the white stuff in his hand" (Campaign 2015). Combes's portrayal provides an adult role model for the audience to identify with, compared with the traditional association of milk-drinking with infancy and childhood. This may represent an attempt by Cravendale to carve out new markets for milk-drinking, but also the creation of an aspirational icon of lifelong milk-drinking, so that it does not become sloughed off by consumers as a childish habit. This is especially significant as a key critique of the drinking of other animals' milk by humans is that it keeps us in an infantlike, preweaned state (Milk Abolition Campaign 2016). The advertising of cow's milk for human consumption, therefore, depends on transcending the association between milk-drinking as such and infancy. It also depends on disrupting the common-sense unnaturalness of humans drinking the milk of other species [a point made in the Vegan Society campaigning film "Truth or Dairy," which featured presenter Benjamin Zephaniah comically suckling from the udder of a pantomime cow (The Vegan Society 1994)]. "The Milk Drinker," therefore, has to make it acceptable (or rather, to tap into previously existing notions of acceptability) to conceive of humans as consumers of cow's milk, and to conceive of cows as "providers" of their milk for humans. This analysis of "The Milk Drinker" considers each of these themes in turn.

It's Cool to Drink Cow's Milk

The aspirational status of Combes's portrayal results from his "cool" hipster persona. As Campaign (2015) puts it, he is "smooth in the extreme and does improbable things with an air of nonchalance." The character does not speak in the ad (recalling a "strong silent type" trope of imperturbably cool masculinity); rather, he is shown in a succession of brief scenes with a glass of milk, accompanied by a laidback rock soundtrack and a deep male voice-over with a U.S. accent, in the style of a movie trailer: "Behold: the milk drinker. A modern-day enigma. He is a connoisseur of the cow. A gentleman of taste. And his drink, is Cravendale. Filtered for freshness" (Cravendale 2016a). The "coolness" of The Milk Drinker is further established by his ability to multitask—that is, at the same time as holding a glass of milk, to be able to drive a car, play the drums one-handed, avoid spilling milk when barged by a passer-by on the street, ride a rodeo machine, tie his shoelaces one-handed, and dance solo (or rather, with a glass of milk as his “partner”). The character’s silence is bound up with his outsider chic; that is, he is depicted as a solitary character, only interacting with others in order to exhibit his cool identity. For example, when he ties his shoelaces one-handed, he is observed by a young child who looks suitably impressed by the feat. Milk-drinking is therefore simultaneously made to appear “normal,” but also as a marker of difference; Cravendale offers itself as a resource for the construction and maintenance of a “hip” identity. This is a powerful example of the trick of advertising to simultaneously engender mass behavior at the same time as making us feel like unique individuals when we do so: the ad encourages us to feel special about drinking the product by identifying with Combes’s character. We can imbibe enigmatic cool at the same time as drinking Cravendale.

This is reinforced by a slogan that appears on screen at the end of the ad, alongside a bottle of Cravendale: “the milk drinker’s milk.” A further layer of meaning is added to the product here: not only is drinking cow’s milk normal (but cool) adult behavior, but Cravendale specifically is a product that facilitates the differentiation of the consumer from less cool milk-drinkers—it is a product for elite consumption. The specialness of Cravendale is also communicated through the other key slogan, “filtered for freshness,” spoken on the voiceover but also printed on the bottle. This is a complex message: on the one hand, it establishes that Cravendale has been subjected to another industrial process that adds value compared with other brands of cow’s milk. As the Cravendale website explains, “We don’t just pasteurise our milk, we also finely filter it to make it purer for a fresher taste. And because we remove more of the unwelcome bacteria that turn milk sour, it lasts a lot longer too” (Cravendale 2016b). So, a paradox is managed by associating the additional processing of the product with “freshness,” despite the fact that processing removes the product further from the “fresh” milk (and therefore the most natural/unprocessed milk) as it is extracted from cow’s udders.

“Freshness” has symbolic importance not only for its association with naturalness, but also for its association with healthiness, again managing a paradox by establishing a longer shelf-life for the product because of its additional processing (meaning it can be “safely” consumed when it is less “fresh”). The problematic presence of bacteria in cow’s milk, which otherwise might lead consumers to doubt the naturalness of the product, is therefore switched into a marketing opportunity—a way to make Cravendale more natural, and special, precisely *because* it is more heavily processed than competing products. After the “milk drinker’s milk” slogan, another one appears in the same shot under the Arla logo: “let in the goodness,” thereby reaffirming the healthiness of the product. The grammatical construction of the slogan is significant: it suggests that Arla only wishes to help us as consumers—the company is the purveyor of "goodness," and all we need do is lower any resistance we might have and "let it in." This is an interesting iteration of the ideal of consumer choice, as it implies a passive surrender to Arla's seductive marketing/products, rather than an active selection of their products from among those of their competitors. This is not to suggest passivity on the part of viewers, but it does suggest Arla's *ambition* to construct the passive "let in the goodness" as a positive response and not a negative, disempowered one.

Cows Exist for Our Use

The analysis so far shows how "The Milk Drinker" portrays an attractively enigmatic persona that the audience can identify with through consuming Cravendale. The product is, therefore, a resource for the construction of a particular form of "cool" human (masculine) identity at least as much as it is a nutritional resource. This is typical of contemporary capitalism in general—the advertising of products according to their symbolic meanings over and above their practical uses. Even when claims are established about the healthfulness of the product, these are oblique in the ad rather than being overt statements about specific nutritional or health benefits. This raises the question of the meaning of cows in this symbolic economy of representations. As outlined previously, the "dairy industry" is inherently violent, so ads such as "The Milk Drinker" have more work to do in order to obscure that violence and instead to present the exploitation of cows as something normal, inevitable, and unquestionable.

Unsurprisingly the ad does nothing to reveal the violent reality of the "dairy industry," and as such sits alongside every other "dairy" ad in neglecting to portray that reality. More specifically, "The Milk Drinker" obscures violence through a series of distractions: first, through a proliferation of imagery of cows and "products" taken from cows. The milk itself is obviously the most prominent of the latter, appearing throughout the ad. This establishes and repeats the core idea that cow's milk is for humans, not for cow's calves. But cows are also established as being for the use of humans through the presence of their skin in the ad: in the character's jacket, which appears to be made from "suede"; the "leather" seating that surrounds the rodeo machine that "The Milk Drinker" rides; in the "leather" binding of a book that the character reads (of which more shortly); in the "suede" shoes that the character laces one-handed. While "suede" may be produced from the skins of a variety of species of slaughtered nonhuman animals, its production using calves' skin is relevant to the symbolic language of this ad, as it provides another element of the "cowness" of the environment of "The

Milk Drinker.” In addition, horns amputated from a bull adorn the wall of the pub in which the character drinks a glass of milk. So, cows and bulls are established as “useful” for consumption, clothing, upholstery, bookbinding, and ornamentation.

Second, a range of bovine images appear in the ad: the pub is identified as “The Bull” by a sign on the wall, complete with a painting of a bull looking through the picture space toward the viewer; a statuette of a rampaging bull is visible behind the bar of the pub, in the foreground of the same shot; the abovementioned book is adorned with a gold-embossed picture of a cow (the skin of a dead cow is therefore branded with the image of a living cow); and the rodeo machine is shaped like a bull, complete with what appears to be faux-bull’s skin, horns, a black head, and demonic red eyes. This collection of images is significant in the context of Combes’s character: the associations of bulls with a virile version of masculinity help to reestablish milk-drinking as a “manly” habit through creating some distance from the more usual cultural association of “dairy” products with femininity (Adams 2010).

However, the connection between femininity and “dairy” is not ignored in the ad: in the pub scene, the shot briefly switches to a young white woman shown drinking from a glass of milk. As she takes the glass from her lips, a wind machine blows her hair back, and she looks in wonder at the glass, in disbelief at how good it tastes. Contrasting with the nonchalance of “The Milk Drinker,” the woman cannot contain her pleasure in consuming cow’s milk. The pub setting (more usually associated with the consumption of alcohol than cow’s milk, of course) and the wind machine effect add to the overall ironic tone of the ad. The audience are thereby invited to chuckle along at the irony and be in on the joke, at the same time as conventional gender stereotypes of masculine cool detachment and feminine indulgence of sensual pleasure are subtly reproduced. The imagery of the ad also plays on the patriarchal associations between masculinity and rationality: the “leather”-bound book is entitled “Know Your Cow, Volume I” and is shown with slips of paper inserted as bookmarks. The image goes with the “he is a connoisseur of the cow” segment of the voiceover, together implying that “The Milk Drinker” is a student of all things bovine, to the point of obsession. It is crucial, therefore, that his expert knowledge of bovinity has evidently revealed nothing that troubles his consumption of cow’s milk. The implication for the audience is clear: *there is nothing troubling to be known,* and the idea of cows existing for the use of humans is entrenched. Therefore, there is no incongruity between wearing cows’ skins or drinking their milk and maintaining a positive self-concept as a compassionate and caring individual—the issue simply does not arise in respect of human-bovine relationships in “The Milk Drinker.”

“Milk Me Brian”

The discussion of “The Milk Drinker” has shown how it predominantly creates an association between drinking cow’s milk and a masculine hipster persona that is firmly urban and modern. Combes’s character inhabits urban settings such as the street or the pub, which makes it relatively straightforward to hide the violence of “dairy” production—the ad simply does not go to where the violence happens. This problem has to be tackled differently when ads use a rural setting to establish the timeless normality of milk-drinking, evoking tradition rather than contemporary cool as a selling point. A striking example is provided by Cravendale’s 60-second-long “Milk Me Brian” ad (Cravendale 2016c). The character of “Brian” begins the ad as a contemporary “dairy farmer” and then is portrayed as an alter ego in various imaginary prehistorical and historical settings, wrestling with the “problem” of milking cows. The core message this time is the willing complicity of cows in their own exploitation, evident from the title of the ad, a line that is uttered by a computer-generated image (CGI) spectral cow who appears within it.

The male voiceover for the ad, this time spoken in an upper-class English accent, is scripted as follows: “Wonder who first thought to milk a cow? What exactly happened? Was it trial and error? Divine intervention? Or was it whispered in a dream? [at this point, the spectral cow appears saying, “milk me, Brian, milk me”] Who was this unhinged genius? This lion amongst men? If it weren’t for you, there’d be no Cravendale” (Cravendale 2016c). This represents another complex message that mixes speciesism with patriarchy: first, a relationship of mutual benefit is established between cows and (male) humans, which taps into common-sense understandings of the “domestication” of nonhuman animals as a benign process and of men as solvers of “problems” of domination. “Domestication” is misrepresented, therefore, so that it appears to be a relationship of care rather than one of domination and violence.

To undercut this benign assumption, David Nibert (2013) replaces “domestication” with “domesecration,” which he defines as “the systemic practice of violence in which social animals are enslaved and biologically manipulated, resulting in their objectification, subordination and oppression.” It is Nibert’s term that I will use in the remainder of the analysis. Second, the longevity of the cultural practice of milking cows is asserted. Taken together, this message throws an aura of patriarchal tradition around humans drinking cow’s milk. Although taking a very different route to “The Milk Drinker,” the destination is the same: drinking cow’s milk is represented as normal and natural, and therefore is so embedded into human culture that it is unthinkable that it could ever be excised. The following analysis examines each of these themes in turn as they play out in “Milk Me Brian.”

Willing Female Victims

The beneficial mutuality of the human-bovine "dairy" relationship is established at the outset of the ad, which begins with four cows shown in a field in a picturesque rural setting of verdant, rolling hills, with a white cottage/farmhouse in the background. One cow, standing in profile, has her head turned and returns the gaze of the viewer, looking through the fourth wall of the television screen. In the next shot, Brian gazes out of the kitchen window from the cottage at the cows grazing contentedly in the field, and the same cow turns her head to return his gaze. Nothing much is happening on screen then, except that the normality of patriarchal domestic labor relationships is established: Brian's female partner is occupied with housework in the background (her face is not shown onscreen), while he has the luxury of taking the time to sit sipping a drink while contemplating the historical roots of his speciesist domination. But it is the very placidity of the scene—the slow movements of the cows and the cozy mundanity of Brian's setting—that emphasizes the beneficence of "dairy production." There is no hint at a relationship of interspecies and intergender power being involved between Brian and the cow unconcernedly returning his gaze.

These power relationships are on display later in the ad (however, albeit in disguise): when the spectral cow appears, hovering in mid-air, intoning "milk me Brian, milk me." Here, a CGI cow is voiced in such a way as to excuse the human male interference with, and control over, the reproductive processes of females. Beyond an excuse, the spectral cow gives Brian a *moral imperative* to "milk" cows—it is what she wants, and it is what Brian (not her calves) can give her. By association, the viewer is morally authorized to facilitate the milking of cows through buying and consuming Cravendale, and furthermore to construe this as facilitating a caring relationship between cows and the "farmers" who "relieve" their desire to be milked.

The spectral cow is anthropomorphized by being given a human female voice at this point, but also through appearing in a bipedal posture, with her front hooves having some of the characteristics of human hands as she carries a golden milk churn in one hoof and a book in the other. It is this anthropomorphizing that gives this section of the ad its rhetorical force: by temporarily elevating (in a figurative as well as literal sense in the ad) cows to the status of subjects with the capacity to express their agency, the ad facilitates the denial of that agency in cows' real experiences of the "dairy industry." In other words, the spectral cow abdicates her agency on behalf of all cows in perpetuity, permitting business as usual in the "dairy industry." The most blatant industrial denials of that agency include forced insemination, the abduction of calves, and the slaughter of cows when it ceases to be profitable to keep them alive (that is, when their "productivity" declines due to illness or exhaustion).

Together with her white shroudlike garment, there are clear echoes of religious iconography in the figure of the spectral cow, recalling the “divine intervention” of the previous scene in the ad and providing a further veneer of tradition to the legitimation process. The book could symbolize a bible or other religious text, even the pseudoreligious “Know Your Cow, Volume I” from “The Milk Drinker” (although the book is too indistinct to discern a title in “Milk Me Brian”). David Gianatasio, writing for the marketing website Adweek, has no doubt as to the Christian connotations of the scene in his effusive review of the ad:

> Holy cow! At about the 40-second mark of Wieden+Kennedy London’s wondrously whacked-out cinema spot for Cravendale milk, a divine bovine apparition descends from the firmament, draped in flowing robes, clutching a Bible in one of its hooves, intoning, “Milk me, Brian!” *Moo-yah!* (Gianatasio 2011; emphasis in original).

Whatever interpretation is made about the identity of the book, it does appear to be “leather”-bound, adding a layer of tragic irony to the spectral cow’s appearance (we could imagine a woman reverentially wielding a book bound in human skin and begging for her own subjection, for a telling comparison). It is also worth dwelling on two points from Gianatasio’s review as examples of the reception of Cravendale’s marketing strategy in a prestigious marketing publication. First, in the quotation given here, Gianatasio refers to the cow as a degendered “it,” rather than as a “she.” The femaleness of even this CGI cow (or else she could not desire to be milked) is hidden here, and this is a typical means by which the subjectivity of nonhuman animals is obscured, facilitating their treatment as objects [see Dunayer (2002) for a detailed critique of the use of speciesist language to demean and legitimate the oppression of nonhuman animals]. But it is specific aspects of cows’ gendered identities that are suppressed in “dairy” advertising, especially those that pertain to their maternal relationship with their calves.

Second, and conversely, the femininity of cows (or any other oppressed female nonhuman animal) can be accentuated in advertising and other representations when it profitably intersects with a cultural context that sexualizes women. This process has been documented extensively by Carol Adams, for instance in *The Pornography of Meat* (2004). In the case of Gianatasio’s review, it surfaces when he refers to an earlier scene in the ad thus: “a lightning bolt illuminating udders [sic] so filled to bursting they’re practically pornographic” (Gianatasio 2011).

This scene is discussed further later in this chapter, but at this point, it is important to note that a calf is also present in this scene, with her or his face pointed toward her or his mother’s udder. Gianatasio, however, is able to remain oblivious to the cow-calf relationship and trump this with what appears to be an automatized sexual response to swollen mammalian mammary glands. It is telling that Gianatasio mischaracterizes the single organ of the udder as "udders," giving away the obvious—that human breasts (plural) were being recalled here. The femininity of the cow is therefore selectively highlighted, but only in such a way as to reduce her to an object of desire, through fragmenting her body such that she is reduced to her "udders." This "works" in the context of the review because it taps into the analogous fragmentation of women's bodies in patriarchal sexualized cultural representations. In summary, the ad invites viewers to accept that men's control of female reproductive processes makes them heroic, that such females demand and need that control, and that there are tacit rewards of virile gratification to be gained from that control.

Milk-Drinking: An Eternal and Unquestionable Impulse

The willing complicity of cows in their own subjugation is reinforced by the emphasis on the timeless tradition of humans drinking their milk in "Milk Me Brian." As the camera lingers on Brian's contemplative face at the end of the first scene of the ad, the shot segues into a close-up of Brian transported to a prehistoric setting, this time gazing at what appears to be a CGI auroch, the free-living ancestor of the domesecrated bovine, on a rocky hillside. Prehistoric Brian is frightened away by the auroch, which is depicted as much larger than the contemporary cow, with long horns, an assertive posture, and a strident "moo" that is a forceful expression of her independence. Gianatasio's (2011) interpretation of the auroch is of "a 'fierce' prehistoric cow-beast." The "beast" suffix denotes a "wildness" that differentiates the auroch from the domesecrated, pacified, oppressed cow. It is worth noting that this version of Brian is clad in a loincloth apparently made from the skin and hair of another animal (of which more shortly). "Wild" nature is here depicted as a "problem" to be "tamed," if Brian's desire for the milk of another species is to be satisfied.

The next scene shows Brian lurking behind a monolith in a stone circle, gazing with envious eyes at a small bovine herd. Notably, the herd appears to comprise only full-grown cows, with no calves present. The relationship between cow's milk and bovine reproduction is thereby obscured here. The removal of calves from "dairy" advertising is one strategy that assists the human denial of the traumatic separation of cows and calves that the "dairy industry" depends on. In this scene, Brian is more completely clothed in the skin and hair of other animals and wears a decapitated wolf's head on his own head. He also wields a club, and rather than Brian being frightened away, it is his stalking approach toward the herd that scares *them* away. Brian's power is augmented; bovine power is diminished. Not only is Brian an object of fear at this imaginary stage of prehistory, but the members of the herd are also much smaller in stature than the solitary auroch and much more closely resemble modern, domesecrated bovines (it is unclear as to whether they are CGI generated or "real" filmed bovines). The auroch's defiant individuality lends her a subjectivity that is stripped from the diminished "herd" by virtue of their collective fear.

Among the many other cultural messages that "Milk Me Brian" taps into is an ethical and political equation between individuality and full subjectivity, contrasted with collective action as an indicator of timidity and resignation from full subjectivity. As with "The Milk Drinker," this is deeply ironic, as contemporary capitalist advertising encourages consumption practices that emotionally connect *individuals* to those products at the same time as they encourage *mass* behavior—learning to love and hate what others love and hate, as Marcuse put it.

The scene that follows is accompanied by the "divine intervention . . ." line from the voiceover and takes the viewer further through this fictive history (this is the scene that apparently excited Gianatasio). It shows a textile-clad Brian (the cloth appearing to have been fashioned from the hair of domesecrated sheep) being startled by a lightning flash that ignites a fire, which in turn illuminates a cow and her calf in a woodland setting. This time, the cow returns Brian's gaze and neither startles Brian nor is alarmed by him (or the lightning flash). As Brian becomes more "civilized" (for instance, symbolized through the changes in clothing, which in themselves represent greater degrees of control over other animals), cows become more passive, with no account of the role of humans in inculcating docility through the process of domesecration. Instead, the growing confidence of Brian and the growing passivity of bovines who encounter him make the process appear natural and inevitable—there is no longer anything to fear on the side of either species.

The next scene shows a version of Brian in a pseudomedieval setting, waking from a dream next to his sleeping female partner (although her face is shown, as with modern Brian's partner at the start of the ad, she plays only a passive role). Brian's "progress" toward modernity is emphasized by the tidier stylization of his handlebar moustache compared with his scruffier beard in the "divine intervention" scene—his appearance at this point anticipates "The Milk Drinker." It is at this juncture that Brian witnesses the spectral cow who legitimizes her own domination, excusing Brian (and by proxy all of humankind) from our responsibility for that domination and the violence that goes with it.

In the final scene, this same version of Brian is shown emerging, exhausted, from a stone barn, carrying a bucket of cow's milk into the yard. There are overtones of sexual repletion that could be read into the actor's performance, as his exhaustion is suggestive of a torrid encounter with a cow's "udders." He sinks to his knees and looks heavenward as clouds part and the voiceover eulogizes him: "Who was this unhinged genius? This lion amongst men? If it weren't for you, there'd be no Cravendale." The ad ends with the camera pulling backward and skyward as the Cravendale and Arla logos appear on screen. The Cravendale logo is accompanied by the slogan "The Milk Matters," while Arla is paired with "Closer to Nature."

The former slogan asserts the "importance" of cow's milk. The latter emphasizes the claim of Arla that cow's milk is something that is "natural" for humans to consume, and implies that through consuming it, human drinkers of cow's milk can also somehow get closer to nature. But the ad also mixes in a celebration of inspired masculine rationality—it is the "unhinged genius" of a *man* that "solves" the problem of domination. That genius is augmented by the symbolic appropriation of the power of other animals; in this case, Brian is equated with a lion, following his prehistorical augmentation of his power through the donning of a wolf's head. The linking of masculine power with nonhuman animals who symbolize powerful and dynamic carnivorism is bound up with his control of female reproduction.

So, "Milk Me Brian," under scrutiny, reveals as much as it conceals about the ways in which the human domination of cows is reproduced and how it is inextricably linked with patriarchal power. While the reality of "dairy production" is invisible in the ad, the symbolic uses of other animals to bolster human masculinity and the legitimation and celebration of patriarchal domination are highly visible. These cultural processes are made to appear as if they are natural and inevitable, and therefore unchallengeable. For the consumer, drinking cow's milk is transmuted into a pleasurable, ritualistic reproduction of patriarchal and speciesist cultural values.

CONCLUSION

Advertising is just one part of the immense effort that the "dairy industry" goes to in order to secure our consent to their continued oppression of bovine animals. For example, Linné and Pedersen (2016) discuss how Cravendale's parent company, Arla, organize "open farm events" in Sweden, which purport to have an educative function for the children (and adults) who attend them. But they hide the violence of the industry at the same time as promoting its products, and they help visitors feel "a care for cows and a love for milk" at the same time.

Therefore, the detailed analysis of "The Milk Drinker" and "Milk Me Brian" given in this chapter is intended to highlight just one aspect of how the "dairy industry" depends on referencing and manipulating a complex and interwoven range of cultural symbols and beliefs about cows, about humans, and about other animals besides. I hope that the level of detail in this chapter helps to unearth how deeply buried these symbols and beliefs are, but reveals how they tend to operate unnoticed, hidden in plain sight. I am sure that there are other symbols and meanings that I have overlooked or have not been sufficiently sensitive to, but which nonetheless shape my and our interpretation of what is going on in these ads.

I do not claim to be any final authority over a single "true" critical interpretation of these (or any other) ads. I do, though, encourage readers to seek them out and think critically about whether my analysis seems plausible and to suggest their own additions or alternatives. More generally, I hope that readers will be interested to spend some time thinking critically about how any and all forms of advertising for "animal products" attempt to obscure or manipulate our understanding of what are, at root, deeply oppressive relations between humans and domesecrated nonhumans. It is especially important to refuse to "get the [speciesist] jokes" that are embedded within "animal product" ads: I argue that laughing along is symptomatic of Marcuse's "euphoria in unhappiness." His concept, allied with the manifest success of "animal product" advertising campaigns such as those documented by Nibert, Molloy, and Stănescu, might lead us to be pessimistic. However, being conscious of our own capacity to resist and critique the construction of "false needs" can be a powerful first step toward rejecting "animal products" in our personal lives and working toward a future in which other animals no longer suffer the consequences of the jokes that advertisers make of their oppression.

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3

"Happy Cow" Welfarist Ideology and the Swedish "Milk Crisis": A Crisis of Romanticized Oppression

Jana Canavan

Capitalism and a strong belief in human exceptionalism provide key ideological frames for social norms and relations, which are articulated through rigid hierarchies and beliefs in the normalcy of dominating and exploiting other animals for human "needs" and privilege. In this chapter, the exploitation of bovines oppressed in the Swedish "dairy" industry is explored as an expression of various interrelated social norms. Constructing and treating bovines as objectifiable and exploitable "Others" are problematized as being imposed, justified, and reinforced by capitalism, the current oppressive relations between us and other animals in general, and the gendered aspect of oppression in the "dairy" industry. In "dairy" production, female cows are oppressed, not only due to their species but also due to their biological sex, to use their reproductive abilities as means of production. The oppressive dominant human/nonhuman animal binary operationalized in the farming industries and its implicit objectification of other animals thus enable and reinforce capitalism (Twine 2012), which will be illustrated with examples of Swedish "dairy" farming and related welfarist "pro-animal" ideas and values.

"Dairy" farming is becoming more and more unprofitable in Sweden, forcing about five farmers a week to give up "dairy" farming for good (Lantbrukarnas Riksförbund 2016a). Taking the Swedish "milk crisis" as an example of a dominant discourse illustrating such domination, a multitude of problems inherent to the capitalist exploitation of other animals is laid out. The long-term economic "milk crisis" is presented as a unique issue of Swedish "dairy" production since it is said to exist due to Swedish added value (*svensk mervärde*). The Swedish Board of Agriculture (Jordbruksverket) summarizes that such added value is created through higher animal welfare standards, stricter production measures with lower environmental impact than the global average, and the industries' vital contribution to uphold the current form of agricultural landscaping and preservation of biodiversity (Jordbruksverket 2016). The Swedish government, therefore, initiated a joint effort of authorities and stakeholders to improve the situation of the "dairy" industry through emphasizing the social importance of Swedish added value (Jordbruksverket 2016), demonstrating that national "dairy" production carries significance for a distinct Swedish identity that is abstracted against some *other* type of "dairy" production with different values. The main focal point of the popular "milk crisis" is the economic hardship of the farmers, which the Federation of Swedish Farmers (Lantbrukarnas Riksförbund, or LRF) presents as follows (LRF 2016b; author translation):

> Being a dairy farmer today implies challenges that are difficult to imagine for those who do not themselves have to stand there every morning. The cows are healthy and happy and produce fantastic Swedish milk, but do not have a clue about just how unprofitable they are.[1]

With this casual depiction of cows as unintelligible but otherwise "happy" and well-functioning "dairy" producers, LRF presented a new phone helpline to provide farmers with advice and support.

In this chapter, the goal is to show how our relations to other animals are highly affected by violent ideologies imposed by capitalism and the general strong belief in anthropocentrism. I therefore seek to criticize the underlying violent logic of "pro-animal" welfare ideology, as it is fundamentally based on human-centered ideas about farmed animals and the very real exploitation and suffering of those individuals abused and killed in the animal-industrial complex, the globally operating capitalist network facilitating the total exploitation of other animals captivated in its industries (Noske 1997). Part of the infrastructure of the animal industrial complex are not only farms, slaughterhouses, and packing factories, but all corporations, businesses, and organizations profiting from the subordination of other animals, including the state (Nibert 2002).

Before discussing the issue on a broader ideological level, common framings and understandings of bovines will be problematized. The construction of cows as "milk producers" legitimizes their use in the industry, and advertising them as happy and healthy constitutes a successful strategy for making a profit by selling the idea of caring and responsible farming methods to concerned consumers. Dominant anthropocentric ideas about human-nonhuman animal relations thus make us believe in notions of "happy cows" grazing in idyllic pastures, as if granting them some months of access to sunlight, fresh air, and outside space would countervail lifelong subordination to human rule and being subjected to confinement, repeated forced impregnation, being milked while pregnant, being bereft of their calves, and being killed once their bodies are seen as "used up."

Viewing the exploitation and subordination of other animals as "just the way things are" is not only engrained in societal structures and the economy, it is also deeply rooted in language. Language distances us from the reality of consuming other animal's bodies and their bodily fluids through ascribing the products that we make of them as the essence of their existence (Adams 1997). For these reasons, I seek to refrain from using language that maintains prejudice against other animals and therefore avoid using speciesist, sexist, or otherwise derogatory language commonly used to describe and normalize the exploitation of Others. Using the term *bovine* whenever referring to the group of domesticated beings farmed in the "dairy" industry makes the point that they are not "livestock." The common referral "dairy cow" is a human construction that naturalizes the speciesist and sexist oppression of a particular group of bovines. Referring to their exploitation as being "farmed" stresses that it is something that is done to them, counter to the claim that farming is what other animals exist for.

The discussion in this chapter is based on the analysis of online sources and on interviews that the author conducted with "dairy" farmers in the Skåne region in Sweden during the winter and spring of 2015 and 2016.[2] Besides focusing on material of LRF Dairy Sweden, the primary lobby organization of the Swedish "dairy" industry, material from two major "dairies," Arla and Skånemejerier, are included.[3] Asking farmers about their perspective on the "milk crisis" and their interactions with and conceptions of the cows offered insight into the lived experience of central actors in the "dairy" industry and helps to illuminate the meaning that they give to the daily interaction with the cows. Paying attention to the common constructions and descriptions of bovines, as well as to the materially manifested oppression of farmed bovines, allows me to counteract common romanticized pictures of such objectified "happy cows."

Starting with a focus on the objectification of cows, the chapter is organized into three parts. Part I discusses common constructions, categorizations, and ideas about cows that facilitate that they are understood as resources for human food consumption. Part II moves on to discuss how such conceptual and practical subordination of bovines plays out in the construction of agency and privilege of humans and other animals by problematizing the framing of cows as "workers," illustrated by a popular example of Swedish advertising marketing "pro-animal" welfarist "dairy" production. Part III then returns to the abovementioned issue of the Swedish "milk crisis" to demonstrate how the outlined constructions of other animals as "food producers" and "food products," as well as the welfarist ideas promoting such framings, are interrelated and moreover strengthen other violent ideologies. This allows the elaboration of how broader interrelated sets of meanings, ideas, and practices, such as nonhuman animal welfarism, are established to uphold the oppression of other animals motivated and shaped by capitalist principles.

PART I: "WHO COUNTS?" CATEGORIZATION AND OBJECTIFICATION OF BOVINES

The fact that Sweden is in a long-term "milk crisis" is not surprising, as crises are endemic to capitalism. As a crisis of abundance and low profits for producers, it is created through the overproduction of "dairy," which is generated through the gross exploitation of bovines. The Swedish state and "dairy" industry, however, construct it as a crisis of production, with central Swedish values at stake (Jordbruksverket 2016, LRF 2016a). Current developments of unprofitable "dairy" production in Sweden do not lead to a shortage crisis, but to increasing imports of "dairy" products from other countries. Those with economic interest in Swedish "dairy" farming, therefore, hold on to the perceived value in national production and the cultural and economic interests attached to it. As soon as cheaper production measures are available, production is outsourced. The Swedish "milk crisis" is, therefore, a classic example for the very workings of capitalist development. While corporations, lobbyists, and agricultural boards use the economic plight of Swedish "dairy" farmers as argument to increase sales, the very system that they seek to uphold is creating and repeating the issue which they seek to resolve. What their "milk crisis" is *not* about is the cows whom the milk is taken from. Approaching the crisis at play from an angle that illuminates and opposes the oppression that it is built on is necessary to comprehend and challenge the destructive mechanisms at play.

A basic underlying ideology supporting this capitalist system of oppressing other animals is anthropocentrism, which provides ground for ideas and practices of human exceptionalism and dominance by upholding a rigid and value-laden human-nonhuman animal dichotomy (Calarco 2014; Sayers 2014). In the case of "dairy" farming, the current human-bovine relation grants humans absolute value and constructs bovines as subordinate, and thus objectifiable and exploitable beings whose existence is primarily thought to fulfill the specific purpose of providing food for human consumption (Adams 1997). This conception of the cow is defined through the anthropocentric idea that bovines lack certain (human) attributes that would grant them a higher standing, and it ultimately disregards their individuality and their own interest in life. As a result, bovines are commonly described with characteristics that define a cow's purpose of existence only through the "products" they are made to produce (Adams 1997). This objectification of the cow as a living "milk machine" is thus a product of the human/animal and subject/object binary, enabling the practical objectification of bovines, as we see ourselves as superior.

The capitalist system teaches us to put our individual interests, fulfilled by commodities, at the center of interest, making us competitive between one another and complacent to the political agenda imposing such a system. This leads to alienation, which creates a disorienting sense of exclusion and separation from ourselves, Others, and the end products that we buy (Buzby 2015; Sayers 2014). The capitalist mode of production has led us to be especially violent and oppressive toward other animals and to fetishize them as commodities (Sayers 2014). This is because we are so detached from the products that we buy that we conveniently accept the view that other animals' reason for existence is to serve as mere resources for the products available for human consumption. As Amy Buzby (2015, 36) puts it, "The body of the non-human animal is branded, mutilated, and eventually slaughtered as a means to maximize both technical control over laboring inputs and the profit to be extracted from them: the body of the pig or cow must be subjected fully to the will of capital and divorced from any value independent of the sum of its 'useful' parts."

Following this "will of capital," other animals are stripped of their individuality and subjecthood in order to be framed as profitable production units. To further explain how such processes of objectification and alienation are enabled, Carol Adams exemplifies the role of "mass terms" such as "milk" or "meat," which are used to describe seemingly abundant *things*, thereby turning individual beings into uniform, generally definable products (Adams 1997). She refers to this process of alienation as the "deontologization" of other animals, which could be translated according to this line of thought: "someone violates, exploits, and enslaves cows so that I can take their milk to produce dairy products" becomes "cows are used for dairy production," then "dairy comes from cows" and "cows are for dairy" and finally "dairy cow," thus "dairy," "milk," "cheese" (Adams 1997). This illustrates how current oppressive ontologies about subordinate beings proclaim and justify their exploitation through devaluing and stigmatizing them to the extent that their subordinate roles serve as evidence that their subordination is justified (Adams 1997. In the case of farmed bovines, this means that cows' degradation has become so internalized and normalized in our ontology of "cow" that the issue of their exploitation and abuse can even be framed as its complete opposite—ethical and compassionate, as is the case in common projections of "happy cows" or "humane meat/milk," produced via "humane slaughter."

Foundational to the development of such welfarist exploitation is the normalization of the commodification of cows oppressed in the "dairy" industry. Asking "dairy" farmers to describe their daily work with the cows has provided insight into how they construct their relations to the cows by unfolding common ways of categorizing and classifying bovines. Referred to as "cow identity" in Arla's quality report *Arlagården* (Arla 2016b, 14), bovines are described with various changing labels that identify their current place and role in the production cycle. Outlining this categorization of cows' exploitation shows how labels are used to mark the various stages of defining their objectification and possibility of exploitation while being alive, until they receive their last label, destining them to be turned into "meat." At birth, the biological sex of a calf determines how he or she will be valorized and treated. If a calf is female (*kvigkalv*), she will likely be kept at the farm to be raised for "dairy" production. If a calf is a male "bobby calf" (*tjurkalv*), however, he will be sold off as surplus product to be raised at a "meat farm" and to be killed later for his flesh. The difference of biological sex is thus used as the distinguisher to construct the economic use value of farmed bovines.

Female bovines held at the farm are once again categorized into different areas of use. To raise newborn calves, some farmers use "foster cows" (*amkor*), who are kept with several calves in order to feed them for up to three months. Other farmers instead keep the calves in groups, or separately in crates, and bucket-feed them either fresh cow's milk or a milk powder replacement. Growing up, a female bovine is called a "heifer" (*kviga*) to demarcate the phase of preproduction in which she is supposed to grow and develop physical features deemed appropriate for several pregnancies and prolonged periods of lactation. "Heifers" are also referred to as the "recruitment" (*rekrytering*) of the farm and will be impregnated at around 15 months of age (Arla 2016b). If their body does not develop to desired standards or the first pregnancy, delivery, or offspring is not perceived as effective or useful enough, she will be sold off to the slaughterhouse and killed as soon as her lactation declines.

Whenever asking the respondents how many bovines they have on the farm, they first only referred to those categorized as "dairy cows" (*mjölkko*). A female bovine was therewith not considered a "cow" or "dairy cow" before she produces milk, which she needs to give birth (Arla 2016b). Some of the interviewed farmers started counting a cow's age only from that point onward, so that when asked about a cow's age, they referred to her "time of use" first, and then adding the time prior to that. This objectifies the cow as means to an end and disregards her individuality. Also, it underlines the centrality of milking as the central purpose of the practice, as everything that happens before, aside, or after the process of taking her milk is portrayed as secondary or side production. Cows' bodily features and abilities are thus used as distinguishers to construct certain bovines as profitable means for "dairy" production and consumption. Some of the farmers whom I interviewed claimed to cross-breed the animals using a "milk-breed" and a "meat-breed" to produce bovines with features deemed useful and profitable for "surplus animals." That way, those cows reared to a certain age but deemed unsuitable for giving birth and producing milk, or those considered as declining in health or production, are then referred to as "cull cow" (*slakteko*), to be killed at the slaughterhouse.

The exploitation of cows exploited for "dairy" production thus emerges through selecting certain features that are controlled by humans, with the primary objective to accumulate profit by using her bodily functions as entities of production. The allocation of specific categorized terms constructing a "cow's identity" in "dairy" production serves to deindividualize and objectify exploit individuals by viewing them only in terms of their constructed use value for capitalist production measures, implying that all individuals within a certain group share the same set of characteristics (Joy 2010). To write off the individuality of subjects, the relation at play is constructed as "us versus them" by subordinating bovines through referring to their species as a legitimate denominator excusing their exploitation. In addition to taking cows' species difference as a baseline justification to be in the service of humans, the everyday human-nonhuman animal relation of farmer and cows is shaped by processes of valorizing further social differences to categorize farmed cows as either "good" or "bad." Cows are chosen to fulfill the natured characteristics of good "milk" and "meat" producers framed with gendered characteristics of fulfilling feminine stereotypes and temperaments of prosperous, selfless, and passive mothers (Cudworth 2008, 39).

When asking interviewees about their relation to the cows, most framed their response in ways that described the varied characters of the cows to differentiate how that affects the daily work of the farmer or whether a cow "functions well." The question of whether the relationship was good or bad thus depended on the cows' behavior and whether she complied well to the terms set by the farmer, as well as how her body functioned biologically. To give one example (interview; author translation):

> I also like if the cow milks a lot so that it . . . well . . . it links up after all, with the job, that when a cow that milks a lot, or a cow that milks badly or a cow that calves poorly or has bad feet [. . .] then it is better to slaughter her. Well, if we wouldn't have done that then one would have been in conflict with it

> all, but dairy cows are standing for 56% of all beef, so I do not see it as something terrible. [. . .] And whether you like her or not . . . cows are very individual. [. . .] They have personalities, that's how it is. So even if one is . . . or if there is one that you like a lot . . . so if you know she works fine to inseminate and such . . . then you know that she will calve a fourth time. And it's much more fun with those cows. Because with those you have a relationship in a completely different way so, yes.[4]

As can be seen in this account of a farmer, the cow whom he is referring to here is described in a generalized manner and is effectively removed from the production process. Doing so emphasizes the objectives and steps of production in a seemingly rational way and desensitizes those in a "superior" position from the fact that farmed cows are treated like objects (Joy 2010). The process of categorizing farmed cows as deindividualized objects is thus made possible by organizing their "usefulness" into binaries. A bovine's character and identity seemed to be constructed through frames of either good/useful or bad/useless for "dairy" production (interviews). All respondents described cows as having different personalities and tempers, which were said to show through either being shy and avoiding or by coming closer to initiate contact with the farmers, which was often described as "cuddly" (interviews).

Criteria for a "good cow" given by the informants included that they should be tame, curious, calm, and cooperative. This reflects connotations of femininity (e.g., Adams 1993; Cudworth 2008; Otomo 2015), which are used to frame useful (i.e., economically profitable) prerequisites. A further criterion that was emphasized by several farmers was that cows should "have a good udder," which should be of the right size, "not too saggy," and in the right place, and many stated that they identify and recognize individual cows by their udders (interviews). This illustrates the materialization of cows' bodies as means of production, leading to a cow slowly being taken out of the production process in such a way that she is no longer the agent of production, but instead "a static object through which the milk passes—or even less, as simply a risk factor for profit margins" (Otomo 2015, 223). Another criterion for a "good cow to work with," which some respondents then referred to as "functioning cow" (*fungerade ko*) or "sustainable cow" (*hållbar ko*), was that her milk yields are high, she gets pregnant easily, and that she has a good overall physique with strong hoofs and legs so that she "lasts long".

A "bad cow," on the other hand, was described as one that does not function properly because she is "stupid" and "stubborn," "does not react to signals," kicks, or is "mean" to humans or to other cows (interviews). Examining how farmed cows are conceptualized and described illustrates how "from conception until death, the lives of these animals are shaped by their location as potential food" (Cudworth 2008, 33). While such providence is rather straightforward in animals farmed for their flesh, female bovines used in the "dairy" industry are also exploited throughout their lifetime, commodifying the biological process of reproduction, which is then presented as "natural" to normalize the aspect of human control.

Measures of excluding and exploiting farmed bovines follow similar logic as those facilitating the Othering of marginalized human groups by perpetuating gendered, sexist, and ableist ideas to establish hierarchies. The results of the interviews reveal that farmed bovines are hierarchically ordered in accordance to social differences valorizing their age, sex, perceived personality and behavior, and how well their bodies serve production goals. While economic use value builds on the objectification of farmed cows, the farmers interacting with them on a daily basis recognize them as individuals with their own personalities, but they present the cows' subjecthood through the overall speciesist and capitalist framework favoring production. This exemplifies our inconsistent attitudes and behaviors toward other animals, which is so entrenched and normalized that it is unquestioned (Joy 2010). The following part illustrates how difficult it can be to describe this inconsistent and contradicting relation of seeing other animals as individuals but subjugating them as lesser, objectified beings. Doing so undermines the agency of other animals.

PART II: COWS AS "WORKERS": DEPOLITICIZING EXPLOITATION

Part I of this chapter outlined how anthropocentric ideas about bovines allow humans to subordinate them by categorizing the essence of their existence into different "identities" or "jobs" in "dairy" production in order to reflect some ascribed economic use value. Such thinking about other animals leads to the anthromorphization, or humanization, of other beings, as they are measured and valued or devalued by the standards and ideological constructs that serve us as humans (Calarco 2014). While the abovementioned categories of "cow identities" reflect anthropomorphic depictions of cows though the use of labels that are similar to those used to describe a job title, the issues discussed here go deeper into the common framing of the cow as a "worker" in the "dairy" industry. In this part of the discussion, I aim to show that such normalizations of bovines' exploitation and the generally positively highlighted images about cow's milk are disconnected from the female labor that produces it, which is why "the question of *who* controls the circulation of (*whose*) milk in our economies, and *how*, is a deeply political one" (Otomo 2015, 227; emphasis in original).

Stevens, Kearney, and Maclaran (2013) researched humanized images of cows in advertising to see how such depictions reinforce oppressive gender ideologies. They found that anthropomorphic depictions of cows prevent the viewer from perceiving cows as oppressed, while subliminally underlining their differences from human animals (Stevens et al. 2013). Through anthropomorphizing the cows, they are seemingly brought closer to humans to suggest that cows happily share their abundant supply of milk with humans (Stevens et al. 2013). The effect of such marketing strategies is a reinforcement of anthropocentric ideology by fostering beliefs that normalize human domination over nature, objectifying and feminizing cows, and generally intensifying our disconnect from other animals (Stevens et al. 2013).

One example of such anthropomorphic advertising are Arla's commercials titled *"Bregottfabriken,"* a word created by combining "Bregott," the name of the advertised butter spread, and "fabriken," which is Swedish for "factory." In one of the commercials, cows are depicted as happy shift workers checking in and out of their wide green pastures, suggesting that their "job" is to be outside eating grass and producing milk for human consumption and simultaneously keeping Sweden's landscape open (YouTube 2016a). This depiction of cow's "purpose" and value thus plays into the invested interest of the "dairy" industry to promote the idea of Swedish added value of "dairy" production.

Variations of such advertisements are presented on television and social media year round, always showing cows in summer pastures and depicting them with feminized stereotypes. One photograph depicts a group of cows standing, heads together in a circle, with the title "Girl's Talk at Bregott-fabriken" and hashtags such as "girl's dinner," "girl power," "girls have the most fun," "bull free," and "cow gossip" (Instagram 2016). Such sexist and speciesist marketing reinforces notions about cows as "Other" because depicting them with human traits serves to subliminally reinforce that they are different from us, further legitimizing their subordination to human control (Stevens et al. 2013). The purpose of such advertising is thus to strengthen the idea of bovines being "food animals," which serves to rule out any possibility of inclusion or solidarity by constructing them as fundamentally different from us. The highlighted difference of species is thus used to legitimize the subordination and objectification of other animals.

A key element of this process of exclusion is to diminish the Others' agency, in order to then construct one's own agency and subjectivity as overriding. Hribal (2007, 102) states that "agency refers to the minorities' ability to influence their own lives—i.e. the ability of the cow to influence and guide her own life." Hribal distinguishes between two perspectives of viewing subordinate groups: from above and from below. Cows are thus viewed from above because they are not believed to possess independent agency or have collective rights or value outside the frames that define them as serviceable to humans (Hribal 2007). This is because, according to Hribal (2007, 102):

> The animals are not seen as agents. They are not active, as laborers, prisoners, or resistors. Rather, the animals are presented as static characters that have, over time, been used, displayed, and abused by humans. They emerge as objects—empty of any real substance.

Laborers, prisoners, and resistors are agents situated in social practices and structures in which they participate or that are imposed upon them. Farmed bovines are not commonly described as "prisoners" or "resistors" because doing so would inadvertently admit that they are active beings who are subjugated and captivated in a human-controlled system. This does not mean that cows do not resist. As mentioned earlier, common depictions of "bad cows" are used to refer to those who kick, refuse to follow directives, or are otherwise obstructing the farmer's idea of how a cow is supposed to behave. Since cows' agency to act against structures and practices imposed on them are seen as an obstacle to a smooth workflow, a potential danger to humans, and an impeding factor to profit margins (interviews), their acts of resistance may have dire consequences (interview; author translation):

> But we have a cow that is small, and besides . . . she does not function in the robot, as she moves constantly back and forth. And then the robot cannot find the teats. Also, she kicks all the time. So she must be taken manually. So I have to go there and hang on [the milking machine]. [. . .] But she will not stay [here]. That cow goes to slaughter after all. One or another of those you can have but you do not want to have too many because after all, the entire system is based on functionality.[5]

The question is therefore not *if* cows have agency. Their observable behavior shows that they do, as illustrated in the previous example, where a cow uses her smaller body size to try to avoid being milked. A robotic milking machine is built as a cage enclosing the cow's body after she is lured into it with food. Not providing much space to move, a cow usually has no choice but to stand still so that the machine can clean her teats and attach the milking cups.

If cows did not have the ability to influence their lives and interact with their environment, the animal industrial complex would not have to design confining stables and cages or subject them to practices such as dehorning, forced impregnation, and separation from their offspring. If farmed animals were really the happy servants that we like to view them as, those methods of coercion, manipulation, and abuse would not be necessary (Cole 2011). However, it is important that the agency of farmed animals is not only equated with resistance, because it risks anthropomorphizing other animals and disregards the idea that they are not only able to block and resist human control, but also to allow it and cooperate with it (Pearson 2015). Compliance to oppressing conditions still depends on the oppressed to follow orders, even though these acts of compliance are enforced or highly controlled.

The crucial point is that the level of control is so extensive, invasive, and incapacitating that farmed animals have not much choice to behave in ways that they would if they were not subjugated to serve as embodiments of living resources. Emphasis is thus not put on the social system framing bovines as resources, but on the already-taken-for-granted belief that cows exist to be farmed (Adams 1997). Cows can then be constructed as having *some* degree of subjectivity or agency—although of a lesser quality than that of humans—again reinforcing human superiority while simultaneously expressing some form of regard for the animals' subjective experience. This way of reading, then, invites welfarist ideas of supposedly "humane" farming.

An example of this reasoning can be seen when implying some form of agency to farmed bovines when they are depicted as "workers." While some believe that describing farmed bovines as "workers" is somehow acknowledging them (Porcher and Schmitt 2012), it is important to emphasize that doing so depoliticizes the fact that farmed bovines are forced to perform what we then frame as reproductive labor done for humans to make a profit. Porcher and Schmitt (2012) rightly argue that cows are agents who have subjective investment in their lives, but I disagree that calling farmed cows "workers" does them any service. The "subjective investment" that Porcher and Schmitt observed in cows' behavior shows that cows use their agency to influence interactions with other cows, the farmer, and the milking robot in various ways. While intending to frame farmed bovines as subjects who need to be recognized as active participants in "dairy" farming, their conclusion is not critical of cows' subjugation to human rule as such, and instead depicts cows' agency through an anthropomorphic and welfarist lens.

Describing the total exploitation of cow's lives, bodies, and reproductive abilities as their "work" ignores that their sphere of production and reproduction is one and the same (Adams 1997; Noske 1989). They cannot decide not to "work," as their oppression is predetermined by their being defined and treated as means of production. Depictions of cows as "workers," therefore, does the opposite of recognizing them; instead, it reinforces the idea that human subjectivity is of some higher order and therefore should be privileged over the conceptions of lesser subjectivity of farmed cows. An even more critical account is presented in Holloway (2007), which states that the coproduction of farmed bovines' subjectivities and the development of automatic milking technology show that cows' objectification is framed through granting them some degree of subjectivity. Claiming that cows have *some* degree of subjectivity still implies that they are not full subjects, which makes their use as units of production in the food industry more justifiable. At the same time, framing cows as holding some degree of subjectivity also implies that we humans can legitimately subordinate cows because we believe that we have a higher degree of subjectivity.

If we granted other animals at least some degree of subjectivity and did not think of cows as purely inanimate objects, we would need to lie to ourselves even more to cognitively disassociate from recognizing their feelings and their own interest in life (Joy 2010). Regardless of some measurable knowledge of proof of other animals' subjectivity, granting them some inferior form of subjectivity shows that taking it away completely would be inconsistent because we are well aware of their subjecthood; otherwise, we would not be able to form mutual bonds and relations (Joy 2010). Recognizing some form of subjecthood, moreover, allows the connection of welfarist ideology to farming practices, which reinforces species difference and human superiority even more, as it does not require us to question our relation to other animals to a degree that would reduce human privilege. Such anthropocentric and speciesist ideologies thus naturalize and depoliticize that using other animals as food is a culturally and politically motivated practice that we chose to nurture human privilege and to generate profit.

Part III, next, returns to the issue of the Swedish "milk crisis," using it to demonstrate that the outlined constructions of other animals as "food producers" and "food products," as well as the welfarist ideas promoting such framings, are interrelated and moreover strengthen other violent ideologies. This allows the elaboration of how broader, interrelated sets of meanings, ideas, and practices, such as animal welfarism, are established to uphold the oppression of other animals motivated and shaped by capitalist principles.

PART III: "PRO-ANIMAL" WELFARE IDEOLOGY IN ROMANTICIZED SWEDISH "DAIRY" FARMING

The "milk crisis" in Sweden is said to exist not only because of low cow's milk prices, overproduction, and shifting demand, but also because of the Swedish added value of welfarist "dairy" farming, resulting in higher costs of production than in other European countries (Arla 2016c; Jordbruksverket 2016). Welfarist ideology follows simple and seemingly logical claims to reassure the public of the ethical use of other animals in agriculture. The "dairy" firm Skånemejerier, for instance, claims: "If the cows feel good, the milk is good, too"[6] (Kohalsa.se 2016).

Reassuring the public of farmed cows' well-being, as demonstrated by some measurement of the quality of their milk, can be understood as commonsensical by a consumer who believes in the legitimacy and necessity of using other animals for the production of food—after all, “milk” is perceived as the reason that cows exist. Skånemejerier recently publicized the result of a survey demonstrating that consumers perceive nonhuman animal welfare as the most important aspect of sustainable “dairy” production (Mynewsdesk 2016). Stressing that farmed bovines are healthy and well is thus a powerful tool for marketing “dairy” as a product. The Arla “dairy” similarly states: “[A] happy cow produces more and better quality milk. Happy Cows = Healthy Cows = Better Milk” (Arla 2016d). A video titled “We Care for Our Cows” states (Arla 2016d):

> Arla cows are happy cows. Well, how do you know that, you may ask. Do you speak cow? Well, it’s actually quite easy. We know from the quantity and quality of our milk. Happy cows produce more milk, and it’s better quality. And that’s why we look after our cows and treat them individually. [. . .] They each have personal records to see that they are doing well and producing the best quality milk. [. . .] All the cows get a daily check as part of their quality and welfare routine. Now that’s a happy cow! Dairy farming takes dedication. And a real passion for milk! And just as you’d expect, our farmers always give their cows the best treatment. Next time you take an Arla product from your fridge, give a thought to the happy, healthy cows who made it possible. [. . .].

Overemphasizing nonhuman animal welfare routines is, therefore, a successful marketing strategy that the industry uses for its benefit. The mention of cows’ “personal records” is actually the total system of tracking every aspect of the cow’s life that is relevant to increasing milk yields. Such descriptions of some of the farming methods gives consumers distorted ideas about daily production routines and reassurance about the good intentions of farmers and “dairy” firms. The repeated emphasis on “happy cows,” paired with the sense of simplicity with which the statement is made, speaks to consumers in a way that allows them to continue going about their usual consumption habits without having to think about the real circumstances through which “their” products were made available.

Judging beings’ happiness, as difficult and problematic as that may be, by measuring the quantity and quality of the products that they produce is nonsensical. That we are made to believe in such statements is a sign of our alienation to those who produce the products that we buy (in this case, bovines oppressed in the “dairy” industry). The promotion of “happy cows” is there with nothing more than a fetishization of the commodity that they are forced to produce (Sayers 2014). Farmed cows are overbred and virtually “designed” to produce high quantities of milk; measuring the amount of milk that they produce is thus to measure their biological functions, which are manipulated by humans (Cudworth 2008). Also, the only “happy life" activities of cows presented to consumers are lying down, eating, and drinking. Such a description reinforces ideas about cows as passive and describe only the bare minimum of behaviors granted to cows held in a stable. This keeps the idea of the cow as a resource for "dairy" production intact, as it describes their behavior as limited to "produce" only. Depicting "dairy" farming in such a fractured manner and presenting bovine behavior only in the frames of "dairy" production reinforce the idea of the cow as a resource for human consumption and therewith depoliticize the dominating process to leave it unquestioned.

In addition to the prominent "happy cow" logic as a guarantee for high-quality "dairy" products and an insurance for the cows' welfare, the Swedish "dairy" lobby is arguing for the added value of Swedish "dairy" production, seeking to uphold "dairy" farming as a crucial social and cultural practice. "Dairy" farming did play a crucial role in facilitating economic and political development in Sweden, and it is now deeply rooted in Swedish tradition and culture (Jönsson 2005). LRF Dairy has the mandate to lobby for Swedish "dairy" businesses by upholding a positive image of cow's milk as a food product and to function as a hub for industrial collaboration (LRF 2016b). To do so, they published a video stressing the vital importance of preserving Swedish "dairy" farming. The video starts by showing animated pictures of a smiling farmer and a cow wearing a winner's medal. The narration of the video reads (YouTube 2016b; author translation):

> Swedish milk production is the most sustainable in the world. We have healthy cows that are treated well and produce milk and meat of the highest quality. Milk production is the very motor of Swedish agriculture. So if milk production disappears, our meat production and cultivation also decline. And then we get even fewer jobs, less of an open landscape, and less biodiversity. In Sweden, we have high demands on sustainability and animal agriculture. That means that farmers have higher costs than other farmers in Europe. But the payment for milk is the same. That makes it extra tough for farmers in Sweden. So tough that five dairy farmers have to shut down [their business] every week. If we continue on this path, we soon have no dairy farmers left in Sweden. Swedish milk production is the backbone of Swedish agriculture. Do you want Swedish dairy products, open landscapes, jobs in the entire country, and sustainable Swedish food production? [. . .].[7]

Presenting milk production as the "backbone" and "motor of Swedish agriculture" of Swedish food production and as a vital part of a functioning society is done by key actors in the "dairy" industry, lobby organizations, and governmental bodies (YouTube 2016b; Kohalsa.se 2016; Jordbruksverket 2016). The problem of the "milk crisis" is thus rooted in the workings of the economic system and on related Swedish welfarist values of how to produce "dairy" products, which is said to affect the entire

Swedish agricultural system. Farming bovines, therefore, is presented as necessary to uphold the entire sector of Swedish agricultural production, which attaches enormous importance to it because being able to produce food on the national level connotes a sense of independence and self-reliance. Through using notions of national values and consciousness, the discourse of the "milk crisis" is utilized to implicitly represent notions of Swedish identity as framed through "dairy" production measures being superior to those of other nations. This construction of Swedish identity can be explained through the abstraction of two groups of subordinated Others.

First, cows are subordinated as they are conceptualized through images of reproduction, prosperity, generosity, and motherhood (Stevens et al. 2013), connoting passive and exploitative femininity and naturalness. Their exploitation is first and foremost motivated by their species difference, but the production of "dairy" relies on the exploitation of the reproductive abilities of certain female bovines, as outlined in Part I of this chapter. Already "spent" females, those with unprofitable features, and male bovines are exploited due to other human-identified differences and turned into "meat." With Swedish discourse attaching such societal and cultural importance to the welfarist treatment of bovines, one could claim that the "dairy cow" is romanticized and symbolizes some other-than-human version of the female personification of Sweden, Mother Svea. This bovine Mother Svea upholds the metaphor of the Swedish *folkhemmet* ("people's home") through her seemingly selfless act of giving her bodily fluids to feed humans, generate jobs, and contribute to a balance of industrial progress and naturalness, all constituting important values of Swedish identity.

This first abstraction of the cow as Other proclaims the romanticized belief in welfarist society as finding the popular *lagom* Swedish "middle way" (here, between socialism and capitalism), as "pro-animal" welfarist farming measures are promoted to provide an abundance of resources without causing harm to human health or the environment, or making the farmed bovines suffer. The glorification of the Swedish "dairy cow" thus serves to legitimize the farming of bovines and strengthens trust in the Swedish welfare state.

The second process of Othering, following from this abstraction of Swedish values as superior, can be seen in the implicit ways of how Swedish "dairy" production measures are weighed against those of other nations. Swedish "dairy" farmers are represented with high social values for national agriculture, "pro-animal" welfare, and environmental sustainability, but are said not to earn enough money because farmers in other countries with supposedly less regard for such values are able to sell cow's milk for lower prices. This sense of competition driven by the capitalist market thus serves to abstract Swedish production and beliefs in "pro-animal" welfare laws against those nations and "dairy" farmers who are presented to follow the "plain rules of profit." The insertion of ideology deemed superior to other "dairy"-producing countries, therefore, adds further ground for devaluation through the definition of generalizations, stereotypes, and prejudices about the Other "dairy" producers. Through reiteration and institutionalization of these "logics of power," they become normalized as everyday morality (Nibert 2002), which is articulated in the various "milk crises" of "dairy"-producing nations. This rationale of devaluation is similar to the "happy cow" argument in the sense that it proclaims to cure a system (in this case, capitalist expansion and the resulting outsourcing of production) with oppressive ideology already instrumentalized by the system itself.

Connecting these systems of social exclusion to wider discourses of domination shows that economic consequences of the Swedish "milk crisis" are the result of the very logic that upholds the farming of other animals in the animal-industrial complex. They uphold the logic of modern capitalism and the new global economy. The capitalist drive to achieve the highest possible profit margin requires an intensification of farming methods, which does not always pair up with "pro-animal" welfare values or any other values pushed for in the Swedish added value argument. Looking at the issue of the Swedish "milk crisis" by paying attention to the situation of farmed bovines shows that current relations between humans and other animals play a vital role in upholding dominant power structures by reinforcing beliefs in that this is just "how things are."

What this shows is that the violent logic seeking to legitimize the oppression of other animals is following the same rationales as those driving the oppression of human Others, be they Swedish "dairy" farmers, who lose their business to enterprises in other countries, or marginalized groups of humans suffering from structural inequalities created through vast disparities in the global distribution of wealth. The oppression of other animals is therewith a very real material precondition for the fulfillment of privileges that humans grant themselves.

CONCLUSION

Cow's milk is commonly promoted as natural, local, and nutritious food that plays a positive role in Swedish culture, human health, agriculture, and the environment. This notion of centralizing "dairy" production in an industry resting on the exploitation of other animals' lives and reproductive ability intersects with value-laden symbolism commonly attached to ideas of subordinating nonhuman animality and femininity in general, and bovine femininity in particular. The example of the Swedish "milk crisis" and related "pro-animal" welfarist ideology illustrates the key role of capitalism as the driving force of interrelated forms of oppression, inextricably linking the oppression of humans and other animals (e.g., Nibert 2002; Taylor and Twine 2014).

The main focal points to highlight bovine oppression in the "dairy" industry, therefore, were its implicit constructions and treatment of farmed cows as means of production to accumulate profit, as well as attached and cultivated notions of a distinct "pro-animal" welfare ideology, serving as a marketing strategy and a bearer for Swedish identity construction. Interviews with "dairy" farmers showed how farmed bovines are categorized according to human-identified and valorized social differences, such as the cows' age, sex, bodily physique and function, personality, and behavior in order to determine their economic use value to produce "dairy" and "meat." Since subjugating and framing fellow living beings to serve as resources requires legitimation of the domination, the relations that farmers have to the cows were framed by value-hierarchical binaries organized according to the usefulness that could be attached to their existence. Abstracting these framings with a discussion of the conceptions of bovine subjectivity and agency, with the example of viewing cows as "workers," illustrates that granting them some lesser degree of subjecthood allows the perpetuation of human privilege and furthermore introduces welfarist ideology as well. Speciesist beliefs facilitating welfarist claims resemble and incorporate exclusionary beliefs of Swedish identity as superior, which does nothing for the individuals dominated and abused in the "dairy" industry. Holding on to romanticized images of idyllic Swedish "dairy" farming, therefore, is not a solution to the real issues of sustainable food production, which would necessitate a cessation of farming other animals. The *real* crisis underlying the Swedish "milk crisis" is that the focus on human-centered ideology and consumption habits does little or nothing to address the corporate system of institutionalized oppression.

NOTES

1. Att vara mjölkbonde idag innebär utmaningar som är svåra att föreställa sig för den som inte själv står där varje morgon. Med kor som är friska och glada, och producerar fantastisk svensk mjölk, men inte har en aning om hur olönsamma de är.

2. Seven interviews were conducted with "dairy" farmers, which were for practical reasons all located in the county of Skåne. The selection of respondents occurred in different methods and was initiated in a joint project. Through absolving an academic internship, the author assisted Dr. Tobias Linné from the

Department of Media and Communication at Lund University. The joint research project problematized the exploitation of bovines from a Critical Animal Studies perspective and critically scrutinized the rhetoric and representations of "pro-animal" welfarism in the Swedish "dairy" industry, during which the author's tasks were to conduct an extensive literature review and to assist with conducting qualitative interviews. During the academic internship, during which two interviews were conducted, we relied on contacts that Linné had from previous studies on the topic of annual pasture releases of "dairy" cows. During the author's individual work for her master's thesis, on which this chapter is based, Linné initially functioned as the gatekeeper to some of the interviews. Most informants were found through web searches, and they included farmers who either had personal or organizational websites, were presented in the media, or who were listed on the "dairies'" websites. Further on in the interviewing process, the author received contact details for further possible informants from one interviewee, which led to one conducted interview.

3. Arla Foods is a global "dairy" cooperation owned by nearly 13,500 "dairy" farmers in seven European countries (Arla 2016b). Arla is the largest "dairy" producer in Sweden, while the Skånemejerier "dairy" predominates in Sweden's southernmost region of Skåne, with approximately 400 delivering farmers (skånemejerier.se 2016).

4. "Jag gillar också när kon mjölka mycket så att den . . . ja . . . det hänger ju ihop detta, med jobbet, att när en ko som mjölka mycket, eller en ko som mjölka dålig eller en ko som kalvar dålig eller har för dåliga fötter [. . .] då är det bättre att man slaktar henne. Alltså hade vi inte gjort det så hade man ju varit i konflikt med allting, men mjölkkorna står ju för 56% av allt nötkött, så det är ju . . . så jag ser inte det som någonting hemskt. [. . .] Och om man tycker om henne eller inte . . . korna är väldigt individuellt. [. . .] Dem har personligheter, det är ju så. Så att även om en är . . . eller om det är en som man gilla mycket . . . så om man vet att hon funkar bra att semineras och så . . . då vet man att hon kommer kalvar en fjärde gång. Och det är mycket roligare med dem här korna. För att dem har man en relation till på ett helt annat sätt så, ja."

5. "Men vi har någon ko som är liten, och dessutom . . . hon fungera inte i roboten, alltså hon rör sig hela tiden fram och tillbaka. Och då hitta han [roboten] ju inte spenarna. Dessutom så sparkar hon hela tiden. Så att henne får man ta manuellt. Så får jag gå dit och hänga på [mjölkmaskinen]. [. . .] Men hon kommer ju inte blir kvar. Den går till slakt den kon ju. En annan son kan man ju ha men man vill ju inte ha för många för hela systemet bygger ju på att det ska fungera."

6. Mår korna bra, blir också mjölken bra.

7. Svensk mjölkproduktion är världens mest hållbara. Vi har friska kor som behandlas väl och producera mjölk och kött av högsta kvalité. Mjölkproduktionen är själva motorn i det svenska lantbruket. Så om mjölkproduktionen försvinner, så decimeras också vår köttproduktion och odling. Och då får vi även färre arbetstillfällen, mindre öppna landskap, och mindre biologiskt mångfald. I Sverige ställer vi höga krav på hållbarhet och djurhållning. Vilket innebär att bönderna har högre kostnader än andra bönder i Europa. Men betalningen för mjölken är densamma.

Det gör det extra tufft för bönderna i Sverige. Så pass tufft att fem mjölkbönder lägger ner varje vecka. Fortsätter vi på den här vägen har vi snart inga mjölkbönder kvar i Sverige. Svensk mjölkproduktion är den svenska lantbrukets ryggrad. Vill du ha svenska mjölkprodukter, öppna landskap, jobbtillfällen i hela landet och en hållbar svensk matproduktion? Skriv på för mjölken på www.lrf.se/formjolken.

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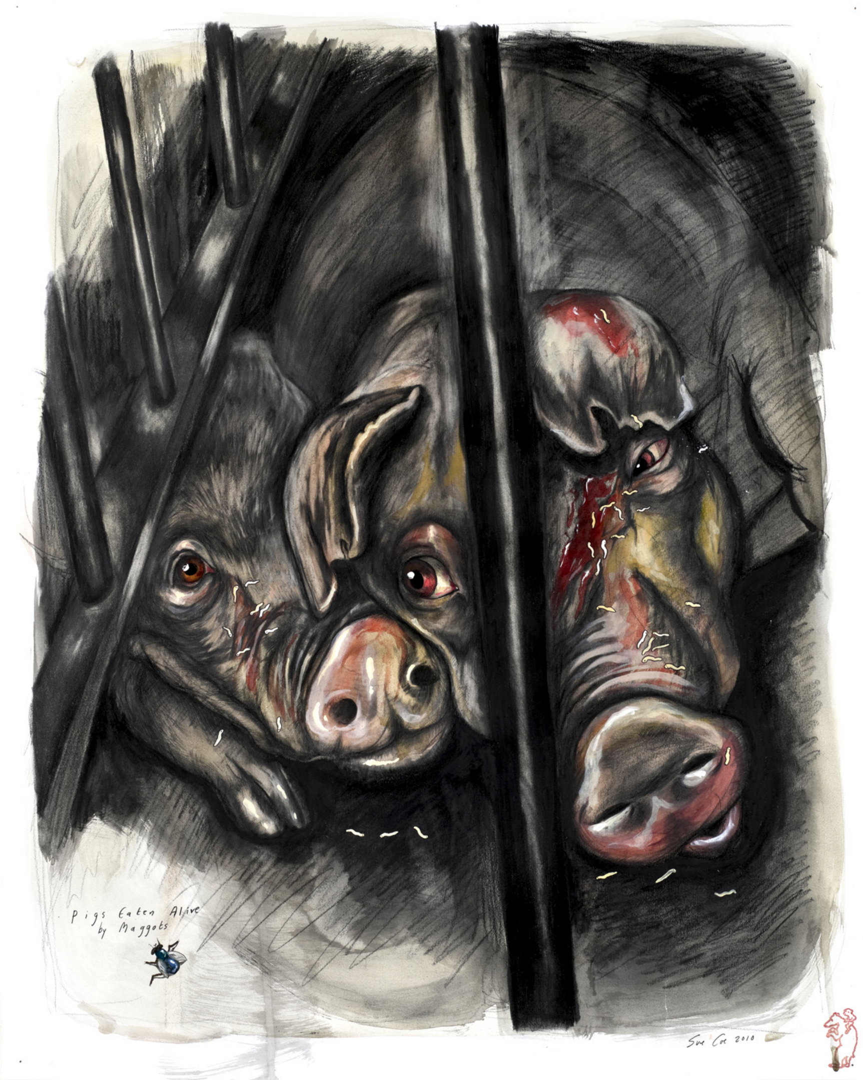
Pigs Eaten Alive
by Maggots
Sue Coe 2010

Maggots Crated. (Copyright © 2010 Sue Coe. Courtesy Galerie St. Etienne, NY)

4

“The Problem Is Not the People, It’s the System”: The Canadian Animal-Industrial Complex

Tracey Harris

INTRODUCTION

As an undergraduate student each summer I worked at an agricultural college in my hometown. For several summers, I worked for the soil research department, where I took soil samples from local farms to help the landowners access and combat erosion. Several of the farms that I visited were family-run “dairy” farms. As my colleagues and I worked in the fields, taking core samples and running soil density and absorption tests, the cows grazed alongside us. I remember that one day a particularly friendly cow came up behind me as I worked in the field and licked the back of my neck. When I spoke to the farmer about her afterward, he knew exactly whom I was referring to, as he seemed to know the individual characteristics and personalities of each cow. This was a family-run operation with a few dozen cows. They grazed outside in the fields and came back to the barn by themselves when it was time to be milked. This experience became my understanding of farming. I thought that all farms looked like this—rolling pastures, a pretty red barn, a farmer who took an individual interest in each of his cows. Fast forward half a dozen years, to when I started researching the complex relationship between humans and other animals. Part of this examination involved delving deeper into how humans have created a story that allows them to see other animals as food. What I discovered was that the animal-industrial complex (A-IC), including factory farms, transportation systems, and slaughter facilities, looks nothing like my experience on a small family farm, and that even my experience only tells part of the story.

It is often said that if slaughterhouses had glass walls, everyone would be a vegetarian. After researching this topic for many years, I feel quite confident that we could modify this to include the animal industrial complex, which includes factory farms, as well as the transportation system that transfers nonhuman animals from the farm to the slaughter facility.[1] Factory farms, or Concentrated Animal Feeding Operations (CAFOs), are nonhuman animal–based agriculture that takes place on a large industrial scale, where nonhuman animals are often kept indoors and are crowded together to increase economic efficiencies. Much like the changes that happened to food production and consumption with the advent of processed food and the fast food system (Ritzer 2015), animals under this system are grown faster, in less space, and with most of their natural tendencies constricted or ignored (Noske 1997). Once they are the required size for slaughter, or when nonhuman animals from the "dairy" or chicken-egg industry are considered spent, they are transported en masse to slaughter facilities. They are often transported under crowded conditions, over long distances, in all weather conditions. This system of nonhuman animal production looks nothing like the family farm from my youth or perhaps your personal experience with a family farm. Rather than nonhuman animals living outside in pastures, as most people imagine, operations are most often moved inside, where nonhuman animals are warehoused and treated very much like any other consumer product.

Industrialized farming practices are now common around the world and have serious and negative implications for other animals, human health and well-being, worker health and safety, and the environment. Nonhuman animals are treated like products under this system. That means that their natural instincts are thwarted and suffering is commonplace. Under this system, nonhuman animals are alienated or disconnected from their own bodies and bodily functions, each other, and nature (Noske 1997, 15). In rich nations around the world, we now have a situation where processed and fast foods are plentiful and products including parts of nonhuman animals are incorporated into most snacks and meals. Due in part to government subsidies, processed and fast foods derived from nonhuman animals are often cheaper than whole grains, fruits, and vegetables. At a societal level, we struggle with diseases of "affluence"—heart disease, diabetes, hypertension, obesity, to name a few.[2] Treating nonhuman animals as things has serious repercussions for slaughterhouse workers too. Sometimes they become numb to their feelings and behave in an efficient, machinelike way, while still others may act out sadistically toward the nonhuman animals in their care (Grandin 1988). In addition, workers in slaughterhouses must contend with the high speed of the work and injury and disability as a result (Sorenson 2010, 53).

According to Carol Adams, the turnover rate at many slaughter facilities in Canada and the United States is about 60 percent, and it can go as high as 100 percent per year in slaughterhouses for chickens (Adams 1994, 82), and Monica Engebretson (2008, 236) found that "high turnover rates is also a problem for Canadian processors with only one out of ten workers remaining for a second year." Finally, but no less significant, is the air and water pollution caused by intensive nonhuman animal agriculture (Bell & Ashwood 2016, 93). Nonhuman animal agriculture contributes between 18 percent to 51 percent of human-created greenhouse gas emissions that lead to climate change,[3] and as intensive nonhuman animal agriculture grows internationally, so will this number (Koneswaran, Gowri, and Niereberg 2008, 581). These are just two of the numerous environmental consequences intensified under factory farming.

The experiences of nonhuman animals in the industrialization of their production are atrocious, and related newspaper headlines have become commonplace: "'Horrific' Abuse of Cows at B.C. Dairy Farm Caught on Video," "Animal Abuse Found in Probe of Canadian Pig Transportation System," "Tortuous Journey for Animals to Canadian Plates." Utilizing a case study approach to focus on one such news story, I will use the abuse at a Maple Leaf Foods hatchery in Ontario, Canada, and the resulting online comments from readers, to frame the treatment of nonhuman animals as a complex issue of institutional and societal significance rather than a simple incident of individual callousness and abuse. This story will be used to frame the discussion of our food system that causes the terrible treatment of other animals, leads to serious human health issues, fails to provide adequate worker health and safety, and causes environmental crises. Why is it that most consumers know so little about this system? And how did such a system become the norm? These questions will be addressed, as well as some important concepts related to human treatment of other animals: alienation and the systemic violence against other animals under capitalism.

THE HIDDEN REALITIES OF THE LIVES OF OTHER ANIMALS

Products derived from nonhuman animals—"meat," "dairy," and "eggs"—are commonplace in our society, but it is as if they magically appear on grocery store shelves or fast food counters. We are inundated with advertising for the products made from other animals, but we must really search if we want to find out the details of their lives and deaths. There are several reasons why consumers know very little about the current treatment of nonhuman animals constructed as food. First, these industries deliberately remain veiled from us. You cannot easily tour a factory farm. Most consumers do not even know where the facilities are that produce the nonhuman animal products that they consume. The advertising of such products also presents a facade that leads consumers to associate them with something that came from "humane" origins. For instance, packaging of "bacon" or "butter" often shows a red barn as a symbol of the friendly, family-run business that (we hope) produced our food. Some commercials have nonhuman animal "spokespersons" talking about their pampered lives or just basically joking about their use as food, such as the "talking" cows featured in the Real California Milk ads sponsored by the California Milk Advisory Board.

The realities of farmed animals are hidden from us in a variety of other ways as well. The language used to describe the animal products that we consume often obscure their origins—"hamburger," "steak," "pork chops," "veal," "pâté," "bacon," "omelette," "cream," etc. (Stibbe 2001). Also, the way that products made from nonhuman animals are presented at the grocery store shows little resemblance to the way they looked when alive (Franklin 1999, 155). We use language to distinguish ourselves from other animals in many ways: "humans have "hair," while other animals have "fur"; humans have "skin," while other animals have "hide"; and deceased humans are "corpses," while deceased others are 'carcasses' " (Nibert 2002, 219). And while it may be difficult for most to see the significance of our word choices, language is used every day to "share and teach our cultural values and norms and [language] allows us to socially construct the world around us, including our representations and constructions of other animals" (Smith-Harris 2004, 12). When it comes to language usage and representations of other animals constructed as food, we are led to believe that while it is unfortunate that nonhuman animals have to be killed so they can be consumed, this is one painful event in an otherwise pleasant life. Unfortunately, under factory farming, this could not be further from the truth.

In a short period of time, factory farming methods have managed to become institutional practices. But when and how did this happen? While early forms of confinement of farmed animals was practiced in industrialized countries prior to World War II, it was during the postwar period that CAFOs really became commonplace (Noske 1997, 12–14). The implementation of the methods of the factory system, and Taylor's principles of scientific management in particular, into animal agriculture means that nonhuman "animal products have become commodities, animal 'skills' and bodies have been subdivided in roughly the same way as favored by

Frederick Taylor" (Noske 1997, 15). Taylor's concept of scientific management deskilled human labor by breaking work down into small parts, essentially assigning a time limit to each discrete task, to ensure that skilled labor became unnecessary. But what does deskilling look like in the factory farming system, and how does this inevitably lead to mistreatment? Some people are hired to sort chicks by sex on a hatchery assembly line, others are hired to capture "meat-chickens" from the barn floor to send to slaughter, another drives the transport truck that takes "veal calves" to the slaughter facility, and so on. It is easier to feel disconnected from the nonhuman animals under one's care when you are only responsible for one small part of their existence or their violent death. It means that the nonhuman animal is not the sole responsibility of any one worker, and there is less chance of forming even a superficial bond with any particular individual.

Deskilling also happens from the standpoint of the nonhuman animals themselves. Scientific management reduces nonhuman animals to the products that they will become instead of the complete beings they are now, with all their needs and desires. Barbara Noske (1997, 16) argues that "we now have 'specialized' beef cattle, dairy cattle, meat-type and egg-type chickens . . . In short, animals are forced to 'specialize' in one skill only, be it laying eggs, giving milk. . . . thus becoming virtually deskilled in other ways." The "deskilling" of nonhuman animals relates closely to another important concept discussed by Noske, "de-animalization." Taken from Karl Marx's concept of alienation (which will be discussed in the section on "Blaming Individual Workers" later in this chapter), she discusses animals caught in the factory farming system being alienated from their own bodies, their productive output, others of their species, nature, and species life in general (Noske 1997, 18–20).

A clear example of this, which demonstrates both deskilling and separation from their "productive output," is cows being exploited for their milk. In today's cow's milk industry, calves are taken from their mothers immediately after birth, or at best, within a few days of birth (Berreville 2014). This is because the milk produced to feed their calves is the "productive output" and is destined for consumers instead of its natural purpose. Because of this, mother cows and their calves do not get to engage in normal mother-baby relationships, which leads to severe emotional distress for both mother and calf (Berreville 2014). But this is allowable as standard practice because in factory farming, the emotional lives of nonhuman animals are considered insignificant because they have no economic value. What counts is productive output—how much milk the mother cow can produce for profit and how much money can be collected from selling her male calf to a "veal farm" or the female calf to another "dairy farm." In such a system, hidden costs or "externalities," the unintended consequences of economic decisions (Bell & Ashwood 2016, 87–88) such as emotional distress, pain, and suffering, are not factored into any kind of calculation or cost. Instead, the price charged for cow's milk, "veal," or "hamburger" reflects only the "positive" externalities associated with a system that tends primarily to the nonhuman animal as a productive unit rather than a sentient being.

INDIVIDUAL CRUELTY VERSUS SYSTEMIC VIOLENCE—A CASE STUDY APPROACH

In April 2014, the Canadian Broadcasting Corporation (CBC) reported on a story of chicks being abused at a hatchery in Ontario. In "Baby Chickens 'Cooked Alive' at Hatchery, Animal Rights Group Contends," an undercover investigation found workers at a Maple Leaf Foods hatchery placing live chicks, who had likely gotten caught in the trays housing them, into the high-powered dishwashers meant to clean the trays (Griffith-Greene 2014). The chicks were ultimately boiled alive or drowned. The video shows a worker making disparaging comments about the chicks that had gone through the machine. The same video also shows sick and injured chicks being dumped into a macerator, and when the machine was clogged, a squeegee was used to push them toward the blades.[4]

Readers of this story and viewers of the accompanying undercover footage were disgusted and outraged. The comments section for the online news service received nearly 900 comments. A closer examination of the comments through qualitative coding[5] shows that responses could be organized into six broad categories: (1) those that blamed individual workers for inhumane treatment of the chicks; (2) those that blamed the individual managers/company personnel and often proposed a boycott of that particular company; (3) those that called for surprise inspections of factory farms and nonhuman animal–processing facilities; (4) those arguing that consumers were to blame for caring more about cheap food and/or not questioning how the nonhuman animals that they consume were treated; (5) those that identified systemic issues with factory farming and intensive nonhuman animal–based agriculture; and (6) those that advocated a more compassionate diet, which included supporting locally and "humanely" produced nonhuman animal products and/or advocating vegetarian or vegan diets.

It is also interesting to note that some respondents thought that things were fine as is and identified a "business as usual" attitude, and such responses often scolded other commenters, asking people to think seriously about how nonhuman animals become food and indicating that while it might be a nasty business, that they themselves have no plans to change their diet. As one comment read, "So, a factory farm is a terrible place. And how do you think chickens are killed in a non-factory farm? Providing food is not a gentle event." Still others actually blamed the advocacy group that filmed the cruelty, calling for laws that silence criticism of farm-based industries, such as "Ag-gag" laws that have been implemented in some states in the United States. Next, I will go through each of the six categories and explain how it relates to this incident, factory farming more generally, and to the topic of this chapter in particular. Within this discussion, specific attention will be paid to formulating an understanding of how the treatment of chicks in this facility can be linked to alienation and systemic violence within factory farming.

BLAMING INDIVIDUAL WORKERS

Some of the replies explicitly blamed individual workers, as the following two responses indicate:

> This is sick!! Seriously, who can do crap like that? Just because we eat these birds doesn't mean we can be cruel.
>
> This is not a problem with Maple Leaf, it is a problem with the employees. I think a lot of people in the industry work to the required standards and that a few crewel [sic] uncaring people are to blame.

These two responses are similar to others that specifically placed the blame for the mistreatment of chicks at this facility, and more general discussions of cruelty in factory farming and processing plants, on individual workers. But this blame is likely misguided. While not excusing individual acts of cruelty within a system such as this, one study of slaughter facilities found that workers' treatment of nonhuman animals was closely tied to the attitude of the plant manager (Grandin 1988). In research on intensive nonhuman animal agriculture, it has been demonstrated that routine practices such as crowding, babies being taken from their mothers after a few hours or days, and nonhuman animals transported for long distances under all weather conditions to slaughter facilities, are all common and legally sanctioned.[6]

It is easy to place blame on some workers who behave sadistically toward the nonhuman animals in their care, or those who callously ignore the needs of the other animals that they encounter. But if we place this treatment in a larger context, drawing on Marx's concept of alienation, we begin to see that the behavior of some workers in such a system should come as no surprise. He discussed alienation as a structural condition under capitalism in which workers did not have control over their work and were effectively separated from the means of production. This system produces feelings of powerlessness and disconnectedness from the product (in this case, other animals), the productive activity (caring for other animals), fellow workers, and even oneself. Such conditions of work, as well as an inability to control one's labor, lead to workers experiencing feelings of misery rather than well-being under such a system (Noske 1997). The high turnover rate at slaughter facilities, for instance, also creates an inexperienced workforce within this dangerous industry, which can have serious consequences for both workers and the nonhuman animals that they are paid to kill (Fitzgerald 2010). Thinking about the predicament of workers in factory farming does not diminish the harm caused to other animals. Rather, it allows us a framework for seeing how the treatment of workers is intimately connected to the treatment of other animals.

Such individual acts of cruelty, as exemplified in the case here, are frowned upon in our society. We do not take kindly to people abusing nonhuman animals for no good reason. When someone seems to derive pleasure from hurting a nonhuman animal, it seems to point to some sort of deficiency in that human. Most people react with disgust and anger. But what about large-scale acts that cause pain and suffering to millions of animals every year? And what if such acts save money or time, or are simply based on adherence to convention or self-regulated industry standards? Andrew Rowan (1999) argues that society often condemns individual instances of cruelty while condoning (or even supporting) institutional or systemic cruelty because these occur in the name of commerce. However, is such a distinction appropriate, given the scale of intensive agriculture and the number of nonhuman animals affected? Besides, a terrified cow, pig, or chicken does not care about the motivation of the person causing the pain or suffering—the nonhuman animal just wishes to be free from it.

BLAMING THE INDIVIDUAL COMPANY AND PROPOSING CONSUMER BOYCOTTS

People who blamed the individual company and proposed a voluntary consumer boycott said things like, "People in general do not tolerate cruel treatment of animals. Those who condone this behavior are, thankfully a minority, an ugly part of our society. A proactive approach is to completely stop buying Maple Leaf products right across the board." Another comment read:

> Companies are for profit, and those that control them do not work on the assembly line. The company doesn't care, people do. So I agree, but unfortunatly [sic] the rules and ways are made by those who employ you. And if I have an issue, big companies will call me replaceable.

This response recognizes the relative powerlessness of the employees within a factory system and mirrored the details from the original news story: "The undercover worker who shot the footage wrote detailed notes of the hatchery’s operations, and said that it was a fast-paced environment and that he was expected to sort 1,750 chicks every hour. Hidden camera video of the undercover employee’s performance review shows a supervisor telling him that he is under his production goal” (Griffith-Greene, 2014). Within such a system, employees must work quickly and may need to treat other animals in increasingly cruel ways to meet their production quotas. Therefore, while individual workers may be engaging in inhumane treatment, the company sets the overall tone for the treatment of nonhuman animals in such facilities. The productivity and efficiency expectations for a company are closely linked to responsibility for shareholder profits and larger market influences. It is important to note that many companies are sensitive about their public image, and after two high profile Mercy for Animals investigations revealed animal abuse at a Maple Leaf hatchery and supplier, the company introduced an “Animal Care Commitment” to “enhance animal welfare practices.” It remains to be seen what this will mean for the nonhuman animals entrusted to Canada’s largest “meat protein company” (Maple Leaf Foods 2015). It can be argued, however, that even if a company had 100 percent compliance with all regulations and laws pertaining to farmed animals, that adherence to convention would ensure that standard procedures like debeaking, killing male chicks in the egg-laying industry, confinement, and removing babies from mothers shortly after birth would all continue to occur because they are still legal.

A CALL FOR MORE INSPECTORS

Some commenters called for more inspectors and random spot-checks for factory farming and processing facilities, as the following quote indicates:

> All meat handlers should be subject to three unannounced/surprise inspections every year. Not at the same time every year, but at unexpected times. This would help to keep the companies honest with their handling practices.

But realistically, it’s hard to imagine that there could ever be enough inspectors to ensure that cruelty and systemic violence toward nonhuman animals in the animal industrial complex are stopped. We are talking about 700 million nonhuman animals being killed each year in Canada alone (Sorenson 2010, 37). How many inspectors would be needed to ensure that their suffering is minimized at all stages of the process? They would have to be present at hatcheries, birthing facilities, barns, and slaughter facilities, and during transport. And while extreme cruelty toward nonhuman animals may lessen when inspectors are present, it does nothing to fix a system in which frustrated workers will sometimes act out sadistically; some managers will demand time-saving and cost-cutting measures that cause harm to nonhuman animals; companies will continuously feel the “invisible elbow”

(Jacobs 1991) of competition that forces them to treat other animals as objects in order to stay competitive; and many consumers will demand cheap food and/or struggle to find alternatives to mainstream food production for their families.

Interestingly though, the union representing Canadian Food Inspectors may have provided an opportunity to pique consumers' interest in the lack of front-line inspectors in the country's food system. In a recent article in *Canadian Meat Magazine,* the results of a survey with union members are discussed. The findings of the survey reveal that a little over half of the inspectors surveyed "believe the staff shortage is affecting food safety" and "about 70 per cent of those surveyed worry [that] Canada is likely to face a major food borne illness due to food safety shortcomings" (Cotter 2015). The article indicates that changes that happened within the Food Inspection Agency in 2007 ended up giving food producers more responsibility in self-policing by self-identifying their compliance, and resulted in inspectors spending more time reviewing company records rather than being present on plant floors (Cotter 2015). Consumer concern for food safety may be a way to raise public awareness of the treatment and experiences of nonhuman animals and to promote closer scrutiny of the plants that kill them.

BLAMING CONSUMERS

Interestingly, some of the responses blamed consumers, not the workers, company, or system itself, as the following quote demonstrates:

> While I love meat the problem is that people want to eat chicken and cows and pigs. There are a lot of people in the world and the food has to get to your plate somehow. The issue isn't with Maple leaf [sic] it is from the people who decry this as inhumane yet continue to eat their eggs and bacon in the morning and have chicken and rice for supper. I believe the term for that is hypocrisy. This comes from a person who is almost strictly a carnivore.

Another commenter said that consumers have no real sense of what is happening in our food system:

> I think that people see cruelty in factory farming as the exception, yet it is the norm. People are more and more alienated from food production and often assume that they do not support horrible practices: towards animals, people, and the environment. Yet, most do because we were spoon-fed "Old McDonald's Farm." Most of these things are hidden inside window-less buildings and you cannot get inside to see it. Most people are not willing to pay higher prices to support ethically grown and local foods.

It is true that if people stopped buying the products from factory farms, they would cease to exist. But placing the blame on individual consumers is a bit like blaming the pollution caused by oil extraction on an individual gas station. Factory farming is hidden and government subsidized, and its methods are structurally sanctioned and supported by industry, regulations, and government (Nibert 2002). Consumers are often unsure of where their food comes from or what practices were implemented in its “production.” In addition, it is a lot to expect that most consumers, in addition to all of the other choices and constraints that they face with their food purchasing, will have the time or inclination to become educated on nonhuman animal–related food issues. They are already asked to check labels for calories, sugar, and fat and consider healthy eating options as part of their regular decision-making process, and for many, cost must be the primary consideration.

Instead, some observers call for the implementation of regulations and laws that better protect nonhuman animals, consumers, worker health and safety, and the environment from the harms of factory farming. Such incremental shifts and changes in the process may lessen the pain and suffering of other animals, but it will not eliminate it. The very nature of constructing other animals as products, even ostensibly humanely produced products, means that their lives matter only within the context of our needs. So while nonhuman animal needs may be given a little more consideration, our socially engineered food choices will displace them as the top priority.

Blaming individual consumers for the treatment of nonhuman animals in the animal industrial complex ignores the role played by large corporations in such a system. And while consumer-driven demand for increased animal welfare may attract industry attention and lead to change over time, such incremental changes will often take a long time to happen, and it will benefit only a portion of the nonhuman animals within the system. In addition, it has at its core the belief that nonhuman animals should continue to be used as food for humans. For example, recent proposed changes to egg production in Canada indicate the following (Egg Farmers of Canada 2016):

> Presently about 90% of egg production is in conventional housing [battery cages, with several hens in each small, wire cage within a large indoor hanger]. The other 10% or so is in enriched housing, free-run, aviary or free-range. Under the plan, to be overseen by a national working group in collaboration with the entire egg supply chain, the industry expects to achieve about a 50–50% mix in 8 years, about 85% (alternative production) in 15 years. All production would be in enriched housing, free-run, aviary or free-range by 2036 assuming the current market conditions prevail.

The press release specifies that these projections could change if market conditions change. But even if things proceed on schedule, the well-being of hens is not the driving force, as the press release also indicates that a recent study by the Coalition for Sustainable Egg Supply “illustrates the complexity involved in evaluating different production methods. For example, it showed that while one production type might have an even higher impact on hen welfare, it also had impacts in terms of human health, the environment, and the economy of the sector that must be considered" (Egg Farmers of Canada 2016). These proposed changes came after news reports on the terrible treatment of chicks and chickens in some facilities, and after a commitment from major fast food companies to phase in eggs produced "cage free," citing customer "expectations and preferences" (e.g., McDonald's 2015). But even if some changes occur in the industry over time, the beginning and end result for the chickens in the egg industry will remain unchanged and will continue to be based on market forces.

THE FACTORY FARMING SYSTEM

Some of the commenters said that what happened at the Maple Leaf Foods hatchery was part of a larger, systemic issue with the way that factory farming is structured in our society. They argued: "Who's surprised? There is simply no way that the volume of meat produced out there can be produced by ethical means." Another respondent said quite succinctly, "The problem is not the people, it's the system." This category also included responses that discussed the fact that while workers and companies often adhere to the letter of the law or follow prescribed industry-created standards, this did not make this treatment ethical or moral. As another commenter indicates:

> Yep . . . it's stuff like this that made me go vegetarian. I know that it will still happen, but at least I can sleep at night knowing I did not contribute. We need a SERIOUS over haul of agricultural practices involving living things in North America. The fact that it's acceptable does not make it right.

While the abusive treatment of chicks in this facility is horrendous to watch, the story's real significance for me extends beyond the abuse documented and relates to the "standard industry practices" also shown in the undercover footage. In the undercover video, we see newborn chicks being ferried along a conveyor belt on an assembly line, sorted chicks being tossed into metal shoots, chicks being dried in a mechanical dryer, and chicks who are injured or otherwise unsuitable for sale being dumped into a giant grinder, which is referred to as a "macerator" in the industry (Griffith-Greene 2014). The standard operating procedure for dealing with chicks with no economic value, such as those that have been injured or males born in egg-laying facilities, is maceration. Maceration occurs in a large machine where hundreds of chicks can be poured into the machine and are ground up alive.

Andrew Rowan (1999, 332) discusses the fact that “the vast majority of animals that are caused either distress or harm are under the control or reach of humans who are performing some socially sanctioned activity—such as animal research, raising animals for food, animal transport and slaughter, hunting, and the like.” He continues that people involved in such industries and activities may derive pleasure from the productive activity (being a farmer) or the challenge (getting a clean shot in a slaughter facility) but most do not derive pleasure from the act of causing pain and suffering while they may consider the pain and suffering to be an “unfortunate consequence” of doing business, staying employed, or finding supper (Rowan 1999).

The Meat Inspection Legislation in Canada claims to pertain to humane treatment of “food animals,” but on closer examination of the law, it contains weakly worded recommendations and makes allowances for “necessary” harms. For instance, “meat” inspection regulations state that “no food animal shall be handled in a manner that subjects the animal to avoidable distress or avoidable pain” and require that “no goad or electrical prod shall be applied to the anal, genital or facial region of a food animal” (Canadian Meat Inspection Regulations 1990). What this tells us is that even when a farm, transport company, or slaughter facility adheres to the legal protections put in place for “food animals,” the use of a goad or electrical prod is still legal. The protections pertain to the specific areas of the body mentioned (e.g., the anal, genital, or facial regions), thus leaving many other parts of the body legally available for such treatment.

SUPPORT A MORE COMPASSIONATE DIET

In the comments related to the hatchery abuse, some discussed the need to alter the human diet to reflect our concern for the welfare of other animals, consumer health and well-being, worker health and safety, and environmental sustainability. People’s understanding of what this might look like varied. Some commenters felt strongly that supporting local, small-scale farms would help facilitate these goals. And while the commenters did not necessarily blame consumers, there was a strong indication that consumers needed to ask more questions about where their food came from and then make decisions that would support a more compassionate food system.

Some readers strongly advocated supporting local, small-scale farmers. It was clear in these discussions that *local* was equated with *humane.* This person, for instance, no longer supported producers that were unable to answer questions about their production or those that did not give an appropriate response:

> I'm not vegetarian. I like my steak wrapped in bacon like the next person. But the way we treat our food animals is wrong. Just because they have been raised to die doesn't mean they should have a horrible life or a nasty death. I've been in chicken farms, I've seen the misery. So I now ask about what I eat. And if I don't get answers or I don't like the answers I get, I eat elsewhere. That's the power of consumerism, and that's how this problem is best solved.

Some respondents question whether "humane" animal production is possible (Bohanec 2013). The "humane dairy" industry, for instance, will still have cows that need to perpetually be pregnant or lactating. That same industry will have male offspring that will go on to become "veal" calves. Calves will still be taken from their mothers within a few days to ensure that their mothers' milk goes to us humans, not their offspring. They will instead be given "milk replacer or waste whole milk" (Berreville 2014, 189). And cows who are no longer producing enough milk will go to auction (and later a slaughter facility) to become "hamburger" (Berreville 2014, 195–196). The same holds true with ostensibly humanely produced eggs. Eggs and newborn chicks will most often still pass through an industrial hatchery. In the egg industry, male chicks still have no economic value and will be killed. Hens will still be considered "spent" when they no longer lay the same quantity or quality of eggs and will go on to a processing facility to become "meat" for the processed food industry. Karyn Pilgrim (2016, 58) argues that the real issue with "humane meat" is that it "facilitates the maintenance of capitalist exploitation by means of reinforcing the commodification of living beings" and that at its core, the "humane meat" industry agrees with the principle that individual nonhuman animals can and should become commodities.

Finally, many respondents argued that the way to foster compassion was through adherence to a vegetarian or vegan diet: "Welcome to the world of factory farming. This is why I'm vegan." Another indicated that while they themselves were vegan, they wondered about the good it did, given the scale of misery in this system:

> I am vegan and it is stories like this that remind me why. I can't partake in this abuse of animals, this is why I went vegan, because of the abuse of animals, the killing of animals in horrific ways, the transport of animals in hot or freezing cold weather, etc. That being said, The [sic] fact that I feel like what I am doing doesn't really amount to much as the abuse still goes on just makes me wonder how horrible us humans are that we can do this to animals without a thought or a care. I feel like no matter what we do, this world is doomed because too many people just don't care. . . . and that folks, is sad commentary..:-(

Still another respondent discussed the benefits, both physical and emotional, of a plant-based diet and the necessity, for them, of going beyond vegetarianism:

> [B]ecause animals eat other animals, does not mean it's acceptable for humans to intentionally (or with willful blindness) cause unnecessary cruelty. Humans are not obligate carnivores. We can survive perfectly well—even better—on a plant-based diet. At first I thought being a vegetarian was enough, but when I started learning about the cruelty inherent in the dairy and egg industries, I became a vegan—and have never felt better, both physically and mentally, knowing that I'm no longer part of that cruelty. Each person has to make the choices that they can live with. Peace.

Importantly, the majority of those who responded to the story about the terrible treatment of baby chickens at the Maple Leaf Foods hatchery were upset by the details of the ways the chicks were killed. It is not surprising that most seemed unaware of the standard treatment of chickens and other animals in such factory facilities, as the lives and deaths of countless other animals in similar situations are hidden realities.

In order to create a just and sustainable food system, we need to remember that other animals, even those we have been socialized to believe are our property and food—cows, pigs, chickens, and turkeys—feel pain and suffer (Bekoff 2010). They can also feel pleasure and delight at being outside, foraging, maintaining relationships with others of their kind, and having the ability to make simple and necessary decisions. Marc Bekoff (2010, 53) argues that "in their various ways, animals are passionate, deliberate, logical, self-aware, and have individual personalities." They are not products, units, or resources and should not be treated as such.

WHERE DO WE GO FROM HERE?

Whenever I give lectures or conference presentations on factory farming, I end with recommendations for social change. Typically, they include changes that people can make in their own lives that could help facilitate social change that would benefit other animals. Common suggestions are taking "meat" out of one's diet once a week, buying products made from nonhuman animals that are treated more humanely, or becoming vegetarian or vegan. But I've become convinced that most of these suggestions are simply Band-Aid approaches that do not really get to the structural problems identified in this chapter. Although they may assist in shifting values gradually, welfare-based approaches will not significantly challenge or change the reality for farmed animals or guarantee consumer or worker health and safety or environmental sustainability.

Therefore, adopting a plant-based diet is one of the most important ways to truly stop some of the most extensive exploitation of nonhuman animals, to champion human health and well-being, to better protect workers, and to stop the destruction of our planet as quickly and cheaply as possible.[7] A vegan diet that incorporates organics, non–genetically modified crops and is as local as possible lays the groundwork for a society where both humans and other animals could flourish. John Sorenson (2010, 174) argues that "[v]eganism is not just a personal choice but a political one" because it rejects the status quo with respect to nonhuman animals and identifies other animals as beings with interests and the right to avoid exploitation and to minimize the harm in their lives.

This chapter has argued that intensive nonhuman animal agriculture is structured to maximize efficiency while minimizing costs. Unfortunately, what is considered beneficial or costly does not include calculating the lives and deaths of the 700 million nonhuman animals killed in this industry each year in Canada. We are at a crucial crossroads in human history. Much of the world's population is looking to rich consumer nations, like Canada, and receiving messages about nonhuman animal–based food and intensive agriculture as being desirable and preferable to plant-based diets. The current industrial animal food complex is unsustainable, and as we have seen in this chapter, it has serious and negative implications for other animals, consumer health and well-being, worker health and safety, and the environment. Notably, few respondents viewed the horrific treatment of chickens and other animals in systemic terms—that is, few viewed the situation in the context of a system that emphasizes profit maximization almost above all else. So, in addition to going vegan, it is equally important to recognize that we must work together to bring about a social system where maximizing justice and respect for all sentient beings becomes more important than maximizing profits.

NOTES

1. Barbara Noske first discussed the concept of the animal industrial complex in her book *Beyond Boundaries: Humans and Animals* (Montreal: Black Rose Books, 1997). She discussed an intensive system of food production in which animal welfare was sacrificed for efficiency and profit. She also outlined the implications of this system on human workers, poor nations, the environment, and the human consumer. Richard Twine (2012) returned to Noske's concept of the animal industrial complex in order to reassert its importance to the study of critical animal studies.

2. See, for example, David Nibert (2002, 122–123). He discusses the connection between increased rates of "dairy" and "meat" consumption and links to diseases such as diabetes, stroke, particular types of cancer, and obesity. John Sorenson (2010, 39–40), also discusses such health risks but also includes a discussion on the risks from food contamination, such as E. coli and salmonella.

3. See, for example, Koneswaran and Nierenberg (2008), "Global Farm Animal Production and Global Warming: Impacting and Mitigating Climate Change," *Environmental Health Perspectives*, 116, 578–582; Goodland and Anhang (2009),

"Livestock and Climate Change: What if the key actors in climate change are . . . cows, pigs, and chickens?" *World Watch*.

4. Undercover video footage taken by the animal advocacy group, Mercy for Animals Canada.

5. Coding of the responses was completed using the qualitative analysis software program ATLAS.ti, version 7.5.10.

6. See Berreville (2014), Medoro (2014), and Stănescu (2014).

7. Recognizing unequal accessibility and distribution of food to human populations worldwide, "[u]ntil nutritious, affordable plant-based food is available to all throughout the world, criticism of peoples who [genuinely] have no alternatives to exploiting animals for subsistence should be redirected against the capitalist system" (Nibert 2013, 262).

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5

The Presence of "Pork" and the Absence of Pigs: Changing Stories of Pigs and People in Iowa

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PIGS AND PEOPLE IN IOWA

The human population on Earth is growing exponentially. When I was born in 1953, the planet's human population was an estimated 2.5 billion (Geohive). As I write in 2016, 63 years later, that figure has nearly tripled, now standing at approximately 7.5 billion, and population analysts at the United Nations predict that it will likely continue to rise throughout the first half of the current century until it peaks somewhere around 10 billion by 2050 (UN Population Fund 2016). I've observed the growth of the population of my species mostly from the state of Iowa in the middle of the United States, a geographical location where, by global standards, the human population is relatively sparse. I grew up on a family farm in the northeast quadrant of the state, a section bounded by Wisconsin to the east and Minnesota to the north. I remained in Iowa through my college years at the University of Iowa and a little beyond, finally leaving for graduate school in my early 20s before returning 15 years later and remaining to this day.

In the time that it has taken humans to triple in number across the planet, Iowans like me have experienced minimal human crowding; approximately 3.1 million of us now live in the state, giving us an average population density of 54.5 people per square mile (U.S. Census Bureau 2010). Over the same period, the population of pigs in Iowa has soared. For many years, Iowa has led the nation in "pork" production. The total number of pigs in the state at the end of 2014 was 21.3 million (Iowa Pork Facts), meaning that Iowa contains nearly seven times as many pigs as people. Yet the casual observer driving through the countryside may never catch sight of a pig. This is because an ever-increasing percentage of Iowa's growing pig population is now obscured from human view.

Behind the closed doors of Concentrated Animal Feeding Operations (CAFOs), pigs' short, genetically engineered lives are monitored, tended, and ended by human handlers in climate-controlled indoor environments. In an effort to maintain the invisibility of the treatment of pigs and other farmed animals in concentrated feeding operations, in 2011 Iowa passed legislation (informally known as "ag gag" legislation) making it illegal to "produce a record which reproduces an image or sound occurring at an animal facility" without the consent of the facility's owner (Iowa Senate File 431). Other organized efforts to keep Iowa's pigs out of sight and mind include provisions in the state's Right to Farm legislation stipulating that publicizing the locations of "animal production facilities" poses a security threat to farmers and the U.S. food supply (Huber and Mills 2013).

Such measures to conceal pigs from public view, and perhaps more important, to conceal the treatment they receive in the "pork production system," mean that even in a state where pigs outnumber humans seven to one, the vast majority of humans have little (if any) personal acquaintance with pigs as living beings. Hidden from view and consigned to abstract economic categories, like "agricultural commodities," "livestock," and "pork-production units," or to lifeless categories such as "meat" and "pork," Iowa's pigs are what Carol Adams (1990, 40) has called an "absent referent," a set of animals "made absent *as animals* for meat to exist."

The extent of pigs' absence from human awareness in Iowa can be measured by the inclusion of pigs among the animals displayed at the Blank Park Zoo in the capital city of Des Moines. Initiated by the Iowa Pork Producers Association (IPPA) in 2005, the Iowa Pig Exhibit was intended to give zoo visitors the increasingly rare opportunity to meet live pigs, but not without a reminder of pigs' ultimate significance as "pork products." As a web article by the Coalition to Support Iowa's Farmers (2005) explains, the exhibit features a succession of farrowing "sows" . . . meaning adult female pigs giving birth. Renewed every two weeks with freshly birthed piglets and their mothers, the exhibit was designed to "educate guests about the importance of modern agriculture" by showcasing "the best management practices used by today's pork producers." The exhibit was originally conceived as part of a much-expanded Ag Zoo display of Iowa grains and animals to "show the life cycle of farm animals."

The life cycle of Iowa farm animals, of course, is very different from the Iowa Pig Exhibit's continually self-refreshing display of pregnant "sows" and freshly farrowed piglets. The history of pig farming in Iowa is a story of pigs' ever-shortening lifespans, as they are bred and fed and otherwise tended for maximal growth in minimal time. The average duration of an Iowa market pig's life—from birth to a slaughter weight of approximately 250 pounds—is somewhere between four and six months, enabling "sows" to produce two or even three litters per year. This rapid reproductive rate means that the number of Iowa pigs slaughtered and processed each year vastly exceeds the number living in the state at any given moment. The 2012 annual count of pigs marketed in Iowa put the number somewhere around 49 million—approximately 16 times the state's human population (Iowa Pork Facts).

THE FARM CRISIS IN IOWA

The years of my absence from Iowa—1976 to 1989—witnessed the worst of the so-called U.S. farm crisis, an era of rapid agricultural industrialization when economies of scale managed by companies known in the state as "Big Ag" rendered many small farmers unable to compete in the agricultural marketplace. The economic crisis in Iowa was tied to globalization of the U.S. commodities market, as worldwide human population growth intensified human nutritional needs across the planet. In some regions of the world, including China, a growing middle class began to consume more food derived from nonhuman animals.

A dramatic marker in the U.S. agricultural market expansion was the sale of U.S. surplus grain to the Soviet Union under the direction of President Richard Nixon's Secretary of Agriculture Earl Butz in 1972. To restore the surplus and to capitalize on the global market, Butz called on American farmers to increase productivity in order to "feed the world," famously urging them to plant food crops "fence row to fence row," and admonishing them to "get big or get out" (Genoways 2014, 212). Butz's rationale for expanding and intensifying U.S. agricultural production was that increased productivity is a moral imperative in the face of world hunger. Although critics like the Union of Concerned Scientists' Margaret Mellon (2013) have since suggested that the corporate growth of U.S. agriculture is motivated more by a desire to corner the global market than to feed the world, Butz's argument remains a powerful defense for the economic model of factory farming today.

As competition among U.S. farmers intensified, many farm families like mine leased their land to larger family farmers in the area; others sold their land and became part of the state's migration to urban areas. Some previously independent farmers hired out as farm laborers to their more successful neighbors or leased their property and labor to corporations that were rapidly expanding to control multiple stages of agricultural production through a process called "vertical integration" or "feed-to-market monopolization" (Genoways, 101). These stages include the production, processing, and distribution of agricultural seeds, feed, pesticides, herbicides, antibiotics, and fertilizers, as well as food products for both human and nonhuman animal consumption.

In Iowa, influential leaders in the corporate integration of agricultural production have historically been packers and processors of pig "meat." Ted Genoways's *The Chain: Farm, Factory, and the Fate of our Food* (2014) traces the development of vertical integration in the case of Hormel Packers, a southern Minnesota–based plant that began as a pig slaughterhouse in the late nineteenth century. The company expanded dramatically during World War II when the U.S. army became the leading customer for its canned "meat" product, SPAM. After the war, the company continued expanding to meet the nation's growing demand for "meat" and to satisfy and extend a globally acquired taste for SPAM and other "meat" products. From a small company that slaughtered pigs and processed and packed their "meat," Hormel grew to become a corporate giant that controlled the entire "pork production process," including breeding, feeding, slaughter, packing, transportation, and distribution to retail outlets. In extending its reach beyond the original functions of slaughter and packing, Hormel has acquired vast stretches of farmland in Iowa and throughout the Midwest to raise not only pigs, but also the corn and soybeans to feed them.

WHO IS ABSENT? RELATIONAL KNOWING IN STORIES OF PEOPLE AND PIGS

To maintain and increase economies of scale, a company like Hormel must standardize and routinize "resource" intake and product output in a rapid and unbroken production cycle like the one suggested by the "sows" and piglets cycling through the Iowa Pig Exhibit in Des Moines. The human suffering resulting from the size and speed of corporate "pork-production" and "pork-harvest" operations is the emotional heart of Genoways's report on the system of food production that defines most human-pig relationships to the exclusion of any others. His book offers stories of workers forced to operate dangerous machinery, such as bolt guns, "meat" hooks, and bone-cutting saws, at faster and faster rates on the assembly line; he tells of uninsured workers permanently disabled by constant exposure to biohazards, and of maimed, illegal-immigrant workers without legal representation or insurance and often without safe housing or community support. But except for the chapter “Don’t Be Afraid to Hurt Them,” where Genoways reports on some workers’ deliberately cruel and abusive handling of pigs, he pays little attention to the nonhuman suffering produced by the system, nor does he seriously question the morality of the human-pig relationships enacted in the CAFOs, slaughterhouses, and packing plants that have become so common in the Iowa landscape.

Genoways’s all-but-exclusive focus on the human tragedy of corporate agriculture is unsurprising, as Adams would no doubt explain, given the erasure of nonhuman animal life that the “meat” industry depends on. When 43.5% of Iowa’s “market pigs” are raised in operations housing an average of 13,129 pigs (U.S. Department of Agriculture 2000), and a single slaughterhouse may transform 10,000 pigs per day into 600 million pounds of “pork” annually (Prestage Farms), the sheer scale of industrialized farming of pigs hugely magnifies human denial of individual pigs’ lives. This failure of recognition, however, is neither new nor unique to corporate farming. A 1990 guide (Mellis & Davidson 1990, 33–34) to family-sustenance nonhuman animal farming, for instance, espouses a similar kind of denial on a much smaller scale by advising readers to avoid personal identification with other animals they intend to eat:

> It’s probably a good idea not to give the animals names (other than Freezer or Pork Chop) and not to treat them as pets. This doesn’t, however, mean that they should not be handled and to some extent tamed. Handling an animal regularly is the best way of checking its health and, if it trusts you, it will be less likely to feel distressed when loaded into the back of the car or picked up to have its neck wrung—even though you might feel like a traitor.

But the possibility of humans experiencing feelings of relational guilt, specifically the sense of having betrayed the trust of a living individual who happens to be a pig, is vastly reduced by the size and structure of corporate pig farming. Genoways (2014, 195–196) makes this point by describing the depersonalized and precisely automated pig-rearing system practiced by a company called New Fashion Pork, a contracted Hormel supplier with operations in several Midwestern states:

> By the time these pigs had reached this finishing barn, they had been through almost the entire modern hog-farming process: conceived via artificial insemination in sows held in gestation crates; transferred briefly to farrowing crates for milk-feeding; then, at three weeks old, trucked to this wean-to-finish operation where they had been raised on genetically modified corn and soybeans delivered by automatic feeders. And when these young pigs eventually hit target weight, at about three months old, they were scheduled to be trucked to slaughter at the Hormel plan in Austin. Every part of the system, from temperature to amount of light to time and quantity of feed, was plotted on a rigid schedule and so completely

> computerized and mechanized that all three thousands [sic] hogs, held in the three connected barns, were overseen by a single manager, who checked on the hogs just twice a day.

Genoways aptly defines nonhuman animal "husbandry," the human role in the corporate process of pig-rearing, as "overseeing" and "managing." These practices are devoid of emotional connection between humans and pigs because they describe a worker's interactions with a system, not with other individuals within the system. The 1:3,000 ratio of the human-pig relationship enforced by New Fashion Pork's "pig-growing" system virtually eliminates the possibility that human overseers will engage in emotionally motivated or individually directed "care" for the pigs under their control. Although representatives of the pig "meat" industry often point to the enhanced care (measured by pig survival and growth rate) that they can now provide pigs in scientifically designed and technologically controlled growing environments, they usually prove their claims with the economic logic of the rational egoist. A spokesperson for the IPPA offered this explanation for exhibiting modern pig husbandry methods at the Des Moines zoo: "No one cares more about the comfort and well-being of their livestock than we as farmers do. . . . This is our livelihood. The success of our farming is a direct result of the superior care we give our livestock." (Coalition to Support Iowa's Farmers 2005).

For most consumers, this is a compelling argument because it reflects the truth that everyone needs to make a living. Such claims, however, further obscure from public view the experiences of the pigs confined in factory farms. Similar obfuscation occurs in claims on the website of the National Pork Producers Council (NPPC) that pigs' profitability comes without sacrificing their "dignity" as sentient beings. A spokesperson explains, "Our farms and livelihoods were built on the health of the animals we raise"; therefore, "We treat animals with the compassion, dignity, and respect they deserve. This means providing wholesome food, clean water, medical care, and an environment that promotes the well-being of our animals." The Iowa Pork Producers Association likewise announces that its members "care deeply" about the health and welfare of their pigs, offering as evidence an audio file in which an Iowa farmer explains how the scientifically controlled "pork production process" is good for consumers, good for pigs, and finally, is "just good business."

HEARTFELT ARGUMENTS IN DEFENSE OF PIGS

Economic logic defining pigs as a "food crop" or "commodity" to be "harvested" rejects the emotionally invested caring for and about other animals that Carol Adams argues is necessary to restore the absent referent of “pork.” In “Caring About Suffering,” a 1996 reflection on *The Sexual Politics of Meat*, she criticizes the virtual exclusion of partiality and affective engagement from academic animal advocacy, charging that “the animal advocacy movement has failed to incorporate an understanding of caring as a motivation for so many animal defense activists” (Adams 1996, 174). “Saving animals is not enough,” she adds (191); the true defender should also strive to viscerally recognize the harm that those nonhuman animals experience at the hands of humans. In the case of pigs, this harm is staggering, if only in terms of sheer numbers of lives ended each day. Feeling or affectively registering the harm experienced by even a single pig challenges human understanding, as inhabiting the sentient body and mind of another is a physical impossibility; the difficulty of the task is further compounded in the case of pigs and other farmed animals by most people’s unfamiliarity with them as living beings. Moreover, recognizing pigs as fellow sentient beings instead of as “livestock,” Adams argues, entails the painful prospect of paying attention to their suffering (Adams 1996, 193) in an effort to feel their pain. Some people, though never personally acquainted with a “livestock” animal, sense this pain in their own emotional recoil from nonhuman animal suffering as depicted in videos such as *Earthlings* (2005) or in documentary footage of CAFO and slaughterhouse operations shown by various nonhuman animal advocacy groups. Adams insists that such emotional pain has the salutary effect of making us “ethically responsible” and strengthening our commitment to restrain our own capacities to oppress: “Only oppressors can deny the importance of suffering to the individuals who suffer or who respond to that suffering” (Adams 1996, 193). In this moral framework grounded in attention and responsiveness to the suffering of other animals, Adams argues that emotionality—particularly altruistic social emotions such as sympathy, empathy, and compassion—should take a leading role in defending “livestock” animals against human oppression. Heartfelt motives, she concludes, are as much needed as pragmatic and logical arguments on farmed animals’ behalf.

Adams is certainly right that a purely rationalist stance fails to appeal to many nonhuman animal rights supporters. I am probably not the only reader of Peter Singer’s introduction to *Animal Liberation* (1975) who feels that his coldly rational depiction of his hostess and a fellow guest at an afternoon tea unfairly belittles the women’s emotional investment in “pets” and other nonhuman animals. Singer responds to the question “But you *are* interested in animals, aren’t you, Mr. Singer?” by explaining that unlike the women he was conversing with, he and his wife “were not especially ‘interested in’ animals” (ii). His judgment deepens as he explains his and his wife’s rational separation from the emotionally overwrought masses: “Neither of us had ever been inordinately fond of dogs, cats, or horses in the way that many people are." Finally, he levels a charge of hypocrisy against the two women (ii):

> We didn't "love" animals. We simply wanted them treated as the independent sentient beings that they are, and not as a means to human ends—as the pig whose flesh was now in our hostess's sandwiches had been treated.

Singer's rights-based morality is grounded in his position as a rational spokesperson for the absent pig who has already suffered and died. He accuses his conversation partners of espousing contradictory logic, suggesting that it is irrational to love some nonhuman animals while at the same time eating other nonhuman animals.

For Singer, the inherent irrationality of his hostess's argument calls her emotionality itself into question. She and Singer's fellow guest, who has a reputation for serving "pets" by supporting their medical care, appear in Singer's scene as overly sentimental—well-meaning, perhaps, but ultimately clueless in their failure to engage the abstract reckoning of individual rights. While the women's care-based ethic is emotionally grounded partiality to certain selected nonhuman animals, Singer's utilitarian stance leads him to approve human use of nonhuman animals so long as they do not suffer—or so long as their suffering doesn't outweigh the benefits that humans or other creatures derive as a result.

Adams is right to question Singer's dispassion and utilitarianism and to call for something more, but her replacement of the absent nonhuman animal with the suffering nonhuman animal goes only partway toward recognizing the reality of nonhuman animal lives, particularly the lives of pigs. Suffering is certainly something to care about, and pigs unquestionably suffer physically and psychologically in their use as a means of satisfying humans' carnivorous appetites. But reducing the lives of pigs to nothing but the capacity for suffering overlooks and obscures other ways that we might know and respect them as sentient beings. If we are to see them as something other than "meat" sources, we must also see them as something more than the real or potential victims of human oppression.

WILBUR AND ME

There are other ways to know pigs than as "bacon" on the one hand or suffering victims on the other. I know this because I have known individual pigs, and I once cared deeply for and about one pig in particular. I called him Wilbur, and as his name suggests, he came into my life when I was in the thrall of E. B. White's children's novel *Charlotte's Web;* I must have been seven or eight years old then. At that time, our farm and our neighbors' farms were "diversified," meaning that we raised a variety of animals (in our case, cows, pigs, and chickens) and a variety of crops to feed our nonhuman animals and to sell for cash (corn, soybeans, oats, alfalfa, and timothy).

When Wilbur arrived at our farm, my father was getting ready to simplify his operation by selling off the cows to concentrate on crops and pigs. He was "good with pigs," and he liked them. Throughout my childhood, I heard him tell stories of pigs' remarkable intellect. Unlike cows, he said, pigs who found a hole in a fence would escape only when they were not watched, and they would return to their enclosure when they knew that people were around to survey their comings and goings. They did this, he said, to prevent people from finding the breach in the fencing because pigs knew that people would then fix the holes and the pigs could no longer use them to come and go as they pleased.

I didn't realize at the time that with such stories, my father was attributing to pigs a capacity for deception and manipulation that required a faculty known to psychologists and animal behaviorists as "theory of mind." Essentially, theory of mind is the identification of other beings as centers of intentionality—as beings possessing consciousness similar to but separate from one's own. Scientists generally agree that many nonhuman animals possess not only self-recognition, but also a theory of mind. While some recent studies have argued that pigs recognize and respond to the intentions of other beings, popular belief that the minds of "dumb animals" are radically different from the minds of human animals remains entrenched, particularly in the case of pigs.

However, to my father—and therefore to me and my brothers—it was obvious that pigs could know and interact intentionally with people as much as people could know and interact intentionally with pigs. As proof of this, my brothers and I would point to the case of Rosie, a completely black pig whose name celebrated a pink spot on her nose. Although I don't remember any deliberate "training" of Rosie on our part, we somehow negotiated a deposit-and-return economy with her when we fed ear corn to the pigs from a feed wagon. Our general practice was to hurl ears as far as we could and to distribute them as widely as possible among the pushing, squealing crowd of pigs confined in the lot. Rosie avoided the mob by coming up to the fence beside the wagon and waiting for us to hand her an ear of her own. She would then take it to a solitary corner of the lot, eat the kernels, and return to the slot with the empty cob, exchanging it for another full ear.

My family's willingness to accord personalities to pigs and our feelings of special fondness for some of them did not prevent our participation in the process of transforming pigs into absent referents. We raised pigs to eat them, annually "dividing a hog" with my grandparents, which meant our two households would select a single pig to be killed and butchered and transformed into white, freezer-wrapped packages stamped with labels identifying them as "chops," "loin," "shoulder roast," "rump roast," and "sausage." As a girl, I watched my mother render the body fat of pigs into "lard" and snacked on the salty cracklings that were a high-cholesterol by-product of this process. In these practices, my family was like all the other families in our community. Everyone ate pigs, cows, and chickens, and many also hunted free-living other animals and ate their flesh. We built our meals around "meat," which we considered to be an essential source of high-quality protein that even chicken eggs and "dairy" couldn't provide.

My family was not unaware of the suffering experienced by the other animals on our farm and elsewhere. On those few days in the year when a "stock" truck pulled into the barnyard and pigs were loaded up to be hauled away to the slaughterhouse, my mother would take my brothers and me into the bathroom, close the door, and turn on the water in the bathtub to drown out the cries of the pigs as they were forced up the chute and into the truck. We had given some of those pigs names, and we did feel like traitors, even as we could not imagine our lives without "meat." I had learned to accept our betrayal as an inevitable part of our livelihood.

This belief system began to change for me when Wilbur came into my life. He appeared in our driveway one day, having escaped from the neighbor's farm half a mile to the west. Because he was the runt of his litter (like his fictional namesake), he was small enough to slip through the slats in the pen that kept his siblings confined, and he had gone adventuring, making his solitary way down the road to our farm. From the beginning, he was an exceptionally friendly piglet, unafraid of people, eager to accept scraps from my hand, and fond of being rubbed and scratched. He was completely black, with not a spot of pink. I wanted to keep him, but my father said he had to be returned. We took him back, but by the next morning, he had escaped again and come back to our farm. After the third time, the neighbor said that we might as well keep him.

His name reflected my sense that my life paralleled that of Fern, the little girl in *Charlotte's Web* who saved the fictional Wilbur from the axe. Although I felt and continue to feel disappointed in Fern's eventual transfer of affection from Wilbur to Henry Fussy, the far less interesting or deserving human boy, I loved E. B. White's story for magically disrupting the process of betrayal that I accepted as inevitable in real life. Like Fern, I had persuaded my father to let me make a "pet" of a "stock animal." I knew that Wilbur's reprieve from the system was only temporary, but I pushed this awareness to the back of my mind and hoped for a miracle as my relationship with Wilbur developed.

I don't remember how long Wilbur lived with us, but it was much longer than any other pig's life on our farm. I remember at least a couple of summers, and maybe more. When we sold the other pigs for slaughter the year after Wilbur arrived, he remained at home with the breeder "sows." He quickly became my favorite because of his friendly curiosity and his talkative manner. Even when I had no food to offer, he would amble to the fence when I came out to see him and stay with me for as long as I remained, grunting with pleasure when I scratched his back and his ears. It was probably Wilbur's friendly, tractable nature, along with his hardy constitution, that made my father decide that he would make a good "breeder boar." Unlike the other male pigs, he was spared castration. He grew to be huge, and eventually he got his own place in a separate lot and pighouse.

Wilbur's move to his own lodgings made it easier for me to develop a special relationship with him. In the evenings, I brought him table scraps in a cooking pan and watched him, freed from the jostling and shoving of other pigs, select one piece at a time—a potato peel, a half-eaten waffle, or a canned peach. Sometimes I would read or sing to him; sometimes I would sit and draw him. In the summer, I would give him baths with the hose and a bottle of dish soap. Resigned to my father's ruling that we could not keep a horse, I began to ride Wilbur, pretending he was the black stallion of Walter Farley's novels. A comfort-loving creature confined to his pen, he never went very far or very fast, and mostly he just stood still and ate the lambsquarter (a broadleaf plant) that I'd pulled for him, grunting his pleasure. When the school year started, my first stop when I alit from the school bus was his pen.

Wilbur's disappearance from the farm came swiftly and without warning. The previous year, my father had sold all the pigs except Wilbur and a female pig named Louie, who moved into the pighouse with him and tended an enormous nest of straw and desiccated manure. One day, when I got off the bus and ran to the lot, Wilbur and Louie were gone. My mother used to tell of looking out the kitchen window that day and seeing me leaning against the fence, crying. I only remember the feeling of abjection; I had known the worst would come, and now it had. I also remember the feeling of miraculous reprieve when my father told me that evening that although he had sold Louie, he had only loaned Wilbur out as a "breeder boar" to a neighbor. He would have a happy life, my father assured me, with lots of other pigs to keep him company.

Wilbur lived with the neighbor for two or three years. Although he was less than 10 miles away, my parents never took me to see him. At first I asked, but eventually I grew comfortable with the knowledge that he was living his life as I was living mine—parallel, emotionally still attached, but physically absent from one another. Then one day, I came home from school to find that Wilbur had returned. He had grown immense—maybe 750 pounds, my father estimated—and his black hair had grown long and curly; curved tusks sprouted from the sides of his nose. My appearance had probably changed as well, but we knew each other as soon as we met.

There is no forgetting his face. Despite half a century of intervening years, I can still conjure a vivid image of it: friendly and intelligent brown eyes peering from beneath large drooping ears, a furrowed brow, enormous jowls, and a short, slightly upturned nose. It was a face that always seemed to be smiling.

For a short while, Wilbur remained at our farm, housed in a horse stall in a corner of the barn. My father made me promise that I wouldn't get in the stall with him, explaining that Wilbur might have changed in his years away from our farm and that he might not know me anymore. Even without malicious intent, a nonhuman animal of that size could inflict serious injury. So when I visited, I stayed in the manger that formed one side of the stall. When he was standing, Wilbur's head reached the top of the manger, so it was easy to feed him by hand and pet and scratch him. I felt confident that he wouldn't hurt me, but my father was nervous.

I imagine this was the main reason that my father sold Wilbur. He had given up farming animals to concentrate exclusively on crops, and it was costly to keep a 750-pound pig as a "pet," but my father might have relented if he hadn't feared for my life. The second time that Wilbur disappeared from the farm, I knew it was for good, and that was when I began to question my consumption of "meat." It wasn't compassion for animal suffering—it wasn't Alice Walker's realization that "I was eating misery"—that first pointed me toward vegetarianism; it was my knowledge of the complex and likeable personality of one particular pig. The first time that I was served a "hot dog" after his departure, the vision of Wilbur's face appeared before me, with his genial porcine smile, and I couldn't take a bite.

Some years later, while paging through William Hedgepeth's *The Hog Book* (1978), I came upon a picture of another pig's face that made me reflect on the kind of suffering that Wilbur must have endured at the very end of his life. The photograph depicted a white pig confined in a V-shaped conveyor belt in a slaughterhouse production line. His ears are cocked forward, his eyes are watchful, and the disk on the end of his nose is tilted, sniffing. The picture is titled "Hog Autumn," and its caption reads, "With awareness buried deep in his face, this porker now reaches the end of the conveyor that has brought him up here for his life's first glimpse of the packing house killing floor" (Hedgepeth 1978, 255).

REASONS OF THE HEART

Reasons of the heart motivated me to think differently about my relationships to farmed animals and "meat" and to recognize my own complicity in a speciesist system that I now abhor. The core of my emotional thinking was the affection that I developed for Wilbur and the delight that I took in his company. Next came feelings of guilt and shame at my betrayal of our friendship, and only then did these emotional realizations point me to an even more painful understanding of the suffering and death that my friend Wilbur endured at the end. Not everyone would be similarly moved, of course, even given the rare chance that I had to develop a long and enduring friendship with a farmed animal. But ecofeminists Chris J. Cuomo and Lori Gruen (1997) assure me that I am not alone. Their examination of "animals, intimacy, and moral distance" concludes that for many people, intimate relationships with nonhuman animals function powerfully as an opening step beyond an anthropocentric moral universe premised on human exceptionalism, a perspective that regards the separation of human animals from the rest of nature as an achievement of human culture. This cultural removal of humanity from the natural world means that relationships like mine and Wilbur's—social bonds that violate the cultural divide between humans and all other beings—are easily infantilized and dismissed as sentimental and intellectually suspect.

Margaret Urban Walker (1998, 111) has argued that "stories of relationship" are the elemental units of care-based ethics. These are stories told by a first-person plural, narrative "we," and in them, Walker maintains, we discover our ethical selves—our sense of the rights and responsibilities that we share with others. *Charlotte's Web*, like so many stories written for children, is a trans-species relational narrative, but it is inflected with the coming-of-age message to children like Fern that maturity brings the onset of human-exceptionalist reasoning. The enduring relationship for Wilbur in the book is the one that he develops with Charlotte the spider, not with the human Fern.

And so it was with me and my Wilbur. Given the carnivorous cultural norms and the agricultural economy in which our friendship developed, our relational story was destined for a tragic ending. It was also destined to have a lasting impact on my thinking about how humans should live with other animals. My recollections of Wilbur's company make it impossible for me not to care in some degree about the lives of millions of nameless pigs all around me. I often try to suppress the thought of these lives, as I tried to suppress my knowledge of Wilbur's inevitable end, but they remain somehow present to me, although absent from view. Recalling the feelings that attached me to Wilbur leads me imagine different endings to our story and to wonder if different endings might truly be possible for pigs and people in Iowa's future.

BAD FEELINGS AND CRITICAL INQUIRY

A care-based approach to nonhuman animal defense can be called *pathocentric*, meaning it is grounded in personal feelings for other animals. In my case, these feelings not only caused me to revise my consumption patterns, but also prompted me to question and explore the moral and economic reasoning used to justify my family's profession and the eventual development of pig farming into the intensive, high-volume operations predominant in Iowa today. Personal feeling and emotionality, in my experience with pigs, are not antithetical to critical reasoning; the two perspectives can be mutually reinforcing. Because I cared about Wilbur a long time ago, I eventually wanted to know more about the food production system that circumscribed his life.

I have since learned that the farming of pigs in Iowa is part of an expanding, worldwide agricultural production system that is globally unsustainable. The report issued by the Livestock, Environment, and Development Committee of the UN Food and Agriculture Organization, *Livestock's Long Shadow* (2010), describes contemporary animal agriculture as environmentally and economically unsustainable and makes Iowa recognizable as a site of "nutrient overload," a most "favored location" in the entire globe for the "ongoing concentration of livestock." Iowa's favorable situation for intensive nonhuman animal farming is due to its flat and fertile soil in the middle of the country, its long growing season, and hot, moist summers—conditions that enable growth and easy transport of abundant feed for pigs and easy access to urban markets (UN Food and Agriculture Organization 2010, 275) and distribution centers. Such advantages, however, cause places like Iowa to experience what the report describes as an "unfavorable" ratio of land to "livestock," resulting in environmentally toxic conditions such as manure spills and seepage into surface water and groundwater, causing at the local level fish kills, contamination of drinking water, air pollution from the release of ammonia and methane, soil erosion, and declining soil fertility (275). Other "unfavorable" conditions resulting from the large-scale farming of pigs are the environmental presence of pesticides and antibiotics and a significant loss of local biodiversity, including pollinator species. As agriculture extends its reach into land formerly deemed nontillable and intensifies monocultural production of a very few selected plants and nonhuman animals, the human population shifts from rural to urban landscapes. So it is in Iowa, a state that certainly experiences overcrowding, not by people, but by invasive, domesticated, and genetically engineered species, among them millions of pigs and other animals who suffer overcrowding as only one of many forms of oppression.

Like other agricultural sectors susceptible to criticism on environmental grounds, the "pork production" industry tends to frame its environmental responsibilities locally rather than globally and to emphasize cleanup and repair over prevention of damage or maintenance of environmental health. The expanding "dead zone" in the Gulf of Mexico is conveniently out of sight to us in Iowa, and yet it is our agricultural refuse—our "nutrient overload" flowing to the Mississippi and down to the Gulf—that is the agent of large and spreading marine death. Ignoring or diverting attention from such global ramifications of intensive agriculture enables Big Ag to preserve the illusion of sustainability as a manageable, local concern.

A common industry response to sustainability questions and challenges is the portrayal of the industry's workers as experienced, caring, and well-educated professionals, good neighbors, family people, and responsible stewards of the land. On their websites, the NPPC and IPPA boast their participation in the "We Care Initiative," even as both organizations lobby vigorously against the regulation and enforcement of environmental and humanitarian standards for their industry. They describe proposed regulations as "onerous and impractical" and argue that the standards that they would set "can't be achieved without placing swine [sic] operations at significant economic risk" (NPPC, "Concentrated Animal Feeding Operations"). The industry also promotes a narrative that gives its profit-driven practices illusorily national and global importance. An article titled "Feeding the World" in the *National Hog Farmer* (Miller 2012) opens with the question, "Will we be able to feed nine billion by 2050?" The NPPC website boasts that "exports of pork and pork-related products total over 2.2 million metric tons annually," and that in 2011 alone, its members delivered "21 billion pounds of safe, wholesome and nutritious meat protein to consumers world wide" (NPPC, "Pork Facts").

While industries based on the oppression of nonhuman animals in Iowa and elsewhere strive to control public consciousness in order to facilitate continual market expansion, the UN Food and Agriculture Organization in 2006 has sounded the alarm about the environmental consequences of this market growth, noting that "Livestock's contribution to environmental problems is on a massive scale . . . The impact is so significant that it needs to be addressed with urgency" (UN Food and Agricultural Organization 2006, xx). Two years later, the UN Environment Programme (UNEP 2009, 13) identified "agriculture and food consumption" as "one of the most important drivers of environmental pressures" on the planet, citing in particular its causal roles in "habitat change, climate change, water use, and toxic emissions." Observing that population growth and increasing demand for "meat" will undoubtedly intensify these environmental pressures, the report concludes that "substantial reduction of impacts would only be possible with a substantial worldwide diet change away from animal products" (UN Environmental Programme 2009, 82).

Such evidence notwithstanding, no small number of scholars lend their currency to practices grounded in nonhuman animals' oppression and environmental harm. Ecomodernism, an emergent strain of environmental and economic philosophy, denies that humans need to sacrifice quality of life in order to live in harmony with the rest of nature. In their

Ecomodernist Manifesto (Ecomodernism.org, 7), international spokespersons for the movement write, "Intensifying many human activities—particularly farming, energy extraction, forestry, and settlement—so that they use less land and interfere less with the natural world—is the key to decoupling human development from environmental impacts." They go on to applaud the mechanization and intensification of farming, noting that it has "liberated" humanity from "hard agricultural labor," at the same time "reducing human demands on the environment" (Ecomodernism.org, 17, 18).

Such claims, pinned to the notion that human activities can somehow be "decoupled" from the environments in which they occur and from the resources they depend upon, defend a capitalist ethic that upholds "individualism, self-interest, and happiness" while deriding alternative social systems for endorsing "altruism, self-sacrifice, and misery" (Capitalism.org). Such a formula not only depends upon the human exceptionalist separation of humanity from the nonhuman world, it also requires a decoupling of human sentience from the rest of the sentient world. Preoccupied with averting the "miseries" of human self-restraint and self-denial, the ecomodernist creed disregards altogether the nonhuman suffering on which some perceptions of human "happiness" depend, as is the case in the farming of "livestock." The anthropocentric logic that makes nonhuman suffering acceptable, moreover, is likely to be bolstered by the substitution of human nutritional need for food for human *appetite* or *desire* for "meat."

Countering or supplanting this logic with differently reasoned stories of interspecies relationships, like mine about Wilbur and myself, is neither a quick fix nor a panacea, but it is important. Narrative control is an advantage well known to industries that profit from the oppression of other animals, including the "pork" production industry. In an article published in the trade journal *National Hog Farmer*, Shulz (2016) acknowledges that banning visitors from the places where pigs are raised, though necessary for reasons of biosecurity, fuels a myth circulated by advocates for nonhuman animals that pigs in these facilities are being mistreated. To combat suspicions thus implanted in the minds of consumers, the farmers featured in Shulz's article assert the need to "tell our farm's diverse story" (Shulz 2016, 17), using Facebook and Twitter and other social media platforms, as well as "educational" video presentations of pigs' lives inside the barns. The narrative endorsed by this article attempts to shift attention from the exploitation of pigs to the purported virtues of their oppressors.

One of Shulz's informants tells of learning through the site #RealPigFarming of a small-scale Mexican "pig farmer's" need for armed guards because he is regarded as wealthy, to which Shulz (2016, 17) comments, "All of a sudden farrowing crates do not seem to be such a big issue."

Farmers are also encouraged to foreground their families, with pictures and stories of farm children and baby pigs occupying an especially favored place in the narrative. As one farmer acknowledges, “cute sells” (Shulz 2016, 18). The farmers interviewed by Shulz claim to tell the *real* story of “pig farming,” positioning themselves as businesspeople who need to maintain a customer base. An Ohio farmer, for instance, asserts, “I truly believe that if we show inside our barns, and we show how much we care, I think people will think differently the next time they go to purchase pork” (17). This farmer urges her business colleagues to join her efforts to educate the public by “teaming up to bring the pork stories to classrooms” (18).

The visual component of the “pork stories” told by industry spokespersons features predominantly pink and white, and sparkling clean pigs, many of them babies. The industry’s “pork” narrative thus holds far more visual appeal than the common narrative of nonhuman animal rights activists that foreground pigs’ abjection and suffering at the hands of their human oppressors. An altogether different kind of pig story that speaks loudly to me appears in the public relations materials of farm sanctuaries, who on their websites feature biographical accounts of individual, named pigs and discuss these pigs’ personalities and friendships. These stories of individual, lucky pigs who, like E. B. White’s Wilbur, are miraculously rescued from slaughter cannot alone overturn the powerful capitalist imperative of continual growth and increasing profits. But such stories, and my own tale of how my life was changed by my friendship with Wilbur, can play an important role in shifting public consciousness, and thus in creating a human society committed to building a world where sustainability, peace, and justice for *all* human and nonhuman animals is the norm.

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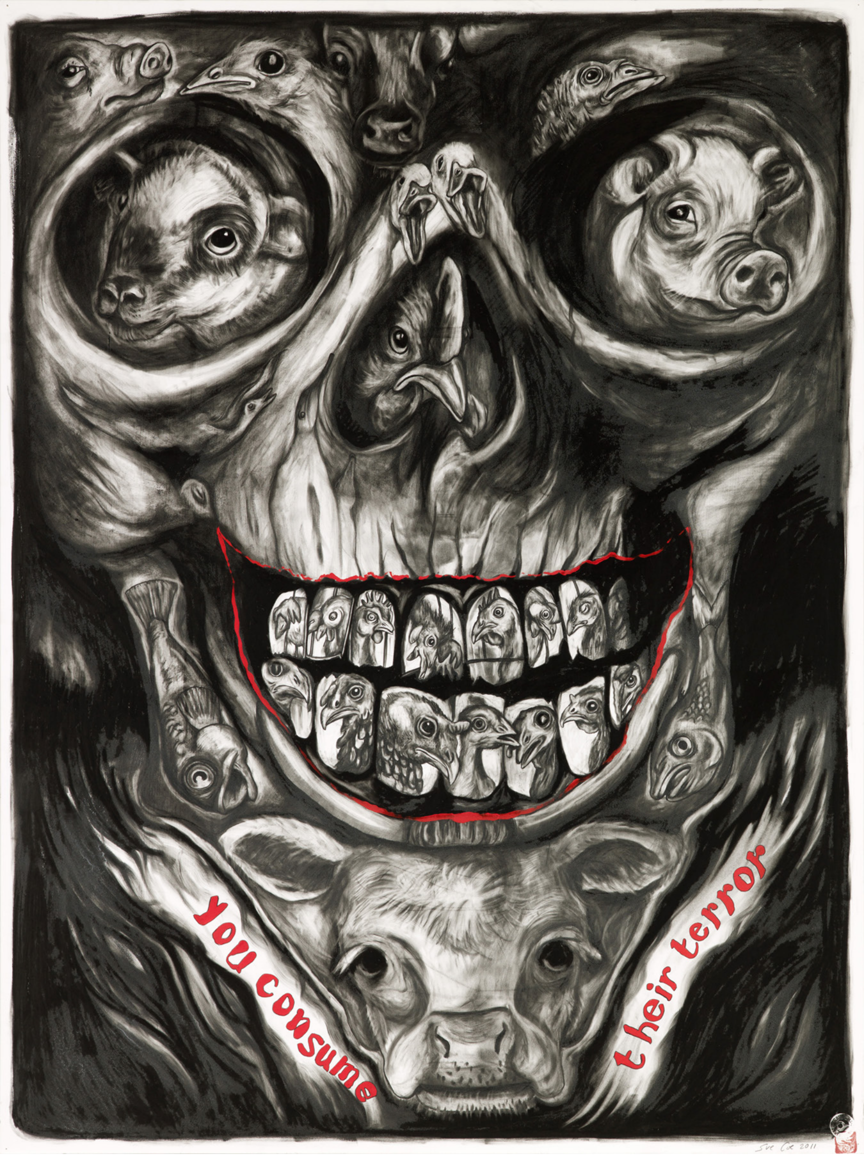
You consume
their terror
Sue Coe 2011

You Consume Their Terror. (Copyright © 2011 Sue Coe. Courtesy Galerie St. Etienne, NY)

6

Oceans Filled with Agony: Fish Oppression Driven by Capitalist Commodification

Taichi Inoue

Scholars and activists working against the oppression of other animals have focused much of their work on the atrocities in factory farms and slaughterhouses. In contrast, comparatively little has been written about those free-living nonhuman animals who have been captured, killed, and traded on the largest scale: namely, fishes.[1] While the oppression of free-living mammals and birds—say, the ivory trade, sport hunting of lions, or military exercises that destroy nonhuman animal homelands—arouses nationwide or worldwide outcry, an equally strong moral appeal has never been made for fishes and invertebrates.

Some people who want to reduce their participation in the oppression of nonhuman animals become vegetarians, and among them are people who choose the lifestyle called *pescetarianism*, or *pesco-vegetarianism,* who avoid eating nonhuman animal flesh except for that of fishes. This very classification of pesco-vegetarianism shows a unique status of fishes: do we call those who avoid eating all but pigs' flesh *porco-vegetarians,* or those who avoid all but cows' flesh *bovino-vegetarians*? People who eat the flesh of nonhuman animals are far from vegan, and not even vegetarian. For pesco-vegetarians, then, fish flesh is not flesh. Why does their moral responsibility toward nonhuman animals exclude fishes?

It is plausible to explain that fishes are aquatic nonhuman animals, not so familiar to ordinary people who live on land, and that therefore they do not get much human sympathy. As the proverb says, “Out of sight, out of mind.” But many of us also rarely see cows, chickens, or pigs in our everyday life and yet can sympathize with and fight for them. Without participating in costly whale watching, which annoys sea inhabitants with its noise, people around the world can imagine the suffering of cetaceans that they have never seen and will not see in the future, and their actions and enthusiasm successfully championed the implementation of an international moratorium on commercial whaling—with a few exceptions like Japan’s disgraceful “research whaling.”

Perhaps the biggest problem is the misconception that fishes are insentient. And once seen as insentient, nonhuman animals are excluded from the realm of animal advocates’ compassion. That is why the mainstream forces to conserve these seemingly insentient “fish stock” species have been environmentalists, not nonhuman animal advocates. Unfortunately, most environmentalist groups do not have ethical vegans as members, and they support “sustainable” nonhuman animal exploitation. While their speciesist and anthropocentric attitude can rightly be criticized from a nonhuman animal rights point of view, their conservationist contribution to the preservation of various species of aquatic nonhuman animals has unarguably been greater than that of nonhuman animal advocates.

Considering that commercial fishery wreaks havoc on the seven seas, that factory fish farms torture captive aquatic nonhuman animals while destroying the surrounding environment, that these enterprises kill almost 200 million “tonnes” of fishes annually, and that a “seafood” consumption boom is now sweeping all over the world, it is deplorable that advocates for nonhuman animals pay relatively little attention to the oppression of fishes. Of course, our power and resources are limited, and we have to focus on some problems and let others wait; but if people spend all their energy to save only mammals and birds, countless fishes . . . and even entire fish species . . . may disappear from the Earth.

In this chapter, I first introduce fishes’ sentience to argue that the nonhuman animal rights movement should give much more attention to the oppression of these other beings. Then I examine the devastating effects of commercial fishery and aquaculture (with special attention to tunas), and I will briefly look at the oppression taking place in aquariums.

SENTIENT FISHES

Fishes have almost no detectable facial expressions: they don't laugh, shed tears, or even cry when hooked—a fact that might make it easier to believe that they have no sentience and feel no pain or suffering. Some people suppose, with pseudoscientific reasoning, that they do not suffer because their brains are relatively smaller than those of human animals and have a less complex structure. It is a dangerous fallacy to deny suffering on a basis of brain difference from *ours* because that negates the possibility of their experiencing suffering in a different way from us; people's indifference to hooked or netted fishes writhing and trying to escape, based on the dubious scientific reasoning that they are dull, actually raises doubts about the existence of human sentience, compassion, and pity. Increasing scientific research, some of which is cruel, shows that fishes have a complex mental capacity, feel pain and suffering, and are emotional beings.

Fishes have A-delta and C fibers, the same pain receptors as mammals have, and although the latter's proportion in some fish species is much lower than other vertebrates, the former functions like mammalian C fibers (Brown 2013; Balcombe 2016). Fishes also produce the same brain chemicals, enkephalins and endorphins, that mammals produce when they feel pain (Balcombe 2006, 187). As new scientific research suggests, "our own awareness of pain may be much more evolutionarily ancient than suspected" (Black 2009). Fishes secrete isotocin, a similar hormone to oxytocin, which is related to love and joy, and they have a dopamine system, which is a source of human vitality. In a study using cichlids, adult male fishes injected with isotocin held back their aggressive attitude toward other fishes of their group and became submissive (Balcombe 2016, 89). This experiment suggests that they have not only emotion, but also sociality. On the topic of sociality, fishes show cooperative hunting behavior with comrades of the same or other species, inspect predators, and alert their shoal mates of their approach. They even develop a unique cultural tradition in their local society (Brown 2013).

Fishes are excellent learners. Kept in a person's house, an aquarium, or a fish farm, they memorize their feeders and come close to them when they approach their tank to give them food. On the other hand, fishes learn from their group members' behavior to avoid predators that they themselves haven't met before. They also learn the threat of fishers. A cruel experiment of repetitively capturing and releasing pikes in a pond found that the fishes learned to avoid spinners after about half of them were caught, and their hook shyness continued for more than a year (Beukema 1970). It is true that there are fishes who are caught and released repeatedly, but it doesn't prove they have no learning skill because they have to eat whatever is edible when they find it to survive in this harsh world, even if there may be some danger in eating it. And no one would say that human species have no learning skill because people don't develop "hamburger" shyness even though hundreds or more die every year from eating "burgers" contaminated with *E. coli* and Salmonella.

Fishes feel stress and fear. Zebrafishes are found to suffer depression when forced to live for a month with leaffishes, their predators (Yamamoto 2014), or when separated from their mates (Society for Neuroscience 2010). Indeed, zebrafishes have genetic characteristics so similar and mental capacity so close to humans that they are used as nonhuman animal models for human posttraumatic stress disorder (PTSD) research and other trauma- and stress-related disorders (see, for example, Stewart et al. 2014; Caramillo et al. 2015). (What an irony that they are used in animal testing *because* of their similarity to humans, while that similarity is often thought of as a condition for nonhuman beings to be considered a matter of moral concern!) Skipjack tunas are so smart that, when they find a dangerous swordfish, they go down deeper, hide in a reef, get close to a shark, or even go near a fishing boat. When they feel intense fear, they sometimes starve themselves for three days. Skipjack tunas also show socially based risk avoidance behavior: when a member of their group is harmed, the whole group descends deeper; and in exchange for swimming together with whales or whale sharks to protect themselves from swordfishes, they share with these bigger partners the prey fishes that they gathered (Wakabayashi 2004). Clearly, they experience diverse mental states, feel fear, and have the intelligence to cope with it. (There are no unintelligent animals in the first place: all animals are intelligent in their respective worlds.)

It is true that we can't experience the lives of others and ultimately can't tell whether a being, human or nonhuman, suffers or not. Even science can't confirm that: all it can do is conjecture others' states of mind based on circumstantial evidence. Whatever and however much evidence of fishes' suffering is presented hereafter, one would still be able to insist that it is not enough proof. Besides, in order to support the oppression of fishes, some scholars develop ludicrously complicated standards to measure suffering and draw a convenient conclusion that fishes do not suffer. Their painstaking skepticism could even conclude that human beings also do not suffer. With the same arguments, however, we can't confirm that fishes do not suffer. If, for example, some scientists are right and a nonhuman animal without a neocortex feels no conscious pain (Rose et al. 2014), then even birds do not experience pain—a conclusion in stark contrast both to our intuition and observation. As we have seen, many studies suggest that fishes do suffer, and it is increasingly difficult to negate their suffering based on such simple reasons that they lack a neocortex or that they—or to be exact, some of them—are captured again and again. When we cannot say whether some nonhuman animals suffer or not, we should use the precautionary principle and treat them as sentient to avoid inflicting any unintended harm.

TUNA OPPRESSION BY COMMERCIAL FISHING

So far, unfortunately, fishes have faced a miserable plight. As the unsoundness of human consumption of "meat" from nonhuman land animals became widely known, the much-touted nutritional value of fish flesh has increased its world consumption. The annual per capita consumption of what is callously referred to as "seafood" doubled during the last 50 years—while the world's population more than doubled in the same period—and Japanese people, one of the world's biggest consumers of "seafood," today consume more than 50 kilograms per person annually, compared to a world average of less than 19 kilograms (Japan Fisheries Agency 2016, 128). Such a huge demand has promoted the expansion of large-scale fishery by industrial fishing fleets, driving capitalist commodification of aquatic nonhuman animals. The total global number of individual fishes, horribly captured and killed, is so unimaginably huge that industries that profit from their deaths, as well as the organizations and states that support the practice, simply and coldheartedly refer to and measure the grouped bodies of fishes in terms of "tonnes."[2,3] They report that globally, the capture of fishes increased from about 19 million "tonnes" in 1950 to nearly 95 million "tonnes" by 2000 (UN Food and Agriculture Organization), and from 2000 until now, although their total populations decreased dramatically worldwide, almost the same amount of fishes and related species have been captured, thanks to the development of new fishing technologies such as sonar, bird radar, fish-luring lamps, and global positioning system (GPS)–based fish finders.

The fate of tunas clearly illustrates the devastating, totally uncontrollable knock-on effects caused by the capitalist-driven fishing industry. There are eight tuna species, of whom six—Atlantic, Pacific, and Southern bluefins; yellowfins; bigeyes; and albacores—are widely consumed as "sushi," "sashimi," or canned "meat" in rich countries, and skipjack tunas, a close relative of the tuna species, are also consumed in large amounts as canned "meat" in Western countries and as dried food called "*katsuobushi"* in Japan.

The oppression of tunas once occurred on a smaller scale. Tunas used to be captured and killed only for subsistence by peoples living in coastal villages near their migratory routes, and the trade of their flesh was limited within local communities. But as the development of capturing, freezing, and transporting technologies enabled a large-scale tuna trade, and as the demand for them was engineered worldwide, especially in Japan, tunas' commodification accelerated drastically. The global capture of the abovementioned six tunas and skipjacks soared from half a million “tonnes” in 1950 to more than a million “tonnes” in the 1970s to 4 million “tonnes” by 2000, with the skipjack making up half of them recently and the yellowfin and bigeye taking the second and third rank, respectively (Nakano and Oka 2010, 146). Japan, the world’s biggest tuna killer, takes the largest share of Pacific bluefin, bigeye, and albacores; the second-largest share (after Australia) of Southern bluefins, and the fifth- or sixth-largest share of Atlantic bluefin, yellowfin, and skipjack (UN Food and Agriculture Organization).

Let’s examine methods of capturing tunas. There are two typical traditional systems: trap-net and pole-and-line fishing. Trap-net systems, such as the *tonnara* in Italy, the *almadraba* in Spain, and the *daibo-ami* in Japan, are made up of a wall net to block migrating fishes and a chamber net (or a series of them) to keep the fishes. They have been used mainly to capture bluefin tunas: the wall net directs them into the first chamber, and when the fishes come to the last chamber, the nets are pulled up and the fishes are slaughtered. The process of using a long pole with a sharp hook on the end to stab tunas and to pull them into the ship (gaffing) makes the sea scarlet with the blood of the terrified and dying beings.

Pole-and-line fishing is a method adopted by some Japanese commercial tuna operations and by many in the United States for sport. Sport fishing in the United States has been a violent recreational activity in which fishes are killed just for fun. Knowing that tunas can be sold at a high price in Japan, however, sport fishing became tinged with commercialism, and sport “fishers” today have to obtain commercial permits (Ellis 2008, 105–106). In Japan, pole-and-line “fishers” in fishing regions such as Oma in the Aomori Prefecture target Pacific bluefins to make a profit. At the traditional new-year auction, *hatsu-seri*, in 2013 at Tsukiji Uo Ichiba (now Tsukiji Uo-gashi), the biggest fish and “seafood” market in the world, a bluefin tuna weighing 222 kilograms caught at Oma was sold for 155.4 million yen ($1.7 million)—that is, 700,000 yen ($6,875) per kilogram.

Such a business drives fish oppression. Fishers sometimes boast about their hours-long “battle” with a tuna, which is actually nothing but hours of torturing a terrified fish with a hook. From a business perspective, tunas must be killed swiftly because otherwise they struggle violently and the stress discolors their flesh, lowering their prices. The flesh of bluefins caught at Oma, however, is often found terribly discolored, indicating their torturous death (Ueda 2003).

Pole-and-line fishing for skipjack tunas has a long history, which grew dramatically since the seventeenth century in Japan. Hooked skipjacks are flung up high in order to smash them on the deck. Because crews on a skipjack fishing boat captures many of them at a time, the fishes are not swiftly killed; they continue to suffer until they slowly die, unable to breathe, in freezing boxes filled with ice. Although viewed as a form of sustainable fishery, pole-and-line fishing, combined with high-tech devices, is actually so efficient that Japanese pole-and-line vessels capture whole schools of skipjack tunas that they find. Added to the target species' suffering is that of other fishes used as live "bait," including sardines, mackerels, horse mackerels, silver-stripe round herrings, and small squids, many of whom perish from injury, changes of water temperature, or oxygen deficiency during or after their removal from open-water cages to fish wells on boats. Labor intensive as it is, pole-and-line fishing takes about 14 percent of tuna capture worldwide (Ellis 2008, 119).

The longline is a large-scale fishing tool invented in Japan in the eighteenth century that consists of a long horizontal mainline with many dangling snoods attached to it. As the number of tunas decreased and the power of the machinery to pull the line increased, the number of hooks on the line was raised from several hundred in the 1950s to a staggering 3,000 today (Nakano and Oka 2010, 124). With the mechanization of ships, introduction of durable chemical fibers for lines, and advancement of freezing and refrigerating technologies that made it easy to slow the decomposition of dead fishes, longliners have expanded their operation areas since the early 1900s, and nowadays Japanese longlining fleets, together with Taiwanese, Chinese, and other countries' longliners, capture and kill tunas all over the world.

Contrary to its appearance, longlining is a very inefficient way of fishing: in the past, a longline fished 100–200 tunas per cast, but today, with their decimated population, its 3,000 hooks capture 20–30 fishes at best, and fewer than 10 on average (Ueda 2003; Nakano and Oka 2010). The fishes caught experience extreme suffering and fear, are vulnerable to attacks by predators, and are unable to escape over the hours or days until they are landed and killed (Balcombe 2016, 219).

Hooks do not choose their target. Longlining is notorious for generating a large amount of "bycatch," the capture of nontargeted nonhuman animals. Indeed, longliners unintentionally kill 4.4 million sharks, billfishes, seabirds, sea turtles, and marine mammals each year (Ovetz 2004). A total of 80–90 percent of the shark capture in Japan comes from the nation's tuna longliners, and the sharks caught by them are either traded for their fins and flesh or simply discarded. Decades of longlining has taken the lives of many sharks. Measured in insensitive industry terms, due to their declining population, the number of mako sharks killed declined from an estimated 1,500 "tonnes" in 1992 to less than 700 "tonnes" in 2014; and that of North Pacific spiny dogfishes from 1,000 "tonnes" before the 1970s to less than 200 "tonnes" in the 2000s (Ito, 2016; Japan Fisheries Research and Education Agency 2016). The precise data on the number of the sharks killed by Japanese operation is unavailable because of the voluntary nature of the reporting of the killing, and the number and amount of discarded dead sharks are totally unknown.

Further, shark products are a source of big money for Japanese fishing interests—a total production value of 5 billion yen ($49 million) annually for Kesen-numa in Miyagi Prefecture alone. Those who profit from the practices argue against any international shark conservation efforts, saying that such activity must be a conspiracy of Western environmental groups to repress longline tuna fishery by Japanese "fishers" (Ida 2005). When some shark species were listed for conservationist-style protection by the Convention on International Trade in Endangered Species (CITES)—namely, whale sharks and basking sharks in 2002, great whites in 2004, and oceanic whitetips, porbeagles, and three species of hammerheads in 2013—the Japanese government decided to reject the international rules on the trade in shark flesh, clearly to protect the interests of national longliners. In addition to "bycatch" problems, longliners oppress much "bait fishes." A total of 3,000 frozen fishes used per commercial cast must be fresh, so each time the line is pulled up, uneaten dead fishes are replaced with new ones (Ueda 2003, 68). In other words, small fishes used as "bait" are dumped with the "bycaught" nonhuman animals if not eaten by "lucrative" fishes, such as tunas or sharks.

Purse seining is the most efficient method to capture and kill tunas and, therefore, the biggest contributor to their awful oppression. It is a large-scale operation conducted by a main ship and a skiff that encircle a school of tunas with a net 1 mile long and 250 yards deep. When the nonhuman animals are encircled, the net is closed at the bottom—like an apron—and pulled out of the water, leaving not a single fish behind. Purse seining constitutes the overwhelming proportion of world tuna capture, which soared from 500,000 "tonnes" in the 1970s to more than 2.5 million "tonnes" in the 2000s, as opposed to 500,000 "tonnes" each for pole-and-line fishing and longlining today (Nakano and Oka 2010, 145, 150).

Its chilling efficiency is notable: in a day's operation, purse seiners capture and kill an amount of fishes equivalent to the annual total capture by pole-and-line fishers. In 2014, seven fleets of purse seiners captured an estimated 46,000–48,000 bluefin tunas at the Sea of Japan (Yorimitsu 2015). For the fishes, the purse seine is hellish. Tunas do not have gill muscles and have to swim endlessly to take oxygen, but when captured in a closing net, they cannot swim, suffocating and writhing. When they are forced from the water, they are piled one atop another in the net, and the fishes at the bottom are crushed to death.

The profit-driven horrors of purse seine also generate an enormous "bycatch." U.S. vessels targeting yellowfin tunas in the eastern Pacific have long bycaught dolphins who often swim with yellowfins. Due to protests by environmentalists about dolphin "bycatches," the fishing industry invented fish aggregating devices (FADs), floating devices around which tunas gather. While the number of dolphins killed was reduced, the use of FADs resulted in a "bycatch" of juvenile bigeyes who live with juvenile yellowfins, causing the rapid decline of the former population (Nakano and Oka 2010, 139–140). In Australia, Greenpeace found that the nation's purse seiners bycatch hundreds of thousands of nontarget species every year, including rays, marlins, sea turtles, mako sharks, silk sharks, and even whale sharks (even though some of these are endangered species), only to dump them afterward (Michael 2014). However, the biggest victim is the "target species."

Reckless pursuit of profit by purse seiners reduced the spawning population of western Atlantic bluefins by 90 percent between 1970 and 2000; the eastern Atlantic bluefin capture dropped from 50,000 "tonnes" of their flesh in the late 1990s to 34,000 "tonnes" in the 2000s. Further, these numbers are unreliable because they don't include the huge amount of illegal fishing (Ida 2005, 42–43). Over the past 20 years, the Atlantic population of all bluefins dwindled by 80 percent in the east and 50 percent in the west (Ellis 2008, 125). In the Pacific Ocean, years of relentless and intensive inshore purse seining by subsidiaries of Japan's big "seafood" interests such as Nippon Suisan and Maruha Nichiro have reduced the spawning population of Pacific bluefins by about three-quarters over the past 15 years (Foster 2013), and the total population of the bluefins has dropped to only *2.6 percent* of their precommercially oppressed numbers (Kurtenbach 2016). And under the heavy pressure of efficient purse seining, skipjack tunas are now nearing extinction.

In the quest to meet the huge demand for "dried bonito" in Japan and the increasing demand for canned "meat" and cat food in Europe and the United States, the skipjack capture worldwide has skyrocketed from 165,000 "tonnes" of skipjack flesh in 1950, to 1.7 million "tonnes" in 1995, to 3.06 million "tonnes" in 2014 (UN Food and Agriculture Organization). As purse seiners from around the world scramble for skipjack tunas in the open sea, their entire population is undeniably dwindling, as evidenced by a fourfold decline of coastal pole-and-line fishing in Japan over the past 20 years (Ose 2014).

Responsible for posing urgent threats to tunas around the world are rich nations, especially Japan, as noted by Longo, Clausen, and Clark (2015, 86):

> In 2005, Japan imported 55 percent of the entire global imports in Atlantic bluefin tuna. Japan, together with Spain, France, the United States, and Italy, make up almost 95 percent of the global market. Japan's imports alone are estimated to reach 75 percent of the total dollar value of global imports of bluefin tuna.

Japan, the world's biggest tuna-capturing and -killing country, is also the world's biggest tuna flesh–consuming country, which takes one-fifth of global tuna consumption—even though it saw a 35 percent decrease of national tuna consumption during the last decade—and eats up a staggering *80 percent* of the flesh of all global bluefin tunas (WWF Japan 2009; Foster 2013). In the past, Japan exported most of the tunas that they captured and killed to the United States in the form of frozen fishes or canned products; it was only the elite in the country who ate "sashimi" of "*toro,*" or the belly fat of tunas. But when Japan entered a high-growth period during the postwar era, export declined and domestic demand for fresh fish flesh soared; the number of "sushi" bars increased twofold, their sales more than sixfold, and per-household consumption of fresh tunas flesh grew 60 percent (Nakano and Oka 2010, 157–159). As trading firms purchase tunas directly from "fishers," not via the wholesale market, they try to sell tunas inexpensively in supermarkets and "sushi"-go-round restaurants (*"kaiten-zushi"*), where pieces of cheap "sushi" are carried and served on conveyer belts, enabling the general public in the country to consume tunas on an unprecedented scale.

Despite the recent popularity of "sushi" and "sashimi" in Europe, South Korea, China, and the United States, Japanese consumption of the raw flesh of tunas today is twice the amount of all other nations combined (Nihon Keizai Shimbun 2013). Even in the face of the growing danger of the extinction of tunas, especially that of bluefins, quite a large percentage of people in Japan, conditioned to eat the flesh of tunas, worry about a possible tuna trade ban that would make it impossible to eat *"toro"* any longer.

Are international "management" bodies just watching the situation, keeping at arm's length? There are five agencies: the International Commission for the Conservation of Atlantic Tunas (ICCAT), the Inter-American Tropical Tuna Commission (IATTC), the Western and Central Pacific Fisheries Commission (WCPFC), the Indian Ocean Tuna Commission (IOTC), and the Commission for the Conservation of Southern Bluefin Tuna (CCSBT), and one scientific agency: the International Scientific Committee for Tuna and Tuna-like Species in the North Pacific Ocean (ISC), which engage in international tuna "management." Japan belongs to all of these organizations, which are expected to protect tunas by establishing each member's quotas. However, their administrative committees—made up wholly of representatives from their member-states' fisheries agencies, and not of animal rights groups—issue fishery-friendly regulations.

In the late 1990s and early 2000s, for example, scientists at ICCAT recommended to limit the quotas of plummeting bluefin tunas to within 20,000 to 25,000 "tons," but the actual quotas agreed upon were over 30,000 "tons" (Longo et al. 2015). While ICCAT's ruling to limit juvenile fish capture and shorten purse seining seasons contributed to the recovery of the bluefin population, the organization soon decided after the recovery to reincrease the total allowable "catch" (TAC) from 13,500 "tonnes" in 2014 to

16,142 “tonnes” in 2015, and 19,296 “tonnes” in 2016, and, if a “stock” assessment in 2016 doesn’t reveal bad results, 23,155 “tonnes” in 2017, though some scientists warn against such drastic expansion (AFP 2014). At the 2016 meeting of IOTC, the committee managing the Indian Ocean, which provides 20–30 percent of the global yellowfin, scientists concerned about the ongoing overfishing recommended cutting the yellowfin capture by 20 percent. However, the actual reduction was only 5–15 percent (WWF Japan 2016).

At WCPFC, fisheries “management” is conducted by the Northern Committee, a lower branch of the commission organized by Japan, whose chairperson is chosen from members or ex-members of the Japan Fisheries Agency, and which makes consistent decisions to support purse seining by Japanese companies. In 2015, for example, they decided to cut the quota of juvenile Pacific bluefins to half the average for 2002–2004, a period when the Japanese fleet was taking a huge amount of bluefins. Compared to the average capture between 2010 and 2012, the quotas for Mexico and South Korea were cut by 49 percent and 70 percent, respectively, while the Japanese quota was cut by only 6 percent. In addition, the Northern Committee took no measures to protect pregnant bluefins, who are the target of Japanese purse seiners. Again, compared to the average for 2010–2012, the Japanese quota is 35 percent down for juvenile fishes and 48 percent *up* for adult fishes (Katsukawa 2015).

In short, the committee says that they regulate pole-and-line fishing of younger fishes by relatively smaller “fishers” and instead promote purse seining of pregnant fishes by bigger companies such as Nippon Suisan. Although incredible in scientific terms, the Japan Fisheries Agency maintains that no correlation has been observed between the number of parent fishes and that of baby fishes, and that that means reducing the former doesn’t result in reducing the latter. The Northern Committee set a modest goal: to restore the Pacific bluefin population from its 2.6 percent of the original level at present to just 7 percent by 2024; the United States proposed a 20 percent goal, but the Japan Fisheries Agency rejected it (Sanada 2015).

The enormous level of suffering sanctioned by international regulatory organizations is further compounded by the “illegal”[4] killing of fishes. Such “illegal” taking of fishes’ lives is frequently accomplished by people on vessels displaying flags of nations not subject to international regulations—flags of convenience (FOCs). Spanish, Italian, Taiwanese, and Chinese vessels being used to capture tunas operate under the flags of Panama, Belize, St. Vincent and the Grenadines, and Honduras. In the early 2000s, 15 percent of the world’s large-scale fishing fleet, or 2,800 ships, flew a FOC or a flag of unknown origin (*Tuna Fishing News* 2005). All the Spanish “tuna fleet” operates under FOCs, and, contrary to the explanation given by the country’s purse seiner organization that they use FOCs “purely for the tax advantages,” ex-crews of Spanish purse seiners sailing in the Indian

Ocean say that it is a means of evading international regulations (Clover 2004, 128).

While recorded legal captures of Atlantic bluefins in the Mediterranean region were about 20,000–25,000 "tons" of flesh annually during the first decade of the 2000s, ICCAT estimates that the actual captures reached 50,000–60,000 "tons" per year, including the amount of illegal captures (Longo et al. 2015, 89). The Italian fleet illegally caught more bluefin tunas than the legitimate quotas of China, Taiwan, Albania, Syria, Iceland, or Norway in 2015, and 90 percent of bluefins sold in the country are illegally caught (Nickson 2015). In the Pacific, Taiwanese FOC ships have "illegally" captured and killed bigeye tunas. Encouraged by Japanese and domestic trading companies, Taiwanese "fishers" have built 25 purse seiners since 1999 to sail under FOCs, and the nation's capture of bigeye tunas increased from 250,000 "tonnes" at that time to 450,000 "tonnes" in 2003, dramatically diminishing their population (Ida 2005, 64–65).

Japan is deeply linked to illegal fishery by FOC ships. Taiwanese FOC ships are secondhand ships originally exported from Japan; FOC ships have skilled Japanese "fishers" as their crews; and oiling ships supplying FOC ships with fuel and reefer ships carrying dead fishes from FOC ships are dispatched by Japanese trading companies. Tuna flesh from FOC ships is consumed by people in Japan. Because tunas caught by FOC ships are cheaper than those caught by "legal" Japanese ships, Japanese supermarket and "sushi"-go-round restaurants favored them.

Between 2000 and 2010, Spain, Italy, Netherlands, Morocco, Tunisia, and Turkey exported 14,327 "tonnes" of processed Atlantic bluefin tuna flesh from an estimated 18,704 "tonnes" of *live* fishes—via Panama to Japan—without reporting the trade information to ICCAT (WWF 2012). These illegal, unreported, and unregulated (IUU) operations make any regulation almost impossible. Noncompliance by member-states with international rules, whose ability to control the number of tunas killed is dubious even if they were thoroughly enforced, means that tuna "management" organizations contribute to the protection of the various species no more than the International Whaling Commission prevents the plummeting population of whales. So long as they see tunas as resources, their priority is always ensuring profit for commercial fishing interests. The so-called sustainable fishery is nothing but an illusion.

MARINE FEEDLOT AND THE VICIOUS CYCLE OF OPPRESSION

Aquaculture, or factory fish farming, is one of the fastest-growing sectors of the food industry. It has recorded an average rate of 8.6 percent growth per year since the 1980s (FAO 2014, 38); today, more than 30 percent of world's "seafood" comes from factory-farmed fishes (Delago et al. 2003). Although its proponents tout it as an eco-friendly way of supplying "seafood," aquaculture in general has developed as a form of factory farming from its beginning and has multiple unsolvable problems, similar to those of land factory farming. Besides human health threats, such as high concentrations of toxic chemicals in farmed carnivorous fishes—farmed salmons, for example, containing 16 times more PCBs than free-living ones and 4 times more than "beef" (Environmental Working Group 2003)—aquaculture presents a new threat to aquatic nonhuman animals and wreaks havoc on the surrounding environment.

As is the case with their terrestrial counterparts, aquatic nonhuman animals confined in an intensive operation feel severe stress that makes them susceptible to disease, so operators use large quantities of antibiotics to control infection. A total of 70–80 percent of these drugs, however, are not ingested by fishes; rather, they enter the environment, promoting the development of antibiotic-resistant organisms. Diseases that develop in factory-farmed fishes sometimes spread to free-living fishes, as illustrated, for example, by the outbreak in the United States of whirling disease, a neurological disorder that has spread from farmed to free-living trouts since its first emergence in the 1950s (Stier and Hopkins 2010, 149). Huge volumes of feces and uneaten feed left by factory fish farms pollute the seabed, and their nutrient accumulation causes an algae bloom. These algae consume oxygen when they die and create a *dead zone* (a body of water lacking oxygen), which has a devastating effect on its surrounding ecosystem.

As much as 37 percent of the total fishes captured and killed are made into "fishmeal" and "fish oil" (Watson, Alder, and Pauly 2006), and the aquaculture industry uses an estimated 59 percent of "fishmeal" and 77 percent of "fish oil" as feed for farmed fishes (Wijkström 2010). In the Antarctic Sea, trawlers capture krill (small, shrimplike beings) to use as feed for farmed fishes, radically diminishing their population and creating hunger crises for whales, penguins, and other nonhuman animals there. An example of direct harm to people living near factory fish farms is the destruction of mangrove forests by the shrimp factory farming industry, which exports the flesh of shrimps mainly to Japan, Canada, and the United States. Mangrove deforestation is proceeding more rapidly than that of tropical forests, almost 40 percent of which is caused by factory farming of shrimps. Waste accumulation, water pollution, and disease infection among confined and highly crowded shrimps spoil farming ponds within 5 to 10 years; the companies then move to other places and destroy mangrove forests there. The ruined and abandoned operation areas cannot be used by local citizens. Trading and fishing companies in Japan have run factory shrimp farms in southeast Asia, abandoning 150,000 hectares of shrimp ponds between 1985 and 1995 (Ida 2005).

And there are more deplorable consequences of factory-farming nonhuman animals who live in the water. Among them is the way that the existence of factory farms for tuna contributes to the continuing, relentless capture of tunas. Tuna ranching is not full-cycle, from-egg-to-adult aquaculture, but a capture-based, fattening practice. In the Mediterranean region, young Atlantic bluefin tunas weighing about 10 kilograms or adult bluefins weighing over 100 kilograms after their spawning are captured alive with purse seines and fed with "bait fishes" while confined in floating cages for anywhere from 6 to 18 months. In Japan, baby Pacific bluefins called *yokowa* weighing 1.5 to 500 grams are captured and raised for a few years until they grow to 30 to 90 kilograms, although the nation's fishery companies such as Nippon Suisan and Sonichi increasingly now run Mediterranean-style ranching operations.

A tuna cage in general has a circular form 10–50 meters in diameter and 10–20 meters in depth, and several hundred tunas are forced to live in it. A large facility raises almost 1,000 "tonnes" of bluefin tunas in four or five cages (Ida 2005, 160). The development of tuna ranching has promoted the development of fishing technologies that now capture thousands of tunas to fill the cages. In 2004, it was estimated that government subsidies of at least 19–20 million euros had been spent on tuna ranching in the Mediterranean region during the preceding several years (Tudela and Garcia 2004, 24). These funds are used to develop new ranching facilities, research advanced ranching methods, and/or build bigger, high-tech purse seiners that supply ranches with live tunas. Capturing juvenile or postspawning fishes is the most efficient way to accelerate their extinction because it deprives them of the opportunity to spawn thereafter. It is not only direct and unrestrained capture by purse seiners, but also the ranching industry's use of the method, that have sharply reduced the remaining Atlantic bluefins in the Mediterranean and the Southern bluefins in Australia.

Tuna ranches have other problems. Like cow or pig confinement facilities, they produce mountains of excrement whose nitrogen and phosphorus cause eutrophication (an abnormal accumulation of nutrients), followed by oxygen depletion in the bottom water and the generation of toxic gases such as hydrogen sulfide. The excess feed also damages the environment as it accumulates on the seabed (Ottolenghi 2008). Antifoulants used to prevent algae bloom and therapeutants to prevent disease and parasites also spread from the cages (Atuna.com 2015). Viruses in or on imported "bait fishes" can also spread to tunas or other species in the surrounding environment. In 1995, herpes viruses spread from near tuna ranches off Port Lincoln, Australia, causing major casualties of sardines and ensuing massive starvation of gannets, penguins, and other nonhuman animals who depend on sardines (Stier and Hopkins 2010, 149; Ida 2005, 184).

Small fishes changing their migration routes due to concentrated caged tunas are another example of the ecosystem disturbance (Ida 2005, 185). With such problems in mind, the Croatian environmental ministry pointed out in 2003 that tuna ranches presented dangers to vast marine ecosystems. Environmental groups in Malta have warned that tuna ranches threaten nesting colonies of seabirds (Tudela and Garcia 2004, 12–14). Carnivorous species drawn to the crowded, captive tunas or their "bait" are often killed when they come near or into the cages; for instance, Mexican ranchers shoot "trespassing" seals to death (Abe 2009), and in Mexican, Australian, and Mediterranean regions, great whites often enter tuna cages. In the early 2000s, blue sharks, shortfin makos, and great whites were trapped in tuna cages near Italy and Spain. Some of them were released, but others were found dead or were killed by ranchers. The exact number of those trapped is unknown because these incidents are not always reported (Galaz and De Maddalena 2004). Like other factory-farmed nonhuman animals, caged tunas suffer horribly; they are unable to escape from predators, are vulnerable to weather disasters and probable annihilation by red tides (the toxic bloom of red algal), and are subject to the risk of being entangled in the netting (Ellis 2008, 168). All these tragedies are the result of the drive to accumulate profit.

The capitalist imperative for increasing profits brought about highly oppressive methods that cause unimaginable suffering of tunas. Small juvenile tunas and postspawning, thin adult tunas are of small value to human commercial operations. But when they are fattened to contain lots of *"toro"* and sold to the Japanese "sushi/sashimi" market, they produce big money. Tuna ranching first began in the 1960s, when Canadian "fishers" captured and fed "bait fishes" to tunas. This was done under the instructions from Taito Seiko, a subsidiary of Maruha Corporation, now known as Maruha Nichiro (FRA 2014). Then in 1979, backed by Taito, the first commercial operation was constructed in Spanish Morocco, and the fattening venture of trapped postspawning tunas began (FRA 2014; Ellis 2008). Purse seining began in 1991 in ranching operations at Port Lincoln, Australia, and it grew into a big business; the technique was then transplanted to Mexico, Croatia, Italy, Malta, Greece, Turkey, Cyprus, Libya, and other countries, all with technological support by Japanese trading and fishery companies. Ranched species are mainly three bluefins (Atlantic, Pacific, and Southern), and their total "production" reached 35,000 "tonnes" of tuna flesh valued at $644 million in 2014 (UN Food and Agriculture Organization). Especially notable is the growth of Port Lincoln, the only city with commercial operations that feed Southern bluefins. Port Lincoln's trade in tuna flesh soared from $3.45 million in 1992, the first year of trading ranched tunas, to $110 million in 2014 (UN Food and Agriculture Organization). A small class of "tuna barons" emerged, who live ostentatiously in huge mansions and villas. The overwhelming majority of the flesh of ranched tunas is exported to Japan, and the huge supply has reduced the price of tunas in the country, enabling the general public to eat cheap *"toro."* While free-living tunas in the seas are in danger of extinction, the Japanese market in tuna flesh is facing oversupply.

While the profits from tuna ranching grow and Japanese consumers enjoy cheap "sushi" and "sashimi," regulation of commercial companies continues to falter. When tunas are ranched, it takes time, processes, and procedures from capture to selling; we can know the amount of fishes "produced," but never how many fishes are caught. Nor can we know when, where, or by whom the fishes are caught, or their sizes, and how many of them die before the "production" amount is reported. Some countries, such as Libya and Tunisia, do not report their capture to the region's regulatory body. If a fishing fleet captures tunas beyond its quotas, that offense can be concealed via ranching. Indeed, the actual tuna capture calculated from ranching "production" is far beyond the total allowable "catch" (Ida 2005, 178).

ICCAT set quotas at 32,000 "tonnes" of flesh for 2003–2006, but it is estimated that the amount of tunas captured for ranching in the Mediterranean alone in 2003 reached over 40,000 "tonnes" (Tudela and Garcia 2004, 20). Quotas set in 2007 were themselves beyond the level recommended by scientists, but almost twice the quota of tunas were actually captured (WWF Japan 2010). In addition to such "regulated" capture, tuna ranching drives "illegal" capture. Although ICCAT has regulated IUU operations by establishing a "catch" documentation scheme (CDS) for Atlantic bluefin tunas, they still do not have data on the number or amount of tunas captured and caged in ranches. WCPFC manages the western and central Pacific, where Japanese purse seiners capture Pacific bluefins, but they did not and are not likely to establish CDS. Concerned about insufficient enforcement of fishing regulations, environmentalists press for stricter cuts of capture quotas, and scientists at regulatory organizations agree. Nations engaged in tuna ranching, however, oppose them, insisting that the "stock" is in good health and such measures would have an adverse effect on the local employment and economy (ICTSD 2010; Ellis 2008).

Given that capture-based ranching has innumerable shortcomings, how about full-cycle aquaculture? In 2002, researchers at Kinki University in Japan succeeded in creating full-cycle aquaculture of bluefin tunas. Although "mass production" is still impossible due to the difficulty of keeping the infant mortality low, companies including Nippon Suisan, Maruha Nichiro, and Takuyo are pursuing this hyperoppressive practice. However, full-cycle aquaculture fuels the increase capture of "bait fishes." Tunas must swim ceaselessly, and therefore the major part of feed is burned as energy, which means that their feed efficiency is low: They must eat 20–25 kilograms of small fishes, or more than a staggering 1,000 kilograms of plant protein, to gain a single kilogram of body weight (Greenberg 2010). Of course, tunas are not to blame; so long as they live freely in the ocean, they never damage the ecosystem—free-living cows in their indigenous places do not harm the native florae. Today, the number of sardines, pilchards, and anchovies are plummeting all over the world, due both to marine environmental degradation and relentless capture by purse seiners to sell them as food for ranched tunas (Bearzi et al. 2006). If full-cycle tuna aquaculture artificially increases tunas, the capture of smaller fishes would no doubt further intensify.

TUNAS IMPRISONED: A RECREATIONAL OPPRESSION

The torture of tunas is not limited to their violent capture or their terrible confinement in marine CAFOs. There are six aquariums in Japan that keep tunas in captivity for public entertainment and "education." These facilities confine tunas of various ages, species, and origins. They are captured by pole-and-line fishing or trap nets and confined to tanks. While many die during capture and transportation, the greatest danger they face is in the aquariums. When blinded with a photograph flash, served feed, or when males chase females, speeding tunas sometimes collide with the walls of their tanks and die from the injury. A researcher at an aquarium says that on average, one tuna dies per month from crashing against the wall. Water in the tank is supplied with pumps, and when pump water contains too much oxygen, bubbles form in the tunas' vessels, resulting in their death.

In response to this loss of life, aquarium operators continually capture new tunas. In late 2014, the Tokyo Sea Life Park saw almost all of the 150 captives of one of their tanks perish; they simply "restocked" the tank without thorough investigation of the cause of these deaths. Meanwhile, the Port of Nagoya Public Aquarium forces tunas and sardines to live together in a tank, imposing great stress and strain on the latter. They gather and form a defensive formation in their desperate effort to escape from the confined, stressed, and hungry tunas.

Aquariums contend that they contribute to nonhuman animal and ecosystem protection by heightening people's interest in "aquatic life." There is no report indicating the advancement in the protection of tunas or other species that coincided with the growth in aquarium business; on the contrary, aquariums undermine protection efforts. In addition to the contradiction of capturing free-living fishes to make up for the deaths of others in these facilities, Japanese aquariums—and zoos—present no information about the commercially driven threats to the types of nonhuman animals that they put on exhibit. Entities such as the Tokyo Sea Life Park and the Port of Nagoya Public Aquarium even promote the consumption of the flesh of tunas by serving dishes derived from them in their restaurants. Prompted to eat foods derived from the same type of fishes that they observed some minutes before, the visitors are implanted with the strong impression that the fishes are mere "food animals." Indeed, many Japanese visitors (mainly children) who see swimming tunas remark about how tasty they look. Aquariums, as well as zoos, commodify highly sentient nonhuman animals, capture them with cruel methods, confine them in cages from which there is no escape, and deprive them of natural lives, putting them on display until they die from their captivity.

CONCLUSION

Under the capitalist system, all earthly beings are commodified, their intrinsic value denied, and their importance measured only by their exchange values. Fishes are seen as things, as "fish stock," and their impending extinction is called "depletion." Although many organizations regulate the capture of fishes, their purpose is not to protect fishes' right to life, but to conserve them so that humans hereafter can keep on consuming "seafood." The ruthless logic and imperatives of capitalism promote unconscious consumption. The public is conditioned to acquiesce to the eating of nonhuman animals, as well as water pollution, coastal developments, dam construction, offshore drilling, military activities, water privatization, and other practices that imperil the fishes of the Earth.

The massacre of tunas has its roots in the profitable nationwide consumption of "sushi" and "sashimi" in Japan. Unfortunately, this "cuisine" has gained popularity in the United States, Europe, and other rich Asian countries, while consumption of "canned tunas" and "pet" food containing tuna flesh is also growing. These wonderful, highly sentient beings, who can live for several decades and swim in the ocean with lightning speed, are decimated for "sushi" or "pet" food. Aquariums claim that they confine a small number of fishes for public education in order to save the majority of fishes in the natural world, while in fact exacerbating the problems by promoting "seafood" consumption.

As mentioned at the beginning of this chapter, the animal rights movement needs to devote more attention and energy to the challenge of the vast oppression of fishes. Also, animal rights activists must understand the importance of protecting the environment. A true animal rights activist is an environmentalist, and vice versa. At the same time, we should persistently protest against the capitalist system that commodifies human and nonhuman animals while colonizing human conscience and making people think of everything in terms of profit or loss, thus diverting us from ethical choice. Ethical veganism, environmentalism, and anticapitalism are now connected; the unfolding of this holistic justice movement is the strategy that can save all the animals of the Earth——human and nonhuman—from the devastation driven by the unbridled acquisition of wealth.

NOTES

1. Following the example of Balcombe (2016), in this chapter, I use the countable form of nouns for "fish" and each fish species (e.g., "a tuna/tunas") to highlight the fact that they are beings with individual personalities, not abstract collective concepts.

2. Due to the lack of data that count the number of individual fishes of a certain group, this chapter regretfully uses weight data, but the word "tonnes" will be placed in quotes throughout. It is important to note that measuring the population or toll of a nonhuman group not by their number but by their weight is industry-based, linguistic oppression that presents fishes as things, not individual beings.

3. A tonne, sometimes called a metric ton, equals 2,240 pounds.

4. For each individual fish captured and killed, it makes little difference if the terrible taking of her or his life is promoted as "legal" or not.

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7

The "Dog Meat" Trade and China's Urban-Based Development

Peter Li

China's "socialist market" reform in the last three decades has produced an impressive result. From an economy that was smaller than that of Spain in 1979, China is now the world's second-largest economy. Contributing to the breathtaking growth are new productions, enterprises and industries, and commodification of nonhuman animals. The dog "meat" industry is an example of the commodification of nonhuman animals for profit and a new enterprise with a scale of production and a nationwide supply network that were nowhere to be found in China's past. China has a dog "meat" consumption (hereafter referred to as *dog eating*) culinary subculture. Yet, even in ancient China, dog eating was controversial. The dog "meat" industry, in the words of its defenders, is no different from the "livestock trade." They brandish the concept of cultural diversity to discredit the cruelty claims of their critics. A more "radical" defense of the dog "meat" industry comes from young supporters who, agreeing that dog eating is a culinary subculture and has no future, still view the industry as a form of resistance of the disenfranchised "peasants."

In the last decade, China's dog "meat" industry has attracted much domestic and international criticism, especially the "dog meat festival" celebrated by the city of Yulin, in southwest China's Guangxi province, on the summer solstice day (June 21) each year. The festival is highly offensive to both Chinese and international animal rights activists. In 2015 and 2016, legislative bills to ban the dog "meat" trade were submitted to China's National People's Congress. Some 10 million netizens signed a petition supporting the most recent such bill. In May 2016, U.S. Congressman Alcee L. Hastings (D-FL) initiated a resolution condemning China's dog "meat" trade. He also wrote to President Xi Jinping urging him to outlaw the trade. Rarely in contemporary time has a Chinese issue received so much domestic and international attention.

THE CONTROVERSY

Dog "meat" consumption exists across mainland China, a multiethnic nation with 92 percent of the population Han Chinese. Minority groups such as Tibetans and Mongolians do not eat dog "meat." In Tibet and Inner Mongolia, dog eating exists mostly among the local Han Chinese. A recent nationwide survey on China's dog eating has revealed that 70 percent of the respondents have not eaten dog "meat." Dog eating happens among a very small percentage of the Chinese. Those who consume dog "meat" once a week are the absolute minority, while a majority of the 30 percent have eaten dog "meat" by accident, at catering events or other occasions (Luan and Yuan 2016) A study conducted in November 2015 found that dog "meat" consumption was not a majority practice, even in Yanji, a city with more than half of its population ethnic Koreans.[1] Dog "meat" is not a common food item that one can find in the refrigerator of an average Chinese household. Indeed, it was an eating habit that was held in contempt in much of ancient China.

THE HISTORY

In ancient China, dog "meat" consumption started in 2255 BCE and lasted for 2,831 years. Having reached the top of its popularity in the Han Dynasty (206 BCE–220), dog eating began to decline in the Sui Dynasty (581–618 CE) (Wen and Wen 2003). It soon became a controversial eating habit. Twice in history, Chinese emperors tried to outlaw it (Wu 2014). Dog "meat" in the Tang (618–907 CE) and Song (907–1279 CE) dynasties was considered ethically and legally "dirty" because it came from stolen dogs. It was considered a distasteful food, unfit for the dinner tables of official catering events (Wu 2014). In the succeeding dynasties (i.e., the Yuan, Ming, and Qing dynasties), dog eating remained a culinary taboo for the upper class. During China's prereform era (1949–1976), dog keeping was ideologically and economically discouraged. Mao Tse-tung's China saw a wide range of personal life choices, such as wearing jewelry, make-up, and lipstick and keeping "pets," as bourgeois and decadent. China's impoverished society in Mao's era had barely enough food for the people. Dog keeping was out of the question, and dog "meat" consumption was rare.

Since the early 1980s, the country has enjoyed 38 years of uninterrupted economic growth. Dog keeping returned. The rising number of dogs in the country allowed for the commodification of dog "meat." By the end of 2015, China was estimated to have 130 million dogs. Most of them were urban "pet dogs" and rural "guard dogs." In the 1980s, unwanted rural dogs were sold to traders who resold them to restaurants or directly to consumers. However, the number of such dogs was small and could not meet the rising demand. A new source of dogs had to be found.

THE INDUSTRY

In the 1980s, a small percentage of restaurants in the Han Chinese region began to serve dog "meat." A dog "meat" industry connecting traders in different regions and utilizing a division of labor emerged at the end of the 1980s. By the mid-1990s, three distinctive dog "meat" markets appeared: South China (Guangdong, Guangxi, Hunan, Guizhou, Yunnan, and Sichuan), Central China (Jiangsu, Shandong, Anhui, and Henan), and Northeast China (Jilin, Heilongjiang, and Liaoning). The South China region has since been the dominant market, followed by Northeast China. The Central China market is the smallest, but it is the primary processing center of packaged dog "meat" products.

There are no official statistics on the country's dog "meat" industry. According to an industry report, the output of the industry nationally was 97,000 tons for 2014 (Askci 2014). This tonnage of dog "meat" could have been obtained from 10 million dogs, thus making the annual slaughter of dogs the biggest in the world. The total sales of the 97,000 tons of dog "meat" were about 6 billion yuan (i.e., $902 million). In view of China's gross domestic product (GDP) of $10.4 trillion in 2014, 6 billion yuan was insignificant. Peixian, in Central China's north Jiangsu province, has a dog "meat" processing enterprise owned by the Fankuai Dog Meat Processing Company (FDMPC). This is China's biggest dog "meat"–processing operation, reportedly producing 300 "tons" of dog "meat" products, worth 18 million yuan ($2.6 million) (FDMPC 2014). However, the industry's economic contribution to the total GDP of the regions in China where it exists is not significant (JiangsuChina.com 2015).

THE OUTRAGE

The dog "meat" festival in Yulin, mentioned earlier, occurs during summer solstice (June 21 or 22) each year. "We were shocked that Yulin's local government was so out of touch with the progress made in the country as to endorse a controversial event," said Qin Xiaona, director of Beijing's Capital Animal Welfare Association. Public outrage in the form of protests toward Yulin soon led to actions against another dog "meat" festival. In the summer of 2011, activists in Zhejiang and other cities protested the Jinhua dog "meat" festival. There was so much outcry that Jinhua authorities shut down the event that allegedly had lasted for 600 years (Wong E. 2011). In April 2011, hundreds of animal activists took to the highway near Beijing and intercepted a truck with 460 dogs destined for Northeast China's slaughterhouses (Wong G. 2011). Images of the hungry, thirsty, and exhausted dogs on the crowded truck were electrifying. The conditions of the dogs—sick, dying, wounded, and dead—revealed many of the industry's secrets for the first time.

SUSPICIOUS SOURCES

China does not have dog farms. Dog theft is the only way for the dog "meat" traders to have a low-cost supply of live dogs for the market. Animals Asia Foundation's investigative report *Lies, Illegality, and Stolen Lives: A True Crime Story (2011–2014),* examining 21 provinces and 700 news stories, confirmed the existence of a nationwide dog theft ring (Animals Asia Foundation 2015). A study by Guangdong's Kindness First found that more than 200 dog theft cases were reported in the Chinese media between 2002 and 2014 (Kindness First, 2014). A study by Professor Guo Peng of Shandong University found that between 2007 and 2011, 87 percent of the rural households interviewed reported dog thefts (Guo 2014). A similar study of Yulin suburbs confirmed rampant dog theft (Guo 2013).

While the industry reports that it is supplied with farmed dogs, there is no evidence that such farms exist.[2] The "meat dog farms" one can find on the Internet are all selling "pet dogs."[3] A China Youth journalist who published a report on Peixian's dog "meat" trade failed to find dog farms or the "400 specialized dog farming households" raising a quarter million dogs for slaughter in Peixian claimed by Fan Xiantao, the owner of China's biggest dog "meat"–processing company in Jiangsu (Shu 2015). A number of the dogs rescued at the April 2011 rescue wore collars. At least five of them had jackets on. Most of them were social and eager to be touched by the activists. "You just wonder what kind of dog farmers would put collars and jackets on the dogs sent off to the slaughterhouse," said Qin Xiaona, founder of Beijing's Capital Animal Welfare Association (CAWA). Also, among the dogs on the truck were typical "pet" breeds such as beagles, golden retrievers, Pekingese, German shepherds, and Tibetan mastiffs. "Who would raise and sell purebred dogs for food that could fetch a higher price if sold as pets?" she added.[4]

MISERY ON THE ROAD

China is a continent-sized country. Dog transporters concentrate their efforts in the central part of the country, which includes the provinces of Henan, Shandong, Hubei, Anhui, and Shan'xi. The distance between Henan and Guangxi in South China is more than 1,500 kilometers, and the distance between Hubei and Northeast China's Heilongjiang is over 2,400 kilometers. A truck can carry up to 1,000 dogs destined for the slaughterhouse. Between August 3, 2014, and July 7, 2015, some 20 trucks were intercepted by activists, each carrying 450 dogs on average. Except for 2 trucks intercepted in Yunnan that had traveled no more than 400 kilometers, the others that originated in Hubei, Anhui, and Henan traveled between 700 and 1,500 kilometers when they were stopped. The trucks from Hubei could spend 48 hours or more on the road before reaching Heilongjiang.

Dogs are crammed in cages that are 110×70×30 cm in size. Seven medium-sized dogs or five big dogs are forced inside each cage. The dogs are often pressed against each other with only breathing space. Eight layers of cages can be piled up on the truck. Dogs in the lower levels are showered with all kinds of wastes and liquid from those above. Denied food and water for the entire trip, the dogs are frantic due to hunger and thirst, and such deprivation is particularly excruciating for pregnant dogs.

Loading and unloading is terrible. Cages with the dogs are smashed together on the trucks, and serious injuries are inflicted on the dogs during loading and unloading. Of the 120 dogs rescued in Yulin, Guangxi, in June 2016, 110 had injuries and open cuts infected with maggots. Within about 10 days after these dogs entered a shelter in Northeast China, 64 of them came down with distemper and other diseases—infections that spread fast due to the gross overcrowding—and 25 dogs received treatment for skin diseases, open wounds, and other conditions. "You see all kinds of injuries and cuts caused by the crude catching tools, such as thin metal string for capturing the dog by the neck. Overcrowding and protection of newborn puppies also caused fighting among the dogs," said Xinghai, secretary-general of Vshine Animal Protection Association in Dalian, who supervised the postrescue care of the dogs. "About 20 to 30 percent of the dogs from an intercepted truck won't survive," said Chen Mingcai, director of Chongqing Small Animal Protection Association. "Before they were loaded onto the truck, these dogs may have been drugged, deprived adequate and proper food for weeks, or had already been fighting an illness," Chen continued. "Some 30 dogs had already died when we were unloading the rescued 480 dogs on September 28, 2015," said Xinghai. Summer is the worst transport season for dogs.

INHUMANITY AT SLAUGHTER

From an animal rights perspective, dogs are morally the same as pigs, cows, fish, and other nonhuman animal species. Killing dogs and cats for whatever reason is sure to evoke stronger emotional public reactions for an apparent reason: there is a bond between these "companion" nonhuman animals and humans. Admittedly, billions of other animals are slaughtered per year. Sadly, the same kind of emotional connection does not exist between humans and most other nonhuman animals. The thought of dog slaughter is nightmarish to "pet owners" around the world.

The dogs' psychological trauma inside the slaughterhouse may be even greater than that of other animals. Slaughterhouse workers do not purposely torture the dogs. But psychological torture is an undeniable fact. There is utter insensitivity of the slaughter operations to the feelings of the dogs who witness the butchering before their eyes. On April 30, 2015, the author visited a slaughter operation in Yulin. When we arrived, the slaughterhouse workers had already finished butchering some 40 dogs for the day. It was still dark and the workers were busy dehairing, disemboweling, and blowtorching the dogs' corpses. Yet, a few feet away, 5 frightened dogs had their tails tucked between their hind legs and huddled together behind a big barrel. Altogether, there were 12 or 14 live dogs standing in a pool of fresh blood. When we approached them, these emotionally devastated souls, expressionless and stoic, tried to avoid eye contact with us. Their quietness was in fact thundering. "These terrified dogs have in fact died many times inside since they had witnessed the killing of the other dogs," commented one of our Chinese friends who accompanied us to the facility.

It is said that dogs are purposely tortured in order to produce better-tasting "meat." Yet intentionally torturing dogs during slaughter is not a practice of the workers. Torturing the dogs takes time, something slaughterhouse workers do not have. "We are doing this not to get a kick out of dog suffering," said a slaughterhouse worker whom the author interviewed in May 2015.[5] "We are in this business to make money by killing more dogs before day breaks." Even so, there is no denial that dogs suffer from psychological trauma by witnessing other dogs killed in front of them. "That might be true since the dogs all huddle in one corner when we are butchering one," said a slaughterhouse worker in response to my questions. All seven slaughterhouses that I visited did not have a separate holding space for dogs—the slaughter happens in the same area where the dogs are waiting for their "turn." To the slaughterhouse workers, the dogs are like a pile of rocks, without feelings or emotions.

Mental torture does not just happen to the dogs. It spills over to the people too. Dog slaughter happens in public, on the marketplaces, sidewalks of busy streets, next to elementary schools, and inside residential areas (Iqilu.com 2015). In Yulin, three slaughterhouses that we visited in 2015 and 2016 were in residential areas. The wailing of the dogs and their killings are audible to the residents. In Luohe, Henan, dog slaughter happens during broad daylight at a busy intersection of an open market. Changchun reportedly has four registered slaughterhouses in the suburbs, two of them in close proximity to the houses of villagers. Residents, parents of schoolchildren, villagers, and animal activists have long inveighed against the imposition of bloody scenes on the public, particularly young children. These protests seem to have fallen on deaf ears, however, as local authorities are yet to take action.

A LAW-AND-ORDER CRISIS

The various practices of the dog "meat" industry are not simply a moral provocation. They are challenging law and order. Dog theft unquestionably has sustained the dog "meat" trade. In recent years, Chinese media has reported a large number of dog theft cases, including cases involving physical violence between the thieves and the dog "owners."[6] According to press reports, six dog theft cases in 2016 led to the deaths of three dog thieves and the arrest of three others. In December 2015, it was reported that two dog thieves in southwest Guangxi were beaten by angry dog "owners." One thief was killed in the incident. A similar incident was reported in the province in April 2014, as two thieves were brutally beaten by dog "owners." In August 2015, dog thieves reportedly fired crossbow arrows tainted with cyanide at the dog "owners" when confronted. Dog theft is not only a "property" violation, but also a threat to public safety.

The dog "meat" industry also is a serious food safety threat. The life-threatening substances used for stealing dogs are suxamethonium chloride and cyanide (Zhang L. 2014), drugs used to weaken and to immobilize dogs, facilitating their capture. In 2016, 72 dog "meat" traders from Hunan, Anhui, Zhejiang, Guangxi, and Jiangsu provinces were sentenced to imprisonment for selling and processing poisonous dog “meat.” In one case, 22 traders were sentenced for selling 70,000 kilograms of poisonous dog “meat” from 110,000 poisoned dogs. A greater quantity of poisonous dog “meat” could have long been consumed by dog “meat” eaters. The sentence of a Peixian dog “meat” trader in 2014 confirmed that dead and poisoned dogs had been used for making dog “meat sausages,” canned dog “meat,” and other packaged dog “meat” products in Peixian (Animals Asia Foundation 2015). Police action in two provinces in 2013 and 2014 resulted in the uncovering of 27 “tons” of poisonous dog “meat” and the prosecution of some 30 people in Hunan and Zhejiang. Dog “meat” from poisoned dogs is believed to represent one-third of all the dog “meat” on the market. According to a *China Youth Daily* investigation, 95 percent of the *dead* dogs supplied by the traders are believed to be poisoned. In Peixian, at least four companies only used poisoned dogs because dead dogs cost just one-third of the price of live dogs. “Almost all the packaged dog meat sold in the supermarkets in Peixian was processed from dead dogs. Very rarely are live dogs killed to make processed dog meat,” a dog “meat” trader told an investigator (Shu 2015).

In May 2006, 50 villagers from Bingyang village, Guangxi, were poisoned from eating dog “meat” (Zhao 2006). In December 2012, a family’s New Year’s Eve dinner almost turned fatal. All seven members of the family were sick from eating dog “meat” (Shoujun 2013). One other dog “meat” poisoning case happened in Jiangsu in December 2014, as a father and son were almost killed after eating processed dog “meat” (Yu and Mayi 2014). Such reported cases of food poisoning from consuming dog “meat” are the tip of the iceberg. Most such cases go unnoticed across the country.

Legally questionable practices of the dog “meat” industry contribute to its profit. China does not have “street dogs.” Roaming dogs are “owned” by rural families and are used as household guard dogs. They are not street dogs like those in India or other countries, which are “owned” by the community. The roaming Chinese dogs never go far from their homes. Because of a lack of a standard on the “value” of a stolen dog, as well as the fact that a majority of the dogs in China are not microchipped, making it difficult to prove their ownership, the police are less responsive to reports of dog thefts than to other crimes.[7] Dog theft is considered a minor property violation.

Food safety, however, receives much more attention from the public. The Food Safety Law (FSL) of the People’s Republic of China was adopted in 2009. While the law has provisions against the sale of nonhuman animal products from unknown sources, from deceased nonhuman animals, or from those who died of unknown causes, its actual applicability to the trade in dog “meat” has been a thorny issue. The key issue is that dogs are not considered mere “livestock,” and advocates for dogs strongly resist their use as food. Allowing the FSL to regulate the dog “meat” trade is equal to legalizing it, something detested by nonhuman animal activists. What the activists desire is a total ban on the industry. Moreover, to the dog “meat” industry, allowing the FSL to regulate the trade would increase costs, which would make the enterprise unprofitable. The lack of regulation and police unresponsiveness work to the interests of the industry.

The sale of poisonous dog “meat” is no secret to the Chinese authorities. One action that the government can take to stop dog poisoning is strict enforcement of State Council Order 344 in the *State Regulation on the Safety Management of Toxic Chemicals.* Articles 38, 39, 40, and 84 are rules concerning the purchase of toxic chemicals and the stipulation of legal liabilities for purchase without the proper documents and permits (State Council 2011). Today, despite the regulation, online sale of controlled chemicals is rampant. Potassium aurous cyanide, dimethylnitrosamine, mercury perchloride, and other chemicals used to poison dogs are all available from online stores or are sold directly online by the producers (Chen 2014; Zhang and Lina 2013).

Whether the Chinese authorities will tackle the online sale of the poisons remains a question. Compared to allegedly troublesome labor rights activists and Tibetan independent advocates, the illegal sale of chemicals and substances that are used to kill or immobilize dogs does not appear to threaten government stability. In addition, the Chinese authorities are facing a bigger food safety problem from products such as tainted “pork,” “beef,” “mutton,” and “chicken meat” that affect far more people. In 2014, China reported 4,694 food safety violation cases, an increase of 157.2 percent over the previous year (Yan C. 2015).

WHAT EXPLAINS THE GOVERNMENT’S TOLERANCE OF THE DOG “MEAT” TRADE? REFORM POLITICS AND URBAN-BIASED DEVELOPMENT

When the post-Mao leadership launched the reform program in 1978, the Chinese Communist Party (CCP) was facing a legitimacy crisis. Mao’s socialist experiment in the prereform era (1949–1978) fell short of expectations. A gripping food security crisis existed in the entire prereform era (1949–1978). A humanmade famine killed more than 30 million “peasants” in the early 1960s. The crisis continued for the rest of the Mao era. Beggary was widespread in several provinces in Central China. Hunger forced over 1 million people to cross into British-ruled Hong Kong. Tens of thousands of people from Yan’an, the wartime capital of the CCP, resorted to beggary to survive the months of food shortage. Deng Xiaoping, the top leader of post-Mao China, warned the party that mass revolt could happen if the food crisis continued (Communist Party Central Research Institute 2004). Under his leadership, the CCP moved the country from a politically mobilized development model to an economically mobilized one. The reform was launched to rebuild the party’s legitimacy through economic performance. Therefore, the success of the reform program had regime stability implications. “Development first” was the overriding objective of the post-Mao regime.

To achieve rapid development, the CCP took a series of reform measures that would have been declared ideologically incorrect and politically dangerous in Mao’s time. Mao’s People’s Communes, China’s version of the Soviet state farms, were dismantled to allow household-based farming operations. Mao’s “grain first” policy was suspended in favor of diversified agricultural production. Centralized planning also gave way to individual decision-making. People who had surpluses could sell on the rural markets. It was in the early 1980s that village enterprises and township enterprises began to emerge, absorbing rural surplus labor in nonagricultural businesses. It was also in the early 1980s that people in southern Jiangxi and Hunan began to utilize long-distance transport methods to ship agricultural produce from these two agricultural provinces to Guangdong. Also loaded on trucks largely transporting fresh or dried products were cages of live dogs and “wildlife animals,” such as freshwater turtles, snakes, and frogs.

The new reform politics launched China on a development path that was officially called the “socialist market economy.” The theory supporting the new economic system was called “the primary stage of socialism.” Full participation in the capitalist world economy was regarded as a necessary “evil” for achieving growth (*People’s Daily* 2013). China’s economy has since been called “crony capitalism” and “Communist capitalism” (Cheng 2016). Productivity and growth is now the primary criterion for evaluating officials’ performance. The result is that local leaders now are engaged in competition as they strive to outperform their counterparts in other cities or provinces.

In addition to local GDP growth, local authorities attach great importance to employment. Businesses that contribute to local state coffers and to employment receive strong government support. New industries, new products, new production models, and even new species of nonhuman animals have been used for development purposes. The increased commodification of nonhuman animals, a for-profit productive activity, was embraced enthusiastically in China. Bear farming, tiger farming, rhino farming, alligator farming, and the dog “meat” trade were encouraged by the Chinese authorities, and the trade still enjoys government support. As a result, national government policies and regulations that have the potential to slow local economic growth are followed with hesitation or simply resisted (Economy 2004).

Toward the end of the twentieth century, China's market reform accelerated. With the expansion of the Chinese economy, "peasants" were left behind in the national race for wealth. By the end of 2014, rapid urbanization had brought the disappearance of thousands of villages. "Displaced" and "urbanized peasants" found themselves in a new environment, where it was very difficult to fit in. Migrant workers who contributed to the building of shining skyscrapers and shopping malls are still considered outsiders. In fact, China's development strategy in both the prereform and reform eras is urban-biased.

During Mao's era, the "peasants" (i.e., the majority of the population) were excluded from the state coverage of basic food and public health. Social services, educational facilities, cultural institutions, and hospitals in rural areas were either substandard or did not exist at all. Migrant workers had to leave their children behind when they traveled to work in urban centers, as schools in those areas do not admit children who do not live there. Rural workers in the cities face discrimination in wages, unemployment benefits, pension programs, and related benefits. Rural resentment has long been simmering.

EMPLOYMENT

While the dog "meat" trade industry contributes very little to the local economies of the major markets, it is a different story for local economies. Local officials enforcing national government policies regarding this trade could cause unemployment, undermine growth, and contribute to instability. They fear that actions to end the trade are too costly. "The least costly approach is to let the industry run out of steam itself," commented a national agriculture official in 2015.[8]

In 2010, when dog "meat" traders launched the dog "meat" festival in Yulin, local government saw it as a platform to attract tourism and investment, and the dog "meat" processing operations in Peixian, Jiangsu, received local government support. Dog "meat" products were promoted by the local authorities as local specialties. The cooking method of one of the dog "meat" dishes was even added to the provincial list of "intangible heritage." The biggest dog "meat" processing business, Peixian Fankuai Dog Meat Processing Corporation, was recognized as a "star of entrepreneurship" by a local government office.[9] In Peixian, there were about 20 dog "meat"–processing companies, 77 dog "meat" restaurants and about 300 dog "meat" stalls.

Although the tax revenue from these businesses was insignificant to Peixian, it contributed to local employment.

Of the three major markets, Northeast China's dog "meat" trade remains strong in spite of increasing criticism in recent years. Changchun, provincial capital of Jilin, has 889 dog "meat" restaurants. If each restaurant employs on average 7 workers, 807 restaurants employ 6,223 workers. For a city of about 4 million people, this is a small number. Yet Northeast China was hit by waves of layoffs toward the end of the 1990s as a result of the bankruptcy of some state-owned enterprises. Employment in Northeast China has remained a challenge for the local government. Throughout Northeast China, dog "meat" restaurants employ tens of thousands of people. In Shenyang, the capital of Liaoning Province, there are 282 dog "meat" restaurants, whereas Haerbin, the capital of Heilongjiang province, has 464 dog "meat" restaurants. In other Northeast Chinese cities such as Jilin, Mudanjiang, Qiqihar, and Jiamusi, there are 261, 182, 91, and 194 dog "meat" restaurants respectively. Nanning, the capital of Guangxi province, has 124 dog "meat" restaurants. There are 89, 185, and 41 dog "meat" restaurants in Yulin, Liuzhou, and Wuzhou. In contrast, the dog "meat" trade in Guangdong province, where unemployment has been less of a problem, has been declining. Guangzhou, the capital of Guangdong province and a city of 11 million people, now has 45 dog "meat" restaurants—a decline from 300 a decade ago.[10]

INDUSTRY DEFIANCE

Overall, the dog "meat" trade has been slowly declining after reaching its peak around 2005. And the decline is most noticeable in Guangdong, China's biggest dog "meat" market. Yet the trade remains strong in Northeast and Central China. Dog "meat" traders in Yulin, Guangxi, and Peixian are particularly vocal in defending what they call "traditional food" and legitimate business. To them, criticism of the dog "meat" industry was nothing but another urban assault on the rural livelihood. "We just want the urban dog lovers to stop bullying us rural folks," a dog "meat" trader told the author in a meeting in Yulin in May 2015.

The dog "meat" industry has several components, including dog procurement or dog "collection"; transport, slaughter, and "meat" processing; and restaurants. This is an industry predominantly owned by people of rural background. The author's conversation with Yulin dog "meat" traders, slaughterhouse owners and workers, and dog "collectors" in 2014, 2015, and 2016 confirmed that all 31 of them were former "peasants." "The Dongkou Market used to be rice fields, and we were peasants working in the Commune," they told us. "We took up dog "meat" business after we lost our farmland."[11]

In Dongguan, Guangdong, there are hundreds of restaurants serving migrant workers from different inland provinces. A majority of the owners are from inland rural areas. Transporters are all former "peasants." One transporter, whose truck was intercepted on July 30, 2015, and at least two other times by activists, revealed that he was a former "peasant." "I have to earn any money to support my family," he told an activist after he was forced to hand the dogs over to the activists. He was in the business because "vegetable farming does not make enough."[12] Similarly, the two transporters whose truck was intercepted on August 23, 2014, were also former "peasants" from Shandong.[13] On the live dog market in Mudanjiang, Heilongjiang province, cages of dogs were sold to the local dog slaughterhouses. The traders were all former "peasants" or are of rural background.[14]

Dog "collectors," many of whom become dog thieves, are also from the rural areas. These are mostly young men between the age of 18 and 35. They are less educated, are jobless, and have never worked in the field or had the chance to do farm work. Stealing dogs is a risky job, but with good payoffs. They either use cyanide-tainted bait to poison or immobilize dogs or simply use a metal string to grab the dog by the neck. By stealing 20 dogs a day, one can make 1,200 yuan (if they are delivered dead). This is the monthly salary of a beginner server at a restaurant. The more technologically savvy "collectors" are known to purchase crossbows equipped with infrared laser–aiming device and poison-tainted arrows to immobilize or tranquilize dogs. Many of the 20- or 30-year-old dog thieves grew up in malfunctioning rural families. In China, there are some 60 million "left-behind children," who stay with grandparents or other relatives while their parents work in assembly lines hundreds of miles away in the urban areas. The misery of these Chinese children and their parents presents a huge contrast to the phenomenal growth of the Chinese economy (Sundworth 2016). Of the high number of dropouts in rural schools, a majority of them are left-behind children. When they grow up, they have no competitiveness on the job markets. Crime rate goes up more among the most disadvantaged group—namely, the part of the population that is least skilled and lacks the minimum social welfare coverage (Zhang, Liu, and Liang 2011). Rural youth falls in this group.

URBAN AND RURAL DIFFERENCE

Since its inception in 1953, the rural-urban dichotomy of the Chinese residence registration policy has succeeded in dividing the Chinese mainlanders into two groups of people, with different social and economic statuses. Rural residents were locked into the collective land program during

Mao’s years, eking out a living and on the verge of starvation. “Peasants” were not covered in the state’s food, public health, and pension provision systems. In the reform era, they were liberated from collective farming. Yet their employment in urban areas does not qualify them to receive benefits similar to those of their city-living counterparts. Delayed payment of salary, denial of housing, health care, and school admission for their children are some of the most talked-about discriminations that rural migrant workers face. The social welfare gap between rural and urban areas is in fact wider than commonly known. The rural areas have long been disadvantaged in education because of urban-biased development (Wang 2007). The Chinese government underfunded middle school education in rural areas, resulting in a disproportionate percentage of rural youths being weeded out before they could even compete for admission to universities and colleges. Because of the exclusion of rural youth from higher education opportunities, they are disadvantaged in future urban job opportunities; and because of the loss of farmland and lack of parental guidance in farm work, a large number of rural youth lose farm skills. Their opportunities are bleak.

Chinese “peasants” are also discriminated against in public health services. In 2009, some 52 percent of the Chinese population lived in rural areas. That year, the national public health expenditure amounted to 399.4 billion yuan ($59 billion). Out of this total amount, only 39.5 billion yuan was spent on rural areas, accounting for only 9.9 percent of the national total (Wang 2007). Government neglect of rural health service is shocking when compared with spending priorities benefiting urban areas. In 2009, China spent 495.1 billion yuan on national defense, 474.4 billion yuan on internal stability maintenance, 90.8 billion yuan on vocational education, 48.5 billion yuan on cultural affairs, 51.1 billion yuan on unemployment subsidies, 51.8 billion yuan on support of urban, low-income families, and 72.6 billion on affordable housing construction. Government public health subsidies barely reach the rural areas. The per capita public health spending in rural areas in 2009 was 54.9 yuan. In contrast, spending in urban areas was 592.7 yuan—over 10 times more (Wang 2007).

Examining government help to low-income families, we can see that the difference between rural and urban areas is also extreme. In 2010, the Chinese government established urban and rural temporary help systems for assisting low-income families in only 16 provinces (China has 31 provinces and four municipalities). The total number of people in rural areas who fell into the low-income family category was 51.79 million, whereas in urban areas, it was 23 million. The per capita monthly emergence allowance for urban residents was 172 yuan, while it was only 68 yuan for rural residents (Wang 2007). According to the National Bureau of Statistics of China, the authorities spend 72.5 billion yuan on housing subsidies exclusively for urban residents (Wang 2007).

In the reform era, "peasants" have been free to migrate to urban centers. Since the mid-1980s, rural migrant workers began to flock to South China's Guangdong province. In 2014, there were still 274 million migrant workers in the manufacturing, construction, transportation, and service sectors. This is the labor force that helped to build the world's longest bullet train system, the stadiums for the 2008 Beijing Olympics, the country pavilions at the Shanghai Expo of 2010, and the skyscrapers in urban China. Yet these migrant workers are considered trespassers in the cities where they do not have residence status. Many of the 274 million migrant workers are owed back wages. The employers were able to do this to the rural migrant workers partly because most of the 274 million workers do not have contracts.

The exploitation of migrant workers is also seen in their longer working hours (8.8 hours per day and 25.3 days per month) and lower average salary of 2,864 yuan per month. Migrant workers were also underinsured. Only 26.2 percent were insured for on-the-job injuries, just 17.6 percent had medical insurance, only 16.7 percent had pensions, just 10.5 percent had unemployment insurance, 7.8 percent had maternity leave, and only 5.5 percent had housing subsidies. Notably, workers in construction, the most risky job, were the least insured in all four categories (State Statistical Bureau 2015).

A considerable number of "urbanized peasants" were driven out of their home villages. In March 2011, China's finance minister told reporters that local governments sold 6.42 million mu of land (1 mu equals 666.7 square meters) to developers and other businesses. The income from the land sale amounted to 2.9 trillion yuan ($435 billion). In 2010, the total expenditure of local governments was 3 trillion yuan. Of that total expenditure, 2.7 trillion was due to land purchases (Zhao and Huang 2011; Qi 2011). The area surrounding Yulin's Dongkou Market—the biggest dog "meat" market in the city—used to be rice fields, vegetable plots, "pig farms," and "fish ponds." Villagers and "peasants" became urban residents when the land was expropriated. Former "peasants" scrambled for new ways to make a living. For some, dog theft, dog slaughter, and dog "meat" sales were among their only ways to survive.

The rural-urban divide in China is reflected in the distribution of other benefits as well. For example, an unemployed urban resident is entitled to an unemployment benefit that is 70 percent to 90 percent of the city's minimum monthly salary. This benefit can be paid up to two years. In contrast, migrant workers are paid only 40 percent of their minimum monthly salary. The retirement benefit program also discriminates against rural workers. Urban retirees can receive up to 264,000 yuan ($39,611) over a 20-year period after retirement, whereas a rural migrant worker is given a lump sum of only 20,000 yuan ($3,000) when he or she retires. Similarly, urban retirees are entitled to medical expense reimbursement. Their rural counterparts lose that benefit after they retire (ifeng.com 2015).

Chinese “peasants” have long been resentful of the government’s urban-biased policies. Supporters of the dog “meat” industry believe that activists are asking too much of dog “meat” traders. “I have no other choice but to do whatever brings income for my family” was the answer of a dog transporter. “You guys care about dogs, but who take care of us,” he complained.[15]

Dog thieves have attracted much media attention in recent years. Their use of poison, crossbows, infrared laser–aiming devices, and metal strings to steal others’ “pets” and “guard dogs” has been condemned by nonhuman animal activists throughout the country. The “unlucky” thieves were killed, beaten, detained, and sentenced to prison terms. “But these young men were denied a good education because they grew up in the countryside,” commented a dog “meat” trader in Yulin.[16] In 2005, the dropout rate of rural middle schools was 60 percent to 70 percent. In urban areas, the dropout rate was between 10 percent and 30 percent (Ying 2005). The dropout rate in rural areas can be explained in part by general lack of motivation, poor school facilities, poor quality of instruction, poor educational management, and the discriminatory residence policy, as migrant workers have to leave their children behind in rural homes since urban schools do not admit them. In 2015, rural middle schools continued to register a 63 percent dropout rate (*Guanghua Daily* 2016).

CONSUMERS

In June 2016, a nationwide dog “meat” consumption survey was conducted in China. The result confirmed that about 70 percent of the Chinese do not eat dogs (Luan and Yuan 2016). Studies conducted in Liaoning and Jilin revealed that older people, predominately rural and less educated, are the primary consumers of dog “meat.”[17] In Guangdong, migrant workers have been heavily represented for years among dog-eating consumers. Dog “meat” is a cheap source of overly touted and unnecessary nonhuman “animal protein” consumed by migrant workers.[18]

Throughout the 1990s and the first decade of the new century, Chinese policies favored attracting foreign investment. The low cost of labor was marketed, and labor organizations were discouraged. Acquiescing to the existence of the dog "meat" industry was perhaps an unspoken "benefit" to low-income workers when the government was otherwise not inclined to improve their quality of life.

DESENSITIZATION

In China, desensitization to the vast exploitation of dogs and the tens of billions of other animals raised and killed for food each year in the country may be attributed in part to two major causes. During the Great Famine of 1959–1961, the hardest-hit provinces included Henan and Anhui, where 3 million and 5 million people, respectively, starved to death. Death was widespread in both provinces; in some areas, those who were still alive did not have the energy to bury the deceased except in shallow graves. Cannibalism occurred in both provinces. The Great Famine swept across the vast rural areas. In Northeast China's Heilongjiang and Jilin, the country's major "breadbaskets," massive deaths also took place.

In response to the severe food crisis, people took to the mountains to hunt "wildlife animals." The army and national government also sent soldiers to shoot these free-living, nonhuman animals. The killing spree lasted until 1962, when the national government realized that the killing was decimating the country's "wildlife resources." Moreover, during this period, the execution of "criminals" often was staged publicly for tens of thousands of people to watch, so they could be "educated." Witnessing the massive human suffering, killing "wildlife animals," and watching public executions all may have served to desensitize the general public to violence and death.

Another source of desensitization may well be the ubiquitous presence of wet markets in the country (i.e., public places where live, nonhuman animals are sold for all to see). People growing up in the countryside are more likely to encounter or participate in "livestock" slaughter. In Chinese villages, pigs are killed in public spaces or in people's backyards. In rural markets, chickens, goats, rabbits, duck, geese, and other animals are slaughtered for the shoppers. Young children who go shopping with their mothers are confronted with this slaughter, and as a result they are often traumatized, without a place to hide from or escape the carnage. Almost all the traders whom we talked to admitted that they grew up helping their parents kill "livestock."[19]

CONCLUSIONS

China's dog "meat" industry has received much domestic and international criticism for its disregard and cruelty toward other animals that many keep as "pets." While Chinese public opinion is increasingly unfavorable to the dog "meat" industry, the Chinese authorities are yet to respond to calls to end the trade. This industry is an outgrowth of the country's economic modernization program, which placed top priority on productivity, efficiency, and GDP growth (state capitalism). The fact that the industry has employed some of the most disadvantaged members of society may have discouraged the government from responding to calls for ending the trade. The dog "meat" trade is oppressive and cruel. Yet an end to the industry will require far-reaching political decision-making. The urban-biased development strategy must be revised or suspended. It has created two different societies, demoralized the rural population, perpetuated rural injustice, and undermined the government's willingness and authority to enforce laws against unlawful practices in the dog "meat" industry. It is likely that so long as people in China and around the world experience economic deprivation and political powerlessness, attaining the right to life and just treatment for dogs, as well as all other nonhuman animals, will be difficult to achieve.

NOTES

1. A two-part study was conducted in October–November 2015 in Yanji, in Jilin province, and Dalian, in Liaoning province, to find out the level of popularity of dog "meat" to the residents of both cities. Yanji is a city where some 60 percent of the local residents are ethnic Koreans, and Dalian is a predominantly Han Chinese city. The results collected from the surveys in the two cities were compared to see if dog "meat" consumption in ethnic Korean Yanji was more popular than it was in Dalian. An article on the survey was submitted to *Society $ Animals*.

2. A telephone conversation was conducted with an activist who participated in the petition on December 26, 2014, at the Ministry of Agriculture for closing an illegal slaughter operation in Henan province.

3. We contacted 12 "meat" dog farms in Shandong and Henan in December 2014. None of these farms had dogs for sale at the "meat" market.

4. A telephone interview was conducted July 23, 2013.

5. An interview was conducted with five slaughterhouse workers in Yulin, Guangxi province, on May 24, 2015.

6. Conducting an online search at Google.com using the keywords "dog theft, China," one is likely to pull up some 2 million entries related to the subject.

7. A telephone interview was conducted with a Chinese police officer on October 2, 2015.

8. A conversation was held with an official with the State Food and Drug Administration on November 24, 2014.

9. See the page on "Awards and Recognition" at the official website of Fan Kuai Dog Meat Processing Company at http://www.fankuai.com/gsjj.asp?articleid=468. Accessed July 1, 2016.

10. The dog "meat" restaurant numbers were pulled from www.dianping.com by using the search words of the names of the cities and "dog meat restaurants." The search was conducted on July 1, 2016.

11. A meeting was held with dog "meat" traders in Yulin on May 25, 2015.

12. A telephone interview was conducted on August 20, 2016, with Yue Yue, a Beijing activist who accompanied the trucker to a government shelter to accommodate the dogs handed over to the activists.

13. A telephone interview was conducted on August 26, 2016, with Cai Chunhong, a Beijing lawyer and founder of the Beijing Angels' Animal Protection Group.

14. A telephone interview was conducted on August 26, 2016, with Ms. Zhong, a rescue person in Mudangjiang, Heilongjiang, China.

15. A telephone interview was conducted on August 20, 2016, with Yue Yue, a Beijing activist.

16. A conversation was held on June 20, 2016, with a former chief of a village whose farmland was turned into the Dongkou Market in Yulin.

17. See note 1.

18. Conversations were held in June 2014, May 2015, and June 2016 with local activists in Guangdong who have monitored the local dog "meat" restaurant and live dog sale businesses.

19. A conversation was held with five dog "meat" traders on May 25, 2015 in Yulin.

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8

Nonhuman Animals as “High-Quality Protein”: Insistence on the Consumption of “Meat” and “Dairy” in the Estonian Nutrition Recommendations

Kadri Aavik

INTRODUCTION

In recent years, several prominent global organizations working in nutrition, health, and sustainability, such as the United Nations (UN), World Health Organization (WHO), and World Cancer Research Fund, have called for a reduction in or elimination of “meat” and “dairy” from diets. Urgent appeals have been made to governments to move toward more sustainable diets, including by making respective changes to national dietary guidelines (Chemnitz and Becheva 2014).

Challenging traditional sustainability discourses and commitments, Probyn-Rapsey et al. (2016, 136) argue for “an expanded definition of sustainability that includes interspecies ethics—i.e. *interspecies sustainability,*” and call for institutions to embrace this expanded understanding of sustainability by supporting sustainable food practices that entail moving away from nonhuman animal products.

While a number of countries (mostly Western ones) are increasingly acting on this evidence and recommendations,[1] some others appear to be lagging behind, or even moving in the opposite direction, promoting the consumption of nonhuman animal products in national dietary guidelines, or even deeming plant-based diets unhealthy and unsuitable for human beings.

This chapter takes a closer look at the latter case, specifically the example of Estonia, a small, postsocialist member-state of the European Union that updated its national dietary guidelines in 2017. As a matter of particular interest, I explore ways in which speciesist values and capitalist interests inform the recommendations. Beyond the discursive realm, the nutrition guidelines in question shape the material reality in profound ways, to the detriment of nonhuman animals, human health, and environmental sustainability.

I follow the understanding that relations of domination and exploitation are constituted and reinforced through language (van Dijk 2005; Fairclough 1989, 1992; Stibbe 2001). Using tools of critical discourse analysis (CDA), I aim to expose ways in which the instrumentalization of nonhuman animals is encouraged in the Estonian nutrition recommendations, for the purpose of challenging this hegemonic discourse and the material practices that it endorses.

CONTEXTUAL BACKGROUND

Estonia is a country with a population of 1.3 million. Since its regaining of independence after the collapse of the Soviet Union in 1991, it has been ruled by right-wing governments who have embraced neoliberalism in governance and policy-making, an ideology that remains uncontested by the majority of the population. Today, capitalism is widely seen as the only legitimate economic system in Estonia, with any alternatives (especially those leaning toward socialism) considered utopian or undesirable. This can partly be explained by the collective memory about the country's communist past. While some new social movements, such as the feminist movement and the nonhuman animal advocacy movement, have emerged, they have not thus far engaged in the critique of capitalism and consumption.

The local nonhuman animal advocacy and vegan movements have become quite vocal, reaching out to the public particularly through social media campaigns. As the number of "meat"-reducers and vegans grows, especially among the younger generations, so too has the range of vegan food options, particularly in bigger cities.

This groundswell has occurred in the face of almost universal condemnation by the health and nutrition establishment. Virtually no Estonian doctor, nutritionist, or health professional recommends a vegan diet. Indeed, many actively warn of the dangers of veganism to human health. In recent years, a few journalists have written openly hostile articles toward veganism, especially criticizing its "enforcement" on children.

In Estonia, scientists, including some nutritionists, are working closely with nonhuman animal farmers to produce related biotechnologies, and along with this, medical and nutritional knowledge. For example, academics and businesses are working jointly to develop "healthy dairy products," publishing academic research on this in the biotechnology institution named the Bio-competence Centre of Healthy Dairy Products (BioCC). This initiative is a striking example of ways in which the ideologies of capitalism and speciesism intersect and reinforce one another, as manifested in the language of the center's mission statement on its website:

> BioCC enhances the competitiveness and profitability of the production of healthy value-added food products through innovative solutions and encompassing the whole value chain (feeding, breeding, growing, food processing, human nutrition, and medicine).[2]

The BioCC represents a prime example of the "biotechnological capitalization of animals" (Twine 2010, 61) and ways in which science and scientific knowledge becomes part of and is used in the interests of the animal-industrial complex (A-IC) with the purpose to generate profit, while packaged in language that promises benefits to human health.

This is the social, political, and economic context where the Estonian nutrition recommendations are compiled. The institution responsible for compiling the national dietary guidelines is the National Institute for Health Development (NIHD). According to NIHD's website, this organization is "a government-established research and development body collecting, connecting, and providing reliable national information from a multitude of sources, related to the health of the Estonian population."[3]

The Estonian nutrition recommendations (Pitsi et al. 2017), while according to the authors are inspired by the Nordic Nutrition Recommendations (NNR12) (Nordic Council of Ministers 2012) in fact differ from those significantly, as well as from the guidelines of major nutritional organizations in the world, particularly in their explicit emphasis on the need to consume other animals, as will be demonstrated in the following analysis. Thus far, one of the few critical voices attempting to challenge these claims in the new dietary guidelines has been the Estonian Vegan Society (EVS).[4]

THEORETICAL FRAMEWORK AND KEY CONCEPTS

Critical Animal Studies

The impetus for taking up this research originates from my concern over the detrimental effects that powerful discourses, such as national dietary guidelines, can have on the material reality of nonhuman animals. As such, my analysis is situated within critical animal studies (CAS), an emerging field of research explicitly committed to challenging the material reality of nonhuman animal exploitation (Taylor and Twine 2014, 1–2).

Research within CAS is largely organized around understanding the workings of and challenging the A-IC (Twine 2012), a concept coined by Barbara Noske (1989) to "describe the complex ways that animal-based products are entangled in all aspects of social life" (Probyn-Rapsey et al. 2016, 120). Twine (2012, 23) conceptualizes the A-IC as "a partly opaque and multiple set of networks and relationships between the corporate (agricultural) sector, governments, and public and private science. With economic, cultural, social, and affective dimensions, it encompasses an extensive range of practices, technologies, images, identities, and markets." Besides the obvious disastrous consequences for nonhuman animals, there is a wide range of evidence pointing to the unsustainability of the A-IC and its negative impacts on the environment, human health, and social inequality.

Twine (2012, 15) has critically noted that in much of CAS literature, the term *animal-industrial complex* has simply begun to denote "the myriad complexity of the multiple relations, actors, technologies, and identities that may be said to comprise the complex," without teasing out more specifically how they contribute to the functioning of the complex. Following this concern, this chapter takes on the task of exploring the "permeability of the boundaries of the A-IC" (Twine 2012, 16) by focusing on its links with systems of (scientific) knowledge production in the form of hegemonic nutritional discourse produced by a government-funded institution. This is a step toward an "understanding of how the complex endures across different regional, national, and global scales" (Twine 2012, 21).

Another key concept for this analysis and one central to CAS scholarship is *speciesism.* The term signifies valuing and treating beings differently according to their species membership. Parallels have been drawn between the basic principles of speciesism and forms of oppression existing between human beings, such as racism and sexism (Singer 1990). Nibert (2013) understands speciesism as an ideology that aims to legitimate the exploitation of other animals. For Nibert (2013, 274), ideologies such as speciesism, racism, and sexism "are not the primary cause of oppression; rather, they legitimate and reinforce exploitation that is largely economically motivated." I would also argue that the discursive reproduction of speciesism cannot be underestimated, and its relationship to material forms of exploitation should be carefully studied. Here, it might be productive to speak of material-discursive properties of social phenomena (Hearn 2014), including of categories such as gender and race, but also species. The speciesist ideology enables and produces certain material relations between humans and other animals.

Several CAS scholars (see, for example, Twine 2010, Taylor and Twine 2014), view the "critique of capitalism as inseparable from a critique of both nonhuman animal commodification and environmental destruction" (Twine 2010, 9). Speciesism and its continued dominance are intimately tied to capitalism and the thriving neoliberal ideology of the so-called free market. In a social organization where the market and business interests are prioritized and governments are increasingly functioning like private enterprises (Graeber 2015), the idea of any kind of social equality has to be packaged by its advocates as profitable and sold, even to public institutions. In this context, economic interests can easily take priority over matters of justice and ethics, which can easily be dismissed unless they can be used for generating profit. In these settings, combatting the A-IC is a challenging task.

The Role of Language in Upholding Nonhuman Animal Oppression

Besides material practices, relations of domination are also constructed and reproduced discursively through language. Language operates to "control, silence, marginalise, mis-represent . . ." (McGloin 2014, 4). As "social relations are mediated through language" (McGloin 2014, 11), the use of language always has political effects.

While it has been extensively documented how language functions as a channel to construct racist, sexist, and other significations relevant in human interaction, less attention has been paid to how speciesism and nonhuman animal exploitation are produced through language and discourse (see Stibbe 2001, 2012; Mitchell 2007). Based on the understanding that language plays a central role in human exploitation of other animals, I conduct this analysis following the main tenets of CDA. In CDA, the main focus is on the ways in which discourse, especially by privileged groups and institutions, enacts, legitimates, and reproduces (or challenges) relations of power and dominance in society (van Dijk 2005, 353). The NIHD is a government institution entrusted with considerable power, as through the nutritional discourse that it produces, it has the ability to construct, legitimate, and enact, a certain biopolitics based on "human violence towards nonhuman animals" (Wadiwel 2015, 65).

Following Foucault, I understand discourse as a means of constructing (a particular version of) reality through the use of language. As Vivien Burr

(1995, 48) puts it, "a discourse refers to a set of meanings, metaphors, representations, images, stories, statements, and so on that in some way together produce a particular version of events." The Estonian national nutrition recommendations constitute a hegemonic intervention that is attempting to fix and naturalize contested meanings through establishing one dominant discourse (Jørgenson and Phillips 2002, 48) on nutrition, and implicitly present in this, a certain normative view on nonhuman animals and the human-nonhuman animal relationship. In my analysis, I am also inspired by previous work exposing links between language, power, and the exploitation of other animals (such as Stibbe 2001).

The Estonian nutritional guidelines constitute a socially and politically influential text, with implications and direct consequences well beyond the discursive realm. The relationship between the material and discursive realms of reality can be conceptualized in a number of ways. I consider these dimensions of social life to be intertwined and mutually constitutive. In this case, a rather straightforward and helpful way to think about this link is to consider that within a particular understanding of the world on the discursive level, some forms of action are legitimized, while others are ruled out or become unthinkable, leading to particular social actions and not others. Hence, "social construction of knowledge and truth has social consequences" (Jørgenson and Phillips 2002, 5; Burr 1995, 5). In this chapter, I also consider some potential material consequences of the Estonian nutrition guidelines.

Veganism as an Ethical Food Practice

Given the large-scale violence systematically inflicted on nonhuman animals in the A-IC and the destructive effects of this system to the environment, human health, and social equality on a global scale, CAS scholars and nonhuman animal rights activists advocate for veganism as a moral imperative (Singer, 2011). They argue for food choices to be understood as always political, not as matters of personal lifestyle relegated to the private sphere, as these are overwhelmingly conceptualized in the mainstream culture (Jenkins and Twine 2014). Framing food consumption as a personal choice "protects the consumer from thinking about how their practices are enmeshed within systems of violence against other animals and helps to secure the habitual life of these consumption practices" (Jenkins and Twine 2014, 238). Thus, "food choices are always already political, cultural, and ecological choices" (Adams 1993, 201–202).

In the face of an increasing amount of evidence that diets free from nonhuman animal protein are beneficial for human health, the world's leading organizations (including academic ones) and national bodies specializing in nutrition and health, including the World Cancer Research Fund,[5] Harvard School of Public Health,[6] Physicians Committee for Responsible Medicine (PCRM),[7] Dietitians of Canada,[8] The British Dietetic Association,[9] and Dieticians Association of Australia,[10] have adopted positive attitudes toward plant-based diets, from considering them nutritionally adequate to endorsing them.

According to one of the world's leading organizations of food and nutrition professionals, the Academy of Dietetics and Nutrition (2009, 1266), "appropriately planned vegetarian diets, including total vegetarian or vegan diets, are healthful, nutritionally adequate, and may provide health benefits in the prevention and treatment of certain diseases. Well-planned vegetarian diets are appropriate for individuals during all stages of the life cycle, including pregnancy, lactation, infancy, childhood, and adolescence, and for athletes."

Twine (2012, 19) argues that "veganism is more than 'just a diet' and is better seen and practiced as a systemic and intersectional mode of critical analysis and a useful lived philosophy counter to anthropocentrism, hierarchy, and violence." It is this broader conceptualization of veganism that I follow here.

RESEARCH MATERIALS AND METHODS

The principal material analyzed in this chapter, following the key principles of CDA, is the Estonian Nutrition and Physical Activity Recommendations published by NIHD in 2017 (Pitsi et al. 2017). This version of the dietary guidelines is valid for the next five years, when an updated version will be issued. Besides nutrition, the document provides guidelines on keeping fit through physical activity. These remain beyond the scope of this analysis.

The document offers plenty of material for in-depth examination from various angles. The following sections of the document are included in this analysis: "Introduction," "I—Principles of the Dietary and Physical Activity Recommendations," "IV—Nutrition Recommendations," "V.5.—Self-Restricted Diets," and "VIII—Sustainable Consumption."

My aim was to identify how the need to consume nonhuman animal products is talked about and how plant-based diets, specifically veganism, are depicted. Throughout the analysis, I consider how speciesist values and capitalist interests converge in the Estonian nutrition recommendations and what their implications are. I am interested in how these ideologies inform the nutritional guidelines, often in the form of hidden assumptions and things unsaid and taken for granted (see also Stibbe 2001), as well as what linguistic tools are used to achieve these purposes. Where relevant, I also consider intersections with other categories. I illustrate my analysis with the most representative excerpts from the document. The document is in the Estonian language. For this chapter, I have translated the excerpts that I quoted into English.

As secondary research materials, I also consider information published on the NIHD website related to the publication of the guidelines.

ANALYSIS AND MAIN FINDINGS

Presentation and Framing of the Dietary Guidelines

To begin, I look at how the guidelines are presented by the NIHD in two press releases on their website and in the introduction of the document itself, as this gives an indication of how the authors position themselves and their claims, and intend the document to be read. (The press releases were published on June 14 and 30, 2016, well before the publication of the final version of the nutrition recommendations in February 2017.)

The structure and the style of the text aim at demonstrating its belonging in the discourse of scientific knowledge and expertise. The document includes an overview of the methodology (Section I), outlining the process of its compilation and justifications for major methodological choices.

Also, the impression of scientific expertise is conveyed by displaying the list of members (and their affiliations) of the working group responsible for compiling the guidelines (p. 5). Roughly one-third of the individuals listed are academics in the fields of health, nutrition, and medicine. The appeal to be read as part of the discourse of science is also reflected in the document’s usage of academic style of writing, which includes references to sources used at the end of each chapter. The vast majority of these are studies published in high-ranking international scientific journals or statements issued by international organizations.

The scientific evidence–based nature of the recommendations is emphasized, for example, in this press release (June 14, 2016):

> The scientific evidence–based guiding principles of the Estonian nutrition and physical activity recommendations will be of use within the next five years [until the next version of the guidelines is issued]. Simultaneously, work continues with systematic information search and recommendations, so that the main messages of the next Estonian nutrition and physical activity guidelines would continue to be based on systematic recommendation documents.

By repeatedly invoking the phrase “scientific evidence–based,” in the press releases preceding the publication of the guidelines and in the document itself, the authors seek to present the nutrition recommendations as free of bias, positioning themselves as experts systematically and rigorously relying on appropriate scientific evidence. Thereby, the text is firmly placed in the discourse of science (see also Stibbe 2001). Overall, the strong emphasis regarding the seriousness, trustworthiness and transparency of the guidelines seem excessive. Rather than achieving desired communicative aims, it might suggest the authors' concern about their perceived authority (p. 12):

> *The working group involved in compiling the recommendations is broad, competent, and representative for the compilation of national recommendations.*

The claim that "the interests of the authors have been declared and the process of the compilation of the recommendations has been open and transparent" (p. 12), however, contradicts actual practice. A key member of the working group of the Estonian nutritional guidelines is a leading nutritional scientist in Estonia who is closely associated with the BioCC as a coholder of a number of patents owned by the center, as well as a coauthor of several research publications funded by and conducted under the auspices of the center. This affiliation suggests that he has clear interests in the continued exploitation of nonhuman animals for capitalist gain.

The fact that this obvious conflict of interest is accepted without any argument by the NIHD as a government institution, members of the public (including journalists), other stakeholders in the society, and others, and that it does not compromise this person's professional integrity as a scientist are striking examples of how the commodification of other animals remains "socially invisible" (Twine 2012, 26). The working group includes another authoritative nutritionist who has consistently argued for the need to consume nonhuman animal protein in her opinions delivered to the public through the mainstream media. The declared principle of transparency has also been disrespected, as the NIHD has not responded to the Estonian Vegan Society's inquiry regarding the public availability of the authors' declarations of interests. After repeatedly appealing to the evidence-based nature of the guidelines, the authors present the nutritional guidelines as context-bound, introducing factors that were taken into account in the compilation of the dietary recommendations (June 14):

> [the recommendations] should however consider the changing spectrum of [Estonia's] regional location, traditions, the actual availability of foods, Estonian large and small scale production, supply, availability, consumption patterns, and fitness habits.

Notably, some of these contextual features listed can be identified as elements of the capitalist system of food production and distribution, expressed in the corresponding language (i.e., "Estonian large and small scale production," "supply," and "consumption patterns"). No explanation is given as to why these particular contextual factors were chosen as the basis for the compilation of the recommendations while other principles, such as environmental sustainability, food justice, and interspecies ethics, are excluded.

It is emphasized that the Estonian nutrition and physical activity recommendations “are not—and cannot be—a copy of the recommendations of any other country, in terms of its content and structure” (June 14). The second press release, on June 30, states: “we rely on cooperation with the Nordic Countries, while nevertheless taking into account the socioeconomic context of Estonia.” With this statement, the authors seek to justify their selective reliance on other countries’ nutritional guidelines. It remains unclear in which particular aspects other nutritional guidelines were followed.

Such appeal to context-specificity introduces ambiguity to the previously claimed “evidence-based” knowledge production. It is indeed impossible for readers to evaluate how, to what extent, and in which combination these contextual factors are used and shape the recommendations.

One of the press releases (June 14) includes the following comment on the process of compiling the guidelines:

> We have received positive messages from several medical doctors and scientists competent in the topics covered as well as recommendations to express some ideas more clearly. However, we have also received coercive demands to include surveys and studies considered as the only and absolute truth by their sender and information congruent with the website he/she is associated with.

The latter statement refers to the inquiries sent to NIHD by a member of the Estonian Vegan Society, on behalf of the society. In this excerpt, the NIHD is constructing two opposing categories of contributors to the guidelines: first, competent, objective, and trusted experts providing valuable input; and second, an individual, biased member of the public attempting to influence the compilation of the nutritional guidelines to a direction favorable to their specific personal agenda, acting against the public interest. In the first sentence, medical doctors and scientists are named as belonging to the category of competent experts, and their recommendations are described as a positive, welcome contribution to the process of compiling the guidelines. In contrast, in the second sentence, the professional status and affiliation of the individual mentioned is not revealed, but he or she is presented as a single individual representing solely his or her interests. Meanwhile, the experts named in the first sentence stand for the public interest. The contribution provided by this anonymous “sender” is represented as a threat issued by this person, obstructing the process of compiling the guidelines. As depicted here, this threatening and unreasonable “sender” could indeed be imagined as any individual with any possible affiliation, making all sorts of claims that might not even be related to nutrition.

As these statements indicate, the NIHD does not consider the Estonian Vegan Society (or vegans more broadly) as legitimate and competent stakeholders in matters of nutrition, dismissing their concerns as irrelevant and unreasonable.

A Call for the Consumption of Other Animals

This section focuses on ways in which appeals to the consumption of other animals and their bodily fluids are made in overt as well as more implicit ways in the sections of the document under examination.

Here, it is insightful to consider the process of compiling the recommendations, namely, to look at the working version of the document that was published on the website of NIHD several months prior to the release of the final version, because a crucial difference occurs in a key statement of the recommendations between the two versions regarding the amount of recommended animal protein to be consumed. The final version states the following (NIHD p. 91):

> It is recommended that up to 75% of all protein consumed by children and youngsters should come from high-quality protein of animal origin; for adults, this percentage is 60.

Compared to the working version, a critical change has been introduced into the final version: instead of "up to," the original sentence featured "at least" in front of the specified percentage of animal protein. This replacement radically alters the meaning of the entire statement. While the working version presented these figures as the minimum percentages of animal protein to be consumed, the formulation in the final version can also mean that no animal protein at all is needed. (An even earlier version of the Estonian nutrition recommendations published in 2009,[11] contained a recommended nonhuman animal protein intake of "at least 50%" for children and "at least 33%" for youngsters.) While this seemingly radical and unexpected change of mind by the authors is certainly favorable to vegans, it simultaneously raises serious questions about the interpretation of sources, which the claim is based on, as the same key source is used to back up the new statement—FAO's 2013 report titled "Dietary protein quality evaluation in human nutrition." The final version states that the specification of the percentage of animal protein to be consumed "stems from the clear recommendations issued in recent years to use protein of higher biological quality" (NIHD p. 91). In addition to FAO's report, three additional sources are listed in the final version: European Food Safety Authority (EFSA) (2012), the U.S. Institute of Medicine of the National Academies (2005), and Rizzoli et al. (2014).

Referring to these sources leaves the impression that the advice to include a certain percentage of nonhuman animal protein comes from the named prominent international organizations. However, none of the documents referred to contain a recommendation on the ratio of plant and nonhuman animal protein in the human diet. The first three documents make no mention of humans needing to consume protein from other animals, while the last one argues for the health benefits of cow's milk for muscle and skeletal health in postmenopausal women (notably, the latter study is funded by Danone, a large "dairy" producer in Europe.) The documents by EFSA and the U.S. Academy of Sciences talk about "high quality protein" and "good quality protein," respectively, but neither recommends extra protein intake for those on plant-based diets. Hence, the way that these references have been used is misleading, as none of these documents equates "good quality protein" with "animal protein." Thus, the authors of the Estonian nutrition recommendations falsely implicate these organizations in promoting the consumption of other animals.

Protein derived from other animals is glorified throughout the document through the repeated use of the term *essential amino acid,* invoked exclusively to describe the properties of nonhuman animal–based foods. For example:

> Milk protein contains all essential amino acids for the human body (p. 282).
>
> Poultry and red meat contain a favorable ratio of amino acids, essential amino acids, B-group vitamins, potassium, phosphor, and very well absorbed iron (p. 285).
>
> Eggs contain proteins which are absorbed well (including essential amino acids), fats, vitamins and minerals (p. 287).

The consistent use of the word *essential* in this context suggests that only nonhuman animal–based foods provide adequate amino acids for the human body, while plant-based foods are nutritionally inferior and deemed as incomplete proteins.

The expression *essential amino acids* in the Estonian nutrition recommendations is an instance of the use of scientific jargon, which helps to boost the legitimacy of the claims made. *Essential amino acids* is one of the most common jargon from the field of nutrition science, and it has made its way over to public discourse on healthy eating, being used by journalists, as well as nutrition scientists and doctors appearing in public. The use of the term, typically in describing "meat" and "dairy" products, signifies healthy and nutritionally complete food. It is also invoked when describing the "inadequacies" of plant-based diets, dismissing veganism as an unsuitable diet for humans, by stating that essential amino acids can be obtained only from nonhuman animal–based foods.

Another way in which products derived from other animals are declared as superior to plant-based foods is by the use of the expression "protein of high biological value" to describe nonhuman animal–based foods:

> Meat, fish, dairy and eggs contain large amounts of protein of high biological value (p. 91).
>
> In order to have a supply of protein of high biological value, the diet must contain a certain amount of animal protein (p. 268).
>
> Ripe legumes and corn are rich in protein, but the protein contained in these is of slightly lower biological value than that in animal-based protein (p. 279).

With these statements, the guidelines falsely insist that not all amino acids can be obtained from plant foods, a claim that was disproved decades ago, including, notably, by the American Academy of Dietetics and Nutrition (Gordon 1996).

According to the PCRM, "there are 20 different amino acids in the food we eat, but our body can only make 11 of them. The 9 essential amino acids which cannot be produced by the body must be obtained from the diet. A variety of grains, legumes, and vegetables can provide all of the essential amino acids our bodies require."[12] All plant-based foods (except highly refined products) contain essential amino acids (Nordic Council of Ministers 2012, 126–127). Also, the idea that plant proteins should be carefully combined has been disproved (PCRM 2016; also see Academy of Nutrition and Dietetics 2009).

While the allegedly beneficial properties of "meat" and "dairy" are being highlighted, evidence on their negative impacts on human health has been consistently omitted or declared inconclusive. There is no mention of the influential 2015 WHO report clearly linking red and processed "meats" to cancer (Bouvard et al. 2015). Citing the WHO report, PCRM physicians note:

> The authors highlighted a meta-analysis that found a 17 percent increase in risk for colon cancer per 100 grams of red meat consumed and an 18 percent increase risk with 50 grams of processed meat consumed, and ultimately concluded that they are "probably carcinogenic to humans" and "carcinogenic to humans," respectively. Researchers also observed associations between red and processed meat products and stomach, pancreatic, and prostate cancers. Processing and other cooking methods for meat, including curing, pan-frying, and smoking, produce various carcinogenic chemicals.[13]

The authors of the new Estonian nutrition guidelines, however, have chosen to ignore this evidence completely:

> Continued overconsumption of processed and red meat may play a certain role in an increased risk of Type 2 diabetes and coronary heart disease (CHD), however, conclusions between red and processed meat and cardiovascular disease cannot be drawn because of lack of evidence. Moderate consumption of these meats (small amounts, a few times per week) is not associated with health risks. Excessive consumption of processed and red

> meat may increase the risk of colorectal cancer. Evidence regarding the association between foods containing animal fat and increased risk of colorectal cancer is limited and suggestive. Also, evidence of the link between processed and red meat with other types of cancer (for instance, lung cancer) is limited and suggestive. As a conclusion, it is recommended to decrease or avoid the consumption of processed meat, and to limit the consumption of red meat to average consumption, which is 500 g per week as a maximum.[14] (pp. 264–265)

Declaring the consumption of 500 grams of red "meat" per week as safe even contradicts a claim that the authors made earlier, which, referring to scientific evidence, mentions 300 grams as the safe limit:

> There are only a few surveys which indicate that high (more than 300 g per week) consumption of red and processed meat (for example smoked, salted, fried in high heat and for a long time) may be linked to several types of cancer, primarily colorectal cancer. This however does not at all prove that the problem is in meat protein and not in the components that develop in the course of processing it. Overprocessing also poses a risk in the case of carbohydrates. Hence: the problem is in excessive processing, not in the food or nutrient itself. (p. 92)

In this excerpt, the problem is not seen in "meat" itself, but its processing, suggesting that all processed food is equally harmful.

Instead, red "meat" is praised for its health benefits, and the dangers of avoiding "meat" are emphasized:

> As red meat is among the best available sources of iron, a complete elimination of meat from the diet might increase further the number of anemic people. According to data of various organizations, more than one fourth of the world's population is anemic. (p. 265)

NNR12 (Nordic Council of Ministers 2012), published three years before the WHO study on the adverse effects of red "meat," contains the following statements on the links between processed and red "meat" and disease:

> There is strong epidemiological evidence that high consumption of processed meat increases the risk of colorectal cancer, type-2 diabetes, obesity, and coronary heart disease. Similar, but weaker, associations have been observed for red meat. Replacing processed and red meat with vegetarian alternatives (such as pulses), fish, or poultry reduces the risk. (p. 22)

Declaration of "Meat"- and "Dairy"-Based Diets as Sustainable

In light of the emerging international concerns around the sustainability of food practices and agriculture, particularly in relation to "meat" consumption, the NIHD also consider this question in their new nutrition and physical activity recommendations:

> Sustainable food consumption is informed consumption: socially and culturally appropriate, economically just and affordable, environmentally friendly, protective and respectable to ecosystems and avoiding excessive waste. Food consumption, which is varied and corresponds to nutrition recommendations and stemming from these principles ensures nutritionally adequate food to consumers and also enables to optimize the usage of natural resources. Food consumption has an impact on the environment and we can make sustainable food choices on a daily basis. In summary, it is important to **consume diverse foods**! (p. 330) (emphasis original)

According to this definition, "informed food consumption" does not include awareness and consideration of interspecies and social justice, and the extensively documented global environmental degradation caused by "meat" and "dairy" production.

In the section "Food and Environment," under Chapter VIII—Sustainable Consumption, the document mentions (and provides some references to existing evidence for) environmental damage caused by agriculture, particularly nonhuman animal agriculture, such as its greater usage of water and land and its greater greenhouse gas emissions (GHGE) compared to plant-based agriculture (p. 331). But this is followed by a statement claiming that if several variables are considered, "meat" and "dairy" production is nearly as environmentally sustainable as plant-based foods:

> However, some recent scientific research shows that if we take into account **all resources used to produce food** [emphasis original] and view these in accordance with the density and diversity of nutrients, the actual total output of animal products (fish, meat, milk products) is not significantly more wasteful. For example, if we consider the real biological value of food protein, the total output of actual usage of resources becomes more correct and accurate. From this, it can be concluded again that plant foods as well as animal foods are necessary, in a metabolically correct ratio, to satisfy all nutrient needs of the human body in the most effective way. (p. 331)

The reference provided to the rather significant claim made in the first sentence of this passage is a study sponsored by Danone, a large "dairy" producer in Europe, and the Casino group, a French mass retailer.[15] The results of the same study have been quoted by groups promoting nonhuman animal products, such as the U.S. Egg Board.[16] The cited study, by Drewnowski et al. (2015), has a number of limitations. For one, it only considered frozen and processed fruits and vegetables. Compared to fresh ones, their storage and transport considerably adds to GHGE. The study compares plant foods with the lowest protein content with protein-rich nonhuman animal–based foods, neglecting to consider nuts and legumes, which have higher nutrition density and lower GHGE than products derived from nonhuman animals. Focusing only on GHGE, data on water use—plant foods, except nuts, require significantly less water per calorie than do nonhuman animal-based foods are conveniently neglected.

Other excuses are made in the section "Food and Environment" for the continued use of nonhuman animal products:

> Although animal agriculture uses the majority of the Earth's plant and pasture areas and requires more water than growing grains, it simultaneously produces large amounts of protein of high biological value. (p. 330)

This sentence is a typical example of how nonhuman animals are erased and become the absent referent (Adams 2010), as they are rendered "protein of high biological value." The text does not discuss any ethical issues related to using nonhuman animals for human food.

Overall, this chapter presents a very myopic view on sustainability—one that ultimately (and conveniently) dismisses the environmental impact of farming other animals. "Meat" and "dairy" producers and consumers, however, find their business and food practices legitimized.

"Self-Restricted Diets": The Dangers of Veganism

In introducing the principles that the national recommendations are based on, the authors state the following:

> The recommendations do not need to take into account the personal preferences, attitudes and tastes of individuals or some specific groups. The Estonian nutrition recommendations do not consider the details of self-restricted diets. (NIHD p. 25)

The document's glossary of terms defines a "self-restricted diet" as "a food restriction stemming from reasons such as religion, conviction or other (for example, medically unfounded gluten-free diets, vegetarianism, etc.), which may, in the long term, lead to certain nutrient deficiencies or other health risks" (NIHD p. 20). In this formulation, nutritional inadequacies are almost inevitable in any "self-restricted diet."

While a number of very different food practices could be lumped under the notion of "self-restricted diet," Chapter V, entitled "Self-Restricted Diets," is implicitly written in a way that equates a "self-restricted diet" almost exclusively with vegetarianism and veganism. By presenting veganism as a "self-restricted diet" that some individuals or a few groups have chosen to follow, the authors reduce food practices to individual choice, divorced from any political context (Jenkins and Twine 2014; Probyn-Rapsey et al. 2016). The term *self-restricted diet* has a negative connotation, implying that the decision to stop consuming nonhuman animals could be an eating disorder or otherwise pathological. Further, the use of the term *self-restrictive* makes veganism sound harsh, dangerous, devoid of any pleasure, and unnecessarily imposed on the self. Also, a so-called self-restricted diet could be understood as any eating practice, without any consistent philosophy or political motivations behind it, such as a diet consisting only of fast food and soft drinks. Further, the tone of the statement is arrogant, implying that people who have made the “personal choice” of going vegan have taken unnecessary risks and therefore do not deserve advice on planning their diets. The chapter starts with the statement: “People have the right to decide on their food practices” (p. 268). Again, food choices are entirely relegated to the personal sphere, completely ignoring the political effect of human food practices.

Throughout the short chapter, a patronizing and demonizing attitude is taken toward “self-restricted diets.” In taking this stance, the Estonian nutrition recommendations drastically differ from other such documents compiled in most Western countries, including the NNR12, which it claims to be based on. Other contemporary nutrition guidelines typically cover both the potential weaknesses and benefits of vegan diets, offering recommendations on how to overcome some limitations of vegan diets. The authors of the Estonian nutritional guidelines, in addressing veganism and vegetarianism, have almost entirely relied on corresponding text in NNR12, but with one crucial difference: they have systematically focused only on the shortcomings of plant-based diets, consistently omitting their positive aspects that NNR12 covers.

The chapter presents giving up nonhuman animal products as a choice that people have, but one that is irrational, unnecessary, and dangerous. It is equated with eliminating all plant-based foods in the diet:

> Giving up all plant-based foods results in a poor diet. But giving up all animal-based foods results in a poor diet as well. People are entitled to make all such changes [in their diet], but it is at their own risk. In the following sections we explain briefly what problems should be paid attention to in self-restricted diets. (p. 268)

Before proceeding to further explanations, however, the authors have deemed it necessary to include another warning:

> If some foods are consistently excluded from the diet some nutrient intakes might be systematically lower compared to a mixed, conventional diet. This could result in deficient or inadequate intakes of essential micro-nutrients and other food components that are important for health. (p. 268)

These two sentences are an exact copy of the recommendation given in NNR12. However, the NNR12 contains an additional sentence, omitted from the Estonian guidelines: “The content of some nutrients or bioactive constituents might, on the other hand, be higher or closer to current recommendations in vegetarian diets” (Nordic Council of Ministers 2012, 125). This is an example of the systematic omission of information about the benefits of plant-based diets.

The chapter provides a list of nutrients (vitamins and minerals, as well as protein, fiber, and fats) accompanied by a short explanatory paragraph, which follows a similar pattern throughout the chapter. The first sentence of the paragraph typically declares that the nutrient in question is very well absorbed from nonhuman animal–based foods, while plant-based foods provide an inadequate supply of the described nutrient. Following this, the paragraph ends with a recommendation to take a supplement (for example, B12), consume nutrient-enriched products (e.g., soy or rice milk), or eat more of certain kinds of plant foods. However, some cases lack a recommendation on how to "compensate" for the missing nutrients from "inferior" plant-based foods, and in some cases, the recommendations suggest that the nutrient can be adequately obtained only from nonhuman animal products. A good example of this textual pattern is the description of iron:

> Iron is absorbed very easily and adequately from animal-based products (such as meat and blood products). Some plant-products contain relatively large amounts of iron, but the absorption of iron from these foods is significantly more modest. This means that the amounts eaten must be much larger, which however may cause a misbalance in the absorption of some other micronutrients. (p. 269)

The authors have not bothered to name any plant products containing sufficient amounts of iron, contrary to the mentioning of two "meat" products in the parentheses. The last sentence of the paragraph remains vague—no explanation is provided as to which micronutrients will be absorbed inadequately and how. The paragraph does not contain any references to scientific evidence. The readers learn that essentially, adequate levels of iron cannot and should not be obtained only from plant-based sources. The attitude toward readers is patronizing—they are expected to accept the vague explanation as expert knowledge not to be questioned.

The description of protein provides another good example of the pattern employed:

> For healthy functioning, the human body must acquire protein, specifically, amino acids contained in protein. Here, not only the amount of protein is important, but its very high quality (that is, a very rich content of essential amino acids and their close correspondence to the content of protein of the human body). Meeting the amount of protein is not a problem if protein rich plant foods are consumed—legumes, grains, seeds and nuts. However, the supply of protein of high biological value assumes the inclusion of certain amounts of animal-based foods in the diet. (p. 268)

Again, we learn that the human body requires protein of high biological value and that this can be obtained only from eating other animals. This language renders other animals "high quality protein" for human consumption. The summary of the chapter represents well how veganism is depicted throughout the document:

> If an adult chooses a self-restricted diet, they are entitled to do so. All forms of restricted diets without medical grounds, imposed on children by parents or others, are dangerous for the **growing child** [emphasis original]. The problems that emerge in children are often with life-long consequences, for example, underdevelopment in infants or toddlers caused by lack of iodine. Self-restricted diets are not identical to certain temporary shorter or longer restrictions, if this is caused by illness and followed under the supervision of a medical doctor. For example, in the case of allergy towards cow's milk, goat milk can often be used, and if this too causes discomfort, alternatives should be found, until the child will most likely grow out of it, by around the age of 2–3. Therefore, there is no justification for imposing any kind of self-restricted diet on infants and toddlers, as well as on pregnant women, and it is seriously dangerous. (pp. 269–270)

A number of claims are made in this passage that should be unpacked. A self-restricted diet—one that is adopted by choice—is contrasted with a medical condition, where certain food groups might be (temporarily) eliminated from diet because of medical need. Hence, a plant-based diet by doctor's order, for health reasons, is acceptable for a short while, but the same is unacceptable when chosen for concern over the lives of other beings.

By implication, those who have chosen veganism are exhibiting irresponsible behavior toward themselves, but even worse, toward their children. Criminal intent is hinted by the language used in the declaration: "seriously dangerous" and "self-restricted diets" are seen as something that can be "forced" on infants, toddlers, and pregnant women. Thus, if parents subject their children to a vegan diet, they are committing an act of willful harm against them and subsequently, are unfit for parenting, with a possible consequence of their children being taken from them.

This demonization of vegan parents is implicitly gendered. As elsewhere, the majority of vegans in Estonia are women, who also overwhelmingly act as primary caregivers of small children. The language used has the aim of producing feelings of guilt and shame in parents who have chosen veganism for their families. The mentioning of pregnant women in this context suggests harm being inflicted to an unborn child by a mother's veganism. Agency is removed from pregnant women with the suggestion that a diet could be "forced on them" by someone else, as opposed to being an informed decision undertaken on their own initiative.

The recommendation of the consumption of goat milk by children if they are allergic to cow's milk is a desperate attempt to reinforce the reliance on nonhuman animal products and, in addition to constituting a continued call to harm other animals, is socially insensitive. Instead of recommending plant milks—which are far cheaper and more available alternatives in Estonia today—the suggestion to substitute cow's milk with the outcome of the reproductive labor of another animal disregards the socioeconomic differences of people. The fact that not everyone has access to goat's milk is dismissed. The suggestion to attempt to give cow's milk to children at any cost is also implicitly racist and nationalist (disregarding the fact that many people of non-European heritage are lactose intolerant) and hence displays insensitivity toward new migrants of various ethnic origins settling in Estonia.

CONCLUSIONS

In this chapter, I have explored, from critical sociological and CAS perspectives, how a speciesist discourse supporting capitalist interests is constructed in national nutrition guidelines, using the example of the new Estonian Nutrition and Physical Activity Recommendations (Pitsi et al. 2017). I examined ways in which the guidelines promote "meat" and "dairy" products and condemn plant-based diets. Following the main tenets of CDA, I took a closer look at the manifestations of this, paying attention to the authors' claims, argumentation, style, implicit assumptions, vocabulary used, and choice and usage of sources.

Further analysis could be conducted to trace more implicit and subtle expressions of the insistence to consume other animals in the text on various linguistic levels, including examining other intersecting oppressions. Subsequent research could also pay more detailed attention to how the language of neoliberalism and capitalism, or so-called corporate speak (McGloin 2015), shapes and is shaped by the speciesist ideology.

My findings suggest that the Estonian nutrition recommendations construct the consumption of other animals as necessary, natural, and inevitable in a number of ways, while declaring veganism as dangerous and unsuitable for human health. I demonstrated how the consumption of "meat" and "dairy" products was consistently encouraged by declaring nonhuman animal–based proteins superior to plant-based ones, the assertion that raising other animals for human consumption is ultimately sustainable, and the labeling of veganism as a dangerous, "self-restricted" diet, conceptualizing it as a personal choice divorced from any political significance. Particularly within the latter discourse, speciesist ideology intersected with other forms of oppression, such as sexism and gender stereotypes, as pregnant vegan women (and, implicitly, vegan mothers) were demonized and constructed as threats to their children.

The ideas of interspecies justice (Probyn-Rapsey et al. 2016) and ethical issues related to nonhuman animal farming were ignored in the dietary guidelines. Nonhuman animals were simply rendered "high-quality protein." While some environmental problems were mentioned as being the consequence of farming other animals, they were declared inevitable, and ultimately not a threat to sustainability.

The Estonian nutrition recommendations, while claiming to be based on the NNR12 (Nordic Council of Ministers 2012), significantly diverge from this and other influential dietary guidelines by international organizations and of several Western countries in their attitude toward veganism, consistently omitting the benefits of the vegan diet while pointing out its weaknesses.

The glorification of foods derived from other animals in the recommendations resembles the argumentation and language used by parties with direct interest in the continued exploitation of nonhuman animals, such as factory farmers (Stibbe 2001). As my findings suggest, there is a parallel between the discourse used by those with direct business interests in the A-IC and the nutrition establishment in Estonia. Both parties argue for the continued consumption of nonhuman animal products and dismiss the ethical, environmental, and health implications of such a practice, despite scientific evidence pointing otherwise. Hence, in this case, scientists and government institutions are complicit in endorsing the A-IC by representing its interests.

The hegemony of the AI-C means that support of it by such experts as nutritional scientists is widely understood as an unbiased "neutral position" and hence remains socially invisible (Twine 2012, 26). As the National Institute for Health Development, which is responsible for compiling the guidelines, is a government-funded body, this constitutes a case of "institutionalized presence of speciesism" (Twine 2010, 9). However, I would argue that even if the Estonian public *did not* perceive the position of the nutritionists as "neutral" in this matter, the convergence of the authors' views with the interests of the Estonian animal farmers would not cause major criticism or outrage but would indeed be largely seen as legitimate. This is because in promoting (particularly local) "meat" and "dairy," both parties advance capitalist and nationalist values and practices central to Estonia's neoliberal economy and society. Indeed, traditions, local large and small-scale production, and consumption patterns are explicitly mentioned among the contextual factors shaping the Estonian nutrition guidelines (p. 24)—the authors have made no attempts to conceal the influence of these particular elements of the capitalist system on the nutritional knowledge presented in the guidelines.

My findings raise an important, but difficult question—why is it that the authors of the Estonian nutrition recommendations—leading nutrition scientists in the country—hold on to animal-based nutrition and display such hostility toward veganism despite strong scientific evidence pointing to the benefits of veganism and the harmful effects of consuming other animals for food? Clearly, we cannot speak here of simply a lack of information or knowledge. Estonian scientists, including nutritionists, are highly proficient and experienced in reading and publishing in English, in internationally renowned high-impact journals, and they work on a daily basis with contemporary data on nutrition. Hence, I argue that we are dealing with strategic ignorance or willful blindness regarding an increasing body of scientific evidence on the adverse health effects of "meat" and "dairy" and the benefits of plant-based diets. Strategic ignorance (Sullivan and Tuana 2007) is a concept originating from critical studies of whiteness and has been used to understand ways in which forms of ignorance regarding white privilege are perpetuated, and how this ignorance is not simply a gap in knowledge; rather, it is performed strategically, with the aim of supporting the interests of privileged groups. In this case, strategic ignorance aims to support and reinforce speciesism and species-based privilege of human beings. Speciesism, entangled with capitalist interests, constitutes a hegemonic norm, which remains not only unchallenged, but also actively reproduced, with disastrous consequences to nonhuman animals, as well as to the environment and public health. Hence, these guidelines legitimate and endorse human violence toward other animals.

While on their website, the NIHD declares that the guidelines are not coercive or compulsory,[17] they constitute a powerful text in practice. Its legitimacy is ensured by its compilation and publication by a government-funded body responsible for public health and its authors being leading national "experts" in nutrition, medicine, health, and fitness and the presentation of the text using a discourse of science. The recommendations have profound material consequences. Based on these recommendations, public institutions will compile their menus, and medical professionals advise their patients, including parents with children and pregnant women. They directly inform mainstream ideas on healthy eating in the country and constitute a basis for various kinds of public nutrition programs and publication of materials on healthy eating, including the food pyramid. Not only will vegans (including vegan parents) not receive support from the medical system and other public institutions with which they interact (e.g., schools, kindergartens), but they may also be ostracized. A number of people compassionate toward other animals might not adopt veganism if it is declared unsafe by leading nutritionists and doctors in the country. As a further material consequence, the glorification of nonhuman animal protein in the recommendations reproduces and upholds the expectation of the "meat" and "dairy" industry to keep receiving subsidies from the state and their subsequent demands.

This discourse painting human consumption of other animals as inevitable, silencing and downplaying the cost of this practice, while claiming to represent public (health) interests, must be urgently and publicly challenged. I call for critical sociologists, investigative journalists, and other interested members of the public to actively engage in studying how hegemonic discourses and claims, such as the one that humans need “meat” and “dairy” for a viable existence, are constructed and legitimized.

Critical questions must be asked: Whose interests does a nutrition discourse promoting the exploitation of other animals serve? How do science and business support each other in creating knowledge that is used to advance speciesist values and capitalize on the lives of other animals? How does this entanglement remain socially invisible? Who should bear responsibility for and deal with the consequences of the construction and dissemination of such information, packaged as unbiased scientific discourse, which is destructive not only to other animals, but also to humans and the entire planet?

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NOTES

1. The U.S. Academy of Nutrition and Dietetics has approved the vegan diet as viable in all stages of human life. The Nordic Nutrition Recommendations 2012 (NNR12) (Nordic Council of Ministers 2012) declare well-planned vegan diets nutritionally adequate. The new Finnish national nutritional guidelines, issued in 2016, endorse the vegan diet as appropriate and a plan to start offering vegan meals in 20 kindergartens in the capital, Helsinki, is under way. In 2016, the Danish government is considering taxing red “meat” to reduce its consumption; the Chinese Nutrition Society recommended in 2016 that the Chinese population halve their “meat” consumption.

2. Bio-Competence Centre of Healthy Dairy Products LLC (http://tptak.ee/en).

3. “About Us.” 2015. National Institute for Health Development webpage. Accessed September 25, 2016, from http://www.tai.ee/en/about-us/national-institute-for-health-development.

4. The Estonian Vegan Society is a nonprofit organization founded in 2012. The society runs a comprehensive website and blog on veganism in the Estonian language at www.vegan.ee.

5. World Cancer Research Fund/American Institute for Cancer Research. 2007. *Food, Nutrition, Physical Activity, and the Prevention of Cancer: A Global Perspective*. Washington, DC: AICR: 380. Accessed September 25, 2016, from http://www.aicr.org/assets/docs/pdf/reports/Second_Expert_Report.pdf.

6. “Quick Tips.” Harvard School of Public Health. The Nutrition Source. Accessed September 22, 2016, from https://www.hsph.harvard.edu/nutritionsource/healthy-eating-plate/.

7. “Vegetarian and Vegan Diets.” Physicians Committee for Responsible Medicine (PCRM). http://www.pcrm.org/health/diets.

8. "Position of the American Dietetic Association and Dietitians of Canada: Vegetarian Diets." American Dietetic Association, Dietitians of Canada. 2003. *Journal of the American Dietetic Association*, 103(6): 748–65, http://www.vrg.org/nutrition/2003_ADA_position_paper.pdf.

9. "Vegetarian Diets." British Dietetic Association. Food Fact Sheet, 2014. https://www.bda.uk.com/foodfacts/vegetarianfoodfacts.pdf (updated March 2016). Accessed September 25, 2016.

10. "Vegan Diets." Dietitians Association of Australia. http://daa.asn.au/for-the-public/smart-eating-for-you/nutrition-a-z/vegan-diets/.

11. "Laste ja noorte toidusoovitused." Tervise Arengu Instituut, Eesti Toitumisteaduse Selts. 2009. Tallinn. Accessed September 25, 2016, from http://www.fao.org/3/a-as678o.pdf.

12. *The Protein Myth*. Physicians Committee for Responsible Medicine. Accessed September 25, 2016, from https://www.snyderhealth.com/documents/Protein_FAQ.pdf.

13. "Red and Processed Meats Cause Cancer." Physicians Committee for Responsible Medicine. October 26, 2015. Accessed September 25, 2016, from http://www.pcrm.org/health/medNews/red-and-processed-meats-cause-cancer.

14. Regarding the authors' contention that there is no compelling evidence that consuming processed and red meat increases the risk of Type 2 diabetes and coronary heart disease, as presented in the first sentence of the quote, it is insightful to compare NIHD's claims to information in NNR12 on this. As basis for the claim presented in the first sentence, the authors of the Estonian guidelines have used the exact same three scientific articles as the authors of the NNR12. However, the authors of the NNR12 have interpreted these sources as follows: "Population studies consistently report that high consumption of processed meat is associated with an increased risk of type II diabetes and CHD. Similar but weaker associations were observed in a meta-analysis of red meat consumption" (Nordic Council of Ministers 2012, p. 113), thus making it clear that there exists a proven link between high consumption of processed meat and the diseases mentioned.

15. Drewnowski, Adam, Rehm, Colin, Martin, Agnes, Verger, Eric, Voinnesson, Marc, and Imbert, Philippe. 2015. "Energy and Nutrient Density of Foods in Relation to Their Carbon Footprint." *American Journal of Clinical Nutrition,* 101(1):184–191.

16. "Real Eggs: Not All Proteins Are Created Equal." American Egg Board. Accessed September 25, 2016, from http://www.aeb.org/food-manufacturers/eggs-product-overview/37-history/584-avian-influenza-and-the-safety-of-egg-products.

17. "Eesti toitumis- ja liikumissoovituste protsessist." National Institute for Health Development. Accessed September 25, 2016, from http://www.terviseinfo.ee/et/uudised/4540-tai-ootab-arvamusi-ja-kommentaare-eesti-toitumis-ja-liikumissoovitustele, 14.06.2016.

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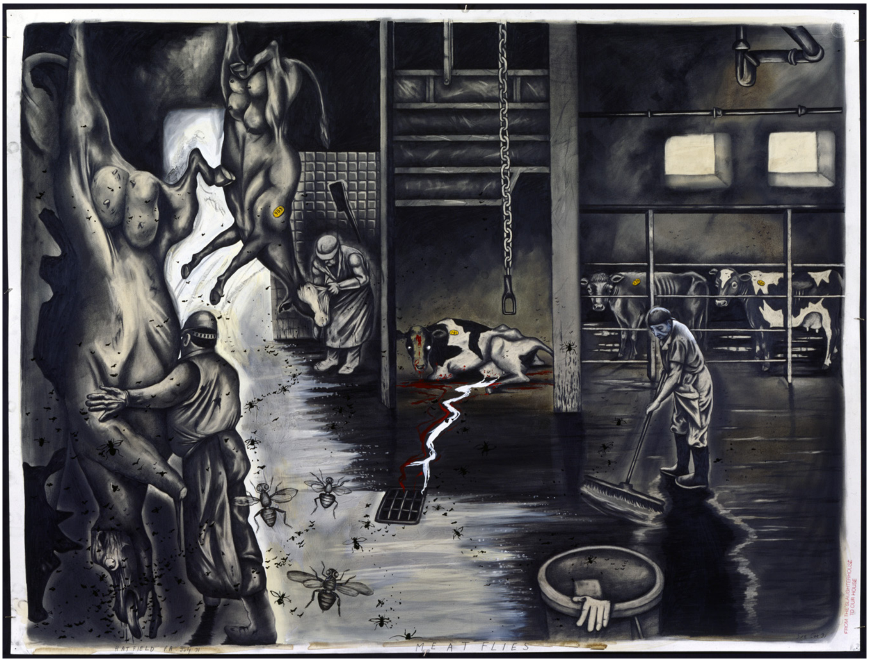
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FROM THE SLAUGHTERHOUSE TO OUR HOUSE

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9

Deadly Efficiency: The Impact of Capitalist Production on the "Meat" Industry, Slaughterhouse Workers, and Nonhuman Animals

Marcel Sebastian

INTRODUCTION

The production and consumption of food products derived from nonhuman animals are receiving considerable public attention. Besides the negative consequences for the environment and human health, it is primarily the work situation of slaughterhouse workers and the treatment of the nonhuman animals that have led to media coverage and controversial debates. In these discussions, the role of capitalism as the economic framework for the production and the emergence of these problems have largely been ignored.

The production of nonhuman animal products (i.e., "meat") and their sale on the international market are organized on the basis of the capitalist production regime. Key features of the capitalist system are (1) the principle of profit maximization, (2) the special significance and special protection of private ownership of means of production, and (3) the emergence of social inequality based on unequal power and capital distribution. The capitalist system has determined the expansion and organization of the slaughterhouse industry. This has significantly influenced the treatment of both nonhuman animals and slaughterhouse workers. Today, the highly competitive and deadly slaughterhouse industry is dominated by a few powerful corporations, while hundreds of thousands of industry workers worldwide work in poor and precarious conditions. This chapter will examine the transformation of the industry from the nineteenth century to the present, with a primary focus on its singular goal of profit maximization. The historical discussion of the chapter is limited to the U.S. "meat" industry. The present-day situation there is complemented by a look at the German slaughter industry.

THE INDUSTRIALIZATION OF SLAUGHTER AND THE TRANSFORMATION OF THE SLAUGHTERHOUSE INDUSTRY

The preindustrial supply of nonhuman animal products in the United States was shaped by the specific conditions of colonialism. The animals had to be imported from Europe or caught in the wild, to then be raised in the colonial settlements (Skaggs 1986, 12). The first commercial slaughterhouse opened in 1662, and at that time, most of the killing and dismembering of nonhuman animals was done by hand and carried out in small slaughterhouses or by people in their homes (Fitzgerald 2010, 59). Retail marketing of slaughterhouse products developed gradually (Skaggs 1986, 34).

In Europe, preindustrial slaughter was marked by a large number of private slaughterhouses and butchers who also killed nonhuman animals in urban back courtyards (Fitzgerald 2010, 59). Unsanitary conditions and aesthetic objections caused these slaughter operations to be gradually closed over the course of the nineteenth century in many European cities, to be replaced by modern, public slaughterhouses on the city limits (Buchner 1996, 76).

The industrialization of slaughtering changed "meat" production radically and permanently. The introduction of the conveyor belt and Taylorist—that is, highly labor-divisive and rationalized—production processes (von Lüde 1996, 40; Pachirat 2011, 42–52; Hasle and Møller 2007) enabled huge production increases and laid the foundation for the development of giant "meat" corporations. Before Henry Ford revolutionized the auto industry in 1913 with assembly lines, the "disassembly lines" of the U.S. slaughtering centers had been operating since the mid-nineteenth century (Rifkin 1994, 82; Sanbonmatsu, 2011, 22; Shukin 2009, 87; Skaggs 1986, 38). The slaughterhouse, with its "deadly efficiency" (Shukin 2009, 87), is the actual birthplace of modern conveyor-belt production systems.

The public slaughterhouses in Europe were modern, designed and equipped for mass production, and they copied the labor-dividing organization of U.S. slaughterhouses (Buchner 1996, 80). However, the efficiency of slaughtering nonhuman animals did not match that of the United States until the establishment of multinational European slaughterhouse companies after World War II.

In the United States in the mid-nineteenth century, the Communipaw Abbatoir in New Jersey was the most modern conveyor-belt slaughterhouse of its time. Here, nonhuman animals were moved on steam-driven belts, to be turned within 16 minutes from living beings into different types of "meat" (Ogle 2013, 34). This system was copied by the slaughterhouse complexes in Cincinnati and by the Union Stockyards of Chicago (Fitzgerald 2010, 60; Skaggs 1986, 45). This growth was so rapid that by the late nineteenth century, a world market had developed for the new, standardized, mass-produced "meat" (Sanbonmatsu 2011, 23). To this day, and worldwide, nonhuman animals are rapidly transformed by assembly line–type slaughter into commodities. Today's slaughterhouses are the result of a long series of technical developments. The workings of the slaughterhouse became more automated. The bolt gun replaced the anesthetic of the hammer; the workers' tool-handles were enhanced; cooling systems became more efficient; and instead of knives, some facilities saw the employment of electric saws and slaughter-robots. But despite all the automation, the modern slaughterhouse remains the labor-intensive successor of those first slaughter factories.

Historically in the United States, large slaughtering companies like Swift, Armour, Morris, Cudahy, and Wilson dominated the market until the end of the nineteenth century (Rifkin 1994, 79). Charges of monopolization and price fixing prompted government efforts to reign in the power and control of these giant firms; however, over time, large operations succeeded in gaining control of the industry.

Today, the industry is characterized by a few dominant conglomerates; Broadway (1995, 17) refers to the "meat" industry as an "oligopoly." The U.S. market is currently dominated by Tyson, Cargill, and the Brazilian world-market-leader JBS, which alone has an annual sales turnover of 130 billion euros (Management Report JBS 2014). The German market for the various processed animals is controlled by three or four concerns, including Tönnies, Vion, and the PHW Group.

Because the "transformation" of a nonhuman animal into a piece of "meat" requires the cooperation of a broad range of industries and service providers, the industry has always been configured as a complex network of cooperating and interdependent actors. The more the expansion and increase in efficiency of the industry, the more that these actors have differentiated (Rifkin, 1994, 108). Examples include "livestock" producers and feedlot operators; transport and logistics companies; loading stations; slaughterhouses; "livestock" buyers and actors on international speculative markets in cereals and animal prices; banking services; insurance companies; architects and building contractors; wholesalers; supermarkets, restaurant chains, and other large "meat"-buying customers; advertisers; safety and plant security agencies; employment agencies; lawyers and accountants; seed and feed producers; pharmaceutical companies and veterinarians; and machine and tool manufacturers. All of these, as well as many other companies and service providers, are involved in industrial "meat" production for a mass market, and without their cooperation, it would not be possible (Nibert 2013, 172).

While the slaughterhouse industry strove to maximize profits and minimize costs, retailers and fast-food chains produced "downward pressure on prices" (Bjerklie 2010, 141). Retailers and chain restaurateurs compete in price wars to win the favor of consumers, putting the pressure back on the slaughterers. When a slaughterhouse firm increases prices, retailers switch to its competitors, while others start their own slaughtering operations. Pressed to produce still more cheaply in order to increase their profit margins, large firms pursued the construction of ever-larger, more efficient slaughter facilities (Bjerklie 2010, 141; Broadway 1995, 19). Further, the slaughterhouse industry pressured "livestock" producers for more nonhuman animals, and the producers responded with measures designed to put weight on the nonhuman animals as quickly as possible (Bjerklie 2010, 143).

This already highly dynamic economic structure is subject to pressure by a number of other factors as well, such as the depression of prices by the importation of cheap "meat" from abroad (Bjerklie 1995, 45). Moreover, weather conditions, feed-crop "pests," and other factors affect crop harvests, and thus the prices for nonhuman animal products. Feed and the bodies of nonhuman animals also are subject to speculation on international markets; their production is driven by "international monetary and banking institutions, backed by the ruthless power of the neoliberal state" (Sanbonmatsu 2011, 25). Culturally induced fluctuations in the consumption of nonhuman animal products, such as those associated with food scandals or diet trends, also destabilize the industry. Because the profit margins are tight, such unfavorable conditions lead to profit losses (Bjerklie 2010, 141). Under the parameters of production under capitalism, "economic forces of inexorable power have pushed meat companies into a survival-of-the-biggest corruption of Darwinian economics" (Bjerklie 2010, 142).

To reduce the number of necessary partners and lower costs, many slaughterhouse firms strive to have their own companies carry out as many steps as possible in the value chain.[1] These industry moves to the "vertical integration"[2] of "meat" production have been pursued since the 1970s by large corporations like Cargill, Tyson, Perdue, and Con-Agra (Rifkin 1994, 91; Griffith, Broadway, and Stull 1995, 2; Broadway 1995, 19). The second largest "meat" company in the world, Tyson, slaughters 42 million chickens a week—the breeding, slaughtering, and marketing are entirely in the hands of the company: "This strategy aims to extract as much profit as possible from the value chain 'from field to fork'" (Sebastian 2014a, 14). For example, the PHW Group, Germany's largest chicken-raising and -slaughtering company, not only owns chicken slaughterhouses, but its portfolio also includes the production of feed, additives, food supplements and pharmaceuticals; the operation of hatcheries; about 700 chicken farms; 8 slaughterhouses; 3 logistics centers; a research laboratory for veterinary and human medicine; disposal and processing equipment for slaughterhouse waste (e.g., as fish, "fur-animal," or "pet" food); and the raising and slaughter of turkeys and ducks. The PHW Group slaughtered about 4.5 million chickens per week in 2009 (*Welt am Sonntag* 2009), and generated annual sales of 23.2 billion euros in 2012 (PHW Group 2013). The PHW Group aims, as do all other such companies, to achieve advantages over the competition. Through high vertical integration, these companies can strengthen their market power and become less dependent on external suppliers. Vertical integration reinforces cleavages in the industry because only already financially strong players can afford to expand into other business sectors.

Competitiveness has gone hand in hand with spatial and structural expansion. With the industrialization of production, the U.S. "meat" market grew so much that major producers such as Swift and Armour in the 1910s opened slaughterhouses in South America (Ogle 2013, 80). After World War II, the demand for nonhuman animal products grew sharply (Bjerklie 2010, 137; Skaggs 1986, 166f), as mass media increasingly was used as a tool to promote mass consumption (Nibert 2013, 175). Suppliers of nonhuman animals could not meet the demand from slaughterhouses. The consequence was a further massive expansion of the industry into Central and South America, with the aim of opening up new land for pasture, and the destruction of wide areas of the Amazon rain forest began (Rifkin 1994, 107).[3]

The slaughterhouse industry currently remains one of the most growth-intensive industries in the world. European, Brazilian, and U.S. companies are increasingly active in growing markets such as West Africa. There, as in other parts of the world, consumption of nonhuman animal products among the urban middle class has been on the increase for years and is, above all, a status symbol. Giant slaughterhouse firms have come to dominate many regional markets and force many smaller producers out of business (Tanzmann 2015; Marí 2014).

TECHNOLOGICAL AND ORGANIZATIONAL DEVELOPMENTS

Whoever wants to earn money selling nonhuman animal products must operate efficiently. In addition to the changes already discussed, technical developments and ever more sophisticated production systems are the essential instruments to achieve and increase profits. Such innovations helped some enterprises operate more efficiently than their competitors and procured enormous benefits for those that innovated at the right time. Every profitable new development forced the competition to imitate it or else to reduce costs in another way (Broadway 1995, 22).

In the mid-nineteenth century, the growing slaughterhouse industry faced logistical problems. Transporting nonhuman animals from distant, western regions to cities for slaughter was difficult. Only the expansion of railway networks made regional production and trade possible. Railways could move large numbers of nonhuman animals efficiently from the Western plains to the Midwestern slaughter centers, and then on to the "meat"-consuming East (Ogle 2013, 22; Nibert 2013, 110). By the 1880s, the Swift Company had recognized the value of the rail networks, starting to utilize rail transport while at the same time bypassing middlemen by creating its own retail outlets. Armour was quick to follow (Ogle 2013, 46). The thriving trade in nonhuman animal products became a very profitable investment.

The use of the railroad companies in transporting nonhuman animals was instrumental in the rise of the Union Stockyards in Chicago and other cities, as well as increasing the supply and demand for nonhuman animals in the country (Ogle 2013, 22). The emerging giants such as Swift and Armour secured the most desirable rail routes, thus getting the upper hand over the competition (Ogle 2013, 43). The Swift Company then came up with the idea of transporting, not live nonhuman animals, but halves of nonhuman animals already killed and packed, reducing transportation costs further. However, because dead halved nonhuman animals have only short preservability, the "meat" had to be transported chilled. The use and optimization of refrigerated trucks and warehouses assured an uninterrupted refrigeration chain (Skaggs 1986, 44). Refrigerated ships achieved the same effect for the export trade. By the use of freight trains, the practice of shipping nonhuman animal parts, and the development of refrigerated trucks and ships, the total costs of production (and therefore prices for consumers) were reduced. The companies making such changes realized higher profits.

After the industrial revolution in slaughtering of the mid-nineteenth century followed the post–World War II introduction of Concentrated Animal Feeding Operations (CAFOs). The combination of CAFOs and the modern, conveyor-line slaughtering process greatly increased the postwar supply of nonhuman animal products. Also during this time, the industry changed through the continuous application of technical and organizational innovations. By switching from rail to truck transport and the increasing profitable use of "by-products," the industry began to develop into what we know today.

Around the same time that CAFOs became established, most U.S. slaughterhouses also moved from cities to rural areas near the feedlots for cows (Skaggs 1986, 190; Griffith et al. 1995, 1; Broadway 1995, 18). The Iowa Beef Packers (IBP), belonging today to the Tyson concern, were the first firm to make these moves, building state-of-the-art slaughterhouses with the latest technology in the countryside. This process facilitated profit growth; as transportation costs were reduced and because urban, unionized workforces were replaced by cheap, nonunion labor (Griffith et al. 1995, 1; Bjerklie 1995, 53). The slaughter relocation propelled the industry newcomer IBP quickly to the top of the industry, for it "anticipated a new dilemma for the big-city packers . . . before anybody else did, and they profited mightily because of it." (Bjerklie 1995, 53).

The competitors reacted quickly, and in a short time, most urban slaughterhouses had moved in order to produce more profitably in rural settings. In this way, for example, the Morrell company could reduce wages in 1982 from $11 to $5 per hour in one of its plants (Skaggs 1986, 208). IBP also began the delivery of packaged, isolated parts of nonhuman animals to "meat" retailers in 1967 (Rifkin, 1994, 88; Bjerklie 2010, 140; Broadway 1995, 19). Also, this innovation proved to be extremely lucrative because it further reduced the transport weight. "Worthless" nonhuman animal parts (i.e., "waste products") were increasingly used in the creation of other profitable commodities (Broadway 1995, 19).

WORKERS AND ANIMALS

Today, the slaughterhouse industry perfectly reflects the nature of capitalism. Every detail in these complex operations is carefully planned. To make their plants more profitable, slaughter concerns strive to reduce further both labor costs and the costs of raising and killing nonhuman animals. Here again, the profit motive was the engine of innovative creativity—which has had, above all, terrible consequences for the nonhuman animals and the workers.

WORKERS

The labor environment in the slaughterhouse is one of severe physical stress, extreme heat and cold, dampness, and very unpleasant odors (Bjerklie

1995, 44). Workers are poorly paid, and their risk of injury is high (Rifkin 1994, 84; Broadway 1995, 20; Stull and Broadway 1995, 63; MCHR 2012, 16), making it among the most dangerous occupations in industrialized countries. The very high worker turnover rate is hardly surprising (Broadway 1995, 30; Griffith 1995, 136). The slaughtering industry has a bad image, and young people are reluctant to enter this line of work (Sebastian 2016, 12).

Butchering was once an occupation requiring skill (Sebastian 2014a, 14). Today, however, killing and dismembering nonhuman animals is largely performed by unskilled workers (Bjerklie 1995, 48). Only a few positions on the nonhuman animal disassembly line require appreciable skill. This leads to a split "slaughterhouse society" characterized by an extremely unequitable distribution of income and authority: Hundreds of thousands of people work in the U.S. and German slaughter industries, but very few of them are well off economically. Forepersons, quality control, veterinarians, and office workers form the slaughterhouse "upper class" (Pachirat 2011, 28). Managers and entrepreneurs are a tiny group by comparison, but nevertheless they keep a great part of the profits and are hardly ever confronted with the bloody realities of the slaughterhouse floor and the suffering experienced by chickens, pigs, cows, horses, goats, and other nonhuman animals (Pachirat 2011, 84).

Industrialized killing of nonhuman animals is exceptionally monotonous because the workers on the lines usually perform the same task for hours on end (Griffith 1995, 135; Pachirat 2011, 108–139; Striffler 2010). For example, the slaughter of chickens is now so automated that the workers mainly operate machinery. The birds are totally objectified, and their deaths, by the tens of thousands, are blandly routine (Rifkin 1994, 83). However, despite the steadily increasing automation, killing nonhuman animals remains a labor-intensive business (Griffith et al. 1995, 3). It is performed at great speed because the faster the conveyor belt is running, the more efficiently and profitable the operation (Broadway 1995, 22). The slaughter industry has achieved "speeds of unimaginable rapidity" (Bjerklie 1995, 43). The increased line speed means more stress and physical exertion for the workers, as well as greater risk of injury (Stull and Broadway 1995, 68; MCHR 2012, 17), but this is accepted "in favor of increasing production, reducing costs, and maximizing profits" (Rifkin 1994, 102).

Typical of the workings of capitalism, the interests of the industry and the workers are profoundly different in the slaughterhouse industry. Working conditions in the slaughter industry have been the subject of criticism and protest by unions ever since the formation of the labor movement. While employers tried to keep wages low, workers and unions fought for better wages and shorter working hours (Skaggs 1986, 159–165). Workers struggling for better conditions and treatment have been violently repressed. In the United States, for instance, the strikes of 1904 and 1921, each with over 50,000 participating workers, were among "the bloodiest labor disputes of the late 19th and early 20th century" (Rifkin 1994, 86). In the climate of economic crisis between the two world wars, in every major U.S. slaughtering concern, there were labor disputes, if not outright strikes—efforts that were frequently subdued by the police and National Guard (Skaggs 1986, 159–165). The slaughterhouse companies fought hard against any major concessions—only agreements for specific plants were negotiated.

Only with the steady expansion of unions—most notably the Amalgamated Meat Cutters and Butcher Workmen (AMC)—and the more pro-labor policies of President Franklin Roosevelt's administration were more significant concessions made by slaughterhouse companies (Skaggs 1986). During the Great Depression, "nearly all the workers in the meat plants in Chicago and other big cities were members of unions" (Bjerklie 1995, 50). However, over time, the general opposition to unions by slaughterhouse companies remained strong. These firms continually strove to prevent union organizing through dismissals of alleged ringleaders and through intimidation by security services and police (Rifkin 1994, 88).

Today, as in the past, the slaughterhouse industry is criticized for its poor working conditions and antiunion policies. For example, a Human Rights Watch investigation found that union organizing is systematically sabotaged through dismissals of organizers, threats of plant closures, the confiscation of union pamphlets, and the use of police and security personnel to intimidate workers during the election of trade union representatives (Human Rights Watch 2004, 75–100). The report concludes that "employers in the U.S. meat and poultry industry carry out systemic interference with workers' freedom of association and right to organize trade unions" (Human Rights Watch 2004, 75). Labor law financial penalties incurred as a result of lawsuits and complaints against "meat" corporations for violations of U.S. labor laws are often integrated into routine business-cost calculations, as the effects of preventing unions are profitable despite the penalties.

The high job turnover in slaughterhouse workforces today makes union organizing and advocacy difficult. As slaughterhouses moved to rural areas, and with fewer people seeking such undesirable employment, the industry became very reliant on immigrant workers (Broadway 1995, 30; Griffith 1995, 10; Sebastian 2016, 12). In the United States, slaughterhouse workers disproportionately are from Mexico and Central America (Human Rights Watch 2004, 105; 110), while in Germany, Eastern Europeans make up the primary slaughterhouse workforce (Sebastian 2016). Migrant workers are particularly vulnerable because the work requires little skill, making them easily replaceable, they rarely speak the local language (Rifkin 1994, 97; Human Rights Watch 2004a, 103), and in the United States, many also have an "uncertain legal status" (Gouveia and Stull 1995, 101; Pachirat 2011, 85–107). They can therefore be more easily controlled than native workers, and they can be more easily pressured to perform (Griffith 1995, 132). One of the many consequences of fostering such docile and vulnerable employees is that the companies successfully prevent many migrant workers from reporting injuries (Griffith 1995, 143). Therefore, "class society" within the slaughterhouses is further fragmented, creating an even lower class of migrant workers below the already precarious native workers (Griffith et al. 1995, 7).

The effects of such workforce transformations are well illustrated by the German slaughter industry, which, in comparison to the rest of the European Union (EU), largely uses low-wage foreign workers. Beginning in 2004, EU policies encouraged Eastern Europeans to cross borders to work in Germany (Wagner 2014, 2015a). These persons were primarily recruited for low-wage jobs in slaughterhouses, such as being "post" workers. In this scheme, they were officially employed in their countries of origin and paid there—including their social security contributions. Wages of less than 5 euros per hour for these workers were not uncommon (Sebastian 2014a, 20). This deployment ("posting") of foreign workers was organized through a complex and often unscrupulous network of subcontractors (Wagner 2015b). Both large and small German slaughter companies took advantage of cheap Eastern-European labor because the practice of "wage dumping" (i.e., pay at below the domestic wage level) was extremely lucrative for the industry and their subcontractors. Wages decreased so much that some French slaughterhouses and the Belgian government brought a complaint before the European Commission, claiming that the German "posted-workers model" created conditions of unfair competition (Sebastian 2014b, 21).

The Eastern-European slaughterhouse workers complained of poor and improper payment, as well as poor accommodation in overpriced and overcrowded rooms that they rented directly from the subcontractors. The rent, and sometimes deposits paid on work materials, were often deducted directly from the workers' wages (Sebastian 2016, 12). Unions, churches, some political parties, and civil society organizations expressed sharp criticism of these practices.

The subject of working conditions in slaughterhouses became a perennial favorite of the media, and growing public pressure prompted an increase of the minimum wage in Germany in January 2015. However, many workers continue to complain of incomplete payment of wages and poor accommodations (Sebastian 2016, 12). The large German slaughterhouse firms generally assert that they are unaware of violations of occupational safety rules or unfair working conditions, blaming their subcontractors for any problems. For most Eastern Europeans, taking legal steps does not make sense because judicial processes often take years. Also, the financial risk in the event of losing in court is simply too great (Sebastian 2016, 12). As in the United States, the employment of migrant workers who are desperate for work and experience language barriers means that union organizing is difficult in German slaughterhouses.

NONHUMAN ANIMALS

Nonhuman animals are greatly affected negatively by capitalist, profit-driven production. For "meat" to be produced, their short lives are characterized by suffering and put to a violent end. From a sociological perspective, slaughter can be understood as an act of institutionalized violence: it is an institutionalized, deliberate infliction of intensive harm to sentient beings that has a collective and instrumental character, and thus is carried out as a means to an end (Buschka, Gutjahr, and Sebastian 2013). Whether such violence is regarded as legitimate depends on its cultural framing. On the one hand, the consumption of nonhuman animal products is the dominant food culture, but on the other, the killing of nonhuman animals increasingly has been challenged on moral grounds. From the perspective of animal rights ethics, killing nonhuman animals is illegitimate and immoral. In various philosophical writings, authors point out such arguments as the intrinsic value of the animal's life (Regan 2004), the illegitimate inequality of animal interests in moral trade-offs (Singer 1996), and the morally reprehensible instrumentalization and commodification of animals (Francione 2000).

Violence against nonhuman animals, as well as the slaughterhouse industry as organized on the capitalist production paradigm, have a special relationship. The industrialization of "meat" production embodies both the industrialization of the process of killing nonhuman animals and the ever-increasing efficiency of that process. Barbara Noske (1997, 14) writes that under capitalism, nonhuman animals "have come to be totally incorporated into production technology . . . Particularly since the Second World War animal industries have become increasingly mechanized, automated, and 'rationalized.'" John Sanbonmatsu (2011, 20) argues that the immanent logic of capitalism has led to the "highest, most maturely developed historical form" of human domination over nonhuman animals.

Through the use of technological modifications and the optimization of production processes, the sheer numbers of nonhuman animals killed and the profits obtained from their deaths constantly increases. The total number of slaughtered nonhuman animals in just the United States (including pigs, cows, chickens, turkeys, ducks, and sheep) grew from 1.8 billion in 1960 (Humane Society of the United States 2016) to 9.1 billion in 2014 (U.S. Department of Agriculture 2015, 2016). By far, the largest proportion is made up of the approximately 8.7 billion chickens whose raising and slaughter is perhaps the most automated process. In Germany, slaughtered pigs rose from 43 million in 2000 to 58 million in 2015 (Statistisches Bundesamt 2016a), and in 2014, the number of chickens killed in the country was over 725 million (Statistisches Bundesamt 2016b).

As a result, perceptions of nonhuman animals changed. In the contemporary slaughterhouse industry, nonhuman animals are depersonalized and become components in the "meat-producing machine," turning out merchandise for the mass market. The development of their bodies is manipulated to reflect industry interests, and their severe confinement and inability to behave in any way natural to them cause extensive suffering. The "meat-becoming process" is to be understood as an ontologizing process: Nonhuman animals in capitalist production are subject to a specific definition of their essence; they become "living machines" and "beings that live for capital" (Torres 2007, 11). This process of transformation of living organisms into "industrial goods" (Pachirat 2011, 67) is implemented by the physical organization of the slaughterhouse. Shukin (2009, 16) argues further that owing to the peculiarities and profitabilities of nonhuman animal products, one must logically speak of "animal capital."

While nonhuman animal rights groups demand fundamental rights to life for nonhuman animals, animal-welfare organizations call only for better treatment of nonhuman animals before they become "meat." However, better treatment is contrary to the capitalist principle of cost minimization. And when a call for better treatment is occasionally met, reduction of the suffering of nonhuman animals is largely incidental to profit-enhancing changes in the production process.

An increasing number of activists within civil society and academia are pressing for extensive basic rights for nonhuman animals and for the abolition of oppression of all human and nonhuman animals. To them, the process of liberation will require transcendence of the capitalist system and the development of social systems characterized by peace, equality, and justice for all—and the establishment of a plant-based global food system.

Such ideas and related movements pose a real financial threat to the slaughterhouse industry. In the face of growing public exposure to images that reveal the terrible conditions in CAFOs and slaughterhouses, the U.S. slaughterhouse industry has used its considerable economic and political power to advocate successfully for tough sentences for animal rights activists. Secret filming in slaughterhouses and feedlots is now a criminal offense in some states (Pachirat 2011, 5), and nonhuman animal–rights activists now may even be subject to terrorism charges thanks to the Animal Enterprise Terrorism Act (Potter 2011; McCoy 2007).

CONCLUSIONS

As has been shown, capitalist production of nonhuman animal products is profitable and desirable only for a tiny minority of slaughterhouse owners. Most workers kill nonhuman animals under precarious and poor working conditions. They produce wealth for the slaughterhouse corporations and in turn are paid poorly. To secure their economical exploitation, the slaughterhouse industry aggressively tries to prevent them from organizing. Even worse off are the billions of nonhuman animals who are being killed after a short life of suffering in intensive farming systems. Although each one of them is an individual, sentient being with the ability to suffer, their interests are systemically ignored.

On the other side, there are rapidly growing numbers of people opposing these practices. Social movements for nonhuman animals organize their activism on a simple but far-reaching sociological insight: Human society is the result of historical transformations done by humans, and it is humans who can actively change the path of future social development. Practical solutions to the problem discussed here include changing both individual lifestyles and the way that we as a society organize the production of our livelihood—including deciding what (or who) we actually consider a commodity.

For many people, the logical solution to end the killing of nonhuman animals is to switch to a plant-based diet. In fact, veganism is becoming increasingly popular in both the United States and Europe and is part of a transformative counterculture that aims to solve the problems caused by neoliberal agriculture. The tight dependency between consumption and production also means that individual people can participate in social change by simply refusing to be part of hegemonial cultural practices such as consuming nonhuman animal products.

However, many activists emphasize that individual changes of consumption habits are not sufficient to end animal suffering. It seems plausible to argue that the current structure of economy is among the biggest obstacles to progressive change. When the main objective of production is not the satisfaction of human (and nonhuman) needs but profit maximization, it becomes obvious that capitalist economy is not a suitable tool to create a society based on equality, peace, and justice. And when only a very few people control and own multinational corporations and millions of people depend on the jobs that they offer, it becomes clear that the capitalist economy does not preferentially serve the majority of people. One possible solution to this problem is the transformation of the modes of production. Socialization of key industries, such as the agricultural industry, offers the possibility to publicly decide how we produce. If the production of food is not determined by private enterprises but by public interests, the foundation will be established for respecting the interests and rights of nonhuman animals.

NOTES

1. A value chain describes the different necessary and depending steps of production. Each step adds value to the commodity and consumes resources.

2. Vertical integration is a process in which a company takes control of the supply chain by integrating the parts of production into the company itself. A slaughterhouse company can vertically integrate the "supply" of nonhuman animals by operating its own breeding operations.

3. Today, rain forest deforestation for pasture and the cultivation of nonhuman animal feeds for the "meat" industry, together with the carbon dioxide–intensive rearing of cows, is one of the largest contributing factors to climate change (Gerber et al. 2013; Springmann, Godfray, Rayner, and Scarborough 2016).

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10

Nonhuman Animals as Food in Biocapitalism

Arianna Ferrari

INTRODUCTION

On August 5, 2013, the first in vitro "burger" made entirely of bovine stem cells was presented in London at a hybrid science-media event, which was something between a cooking show, a press release, and an experiment[1] (O'Riordan, Fotopoulou, and Stephens 2016). The in vitro "beef burger" was developed by the physiologist Mark Post and his team at the University of Maastricht. One of the sponsors of the work was Sergey Brin, one of Google's cofounders, who has also appeared in a promotional video of the project, *Cultured Beef,* that was shown at the media event. This burger was produced in a lab, using a method developed in tissue engineering, for which it is necessary only to obtain cells from nonhuman animals, but not kill them, in order to develop this "meat." At that time, the production of this "hamburger" cost $325,000, whereas in 2015, Post's team declared that the price may be reduced to $11 per "burger," or $80 per kilogram of the "meat" (Schwartz 2015).

At the end of June 2015, the leading scientific journal *Nature* celebrated with enthusiasm the announcement of the creation of supermuscly pigs by a team of scientists from South Korea using the single-gene editing technology TALEN (which stands for “transcription activator-like effector nuclease”). These pigs showed greater muscle mass than normal pigs and, according to *Nature* editor David Cyranoski (2015), many researchers hope that gene editing will ultimately lead to speedy approval by regulatory authorities of gene-edited nonhuman animals for human consumption. Ethical and social concerns were not mentioned in *Nature,* despite the fact that the welfare problems of these pigs were acknowledged in the editor’s piece itself, and despite the growing body of scientific literature on the deleterious effects of “meat” production and consumption on the environment (Benz-Schwarzburg and Ferrari 2016). In order to create these pigs, scientists had to use somatic gene nuclear transfer, which is well known for being a technique responsible for welfare problems for the individual animals. Only 13 of the 32 piglets that were born lived to eight months of age, and only two are still alive, only one of which is considered healthy (Cyranoski 2015, 14).

In November 2015, the U.S. Food and Drug Administration (FDA) declared that the genetically engineered (GE) salmon AquAdvantage™, created by the Canadian company AquaBounty, was just as safe to eat and just as nutritious as any non-GE Atlantic salmon, rendering it the first marketable GE nonhuman animal for human consumption in the world. Two months later, a rider to a spending bill banned its import until the FDA develops and mandates a label for it. In March 2016, environmental groups, fishing organizations, and others posed a lawsuit regarding the safety of the salmon (Keats and Kimbrell 2016), so that the FDA was ordered to produce additional documents relating to their approval. These groups contend that the FDA should never have been the agency to approve GMO salmon, since it oversees veterinary drugs, not whole fish for human consumption. Furthermore, they argued this approval ignored potential risks to “wild” salmon populations, the environment, and fishing communities and that the FDA failed to protect the environment and consult “wildlife” agencies in its review process. A similar lawsuit was posed by national environmental groups and other organizations in Canada, after the approval of the sale of this salmon in May 2016 by the Canadian Food Inspection Agency. In October 2016, the Canada’s Federal Court of Appeal rejected the appeal of these organizations. Despite the fact that the AquAdvantage salmon is still not available on the U.S. market, the company AquaBounty continues to perform well financially and advertise its salmon on its webpage as “the world’s most sustainable,” “100 Percent North American Raised,” and as a “Locally Raised, Climate-Smart Salmon.” The AquAdvantage salmon grows to twice the size of a normal Atlantic salmon and was created to be sterile. It has difficulty swimming, and it consumes more energy than conventional salmons because of its type of muscle fibers (Fitzpatrick et al. 2011).

In January 2016, the San Francisco–based start-up Memphis Meat released a video in which they showed the “world’s first cultured meatballs” being fried in a pan.[2] In the video, the chief executive of Memphis Meat, Uma Valeti, declares that his company’s process produces 90 percent less greenhouse gas emissions than traditional agriculture, and the woman who appears to be testing the “meat” balls declares that the product is “good” and “tastes like a meatball.” The company said that it costs around $18,000 to produce a pound of their “beef,” but that they are working on reducing the cost (Hanson 2016).

The previous examples were all made possible by new developments in the life sciences, but each process involves and conceptualizes nonhuman animals in a different way. In some cases, pigs and salmon are conceptualized as living machines that have to be optimized to deliver larger quantities of edible carcass more quickly; in other cases, researchers are using new forms of technology to develop “meat” in a completely different way—one that bypasses the nonhuman animal entirely and thus aims to avoid killing.

Emerging technologies have always showed destabilizing effects on existing economic, institutional, environmental, social, and cultural assumptions and interests. Nothing less can be expected from these developments in the life sciences. Whereas some studies have been conducted to investigate the innovation regimes and the ethical and social implications of the genetic modification of nonhuman animals in research and development, none have reflected on the transformative potential of these sciences for human-animal relationships. This is partly because, on the one hand, a systemic evaluation of emerging technologies with significant potential for societal transformation as such are not broadly developed and, on the other, that these studies generally take an anthropocentric perspective, focusing solely on the implications for *human* society.

In this chapter, I will use the framework of biocapitalism to disentangle how the reduction of life to its fundamental building blocks, which are then rendered as marketable parts, can generate ideological tensions and sometimes contradictory developments. These ambiguities tend to reinforce discourses that do not problematize the exploitation of nonhuman animals. Focusing on the way in which the participating scientists make sense of their work by proposing solutions to the main challenges facing the coming agriculture, either implementing nonhuman animal traits or bypassing the use of entire individual nonhuman animals, I will identify open questions and some common ideological traits that are worthy of being investigated further.

DESIGNING NONHUMAN ANIMALS AS FOOD FOR PROFIT VIA GENETIC ENGINEERING

New techniques developed in the life sciences (ranging from tissue engineering to genetic modification), as well as in nanotechnology, synthetic biology, and genome editing, have made it possible to modify nonhuman animals in many different and previously unknown ways. The essential traditional purpose of animal breeding techniques[3] in agriculture—to optimize nonhuman animals for human use—continues to be a leitmotif in contemporary biotechnology. In the 1980s, breeders were already raising supermuscly cows, the so-called Belgian Blue and Piedmontese breeds, which through breeding reproduce the gene mutation that actually stops the production of myostatin, which is responsible for impeding muscle growth when it reaches a certain point. The cows display a double-muscling phenotype (i.e., an increased number of muscle fibers). Despite the documented welfare problems of Belgian Blue cows, such as birth difficulties due to a narrower birth canal and larger calves at birth, leading to Caesarian sections being routinely performed (see De Smet 2014), this "breed" is still gaining popularity all over the world.[4]

Designing nonhuman animals via genetic engineering has accompanied the visions of scientists working in experimental agriculture since the late 1980s. At that time, they began to work on the modification of the growth of nonhuman animal individuals (through growth hormone–encoding genes), which was unsuccessful (Pursel et al. 1989), as well as on the alteration of milk, which started with the creation of mice that expressed a particular milk protein called β-lactoglobulin (Simons, McClenaghan, and Clark 1987). Later, this research was oriented toward the use of nonhuman animals as bioreactors, thus literally as living machines capable of producing in their bodily fluids (such as milk and blood) therapeutic substances for the human being: this field has been called *gene pharming.* The word *pharming,* which combines *farming* and *pharmaceutical,* indicates the blurring of boundaries between the use of nonhuman animals in scientific experiments and in agriculture. It involves different nonhuman animal species, such as rodents largely used for basic research and then what the scientists define as "large animals," on which analogous experiments are then conducted. The modified properties obtained through genetic engineering are then also tested on other nonhuman animals, in order to speculate about possible advantages and new products for use on human beings: For example, it was reported that the consumption of human lysozyme-rich milk from transgenic goats improved the intestinal and system health of piglets, helping to resolve their diarrhea problems (Cooper, Maga, and Murray 2015). In fact, lysozyme possesses the ability to modulate the inflammation response and antimicrobial properties. Furthermore, there have been attempts to create mice with reduced lactose in their milk (Whitelaw 1999) or those that lack α-casein in their milk (Kolb et al. 2011) as well as cows whose milk show an increased level of β-casein and k-casein (Laible et al. 2016). At the moment, the most important commercial application of GE nonhuman animals is their use to produce recombinant proteins in milk, such as the drug Atryn® used for blood clotting and Ruconest™ (or Rhucin® in non-European territories) to reduce acute swelling (Houdebine 2009).

Scientists have often defended their work, pointing out the continuity between traditional breeding and genetic modification: the same goal, but with other technical means. To put a positive light on various uses of genetic engineering of nonhuman animals, some scientists have referred to the betterment of "welfare problems." Cows have been genetically engineered to express the antibacterial peptide lysostaphin, which protects mammary glands from infection provoked by *Staphylococcus aureus* (van Veen et al. 2012). This infection is responsible for mastitis, a serious disease in cows for which they are sometimes even killed (in order to avoid a pandemic). In the United Kingdom, scientists have worked at creating a modified chicken capable of resisting avian influenza (Lyall et al. 2011). In 2001, a team of scientists at the University of Guelph, working in collaboration with the industry association Ontario Pork, announced the creation of Enviropigs™, genetically modified pigs that produce the enzyme phytase in their salivary glands, making their manure less of a pollutant for the soil (Golovan et al. 2001). In areas of intensive pig breeding, the high concentration of phosphorus in pigs' manure is a major source of pollution because this substance may leak into ponds, streams, and rivers, causing the growth of algae and consequently the death of aquatic nonhuman animals, as well as posing risks to the human beings who drink this water (Ferrari 2015a). The pigs expressing α-lactalbumin in their mammary glands (Bleck et al. 1998), the Enviropigs (Golovan et al. 2011), and the goats expressing human lysozyme in their mammary glands (Maga et al. 2006) have been studied over multiple generations. Scientists have described them as individuals able to transmit and express the transgene, as normal and healthy, and as representing the solution for sustainable food consumption (Murray and Maga 2016). The entanglement of the needs of agribusiness and the societal and scientific interests of nonhuman animal welfare evident in the previous examples is perceived by nonhuman animal geneticists as a win-win situation, the outcome of which is described as being good in terms of both productivity and welfare. This entanglement not only well reflects the ambivalence regarding production and welfare (Twine 2007), but also shows that it is impossible to maintain a clear distinction between science and ethics in the very definition of nonhuman animal welfare. The very goals of a welfare science change depending on the understanding of nonhuman animal welfare in the first place, a choice that is a normative one (Rollin 2015). The apparently positive appeal to "animal welfare" serves to rhetorically hide the fact that the health detriments that scientists want to repair are caused by breeding techniques themselves or by industrial agricultural practices. If not for breeding oriented toward the implementation of nonhuman animals for human use or any other exploitative agricultural practice, these problems would not exist in the first place.

The introduction of programmable, nuclease-based genome-editing technologies like zinc-finger nucleases (ZFNs), TALEN, and the CRISPR/Cas9 system is described by genetic engineers as having the potential to revolutionize the genetic engineering of nonhuman animals by overcoming the technical limitations of the established methods. These techniques can be performed at unprecedented speed and low cost, and they could eventually make all organisms accessible to genetic engineering (Ledford 2015). Since their announcement and the first applications to different nonhuman animal species, such as to cows (Proudfoot et al. 2015), sheep (Crispo et al. 2015), and goats (Ni et al. 2014), there has been a revival of all the past goals and dreams concerning genetic engineering in nonhuman animal agriculture. Scientists celebrate the applicability of these techniques virtually "to all dairy species" (Whitelaw et al. 2016, 8), which in turn can stimulate new goals. The use of these techniques is currently spreading worldwide and has led, for example, to the creation of an increased resistance in cows to bovine tuberculosis in China (Wu et al. 2015).

For these reasons, an explosion in the number of nonhuman animals that will be used has to be expected, as scientists themselves have declared (Mashiko et al. 2014a). This would mean that many different nonhuman individuals will suffer and die in experiments: in addition to the individuals used, we have also to count the many other nonhuman animals involved in the genetic engineering process, such as sperm and egg donors and surrogate mothers. In this logic, nonhuman individuals are considered mere tools to be implemented, and genome editing techniques become the key for a better and cheaper "construction" of these "tools."

The suffering of nonhuman animals will be tremendous. Until now, there has not been an evaluation of the phenotype effects of these techniques. Furthermore, in many cases (especially in the individuals that in scientific jargon are called "large animals"), scientists still need to use the somatic cell nuclear transfer technique (Laible, Wei, and Wagner 2015), which is known to be responsible for very serious nonhuman animal welfare problems, such as very low live birth rates in some species, abnormal sizes, and respiratory and cardiac problems (Tan et al. 2016). The high efficiency of the CRISPR/Cas9 system is also offset by the substantial risks of unintended mutations elsewhere in the genome (Laible et al. 2015).

TECHNOLOGIES HELPING NONHUMAN ANIMALS? THE POST-NONHUMAN ANIMAL BIOECONOMY

Whereas a consistent part of research in the life sciences involves not only using and killing nonhuman animals, but also changing their fundamental properties to satisfy human interests, there are other sectors of the life sciences that intend to overcome this. Developed from research on in vitro "meat" (IVM), the post-nonhuman animal bioeconomy uses technology such as tissue engineering, stem cell biology, and in some cases synthetic biology and genetic engineering to produce nonhuman animal products without using nonhuman animals. This label has been introduced by the U.S. charity New Harvest, founded in 2004 as "a catalytic non-profit research organization building and establishing the field of cellular agriculture."[5] Other products currently under research and development are egg whites produced without hens and cow-free milk.

Although the idea of IVM was first imagined in 1927 by John B. S. Haldane and, more concretely, in 1931 by Winston Churchill, and was materially researched in the tissue-engineering laboratories of the National Aeronautics and Space Administration (NASA) in the 1950s, it was not until the beginning of the twenty-first century that this research attracted scientific and (later) media attention. Along with its scientific work, the nonhuman animal welfare organization People for the Ethical Treatment of Animals (PETA) decided in 2008 to support this innovation, announcing a $1 million prize for the first commercially viable in vitro chicken "meat" and then funding a three-year postdoc research position in the field. The main idea has been to produce tissue starting from cells obtained via a muscle biopsy from nonhuman animals. Cells are then stimulated to grow on a petri dish through the addition of nutrients and growth factors, so that they will be induced to differentiate into edible skeletal muscle cells. During this process, the cells undergo mechanical, electrical, or chemical stimulation to achieve an acceptable texture. Eventually, vitamins, minerals, and flavors are added to ensure that the tissue is ready for packaging (Post 2012). Two U.S. patents (van Eelen 2007; Vein 2004) have been issued for IVM, and at least two additional patent applications have been filed (Challakere 2009; Forgacs et al. 2013).

The idea of cow-free milk, developed by the start-up company Muufri, based in Ireland and cofounded by chemical engineers and by New Harvest chief executive officer (CEO) Isha Datar, is for deoxyribonucleic acid (DNA) sequences obtained from cow cells to be inserted into yeast cells and then to let them develop in a culture through a medium using fats (coming from vegetables) and molecular biology methods to mirror the structure and flavor of milk fats. Ideally, milk proteins could be harvested after a few days (Qiu 2014).

IVM continues to be a proof of concept (Post 2016) because even nowadays, only a relatively small number of laboratories around the world are capable of producing even small quantities of these tissues. Together with technical hurdles, such as designing scaffolds (structures to which muscle cells can adhere that mimic the in vivo environment) and facilitating cell exercise in order to develop an acceptable texture, IVM needs to have an efficient and ethically acceptable growth medium. Until now, the most common means of developing a nonhuman animal cell culture is to use fetal bovine serum (FBS), which is harvested from bovine fetuses taken from pregnant cows during slaughter. FBS is commonly obtained by means of a cardiac puncture without any form of anesthesia, a procedure that causes pain and distress in the fetuses (Jochems et al. 2002). Furthermore, like any other media from nonhuman animal sources such as bovine serum albumin (BSA) and human serum albumin (HAS), they may contain contaminants due to our inability to trace its source and to exercise control over them (Pandugaran and Kim 2015). IVM innovators are working on nonhuman animal–free media, which should be cheaper (FBS is very expensive at the moment), safe, and efficient. The start-up company Modern Meadow has just patented animal product–free microcarriers (Marga et al. 2015). However, until now, there is no real alternative to FBS.

The large majority of innovators in the postnonhuman animal bioeconomy present their products, from "meat" to "milk" and "eggs," as a win-win solution for protecting human health, the environment, and nonhuman animals.[6] IVM is described as safer than traditional "meat" because it is produced under sterile conditions in the lab and with far fewer antibiotics (although Post reported that the in vitro "beef burger" was grown with antibiotics in order to keep the cells alive (*The Guardian* 2013). The most attention is paid to the environmental advantages of IVM; although the study that is still the most quoted is the one by Tuomisto, de Mattos, and Joost in 2011, more precise anticipatory life cycle analyses have pointed out that this study was hampered by several inaccuracies and that the environmental advantages of this innovation are far from being as clear and as significant as was calculated in 2011. In a more accurate study, Mattick et al. (2015) found that the production of IVM could require a smaller quantity of feed crops and less agricultural land than the conventional production of an equivalent amount of food, but that it would require more industrial energy than the conventional production of "pork," "poultry," and maybe even "beef."

Since industrial energy is often produced by burning fossil fuels, the global warming potential for IVM is likely to be higher than that of conventional "poultry" and "pork," but lower than that of conventional "beef" (Mattick et al. 2015). This is mostly because "meat" grown in a factory requires water to be heated for the tissue culture and high sterilization.

Furthermore, the previous life-cycle calculations did not take into account that other products are also obtained from traditional "meat" production, such as "blood," "gelatin," and "feathers." If these products will be still used, they will still have to be produced using nonhuman animals, and their ecological footprint has to be taken into account. That is the reason why Modern Meadow and other new companies in the postnonhuman animal bioeconomy are working to create cellular substitutes for *all* nonhuman animal products (from "leather" to "gelatin"). In an ideal case, a comprehensive life-cycle analysis should include an assessment of the different settings of the production of "meat" (also considering the nonhuman animal species), together with an assessment of other nonhuman animal products, different water requirements, potential land use changes and their subsequent effects, and, ideally, the complex impact beyond the environmental realm, such as shifts in economic activity. Uncertainties related to the environmental impact of early-stage technology are not at all a peculiarity of the postnonhuman animal bioeconomy, but are rather common for all these forms of technology, mostly when the product envisioned is not ready for mass-scale production. Indeed, Mattick et al. (2015, 11941) showed a positive attitude toward IVM and concluded that IVM and other bioengineered products "could represent a new phase of industrialization with inherently complex and challenging trade-offs."

The idea of IVM works on the equivalence of "meat" and tissue—an equivalence that makes sense if they are both considered only as biological identities, namely, as "meat" consisting primarily of skeletal muscle and fat tissue in varying proportions. However, "meat" is much more than a biological entity. Similarly, IVM is more than a different biological entity. IVM has been defined as an "ontological undefined object" (Stephens 2013), and its supporters are trying to create broad support for it in the scientific and financial communities, as well as a potential consumer market. Even more explorative are the other products of the postnonhuman animal bioeconomy, for which scientific publications are still lacking.

Interestingly enough, there are companies in this field such as Hampton's Creek and Impossible Food, which use only plants and microorganisms, but not animal cells, and are thus not contested among the vegan community. There also are some companies that do not use any cellular or living material (such as "gelatin," "casein," "omega-3 fatty acids," and "ovalbumin").

THE TECHNOLOGIZATION OF NONHUMAN ANIMAL AGRICULTURE IN BIOCAPITALISM

The emergence of the biotech industry in Western societies, especially in the United States, has been the product of a confluence of technological, political, and economic developments in the 1970s and 1980s. For Rajan (2006), one of the first to use the term *biocapitalism,* the following events were fundamental steps in this change: (1) the development of recombinant DNA techniques by Herbert Boyer and Stanley Cohen in 1973; (2) the 1980 U.S. Supreme Court ruling in *Diamond v. Chakrabarty,* which established patent rights on a GE microorganism; (3) the Bayh-Dole Act, also from 1980, which promoted the transfer of technology between academia and industry, leading to the commercialization of basic scientific research; and (4) the infusion of significant sums of capital from the U.S. government's National Institutes of Health and from venture capitalists. For him, although the life sciences and capitalism are coproduced, the life sciences continue to be overdetermined by the capitalist political economic structures within which they are produced ("overdetermination" is a concept developed by Louis Althusser (1985). In other words, Rajan sees capitalism as offering the stage for the development of the life sciences but does not consider it the one and only condition. At the same time, he points out that the impact of capitalism cannot be assumed in studies on the life sciences because it is not a unitary or rigid phenomenon, but dynamic and evolving.[7]

The simultaneous rise of neoliberal governments and biotechnology played a significant role in shaping the sense and the goals of future applications. As Garcia-Sancho (2015) points out in his analysis of the famous cloning of Dolly the sheep, neoliberal governments forced scientists to find tangible commercial outcomes of their work, seeing biotechnology as offering the preferred instruments for medical applications. Contrary to what has been suggested in many public debates, the very goal of the cloning of Dolly was not to create genetically identical copies of a sheep, but to produce therapeutic substances for human beings in the milk of nonhuman animals (gene farming). Thus, this clear investment in medical applications profoundly transformed the nature of agricultural experimentation and brought major professional and institutional reorganization of the British research landscape (Dolly was cloned at the Roslin Institute in Edinburgh).

The majority of the studies investigating the sociopolitical and ethical dimensions of biocapitalism are concerned almost exclusively with technology for human beings (with the exceptions of Franklin 2007 and Twine 2010), despite the fact that the innovations in agriculture and biomedicine largely rely on nonhuman animal experiments. Lacking also are studies on the emerging innovation regimes concerning research on nonhuman animals. Some publications focus on the differences in the regulatory systems around the world (processed-based in Europe, product-based in Canada, and a mixed form in the United States) concerning possible and existing products from GE nonhuman animals and less on the possible perception of GE nonhuman animals by the public (Waigmann et al. 2012). Yet even they remain in a framework in which these individuals are considered as inventions or as fully marketable products. The newness of this phenomenon is a reason that these studies on innovation regime concerning the postnonhuman animal bioeconomy are lacking.

Issues concerning the design of nonhuman animals for food purposes are discussed and framed at the level of regulatory problems, and such controversies are perceived in large measure in the context of human health and environmental safety. The decision on the AquAdvantage salmon took over five years, and despite the positive outcome, the salmon is still not on the market. The breeding of this fish has been approved only in an aquaculture facilities in the landlocked highlands in Panama and Canada, and not in the United States because of the lack of adequate facilities. The FDA has declared that this salmon meets the criteria for approval established by law (namely, safety and effectiveness) and that the procedure is safe for the fish, which in this case means that the inserted genes remain stable for several generations (FDA 2015). At the same time, the FDA released draft guidance on labeling foods derived from this salmon and final guidance on foods derived from GE plants, but it has still not prepared a proper label for the salmon.

The approval process for Enviropigs also lasted years. Although they were first created in 2001, it was only in 2010 that the Department of the Environment of the Canadian government approved their production outside of a research context in controlled facilities where they are kept in isolation from other nonmodified individuals. This research even stopped before the question of the approval of the "meat" of these pigs for the market was clarified. This research ended completely in June 2012, because Ontario Pork decided to end its financial support, and all the Enviropigs were killed despite the attempts of a nonhuman animal welfare organization to adopt them.[8]

In Europe, there is disagreement over the application of the regulation in the European Union (EU) of genetically modified organisms (GMOs) at the member-state level because the various countries have different attitudes toward nonhuman animal welfare. For example, in the Netherlands and Denmark, there are specific regulations regarding the ethical aspects of the creation of GE nonhuman animals (Bruce et al. 2013). Furthermore, European policy makers operate on the assumption that the attitude of the general public, as evident in its reluctance to accept GM crops, also will apply to the application of these techniques to nonhuman animals (Bruce et al. 2013).

Policy makers and scientists take the public's reluctance to accept GM crops (and, by analogy, GE for nonhuman animals) to be largely motivated by issues of safety and risks and not by ethical and political questions. However, ethical questions over the use of nonhuman animals were raised in the case of cloning. The European Parliament voted on September 8, 2015, to ban the cloning of all nonhuman animals and the sale of cloned "livestock," their offspring, and products derived from them, explicitly referring to the nonhuman animal welfare problems caused by this technique.[9] In contrast, the FDA saw no significant difference between the health of cloned and noncloned individuals used for food. In the United States and China, products from cloned animals are sold on the market, although in the majority of cases, the primary clones (i.e., the individuals born through this technique) do not enter the food chain, only their sexually derived progeny.

All these lengthy decisions, both in the United States and in the European Union, revolve around questions of human and environmental safety, and very marginally on the implications in terms of suffering and death for nonhuman animals. There is an important omission in the debate here, which indirectly reinforces the view that nonhuman animals are natural resources to be used by others. With the new genome-editing techniques, there will be cases of modifications in which the individuals that are created will not be transgenic, and thus cannot be classified as GMOs. These individuals will carry a specific mutation at a precise site within the target gene (causing gene activation or inactivation), resulting in something that can be found in mutations in nature (Petersen and Niemann 2015). This technical characteristic could have major consequences for the regulatory process because if the definition of GMO is not changed, it would be a major incentive favoring this type of technology. This will happen despite all the uncertainties surrounding these techniques regarding the phenotypic effects, as well as the fact that these modifications will augment tremendously the numbers of nonhuman animals used (Ferrari 2015b; Twine 2010).

Leading scientists in this field speak of the dysfunctionality in the regulatory regimes in the Western societies and describe the obstacles to the spread of GE nonhuman animals in agriculture as a *political* question due to the interference of "activist groups in the absence of any scientific or clinical data demonstrating an adverse consequence to consuming the products of genetic engineering" (Murray and Maga 2016, 4). Downplaying the fear of the public or of activists to focus solely questions about food safety, these scientists inadvertently put their finger in the wound of the debate over genetic engineering in agriculture, which remains largely dominated by questions either regarding the biomedical application to human beings or regarding the modifications of plants and their implications for human health and the environment. This is very much evident in the current lack of debate over the ethical and social implications of the use of the new genome editing techniques in nonhuman animals (Benz-Schwarzburg and Ferrari 2016). The move to redesign nonhuman animals for more and new food needs would multiply the number of nonhuman animals used and killed in the "food chain."

While Europe and the United States seem to have developed a careful position toward the GE of nonhuman animals for the "food chain," China has been more aggressive, making this research and development (R&D) an explicit part of its vision for food security. China is becoming a global leader in both scientific research and food production, its middle class is expanding, and the demand for "meat" and "dairy" products is growing. The Chinese government is the primary investor in the new gene-editing techniques applied to nonhuman animals, having developed an extensive research program to improve disease resistance, produce valuable compounds, and increase productivity (GAIN 2011). The 2010 GAIN annual report noted that the Chinese Academy of Fishery Sciences had announced the creation of a GE carp, which was said to be undergoing field trials—research, by the way, that started in the 1990s in the West (Hinits and Moav 1999)—and of a GE goat expressing human lactoferrin or lysozyme (GAIN 2011). Wang et al. (2015) announced the creation of 10 goat babies in which they had deleted two genes that suppressed both hair and muscle growth and were described to be "without abnormalities" (Wang et al. 2015). In October 2015, the Chinese team of Zou et al. (2015) presented work creating unusually muscled beagles; this research was supported by grants from the National Natural Science Foundation of China, Ministry of Agriculture, Ministry of Science and Technology, as well as provincial governments (and recall that dogs are considered edible in China—see Chapter 7).

It must still be proved that this strategy supporting biotech will be combined with the recent declaration of the Chinese government to reduce its citizens' "meat" consumption by 50 percent (Milman and Leavenworth 2016). However, even in this move, it is clear that the focus lies on environmental aspects, not on the implications for nonhuman animals. By the way, as previously shown, the genetically modified nonhumans are defended by scientists appealing to the supposed environmental benefits.

With the rise of China in this field, the United States has also begun to slowly change its attitude. While the U.S. Department of Agriculture (USDA) has already determined that its regulations do not apply to several genome-edited crops, it is reported that it is still unclear how the FDA will regulate nonhuman animals that have been engineered using such technology (Ledford 2015). Scott Fahrenkrug, CEO of Recombinetics, a Minnesota-based firm that is working on the use of new genome-editing techniques to create cows that do not have to be dehorned and pigs that do not need to be castrated, argues that these developments do not need to undergo complicated FDA approval since his nonhuman animals are modified by injecting protein and ribonucleic acid (RNA) into embryos, which he considers a "treatment" and not a transgenic intervention (Ledford 2015). The same attitude is advocated by Murray and Maga (2016), who in their recommendations argue that "for gene editing applications of fish, poultry or livestock for the use in agriculture . . . the animal products or ZFN, TALEN, CRISPR, or similar-based applications should not be subjected to pre-market review. Post-market monitoring is sufficient" (Murray and Maga 2016, 5).

These trends toward the increasing intensification and commodification of research on and the use of nonhuman animals are in contrast to the emerging trend of cellular agriculture or postnonhuman animal bioeconomy. In the latter, nonhuman animals will *not* enter the production chain of food in the future. They will not be involved in the process as whole living beings, but only as sources of cells. In some cases, nonhuman animals will not be involved at all, but products similar to nonhuman animal–based ones that mimic the biological properties of "meat" and other nonhuman animal products will be obtained through the use of innovative cellular methods, such as in the case of Hampton's Creek or Impossible Food. If nonhuman animals are involved, it is still unclear how they will live in the future. For Post (2012, 300), among the important issues to consider to develop this innovation further is "the controlled breeding of stem cell donor animals." In this case, IVM practice may develop in a way that will again optimize nonhuman animals to enable them to function efficiently as stem cell donors.

At the moment, however, this issue is simply not important enough to be a significant part of the innovation narrative, which is mainly concentrated on the differences in the production process. Forgacs (2014) and Datar (2016) imagine breweries and vertical farms operating in many urban contexts, in which "meat" can be produced without any contact with nonhuman animals and in absolute transparency in safe and sterile conditions, whereby the facilities could be toured like beer breweries or ice cream factories. These places would change the view that we have of people working in "meat" production: no longer are they exploited slaughterhouse workers, but artisans and microbiologists (Datar 2016). So far as the production process is concerned, the vision of IVM works by reversing the mechanisms of "distanciation" and presence of the nonhuman animals. Whereas in the traditional "meat" production methods where nonhuman animals are exploited for "meat," workers must be present and the slaughter is mainly kept distant from the consumer, in IVM the production process is present, open, and transparent, but the nonhuman animals are absent. The reversal in human–nonhuman animal relationships in the IVM production process constitutes the basis for the ostensible ethical added value of this innovation. The postnonhuman animal bioeconomy has literally exploded in the last two years, and due to the appealing marketing campaigns of New Harvest, it has been able to attract attention from the public, including investors. Since it has appeared from the beginning to be strongly oriented toward the realization of a concrete product for the market, it has been promoted to explicitly attract venture capital, not public research. Even Mark Post, who works for a university in the Netherlands, felt the need to start his own company, Mosa Meat.

COMMONALITIES AND TENSIONS IN NONHUMAN ANIMAL AND POSTNONHUMAN ANIMAL BIOCAPITALISM

The appropriation of biological processes by capitalist logic goes hand in hand with the diffusion of a reductionist conception of life, which puts the basis for the possibility of redesigning at the level of the fundamental genomic properties of nonhuman animals. Biocapitalism means literally the capitalism of the living, and it marks generally a commodification of life and living materials. Helmreich (2008) has seen the rise of biotechnology as principal motor of biocapitalism, since the substances and promises of biological materials, particularly stem cells and genomes, are increasingly inserted into projects of product-making and profit-seeking, which transform them in biocapital. The very reduction of life to its fundamental components as conceived in terms of "informatics," or as the general tendency of the technologization of vitality (Rose 2012), goes hand in hand with the different stages of capitalism, so that Thacker and Ruiz (2006) speak of a biotech era corresponding to each stage in capitalist development—an agrarian biotech, an industrial biotech, a postindustrial or post-Fordist biotech, maybe even a postcapitalist biotech.

In the emerging life sciences described previously, the ability of capitalism to extract surplus value by exploiting nonhuman animals absorbs their entire life since the nonhuman animals are purposively genetically designed for this purpose. Biocapitalism is even capable of justifying the creation of new modifications to fix particular problems. For example, the story of the R&D surrounding the AquAdvantage salmon is framed by the idea of the tragedy of the commons to explain the collapse of global fisheries and thus proposing this salmon as bringing ecological benefits, such as preserving the "wild" salmon and increasing efficiency in fishing (Longo, Clausen, and Brett 2014). A similar framework is present in the conceptualization of Enviropigs, as highlighted previously and in general for almost all cases of GE: the discussion of alternative paths of food consumption (i.e., those which exclude nonhuman animals), is simply not taken into consideration.

These two different scientific communities defend two different visions of sustainability and the future of food that foresee different roles for nonhuman animals. To scientists in the field of GE nonhuman animals, nonhuman animals show the potential to contribute to achieving sustainability, to protecting human health because they might lead to the consumption of fewer resources, and to reducing waste production (Murray and Maga 2010), for postnonhuman animal scientists, cells are the key to sustainability. For the scientists in the field of GE nonhuman animals, nonhuman animals are no more than machines, whose functioning (which in their language is called "welfare") have to be taken into consideration inasmuch as this is functional to the productivity of the machine. For postnonhuman animal scientists, the future is to go cellular and to avoid raising entire nonhuman animal individuals only in order to consume their parts: in this way, the cellular agriculturalists do not fall in all the contradictions maneuvers typical of the capital logic entering the breeding of nonhuman animals. However, it is impossible to argue that nonhuman animals in the cellular agriculture (or postanimal bioeconomy) are not conceptualized in a capitalist sense: here, they are framed and explicated in a logic that has internalized the fundamental mechanisms of biocapitalism (namely, its reductionism of life and its orientation on profit and efficiency).

The dispute continues to focus on the best way of producing food efficiently and sustainably in the future. The very idea of cellular agriculture embodies this reductionism to the extreme, to the level of cells and their components (i.e., to the units of life). The innovators in the postnonhuman animal bioeconomy describe nonhuman animals from the perspective of the production of "meat" as "just collections of tissues" (Forgacs 2013) and describe their new methods of tissue engineering as overcoming the "inefficient works" of cows and pigs[10] or to make "real milk from the bottom-up" by just mixing key proteins and key fatty acids with the help of new technologies (Moran 2014).

In my opinion, it is precisely because of the internationalization of the profit and reductionist logic of biocapitalism that some critical animal studies (CAS) scholars have opposed not only the genetic modification of nonhuman animals, but also research on IVM (Miller 2012), as well as perhaps on other products resulting from the postnonhuman animal bioeconomy (Pedersen and Stănescu 2014). It has been pointed out that the ideological alliance of the postnonhuman animal bioeconomy with capitalism and reductionism disrupts the subversive potential of choices that exclude products from nonhuman animals (Simonsen 2015), since veganism is excluded as an unviable and unrealistic option by the postnonhuman animal innovators, even by vegan ones. Although, for example, the CEOs of Muufri (Ryan Gandhi and Perumal Pandya) and the plant-using companies Hampton's Creek and Impossible Food are vegans, they share the opinion that it is unrealistic to expect a rapid global change in diet toward plant proteins, so that they understand themselves as part of the sustainable food movement. Post and Datar admit openly that they love "meat" and point out the advantages of nonhuman animal products. The tissues and entities grown in the lab are in this way ontologically defined as parts of nonhuman animals and the main narrative of IVM has been constructed around the idea that you consume "meat," which is produced in a different way.

In a CAS perspective, a profound and fundamental tension remains between a narrative that on the one hand connects with the framework of "meat" as something good and delicious and necessary, and on the other hand, the pragmatic realities that cells are different from nonhuman animals (because they cannot suffer)[11] and that the number of vegans worldwide is very low. For CAS, the challenge goes to the very core of contemporary life sciences. Are the emerging branches of life science possible outside a capitalist framework? Would a different economic (and ideological framework) lead to different technologies and to a different conceptualization of the living?

The do-it-yourself (DIY) biology movement, which has been emerging since the 1990s and has committed itself to criticizing the rigid academic mechanisms in the discipline and to questioning patenting and the protection of knowledge, constitutes at the moment the biggest alternative to the growing dominance of capital in the life sciences. However, it does not have a specific code regarding research involving nonhuman animals. One strong motivation guiding researchers in the DIY biology movement, which developed out of synthetic biology, is the freedom to do things which are not possible in academic research (Sauter et al. 2015). In the International Genetically Engineered Machine (iGEM) competition, the premiere undergraduate synthetic biology competition, which is considered a fundamental motor for the DIY movement, there are no specific regulations or constraints on the modification of nonhuman animals beyond the already mainstream principles of the 3Rs (reduction, refinement, and replacement), which are incorporated in much legislation.[12] At the moment, the logic of profit is triumphing in the traditional mechanisms of the emerging life sciences, and it is expanding in more independent fields such as DIY (Sauter et al. 2015). Social movements antagonist to capitalism but enthusiastic toward the life sciences are still working in an anthropocentric logic which legitimizes experimentation and exploitation of nonhuman animals. So what can CAS offer for reflection on the emerging life sciences?

In my opinion, a CAS perspective should remain sensitive to questions about the values and interests which guide technological innovation. At the same time, it cannot stay naïve in believing that any kind of such research and technology is to be rejected per se. In the case of GE nonhuman animals, it is clear and very well documented that these practices not only involve a huge amount of suffering, risk, and death for nonhuman animals, but are also guided by the idea that the entire nonhuman nature finds its reason for being in the satisfaction of different human interests. Therefore, these techniques are incompatible with a perspective that struggles for the end of oppression of sentient beings and for a more respectful life with each other on this planet.

The case of the postnonhuman animal bioeconomy is more complicated due to its nature as a form of emerging technology with a multifaceted ontology. What would happen if we did not call IVM "meat," but rather used a designation much closer to its literal condition, such as "nonhuman animal–related tissues" or "assembled cells"? IVM is *not* the same as "meat" because "meat" is not just a collection of tissue, but a highly symbolic and cultural material. For omnivores and for vegans, "meat" represents very different values and ways of conceptualizing the human-animal relationship. The question arises: Is it possible to still speak of "meat" in the sense the vegans and the CAS scholars intend if the killing and oppression of nonhuman animals is no longer involved? This is what the innovators of the postnonhuman animal bioeconomy believe: the equation "meat=IVM" works only for what taste involves, but not for what all the values such as oppression, killing, (in some cases) patriarchy, and, more generally, domination over nonhuman animals concern.

In order to speak properly of an innovation in a critical perspective, though, the future of nonhuman animals' lives has to be clarified. Will the nonhuman individuals previously used and killed for "meat" and products live liberated from oppression, or will they still live confined and even bred on purpose for the new industry of the postnonhuman animal bioeconomy? Post (2012, 300) counted among the important issues to consider to develop this innovation "the controlled breeding of stem cell donor animals." Being a scientist, Post appears to be interested in the scientific efficiency of the innovation: for him, the future of IVM is perfectly compatible with the selective breeding of nonhuman animals in order to be optimized as cell sources. Post's focus is clearly on sustainability—namely, the vision of IVM as just offering a new production process for a well-known product such as "meat" and being attached to a "welfarist" position. On the other hand, Forgacs (2013) spoke of "Betsy the cow having a perfect happy life" and never mentioned the necessity of the selective breeding of other animals for obtaining cells. Until now, it has been impossible to depict the future of human-animal relationships in the world of postnonhuman animal bioeconomy because these innovations are at a very early stage and because innovators do not express themselves on the way of keeping and considering nonhuman animals.

For the innovators, it is clear that IVM is not primarily aimed at vegetarians and vegans (Forgacs 2014), but as the way to meet the needs of different communities that express varying ethical values (concerns for nonhuman animals and attachment to "meat"). For critical scholars, these needs contradict one another and cannot be harmonized. IVM tries to find a point of union and presents itself as the impossible harmonizer. Undoubtedly, a vegan world would be better for nonhuman animals than a world with IVM. But what if IVM could work as a step into this vegan and critical future?

I still do not have an answer to offer on this. As history has shown, technology is also capable of changing human values (which in the literature has been defined as "techno-moral change.")[13] IVM is an early-stage technology, and it is per se something that needs to be shaped. The narratives are in the making. The same is valid for the entire postanimal bioeconomy. Forgacs (2013) may be right to think that through IVM, the people of the future will look back at our time of using and killing nonhuman animals and consider it a time of barbarism, and see the biofabrication of "meat" and "leather" as a step toward a more civilized and evolved way of fabrication. Especially considering the field that works on acellular components to create engineered versions of products as substitutes for nonhuman animal ones, it is difficult to see forms of exploitation that go beyond the fact that these creations will be subsumed under the mechanisms of capitalism (such as patent protection). As I have mentioned in this chapter, no alternative framework in life sciences exists at the moment that does not rely on an antispeciesist perspective. A critical and antispeciesist view of life sciences needs to be developed.

Whether it is clear that genetic engineering and the new techniques will intensify the oppression of nonhuman animals, the ideas of the postanimal bioeconomy could be seen as steps to induce a change in food consumption, which nowadays represents, even after decades of campaigns and activism, a tremendous problem for millions of individuals on this planet. This could work only if a critical perspective would be active in shaping the narrative and the ontology of the postanimal future. In other words, technological innovations can shape moral values, but they will not if they themselves are not guided by values. The task for CAS, then, could be to inflate these technological innovations with the principles of respect and the right of all sentient beings to live free of exploitation.

NOTES

1. See an extract of this media event here: https://www.youtube.com/watch?v=bkbLVamdUEY

2. See the video at https://www.youtube.com/watch?v=Y027yLT2QY0

3. Breeding consists of the selection and mating of nonhuman animals in order to change some characteristics in the next generation, making these individuals more suitable for human goals. Whereas *breeding* refers to changes at the individual level, a breeding program is formulated at the level of a population, in which the goals of the breeding and the means of implementation are defined by a group of breeders (RDA 2010). In breeding a population, the goal is normally to maintain a specific nonhumananimal population, but also to change some characteristics. Agriculture oscillates between individual breeding and population breeding since the conservation and the changes are oriented toward the goal of optimizing nonhuman animals for productive reasons.

4. See, for example, the home page of the American Blue Cattle Association (http://www.americanbluecattle.org).

5. See http://www.new-harvest.org/

6. The company Clara Foods is working on producing egg whites with synthetic biology methods that avoid the use of hens.

7. Note that Rajan (2006)'s highly valuable analysis does not refer to any biotechnological applications to nonhuman animals.

8. The adoption of these pigs was not possible because these pigs were legally classified as GM organisms and could not have lived outside strict confinement.

9. It would be beyond the scope of this chapter to discuss this case. For a critical overview, see Twine (2010), as well as the work of Gaskell in 2007 on consumers' perceptions in Europe (http://www.efsa.europa.eu/sites/default/files/event/documentset/stakeholder080207-p4.pdf). See also Gaskell et al. 2010.

10. In his TED talk in 2013 Forgacs declared that "we raise highly complex animals to obtain products of relatively simple tissues—what if instead of starting with a complex and sentient animal, we start of what the tissues are made of—cells."

11. Furthermore, the postnonhuman animal bioeconomy is also working on creating acellular products that do not contain living cells, such as the case of the cow-free milk or the egg whites produced without hens.

12. About iGEM and animal experiments, see http://2015.igem.org/Team:SDU-Denmark/Tour22.

13. See Swierstra et al. (2009) and Swierstra (2013).

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11

New Weapons: “Humane Farming,” Biopolitics, and the Post-Commodity Fetish

Vasile Stănescu

> *There is no need to fear or hope, but only to look for new weapons.*
>
> —Gilles Deleuze

I must begin with a confession: This is not a chapter about “animal studies,” if by that term we mean an apolitical, detached, and academic subdiscipline removed from the daily suffering of actual nonhuman animals.[1] The stark reality is that the stakes are too high not to connect our theorizing with action. I know that, in a general way, these are things you all already know, or have seen on the Internet, so I hope that you will forgive one example to highlight what I mean.

Chickens who lay eggs for human consumption are kept in something called a “battery cage.” It is, at its largest, the length and width of a single sheet of paper. And into this tiny cage they place not one bird, but four, six, seven, eight—as many as they can fit. The chickens will never see the light of day. They will never feel the wind. They will never spread out their wings. They will go insane. They will try to peck each other to death, which is why their beaks have already been sheared off. And then these cages are stacked from floor to ceiling in enclosed warehouses, one on top of the other—with the fecal matter of the birds on top falling on those below. Some farmers wear gas masks so they don't pass out from the ammonia and air pollutants. This is how 99.9 percent of all chickens who lay eggs for human consumption live their lives (Food Choices). Cows, pigs, and other nonhuman animals are treated similarly—confined and forced to endure unimaginable pain and suffering. And all of this is legal.

Yet, when industry representatives are asked to defend this system, they say that, ironically, it "protects" the nonhuman animals. In fact, in one of the industry-funded "documentary" films produced to defend the factory farm system, Smithfield Foods claims that the Concentrated Animal Feeding Operation (CAFO) model is justified because it helps protect animals and gives them a "better" life (Smithfield Foods 2011). They make comments such as: "But if wasn't for the factory farm, these animals never would have been born at all" or "If we didn't eat them, where would all the animals go?" At the most fundamental level, they argue that on some mystical or metaphysical level, the nonhuman animals have agreed that they want to be there, like a social contract. We are told that this is the life they want.

Therefore, along with many others, both in these pages and elsewhere, I would like to call for critical animal studies (CAS), which draws from both critical social theory and social activism. From a CAS perspective, it is not enough to just understand what is happening to nonhuman animals but, to paraphrase Marx,[2] to actually change it. CAS scholars speak and write as activists; our shared goal is not to produce "better" (i.e., more "compassionate" or more "humane") nonhuman animal farms but, quite simply, no nonhuman animal farms at all.

BIOPOLITICS: THE COMPASSIONATE CARNIVORE (AND OTHER OXYMORONS)

The term *biopolitics* and its related corollary, the *state of exception,* are complicated. At their core, they attempt to understand the way in which violence is promoted as an effort to protect others and the way in which death occurs in order to protect life. One can think of the famous dictum during the Vietnam War, that "[i]t became necessary *to* destroy the village in order to save it" (Brereton and Cole 1968, 14), to see the fullest distillation of this idea. As another example, in lectures at the *Collège de France,* Michel Foucault charts how the concept of eugenics, a theory based on ending disease, suffering, and death, became a justification for active eugenics, which caused precisely these same problems (Foucault 2003a, 2003b, 2007, and 2008). Death is justified via life, disorder by order, and violence by protection. Exposing such biopolitical deceptions is an important goal for activist scholars.

Foucault, the twentieth-century philosopher and social theorist, promoted forcing “power” to display itself in order to create a citizenry that is aware and engaged. It is this point that Foucault is trying to make in the beginning of *Discipline and Punish: The Birth of the Prison*—between the spectacle violence of the king and disciplinary violence of the prison (Foucault 1977). For “power” to work most effectively, it has to “naturalize” itself to the point that it seems voluntary, invisible, and unremarkable. In other words, an underexamined aspect of biopolitics is its optical function. For example, the ostensible reform of prisons in the late eighteenth-century saw the introduction of the idea of designing prisons in a circular manner with a single, all-seeing guard tower, a panopticon, in order to facilitate constant surveillance of those imprisoned. However, rather than serving a positive social function, the panopticon is itself an example of an architectural arrangement and expression of biopolitics in which force (the discipline and regulating of human behavior) can be rendered as seemingly normal and without force, and therefore is seen to be “protecting” and “sustaining” life. Drawing from activist scholars such as Foucault, we are confronted with two important and interrelated goals: First, to render the seemingly invisible reality of the factory farm and violence against nonhuman animals visible; and, second, to belie this constant, if wholly false, biopolitical justification for the continuation of such violence (i.e., that nonhuman animals never would have been alive without farms for them, which, in turn, are wholly necessary simply to sustain life—indeed, the nonhuman animals’ own lives).

This is why, as both an activist and a scholar, I am particularly concerned about the “locavore” and “human farming” movements. On the one hand, in terms of pure numbers, this singular focus on the locavore movement may seem ill placed, since 99.9 percent of all nonhuman animals killed for human consumption within the United States are killed in factory farm systems (Food Choices). So focusing on the locavore movement is to look at the less than 1 percent exception that proves the rule. Also, it seems misplaced in that no matter how much actual suffering occurs on these supposedly “humane” farms, no one, including myself, could argue that the nonhuman animals suffer “as much” as those housed in factory farm conditions. However, my worry, in part, is that by drawing an increasing focus to these statistically wholly unrepresentative examples of the theoretical “ideal” farm serves to hide from the average consumer the reality of the life of nonhuman animals and our species’ relation to them. These locavore farms represent how the inherent power relations of anthropocentrism become masked in a now-literal rhetoric of “pastoral care” and supposed benevolence. In reality, the locavore movement could never function on anything other than its current tokenistic basis, as the United Nations and many others have pointed out that it utilizes more land per pound of “meat” then the current “factory farm” system (Henning et al. 2006).

So the locavore movement currently represents both a movement that does not currently help virtually any nonhuman animals at all and one that cannot do so in the future. But this is not the essence of my critique. It is instead to suggest that even if, via the suspension of laws of either space or physics, the entire 60 (and soon to be 120) billion (Henning et al. 2006) land nonhuman animals currently raised and killed could be transformed from CAFO to local, free-range, and "humane" farms, such a practice would only serve to help render the staggering level of speciesist violence as even more naturalized and therefore "invisible." In other words, far from a critique, the "locavore" or "free-range" movement and the "factory farm" system work in tandem, allowing the locavore movement to help set up a false (but viewable) proxy for what is supposedly occurring throughout all "meat" production, and, at exactly the same time, rendering invisible—via the universal nature of the factory farm system—the statistical reality that a "humane farming" system is wholly impractical and would actually make 99.9 percent of all "meat" unviable.

Therefore, all that seems to occur via "locavorism" is that consumers in higher socioeconomic brackets purchase overpriced "humane meat," which they consume to "atone" for the factory-farmed nonhuman animals that they continue to consume as the vast majority of their diet. Indeed, this is exactly what we see with virtually all advocates of "local humane farming," such as Michael Pollan, who repeatedly assures his readers that there are no strict rules and that small steps constitute actual change; and Catherine Friend, who, in exactly parallel fashion, not only assures her readers that they are wholly free to continue to purchase factory-farmed "meat" (so long as they also purchase some "happy meat" as well), but even assures us that she herself continues to consume factory-farmed "meat" for at least 25 percent of all her meals.[3]

LOCAVORES AND THE POSTCOMMODITY FETISH

To phrase the same idea in a Marxist register, in a post-Fordist[4] economy, consumers increasingly seem to want to feel that they are piercing the commodity fetish and the standardization of the assembly line, even if, in reality, this belief is wholly false. (We know that we are missing something even if we don't want to know what it is that we are missing.) Marx first defined the term *commodity fetish* in *Capital*, Vol. I (165):

> In order, therefore, to find an analogy we must take flight into the misty realm of religion. There the products of the human brain appear as autonomous figures endowed with a life of their own, which enter into relations both with each other and with the human race. So it is in the world of commodities with the products of men's hands. I call this the fetishism which

> attaches itself to the products of labour as soon as they are produced as commodities, and is therefore inseparable from the production of commodities.

Marx's essential argument is that material objects appear—as if by magic—without any reference to the labor conditions that were utilized in order to produce the product. However, in this case, what we see is a reversal because the very appeal of "locavore" products is to produce items that "pierce the bar code" and, ironically, are premised on a critique of the commodity fetish. Instead these products operate as a type of *post-commodity fetish*: it is precisely because of the desire to escape the confines of the human-made and consumerist culture, to return to an idea nostalgic view of an America that never was, that seems to underlie the desire to purchase "locavore" products produced on a "family farm." In other words, ironically, the very product that is being sold is itself the desire to transcend the commodity fetishism of consumerist culture and return to a supposed earlier time of "realness" and "authenticity."

We see this trend of the post-commodity fetish in the rise of pottery stores where it is possible to paint prefabricated pottery items in order to "make" a gift for a friend. The consumers did not mine the materials, shape the pottery items (which are frequently marked on the bottom with "Made in China"), or even finish the pieces in a kiln, and yet, at the same time, there could still exist an idea of "making" the item for a much higher price than if the items had been "premade." Likewise, there are stores in which children can "make" their own teddy bears by easily assembling prefabricated components into a bear. We can see this trend in the rise of "open" kitchens in restaurants, in which a small section of the food production is visible to the public so that people can "see" the food being prepared (even if it is only a small part of the kitchen that we ever see). But perhaps the best example is the move toward the creation of berry farms, where people can, for a fee, pay to pick their own berries.

This movement, in which labor is reclassified as a hobby (and a novelty), is itself a shift and reflection on the current state of post-Fordist society structure. But what we want to focus on is the manner in which it actually serves, via a supposedly experimental critique of the commodity fetish, to reinforce both its reality and invisibility—that is, the fact that children "assembling" a teddy bear at a mall bears little similarity to the mass production of teddy bears (perhaps also manufactured by children, and in far different conditions) in other countries, and that paying to "pick your own berries" exhibits little resemblance to the reality of exploited farm labor in an industrial agriculture system. However, these experiences do not represent a critique of this system, but instead are part of the same system, in which a certain anxiety about exploitive labor practices can be alleviated in part via a wholly token, expensive, and recreational experience of playing at "labor."

So, too, both the locavore movement and the associated do-it-yourself (DIY) self-slaughter movement represent a similar false, and wholly token, indictment of the commodity fetish. For example, both Pollan and Joel Salatin, a nonhuman animal farmer and celebrated locavore proponent, speak at length on the need to go "beyond the bar code" (Pollan 2010, 3) (their term for, in essence, transcending the commodity fetish) by personally interacting with the farmer, personally raising one's "own" nonhuman animals, and even personally killing these nonhuman animals. For example, Pollan (2010, 3) claims:

> Though seldom articulated as such, the attempt to redefine, or escape, the traditional role of consumer has become an important aspiration of the food movement. In various ways it seeks to put the relationship between consumers and producers on a new, more neighborly footing, enriching the kinds of information exchanged in the transaction, and encouraging us to regard our food dollars as "votes" for a different kind of agriculture and, by implication, economy.

Indeed, Pollan (in the two most disturbing scenes of his text) personally kills "his" own chickens at Polyface Farms and personally kills "feral" pigs in Santa Cruz (an experience that he enjoys so much that he compares it to being high) (Pollan 2006, 342). In turn, these practices have spawned "cottage industries" of individuals raising and then killing their own nonhuman animals (primarily chickens and rabbits) (Don't Tell the Kids 2010). However, while these descriptions are filled with a rhetoric of transcending the commodity fetish, like paying to pick berries leisurely, it represents a way to deal with the actuality of not knowing where our food comes from—while at the exact same time, we still manage not to know where our food comes from. In the first place, the pastoral romanticization of only eating locally, of meeting the farmers, and of "piercing the bar code" simply hide the reality of both the violence of these supposedly "happy" farms and their retrenchment of commodity culture. For example, Salatin uses exactly the same selectively bred birds on his farms (who live similarly abnormally short and painful lives) as the factory farms do—and does so purely because it is more profitable (Wood 2010). Likewise, Catherine Friend, on her supposedly "humane farm," engages in castration, tail docketing, and forced sexual violence on her lambs (who she then sends to the exact same industrial slaughterhouses).[5]

So, for all the rhetoric about "knowing" how these nonhuman animals supposedly live, the consumers of these products actually do not know how these nonhuman animals are actually raised (or killed). However, since they now believe that they know, the reality that they are still wholly engaged in the politics of the commodity fetish is not revealed, but instead becomes even more hidden. So, like the pottery "maker" or the "creator" of teddy bears, what these consumers are purchasing, at a premium, is the illusion of authentic knowledge and relations that are carefully constructed to produce the appearance of better care (regardless of the reality of that situation). Perhaps the best example of this marketing of authenticity or the reentrenchment of the commodity fetish under the guise of piercing it—is that of “Niman Ranch.” Niman Ranch is the world’s largest producer of supposedly “humanely” raised “beef.” However, it is no longer even owned or operated by the cofounders, Bill and Nicolette Niman—they were forced out by shareholders who wanted to lower nonhuman animals’ living standards while still keeping the same name of the farm (not to mention the prices they charged) (Finz 2009). In fact, Bill Niman will no longer eat “Niman” beef because of the current treatment of the nonhuman animals (Finz 2009).

What I am trying to suggest that what is actually being purchased, the true “product,” is in fact less the “meat” (or, for that matter, the pottery), and more the idea of transcending the commodity fetish, which, since it is always and already still itself a “product,” does exactly the opposite. People cannot simply “buy” their way out of the commodity fetish relationship, no matter how much they pay for “local meat.”

“HAPPY COWS” AND BIOPOLITICS

However, my deepest critique of the “humane” farmer movement is the manner in which it serves as the absolute distillation of the logic of biopolitics. As mentioned earlier in this chapter, to the degree that there is any defense of nonhuman animal agriculture at all, it tends to stem from a wholly biopolitical argument (that is, the manner in which the system helps protect life—even nonhuman animal life). Now, to be fair, every industry puts forward similar justifications. (For example, the coal industry claims that its pollution, and consequently contribution to climate change, are justified because the work protects “jobs,” powers people’s homes, and keeps “America safe.”)[6] However, what is so uniquely ironic in the case of the factory farm system is the fact that the only product they produce is literal corpses. In other words, while other industries (such as coal) may indirectly help cause death (by releasing CO_2, which helps foster climate change and frequently death), factory farms not only help produce death indirectly (via the “lagoons” of waste that release CO_2) (Gurian-Sherman) but also directly, since the only product of the factory farm system is the “fabrication of corpses” (“meat” is, after all, simply a dead body). They are literally factories, which make corpses as their only product, and yet, at the same time, justify their activities by the claim that they are “protecting” nonhuman animals’ lives.

In other words, the primary claim for raising and killing one’s “own” rabbit, for example, is that she would have a “better life” than if she had been raised on a factory farm. Phrased in this manner, it can sound as though this is just a critique of the factory farm system. However, by even more deeply reentrenching the biopolitical argument that is the basic justification of the factory farm system (i.e., the owning and killing of nonhuman animals is necessary to "protect" the nonhuman animals themselves), such an argument does not, and cannot, represent an effective critique of the factory farm system. This is because it simply replicates the original justifications of the factory farm system.

For example, Temple Grandin, a pioneer in "improving" nonhuman animal welfare, introduces the Smithfield Foods film mentioned at the start of this chapter, and, in turn, explains how the pigs are safer indoors because they are safe from predators and disease, have access to veterinarian care, and even get to "enjoy air conditioning" (Smithfield Foods 2011). Of course, the reality is that the suffering caused by extreme close confinement produces disease, and the predators that they have the most need to fear are the humans who keep them in captivity their entire lives. The point is not only that these claims are wholly false, but also that they are, in essence, the same argument made by the proponents of "humane" farms. All those in the nonhuman animal "husbandry" industry claim that their farms are "humane" farms; all farmers claim that they are better than some other farm. In the same movie, Grandin explains how much better factory farms are now than they used to be (Smithfield Foods 2011). Most important, all farms claim, in a complete distillation of biopolitical logic, that killing the nonhuman animals is justified in order to protect the nonhuman animals' own lives.

This is, of course, not meant to suggest that nonhuman animals suffer as much at a "humane" farm as they do in a CAFO system. They do not. It is to suggest that locavorism, which presents itself as a critique of the factory farm system is in reality part of the same system. Hence, in the same manner that more affluent consumers attempt to pierce the commodity fetish via purchasing (a futile effort), they likewise attempt to confront discomfort at the reality of killing of nonhuman animals via the killing of nonhuman animals.

However, it is no more possible to kill one's way out the ironies of biopolitics than it is to purchase one's way out of the commodity fetish. In other words, when Friend tells us that she raises and slaughters lambs because she "loves them," there is something even more biopolitical in this justification than if she justified killing them via the belief that they were merely automatons without feelings. "Humane" farming, like prison "reform" versus public execution, serves the purpose of helping to render the power relations both more normalized and more invisible—a fact that is, in essence, the basis of their continued justification and support. As such, "humane" farming not only can never mount an adequate critique of the factory farm system, but it in fact primarily serves to defend institutional practices and deflect criticism.

DELEUZE AND "FREE-RANGE"

To extend briefly beyond Foucault, Gilles Deleuze, in his essay "Postscript on Societies of Control" (Deleuze 1992), attempted to, in essence, apply Foucault to Foucault in order to illustrate strategies that go beyond Foucault himself. For example, in terms of the prison, Foucault (1977, 3–7) charts how the sovereign power of the public execution becomes more hidden (and, in reality, more controlling) via the "humanitarian" reform of the prison system. Deleuze (1992, 3–4), in complete agreement with Foucault, wishes to argue that these systems did not simply stop with the industrial prison system; he demonstrates how contemporary and ongoing supposedly "humanitarian" reforms represent further control, systems of surveillance, and normalization of power relations. Deleuze (1992, 6) charts how the contemporary "humanitarian" reforms of the prison industrial complex, such as home arrest and ankle bracelets, while seeming to provide greater "freedom," allow a far greater number to be included in the system of surveillance and control. (There are currently several times more people on "parole" then are currently in prison.)[7] Moreover, to highlight an argument that Deleuze does *not* make, such "reforms" do not trade off or mitigate the original system. Hence, we witness the rise of simultaneously more people incarcerated, in even more draconian conditions ("Supermax" prisons with "24-hour" lockdown) in perfect parallels with the rise of new systems of probation tracking and reporting. The result is not less control but the development of new forms, techniques, and justifications of disciplining and monitoring even greater percentages of the population.

So too the purported "reforms" of local or "humane" farms, like ankle bracelets for inmates on probation, while seemingly more benign, in reality represent only greater control and normalization of preexisting power relations. One could write a history of the rise of the factory farm that is parallel to the beginning of *Discipline and Punishment*, the spectacle violence of the butcher in the public square, contrasted with the rise of the intensely regulated time clock of the factory farm system, which, while purporting to be more "humane" (after all the nonhuman animals are now "safe" from predators), in reality represents far greater control over the lives of individual nonhuman animals who can no longer even lay down or see sunlight. However, like Deleuze, we must go beyond these "politics of enclosure" to highlight how the rise of the "humane" farming movement itself represents a "society of control."

The key myth behind the entire pastoral façade of the "local" farming movement is that it represents movement backward to a time before the rise of industrial agriculture and nonhuman animal farming. Indeed, this is Pollan's own precise claim when he described his experience of Joel Salatin's farm as reminiscent of a time "long ago in America" (Stănescu 2010). What we are seeing, via Deleuze, is that the rise of the locavore/"humane" farming movement is not, nor has it ever been, a move backward at all, but instead a creation of a new form and technique of control to attempt to respond effectively to mounting criticism of the existing factory farm system.

Again, let us return to Joel Salatin, Pollan's representative example of this pastoral nostalgia. Salatin buys genetically engineered chickens, moves his cows around daily with ATVs, markets his products online to people who drive (as he quotes on his own website) "150 miles one way to buy clean meat for my family," and markets DVDs and t-shirts online to people all over the country, all the while generating most of his income by touring the country to lecture on the need to "return" to a more local and sustainable system (Stănescu 2010). Such moves are ironic in terms of being "local," but they are also false in terms of representing in any authentic sense a return to an "earlier" time in American history.

If nonhuman animal agriculture moves forward by the breeding of genetically modified nonhuman animals, such a move is, in full alignment with Deleuze, a move of continuing (if less visible) control. We can see the chickens and turkeys "happily" clucking away in the images of an open pasture (which, at the same time, conceals their misshapen, abnormally large breasts), the killing of all the males that are not needed for agriculture production, their abnormally short lifespans, the shipping in FedEx containers across the country, and the reality that they have become so genetically modified that they can be bred only via artificial insemination.[8]

To return to our optical discussion, this supposed hypervisibility of the open pastoral farm and the open-air slaughterhouse highlighted in documentaries such as *Food, Inc.* (Kenner et al. 2009) conceal the intense amount of anthropocentric control that we are intentionally not shown. To repeat Deleuze, the local and "humane" farms represent not a "return" to previous forms of public sovereign violence over nonhuman animals' lives, but rather the creation of something new—a movement beyond the politics of full enclosure (the nonhuman animals are now seemingly more free) into the societies of control (but this very freedom is now predetermined by their genetic control and conditioning).

Moreover, as mentioned earlier, Deleuze makes one important mistake. In *Postscript on Societies of Control*, he claims that the politics of enclosure are both ending and are being replaced with societies of control. As he writes (Deleuze 1992, 3–4),

> We are in a generalized crisis in relation to all the environments of enclosure—prison, hospital, and factory, school, family . . . everyone knows

> that these institutions are finished, whatever the length of their expiration periods. It's only a matter of administering their last rites and of keeping people employed until the installation of the new forces knocking at the door.

However, given the coterminous rise of *both* probation and incarceration (in both total numbers and intensity of confinement), societies of control have not operated by *displacing* or *reducing* preexisting disciplinary apparatuses or spaces of enclosure but instead have operated in perfect tandem. Hence, one can respond to the criticism of prison not by calls for decriminalization, or prison abolition, but instead by increasing the use of probation, ankle bracelets, and home tracking mechanisms. So too, as already discussed, the rise of the locavore/human farming movement has not, in any way, correlated with a decline in the factory farm system in terms of either the number or the intensity of the CAFOs themselves.

Hence, like the coterminous rise of probation and supermax prisons, we can witness the rise of "humane farms" and the growth of the factory farm system (which is now being effectively exported to countries such as India, China, and Brazil and is expected to double in the next 10 years). So the actual result of people raising and killing their own nonhuman animals is not to improve the lives of any nonhuman animals, but instead to bring more nonhuman animals (and people) into the "animal industrial complex," who are now simply killing more rabbits themselves (in order to provide them with "a better life"), even as the factory farm system continues to increase exploitation unabated (and indeed to double in size).

TECHNOLOGIES OF THE SELF, THE "SPECIES CONTRACT," AND NONHUMAN ANIMAL LIBERATION

Late in his life, Foucault started to articulate an idea that he referred to as "technologies of the self," meaning the ways that humans modify and present themselves within an existing social system. For example, controlling certain types of posture, sexual relations, diet, etc. could be appropriated by the self to shape the future self. For example, Foucault charted how the military utilized certain techniques of posture ("head back, shoulders straight") in order to foster a certain subject (a certain "self") within its members. So in his work on "technologies of self," he began to explore how an individual could start to use these same techniques to begin to shape one's own subjecthood.

The idea that the manner in which certain practices can help to foster an internal subjecthood is, therefore, our final critique of "humane" farming, and, at the same time, the way in which we can articulate a positive solution in the version of engaged veganism based on care of the self. My final critique of the "humane" slaughter movement (and DIY backyard slaughter) is the manner in which it can foster a certain subjecthood within its participants. As discussed previously, in terms of the more than 60 billion nonhuman animals that are raised and killed for human consumption each year, the impact of the person who raises and kills his or her own rabbit or chicken is almost negligible (although in terms of the individual nonhuman animal, wholly important). But why it matters is that it helps to "democratize" the same subjecthood that lies at the basis of the factory farm system, which the "humane" farming/DIY slaughter movement purports to critique. Now everyone can experience that moment of raising, and then killing, their own nonhuman animals.

The traditional advocates of nonhuman animal ethics, such as Peter Singer, would attempt to understand these practices under a utilitarian calculus of suffering—for instance, do "humane" farming practices cause more or less suffering for individual nonhuman animals than a factory farm system (Singer 2002)? And, as already conceded, under such a calculus, such action can appear relatively benign. (Indeed, Singer himself has come to the defense of "humane meat.") However, I would like to ask a very different question: namely, what are the effects on the individual subjecthood of those who raise and slaughter their own nonhuman animals? What if we understand the individual raising and killing of nonhuman animals as a "disciplinary" tactic designed to foster a certain individual subject who engages in such actions? If merely *standing* in a particular manner can shape one's subjecthood, how much more so would the actions of individual engaging in *killing*? If power is, as Foucault claims, "always productive," what, exactly, do the power relations of personally killing nonhuman animals "produce" within the human subject?

The "answer," as documented in every single human slaughter memoir that I have read, is, ultimately, to neuter any true effective critique of the system of factory farming and anthropocentric privilege, and at the same time to foster a betrayal of many of the practitioners' most deeply held values. For example, Catherine Friend started raising her own lambs in part as a way to confront gender and heteronormative stereotypes of what it meant to be a "farmer" (to "queer" farming, if you will.) At the same time, she records examples of forcing her female lambs to mate against their will in a section she names "Let's Just Forget This Ever Happened" (Friend 2009; Stănescu 2014). However, we must see such actions as not simply hypocritical, but rather as representative of the type of subjecthood that "humane meat" practice can help to foster. How can one ever truly be critical of speciesism when she personally engages in the killing of nonhuman animals? And how can she ever truly critique the commodification of nonhuman animal life when she both buys and sells the nonhuman animals and their dead bodies?

To bring this chapter full circle, I would ask the same question that we asked about the practice of "humane meat," but from the opposite direction, about the practices of ethical (or engaged)[9] veganism. Again from a purely utilitarian perspective, the act of saving one (or two, or five) nonhuman animals' lives would seem negligible in a global system of production that kills over 60 billion a year. But what we must understand is not the simple arithmetic calculus of such actions, but how such actions shape the subjecthood of the practitioners. If killing a nonhuman animal can shape a particular subject, how can being vegan shape one in another, wholly different direction?

Moreover, I wish to see ethical veganism as an action that most clearly gives the lie to the biopolitical justification at the root on all justifications for nonhuman animal–based agribusiness (in other words, I want to see ethical veganism as the opposite of the "happy meat" movement.). Ethical veganism and calls for animal liberation undermine the rationale behind the factory farm system at an even more basic level—the idea that the nonhuman animals themselves "want" to be there at all. In fact, in every text that tries to justify the continued exploitation of nonhuman animals, I keep coming across the identical argument—that nonhuman animals have at some undefined time and in some undefined manner "agreed" to be used by humans in a type of "social contract" theory of nonhuman animal "husbandry."

For example, Nicolette Niman refers to herself as a "vegetarian." As mentioned previously, she is also the former coowner of Niman Ranch, the largest producer of supposed "humane meat" in the entire country. To justify this dichotomy between personally being vegetarian and raising nonhuman animals for slaughter (which she herself will never eat), she made the following claim (Foer 2010, 207):

> As I see it, animals have entered into an arrangement with humans, an exchange of sorts. When animal husbandry is done, as it should be, humans can provide animals a better life than they could hope for in the wild and almost certainly a better death. That's quite significant. I have accidently left a gate open here on a number of occasions. Not one of the animals has even left the area. They don't go because what they have here is the safety of the herd, really nice pasture, water, occasional hay, and plenty of predictability. And their friends are here. To a certain degree, they chose to stay.

In every text about either "local" or "humane meat," I keep coming across the identical argument. And Michael Pollan (2006), Joel Salatin (Pollan 2006), Catherine Friend, (2006), Kathy Rudy (2011), and Donna Haraway (2008) all make this same statement. These activists and academics can be quite grueling in their critique of CAFOs, since such "factory farms" are seen as violating this "contract" between humans and other nonhuman animals. However, these farms are wrong (in the minds of proponents of "humane meat") not because they kill, own, or imprison nonhuman animals, but because they fail to treat nonhuman animals well enough before they are killed. In other words, factory farms are wrong only because they have broken the human end of the “contract” between human and nonhuman animals.

In the logic of the species contract, the individual choice of a naturalized and original moment of consent becomes conflated into a single, circular argument. The nonhuman animals have “consented” because it is “natural,” and it is defined as “natural” because the animal is presumed to have “consented.” In fact, the linkages between “consent” and “nature” are even more fundamental in that the supposed “species contract” presupposes that all nonhuman animals have always and already consented to all acts by human nonhuman animals simply by being part of “nature.” Hence, the species contract of a naturalized consent really removes the space for the possibility of any actual consent. In other words, the speech act of the nonhuman animals seems to work in a purely one-directional way. Via acts of supposed “empathy” of a faux “becoming-animal” by “humane” farmers (who fancy themselves “translators”), we are informed that the animals have consented. (For example, cows “chose” to stay in pens because “their friends are here.”). Yet, at the exact same time, there operates in a parallel movement a demonstrated inability to understand even the most basic ideas of animal refusal based on a supposed unspeakability and incommensurability of the animal. In other words, the animal can, indeed must, always and already say “yes” but she can never say “no.” If farmers are able to determine whether nonhuman animals want to “stay with their friends,” why can they not understand an animal when she does not wish to engage in forced sex, have her children taken away from her, feel pain, or die?

What we see of this supposed affect within the “humane farming” movement is not a critique of anthropocentric privilege, but instead the restatement and reentrenchment of the most basic claim of the “factory farm” system—that the nonhuman animals “want” to be there and choose to be there, so in some sense, they agree to their treatment and their death becomes the ultimate expression of their protection. It is, in fact, not the case that nonhuman animal-based agribusiness renders the nonhuman animal as “voiceless”; instead, the voice is in only one direction: “Yes.”

As J. M. Coetzee (2003, 86), Alice Walker (1988, 4–5), Catherine MacKinnon (2005), and Jonathan Safran Foer (2010, 100) have all argued, such an argument is wholly speciesist. Nonhuman animals never “agreed” to be owned or killed by humans, any more than women ever agreed to be owned by men[10] or slaves by their masters,[11] and there was no more an original “founding” moment of the species contract than there was of a founding social contract as described by Thomas Hobbes in the *Leviathan*. All of these ideas are simply biopolitical myths created to justify continued animal exploitation. As Foer phrases it, “Chickens can do many things, but they cannot make sophisticated deals with humans” (Henning et al. 2006).

In contrast, the goal of engaged veganism and calls for animal liberation, at their most basic level, amount to the removal of cages and locks—that is, the nonhuman animals should be allowed to go free. If, in reality, all of the nonhuman animals "chose to stay," then the advocate of "humane farming" should, in fact, welcome veganism and nonhuman animal liberation. Why not remove all the cages—why would they be necessary if the occupants are there voluntarily? Engaged veganism and nonhuman animal liberation gives the lie to the most basic idea and biopolitical justification behind all acts of violence throughout nonanimal-based agribusiness—that the nonhuman animals want to be there.

What is so revolutionary about veganism and nonhuman animal liberation is simply the reminder that *there are cages at all*. In other words, I want to see ethical veganism operating in a parallel if opposite direction of "humane farming." In terms of either raw numbers or utilitarian calculus, the significance seems small—less than 1 percent of nonhuman animals are raised on "humane" farms, and ethical veganism saves comparatively few animal lives on a global scale. However, such a calculus in fact fails to miss the very purpose, their optical function, in terms of either helping to conceal, or in turn, helping to reveal the nature of violence which does effect 60 plus billion land nonhuman animals every year.

The "humane farm," which can be toured, filmed for a documentary, written about in best-selling books, and referenced in speech tours, while posing as a critique, helps to conceal, even more tightly then factory farms do themselves, the reality that the cages exist. And all retrench as even more irrefutable the same idea that underlies the justification for all nonhuman animal farming—the myth of consent. In contrast, ethical veganism and calls for nonhuman animal liberation reveal that there are, in fact, still cages and confinement, and that the myth of consent is a lie even on the "happiest" of farms.

NEW WEAPONS

There is a tendency that I have noticed when people respond to critiques by Foucault and Deleuze against previous acts of "reform" in a defeatist manner, as though no change were possible (since it is all "power" in any case). However, such a view flies directly against the rejoinder made by Foucault: "My point is not that everything is bad, but that everything is dangerous, which is not exactly the same as bad. If everything is dangerous, then we always have something to do" (Dreyful and Rabinow 1983, 231–232). The same holds true for the comment by Deleuze that what we need is "not fear or hope," but only to "look for new weapons." To critique systems of "reform" is not to suggest that there is nothing to be done, but instead that what is needed is not "piecemeal" reform, but revolutionary actions. What we need are not "better" ("free," "kinder," "more open") prisons, but no prisons at all. What we need are not "better" ("gentler," "more humane," "more local") nonhuman animal farms, but *no nonhuman animal farms at all.* The realization that "reform" may always fail should not dampen activism, but instead could serve to ignite it.

Proponents of anthropocentric privilege have adopted a new strategy—the creation of statistically false, but hypervisible, "happy" farms, DIY slaughter, and the myth that "meat" production can ever be either "compassionate" or "ethical." Therefore, we too must adopt new strategies—new "weapons," if you will—to reveal the violence still inherent in all forms of nonhuman animal "husbandry." As the songwriter Ani Difranco (1993) once said, ". . . every tool is a weapon if you hold it right." Perhaps our tool—our pen as scholar activists—can become a new weapon, if we but learn to hold it right.

NOTES

1. I know many scholars in the field of nonhuman animal studies who are motivated by ethical concerns for other animals. I also know some scholars in the field of "animal studies" who feel as those who identify as working in supposedly "critical" animal studies are claiming that no one who works in "animal studies" is motivated by a concern for other animals. To be clear, this is not my claim. However, it also the case that there are some scholars—who claim to work in "animal studies," "posthumanities," or "animality" studies—who lack (or reject) any normative demission to their work about nonhuman animals. As a scholar, I find it useful to differentiate between "animal studies" (which can allow scholars without a normative dimension) and critical animal studies (which cannot).

In other words, it has been my hope (along with many other people) to build a space in academia so that those of us who are committed to fighting against violence against all nonhuman animals (including farmed animals) can meet and sustain each other's projects: the broad umbrella term that many of us use to designate this type of space is currently "critical animal studies (CAS)." However, anyone who wants to sincerely join this conversation is welcome. In other words, it does not matter to me if someone labels what they do "animal studies," "posthumanities," "human-animal studies," or anything else; all that matters for it to be part of CAS, in my view, is for it to have a normative orientation that is opposed to violence against all nonhuman animals, including farmed animals, and ideas about how to end this violence—in other words, to become, as this chapter argues, "activist scholars." The labels *per se* are of no real importance. See "What Is 'Critical' About Animal Studies? From The Animal 'Question' to the Animal 'Condition,'" in *Women, Destruction, and the Avant-Garde, Rodopi Press* (cowritten with Helena Pedersen) (2011): 1–15.

2. It is not entirely clear that Marx every actually made this argument, although it has often been attributed to him. Indeed, the quotation: "The philosophers have only interpreted the world, in various ways. The point, however, is to change it"

appears on his grave. However, it's not clear that Marx, in this quotation from *Eleven Theses on Feuerbach*, is actually making the argument that has been attributed to him. However, the essential idea is, I believe, an important one and reflective of Marx's overarching ideology (even if not, exactly, what Marx meant in this particular quotation).

3. "Before I was a farmer, 100 percent of my meat came from a factory. After we started farming and eating our lambs, that figure dropped down to perhaps 90 percent. But since I have been paying and working to replace the factory meat, I'm happy to report considerable success. Most weeks, about 50 percent of my meals are made from happy meat, 25 percent are meatless, and 25 percent are from factory farms." Friend (2009, 240). See also Stănescu (2014, 216–233).

4. Note: by the term *post-Fordism,* I mean the changes that occurred in capitalism after Henry Ford's introduction of the assembly line, which are particularly important in terms of nonhuman animal studies because Ford designed his "assembly" line based on studying the "disassembly" lines of the Chicago slaughterhouses. In other words, it was the experience of watching workers in Chicago cut up other animals' part by part that inspired Ford's idea of separating the worker himself or herself into individual parts. *Post-Fordism* is, therefore, the perfect term to use to reflect on this change in both capitalism and nonhuman animal ethics. See also Nicole Shukin (2009), *Animal Capital: Rendering Life in Biopolitical Times* (Minneapolis: University of Minnesota Press).

5. While Friend has now moved on to a "band" method of castration, here is how she originally describes her original procedure for castration:

> Melissa [Friends's partner] gave each lamb a shot of vitamins, dipped the navel in iodine, attached a plastic numbered ear tag, felt for a fully belly to make sure it had been nursing, then checked for sex. If it was a male, she pulled out a nasty-looking tool called a burdizo, a silver, clamplike thing. She found the slender cords running to the testicles, slid the burdizo jaws over these cords, then apologized. We'd both grimace as she squeezed the jaws together, crushing the cords so the testicles would eventually atrophy.

Friend (2006, 118); see also Stănescu (2014).

6. Furthermore, the linkage between coal and factory farms are even stronger in that for decades, the coal industry has used the idea of "clean coal"—which does not, in reality, actually exist—to claim that the industry can be reformed, and that warded off claims that there should be a total boycott of fossil fuels. Likewise, I believe that the rhetoric of "humane" farming which—like clean coal—does not, in fact, exist is utilized to ward off claims that all nonhuman animal husbandry should be boycotted. Instead, in both cases, these terms, while seeming to represent something of a critique (clean coal would seem to indict "dirty" coal; "humane" farming would seem to indict "inhumane" farming), primarily serve to ward off stronger criticism and boycotts by promising nonexistent and nonachievable "reforms." For a comprehensive review of coal's deceptive advertising tactics (including the use of a rhetoric of "clean" coal), see Cindy Baxter, "Big Coal: Decades of Deception" (*Greenpeace*, http://www.greenpeace.org/usa/big-coal-decades-of-deception/).

7. The most recent year for which I could find comprehensive federal numbers for probation and parole was 2014. However, I do not believe that that the situation

has significantly changed since then. See the Federal Bureau of Prisons "Statistics" page (https://www.bop.gov/about/statistics/population_statistics.jsp), as well as Danielle Kaeble, Laura M. Maruschak, and Thomas P. Bonczar (2015), "Probation and Parole in the United States, 2014," U.S. Department of Justice; Bureau of Justice Statistics (http://www.bjs.gov/content/pub/pdf/ppus14.pdf).

8. For a detailed discussion of the changes due to selective breeding of chickens, see the American Society for Prevention of Cruelty to Animals (ASPCA 2015), "A Growing Problem—Selective Breeding in the Chicken Industry: The Case for Slower Growth" (https://www.aspca.org/sites/default/files/chix_white_paper_nov2015_lores.pdf). While this paper is specifically about genetically breeding chickens for factory farms, these same chickens are overwhelmingly used by "humane" farmers as well.

9. "[Engaged veganism] is an ethico-political strategy through which we create ways of being, kinds of pleasures, communities, and institutions that cultivate new practices of care that are not dependent on the exploitation of nonhuman animal life as a raw material. . . . Engaged vegans oppose all commodity culture and commodity fetishism, as well as ethically opposing the notion that life—human or otherwise—can, or should, ever be rendered as a buyable or sellable commodity." Stephanie Jenkins and Vasile Stănescu, "One Struggle in *Defining Critical Animal Studies, (Counterpoints: Studies in the Postmodern Theory of Education)* Peter Lang Publishing, (2014): 79.

10. This is Catharine MacKinnon's argument.

11. This is Alice Walker's argument.

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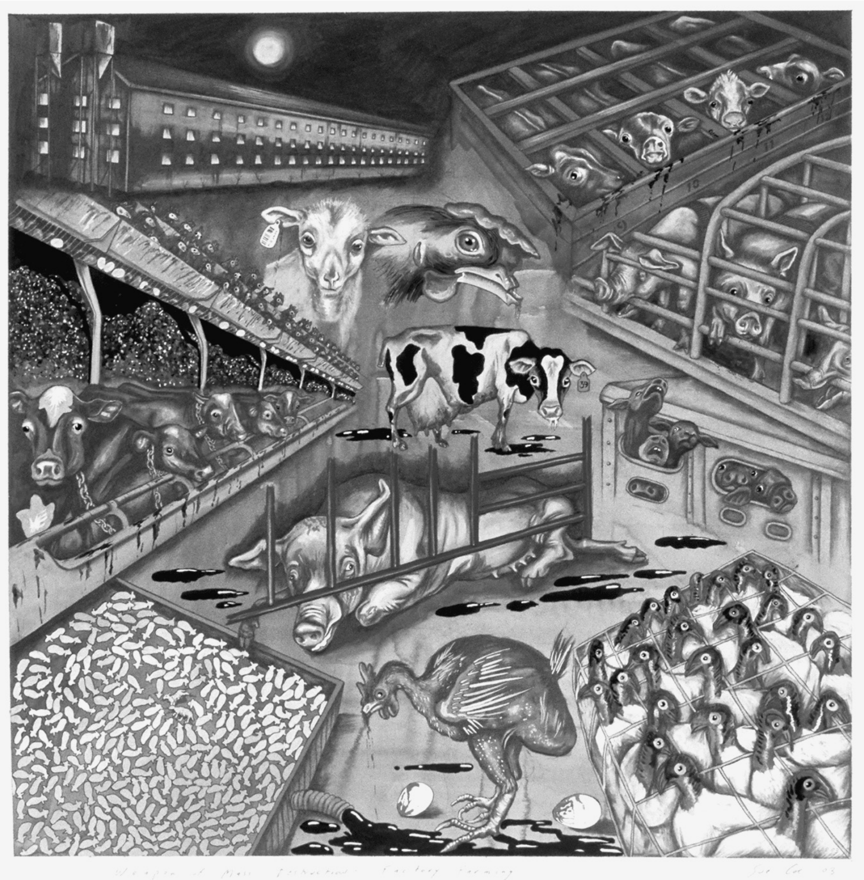
Weapon of Mass Destruction: Factory Farming
Sue Coe 03

Factory Pharm. (Copyright © 2004 Sue Coe. Courtesy Galerie St. Etienne, NY)

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Why Even the Oppressed Are Responsible for Their Food Choices: Rejecting the Capitalist "Recipe Book"

Corinne M. Painter

INTRODUCTION

In recent years, the literature on nonhuman animal rights has begun to include explicit examinations of the political nature and significance of nonhuman animal liberation and the way in which capitalism is incompatible with justice for other animals. Some of this work includes addressing the human exceptionalism—or speciesism—that characterizes the framework and workings of capitalism. However, sustained critical treatment of the ideological attitudes and practices of the nonaffluent and the otherwise impoverished is underwhelming. After I offer a brief general examination of the way in which capitalism is responsible for the systematic, oppressive, horribly exploitative, abusive, and violent treatment of nonhuman animals in the first section of this chapter, I examine why even many impoverished individuals who live within industrialized nations are also responsible for many of the unjustified ways in which they relate to and treat other animals, despite their impoverished or otherwise marginalized existence. Being unjustly oppressed or impoverished, I argue, does not give individuals an excuse for continuing to support institutions and participate in actions that exploit and abuse nonhuman animals, given the availability of affordable alternatives, at least within so-called First World nations.

More specifically, I suggest that one of the main reasons that many oppressed or otherwise marginalized people continue to hold onto human exceptionalist, speciesist beliefs and to engage in practices that uphold these beliefs, such as eating nonhuman animal flesh and by-products,[1] is because it helps them identify themselves as more valuable than other animals, who are simply treated as "property" to do with whatever their "owners" wish.[2] Doing this seems to elevate an impoverished individual's sense of social status and value, which appears to be important to many people.[3]

Despite this, I argue that it is imperative to acknowledge that the attitude of human exceptionalism that gives rise to this sense of human worth is an unjustified view that has important moral implications. Furthermore, I argue that this attitude is one that almost all humans—property-owning or propertyless, wealthy or poor—*choose* to take with respect to their beliefs about their significance and worth in comparison to other animals, and that as far as possible, they ought to choose differently. As John Sanbonmatsu (2014, 31) puts it, so long as we continue to "tell ourselves that we have *no choice* but to go on hurting and killing animal beings," we operate in "bad faith" (emphasis his); and so long as this happens, even if capitalism is overturned, needless, avoidable nonhuman animal exploitation and suffering will continue mostly unchallenged. The oppressive domination relationship between human animals and other animals, which capitalism employs and from which it benefits greatly, will not automatically disappear with the dissolution of capitalism.

Before moving to my analysis, a preliminary note is perhaps in order regarding how I intend to examine the relationship between capitalism and the current plight of nonhuman animals in this chapter. I think it is clear that there are several compelling arguments for why capitalism should be abolished, many of which have been offered in the critical literature.[4] However, I do not intend to reiterate these compelling arguments for the necessary dissolution of capitalism here; rather, the point of departure for my analysis assumes that if we are interested in constructing truly just societies, capitalism must be abolished and replaced with a just alternative.[5] Thus, instead of adding to this literature, I will complement my critical examination of the way in which impoverished and otherwise marginalized people are responsible for their choices to abuse, exploit, and cause unnecessary suffering to nonhuman animals with an examination of some of the ways in which capitalism promotes a false human exceptionalist hubris, which makes it difficult for even those who *can* make different choices concerning their use and treatment of nonhuman animals to do so. Nevertheless, I also argue that to the extent that this is possible *prior* to capitalism's dissolution, human individuals must make choices with respect to their treatment of nonhuman animals that are consistent with genuine liberation and justice for them, especially different food choices.[6] Ultimately, I argue that a truly just world requires the lives and interests of sentient nonhuman animals to be viewed as an essential ingredient of the common social, political, and economic good.

THE OPPRESSION OF NONHUMAN ANIMALS IN CAPITALISM: EXAMPLES FROM THE MODERN FACTORY FARM

It is undebatable that like humans, many domesticated and certainly all working nonhuman animals are exploited, abused, violated, and often even prematurely killed in modern capitalist political economies. The evidence and reasons for this abound, including, as I have argued elsewhere, that "they are: (1) conceived of and treated as mere instruments (or raw materials)" as well as means of production; "(2) owned by humans as if they are private property, . . . [;] (3) exploited and forced to labor for human (not their own) ends [not only] for the sake of profit" maximization, but also for the sake of satisfying other often trivial human interests; "and (4) made to suffer and live lives of misery that do not respect them as sentient, emotionally complex, often self-aware, social beings with interests of their own that they intentionally try to satisfy" (Painter, 2016, 333). Put plainly, capitalism, and the domination-oppression logic by which it operates, does not allow nonhuman animals, particularly domesticated and other working animals,[7] to realize themselves in meaningful ways or to flourish as the kinds of beings they are.

Some might want to argue that nonhuman animals cannot articulate or fully appreciate the ways in which they are prevented from realizing their natures, let alone their well-being, due to the mechanisms and operations that capitalism has normalized; and that if they cannot do this, they certainly cannot judge their suffering as *unjust.* However, it is not necessary to point to the conceptual capacities of other animals in order to admit that our treatment of them results in their needless suffering and, often, premature death. Indeed, one need only notice that living and being exploited within the profit-driven motives of capitalism, which, again, render most nonhuman animals unable to live as they naturally would, leads to their undeniable frustration, misery, and suffering.[8] Catharine MacKinnon notes this when she writes: "Who asked the animals?. . . . Do animals dissent from human hegemony [and dominance]? I think they often do. They vote with their feet by running away. They bite back, scream in pain, withhold affection, approach warily, fly and swim away" (MacKinnon, 2004, 270). Consequently, the fact that nonhuman animals are at odds with our economy is undeniable. Certainly, as Bob Torres (2007, 39) puts it, if they had the capacity "to unite and break the chains that compel them to labour," they would.

To be sure, as I and others have admitted, the use of nonhuman animals in our economies occurred before capitalism ruled our globe.[9] However, not only does the exploitation and abuse, as well as the murder of other animals, continue unchecked as capitalism has grown within the twentieth and twenty-first centuries, nonhuman animal exploitation has risen to unimaginable and indefensible levels. Jason Hribal (2003) explains that due to the desire not only to *satisfy* consumerist demands as efficiently as possible, but also to *create* demands, as well as the desire to generate profit and accumulate capital at alarmingly faster rates, nonhuman animals are treated more like unpaid slaves than human wage workers, given that despite their labor being an essential element of the global reach of capitalism, they receive no compensation—only lives of misery and premature death.[10] Thus, contrary to those who argue that capitalism is actually good for nonhuman animals,[11] the oppression, exploitation, suffering, and murder of nonhuman animals is worse now than it ever has been. And it continues to worsen as capitalism continues to grow unchecked. David Nibert (2013, 12) captures this gruesome reality for nonhuman animals within capitalism quite instructively with his term "domesecration," defining it as "the systematic practice of violence in which social animals are enslaved and biologically manipulated, which results in their objectification, subordination, and oppression." He further explains that there is, in fact, no *partnership* entered into between other animals and humans within capitalism, but that what occurs instead is the "continued practice of capturing, controlling, and genetically manipulating other animals for human use, [which] violates the sanctity of life of the sentient beings involved" (Nibert 2013, 12). It is in this way that the minds and bodies of nonhuman animals are "desecrated/domesecrated" for the sake of "facilitating their exploitation" (Nibert 2013, 12) not only with greater ease and efficiency, but also in greater numbers, as capitalism expands its dominance around the globe.[12]

In what follows, I do not detail all the ways in which capitalism exploits, oppresses, violates, and murders nonhuman animals, nor do I offer statistics about the staggering numbers of other animals that capitalism is responsible for treating in this manner,[13] which is to say, all the ways in which nonhuman animals are "domesecrated." Rather, focusing on factory-farmed animals, I elucidate some examples of the horrific experiences that these working animals suffer within capitalism. There are two reasons to focus on factory-farmed animals: (1) they are among those who suffer some of the most monstrous forms of oppression and exploitation, both qualitatively and quantitatively, and for such a trivial reason, namely, the unnecessary, unhealthy, dietary preferences of humans[14]; and (2) virtually all people, wealthy or poor, property-owning or propertyless, working or not, eat the flesh and other by-products of nonhuman animals who are raised to become our food within factory farms. And since most people have a choice about whether to eat nonhuman animal flesh or by-products—limited though their choice may be, especially for many impoverished people[15]—a critical analysis of the suffering that factory-farmed animals experience in order to become food on our plates is imperative.

We would do well to acknowledge that not only is it the case that the products of most factory-farmed animals—e.g., eggs, other "dairy" products, as well as the very flesh of their bodies, (i.e., "meat")—are the property of someone else,[16] "unlike most human labourers, this is even true regarding many factory farmed animals' 'reproductive products,' i.e., their offspring, who are taken away from them almost immediately after birth" (Painter, 2016, 336). This is for the callous reason that allowing nonhuman animal parents to care for their offspring is an impediment to profitability.[17] Denying a nonhuman animal the ability to satisfy her natural desire to care for her offspring, which is accompanied both by her (sometimes hysterical) bellowing for her stolen child (or children) and by an often lifelong grief, obviously causes severe distress and suffering for this mother, who is already living a life of exploitation and misery.

Besides this form of misery, under capitalism, factory-farmed animals are forced to work in a myriad of ways and under deplorable conditions that are (to say the least) undesirable and result in great suffering, including in the form of, as Torres (2007, 40) puts it, "having their bodies and functions . . . completely appropriated by capital, and, subsequently, put to use in a single way only, subordinating the total animal being to [a] single productive activity." For example, except for when they are imprisoned within "farrowing crates," which allow no movement, while nursing their young, female pigs are forced to live in "gestation crates," within which movement is also impossible. Both gestation crates and farrowing crates reduce the costs of producing "pork" products by keeping female pigs immobilized for their entire lives, insofar as this

> makes feeding as well as impregnating them more efficient, by eliminating the chance of aggressive behavior amongst group-housed female pigs, and by saving space. It is not difficult to imagine that this immobilization, isolation, forced impregnation, as well as other cost-cutting practices used in "pork production," . . . causes extreme distress and suffering to these sensitive, highly social, and intelligent animals, both physically and emotionally. (Painter, 2016, 336–337)[18]

Although factory-farmed female pigs are allowed to nurse their young only within farrowing crates that fail to permit movement, let alone genuine bodily connection among mother and children, the story is even bleaker for cows who are exploited for their milk. The calves of these cows are typically taken from them within hours of their birth so that the milk that is produced will not be "wasted" on their calves, but rather can be harvested for human consumption. This harvesting is performed by painful milking machines,[19] which routinely cause suffering and diseases such as mastitis[20] in these cows, who are artificially—and forcefully—impregnated so long as their overused bodies allow (usually just a few years).

The fate of the calves of cows exploited by the "dairy" industry depends on their sex. Male calves may be sent to "veal farms," where they live their entire (extremely short) lives in "veal" crates that are 22–54 inches in size and do not allow adequate movement, and where they are fed an unnatural diet high in iron in order to keep their flesh tender to please the human palate. Or, if they are not sent to "veal farms," since they are typically not the correct breed to be "used" as "beef cattle," they are slaughtered shortly after their birth, and sometimes even fed—unnaturally—to "veal" calves and other cows, who are naturally vegetarian.[21] On the other hand, female calves are either reared to become "dairy cows" like their mothers, which means that they will be repeatedly artificially inseminated—raped—just as their mothers were, or they are also slaughtered shortly after birth. The reason for the fate of these calves is rooted entirely in profitability: whatever fate is deemed most profitable by those who "own" them is the fate that awaits these highly social, certainly sentient other animals.[22] To be sure, their interests, let alone their unnecessary suffering, are not given a second thought within capitalism, whether they are pigs, cows, or some other "farm animal."

The treatment of chickens exploited for their eggs is yet another example of a routine, yet morally indefensible, practice of today's factory farms. In the view of industrialized "egg farmers," as well as many people who eat eggs, the only purpose of these kind of chickens is laying eggs, so "that this function . . . becomes the single activity focused on by those who wish to leverage the bodies of hens for profit, while every other aspect of their being is suppressed, since they are impediments to production" (Torres, 2007, 40). Furthermore, since overcrowding, debeaking, and live-grinding of newborn male chicks, who are "useless" from an egg-production perspective, reduce the costs of egg production, they are common in the farming practice of "laying hens."[23]

Indeed, as was intimated, the common practices of factory farming within capitalism "not only make natural non-human animal socialization impossible, but it often pits nonhuman animals against each other" (Painter, 2016, 337), which presents hindrances to profitability. Accordingly,

> within factory farms, in order to prevent factory farmed animals from hurting one another, which their unnatural living conditions often cause—particularly their confinement and overcrowding—chickens are routinely debeaked, pigs' tails are docked, cows are dehorned and castrated (just to name a few examples), and all of this is typically performed without anesthesia, since anesthesia is expensive and, thus, using it would lessen the profit that farmers make. (Painter, 2016, 344, endnote 13)[24]

In any case, as these examples suggest, it is clear that the physical, emotional, and social needs of farmed animals are ignored within capitalism so that they can be completely subjugated to the system's oppressive domination logic. Given that the capitalist profit motive, which seeks to decrease costs and increase profits and capital accumulation, governs the process of farming[25] (as well as other forms of nonhuman animal oppression and exploitation), the social and other needs of these other animals cannot be considered, at least not by those who use them as mere means of production, with the twin goals of profitability and capital growth. As I have acknowledged elsewhere and will discuss at some length in the next section of this chapter, this makes it *almost* impossible to allow our genuine moral intuitions, such as compassion or empathy for the suffering of other animals, to guide our relationship with and treatment of them within capitalism, at least at a structural level (Painter, 2016, 337).

Lest we forget the gravity of the conditions that frame the lives of domesecrated nonhuman animal workers, it is important to remind ourselves that the *whole being* of other working (or resource) nonhuman animals is owned by and belongs to another, being this other's property to do with what he or she pleases. As other working animals are viewed and treated as if they are machines, they are exchanged on the market as if they are raw materials or pure means of production, just as human slaves once were (and still are in some places in the world). Consequently, it should come as no surprise that their entire lives are characterized through and through by suffering and misery. Acknowledging their status as mere "raw materials" may highlight the urgent nature of the political need to change these practices, which are entirely legal within capitalism.[26]

Given the horrific conditions within which factory-farmed animals exist within capitalism,[27] which is neither inscribed by nature nor otherwise immutable, I examine in the next section why the motivation to change how we view and exploit most nonhuman animals appears to lack the necessary force required to bring about justice for other animals, despite the common knowledge of their unjust treatment, and I suggest how we might and why we should attempt to eradicate—or at least lessen—the grip of human exceptionalism that characterizes our relationship to and falsely justifies our horrific treatment of other animals within capitalism. My goal is to motivate individuals from *all* walks of life (so to speak), including the impoverished or otherwise marginalized, to make different choices regarding how they view and use nonhuman animals, especially with respect to their food choices, given that this is required for genuine nonhuman animal liberation. Moreover, as I will argue, this is a change that is both possible and important for us to make immediately, even if it will be challenging psychologically for many people.

TRAVERSING THE HUMAN EXCEPTIONALISM THAT FRAMES OUR EXPLOITATION OF NONHUMAN ANIMALS: MAKING DIFFERENT FOOD CHOICES

Some Preliminary Critical Remarks on Traditional Nonhuman Animal Liberation Movements

Before embarking on a critical examination of the way in which individuals are responsible for their unjust treatment of nonhuman animals within capitalism, some remarks are in order regarding the claim that genuine animal liberation requires the demise of capitalism. It would be irresponsible to fail to address how capitalism feeds off, promotes, and even requires a speciesist, human exceptionalist framework to continue as it does; for our instrumental, inexcusable, and damaging exploitative relationships not only with other humans but with nonhuman animals cannot be achieved until and unless capitalism is overturned and replaced, nor so long as practices that are speciesist at their core continue to be defended and performed. For these reasons, traditional rights-based and utilitarian nonhuman animal liberation movements, despite their laudability, are insufficient for bringing about genuine nonhuman animal liberation. More specifically this is because they offer their theories from a liberal perspective that does not call into question the capitalist status quo, insofar as their critical questions are focused only on questions of individual choice and the redistribution of resources and goods within the existing capitalist system, not on the fundamental capitalist structure itself, which again requires and promotes nonhuman animal oppression and injustice.

Accordingly, fully acknowledging the victories for nonhuman animals that nonhuman animal liberationists working in these traditions and from these perspectives have achieved, which are undeniably worthy of much praise, these approaches must be complemented by more radical critical work, which seeks structural changes at the political and economic levels. Unfortunately, individual and even industry changes in the treatment of nonhuman animals, including "animal welfare" laws (some of which provide admirable and undeniably important improvements in the lives of many nonhuman animals),[28] will remain insufficient means of change if the machinery and "normal" operations of capitalism, which are necessarily oppressive, classist, and speciesist, remain intact. For "such a system [not only] renders it impossible for any individual or industry to *completely avoid* the exploitation and abusive use of animals, despite how seriously they may want to avoid this" (Painter, 2016, 342, emphasis added), but makes it impossible for any "advancements" in nonhuman animal treatment to be achieved, other than the passing of woefully inadequate "animal welfare" laws, which (even if they were regularly enforced), at best, serve only to "improve" the unjust conditions of their exploitation and abuse but do *nothing* to eliminate the conditions themselves, which give rise to the "animal welfare" laws in the first place.[29]

Revisiting the Role of Capitalism in the Oppression of Nonhuman Animals

Having said this, and fully recognizing that capitalism makes it impossible for any individual or industry to *completely* avoid participating in and supporting practices and ways of life (at least passively) that abuse, exploit, and oppress nonhuman animals, this does not imply that individuals, whether they are "individual persons" or "institutional persons," bear no responsibility to do as much as they can to bring about justice for animals. At the very least, this requires—as far as possible—refraining from engaging in practices that support the capitalist status quo, including eating the flesh or by-products of nonhuman animals, wearing their skins, and participating in a host of other actions that require their unnecessary suffering. In addition, engaging in practices that fight this status quo and encouraging others to do the same are both desirable.

I do not pretend to have a fully worked-out concept of a postcapitalist society. However, I am certain that all speciesist ideologies, structures, traditions, and practices that necessarily accompany capitalism, all of which are grounded in a baseless, ultimately unwarranted human exceptionalism that most human beings take for granted, must be eliminated and replaced with alternatives.[30] Substantial changes in enforceable and enforced laws and other policy decisions that affect other animals, as well as nonviolent revolutionary actions, are sure to be part of this transition. So long as capitalist structures, ideologies and practices remain intact, an inadequate number of individuals will be motivated or able to discard their speciesist attitudes and customs, which capitalism promotes because of its profitability. As Nibert importantly acknowledges regarding nonhuman animals used for food, while "it is true that many people around the world continue to exploit other animals for basic subsistence, the continued use of both domesecrated and free-living animals as food because of the absence of other dietary alternatives, linked to poverty, *is itself an indictment of the capitalist system*" (Nibert, 2013, 262, emphasis mine). Thus, despite the criticisms that I am about to make against the actions of individuals, including impoverished individuals (particularly those living in so-called First World nations),[31] I agree with Nibert's claim that "until nutritious, affordable, plant-based food is available to all throughout the world, criticism of peoples who [genuinely] have no alternatives to exploiting animals for subsistence should be redirected against the capitalist system" (Nibert, 2013, 262).

HUMAN EXCEPTIONALISM, THE "LADDER OF WORTH," AND MAKING DIFFERENT FOOD CHOICES

In seriously considering the horrific life of factory-farmed animals, as well as the systematic role that capitalism plays in their miserable existence, the argument that serious, perhaps even revolutionary action should be taken to change the status quo regarding human treatment of other animals can be strengthened by considering that humans are conceptually dependent on nonhuman animals to such an extent that their enslaved existence helps us not only to *define* ourselves as human, but also to *distinguish* ourselves from nonhuman animals. Sadly, our tendency to overlook this often has the consequence that we define ourselves as distinctly "other" in ways that lead many to undervalue nonhuman animals in comparison to humans, and, thus, to overvalue the moral and political significance of human injustice compared to nonhuman animal injustice. So, while the political details and implications of injustice for humans and other animals are almost certainly different, fundamentally "privileging humans and human injustice is difficult to defend, unless one is prepared to defend speciesism, which (arguably) is an exercise in [philosophical and moral] futility" (Painter, 2016, 338). In any event, this is not the approach that I take in this chapter.[32] And so, finally, we are in a position to critically address the attitude of human exceptionalism that not only provides an essential operational framework for capitalism, but also characterizes the basic attitude of most humans across the globe—again, whether they are employed or unemployed, property-owning or propertyless, impoverished or wealthy (or somewhere in between).

As I acknowledged (in agreement with Nibert), there are many human populations that are not in a position to discontinue their exploitation of other animals, even if they had the desire to do this. However, notwithstanding these populations, many individuals living in industrialized nations, even if they are poor and live in an impoverished area, are responsible for their participation in oppressive, exploitative, unjust actions involving nonhuman animals. This is particularly true when it comes to their food choices, given that affordable alternatives are available to most people. These alternatives may not be as convenient to procure and may not be perceived as desirable—which is an effect of capitalism—but they are available and affordable if purchased and consumed in appropriate amounts.[33] As is well documented, vegetable-based foods are healthier than animal-based foods, as well as more sustainable and better for the overall environment.[34] Thus, while capitalism renders it virtually impossible for humans living in some parts of the world to make different food (and other) choices regarding their use and consumption of nonhuman animals, if we focus on industrialized nations (such as the United States, Canada, Britain, and

Western Europe, and many countries in Asia), making different food choices, such as refusing to eat nonhuman animal flesh or by-products, must be part of the transition from a capitalist to a postcapitalist society.

Having said all this, the following question begs to be asked: Why do human beings who are in a position to do otherwise continue to hold onto the speciesist ideology and to treat and use nonhuman animals as if they are mere objects rather than as sentient individuals who suffer, who clearly want to live, and who are valuable in their own right? Given all we know at this point in time about the complex natures, abilities, and interests of nonhuman animals, as well as about how our use of them, particularly in the agricultural industry, is linked to a number of serious health concerns for individuals, not to mention severe environmental and ecological degradation,[35] this question poses a serious challenge.

Two answers to the question are as well known as they are simple. First, people may hold onto these views and continue to use animals in ways that cause them great suffering perhaps out of ignorance (although this reason becomes less and less plausible as the years go by and more knowledge about the suffering of nonhuman animals has become available). Second, they may do so because it allows them to justify self-interested behavior and practices that they want to continue, such as eating the flesh of nonhuman animals, wearing their skins or "furs," being entertained by them, or making money from using them, regardless of the immeasurable suffering that they know this causes these nonhuman animals who, without giving consent, are sacrificed for the sake of satisfying these interests. Notice that these interests are neither mutually exclusive nor applicable only to the affluent and property-owning: *these are interests that a majority of human beings share.*

Another answer that is less well known but was discussed previously, admits that the reason cannot be traced to mere individual ignorance or choice, but to the fact that the systemic influence of capitalism, with its defining underlying social, political, and economic power structures that operate on the dynamic of oppression and domination, must share much of the blame, particularly at the structural level. However, it is important to acknowledge that because capitalism operates on the logic of oppression and domination, it is also responsible for producing the contemporary Western class system, which is accompanied by widening income, wealth, health, educational, and other important gaps between humans and in turn results in human individuals being valued, treated, and forced to live differently than others (for example, in poverty rather than comfortably, let alone affluently). Ironically, this reality also *unifies* these classes by reinforcing and strengthening older (e.g., classical or religious) speciesist ideologies, traditions, and practices so that they become magnified to the extent that the mass violence that is perpetrated on nonhuman animals is viewed—if it is noticed at all—as "normal" *across class divisions.* This is why almost everyone supports and participates in speciesism, whether they are aware of it or not. Indeed, we should admit, following Sanbonmatsu (2014, 30), that

> it is not just elites . . . who participate in, profit from, and, indeed, often take pleasure from the speciesist system—it is virtually all human beings in all walks of life and social positions, rich and poor, young and old, male and female, First Worlders and indigenous tribes.

In this way, speciesism is not merely a reflection of our own individual religiously or otherwise grounded prejudices, or even of general "intraspecies social conflicts and hierarchies, but an expression of an extraspecies *animus* and will to power in its own right" (Sanbonmatsu 2014, 30). Paradoxically, this both permits the human exceptionalism upon which capitalism preys and capitalizes and is magnified to such alarmingly high levels that it manifests itself in a kind of unacknowledged pride and pleasure that many humans take in exercising power over supposedly "lesser animal beings" (Sanbonmatsu 2014, 31)—again, despite the suffering that it causes them.

One might surmise that this should foster compassion and empathy toward other animals, especially, one would think, among marginalized, oppressed, and exploited humans; and it does do this for some individuals and groups, including those who have experienced gender discrimination,[36] as well as others who have experienced other forms of discrimination and marginalization, including Holocaust survivors.[37] However, for the vast majority, it may well be the case that individuals from these groups participate in speciesist practices—whether noticed or not—in large measure *because* it allows them to remain higher on the "ladder of worth" than at least some others, which appears to be important to many human beings. Recognizing this paradoxical "truth" about human exceptionalist or speciesist attitudes means that we must admit that while capitalism employs, promotes, magnifies, and benefits from this "extraspecies animus," it cannot bear the full responsibility for creating it. Again, as Sanbonmatsu (2014, 31) eloquently writes,

> so deeply has speciesism penetrated human consciousness that . . . it constitutes one of the few truly fundamental existential structures of human life. . . . [which] comprises a totalizing stance towards life, thereby forming the ontological ground of human identity and purpose.

However, given that this virtually universal human exceptionalist stance is neither given to us by nature nor imposed on us, including on the impoverished by the affluent or wealthy—or, more generally, by capitalism, though capitalism certainly makes good use of this situation, as just argued—we should acknowledge that this is a mode of comporting oneself in the world that most humans *freely choose,* even if they do not explicitly reflect on this choice. Certainly, although capitalism will not welcome this, we could choose to affirm another way of relating to nonhuman animals that does not rely upon our cross-class domination of them but is characterized instead by care and compassion. However, we continue to choose a way of "being human"—i.e., *of defining ourselves and existing as human*—that requires the ongoing, but entirely avoidable and unnecessary, mass brutality and violence against almost all nonhuman animals, particularly domesticated factory-farmed and other working animals. Put plainly, the abolishment of capitalism must be both preceded and accompanied by our willingness to look at ourselves honestly and critically, and to admit that in failing to fight for justice for our nonhuman animal neighbors, we are guilty not only of supporting and promoting an unwarranted hierarchy between different species of sentient animals, but also of normalizing brutality and violence against other animals, whether we actively participate in their exploitation and oppression (which, again, most human beings do) or whether we remain silent by not speaking out against the mass, systemic, institutional abuse, exploitation, and oppression of them that capitalist economies routinely employ. To be sure, the eradication of this extraspecies animus and will to power, like the dissolution of capitalism, will require a radical transformation not just in our *thinking,* but a social, political, economic, psychological, and moral "revolution" that forces us to change our very way of *being in the world.*

As I intimated previously, I do not pretend to know all the elements that such a revolution would entail or what all the ingredients of a just alternative to capitalism are. However, in reflecting seriously on the unbearable plight of nonhuman animals not only with respect to the systematic role that capitalism plays regarding their exploitation and their misery-filled lives, but also with respect to the way in which individuals are responsible for participating in normalizing the violence and brutality upon which capitalism thrives, a deeper examination is needed regarding the speciesist existential animus from which capitalism benefits. This is all the more important given that this speciesist existential animus both depends upon and fuels the human exceptionalism that most humans operate from (again, many without admitting or reflecting upon it).

As was suggested in the introduction to this chapter, the attitude of human exceptionalism is linked to the need to be viewed and treated not just with respect and dignity, which it seems justified for individuals to desire,[38] but to an apparent need to be viewed as superior to someone else or to a group of others, which many individuals appear to possess. It is probably "natural" for humans to desire being valued by others, particularly by others who are deemed by personal, societal, or other standards to be important, admired and valuable persons themselves; but it is not clear that this desire ought to be *based on being judged*, for whatever reasons, to be superior to others, or that it should be *accompanied by a desire to be valued* as superior to others. Thus, even if it is "natural" and justified to desire being valued, respected, and treated in ways that honor this desire, this need not be based on or associated with comparing one's worth to an other's worth. Certainly there are many other ways in which an individual's worth can be determined (or "measured" if you prefer) that do not require comparative evaluations between individuals who may or may not share important essential qualities or characteristics in common.

However, it is not my intention to consider these other possibilities here, as I wish, instead, to consider my earlier claim about why human beings continue to define themselves and emphasize their uniqueness by maintaining their superiority over nonhuman animals. As some others have noticed,[39] maintaining this superiority is done in ways that are strikingly similar to how certain groups of humans historically identified themselves not only as *different from,* but also *superior to* other groups of humans, for example, on the basis of differences in sex, race, sexual orientation, intelligence, religious identity, social or economic class, and so on. Although in some parts of the world, *explicitly discriminating* against persons on these bases is no longer legal, sadly, in many—probably even most—parts of the world, these value determinations are still made on these bases, both explicitly and implicitly. The horrifying result of this praxis includes not only arbitrarily grounded, harmful beliefs about the worth of individual beings based on characteristics about them that are morally, socially, and politically irrelevant, but also important forms of discrimination. The most notable consequence of discriminating against individuals on these (or other) bases is unequal access to essential resources and rights that flow from these unjustified value beliefs, which are required for individuals not only to enjoy protection from undeserved, intentionally committed maltreatment, but also to live with at least some sense of comfort, autonomy, and dignity.[40]

However, nowhere is this praxis and its devastating results more prevalent than within the nonhuman animal population. One need only reflect critically on the lives of nonhuman animals (particularly working and factory-farmed animals) to acknowledge this. Furthermore, if one compares the lives of "domesecrated" other animals to human lives, this reality is even more striking. It is obvious that the mass exploitation and suffering of nonhuman animals is normalized within capitalism; however, it is also important to note that this "normalization" is made possible, as Carol Adams (2014) argues, because these other animals are no longer seen as individuals but only en masse, which requires their subjectivity to be diminished, and, in many cases, annihilated.[41] For example, in comparing human genocide to nonhuman animal genocide, Adams (2014, 21) points out that unlike other mass killings of groups of individuals, "meat eaters actually bury dead animals in their own bodies." This means that those who eat nonhuman animals (or their by-products) do not bury their victims in graves, nor do they typically mourn their deaths[42]—certainly not those of factory-farmed animals. This in turn demonstrates that they do not see their suffering or death as something with which to be concerned; rather, these particular other animals are simply viewed as having served their purpose as food.

As a consequence of the praxis of eating "meat," insofar as humans participate in eating and burying nonhuman animals in their bodies as they feast on their flesh and by-products, they are in a position to judge themselves as superior to them, having incorporated them into their own bodies, extinguishing the eaten individual's very existence. After being eaten, the other animal no longer exists as a singular whole individual—he or she only "exists" in the form of dead pieces of torn flesh, then as nutrients, and eventually, as waste within the human who has eaten him or her. Dissimilarly, humans are not treated as if they belong in the category of beings who can be mass-farmed, eaten, and converted into nutrients and waste, nor do they view themselves in this way. Instead, *they are the very beings who devour other animals*, and as such, they feel confident that regardless of how they may be valued in comparison with other humans, they are "better" than those "lesser beings" whom they extinguish and consume, usually without blinking an eye. In this way, those humans who eat other animals likely see themselves as unique individuals who, even if they are impoverished humans living in poverty and unable to flourish, are still superior to and more valuable than factory-farmed animals, whose whole beings have been annihilated through the exercise of human power over them. What "meat" eaters fail to appreciate, however, is that although "animals are killed as products, . . . as mass terms, they die as individuals—as a cow, not as 'beef'; as a pig, not as 'pork.' For each suffers his or her own death, and this death matters a great deal to the one who is dying" (Adams, 2014, 21).

In this connection, another difference that allows humans to judge themselves as superior to other animals, both in general and with respect to farmed animals, is that they are regarded, treated, and, ultimately, killed simply because they *are* "mere" nonhuman animals and not because they *acted* badly (for example, by committing immoral or unlawful acts).[43] Following the lead of Samantha Power,[44]Adams analyzes the distinction between "being" and "doing," claiming that

> when humans are killed for being rather than for doing, the "beingness" attributed to them is often animal-like . . . [so that] when someone says "I was treated like an animal" she means [not only] "I was treated as though I were not an individual"

but also "I was made vulnerable to violence by being moved down the species ladder" (Adams 2014, 21–22).

Relatedly, as those who work and reflect on disability rights and issues know, one of the main complaints advanced by humans who are differently abled or by those who advocate for them, is that they are likened to "mere animals." This claim betrays at least a tacit agreement with the underlying speciesist assumption that "normally abled" humans—whatever this means—are at the top of the "species ladder," above every other kind of being. I do not wish to criticize differently abled humans or their advocates for being bothered by being identified or seen as similar to "mere animals" here.[45] Rather, I wish to highlight the problematic nature of the underlying human exceptionalist assumption that fuels these critiques, which much of the work on disability rights perpetuates—perhaps unwittingly—in the way that it formulates its legitimate critiques of social policy and its calls for change. They indicate that no matter what, because nonhuman animals are viewed and treated as inferior to humans, virtually all humans work hard to ensure that they are judged and treated differently than other animals, whether they are differently abled, impoverished, otherwise oppressed and marginalized, or whether they happen to occupy a position on the high end of the so-called ladder of worth.

If this were motivated by a desire to change the plight of nonhuman animals and not just one's own unjust oppression and misery, there would be nothing to which nonhuman animal liberationists could object. However, this does not appear to be the case, at least not typically (though there are some exceptions, as I mentioned earlier in this chapter). These people, like most individuals, knowingly and willfully participate in rather than reject the mass exploitation, abuse, oppression, and killing of nonhuman animals as part of their normal, daily routines, usually by eating their flesh and by-products, despite the existence of available alternatives. In addition, often, at least within populations that are not significantly impoverished, these same individuals participate in or at least support the mass oppression and killing of nonhuman animals by wearing their skins or visiting venues where they are being abused, exploited, and made to suffer for the sake of trivial human ends. This not only demonstrates their support of and participation in the abusive treatment of other animals, which is shameful enough, but it also suggests a feeling of pride in believing that whatever injustices, disrespect, and other forms of suffering that differently abled, marginalized, oppressed, and otherwise impoverished persons unduly and probably regularly experience, they are still "better" than other animals.

However, a still deeper analysis is called for regarding why so many humans find it important to see themselves as superior to others and why this appears to provide a basis for the determination of their worth, in their own eyes, in the eyes of society, or, more likely, both. In this connection, it seems reasonable to claim that despite the fact that most humans possess certain intellectual and other highly valued capacities that most nonhuman animals do not,[46] the feeling of pride that is associated with the psychological and social need to feel superior to someone or to some group of others is grounded either in religious claims and ideals that cannot be defended reasonably,[47] or in the repression of our own animality and along with this, the idealization of rational capacities that we believe allow us to be "masters of the universe" (to be dramatic). Indeed, many people cling to the alleged possession of these capacities and the power to which they give rise as identity markers that suggest at least a degree of independence from the unpredictability and caprice both of nature and of others. Put plainly, it is important to most humans not only to survive but to flourish, and to be capable of doing so within a world that is full of natural and other sorts of challenges, which create limits and boundaries that we want to conquer through our perceived "special" human agency.

While there are well-worked-out psychological theories about why this is the case, and many worthwhile debates about their efficacy, as well as moral, social and political critiques of them,[48] this work is not of concern to me here. Rather, I wish to point out that since flourishing is thought to depend (at least in part) upon this perceived special, uniquely distinctive, and extremely powerful human agency, it requires humans to repress their own animality, which in turn requires them to hold the all-too-common (but false) belief either that they are not animals at all or that they are superior to other animals, and to act in accord with this position.

Luckily, for the capitalist elites, this classless human need works in their favor, inasmuch as it allows those humans who live on the lower rungs of the social, economic, or political ladder, whether through racism, sexism, classism, or some other form of discrimination and oppression, to nevertheless be viewed as more valuable than other species of animals, most of whom do not even occupy the bottom rung of the ladder. Sadly, however, occupying a position on the "ladder of worth" (on which nonhuman animals are not even admitted) does not eradicate the separation that continues to exist between nonprivileged, nonaffluent people and affluent or privileged people.[49] Thus, instead of a cooperative, noncompetitive togetherness that *could* bind humans to one another, nonhuman relationships are often branded not only by extremely aggressive competitive structures and conflicts, but also by the resentment of the nonaffluent against the affluent, the latter of whom have won their affluence in large measure thanks to the hard—but largely unacknowledged—work of the impoverished. Understandably, this likely—though probably unwittingly—serves to further motivate the speciesist ideology within oppressed and marginalized people.

According to some scholars who work explicitly on this issue, this happens even when there is, at some very basic emotional level, a fundamental empathy with other animals, given that this gets repressed when we negate or deny our own animality in order to keep up appearances (so to speak). Following Zipporah Weisberg's thoughtful analysis of Freud's notion of the uncanny as she applies it to our treatment of nonhuman animals as mere objects to do with as we please, we could say that Freud's notion

> captures the ambivalent psychic struggle that results from the joint repression of our own animality and our oppression of other animals—our combined fascination and horror, our longing for connection with other animals . . . and our dread of the animal other . . . The animal is both familiar and feared, hidden and revealed. (Weisberg, 2011, 184)

While Weisberg (2011, 192) is primarily interested in analyzing how the repression of our animality has resulted in serious psychological damage to humans, she is right to point out that in "denying our fundamental identity with other animals and claiming a false sense of superiority over them," we have come to embrace what she calls the "pathology of speciesism," fully acknowledging that "other animals, by far, suffer the brunt of this speciesism."

CONCLUDING REMARKS: SAYING "NO" TO THE CAPITALIST WAR ON COMPASSION TOWARD OTHER ANIMALS

There is much more to be said about why so many humans from all walks of life continue to participate in actions and ways of life that normalize the exploitation, brutality, and mass killing of other animals, including impoverished and otherwise marginalized and exploited humans, who have been the focus of much of my analysis in this chapter. Given the lack of a sense of self-worth, as well as the lack of recognition and respect given to impoverished, nonaffluent, and oppressed people by those perched high on the "ladder of worth," participation in speciesist behaviors may be the only way for especially impoverished or otherwise oppressed and marginalized people to feel superior to others, which appears to be of psychological and social importance, despite its unjust ground and consequences. However, I want to close this chapter by offering some brief remarks regarding two related points. First, I want to address capitalism's role in the "war" that individuals experience between compassion and empathy for nonhuman animals, on the one hand, and the fear, indifference, and the like that many experience regarding other animals, on the other hand, which is so commonplace within capitalism. Second, I want to address why every one of us must cease participating in and otherwise supporting the brutal and horrific crimes that we commit against other animals to the greatest extent possible while capitalism still continues to structure our political economies, despite the difficulty of doing so. As was argued previously, this is crucial if capitalism is to be dissolved and a more just system—for everyone—is to take its place.

Many scholars have examined the way in which natural feelings of compassion and empathy for other animals, particularly for their suffering, is replaced within capitalist economies with less positive feelings, including fear, indifference, ambivalence, and hopelessness.[50] Indeed, Tom Regan (2014) speaks of an "undeclared war humans are waging against other animals," Carol Adams (2014, 26) and others speak of a "campaign against compassion that allows factory farms and other horrors to continue," and Zipporah Weisberg (2011, 182) argues that

> the fundamental empathy and friendship we might otherwise have vis-à-vis other animals—whose needs, wants, fears, and joys are so similar to our own—have, under the process of [capitalist] repression, turned into antipathy and contempt.

As Weisberg further notes, "our tendency to become 'immune' to the extreme violence against other animals in laboratories, factory farms, and so on is an example of the unnatural indifference that arises from repression of a former love-object" (Weisberg 2011, 183)—or, more appropriately, in my view, a lovable, valuable being who deserves respect—is created because of the alienating conditions of capitalism, which envelop virtually every aspect of our lives. In other words, capitalism sets the "institutional stage" (Adams, 2014, 26) for waging a war on our more positive, healthy feelings towards other animals, including our sense of kinship with them, replacing them with an ability to discontinue "caring about what happens to . . . animals" (Adams 2014, 27).

Most likely, this is used as a strategy to cope with our perceived powerlessness to change matters because of the alienating, disruptive, oppressive, globally dominant practices of capitalism, of which many of us are also unsuspecting victims. In this connection, Adams suggests that we may have lost our ability and motivation to care for the suffering of other animals and we may even have become *afraid* to allow ourselves to care about the plight of nonhuman animals. She writes that "the war on compassion has caused people to fear that beginning to care about what happens to animals will destroy them because the knowledge is so overwhelming" (Adams 2014, 27). While this explanation conjures up the all-too-familiar, albeit disingenuous, "ignorance is bliss" justification, we would do well to acknowledge that the strategies and methods that the capitalist power structures employ in order to "control" the views and actions of the populous, which include almost complete control of the media[51] as well as significant control of the legal and political system, play a significant role in the original waging and maintenance of the ongoing war on feelings that grants people permission—and even encourages them—to continue to participate in the normalized brutality that we commit against nonhuman animals without pause.

However, acknowledging capitalism's role in promoting and maintaining the human exceptionalist perspective out of which the horrific actions that we routinely execute against nonhuman animals arise is no excuse for us to fail to fight those institutions, practices, and actions that are unjust, particularly when there are fairly simple and obvious ways for us to do this. Thus, while it is true that apathy and some of the other feelings that were discussed previously are understandable psychological responses in the face of feeling as though there is nothing one can do on one's own to fight against the injustices of capitalism, it is inexcusable to fail to change what is within one's power to change, if doing so will lessen the injustice and suffering of our nonhuman animal neighbors. Put plainly, apathy or cowardice as a response to the war that capitalism wants us to keep waging against other animals or the feelings of compassion, care, and empathy for them that most humans naturally enjoy, while understandable, is indefensible on moral grounds, given that alternatives are readily available and affordable. Accordingly, despite capitalism's prodding, and despite the psychological need to feel superior to an "other" (or "others") that most people appear to possess and which capitalism exacerbates, we nonetheless need not only to take responsibility for our role in the atrocities that happen to billions upon billions of nonhuman animals on our behalf, but also to refuse to support or participate in actions that maintain the current capitalist status quo for other animals, whenever and wherever we are in a position to do so. And *all* of us should do this, whether we are impoverished, otherwise unjustly marginalized, or affluent. This is a first and necessary step to genuine nonhuman animal liberation, since without it, as Sanbonmatsu (2011, 30) makes clear, "the future misery of billions of non-human animals is ensured." In addition, as Weisberg (2011, 192) puts it, in order to be "true to the spirit of universal social justice," one cannot ignore or "remain willfully blind to the plight of billions of sentient creatures under capitalism."

Thus, while individual action on its own cannot bring down capitalism (if only it were that simple!), *an individual's actions do matter.* They matter for that individual; they matter for other people who see—and perhaps even discuss—that individual's actions and who might be persuaded to act similarly; they matter for each and every nonhuman animal that does not suffer or lose her life because of the "courage to break free from the normalizing ideological screen" (Adams, 2014, 27) that an individual has decided to exercise in order to cease causing the undue suffering of nonhuman animals that capitalism feeds off; and they matter politically and socially, given that political and social change begins with the actions of individuals within the political communities for which change is on the horizon.[52] There is no question that if we want to bring about genuine justice for nonhuman animals, which is an essential ingredient of a truly just world, we must start by refusing to ingest or use them in other ways that are unnecessary for our survival, our health, or our thriving. So, while we may not be able to overthrow the unnecessary use, abuse, and exploitation of other animals *completely and all at once,* we can easily stop eating nonhuman animal flesh and by-products. And since doing this will affect the abuses of nonhuman animals that this chapter focused on, and eventually lead to their elimination entirely, we should immediately discontinue supporting contemporary capitalism's multibillion-dollar agriculture industry. We can do this by refusing to continue putting our unwarranted self-interest over our own health, the health of the environment, and true justice for other animals by putting down the steak knife and refusing that glass of milk and picking up a utensil that allows us to enjoy any number of delicious vegan meals, which are not only healthy and compassionate food choices, but also delicious ones.[53]

NOTES

1. As I stated in the opening paragraph of this chapter, my critical remarks in this regard apply only to those individuals who live in places in the world, such as in industrialized nations, particularly (though not exclusively) urban areas, where there are alternatives available that do not require us to use, abuse, exploit, enslave, unduly harm, or kill nonhuman animals in order to satisfy our interests. As will become clear, my focus here will be on food choices.

2. This should immediately cause readers to think of the practice of slavery, inasmuch as slaves were also considered "property" with which the owner of the "property" could do anything, with little to no restriction, legally or in the court of public opinion. There are also many other similarities between human views and treatment of other animals and slaveholders' (as well as other empowered, wealthy persons') views and treatment of slaves. However, except for a brief mention, I will not address this issue in this chapter; for readers interested in this topic, there are many good historical and contemporary works that discuss the analogy between human slavery and the treatment of nonhuman animals, including Jeremy Bentham's seminal work on utilitarianism, in which he poses the famous question about the origin of rights for sentient beings, claiming "The question is not, 'Can they reason?' nor Can they talk?' but, 'Can they suffer?'" (Bentham 1963, Chapter 17). More contemporarily, see Hirbal (2003), Nibert (2002, 2013), Noske (1997), Singer (2002, 2014), Spiegel (1997), and Torres (2007). With this list, I do not mean to exclude any of the many other good works on this comparison/intersection that are also well worth reading, which a cursory search online will reveal.

3. There are certainly important exceptions to this, wherein a shared sense of oppression, marginalization, and abuse gives rise to empathy for other suffering beings and to a sense of kinship with them, as well as to the motivation to work to bring about justice for other oppressed animals. However, there has been a good deal of work written about this, including much that examines the similarities between the nonhuman animal liberation movement and both the antislavery movement (as the previous note indicates) and the feminist movement. Again, the list of references to this work is too lengthy to reproduce here, but, with respect to the feminist literature on this topic, one would do well to read Adams (1996/2000, 2010, 2011), Donovan (1993, 2006), and MacKinnon (2004). Again, as was stated in the previous note, this list should not be taken as exhaustive, as there is a great

deal of excellent feminist scholarship on nonhuman animal liberation, much of which examines the intersection between sexism and speciesism and most of which calls for justice for other animals. In addition, for an analysis of the similarity between the Nazi genocide (i.e., what is commonly referred to as "the Holocaust") and factory farming, which, among other things, considers some Holocaust survivors who defend this analogy, and, on the basis of their profound compassion and empathy for nonhuman animal victims, call for their just treatment, see Painter (2014). On this topic, see also Davis (2004, 2005), Patterson (2002), Sztybel (2006), as well as the work of Isaac Bashevis Singer.

4. There are far too many examples of good work in this area as well to list them here. However, in addition to some of the texts listed in note 2, the following texts are certainly worth reading: Garner (1993), Harrison (2013), and Shukin (2009, 2011).

5. See Painter (2016,). The latter explicitly argues that the dissolution of capitalism is necessary if genuine nonhuman animal liberation is to be won.

6. As previously indicated, I focus my analysis in this chapter on farmed animals and food choices that humans make. The reason for this is explained shortly.

7. This is not to say that what are referred to as "free-living" nonhuman animals are not also adversely affected in significant ways because of capitalism. Having said this, the focus of my examination in this chapter is working animals, and especially factory-farmed animals, as stated previously.

8. For further discussion of this, see Painter (2016, 334).

9. See, e.g., Hribal (2003), Nibert (2013), and Painter (2016).

10. I also note this in Painter (2016, 334–335). Furthermore, in more detail, Hribal (2003, 436) notes that like human wage workers, ever since "the 17th century, a great many animals have been put to work . . . producing large monetary profits, but they have received little to no compensation or recognition for their efforts. The farms, factories, roads, forests, and mines have been their sites of their production [where] they have manufactured hair, milk, flesh, and power [for example] for the farm, factory, and mine owners . . . unwaged. Indeed, we can think of others who operate under similar circumstances: human slaves, children, home-workers, sex-workers, to name a few. The basic fact is that horses, cows, and chickens have labored, and continue to labor, under the same capitalist system as humans." It is worth emphasizing that the treatment of nonhuman animal workers is typically worse than it is for human wage workers, including many of those who are among the most exploited and abused, since, as was noted, nonhuman animals *never receive compensation for their labor, not to mention that they are under the complete control of others for their entire lives.*

11. For two very recent examples, see Pacelle (2016) and Lestell (2016). In addition, see the small but growing body of work on what is referred to as the "compassionate carnivorism" and "compassionate farming" movements, especially Friend (2009).

12. Nibert's definition and critical analysis of "domesecration" builds upon Pierre Ducros's instructive definition of "domestication," and thereby adds to the small but growing work of others who have critically examined this praxis. See Ducros (1978).

13. In addition to some of the texts that I recommended in previous notes, many of which address various forms of nonhuman animal oppression, as well as statistics

about their oppression, exploitation, and abuse within capitalism, a cursory online investigation will alert the reader to many good works that offer such analyses.

14. It is well known—even if not readily admitted by the general population—not only that the protein that is necessary for a healthy human diet need not come from animal flesh (the "protein myth") but also that a vegetable- or plant-based diet is healthier than a "meat"-based diet, particularly given that most of our "meat" comes from factory-farmed animals who are fed diets that are unnatural to them, as well as hormones and antibiotics. Information about both the protein myth and the healthier nature of a plant-based diet compared to a "meat"-based diet can be found easily online. In addition, Irving (2011) is well worth reading, especially as it not only elucidates why plant-based foods are healthier than their "meat"-based alternatives, but also why they are more sustainable and environmentally friendly. Note, however, that, as is the case with work about capitalism's negative effects on nonhuman animal life, as well as about the intersection between racism, sexism, and speciesism, there is a wealth of other good scholarship on these interrelated topics, which is certainly too expansive to refer to here but can be accessed easily online and elsewhere.

15. While many impoverished people may not be able to afford to wear expensive nonhuman animal skins or visit entertainment venues such as circuses, zoos, rodeos, and dog and horse races, or are not the beneficiaries of medical treatments (or other products and services) that have been developed and made available due to nonhuman animal testing, chances are good that they eat factory-farmed animal flesh and by-products regularly. Having said this, it bears repeating here that I am making this claim only against those impoverished people who live in areas where there are affordable alternative food choices, even if they may not be as conveniently located or seen as desirable.

16. This is also the case for most human wage workers.

17. It should be noted that these forms of abuse also occur elsewhere, including in places such as science laboratories, the clothing industry, and various entertainment venues. It should go without saying that we can thank capitalism for this.

18. Female pigs who are not pregnant or nursing are killed for their flesh since once they are no longer able to produce offspring, they are no longer "useful" to those who own them except as "pork." There are many accounts of "sow farming" that are easily accessible online.

19. For a short description of the modern milking machine, see an online encyclopedia. For some video footage of how modern milking machines operate, which shows how cows exploited for their milk experience "being milked" by these "efficient" and "cost-effective" machines, see https://www.youtube.com/watch?v=LJpKNgoUQQk.

20. For a definition of *mastitis,* see an online encyclopedia.

21. For a concise and informative account of what "veal" is and how it is "produced," see http://animalrights.about.com/od/animalsusedforfood/g/What-Is-A-Veal-Crate.htm. For some graphic images of "veal" crates, see https://www.youtube.com/watch?v=mGGZhrCsL0U.

22. For a concise and instructive general account of the treatment of "dairy cows" and their offspring on factory farms, see http://www.farmsanctuary.org/learn/factory-farming/dairy/.

23. For an extremely informative article about the treatment of chickens on today's factory farm, which is written by Karen Davis, the president of United Poultry Concerns and a well-known and respected animal liberation scholar and activist, see http://www.upc-online.org/industry/plight.html. Also see http://www.farmsanctuary.org/learn/factory-farming/chickens/. For graphic images of how male chicks are treated in factory farms, see https://www.youtube.com/watch?v=VdcHtDZDsP0.

24. In case one is under the false impression that organic or supposedly "compassionate" or "friendly" farmers are not guilty of engaging in many of the same painful practices as factory farmers, see Stănescu (2014). In this insightful piece, he not only outlines the way in which many of these practices are routinely engaged in by "compassionate farmers," but also refers to *accounts of these farmers themselves,* who explain why they "need" to use these "techniques" (namely, to make a profit). After all, this is why they are in the farming business in the first place; as these farmers admit, they are certainly not in the farming business because they love animals and want to provide sanctuary for them, despite the fact that they refer to their farms as "friendly" and "compassionate." Also see Chapter 11 of this volume, "New Weapons: 'Humane Farming,' Biopolitics, and the 'Post-Commodity Fetish,' " also by Stănescu.

25. For more on this, see Torres (2007, p. 40 and pp. 58ff).

26. For more on this subject, see Painter (2016), where I argue that the ways in which nonhuman animals are used, exploited, oppressed, and otherwise violated—i.e., "domesecrated"—within capitalism "denies them the possibility of satisfying even their most basic interests, such as eating food that is natural to their diets, being able to defecate in an area separate from where they sleep and eat, being able to socialize, or being able to move freely about, let alone live a flourishing life" (335). I further maintain that this fact can be acknowledged easily by admitting that while "many human wage workers . . . are unable to *flourish* within capitalism, many of them are at least able to enjoy positive, meaningful experiences outside of their worklives" (336, emphasis added), which is not the case for nonhuman animal workers. I want to emphasize, however, that I do not point this out in order to diminish the severity of the exploitation, impoverishment, and, in many cases, suffering of human workers; rather, I simply wish to emphasize the gravity of the exploitation, suffering, and misery that other animals (especially factory-farmed animals) experience.

27. In focusing on the treatment of factory-farmed animals within capitalism, I do not mean to imply that other nonhuman animals, especially other working animals, are not also abused, exploited, and made to suffer unduly in capitalism (as well as "free-living" other animals, who are also affected negatively by capitalist economies). Indeed, as I stated early in this chapter, I have focused on the treatment of factory-farmed animals because they are among the most abused and exploited in capitalism and because most humans are in a position to immediately change the fate of factory-farmed animals by changing their food choices, whereas this change may not be immediately feasible regarding other choices involving the use and exploitation of nonhuman animals. And it may not be necessary, at least not in the case of impoverished human populations who might not support other industries, such as the clothing and entertainment industries within which nonhuman

animals are also made to suffer unnecessarily, insofar as they cannot afford to benefit from the products and services of these industries.

28. It should be noted, however, not only that there are significant restrictions to existing animal welfare laws, including that farm animals that are used for food production are not covered by them, but also that the laws that are in place are not adequately enforced, due to a lack of resources (not to mention political will) to enforce them. For a full statement of the Animal Welfare Act (1966), its various amendments, and explanations of its many sections, including information about the animals that it does and does not cover, see http://awic.nal.usda.gov/government-and-professional-resources/federal-laws/animal-welfare-act. Stănescu (2014) discusses that so-called animal welfare laws, as well as industry standards regarding organic and "friendly" farming, routinely go unenforced, even according to "friendly farmers" themselves (see note 24 for citation). It should be noted that the deficient nature of "animal welfare" laws and the fact that they are mostly unenforced—indeed, that the agriculture business is largely self-regulating—is readily available, as a quick Internet search will demonstrate.

29. See Painter (2016), where I argue that "capitalism *must* use non-human animals in this way because it is focused on capital accumulation and profit maximization, and the use of animals as mere instruments, property, and means of production is one of the primary ways for these goals to be achieved especially since non-human animals provide important sources of desired labour who, unlike humans (at least in principle), are powerless to fight against their exploitation, oppression, and abuse" (341).

30. Recall that I argue that this change in how we think about, relate to, and treat nonhuman animals should be made by everyone, regardless of whether one is an oppressed working or nonworking impoverished person, a capitalist owner of the means of production, or a person who fits somewhere between these two groups.

31. This is especially true for those living in urban areas within industrialized nations; however, I do not exclude those living in rural areas, though I admit that making alternative, plant-based food choices will be less convenient than it is in urban regions, where many food options are more readily available.

32. There is much critical work available on speciesism. I would be remiss, however, if I did not also recommend the following: Francione (1995, 2002) and Regan (1983). However, the reader should note that just about any text written or edited by these two scholars is worth looking at; this is also true of Francione's blog (http://www.abolitionistapproach.com/), to which he posts regularly; and Regan's website (http://tomregan.info/). As has been mentioned previously, there are many other good works that I have not listed here or in previous notes which critically examine speciesism and ultimately argue for its indefensibility.

33. By "appropriate amounts," I simply want to note that despite the sad fact that many impoverished people are what is referred to as "food insecure" due to the food production and distribution systems that capitalism employs for the sake of profitability—indeed, it is fairly common knowledge that sufficient resources exist to feed the world's people if food were not produced and distributed as it currently is—it is nonetheless the case that particularly in industrial nations, many persons, even impoverished persons, eat more food (or the wrong kind of food) than is

required for a healthy diet, which brings up the cost of their food purchases. In addition, contrary to common opinion, many plant-based foods, which are not only healthy, but also delicious and available, are actually more affordable than their nonhealthy, "meat"-based alternatives, even if they are less convenient to acquire in some places. For an instructive article on food insecurity, see http://12.000.scripts.mit.edu/mission2014/problems/lack-of-empowerment-of-the-food-insecure-population; note, however, that this is just one of many articles, not to mention books, which are written about this topic and are easy to access.

34. See note 14.

35. See note 14.

36. See note 3.

37. See note 3.

38. I would argue that individuals *should* expect this, even though what this entails would surely not be identical for all individuals. In any case, I will not advocate for this here, as it would take me too far afield from the main thesis of this chapter.

39. Although there are many nonhuman animal liberation theorists and advocates who have remarked on this, I would be remiss if I failed to emphasize, once again, the research of feminist nonhuman animal theorists. See note 3 for references to some of this important work.

40. It should go without saying that human genocide is by far the most radical form of excluding certain groups of humans who are defined as "other," given that the victims of genocide are not only excluded from receiving certain resources, rights, and privileges, but their very lives are taken from them. I will briefly discuss the differences and similarities between the mass killing of humans and the mass killing of nonhuman animals who are used for food in what follows.

41. See Painter (2014). See note 3 for citation information.

42. There are exceptions to this, including customs and traditions involving the burial of nonhuman animals that have been killed and used for food and other purposes in which various indigenous peoples engage.

43. While it is true that some nonhuman animals are killed for committing actions that result in harming someone (e.g., zoo and circus animals, and even companion animals), these are not the actions that I have in mind here. But even if I did, I would still argue that in most of these cases, it is morally illegitimate to kill these other animals, given that their harmful acts are not things for which they can reasonably be held responsible; rather, their human "owners," as well as the capitalist system within which these institutions operate, which include zoos, other entertainment venues, the keeping of pets, and so on, are the responsible parties.

44. Power (2002) critically analyzes how it is possible for otherwise law-abiding and (in her words) "decent" American civilians and political decision-makers and actors to routinely turn a blind eye to the mass murder (i.e., human genocide) (XVI; see also back cover) that is committed in various parts of the world, and how, in this way, they—we—"support" it (see, especially, 216).

45. Although, in principle, I *would* criticize this, I do not offer this criticism here.

46. There is an abundance of work available in the human-animal studies literature, as well as the nonhuman animal liberation scholarship, that treats nonhuman animal cognition and other capacities in comparison to human capacities, which

is far too extensive to offer here, especially as it is not necessary to draw upon this work for my analysis. A cursory search on the Internet will produce many results worth reading, if the reader is interested in this work and is not already aware of it.

47. I do not discuss this ground of speciesist hubris, or the acts that arise therefrom, in this chapter; instead, my focus is on other psychological and social factors, as will become evident in what directly follows.

48. As just one example, see Weisberg, Zipporah (2011). Weisberg, to whom I refer shortly, analyzes the important work of Freud, as well as some critical Frankfurt School theorists, including Theodor Adorno, Max Horkheimer, and Herbert Marcuse, with respect to many of their most important critical concepts, including repression, aggression, various forms of false consciousness, ambivalence, fear, and the uncanny.

49. It should go without saying that this separation usually is not something that nonaffluent persons have chosen.

50. See, for example, Adams (2014, 27); Weisberg (2011); and Regan (2014).

51. Probably the (still) most well respected critical analysis of the various ways in which capitalism—or the capitalist class—uses its economic, social, and political power to dominate the media and other important cultural venues in order to persuade people to adopt its capitalist ideology (despite that it is not in most people's interest to do this) is Adorno and Horkheimer (1972). There are many other contemporary analyses that address this topic, which, once again, a cursory Internet search will reveal.

52. One simply needs to think about the civil rights movement and other fights for justice throughout the world, historically and in contemporary times, to appreciate the truth of this claim.

53. I continue to be amazed by how many people believe that vegans eat only salad and fruit and do not enjoy a wide array of food items and vegan meals, which are beyond mouthwatering.

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13

Capitalizing on Nature, Naturalizing Capitalism: An Analysis of the "Livestock Revolution," Planetary Boundaries, and Green Tendencies in the Animal-Industrial Complex

Livia Boscardin

INTRODUCTION

What happens when McDonald's boasts about its "sustainable burgers"? How can we theoretically classify the assertion that "meat" consumption correlates with the gross domestic product (GDP)? And by what means can we understand the frenzy about Ben & Jerry's new vegan ice cream?

This chapter offers a theoretical analysis of these phenomena, scrutinizing the intersections of nonhuman animal exploitation and environmental destruction in green capitalism. Green capitalism is hereby framed as a *mirror move* of naturalization and capitalization. Capitalism is naturalized, and nature is capitalized on. Power structures in the world system are securitized through diverse distractions and a depoliticization of societal issues: That is how contingency is reduced and the till keeps ringing.

The goal here is to examine and deconstruct such processes in the animal-industrial complex (A-IC). After an introduction to some characteristics of the complex and its considerable contribution to the crossing of planetary boundaries, naturalized and green tendencies in the killing-for-profit-sector are portrayed and critically examined. First, I discuss the "livestock revolution," an alleged upsurge in the consumption of products from nonhuman animal exploitation in the Majority World. The terms *Majority World* and *Minority World* aim to replace Eurocentric, colonial, or otherwise unsatisfactory dichotomies like *developing/developed* and *Global South/Global North.* The topical term "defines the community in terms of what it has, rather than what it lacks. In time, the Majority World will reaffirm its place in a world where the Earth will again belong to the people who walk on it," according to Alam, the originator of the terminology (2008, 87).

The United Nations (UN) Food and Agriculture Organization (FAO) and other international institutions describe the "livestock revolution" as an inexorable, natural evolution in the course of globalization and modernization, but I will propose an alternative interpretation. Second, I analyze recent phenomena like "happy meat," in vitro "meat" (IVM), and vegan consumerism. Throughout the text, alleged facts are questioned and laws of nature dismantled. Finally, I reflect on the repercussions of green capitalism for nonhuman animal and Earth liberation in the age of the Capitalocene.

GREEN CAPITALISM

The Mirror Move

Green capitalism is generally understood as implementing environmental measures and technologies in corporate policies (i.e., greening economic growth). Yet, in this chapter, I will introduce a theoretical model (or, rather, *move*) with which the nature of the oxymoron *green capitalism* should be grasped. On the one hand, I understand green capitalism as a move to naturalize control and capitalism (by *control,* I mean societal regulation and ordering mechanisms). On the other hand, green capitalism is a program meant to control and capitalize on nature. In a nutshell, I propose a double effect, or *mirror move,* of naturalization and capitalization.

Naturalizing Control and Capitalism

The first move of naturalizing societal control and capitalism is to establish a strategy that legitimizes a certain societal order; racism, sexism, homophobia, or any form of hierarchy and power relationship are being securitized and stabilized through the *ontologization* and *biologization* of "the order of things" and the violent notion of "normalcy." Therefore, otherwise contingent and highly political situations are depoliticized. A discussion of these "facts" or a struggle for alternatives is excluded. In our case of naturalization in green capitalism, biological models are applied to society, and vice versa. These concepts mainly stem from systems ecology and hide social realities like inequality, conflicts, and power structures. Examples of this include the approach of "invasive species," the framing of a "population explosion," the language of "resilience" (such as "resilient populations" in face of climate change, implying that the "natural state" of a given society is a harmonious equilibrium to which it should be able to return to after a shock), and, finally, the dogma of a linear development of human societies culminating in the "modern" Euro-colonizer or Minority World civilization. This so-called modernization theory, originating in the 1960s, might nowadays be academically outdated, but it is still lurking in global politics and "development" policies. The whole idea of development itself implies that there is a universal way and direction to grow, mature, and ripen (Rist 2014). With this move, inequalities in societal space are defined as different stages in time (Hornborg 2009).

Controlling and Capitalizing on Nature

Green capitalism's second move is to control and capitalize on nature. While the definition of nature has been and continues to be shaped by social categories, the dominant application of strictly economic abstractions for nature, the sheer conceptualization of nature as a market, and hence the conflation of business with the nonhuman environment, resulting in a "green economy," constitute a singular evolution. Typical notions are "natural capital," "ecosystem services," "green accounting," or the "decoupling" of human activities from natural cycles (compare for instance a report on decoupling by UNEP (2011)). This articulation of green capitalism heavily influences the discourse of sustainable development. Sustainable development's founding document, the Brundtland Report, identified "underdevelopment" and poverty as reasons for the environmental crisis and, hence, economic growth as the go-to solution (WCED 1987), as if poverty were a naturally occurring, apolitical phenomenon and did not have a counterpart, wealth (Boscardin 2015). The philosophy that synthesizes all these concepts is *ecological modernization theory,* the green version of its predecessor, modernization theory. Societies of the Minority World are posed on top of the ladder of a linear, societal development because of their "advanced" environmental protection. More concretely, ecological modernization is a social theory from the 1980s with a political agenda arguing for a viable and even profitable combination of environmental conservation and economic profit. This combo is fostered through voluntary regulations and new technologies. Hence, not only is it possible to solve the environmental crisis with innovation, management, and economic growth, it is even a win-win situation. Nature is a market: To ensure the sustainable use of environmental services such as water, resources need a monetary value applied to them; environmental damage is equally allocated a price, a prominent example being carbon dioxide emission certificates.

It is crystal clear that ecological modernization disregards the impossibility of infinite growth in a finite world and the inherent problems of the Minority World's consumerist capitalist society. Technological progress is seen as a decontextualized, apolitical "magic wand of ingenuity," and not as the "index of capital accumulation, privileged resource consumption, and the displacement of both work and environmental loads" that it actually constitutes (Malm and Hornborg 2014, 64). As one might guess, the promise that ecological modernization—and, ultimately, sustainable development—can combat the ecological crisis with environmental regulations and poverty with green growth has proven wrong: Global inequality and environmental destruction are escalating (Foster 2003; Görg 2011).

Dealing with Distractions

The concept expressed in the heading of this section was the title of an activist-academic 'zine on the climate summit in Copenhagen in 2009 (Passadakis et al. 2009). The mirror move of green capitalism to naturalize capitalism and capitalize on nature transforms debatable social questions into either indisputable biological facts or issues of technology or governance. This trick serves as a potent distraction from political conflicts, ongoing injustices, and power structures. The ecological crisis is further instrumentalized to justify a (seemingly) green reactionary agenda, such as restricting immigration, controlling populations, or blaming "the poor" as scapegoats for the crisis (Passadakis et al. 2009). Throughout this chapter, I will focus on distractions in the fields of animal exploitation, society, and ecology.

NONHUMAN ANIMAL EXPLOITATION AND ECOLOGY

The Global A-IC

Without going into too much detail, I will present some constitutive characteristics of the A-IC (Noske 1989). First, the A-IC is expressed through the unimaginable violence and horror of exploited nonhuman beings. In 2013, 69 billion nonhuman land animals[1] were killed for food production; i.e., these sentient individuals were raised, exploited, and ultimately slaughtered in order to sell their eggs, milk, organs, or mere flesh. The rather inconceivable number of 69 billion encompasses 61.2 billion chickens, 2.9 billion ducks, 1.4 billion pigs, 1.2 billion rabbits, 1 billion sheep and goats, 0.7 billion fowl, 0.6 billion turkeys, 0.3 billion "cattle," and numerous other individuals (FAOSTAT 2016). By weight, world "meat" production has more than quadrupled in the last five decades, from 71 to 297 million tons (Weis 2013b); an astronomic rise in "meat" production and consumption is currently happening in eastern Asia (Allievi, Vinnari, and Luukkanen 2015). Such tremendously high figures are only possible through a drastic growth of intensified production (Heinrich Böll Foundation and Friends of the Earth Europe 2014). Globally, around 80 percent of all farmed animals are raised in intensified, industrial settings, so-called Concentrated Animal Feeding Operations (CAFOs) (Schneider 2014). Subsequently, corporate consolidation is ruling out smaller farms. Regarding the nonhuman animal species killed, the killing of cows (and other ruminants) has been largely overridden by the slaughter of chickens and pigs (Steinfeld et al. 2006)—these farmed animals are "good feed converters" and can forcibly be confined in very small spaces. Finally, without governmental support, most notably exorbitant subsidies, the industry would be ailing. In the European Union, subsidies amounted to $190 per individual cow in 2014; in China, they totaled $47 per pig in 2012 (Bailey, Froggatt, and Wellesley 2014).[2]

Planetary Boundaries and the Anthropocene

As alluded to earlier in this chapter, five decades of sustainable development, or rather, green capitalism, have resulted in a full-blown environmental crisis. In 2009, and with an update in 2015, environmental scientists identified and quantified a set of nine "planetary boundaries" within which humanity can continue to live for generations to come (Rockström et al. 2009; Steffen et al. 2015) and which would lead to irreversible environmental changes if crossed. The boundaries are climate change, change in biosphere integrity (biodiversity loss and species extinction), stratospheric ozone depletion, ocean acidification, biogeochemical flows (phosphorus and nitrogen cycles), land-system change, freshwater use, atmospheric aerosol loading, and the introduction of novel entities. The boundaries of climate change, biosphere integrity, land-system change, and biogeochemical flows have already been crossed due to anthropogenic influence (Steffen et al. 2015). The planetary boundaries model has faced scientific (Blomqvist, Nordhaus, and Shellenberger 2012) as well as political criticism, in as much as such parameters should be the object of societal negotiation and not of abstract scientific calculation (Görg 2015).[3] While the latter is a valid claim, the ecomodernist vision that the critics represent for their part might overestimate the potential of innovation and technology to deal with natural disasters.

Another key term to describe current environmental conditions is the *Anthropocene*, or as in the original publication, *geology of mankind* (Crutzen 2002), as a new designation for the current geological epoch, where humans alter earth system processes. In contrast to the creators of the planetary boundaries concept, who were cautious about naming reasons for environmental destruction, Crutzen boldly draws this worrying situation back to a *human condition* or *nature*—a clever, sneaky move. “Human nature?” “Mankind?” On closer examination, the Anthropocene is not the age of “man,” but of a small capitalist elite. Inequality, rather than equality, is the precondition for our modern, fossil fuel-based economy, with the technological capacity of a given society being but a reflection of its position in the world system (Hornborg 2009).

One root cause of this novel epoch marked by the progressing destruction of nature is resource exploitation for endless economic growth. Yet the increase in the value of goods and services over time does not serve the primary needs of the Earth’s inhabitants, be they human or nonhuman; it aids the accumulation of capital by an elite. “Capitalocene” might thus be a better description of this new relationship with the biosphere (Moore 2014). And the Capitalocene is not only the result of the past centuries’ extractivist industrialization, but also of European colonialism (Lightfoot et al. 2013). Quijano’s (2000) “coloniality of power” encapsulates the colonial nature of the capitalist world system whose core zones still dovetail with predominantly white societies, and where racial/ethnic hierarchies are constitutive of the global division of labor (Grosfoguel 2004). In sum, the Anthropocene is a successful distraction from underlying global power structures—capitalism, colonialism, and human domination over nature—and from differentiated responsibilities for the environmental crisis.

The A-IC and Environmental Destruction

Despite its shortcomings, the planetary boundaries model can vividly illustrate the “ecological hoofprint” (Weis 2013b) of the A-IC. Starting with climate change, the complex is responsible for 14.5 percent (Gerber et al. 2013) to 51 percent (Goodland and Anhang 2009) of global greenhouse gas emissions. Whereas the exact percentage varies from study to study, it is agreed that it surpasses the emissions of the global transport sector (Gerber et al. 2013; Goodland and Anhang 2009). Moreover, the exploitation of cows is the biggest source of anthropogenic methane emissions (Ripple et al. 2013).

If we check the boundary land-system change, the industry occupies an incredible 45 percent of global land surface (Thornton, Herrero, and Ericksen 2011), 78 percent of agricultural land, and 33 percent of cropland on Earth (Steinfeld et al. 2006). In view of this massive area, Schneider (2014,

614) developed the thought-provoking concept of “meat grabbing” related to land grabbing. A total of 70 percent of Amazon deforestation can be attributed to the A-IC (Emel and Neo 2011). Considering these numbers, it is not surprising that the industry is the single largest driver of species extinction due to deforestation for pasture and crop fields and subsequent land degradation (boundary biosphere integrity) (Machovina, Feeley, and Ripple 2015), and the primary user worldwide of reactive nitrogen as fertilizer (boundary biogeochemical flows) (Sutton et al. 2011; Pelletier and Tyedmers 2010). With respect to the boundary freshwater use, the complex consumes a third of global freshwater resources yearly (Mekonnen and Hoekstra 2012). The industry is also a top polluter of rivers and streams by runoff of fertilizers, pesticides, and other contaminants, and subsequent nutrient overabundance contributing to the crossing of the boundary ocean acidification (Eshel et al. 2014).

Such destruction on a planetary scale has severe social consequences. Focusing on the exploitation of natural resources, the gigantic area covered, and the colossal inputs like energy, water, and fertilizers deployed by the nonhuman animal industry, I will scrutinize the massive flow of crops used as feed. Out of the total forecast global cereal utilization in 2015–2016, amounting to 2,523 million tons, 903 million tons are deployed as feed (35 percent), while just a slightly higher amount—1,096 million tons—is processed as human food (43 percent) (FAO 2016). Oilseeds like soybeans are not included in this figure: The bulk of soybean production goes to farmed animals (Heuzé and Tran 2015; Weis 2013a). With almost 1 billion people chronically suffering from starvation, an additional billion malnourished (UNCTAD 2013), and 2 billion people lacking access to water in the next decade (FAO Water 2013), this unequal distribution of crops amounts to sheer murder, especially since more than a third of these feed grains are cultivated in the Majority World (MacLachlan 2015). Nevertheless, we have to consider that current food production could feed the whole world. Hunger is thus not only a problem of production, but a much more complex problem of distribution, and a result of different natural, socioeconomic and historic factors and institutions: Hunger is a political issue. To put matters into perspective, it helps to compare the use of grains for biofuels and for feed. If biofuels are problematic, then nonhuman animal feed—as a conversion of grains (i.e., cheap and healthy food) into flesh (i.e., a very expensive commodity for a societal elite)—is equally so. In 2009, 16 percent of global corn production has been used for biofuels (Locke et al. 2013), while 60 percent was fed to farmed animals (FAO Commodities and Trade Division 2002). In 2012, less than 1 percent of global wheat production was converted into biofuel, while 16 percent ended up in feed troughs (Locke et al. 2013; FAO 2013b). It doesn’t help that the A-IC often paves the way (or clears the forest) for the production of biofuels. And, fundamentally, the complex is entangled with the processes of colonization and the violent displacement of indigenous people (Nibert 2013).

Climate change is also massively affecting human lives. The International Organization for Migration (IOM) estimates that by 2050, there will be about 200 million climate refugees, which is the same amount as international migrants today (IOM 2014); nonetheless, it can be noted that the UN discourse on climate refugees tends to naturalize and depoliticize climate change (Methmann and Oels 2015).

Apart from these examples of environmental racism, the A-IC also bears further social repercussions such as precarious and traumatizing work conditions, increases in domestic violence, and health issues in regions with CAFOs—realities that unfortunately cannot be expanded upon here.

GREEN TENDENCIES IN THE A-IC

The "Livestock Revolution": Naturalization and Capitalization

The so-called "livestock revolution" is a planned upsurge, an almost doubling of the production of nonhuman animal bodies and secretions by 2050. The term itself, referring to the agricultural "green revolution" of the 1960s, originated in a joint discussion paper by the International Food Policy Research Institute, the International Livestock Research Institute, and the FAO from 1999 (Delgado et al. 1999) and has been developed since then. According to the paper, this increase is due to a growing demand for products from nonhuman animal exploitation in the Majority World caused by both population and income growth and urbanization (Delgado et al. 2000). The institutions further assert that this revolution "is a rare opportunity for smallholder farmers to benefit from a rapidly growing market" (Delgado et al. 2000, 10). Conversely, while the FAO et al. present the "livestock revolution" as a natural, inevitable, and even desirable process, a more critical account of it questions its unavoidability. It is argued that the "livestock revolution" is a form of deliberate and directed change in global nutrition. Diets are being "meatified," and this "meatification" is not only a reflection of global injustice—for the reasons already laid out—but also an exacerbation and reproduction of this injustice (Weis 2013b). Rather than philanthropically feeding and "modernizing the poor" with products from nonhuman animal exploitation (Twine 2012, 13–14), international lobbies and corporations are trying to capture new markets in view of stagnating turnover of animal foods in the Minority World (Sanbonmatsu 2011). In this sense, UN discourses on poverty eradication and green growth in reality constitute processes of economic and cultural imperialism. In addition, the revolution's portrayal as something natural, as a humanitarian imperative, and, thanks to processes of sustainable intensification (The Royal Society 2009), even as something ecological, serves to legitimate an ever-increasing exploitation of nonhuman animals. In essence, the "livestock revolution" is not as revolutionary as depicted. Rather than a global phenomenon, it is regional, affecting only a few countries and not all products from nonhuman animal exploitation. Even on a smaller scale, there are significant differences between classes and between rural and urban areas. What's more, the increase in "meat" consumption can predominantly be assigned to mere population growth (Pica-Ciamarra and Otte 2011). Cross-country evaluations show that in Asia, with growing GDP, fish consumption is increasing on a much higher scale than "meat" consumption. In the Minority World, the opposite is true. Also, "meat" consumption is more widespread in temperate regions than in subarctic/arctic and tropical regions (York and Gossard 2004). Statistically speaking, the Minority World's diet is the outlier, not the average; it is the exception, not the norm to follow.

Despite all these insights, the "livestock revolution" discourse remains uncontested, almost like a self-fulfilling prophecy. This should not come as a surprise because the "nutrition transition" is presented as a law of nature (Schneider 2014, 616). "The Livestock Revolution is propelled by demand. People in developing countries are increasing their consumption from the very low levels of the past, and they have a long way to go before coming near developed country averages" (Delgado et al. 2000, 2). Again, different continents and cultures are put on a unidirectional, "meaty" modernization ladder, with the Minority World's society on top.

To come back to economic and cultural imperialism, the "livestock revolution" equals a whole mode of production and consumption that is occupying and intruding the Majority World. MacLachlan (2015, 36) describes it as the "agro-industrial model based on economies of scale and the integrated industrial-grain-oilseed-livestock complex." Nonhuman bodies are tortured, exploited, and mutilated. Human bodies are colonized through the detrimental health effects of consuming nonhuman animal parts and secretions, and minds are colonized through the symbolic power of "meat" as a symbol for progress, success, and masculinity. Fields and markets are colonized through industrial production and new terms of trade.

In summary, while the Minority World is predominantly responsible for the bulk of the ecological dilemma and "meat" consumption—consuming roughly three times more than the Majority World (Steinfeld and Chilonda 2006)—the purposed changes, in the forms of intensification and new regulations, should mainly take place in the Majority World (Steinfeld et al. 2006). Notably, extensive and subsistence agriculture of "the poor" is blamed for environmental degradation and inefficiency (Steinfeld et al. 2006).

So, again, what were the benefits of the "livestock revolution" for "the poor"? The myth of nonhuman animal "husbandry" as a pathway out of poverty can quickly be debunked (Dijkman 2009). Initial capital is needed, and the farmed animals, prone to diseases, are also a risky investment. Most important, changing economic conditions are not favorable for smallholders. The market is dominated by highly engineered, huge "meat"-packing companies (Emel and Neo 2015). "Livestock intensification" benefits those who already own land, nonhuman animals, and feed, and those who also have access to technology (Millar and Photakoun 2008). Other disadvantageous tendencies include rising food quality standards, booming urban markets favoring periurban intensified production, the aforementioned exploitation shift from ruminants reared on public grasslands to monogastric species kept in CAFOs and fed with grains, and grain price spikes (MacLachlan 2015). In these times and conditions, the benefits of nonhuman animal exploitation for the "rural poor" are more than doubtful.

For a moment, let us return to limits to growth. The "livestock revolution" is ambivalent to limits and just lets them grow. The projected revolution alone, without including any other global sector like energy or transport, would engender global warming of 2°C by 2050—not by 2100, as the Intergovernmental Panel on Climate Change (IPCC) scenario predicts (Bajželj et al. 2014). In addition, reactive nitrogen mobilization would increase by 36 percent above reported levels in the year 2000 (Pelletier and Tyedmers 2010). It remains equally unclear where the necessary resources and land should come from to grow crops or create pastures. Keyzer et al. (2005) project a global demand of almost 1,900 million tons of cereals for "meat" production by 2030. The FAO forecasts are far more modest: By 2020, they predict a need for 928 million tons (FAO 2005). On any account, world cereal production in 2015 prospectively totals 2,525 million tons (FAO 2016). This means that first, cereal production must increase tremendously and second, that a big share of this vitally needed food goes directly into feed troughs.

Happy "Meat": Naturalizing Capitalism

While the "livestock revolution" has far-reaching consequences, affecting the lives of millions of nonhuman and human animals and yet getting relatively little attention, novel products like "happy meat" or "organic milk" are extraordinarily prominent and dominate the imagery of supermarkets and lifestyle 'zines in the Minority World, notwithstanding their limited empiric occurrence. Stănescu (2011) has offered an excellent critical analysis of the phenomenon—not only deconstructing the purported "sustainability" of these commodities, but also dismantling their speciesist and antiemancipatory nature. Happy "meat" is nothing less than "greenwashing" bloody nonhuman animal exploitation: Despite lacking a quantitative assessment of environmental benefit, the "green" label is put forward as a marketing strategy to divert attention from the persisting ethical issues. Effectively, sustainable "meat" has nothing to do with sustainability; rather, it is meant to produce warm, fuzzy feelings through the purchase of seemingly ethically raised and killed pieces of nonhuman bodies. As Stănescu describes, the actual percentage of nonhuman animals slaughtered in a "happy, sustainable way" is minimal; nonetheless, the discourse on sustainable "meat" is prevalent. At the end of the day, the powerful "green" rhetoric serves as reformation, naturalization, and legitimization of nonhuman animal exploitation in general.

IVM: Capitalizing on Nature

IVM, or lab-grown tissue, is a high-tech scientific and corporate undertaking that promises a reduction in both nonhuman animal suffering and environmental impact (for an introduction to the topic, see Datar and Betti 2010; Post 2012). Indeed, the ecological footprint of IVM is much smaller than the enormous ecological hoofprint of the A-IC (Tuomisto and Teixeira de Mattos 2011), and the number of killed nonhumans could be significantly diminished through this state-of-the-art method, although fetal bovine serum is still a necessary ingredient of the current cultivating process (Jochems et al. 2002). However, if we take a closer look at the production and politics of IVM, it appears that this exemplary ecomodernist project—at least until now—has failed to address the very pressing issues of social justice and nonhuman animal liberation.

Compared to happy "meat," IVM does not pretend to a purported "naturalness." It is not about being warm and fuzzy; its attributes are neon-green, cutting-edge, and futuristic. From a speciesist, green capitalist lens, IVM is the perfect example of a successful replacement of natural capital through artificial capital. This high-tech product inscribes itself in the ecological modernization mindset, claiming to solve environmental problems with the market with a new, resource-intensive technology. Further, IVM outspokenly caters to the societal elite. Prevailing companies want to create high-end products for the rich (for an interesting, differing analysis, see Miller 2012). Lab-grown "meat," therefore, is *not* an emancipatory, community-based project to satisfy primary needs. On the contrary, millions of dollars are invested to produce one tech-"hamburger," while millions of people suffer from starvation. The ecomodernist invention thus focuses on the hunger for "meat" of a green-oriented, high-tech elite, ignoring the ongoing famine of the rest of the world. It distracts attention from already existing, cheap, organic, and ecological plant-based alternatives, and, when it comes to nonhuman animals, it can perpetuate the speciesist idea that it is normal to eat nonhuman flesh.

Veganism: Greening Capitalism

In addition to the emerging markets mentioned, another green market is opening up—one not based on the products of nonhuman animal exploitation, but more for people who do not consume them: the vegans.

Vegan cookbooks, restaurants, and products have increased in popularity; even "meat" and "dairy" corporations are jumping on the bandwagon, creating plant-based alternatives to their traditionally farmed animal-based products. The profound and sensitive paradigm of nonhuman animal liberation has been reduced to a mere brand; capitalism has succeeded in coopting and integrating this formerly highly radical political ideal.

To be clear, this is *not* a critique of veganism as a principle: Just because an emancipatory vision is being marketed, it doesn't mean that the vision itself is bad; if an anarchy symbol is sold as an expensive designer print, it is not anarchy's fault. Instead, this is a critique of the broader nonhuman animal liberation movement, blinded by distractions (or, to apply a metaphor, stuffed with Ben & Jerry's new vegan ice cream). Important questions for analysis include: Why does upscale vegan food get so much more attention than a public demonstration or successful direct action against the industry? Why is it that people are so excited about new commodities when the movement itself is meant to fight the commodification of nonhuman animals and nature in general?

The focus on consumer politics can be read as a sign of an insidious depoliticization and deradicalization of the nonhuman animal rights movement. Activists are turning into happy, peaceful consumers, keeping calm and going vegan, believing they could solve the environmental crisis through buying a product with the "v-label" in a supermarket instead of being a thorn in the side of the business sector and the state. The glittery bubble of a "vegan cupcakes" wonderland clouds their view of the global reality of capitalist exploitation and colonial appropriation of nature, human animals, and nonhuman animals. Nonhuman animal liberation does have a history within radical politics, but the dominance of consumerism contributed to its isolation within a broader network of emancipatory and anticapitalist groups. While the blatant state repression also led to a chilling effect on more radical activist segments, self-inflicted reasons for the movement's loneliness remain, including the self-righteousness and narrow-mindedness of certain nonhuman animal rights activists, who, due to their privileged social status—e.g., being white, middle class, able-bodied, Euro-settlers, and passport holders—are ignorant about societal hierarchies.

CONCLUSION: SOLIDARITY AND RESISTANCE

The goal of this chapter has been to examine and deconstruct the processes of naturalization and capitalization in the A-IC. The mirror move of naturalizing capitalism and capitalizing on nature serves as a tool to understand the intersections of nonhuman animal exploitation and environmental destruction in green capitalism. While the A-IC contributes manifoldly to the crossing of planetary boundaries, we have to continuously contest scientific models, such as the Anthropocene, that try to ontologize the depletion and degradation of the biosphere. It can be said that the "livestock revolution" works with the green capitalist agenda in two main ways. First, it is a biologized tendency, naturalizing societal regulation such as the neocolonial "meatification" of the diet. Second, it builds on the capitalization of nature through green growth and sustainable intensification. Its "meaty" modernization ladder, as well as its belief in technology and the growth of limits, beautifully fit ecological modernization theory. "Happy meat" is a gruesome diversionary tactic that naturalizes and legitimates nonhuman animal exploitation. IVM constitutes another articulation of green capitalism. The ecomodernist project par excellence capitalizes on nature, converting "natural capital" into artificial capital, and wants to save the world by creating a new market for luxury goods. Vegan consumerism, for its part, shows how capitalism coopts and converts radical ideas into vehicles for green growth.

What remains in the face of the quite cunning strategy of capitalization and naturalization and the concomitant exploitation and devastation on a planetary scale? Clearly, there is a need for thorough inquiry and a firm practical response to the attack on our lives. If we are serious about the broader picture—about the domination of nature, the crossing of planetary boundaries, and the violence inflicted not only upon nonhuman animals, but also upon workers and communities—then we should take part not only in the nonhuman animal liberation movement, but also in a wider anticapitalist, anarchist struggle: rebelling against the ontologization of oppression, in solidarity with nonhuman resistance and other radical groups fighting for environmental and social justice. As Kay (2014, 45) states: "We have to move beyond the distractions that prevent us as a movement from creating real change and mobilizing meaningful opposition to the structures that keep [nonhuman] animal exploitation productive and lucrative: i.e., Capitalism, colonialism, industrialization, urbanization, patriarchy, globalization. Every time that we don't oppose manifestations of these forms of power as a movement, we lose one for the [nonhuman] animals."

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NOTES

1. The following section is about animal *agriculture*. Much of the described trends also apply to aquaculture, which currently "produces" almost half of the globally consumed dead fish, crustaceans, mollusks, and other marine individuals (FAOSTAT 2014), and whose "yield" has multiplied tenfold since 1980 (Weis 2013b).

2. This paragraph is based on Boscardin and Bossert (2015). For a thrilling overview and analysis of tendencies in the complex, see Heinrich Böll Foundation and Friends of the Earth Europe (2014).

3. For a defense by the planetary boundaries team, see Rockström (2015).

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Animal Oppression and Capitalism

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Animal Oppression and Capitalism

Volume 2: The Oppressive and Destructive Role of Capitalism

David Nibert, Editor

Art by Sue Coe

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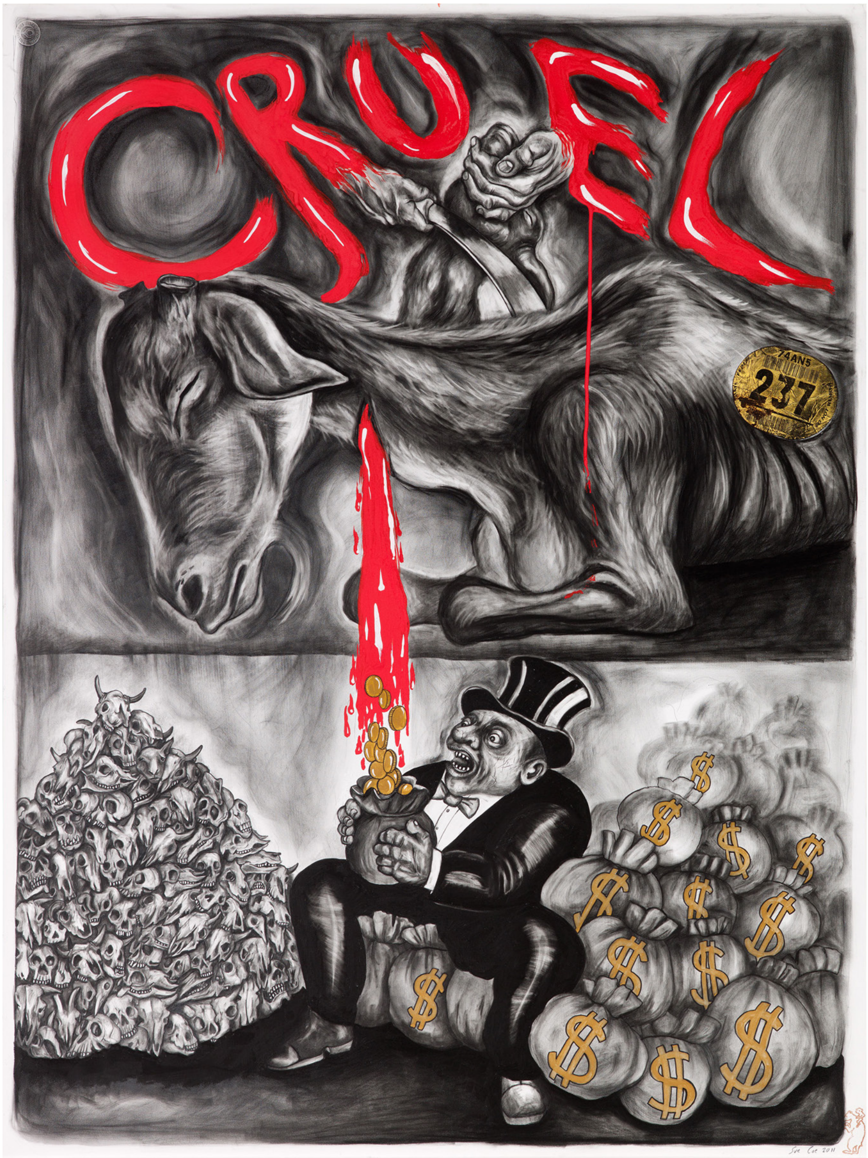
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1

Capitalism and Speciesism

John Sanbonmatsu

Speciesism, or the system by which human beings dominate, exploit, and kill other conscious beings for their purposes, precedes capitalist development by thousands of years. Humans hunted or fished nonhuman animals for a variety of communal purposes for countless generations, killing them for food, for clothing, for art, or to propitiate hidden gods. However, for all their brutality toward the other beings, humans by and large did not kill the latter indiscriminately, and they viewed other animals not merely as things but as powerful beings in their own right—as entities who possessed spirits and were integral to the cosmological order. Human power was thus held partially in check by religious and metaphysical beliefs that set limits on human practices and rituals of killing.

With the advent of capitalist relations, however, beginning around the sixteenth century in Europe, the last cultural and practical fetters to total human dominion fell away. On the one hand, the scientific and technological revolutions—themselves largely artifacts of capitalism—vastly amplified humans' powers of dominion over other natural beings. On the other hand, the emergence of a profit-based system of economic development created vast new global markets for nonhuman products. By the end of the twentieth century, speciesism under advanced capitalist conditions had at last reached its zenith as a totalitarian, global system of surveillance, technological control, and mass murder without moral, spatial, temporal, biological, or ontological limits. Today, nonhuman animals born into the industrialized agriculture system spend their whole lives in entirely artificial environments where their bodies, behaviors, and minds are forced to conform utterly to the needs of the administered world of capital. Chickens, for example, are treated not as conscious, feeling beings but as matter to be shaped according to the needs of the system. As Karen Davis observes, quoting from a "poultry" industry manual entitled *Commercial Chicken Meat and Egg Production*:

> . . . . the "technology built into buildings and equipment" is "embodied genetically into the chicken itself." Physical characteristics and behavioral attributes deemed "necessary for commercial performance objectives" should enable a "continued adaptation of chickens to the housing systems and management used by commercial producers." As Michael Watts writes . . . "What is striking about the chicken is the extent to which the 'biological body' has been actually constructed physically to meet the needs of the industrial labor process." (Davis 2012, 15–16)

Nonhuman animals born into such infernal conditions suffer existentially, not merely bodily. Chickens, writes Davis, "are alienated from surrounding nature, from an external world that answers intelligibly to their inner world. There is nothing for them to do or see or look forward to, they are permitted no voluntary actions and are deprived of any opportunity for joy or zest of living. They just have to *be*, in an excremental, existential void, until we kill them" (Davis 2012, 37). Rendered "unable to die," such beings are forced to "become extinct under conditions equivalent to their eternal rebirth in a bottomless pit" (Davis 2012, 41).

The treatment of chickens in the "poultry" industry, however, as bad as it is, is no worse than the treatment experienced by many other species of nonhuman animals caught up in the modern mechanized agricultural system. Cows and horses are routinely skinned alive, pigs are scalded to death in hair-removal tanks, calves in the "veal" industry are raised in utter darkness inside tiny fetid stalls, unable to move or to stand, before being driven to the slaughterhouse to have their throats cut—the list goes on and on. Such practices are so violently cruel that one might suppose they were designed with the specific intention of tormenting their victims. In reality, however, virtually all of the violence inflicted by humans on other animals today stems not from intentional cruelty but from the objective features of our economic system—that is, from capitalism.

Both speciesism and capitalism can be characterized as *modes of production*, in the sense of that term used by Karl Marx and Friedrich Engels to describe "a definite form of activity of . . . individuals, a definite form of expressing their life, a definite *mode of life* on their part" (Marx and Engels 1970, 42). Capitalism is a mode of production insofar as the bulk of human economic or productive activity is organized around the private accumulation of wealth, and because capitalist values, beliefs, and norms come to condition the entirety of society, top to bottom. Speciesism, too, may similarly be viewed as a mode of production, insofar as we are beings who maintain our lives chiefly by dominating, controlling, and killing the other sentient beings. Of the two modes of life, speciesism is undoubtedly the more fundamental one. This is so not only because domination and control of other species is the precondition for all capital accumulation but because our species life, our identity *as* a species, is organized around this dominion. Speciesism, we might say, is the *"Ur"*-modality or most primordial of all modes of human life, of human productive activity.[1] Some 40 percent of the entire land mass of the Earth is now cultivated for agriculture, with some three-quarters of all such land utilized directly or indirectly to raise other animals for slaughter, making nonhuman animal agriculture the most extensive human artifact on the planet and its most salient cultural expression as a species. If it is true, as Marx and Engels wrote, that as "individuals express their life, so they are," then speciesism is the means of human life and perhaps even, in some sense, the meaning of human life.

It took centuries for full-fledged capitalist relations to take hold in Europe and eventually everywhere else; however, once those relations were firmly established, nonhuman animal life suffered a precipitous fall. From the period of industrial capitalist development we can date, among other calamities, the mass extinction of species, the torture of nonhuman animals in laboratories, the creation of zoos and aquaria, and, by the early twentieth century, the intensive "factory" confinement and mechanized mass killing of other animals. The scale and the ferocity of human violence against nonhumans today is without historical precedent: some 50 billion land mammals and avians and as many as 100 billion or more sea animals are slaughtered each year by commercial industries. Meanwhile, we are living through the greatest mass species extinction event in 60 million years. There have been many destructive human cultures and civilizations through the ages, but only capitalism has proved truly *omnicidal,* revealing itself as inimical to all nonhuman animal life as such, everywhere. Simply put, capitalism is the highest form of speciesism, the "ideal," or most fully realized—and therefore most destructive—of the myriad forms that speciesism could conceivably take.

THE COMMODITY SYSTEM

Long before nonhuman animals are obliterated physically, they are destroyed conceptually. From the perspective of capital, other animals are not conscious individuals, beings with experiences, lives, and interests of their own, but exchangeable units—things to be manipulated and disposed of at will. Individual nonhuman animals are never given names by the scientists who vivisect or poison them in their laboratories, nor by the farmers who raise them for slaughter, because they are viewed not as unique persons, but as *quantities*, as abstractions within a system of abstractions. They exist for the capitalist only as inputs within a system of control and extermination—"pork belly futures," lots to be auctioned, "subject 913," and so on. This obliteration of nonhuman subjectivity or "personhood" is a direct effect of the system of commodity production.

When people think of capitalism, they typically think of businesses selling useful products to individuals who need them. However, such a picture misses capitalism's complex, destructive nature as a system of social dominance, exploitation, and coercion. Two features of capitalism in particular render it both a uniquely destructive and a historically distinctive form of economic and social life, distinguishing it from all earlier modes of economic and social life. First, under capitalist relations, the means of human economic and social life—including the labor (or labor power) of human workers—are privately owned by a small clique or class of individuals. Second, goods are manufactured not to meet particular human or social needs but solely in order to generate profit for the owning class. Together these two aspects of capitalism—ownership by a single class and production of goods for exchange rather than for use—are the twin pillars of the modern speciesist system.

The English word *capital*, from which we get the word *capitalism*, derives from the Old French, *caput*, for "head of cattle," reminding us that domesticated nonhuman animals served as one the earliest forms of private property and wealth, hence too of inequality and hierarchy in human culture (Nibert 2002). However, it is not other animals' status as *property*, as such, that seals their doom under capitalism but rather their status as *commodities*. If we wish to understand the reason for the horrific plight of nonhuman animals today, therefore, it is necessary to inquire at some length into the nature of the commodity system.

Prior to the emergence of full capitalist relations, humans produced goods chiefly in order to satisfy the wants and the needs of their societies. Economic activity was useful activity, and production was subordinated to communal values and norms. Ancient peoples hunted, harvested beets, wove baskets, made ceremonial masks, etc., not chiefly in order to sell the goods they produced—maize, olives, "livestock," and so on—but in order to sustain a form of life that was meaningful to them. Neither the emergence of the first markets nor the introduction of money as a means of exchange changed the fact that the things humans produced were intended, first and foremost, to maintain their existing ways of life.[2] As a consequence, per capita human consumption of nonhuman animals remained relatively constant for thousands of years, due partly to the inconstancy and the insecurity of food production, but more importantly to the fact that economic production was organized around the reproduction or simple continuance of the structures of daily human life. In most human cultures, people subsisted chiefly on plant matter, with nonhuman animals' flesh, their milk, the cheese derived from their milk, playing a subordinate role in human diets.

The advent of capitalism, however, changed all this. Production of goods for the first time became severed from direct satisfaction of human wants and needs and instead became organized around what Marx termed *exchange value*, or the value that commodities could command on a market. Perverse as it may seem—and is—goods today are produced not in order to be *used*, but solely in order to be *sold*, in order to generate profit for the owning class. Among other things, this oddity explains why after five centuries of capitalist development more than half the human race still lives on just $2 per day or less, while the richest 62 people on Earth today own more wealth than the poorest 3.5 billion people (Oxfam 2016). Though it is commonly believed that world poverty is due to scarce resources, there is more than enough food, clothing, and shelter to meet the needs of every human being on Earth. Inequality arises not from scarcity but from the fact that the entirety of our species (or nearly so) is made to labor and sweat to enrich a handful of powerful individuals who produce goods for sale rather than for use.

This dynamic has profound implications for nonhuman exploitation. Though it is widely assumed that farmers and agribusinesses reproduce, raise, and kill nonhuman beings so that humans will have something to eat or something to wear, the truth is quite otherwise. Like any other commodity, nonhuman beings are in fact brought into the world not *in order* to be eaten or be worn but in order to be *sold*. This explains why, when market prices for some nonhuman animal product suddenly fall due to overproduction, farmers and agribusinesses deliberately destroy their stocks of the good to stabilize prices. In the first six months of 2015, for example, "dairy" producers in the northeastern United States dumped 31 million pounds of cow's milk into giant manure pits rather than to sell or give it away, after prices for the commodity weakened. At the time, Eric Meyer, president of HighGround Dairy (a capitalist broker of "dairy" products in Chicago), commented, "The world needs less milk" (Mulvany 2015). As this statement suggests, however, *need* is an altogether relative concept under capitalism, since at the time of Meyer's remark over 40 million North Americans were living below the poverty line, while tens of millions more people throughout Central and South America were even worse off. What Meyer meant, then, was not that the world needed less milk, but that the "dairy" industry needed less of it so that corporate profitability in the "dairy" sector might thereby swiftly be restored.

Hence the strange disjuncture under capitalism between need and value, or between what is useful for life and what is merely useful for generating more wealth for those who already possess more than their rightful share of it. Were agriculture organized with the aim of providing everyone with nutritious and sustainable food, rather than with the aim of maximizing private profit, then we would all presumably be vegans, since raising billions of other animals for consumption is unequivocally the most inefficient, ecologically harmful, and unethical form system of food production extant. Instead, under the present capitalist system of production, we find continual increase in the quantity and diversity of nonhuman animal products. Between 1950 and 1970 alone, for example, per capita “meat” consumption in the United States increased a staggering 400 percent, and while total consumption of nonhuman flesh fell off in the 1980s and 1990s—as a result of two recessions and increasing public concern over the adverse health consequences of eating “beef” and “pork”—“meat” consumption today is again on the rise, largely as a result of cheaper commodities and the fad for organic animal products.[3] Global demand for “meat” production has meanwhile exploded, due chiefly to the rise of a new middle class in China, where increased “meat” consumption is associated with higher social status.

It is important to understand, however, that demand itself is an effect of capitalism. Though many people are under the impression that the production of goods in our society is driven by something called “consumer demand,” which corporations then respond to, such a view of the workings of the economy is erroneous. It is not consumption that drives production but rather the reverse. The desires and the needs of consumers do play a role in the economy, insofar as companies have to manufacture products that people will buy. All commodities must therefore have a perceived *use value*, or they will not find a buyer. But it is capitalist industry, not the consumer, that makes investment decisions about what is to be produced. The iPhone did not arise because people were clamoring to have one, but because the Apple corporation decided to manufacture and create a market for it. Consumers did not hold street protests or focus groups to demand omega-3s (extracted from dead fish) in their orange juice, but because the orange industry was looking for new ways to diversify its products. Capitalists in fact spend nearly as much money manufacturing demand as they do manufacturing goods. They have to, because when consumption slows, as happens during economic downturns, strikes, and so on, capitalists suddenly find themselves unable to pay their bills and are left with surplus goods, factories, and hired workers on their hands. Such disruptions can be not just costly but economically ruinous, whether for individual businesses or industries or even a national or world economy. Business owners must therefore continually find new markets or expand existing ones for their goods and services or perish in the wider market. Expanding the sphere of consumption—by increasing the rate of consumption and increasing the number and diversity of commodities on offer—is thus a structural imperative for capitalists. That is why the number of nonhumans being brought into the world by humans is always increasing, and why nonhuman bodies are rendered into an ever more dizzying array of commodities, from "Chicken McNuggets" and genetically engineered laboratory mice to "bacon"-flavored potato chips, new styles of "fur" coats and "fur-lined" boots, organic bison jerky, and leather bras—literally hundreds of thousands of new animal goods each year.

The key to this continual expansion of the speciesist production system is to be sought again in the nature of the commodity. Marx observed that under capitalist relations, every commodity leads, as it were, a kind of double life. Alone as an object of use, a commodity appears merely as itself, an entity possessing certain material properties and qualities which make it uniquely the sort of thing that it is. A chair, for example, exists as a sensuous and tangible object. It has certain properties (color, mass, and texture) that render it useful for various purposes. The typical *use value* of a chair is to be sat upon. However, a chair might find many other uses as well. For example, a beautifully crafted chair can be an object of aesthetic appreciation; a chair placed on the stage of a theater might be brandished, threateningly, by an actor playing a character in a play; chairs during the Nazi siege of Leningrad were chopped up into firewood. Objects, in fact, have multiple such *use values*, and for many thousands of years, prior to the development of modern markets, that is *all* that artifacts produced by humans and other animals ever had—that is, use values or utilities.

Once money and markets emerged, however, it became possible to compare different kinds of objects to one another as purely quantitative values. Artifacts then began to develop a secret inner life of their own as *exchange* values. Today, as soon as a produced good enters the market, an artifact which first set out in the world humbly as an object with certain uses suddenly develops a most unusual property: it sheds its form as a material thing, taking on the appearance instead of something intangible and even imaginary—namely, a quantitative or abstract value that enables it to be exchanged with other commodities in the market. As a result, things which in reality are not the same sorts of beings are magically rendered into equivalents of one another, through sheer mathematical proportion. A combustible liquid—petroleum—now becomes $3.20 per gallon. A painting by Van Gogh, which began its existence as an expression of one artist's spiritual and emotional life, is magically transformed at auction into $50 million. A cow's milk, produced to nourish her young, becomes $2.50 per carton. A "spring lamb," meanwhile, becomes $18 at the butcher's. As Marx observed, in order for something to appear on the market as a commodity, it is first necessary for "[i]ts existence as a material thing is put out of sight" (Marx 1978, 305).[4] From the point of view of capital, which sees only from the perspective of exchange value, there is no qualitative difference between an automobile, a luxury townhouse, a stand of ancient redwoods, a chimpanzee owned by a zoo, or a pig bred for slaughter: each has value only as a quantity, an abstract value relative to every other. Like a magician who focuses her audience's attention on something extraneous or inessential, to obscure the true nature of an illusion, capital continuously covers over the true nature of the commodities we buy, hiding from view the complex social and ecological relations that go into their production.

Today, the structural imperative of the capitalist market "to nestle everywhere, settle everywhere, form connections everywhere," as Marx and Engels put it in *The Communist Manifesto*, has created a truly globalized system of speciesist exchange. Rainforests in Brazil are burned to graze "cattle" whose flesh will be sold to Japanese, Canadian, and German consumers. Mice genetically engineered by Charles River Labs in Massachusetts may be exported to researchers in laboratories in China, Belgium, or Argentina. "Fur" taken from nonhuman animals brutally killed in Canada or Sweden winds up as "fur" trim on coats sold in Target stores in Minneapolis. This integration of nonhuman animal bodies into global markets has the added "bonus," from the perspective of capital, of shielding the system from criticism. The bewildering array of nonhuman animal products offered on the market, coupled with the complexity of the commodity supply chain—the nesting of diverse corporate and governmental interests and bureaucracies that stand behind every global commodity—makes it difficult to hold specific institutions and stakeholders accountable for their violence. In particular, the mystifying feature of the commodity system makes it difficult for advocates of social change—such as nonhuman animal rights advocates—to educate the public about the true ethical, ecological, and spiritual costs of capitalist production.

Consumers who buy a "hamburger" at Burger King see only a commodity like other commodities—a consumable product—never the labor processes or ecological consequences of their meal. The system shields them from knowledge of the suffering of the impoverished *campesinos* displaced from their land at gunpoint by "cattle" barons, then rehired to tend "cattle" at a miserable wage. It shields them too from any knowledge of the individual cows who died violently so that they could be ground up to become "beef," and from the suffering of the macaque monkeys and other animals who starved to death after their rainforest was burned down. These consumers never become aware of the emotional desensitization of the slaughterhouse workers who were paid an unlivable hourly wage to slit the throats of terrified cows day after day, nor are they ever made aware of the political and legal institutions, corrupt military oligarchies, trade agreements, and so on, that together formed the complex global web that led to the production of the "burger."

By the same token, the fact that dolphins might have feelings, relationships with other dolphins, memories, and so on, is of no importance to the companies in Japan that process and sell dolphin flesh, nor to the fishermen who are hired to kill the dolphins. The fact that pigs are curious, affectionate beings with needs and interests is likewise not of concern to the farmer who raises and sells them, except insofar as their physical well-being impacts what he or she can get for them at auction. And so on down the line with every other animal "commodity." Under capitalism, the actual qualities of nonhuman animals and the aspects of their being that make them who and what they are (conscious individuals) are not merely devalued but obliterated. When commodified nonhumans are deemed no longer to possess commercial value within the system of exchange, they are thus liquidated, in the same way a shoe manufacturer might dispose of last season's shoes by sending them to a landfill.

In 2001, when sheep, pigs, and cows in the United Kingdom became infected with foot-and-mouth disease, the authorities ordered the mass killing and burning of 10 million farmed animals in England, Wales, Scotland, and Ireland in an effort to eradicate all traces of the disease before it could do more commercial damage to nonhuman animal herds. Some farmers wept openly, watching their commercial assets literally go up in smoke. Such *cullings* occur regularly throughout the nonhuman animal industry, as farmers respond to outbreaks of disease with ruthless mass violence. In another case, three years after the foot and mouth crisis in the United Kingdom, an even more terrible slaughter was unleashed throughout Asia when hundreds of millions of chickens, ducks, and other birds were massacred in an attempt to contain an outbreak of avian flu (the H1N1 virus). In some cases, chickens were beaten to death or buried or burned alive, while mobs of humans stood watching the spectacle. In 2015, in the United States alone, some 30 million birds were put to death to contain H1N1 outbreaks. Equally sudden paroxysms of mass violence can be triggered even by simple price fluctuations in national and international markets, as when falling commodity prices create an incentive for agribusinesses to liquidate their surplus nonhuman "stock."

Though the worst atrocities committed against nonhuman animals typically take place in large-scale, intensive confinement facilities, fundamental indifference toward individual nonhuman life is endemic to all forms of nonhuman agriculture. Farmers on small farms lack the incentive or luxury of dwelling on the individual personalities or needs of the beings they raise. They use the cheapest materials available to construct their captives' housing, buy the cheapest feed to maintain them, employ the cheapest human labor they can to herd or slaughter them, and so on. To the farmer, nonhuman animals are effectively matter on its way to becoming value. Consequently, they are permitted to live only so long as their lives are necessary—and not an instant longer. The life of a chicken or a pig on the best of small farms, where nonhuman animals may have access to the outdoors and be allowed to fraternize, rather than be crowded into enormous sheds or confined in gestation crates, may be markedly better than the life of a chicken or a pig raised in intensive confinement. Yet the underlying nature of the relationship between human and nonhuman animals remains one of naked commercial exploitation: even the least callous farmer raises his nonhuman animals to profit by their violent deaths and will kill them moreover at a fraction of their natural lifespans. Slaves in the antebellum South, too, were subjected to varying degrees and conditions of cruelty, depending on such factors as the size of the plantation operation, the local cultural norms, and the individual temperament of masters and overseers. Ultimately, though, the underlying relation between slaves and slave-holders remained one of exploitation, violation, and violence, and slaves' status as commodities left them entirely at the caprice and mercy of their individual owners. It is the same today with the billions of nonhuman beings entangled in the agriculture system.

Food expert and journalist Michael Pollan and other proponents of the *locavore* and organic foods consumer movements have suggested that the corporatization of agriculture can be reversed by the proliferation of small, family-owned, organic farms. However, market forces are in fact pulling in the opposite direction, placing irresistible pressure on many small farmers to cede management and ownership of their farms to bigger corporate entities. In 2016, for example, agribusiness interests formed an alliance with struggling family farmers in North Dakota as part of their strategy to overturn a 1932 law prohibiting all but resident families from owning farms in the state. Local proponents sought to overturn protections for family farms on the grounds "that the farming and ranching business in North Dakota needs to evolve to stay competitive: Dairies and pig farms have declined in recent years, prompting many people to argue that the industries could use a boost." Katie Heger, a rancher who supported the bill, told one reporter: "We have this picture in our head of the Hollywood farm, with the dairy cows, a couple of pigs, a couple of chickens. . . . There are very few farms that are like that. Farming and ranching is a business. So if we're looking at sustaining agriculture in the state of North Dakota, we need to look at how we can build business" (Bosman 2016).

"Organic" and "humane" nonhuman animal products will no doubt continue to appeal to a segment of the middle and upper classes. But the "brand" of "humane meat" neither can compete nor is meant to compete with cheaper nonhuman animal commodities produced through intensive factory farming methods, where the "brand" is cheapness or affordability. Meanwhile, because factory farming is in fact more efficient than raising nonhuman animals on pasture or on smaller farms, the same pressures that drove capitalists to adopt industrialized nonhuman animal farming techniques in the first place will likely only intensify in the future, as increasing global demand for "meat" and other nonhuman animal products comes up against growing resource scarcity.

Regardless of whether they are raised in a concentrated feed lot operation or on a small family farm, however, farmed animals only have value insofar as they can be sold. This same principle extends to other commercial industries—aquaria, zoos, laboratories, the horse racing industry, puppy mills, and so on—where nonhuman beings find themselves just as fatally vulnerable to the vagaries of the free market. In 2011, the parent company of a small company in British Columbia named Outdoor Adventures, which had supplied "sled dogs" for the Iditarod during the 2010 Winter Olympics, ordered the company to liquidate its now unneeded stock of "sled dogs." The company complied by ordering one of its employees to massacre them. As *The New York Times* reported:

> The killing went on for two days, and several of the deaths were grisly, the compensation board's report said. When an initial shot failed to kill a dog that was the mother of the employee's family pet, she ran around with her "cheek blown off and her eye hanging out" until she was felled by a rifle with a scope, according to the report. The bullet also penetrated another dog, which was not supposed to be part of the kill and which suffered for about 15 minutes before dying.
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> Another dog, left for dead for 20 minutes, emerged from a mass grave only to be shot again, the report said. The employee said he eventually wrapped his arms in foam padding after the frightened dogs began attacking him. (Austen 2011)

Viewed as investments, and hence as *liabilities*, commodified nonhumans thus find themselves entirely at the mercy of the market and the whim of their owners.

ECOLOGICAL DESTRUCTION, CAPITALISM, AND THE STATE

Given the staggering levels of violence suffered by nonhuman animals trapped in industry today, in factory farming, the "fur" industry, and so on, one might think that nonhuman animal death and trauma at human hands occurs mostly in slaughterhouses, laboratories, and other artificial environments where living beings are turned into lifeless commodities. In reality, free or "wild" animals suffer and die in probably equal or greater numbers through loss of habitat, pollution, or the collateral damage of the fisheries and nonhuman animal agriculture industries. Capitalism strips natural beings everywhere of their means of life. So all-encompassing and indiscriminate is this process, which Marx termed *primitive accumulation*, that it is leading today to the extermination of many species of animal life on Earth.

On Marx's usage *primitive accumulation* referred originally to the historical process in early modern Europe by which human beings were stripped of their connection to the land and their traditional modes of communal life so that capitalist relations could be established and consolidated. For thousands of years, humans had lived in relatively stable communities closely tied to the land; social roles were sharply defined and heritable. However, this very *organicism* to human culture—the continuity of social roles and occupations from generation to generation, the connection humans had to nature—proved an impediment to the development of the new system of production in Europe. Human beings thus were forcibly separated from their prior means of life. Far from being a peaceful process, Marx emphasized, primitive accumulation required violent "expropriation . . . written in the annals of mankind in letters of blood and fire." Formerly communal lands in England were privatized and turned into parcels for commodified nonhuman animals to graze upon, throwing thousands of people off the land. Meanwhile, in the Americas, Africa, and Asia, European colonial powers, funded by mercantilists and banks, murdered and enslaved millions of indigenous people.

Dispossession and displacement were necessary for capitalist development for two reasons. First, it was necessary that peasants and indigenous people be incorporated directly into the capitalist labor process, initially as slaves, later as wage laborers. As Marx wrote, the laborer "could only dispose of his own person"—that is, be forced to sell his labor power at an hourly wage—"after he had ceased to be attached to the soil and ceased to be the slave, serf, or bondsman of another" (Marx, 1978a). So long as people had been able to produce their own lives—to sustain themselves through subsistence farming, hunting, and fishing, or by keeping a portion of what they otherwise had to yield up to the nobility—they had no need to sell themselves or their labor power to others. However, once freed from traditional structures, laborers could be exploited by the new class, in order to turn simple commodities into more complex ones.

Second, the new commodity system required capitalists to lay hold of and control the stuff of the natural world—land, water, forests, mountains, and other animals. Primitive accumulation thus required the dispossession of *other species*, as well as the systematic theft of their means of life. Though Marx did not discuss the fact, the forcible estrangement of other animals from their habitats and thus from their conditions of life—dissolution of their metabolic relations with the natural world—was and remains the fundamental basis of all forms of capitalist development. At the same time Europeans were engaged in genocidal *racial cleansing*, emptying the

African, American, and Australian continents of much of their indigenous human life, they were also engaging in *species cleansing*—the destruction and dispossession of other species through hunting, trapping, fishing, and colonization. Tens of millions of beavers and other animals were slaughtered for their pelts; billions of passenger pigeons were hunted into outright extinction; countless coyotes, wolves, kangaroos, and others were slaughtered as perceived threats to nonhuman animal agriculture and human habitation. Wherever capitalism has since extended its reach, one similarly finds the razing of forests, the draining or the depletion of bodies of fresh water, the extermination of "pest animals," and so on.

Though Marx was chiefly concerned to show how primitive accumulation served as the precondition for capitalist relations, it must be emphasized that the process of dispossession—the violent separation of humans and nonhuman animals from their respective means of communal life—remains an ongoing process. Humans burn down forests in order to graze cows or grow palm oil. They build superhighways through nonhumans' ancestral homes. They pour gasoline into rabbit warrens or down the tunnels of prairie dogs and groundhogs to burn or suffocate them. Ranchers shoot wolves and "wild" pigs from helicopters using assault rifles. Fishing fleets deploy ocean nets the size of office buildings to ensnare countless millions of fish, crustaceans, and sea mammals. As David Harvey observes, "the wholesale commodification of nature in all its forms" today has led to "escalating depletion of the global environmental commons (land, air, water) and proliferating habitat degradations that preclude anything but capital-intensive modes of agricultural production" (Harvey 2004, 75). *Habitat*, let us be clear, means the home, the world of other living, conscious beings—it is the *inorganic body* of the other beings, the means by and through which they produce their characteristic species lives, their unique modes of existence.

What must be emphasized is that capitalism is inherently expansionary, swallowing up ever greater portions of the natural world. Today's widening global ecological crisis is thus a direct consequence of primitive accumulation, as multinational corporations plunder the natural world of its last resources, displacing, poisoning, commodifying, and exterminating other species as they go. There is no ecological problem today that cannot be traced, directly or indirectly, to the commodification of nonhuman animals, to the expropriation of other animals' lands and homes, to the enslavement of once free species and their direct incorporation into the capitalist production process itself. Nonhuman animal agriculture is the second leading cause of global warming, as well as the greatest threat to biodiversity. Effects of the depredations of capitalist production are sloughed off onto nonhuman populations in the form of starvation (from diminished food sources and ruined ecosystems), pollution and despoilment (abandoned fishing lines and nets, the Pacific plastic patch, and urban smog), impaired sexual reproduction, increased birth defects, and on and on. Meanwhile, because of the fiercely competitive nature of capitalism, virtually all of the incentives regarding ecological and interspecies relations run the wrong way. That is, business owners are under continual structural pressure to lower their production costs, which leads them to exploit the natural world and nonhuman animal species as ruthlessly and efficiently as possible. Naturally, however, the suffering experienced by other beings in the course of this accumulation process is deemed wholly irrelevant to the production cycle.

The capitalist war on nature and other animals meanwhile occurs in parallel with the violent disenfranchisement of poor and working people, with the capitalist state serving to ensure both processes. As Harvey writes:

> These [means of primitive accumulation] include the commodification and privatization of land and the forceful expulsion of peasant populations; conversion of various forms of property rights—common, collective, state, etc.—into exclusive private property rights; suppression of rights to the commons; commodification of labour power and the suppression of alternative, indigenous, forms of production and consumption; colonial, neo-colonial and imperial processes of appropriation of assets, including natural resources; monetization of exchange and taxation, particularly of land; slave trade; and usury, the national debt and ultimately the credit system. The state, with its monopoly of violence and definitions of legality, plays a crucial role in both backing and promoting these processes . . . (Harvey 2004, 74)[5]

The role of the state (a term corresponding loosely to the *government* but encompassing not just elected officials but also the totality of departments, civil servants, military and police functions, and so on, that make the state an institution) in promoting and consolidating the capitalist-speciesist system could itself be the subject of an entire book. Under capitalism, the *state* effectively serves to protect the interests of corporations and the wealthy. Though we tend to think of the state as the place where matters of the public interest and public good get decided democratically, in reality the state is a field of battle in which public interests war with private ones, as powerful corporations and wealthy individuals exert outsized influence over legislation and regulatory enforcement. Far from being a neutral arbiter of conflicts in society—between, say, endangered spotted owls and forestry companies, environmentalists and petroleum companies—the state more often than not takes the side of the economically powerful. Because the rich dominate working people in the sphere of civil society, they consequently wield greater influence than working people in the sphere of the state, too. We find that the wealthy tend to get a wider hearing and have more influence than working people. Social power (capital) translates into political power.

Because the state is the institution charged with regulating and smoothing out the contradictions or sources of friction within the capitalist system, by stabilizing markets, preventing certain forms of monopoly, regulating commerce, waging war, etc., the state also plays a pivotal role in regulating and promoting speciesist production. Thus, even in China, a nominally communist country where the Communist Party has nonetheless allowed laissez-faire capitalist development to run amok since the 1980s, the production of nonhumans is closely monitored by the state and woven into long-term plans of national development. In 2014–2015, for example, a massacre of 100 million pigs occurred in China when falling pig prices, following a period of rapid expansion of the "hog" industry, forced thousands of small-scale pig farmers to exit the industry en masse: It was cheaper for the farmers to kill their pigs than to sell them. In the wake of this industry shake up, the Bloomberg news service reported, only a small number of "more modern, efficient businesses"—i.e., large-scale, intensive operations, or factory farms—survived (Singh, 2015). This very result had in fact been encouraged by the Chinese state, as a prelude to the Communist Party's 2015 five-year plan to modernize nonhuman animal agriculture by replacing small-scale farmers with so-called "professionals" (in an effort to create new efficiencies in the production of nonhuman beings) (Ryan 2015).

Everywhere, in fact, we find the state either directly subsidizing domestic nonhuman animal industries, developing lands and waterways for leisure hunters and fishers, funding experimentation on nonhuman animals, requiring such experimentation, or passing and enforcing laws that treat other beings as commercial property. It is true that there has been some very minimal progress towards granting state protections or rights to nonhuman beings, through legislation such as the Endangered Species Act, state reforms of the factory farm system, nonhuman animal cruelty laws, and so on. But the state's main function vis-à-vis nonhuman animals remains one of defending and promoting the interests of industries that exploit them, chiefly through such agencies such as the Department of Defense and Centers for Disease Control and Prevention, state fisheries and "wildlife" departments, the Department of the Interior, the Food and Drug Association, the National Science Foundation, and so on. The U.S. government provides billions of dollars in subsidies and tax breaks to the "meat," "dairy," and chicken egg industries, socializing the costs of nonhuman animal agriculture and privatizing the profits. (U.S. government subsidies for American "dairy" farmers helped boost national cow's milk production from 177 billion pounds in 2005 to a record 208 billion pounds in 2015—a massive increase that had the unintended consequence, mentioned above, of encouraging "dairy" producers to destroy thousands of gallons of milk in order to stabilize prices.) Meanwhile, public monies are spent to clean up the waste, and mitigate the public health costs, of our "meat"-based system of food consumption.

The state also actively promotes, regulates, and profits from the hunting and fishing industries—“stocking” ponds and rivers with nonhuman animals so that they can be “taken” and selling licenses to “sportsmen” who want to engage in blood sports. State officials also cull or indiscriminately slaughter millions of other animals deemed threats (real or imagined) to commercial nonhuman animal interests like “cattle” ranching. In 2015 alone, U.S. government agencies killed an estimated 3.2 million bears, foxes, coyotes, eagles, beavers, and other nonhumans, chiefly at the behest of, and to protect the commercial interests of, “cattle” ranchers (Center for Biological Diversity 2016). The capitalist state meanwhile spends millions of tax dollars on research of direct benefit to nonhuman animal industries, funding basic and applied scientific research, vivisection, and genetic engineering. In the name of public (human) safety, the state indeed requires scientists and corporations to test new drugs and chemical compounds on nonhuman animals before they can go to market, via protocols like the LD-50 test, in which other animals are poisoned with trial compounds until half of them die outright. The U.S. government also funds the U.S. Meat Animal Research Center in Nebraska, which conducts research on how to maximize exploitation of farmed animals. As *The New York Times* reported in 2015, the center has conducted brutal experiments resulting in the extreme suffering and deaths of hundreds of nonhuman animals:

> Pigs are having many more piglets—up to 14, instead of the usual eight—but hundreds of those newborns, too frail or crowded to move, are being crushed each year when their mothers roll over. Cows, which normally bear one calf at a time, have been retooled to have twins and triplets, which often emerge weakened or deformed, dying in such numbers that even meat producers have been repulsed.
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> Then there are the lambs. In an effort to develop “easy care” sheep that can survive without costly shelters or shepherds, ewes are giving birth, unaided, in open fields where newborns are killed by predators, harsh weather and starvation. (Moss 2015)

Because one of the explicit functions of the state is to ensure the smooth functioning of the capitalist system as such, and because nonhuman animal agriculture is one of the largest and most lucrative sectors of the national economy, the legal and police mechanisms of the government are frequently deployed to shield the industry from critique and to thwart citizens movements for reform. First, the judicial system is set up in such a way as to exclude virtually all commercially reproduced nonhuman animals from meaningful regulatory protection. Second, environmentalists and nonhuman animal rights activists are subjected to government surveillance and even outright repression.[6] After the September 11 terrorist attacks, a coalition of nonhuman animal industries succeeded in getting the U.S. Congress to pass the

Animal Enterprise Terrorism Act (AETA), a draconian law which, in its initial form, effectively criminalized as an act of terrorism any public protest or action that interfered with a commercial nonhuman animal enterprise. Although the AETA has since been modified to permit nonviolent protests for nonhuman animal advocacy, a coalition of nonhuman animal industries has worked aggressively through state legislatures to pass "ag gag" laws that criminalize undercover documentary investigations of illegal abuses of nonhuman animals in farming operations.

Finally, it is because the state is itself one of the leading promoters of speciesism and capitalism as the dominant modes of human life that so little decisive action has been taken by the international community of states to grapple with such ecological crises as global warming or the mass extinction of nonhuman species. For the state to take climate change seriously, for example, it would have to challenge nonhuman animal agriculture, because the latter is the second biggest source of carbon emissions (as well as the biggest threat to global biodiversity). However, the state has no enthusiasm for such an enterprise, and understandably so. Capitalism by its nature entails a perpetual war against other species, perpetual human colonization of the living spaces of other species. Thus, for the state to act to protect nonhuman animals and their habitats would essentially put it into conflict with capitalism—which is to say, in conflict with itself as the main institutional prop for capitalism.

REIFICATION: THE MIDAS EFFECT

If we were to put a name to the cultural process under capitalist relations that objectifies nonhuman animals and causes them to be treated as mere things, that word would be *reification*. Though few people have even heard of the term, reification is perhaps the single most destructive feature of the capitalist system. Derived from the Latin, *res*, for "thing," reification in its broadest sense can be thought of as the "thingification" of the world. It is the process by which, on the one hand, living beings are transformed into *things*, and on the other, lifeless commodities are given the (false) appearance of living subjects or persons.

To explain this process, it is perhaps useful to begin here with a familiar story, the ancient Greek myth of Midas. In the story, King Midas is rewarded by the god Dionysus with the ability to turn whatever he touches to gold. At first, Midas is delighted by his new ability and sets about turning rocks, trees, clothing, and so on, into gold. However, Midas begins to have second thoughts when he picks up a bunch of grapes and watches them turn to gold before he can eat them, and when he brings a chalice to his lips and discovers that the wine has turned to gold before he can quench his thirst. On some tellings of the story, when the king's own daughter appears at his side, Midas unthinkingly embraces her, turning her, too, instantly into lifeless gold. Now unable to eat or drink and bereft a daughter, the king returns to Dionysus and begs him to revoke the spell. The god grants Midas's wish, but the dead daughter cannot be restored to life. Hence, the moral of the Midas fable: greed is a destructive passion, and wealth is a false idol whose worship leads to the neglect of the things that matter most in life.

Like Midas, capitalism as a system of reification transforms whatever it touches—a river, a rainforest, the labor of landless peasants, a pig, or a sea turtle—into a lifeless thing, both figuratively and, in many cases, literally.[7] According to Georg Lukàcs, the Hungarian Marxist who first developed the theory of reification in the 1920s, the origins of this "thingifying" process are to be found in the nature of work activity or labor under capitalism. On the one hand, the minute specialization of labor under capitalism unquestionably propelled human civilization to a more advanced stage of material development, unleashing vast new powers of economic efficiency and productivity. On the other hand, however, specialization fragmented both the worker's laboring activity and by extension her consciousness as well. In stark contrast to the experience of labor in traditional agrarian societies, that is, where a farmer or a peasant would have been engaged in a wide variety of kinds of activity, each one requiring a special form of knowledge—breeding and tending nonhuman animals, understanding the weather and seasons, creating and repairing tools, constructing dwellings, and so on, all in metabolic exchange with the land with other peasants—the modern wage laborer engages in only a single specialized activity, working under the control and the surveillance of an employer or a boss.

Torn from the land and nature and from the tissue of communal bonds, relationships, and rituals that once attached him to other human beings, the wage worker became treated merely as a thing among other things. Today, whether laboring for 12 hours at a time inside a deadly mine or sitting in front of a desk inside a tiny office cubicle, processing forms, workers find themselves thrust into a hostile world over which they can exert little control but to which they must nevertheless perpetually bend their will and effort if they do not wish to starve in the streets. In a word, the organization of society around commodity production has had the effect of *alienating* human beings from their work and even from life itself.

Marx described several related kinds of alienation experienced by workers under capitalist relations (Marx 1978, 66–105). Workers are first of all alienated from the product of their labor. A woman working a Nike assembly line in Indonesia, for example, is not allowed to own the shoes that she helps manufacture. She experiences the fruits of her labor—in this case, the Nike sneakers on the assembly line—as a hostile force, as objects over which she has no control and whose appearance in the world seems to come, and indeed does come, at the expense of her own well-being. The worker thus finds herself alienated from the creative powers of her own mind and body, her own life-activity. Meanwhile, this experience of alienation extends to the worker's experience of other human beings. On one side, she finds herself locked in perpetual conflict with the owner or the boss, since increases in workers' wages come at the expense of the owner's profits—a structural feature of capitalism. On the other side, she finds herself pitted as well against other workers and is forced to compete with them for scarce jobs (unemployment is a permanent fixture of the capitalist economy). Finally, she finds herself alienated from her own nature as a human being. Though born with *human* intellectual and creative potentials, she is unable to realize these powers, whether as an individual person or as a member of a thriving and harmonious species community, because the narrow circumstances of her life thwart their development.

Rather than flourishing as part of a universal community of equals, the laborer is treated instead as a mere thing, an instrument. Workers are exploited for their labor and then tossed aside when they are no longer useful to their employers. Many are denied a livable wage or are forced to endure dangerous conditions in their workplace. Moreover, their alienation extends to the rest of their dealings with society. They receive unfair treatment in the courts and housing market, and they lack the political influence of the rich, even in the so-called democracies. They are the first to be used as cannon fodder in their nation's foreign wars. Though we frequently hear that capitalism encourages innovation and entrepreneurialism, from the vantage point of capital, few things are in fact more suspect or threatening than genuinely free humans expressing their own creativity. The worker is viewed by capital not with love or as a spontaneous source of thought or expression, but with suspicion, as a "potential source of 'error'" (Lukàcs 1972, 89). The need to control the laborer only becomes more acute over time, as the forces of capitalist development intensify. There is a "continuous trend," Lukàcs wrote, "towards greater rationalization, [and towards] the progressive elimination of the qualitative, human, and individual attributes of the worker" (Lukàcs 1972, 88). By rationalization, Lukàcs meant the supremacy of impersonal bureaucracy, scientific control and surveillance of workers in the workplace, as well as a general privileging of scientific technique and logics of mathematical calculation in society over more organic, naturalistic ways of being human and "animal." Reification unites this feature of capitalism—the relentless drive toward efficiency, predictability, control of outcomes—with *commodification*, or the process for turning of all nature and life itself into a series of commodities for exchange.

Consider a simple commodity like a chair handcrafted by a Shaker artisan in the nineteenth century. Though the Shakers, a Christian religious sect in the United States, produced furniture for the market as well as for their own direct use, their objective was not to accumulate wealth but to support their pious way of life. As a consequence, because the Shakers did not subordinate the form and function of their works to *exchange value*, each piece of furniture they made was unique, and each embodied the spiritual sensibilities of the Shaker community. The result was furniture so well made and beautiful that Shaker pieces today are routinely displayed in museums. By contrast, a mass-manufactured lawn chair produced today for a retail giant like Wal-Mart exists for the sole purpose of being sold for profit. Gone from the modern production process are the intimate relations that once bound members of a community of producers to one another. Now the outcome of a complex, impersonal, globally dispersed production process requiring marketing specialists, automated machinery, industrial designers, accountants, assembly line workers, and so on, the modern commodity is notable only for the degree to which every trace of the human personality has been effaced from its surface. The typical mass-produced item is standardized, "cookie-cutter," graceless.

However, it isn't just our artifacts that lose their uniqueness as they get subjected to a fragmented and fragmenting process. *Human workers* themselves, through their fragmented work, also become homogenized, standardized, quantified, and stamped out in cookie-cutter fashion. The reorganization of human economic or material life—the organization of production, factories, labor, and so on—requires the reorganization of the worker too. The worker becomes merely another cog in the corporate machine—like the factory worker in Charlie Chaplin's satirical film, *Modern Times*, who, driven mad by his repetitive labor on an assembly line, suddenly plunges headlong into the machinery, becoming part of the gear-work. As Lukàcs (1972, 90) observed, as the worker becomes incorporated into the apparatus of production, his "personality can do no more than look on helplessly while its own existence is reduced to an isolated particle and fed into an alien system." The worker's mind and body become imprinted with the technological features of the production system. A man employed in sales at a clothing store may be told to conform his affect (outward presentation of emotions) to the needs of his employer's business, smiling warmly at potential customers whether he in fact is feeling happy and sociable or not. Women working in sweatshops and "free trade" zones perform the same actions hundreds of times a day on the assembly line, their bodies made to conform to the production process, causing them in some cases to suffer carpal tunnel syndrome or other repetitive stress injuries.

Driven by capital, which strives to overcome all barriers to accumulation, the technosciences meanwhile become more deeply embedded in daily life, and more total in their capacity to absorb society and nature alike into their structures. As Lukàcs (1972) observed, reification becomes more advanced over time, becoming in effect the "universal structuring principle" of society as a whole (85), as "the process of transformation must embrace every manifestation of the life of society" (95). Like a parasite, capitalism must seize hold of and transform the metabolic activity of its "host," society, if it is to satisfy its conditions of survival and growth. The state, laws, culture, media, and science thus get continually shaped and reconfigured to accord with the needs of capital, so that everything is found "corresponding to its needs and harmonizing with its own structure" (Lukàcs 1972, 95). The human individual too must be made to "harmonize" with the wider structure, must be treated as merely one more object to be manipulated, a bundle of instinctual desires which can and must be molded to conform to the objective needs of the system (Horkheimer and Adorno 2002). As nothing is to be left to chance, advertising culture must inscribe itself upon every available surface of society, from magazines and the Internet to the sides of public buses and even at times the sky itself, using skywriting planes, in order to implant false "needs" in the population. Subjected from birth to an endless barrage of ads and behavioral manipulations, the individual over time becomes accustomed to thinking of himself or herself as a passive *consumer*, rather than as an engaged *citizen* or a reasoning, feeling, moral being with the power to initiate political or social reforms.

In this one-dimensional society (Marcuse 1964), consumer culture reassures us at every turn that what matters more than truth, justice, or moral reason is the individual's "freedom of choice." In premodern societies, the Earth, sky, water, and the living beings of creation all "spoke" to humans, in gestures that contained hidden meanings. The artifactual world that surrounds us today only speaks to itself, in the language of the commodity. Consumer goods effectively "propagandize" for one another, telling the consumer that, since everything has a price, there is no fundamental difference, ethical or otherwise, between any given commodity and any other. Every retail store, every TV commercial functions as a kind of public rhetoric or argument that tells us that the individual self-interest of the consumer trumps all other concerns. Whether I choose to buy a "chicken sandwich" or a vegan burger, it's my "choice." I have a "right" to buy what I like, and a corresponding "right" to not to be criticized for my "lifestyle."

The prevalence of this fallacious and morally pernicious line of private reasoning helps to explain, in part, why nonhuman animal industries and the political right have found it so easy to mobilize broad segments of the public against the environmental and animal rights movements. The spread of libertarian ideology is itself a symptom of reification. It becomes ever harder to think outside the dominant system; as Lukàcs (1972, 93) wrote, "the structure of reification progressively sinks more deeply, more fatefully and more definitively into the consciousness of man."

Such are the myriad ways in which alienation leads to the reification of human consciousness and life, as humans find themselves treated more and more in an instrumental or "thinglike" fashion under capitalism, and are viewed with suspicion as potential sources of "error" in the accumulation process. What though of nonhuman animals caught up within the system of reification?

Like human laborers, who are treated like "isolated abstract atoms whose work no longer brings them together directly and organically," beings whose only intercourse with one another is "mediated . . . exclusively by the abstract laws of the mechanism which imprisons them" (Lukàcs 1972, 90), nonhuman beings too are isolated from one another and from nature. Millions of nonhuman animals are forced to labor: mules, horses, oxen, and elephants are whipped, prodded, or beaten to pull loads, furrow the Earth, and carry humans on their backs. Those raised on factory farms are deprived of any access to air, fresh water, or the Earth, they live their entire lives in entirely artificial conditions and are permitted only those behaviors that conform to the needs of capital. Any spontaneous or free action by the individual animal, any exertion of an independent will, any assertion of an unproductive need or preference is either ignored, if deemed harmless to production, or is brutally suppressed. "Good animals" are thus ones who passively accept the lab technician's brutal procedures, or who go without complaint to the butcher; "bad animals" are ones who resist or try to escape (Lynch 1988). So fundamental to the speciesist system is enforcing "right" behavior in nonhumans that there is a huge secondary market just for the thousands of commodities used to control and punish them: whips, electric prods, cages, electrified fences, bits and blinders, and restraint devices.

As Karen Davis (2012, 36) writes, nonhuman "animals on factory farms are imprisoned in a world from which their psyches did not emanate and which they accordingly do not understand and do not psychologically resemble." The nonhuman being's *self* or *person* becomes wholly enmeshed within a totalitarian structure of violence and domination.[8] While human workers experience isolation and fragmentation through their labor, nonhuman animals experience isolation and fragmentation far more directly—by being cut literally into pieces. Though human workers may be abused and subjected to dangerous workplace conditions, they are not, for all that, stabbed, cut, boiled, burned, decapitated, skinned, disemboweled, or dismembered alive routinely as part of the production process, whereas billions of nonhumans are. Nonhumans trapped in the commodity system are in fact treated far less like laborers than as slaves, prisoners of war, and victims of genocide.

Contemporary advocates of organic nonhuman animal agriculture maintain that smaller-scale, sustainable and artisanal forms of rearing and killing nonhuman animals can eventually replace intensive "factory farming" operations. In reality, though, the neopastoralist or "locavore" longing for a return to supposedly more authentic, less technologically mediated relations between humans and nonhumans is little more than a form of nostalgia for a mode of production long ago destroyed by capitalism. Not only aren't impersonal, mechanized forms of nonhuman control and slaughter disappearing, but the structural imperatives of capitalism are on the contrary demanding ever *more* ruthless and *more* invasive controls, particularly as companies struggle to meet rising demand for nonhuman flesh in China, India, and other developing markets. Factory farming operations are expanding around the world. Meanwhile, some companies are moving to fully automate slaughter as part of the rationalization process, meaning that nonhuman victims will in future be killed by robots.[9] They will scream, bleed, and die without the touch of human hands and outside the hearing of human ears or the seeing of human eyes.[10] Even in the boutique "organic meat" sector, totalitarian controls have become a must. On some organic farms, it is not unusual for sheep or other nonhuman animals to have electronic chips implanted under their skin, to enable farmers to monitor their health as they fatten for market; on other organic farms, farmers raise genetically engineered "organic" chickens, killing them en masse in gas chambers. Driven by capital, which strives to overcome all barriers to accumulation, the technological sciences become more and more deeply embedded in daily life, more total in their capacity to absorb society and nature alike into their structures.

If capitalism, as Lukàcs (1972, 85) suggested, refashions the human world after "its own image," it therefore also now refashions other natural beings in its own image too, commodifying nonhumans at the genetic level to conform their biological natures to the evolving needs of finance capital. Though humans have been manipulating the genome of other species for generations through selective breeding, genetic engineering represents a radical escalation in human powers of controlling the biological destiny of other beings. Genetic changes that once took years or even centuries to cultivate in other species can now be achieved virtually overnight—a "speed-up" of the rate of nonhuman exploitation that reflects the compressed cycle of high-tech commodity production. There are virtually no practical limits today to the kinds of manipulations that scientists can now impose on commodified organisms. Scientists can pick and choose whatever attributes they like, "cutting and pasting" DNA strands from one species, or multiple species, into the embryonic tissue others—even across different evolutionary kingdoms and phyla that may have parted ways hundreds of millions of years ago. *Ontological dispossession*, the theft and mutilation of nonhuman animals' evolutionary natures and "being," is the terrifying result (Weisberg 2013).

Hundreds of new patented organisms, such as Enviropig™—the trademarked name of a pig engineered by splicing pig genes with mouse genes that is "able to digest phosphorous more efficiently and therefore produce less waste and less water pollution than its nongenetically modified counterparts" (Weisberg 2013, 77)—have appeared in recent years. Driving this assault on the ontological integrity of other beings is entrepreneurial capital, which has made the bodies and even the minds of nonhuman beings ground zero for demolishing the last biological limits to wealth accumulation. As one analyst at Fidelity Investments, a high-technology capitalist fund, boasted in an advertisement: "Around the world and across borders, academics, entrepreneurs, and even students are working with over 5,000 DNA sequences called Biobricks™ to explore ideas and invent new organisms." "Within 50 years we could have more life forms invented in the lab than we've ever identified in nature. . . ." (Weisberg 2013, 62). Meanwhile, in a fateful convergence of the biotech industry with the national security state, the Nexia Biotechnologies corporation has partnered with the U.S. Army Soldier and Biological Chemical Command to insert "the dragline silk gene from an orb-weaver spider" into the mammary genes of goats, causing the latter to secrete super-strong fibers in their milk, for producing such commercial products as BioSteel®, a material for use in bulletproof vests (Weisberg 2013, 78).

Such grotesque melding of machines and nonhuman animals has now advanced to such a degree that even nonhumans' consciousness is being integrated into machines, through *hybrot* technology. Pigeons, for example, have had computer chips and electrodes implanted in their brains, enabling scientists to steer them around using computer joysticks, while rats on different continents have had their consciousnesses temporarily fused together through an electronic online interface. Scientists have grown rat brain cells and integrated them into computer memory boards and sensing devices. As the mere existence of such infernal experiments suggests, the notion that other animals might have a species integrity of their own—that there might be something profoundly unethical, not to mention obscene, about treating other conscious beings as data sequences, interchangeable parts, or machines—is literally unthinkable within the given paradigm of today's capitalist sciences. This incapacity to tell the difference any longer between a science of life and a science of death, or to distinguish between subjects and objects, persons and things, is itself but a symptom of reification.[11]

CONCLUSION

Barbaric treatment of other sensitive living beings—beings capable of emotions, of forming bonds with others, even of love—is the norm throughout human culture. Capitalism, assuredly, is not the only cause of human oppression of other sentient beings. There are other important cultural forces at work, other systems of power. The dynamics of capitalism, for example, are effected through a wider patriarchal culture that for centuries has subordinated women to men and nonhuman animals to human ones (Adams 1990).[12] Both speciesism and capitalism are artifacts of *patriarchy*, embodying gender norms and behaviors that work against the interests of nonhumans. The continued privileging of masculine ideals of domination and violence in our culture over traditionally feminine emotions and ideals such as compassion, care for others, selflessness, and so on, has, for example, played a crucial role in perpetuating the popularity of blood sports (hunting and fishing), and in blunting the public appeal of the animal rights movement's message of empathy for nonhuman suffering. Acts of sadism and torture directed toward other animals—widespread in nonhuman animal agriculture, circuses, and other industries—are meanwhile typically enacted by working class men, suggesting a link between gender socialization of boys and men, labor exploitation, and speciesism. Because speciesism and patriarchy are closely entwined forms of oppression that have reinforced one another for generations, there seems little prospect of overcoming human dominion over other beings in the absence of full women's equality and the dissolution of the most toxic forms of masculinity.

However, notwithstanding patriarchy, racism, and other structures of power that intersect with and help constitute speciesism, the chief propulsive mechanism of speciesism today remains the capitalist world system. Though capitalism did not create speciesism, it removed the last of the cultural and technical barriers to nonhuman animal exploitation which in previous epochs had set at least some limits to the scale and intensity of speciesist exploitation. The advent of the commodity system engendered both new powers of control and new markets for nonhuman animal products. European colonization—the private funding of overseas expeditions for the plundering of the Third World and the enslavement of foreign peoples—led to, among other things, the establishment of the "cattle" industry in the Americas and the true globalization of markets in nonhuman animal products.[13] Industrialization and with it technical innovations in the sexual reproduction, confinement, transportation, killing, and storage (via refrigeration) of nonhuman animals made possible entirely new scales of exploitation and slaughter. Above all, it was the emergence of new capitalist relations—monopolization of corporate industry, the creation of mass consumer markets, and the intervention of the capitalist state in subsidizing nonhuman animal industries—that made possible the extraordinary proliferation in nonhuman animal products that we see in the twentieth and twenty-first centuries.

There is no need for us to romanticize past forms of exploitative human-nonhuman animal relations in earlier epochs to observe that under modern capitalist relations the Earth's other beings have suffered a truly calamitous fall. The consolidation of capitalism has led to a worldwide system of production that is inimical to all animal life on Earth. Capitalism is inimical to animal life (including human animal life) because it reduces living beings to the status of commodities; because it cannibalizes the ecological order, destroying the conditions necessary to the survival and flourishing of life itself; because it engenders a "machinic" civilization, a technologized system of production, in which vulnerable beings—including human beings—are viewed as mere matter to be disposed of at will by capital; because it corrupts democracy and makes use of the state as a weapon against the powerless; because it aggrandizes and extends the reach of corporate power and influence over human life throughout society; because it alienates human beings from one another and from the other beings; because it conflates or blurs the distinction between subjects and objects, persons and things; because it creates a "second," artifactual nature that alienates us from other natural beings and leads us to mistake cultural and historical constructions for immutable, self-evident facts; because it "interpellates" or molds us, psychologically and behaviorally, into self-interested, isolated consumers, thus thwarting the emergence of new, alternate forms of culture and development, ones more compatible with an image of ourselves as free beings capable of compassion, moral deliberation, and public reason.

The question arises of whether such a system of total violence might be overcome, and whether a postcapitalist or socialist system would necessarily be any kinder to other animals. The fact that the tens of billions of other animals being exploited in capitalist industry have been summoned into existence not to meet human needs or wants but to produce profit suggests some grounds for hope, though perhaps not optimism. Were the speciesist system merely the outcropping of genuine human needs, the expression of our necessary requirements of life, then it would be in vain to resist or to question it, like opposing the breathing of air or the drinking of water. Since, however, the speciesist system is in reality an artifact of culture, it might in theory be done away with and replaced by another, more just system, in the same way that the institution of slavery, which was long viewed as a natural and immutable feature of human life, has largely been abolished.

But capitalism provides contradictory terrain for social activism and reform. On the one hand, capitalism tends to undermine traditional relations and norms, thus making room for new forms of culture and new values. The nonhuman animal rights movement indeed itself owes its existence, in part, to the emergence of capitalist relations, insofar as the social upheavals unleashed by capitalism swept aside traditional belief systems and forms of government and thus created the (uneven) conditions for mass literacy, rule of law, and representative democracy. On the other hand, however, capitalism undermines democratic institutions, cannibalizes nature, and fosters false, destructive needs and desires in the population. Complicating this picture, the crisis tendencies of capitalism meanwhile create both opportunities and risks. As the ecological problems associated with nonhuman animal agriculture worsen, we can anticipate new openings for nonhuman animal advocacy—new opportunities to educate members of the public about the true nature of the speciesist system. At the same time, the disintegration of the old capitalist order will continue to push many people into fear and conflict, as natural resources dwindle and the powerful classes seek to contain the aspirations of an increasingly impoverished human majority. Corporations, the state, and right-wing political movements will meanwhile continue to oppose animal rights and seek to prevent new, life-affirming forms of culture from taking hold.

As for whether nonhuman animals would necessarily fare better under a post-capitalist or socialist mode of economic and political life, answering such a complex question would depend on the nature of the socialist system that would replace it and on the ideological and cultural assumptions embedded within such a system. It thus remains the work of social justice scholars and activists everywhere to clarify these questions and to work for the development of an ethically inflected, nonspeciesist system of democratic socialism, one in which all animals, human and nonhuman alike, would be allowed to live in dignity and freedom.

NOTES

1. As I have suggested elsewhere, speciesism is indeed one of the few basic fixtures of the human condition—an *existential* structure providing human beings with a sense of their identity and "dignity." See Sanbonmatsu (2012).

2. This is not to say that the fruits of labor in the ancient world were equitably distributed—social hierarchy was a feature of all ancient civilizations, with wealth and status determined chiefly by caste and kin. Nonetheless, for many centuries economic activity remained bound closely to the traditional arrangements and needs of society. During the feudal period in Europe, for example, agricultural "products," including nonhuman animals, were either consumed directly by the peasant producers themselves, or were taxed or otherwise appropriated by the nobility, in order that the latter might maintain its traditional prerogatives and way of life. Family and clan wealth was heritable, not "entrepreneurial."

3. According to Rabobank (2016), 2015 "showed the largest [annual] increase in U.S. meat consumption since the food scares of the 1970s," a one-year jump of 5 percent.

4. As Marx observed, there is not one jot of exchange value in use value, nor one jot of use value in exchange value. We might say that the two values indeed inhabit different planes of existence.

5. See also Nibert (2002, 2013).

6. Past government efforts to destroy legitimate, nonviolent social movements, including, most notoriously, COINTELPRO, have been well documented. Since the 1980s, the FBI has been particularly interested in monitoring and undermining the more militant wings of the environmental and nonhuman animal rights movements.

7. A powerful illustration of the process of reification can be found in Steve Cutts's short animated film, *Man* (2012), available online. Though the filmmaker conflates capitalist exploitation with "man" as such, the film otherwise captures the terrifying dynamic of reification, which reduces living things to the status of things, leaving the Earth itself less and less capable of supporting many forms of life.

8. "Under capitalism animals have come to be totally incorporated into production technology." Barbara Noske (quoted in Nibert, 2013, 190).

9. According to Sue Coe, a full automation slaughterhouse is in fact already being developed in Abu Dhabi (private correspondence, July 10, 2016).

10. A parallel cultural trajectory toward reified forms of mass killing can be observed in the Pentagon's program to develop autonomous unmanned aerial vehicles (UAVs or drones) and robot soldiers capable of killing without direct human supervision or control. Whether on the automated battlefield or in the automated slaughterhouse, the process of reification is eliminating opportunities for human moral deliberation, moral accountability, and compassion.

11. Throughout public culture, we are seeing the systematic erosion of critical, life-preserving philosophical and ethical distinctions between and among machines, plants, nonhuman animals, and bacteria. Science fiction films such as *Interstellar* and *Her* suggest that we can enjoy far greater intimacy and connection with computers and robots than with nonhuman beings. A variety of writers have recently popularized the erroneous view that plants are sentient and have "intelligence." Meanwhile, cognitive scientists, neuroscientists, and some analytic philosophers have described consciousness itself as an illusion, an "epiphenomenon" of mechanistic processes of the "computer" that is the brain. Such developments only serve to reinforce the dominant perception that nonhuman animals are mere matter, to be shaped at will—or rather, shaped in accordance with the needs of capital itself.

12. As Carol Adams (1990, 47) notes, this "parallel trajectory" results in "a cycle of objectification, fragmentation, and consumption" of both nonhumans and of women.

13. See also Nibert (2002, 2013).

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Property, Profit, and (Re)Production: A Bird's-Eye View

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for Inky[1]

I wish I knew how it would feel to be free.

—Nina Simone

I wish I knew how to think outside of capitalism.

I was born in 1961, on the cusp of the current era of capitalism wherein consumer "goods" multiply at warp speed. I can still remember—barely—the days before there were 37 different varieties of orange juice[2] in a typical U.S. supermarket.

In that year, Rachel Carson must have been putting the finishing touches on *Silent Spring*, published in 1962. Reading it decades later, I gaped at her description of flocks of birds in urban and suburban backyards, the disappearance of which prompted women all over the United States to sound an alarm, eventually leading to the discovery that DDT and other poisons were to blame for the sharp decline in the populations of their feathered friends.

WHAT? THERE WERE MANY MORE BIRDS IN THE SKY ONLY A FEW YEARS BEFORE I WAS BORN?

I can almost imagine an urban skyscape with many more songbirds than when I was a child, but I can't know what effect(s) more color, more sound, more *life* might have had on my developing brain, nor can I change the fact that comparatively barren skies feel normal to me. Two or three times, I have had the good fortune to be among trees in which flocks of migrating birds have stopped to rest, and this has given me a glimpse of the days before deforestation, before billions of birds were shot out of the skies, but *that* felt exceptional to me, while machine-generated transmissions (radio waves, microwaves, and Wi-Fi) occupying airways that once thrummed with birdsong and the beating of wings is what feels usual.

It's similar for me with *late* capitalism, by which I mean the current cultural-economic state of affairs in which those machine-generated transmissions thrum with advertisements for the exponentially expanding swarm of consumer "goods" that have come to seem normal in this era of hyper-(re)production and consumption in which no relationship or idea, no clever phrase or dance craze, escapes commodification. The other day, I counted more than 60 varieties of mints and chewing gum arrayed above the conveyer belt at the grocery store checkout line. Until boredom provoked me to count, that felt normal to me, and I probably wouldn't have been quite so bored by a brief wait were it not for the constant stimulation that the Internet has taught my brain to expect.

All of which is to say that my ability to think about capitalism must be presumed to be compromised. Even if there were some site outside of capitalism from which to stand and survey it, significant features might seem so "normal" as to be unremarkable. I might be unable to imagine alternatives to aspects of the situation that feel natural because they have been ever-present within my own lifetime. I might not ask important questions about capitalism's unspoken assumptions—because I make those assumptions myself.

And so I ask myself: Who might be better able to notice the most salient aspects of capitalism? What might we see from their standpoints?

Animal Standpoints

In its most basic form, feminist *standpoint theory* reminds us that "one's social situation enables and sets limits on what one can know" (Harding 1993, 54–55). Given the degree to which my own colonized and commodified mind may be unlikely to perceive important things about capitalism, it occurred to me to ask: What can nonhuman animals tell us about capitalism?

As Alison Wylie (2003) summarizes it, standpoint theory holds that ". . . those who are subject to structures of domination that systematically marginalize and oppress them may, in fact, be epistemically privileged in some crucial respects. They may know different things, or know some things better than those who are comparatively privileged . . ." (26).

Some nonhuman animals, such as cows held captive on for-profit "dairy" farms, subsist entirely within capitalism, with every aspect of their lives, including their very bodies, shaped by its machinations. Other nonhuman animals, such as free-flying birds, cannot escape the climate change, pollution, and incessant encroachments on their habitat caused by capitalism but are not ensnared by its property relations. Nonhuman animals who might be considered inquilines in relation to humans—rats, raccoons, pigeons, and others who find ways to survive within human homes and communities—have yet another standpoint *vis a vis* capitalism, having carved out their own niches within it even as others of their kind (in the case of rats and pigeons) remain commodified captives.

Sandra Harding, who has perhaps done more than anyone to demonstrate the utility of standpoint theory, argues that "the activities of those at the bottom of such social hierarchies can provide starting points for thought . . . from which humans' relations with each other and the natural world can become visible. This is because the experience and lives of marginalized people, as they understand them, provide particularly significant *problems to be explained*" (Harding 1993, 54).

Could this be true for nonhuman animals as well? Could consideration of capitalism from the vantage point of nonhuman animals fundamentally and fruitfully *change the question?*

Indeed this has been the case for me. When I set out to imagine what nonhuman animals might tell us about capitalism if they could, I ended up with more questions than answers. At first that felt like failure, but then I noticed that these were *different* questions than critics of capitalism usually ask. In seeking to answer *those* questions, I hit upon a few ideas that might be useful foci for future investigations—or, even better, interventions—into capitalism.

The Pigeon Point(s) of View

As related by zoologist John McLoughlin (1978), the story of how pigeons came to be so plentifully among us reminds me of the entanglement of nonhuman animal exploitation, colonization, and capitalism: The rock doves who were the ancestors of modern pigeons lived amidst the people of the Mediterranean for millennia, in one of those mutually beneficial cohabitations so common in nature. But then, here and there, people got the idea to reshape the birds to better meet human wishes and began to deliberately interfere with their reproduction. Some sought heavier birds with bigger breasts. Others wanted lightweight long-distance messengers, and still others wanted feathers of specific colors for aesthetic or symbolic purposes. By the first millennium BCE, Egyptians used specially bred homing pigeons for communication, Hebrews sacrificed specially bred doves by the thousands in temple rituals, and people around the region raised pigeons for their flesh in structures called dovecotes. Roman soldiers picked up these practices and spread the dovecote culture, along with the birds themselves, across Europe, using homing pigeons to report back to Rome on their imperialist adventures. Similarly, the Arabs who took up the task of world conquest upon the decline of the Roman Empire spread the dovecote culture into South Asia, maintaining precise genealogical records of the homing pigeons they used to communicate across their expansive domain. Doves had become soldiers, conscripts in imperial wars.

By World War I, the use of pigeons in warfare was so common that 100,000 birds were used as military tools in the course of that conflict (Wallop 2014). At about that same time, the new science of experimental psychology discovered a new use for pigeons, as subjects of experiments. Meantime, within the United States, raising pigeons for "meat" began to be promoted as both a pastime and a commercial endeavor.

Today, many pigeons remain captive. "Meat" markets around the world sell plump young pigeons as "squab." In the United States, rural communities stage festive "hunts" by releasing captive-born birds to be shot out of the sky during their first real flight. Urban enthusiasts raise racing pigeons on rooftops, using the mates and the offspring of bonded birds to lure partners and parents into exhausting efforts to get back home. Unconstrained by any nonhuman animal welfare laws at all,[3] researchers subject pigeons to every imaginable kind of experimentation. Vendors make money selling pigeons to scientists and hobbyists, and, at least in France, pigeons remain military conscripts, ready to be drafted into conflicts not of their choosing (Parussini 2012).

Therefore, pigeons have had the opportunity to observe capitalism from every angle. What do they see?

First, it seems to me that pigeons might not make such a sharp distinction between capitalism and the practices that paved the way for that particular mode of exploitation and accumulation. Each of the key catastrophes of capitalism—private ownership, production, and profit—were visited upon pigeons by people long before accumulated assets coalesced into a configuration that political economists sprang up to call "capitalism." Understanding these continuities might help critics of capitalism to avoid analytic errors that have led some communist economies to become as heartless and environmentally ruinous as any capitalist endeavor.

Again and again in the process quaintly called "domestication," free-flying pigeons were lured into human-constructed nesting places only to be dispossessed of their offspring or made captives themselves. That is one way that "property" comes into being.

A pigeon considered to be property would know, instinctively if not through some process of cognition that we could understand, that the problem is not *private* ownership but ownership itself. To be owned and exploited by some egalitarian collective of unrelated people would not be less onerous than to be owned and exploited by some person or family of people.

In both cases, reduction to the status of property is the problem, which is then compounded by being utilized as a means of (re)production. The ruthlessness of production—in this case, either having your offspring taken from you to be made into "meat," if not being made into "meat" yourself—remains, regardless of the relations among the various makers, vendors, buyers, and users of the products.

Just as I find it difficult to think outside of late consumer capitalism, champions and critics of capitalism alike find it difficult to conceptualize a culture not centered on production. In *The Mirror of Production,* Jean Baudrillard (1975) notes "the virtual impossibility of thinking beyond or outside the general scheme of production" (18). This difficulty arises, in part, from the entanglement of the ideas of humanity and productivity.

In *The German Ideology,* Marx and Engels (1947) assert that men "begin to distinguish themselves from animals as soon as they begin to produce their means of subsistence" (7). Like me, Baudrillard (1975, 21) wonders, parenthetically, "Why must man's vocation always be to distinguish himself from animals?" More importantly, Baudrillard describes a link between productivity and human identity, as experienced by men—and I do mean "men"—living in cultures centered on the ethos of dominion of nature.

Baudrillard (1975, 19) critiques the way of thinking that "hallucinates man's predestination for the objective transformation of the world," finding in this widespread fantasy a key to the reduction of people to their labor power within both capitalist and communist political economies as well as a source of the reckless exploitation of nature, such that "production subordinates Nature and the individual simultaneously" (Baudrillard 1975, 54). People under the spell of this way of thinking see themselves reflected in the products of their labors, and "through this scheme of production, this mirror of production, the human species comes to consciousness *in the imaginary*" (Baudrillard 1975, 19).

This brings us back to the pigeon point of view. Recall that Europeans often rationalized the forced displacement of Native Americans and other indigenous people by asserting that the original inhabitants had not made productive use of the land. Both as indigenes themselves[4] and as captives brought along on voyages of conquest, members of the extended pigeon family witnessed the migrations of European humans from the lands they had so "productively" deforested to these new environs. Pigeons also have had a bird's-eye view of the accelerated expansion of the population of both people and farmed animals subsequent to the imperialist expansions that led ultimately to the globalization of capitalism. Historian and geographer

Alfred Crosby (2003, 75) imagines that "one who watched the Caribbean islands from outer space during the years from 1492 to 1550 or so might have surmised that the object of the game going on there was to replace the people with pigs, dogs, and cattle."

I'm not so sure what pigeons would have surmised. Surely, native pigeons and doves would have noticed the unfamiliar animals and reshaped landscapes that followed the European invasion. Perhaps they did notice that the people waging wars on forests were lighter-colored and differently ornamented than the humans to whom they were accustomed. Perhaps they thought of the difference in the same way as we distinguish between African and Asian elephants. If so, I wonder which behavioral differences might have seemed salient to them.

Hyper-reproductivity comes to mind. Like indigenous peoples everywhere, the native peoples of the Americas tended to keep their populations well below what the land could support. This makes good social *and* environmental sense, as it allows for there to be enough for everybody, even in the times of comparative scarcity that weather fluctuations sometimes present. The Catholic Iberians who first invaded the Caribbean and the Protestant Northern Europeans who later immigrated into what would become Canada and the United States had different ideas and practices. The flip side of the denigration for nonreproductive sexuality that they famously brought to the Americas was a valorization of profligate reproduction that has subsequently come to seem so normal as to appear natural. They went forth and multiplied as recklessly as they cut down trees. Over the centuries, this irresponsible habit (in combination with the despicable practice of importing captive people as laborers) added up to explosive human population growth.

And then passenger pigeons met profit. These peripatetic pigeons had been hunted, in deliberate moderation, by various Native Americans and thus must have perceived people as among the many predators of which to be wary. Immediately upon their arrival, the firearm-toting European immigrants must have seemed to be a different kind of animal. Over time, the foreigners subjected these avian indigenes to three new injuries: captivity, sport hunting, and (most lethally) commercial hunting. Some settlers converted "wild" birds into property in order to monetize their offspring. Others promoted pigeon killing as a wholesome form of recreation for boys and men. With the coming of refrigerated railroads, high-volume commercial hunting of passenger pigeons became such a lucrative endeavor that tens of thousands of birds were killed at a time. Not long after, the last passenger pigeon died alone in a zoo.

Let's look at that sorry story from the pigeon point of view. We can't! The closest matches, within human experience, are genocides from which there were few if any survivors, and records of these might help us to begin to empathize with the combination of horror and incomprehension surviving birds might have experienced surveying stacks of the dead bodies of their flock mates and family members. This is more like if bears, who sometimes do kill people, suddenly became able to kill people by the thousands, *and did so*, gradually emptying our cities as they spirited the bodies off to some unknown place for some unknown purpose.

I hope that imagining such a scenario can help to make profit seem strange, because this is the question that I think may have reverberated, in whatever way that queries ring in bird brains: Why take so many more than you can eat? Not just a few more, to take home to your nestlings or store for the winter, but more than you could consume in a lifetime? Those of us who have grown up within capitalism may tend to see the wish, or even the perceived need, for profit to be natural. Considering the question from the pigeon point of view, the profit motive becomes something that needs to be explained.

Live "Stock" Looks Back

One day, a cow jumped over a "beef" farm fence to birth a calf in the forest, far from the grasping hands of humans. She and her son then found their way to a friendly person who conveyed them to a sanctuary. The mother's fierceness in protecting her son from perceived threats made them a poor match for a sanctuary offering tours to the public, so they both came to VINE Sanctuary, where they eventually joined the hardy herd in our back pasture. The cows in that community organize their own affairs as they see fit. They often choose to sleep in the forest rather than in the barn and drink from a brook or pond rather than water troughs. Other than eyeballing everybody twice each day, just to ensure that nobody is ill or injured in any way, sanctuary staff stay out of the way.

Jan and her calf Justin have flourished in that setting. As Justin has grown up into a sweet-tempered young adult with a fondness for bird-watching, Jan has made friends with cows her own age. She no longer glares and prepares to charge any person who might dare to look too lingeringly at her son, but she still becomes visibly wary when strangers appear.

I've endured more than a few uncomfortable moments under the searchlight of Jan's gaze, hoping she will see that she need not charge at me to protect herself or her son. At such moments, it seems to me that she is both mad and mystified, angered and confused by what she has seen people do to cows. In Jan's expression when she looks at people, even when she is comparatively relaxed, I perceive a combination of challenge and question, as if she is prepared to fight an enemy she cannot fathom.

Maybe I'm wrong in this, but let's imagine that my empathic imagination is in this case correct. What is Jan mad about? What questions does she have?

I don't know enough about the farm from which Jan escaped to know whether she was artificially inseminated while chained into immobility or placed in a situation from which she could not escape a bull brought in for the purpose of impregnating her. Either way, she was not free to refuse to become pregnant with a child destined to be made into "meat." Depending on whether or not the small-scale farm from which Jan escaped was one of the increasingly common (and ostensibly "humane") slaughter-on-site facilities beloved by locavores, Jan would have either heard the screams as other cows were killed or simply witnessed cows wrestled from the herd and never seen again. Some of the victims were her children; others were her friends.

And for what? A cow or other ungulate who witnesses a herd member taken down by a predator also sees the reason for the attack. However upsetting, the incident makes sense to creatures whose auroch ancestors evolved in relationship to truly carnivorous fellow forest denizens, but wholesale slaughter and dismemberment (or disappearance) of relatives and other community members must shock the minds as well as the hearts of these exquisitely social nonhuman animals whose brains (like ours) evolved to be attuned to the experiences of others in the social group.

So, one question Jan might have is: Why?

Another question Jan might have is: How? What kind of creatures are people that they can do such things?

Yet another question Jan might have is: What *other* horrors might you people be capable of committing?

Cows can't understand capitalism. They feel its effects all too well, and they certainly know that people are the proximate cause of their woes, but it would be difficult for them to imagine the rationales used by people to explain any sort of nonhuman animal exploitation to themselves, much less the preposterous mathematics of an economic system that requires incessant growth to avoid collapse.

Those of us who understand, or *think* we understand, the logic of capitalism can exercise both empathy and solidarity by taking Jan's questions seriously. We can ask ourselves afresh: *Why? How? What else?* Instead of accepting "profit" as an easy answer, we can consider the profit motive a questionable phenomenon requiring some explanation. We can notice the sexual violation at the heart of "meat" and cow milk production, and we can join Jan in wondering what other obscenities might be forthcoming from people accustomed to perpetrating such perversities.

Multiplication and Division

Ecofeminist philosopher Lori Gruen (2015) stresses the importance of empathy as an essential cognitive tool for nonhuman animal advocacy.

Feminist anthropologist June Nash (2001) calls for us to use "peripheral vision" when seeking to understand the machinations of globalized capitalism. Having tried to follow that advice in considering capitalism from the perspectives of pigeons and cows, I end up with questions about several of the foundations of that socioeconomic system: property, profit, and (re)production.

OWNERSHIP AND IDENTITY

Nonhuman animals under the control of people don't experience themselves as property but as captives. Empathizing with this perspective makes property strange and draws attention to the violence implicit in it (jones 2006). Nonhuman animals contest captivity in many ways (Gruen 2014). They flee, fight back against their captors, and sometimes even free other animals (Hribal 2011). Thus, it seems safe to conclude that many nonhuman animals experience captivity as a kind of continuing assault.

The problem for nonhuman animals is not only that they themselves are liable to be violently converted into property (if not hatched or born into that status) but also that their habitats are considered by people to be property. Nonhuman animals also contest this, sometimes exercising notable ingenuity in organizing both individual and collective resistance to "development" (jones 2007), but sit-ins by baboons are no match for bulldozers. Hence, even if nonhuman animals were magically emancipated from the category of property, many misfortunes would remain. Property itself is problematic.

I've often imagined how I would explain property to somebody, like a pigeon, who is unfamiliar with the notion of ownership. Of course, a pigeon might understand very well the notion of exclusive use of a nesting cavity. Many birds who build nests certainly do defend them from interlopers and might well endorse the Lockean idea that mixing your labor with found materials entitles you to claim the resulting object as your own.

Most people think of "property" as things owned, but property theorists within philosophy and legal studies tend to use the word to refer to the relationships among people, codified and enforced by laws regarding ownership. In this way of thinking, property is most frequently conceptualized as a "bundle of rights" enjoyed by owners, along with perhaps some responsibilities (Penner 1997). While there may be some argument about whether this or that tangible or intangible item (such as an amputated body part or an idea) rightly falls under the reign of particular property regulations (Morales 2013), and while scholars will quibble (as scholars do) about whether "bundle" is the best metaphor, we should not miss the central insight: Property is a *relationship among people.* Property is ruthless in relation to nonhuman animals and other entities claimed as possessions because property is, in the minds of people, all about *people*.

Perhaps termites could understand our presumed license to seize a homestead without regard for others who might already be living there, but I wonder whether any nonhuman animal could understand the feeling of violation experienced by some human homeowners when some other-than-human animals happen into their suburban backyards. At first this feeling seems absurd. Nonhuman animals aren't party to the agreements people make with each other in order to establish private property, so it is silly for any person to expect nonhuman animals to respect property boundaries drawn up by people. Still, the *feeling* of trespass is real and tends to occur even when the nonhuman animal in question poses no threat.

Thinking about that leads me to notice two aspects of property that often go unremarked:

1. The affective components of the notion of property are wider and deeper than those usually acknowledged by property theorists, even when the objects of ownership are not of particular sentimental value.
2. Speciesism is implicit in the very notion of property, whether or not nonhuman animals are the property in question.

These aspects are related by the degree to which property ownership figures into "human" identity. While it, of course, makes sense for social nonhuman animals of any given species to make agreements among themselves about how they will share the various essential features of their habitats, people go further than this in the ideas and the practices that constitute property, simultaneously elevating and alienating themselves in the process of claiming ownership.

A pair of Canada geese nests, every year, at the edge of a pond past that I frequently drive. When they are nurturing eggs or nestlings, they certainly do defend themselves and their home from any perceived encroachment. Nonetheless, I've seen nothing to suggest that these geese consider themselves to be anything other than two of the many denizens of the pond. In contrast, the people on whose property the pond sits certainly do consider themselves to be the owners of the pond. In so doing, they set themselves above and apart from the waterfowl, frogs, insects, and turtles (not to mention the marsh grass and the water itself) who co-create the ecosystem that is the pond and thus might be considered to have even more of a claim to it.

I am suddenly reminded of the ranchers who feel furious when wolves consume a cow, considering the natural behavior of a handful of indigenous nonhuman animals to be a crime worthy of the death penalty for the whole species. Why such fury? Is it only the slight decrease in profit associated with the loss of one piece of "stock?" Or do the ranchers recognize the threat as more existential? Like the raccoon who tips over a suburban trash bin while committing the crime of rescuing food scraps from a landfill, those wolves are saying, "we don't recognize your system of property. We do not concede the Earth to you."

When nonhuman animals contest property, they also challenge the very basis of "human" identity. We should join them, however we can, and not only because property is so hurtful to *them.* To the degree to which our identities are bound up with what we own, we are alienated from our animal selves as well as the ecosystems upon which we depend for everything.

THE SUPERFLUITY OF SURPLUS

In currently common parlance, to be "extra" is to behave in an excessive manner. In the preceding exercises in empathic imagination, both pigeons and cows noticed and were mystified by the "extra" character of predation by people. From a human standpoint within capitalism, we can see that some of the people who shot hundreds or thousands of passenger pigeons at a time intended to sell their bodies for a profit. However, this leaves much unexplained, such as superfluous killings in the course of sport hunting. Moreover, why a person should *want* profit, which is just another way of saying excess, remains unclear. To people in profit-seeking cultures, the wish for *more,* if not the willingness to commit injuries up to and including killing for that nonessential pleasure, seems natural, but many other animals (including other humans) are collectively content with *enough.*

If we consider "enough" to mean both, (1) sufficiency of resources necessary for livelihood, including an adequate reserve against hard times, and (2) equity within exchanges, then the impulse to accumulate more than that really does need to be explained. From an ecological standpoint, the incessant alienation and the appropriation of as much surplus as possible from a finite planet seems suicidal, especially given another remarkable habit of the humans who created capitalism: overpopulation.

REPRODUCTION AND DUPLICITY

If the pigeons and doves indigenous to Europe were able to communicate with those elsewhere in the world, then they would collectively be able to tell a birds-eye tale of one group of apes depleting one part of the world, literally shipping off the surplus people that the deforested land could no longer support, and then starting the process all over again in other places.

If the pigeons who first were "domesticated" could shout a warning about into the future, they might say, "Watch out! They seem nice at first, *but then they steal your babies!!"* Both the human population explosion and the process of making other animals into property revolves around forced reproduction, and that brings us to patriarchy.

Ascent of Man

How did some humans become the kind of animals who identify themselves via ownership, monomaniacally pursue a fantasied infinite surplus, and center their cultures on incessant (re)production? To begin to answer the questions nonhuman animals might have about capitalism, we must trace some of the many intersections among sexism and speciesism, noticing the pathways by which patriarchy set the stage for an economics of hyper(re)production in the service of appropriation and accumulation.

From the pigeon point of view, patriarchy might look like the males of one species of ape battling each other—individually and in gangs—for control of females, land, and other animals. Each male fights on several fronts, deploying physical force not only in the competition with other males but also in the subordination of human and nonhuman animals as well as in the never-ending quest to administer the workings of the world. They raze forests, dam or divert waterways, and even sometimes chop the tops off mountains. They also wage war on any nonhuman animals who in any way impede their endeavors.

Why did they start fighting with each other? Did they first subordinate the females of their own kind and then extend that practice to other animals or vice versa? Those are good topics for another day, as are many other aspects of patriarchy that ecofeminists such as Carol Adams and Lori Gruen (2014) have identified as correlates of speciesism, but in order to understand how patriarchy paved the way for capitalism, we need only parse this simple phrase: *man versus man over resources.*

Let's come back to what "man" might be after looking at the other terms.

VERSUS

The centrality of competition to patriarchy can be missed when we (quite understandably) focus on the subjugation of women, nonhuman animals, and "nature" by human males. In addition to contributing to many of the more toxic aspects of masculinity, a combative rather than cooperative approach to the mutual use of material resources tends to create stockpiles and scarcity, both of which increase the likelihood of continuing conflict.

Whether due to insecurity, arrogance, or some combination of the two, males in a social system patterned by fights about property will tend, if they can, to amass weaponry and hoard resources. Hoarding by some creates scarcity for others, heightening the tension if not outright fighting and therefore setting the stage for never-ending warfare. Thus does the competition within patriarchy help to supply one of the keystones of capitalism: desire for surplus.

Surplus means *more.* In order for there to be more, reproduction of many kinds must be fostered or even forced. Thus does the wish for surplus that is a function of patriarchy contribute to the obsessive and coercive focus on reproduction known as *reprocentrism,*[5] which is a central element of capitalism.

Competition itself is, of course, another central element of capitalism. In addition to fomenting divisions of all kinds, cultures based on conflicts over property tend toward a fractured rather than holistic view of the natural world. Seeing forests or islands as made up of divisible entities to be assigned to various owners makes it difficult to think ecologically.

RESOURCES

Within patriarchy, males compete with one another to obtain the kinds of exclusive control over resources that are now codified in property law. Thus does patriarchy pave the way for another central element of capitalism: ownership. The conversion of everybody-other-than-men (or, in subsequent racist cultures, everybody-other-than-men-like-me) into potential property has other important consequences.

Within patriarchy, not only female and juvenile humans but also land and other animals are reduced to the status of resources to be exploited by "mankind." Living beings become mere inventory or "livestock." The violence by which this demotion is accomplished fosters callousness, which then facilitates further violence.

Reprocentrism becomes rape when animals, human or otherwise, are the stock to be accumulated. Repeated violations of the bodies of others both requires and reinforces callousness and a feeling of entitlement to dominion over others. These central aspects of toxic masculinity feed into and are fortified by the competitive aspects of patriarchy described above, forming an ever more vicious circle.

MAN

Within patriarchy, the social identities of adult males depend upon their competent performance of masculinity. Manhood is defined, in part, by participation in the competitions described above. "Real men" demonstrate their ability to control the women and other animals under their dominion. In many patriarchal cultures, *only* men may own property, and only property owners are considered real men.

I've often said that pastoralism and patriarchy may be seen as two sides of the same coin, with that coin being the profits of controlling somebody else's body (jones 2014b). Inherently hurtful to human and nonhuman animals, patriarchal pastoralism also set the stage for two of the most central components of modern-day capitalism: reprocentrism and the entanglement of identity and ownership. Hence, any efforts to undermine capitalism or speciesism must be mindful of the interconnections. Neither self-consciously "militant" nonhuman animal rights activism that embraces toxic masculinity nor vegan consumerism that encourages people to buy their way to liberation of other animals are likely to succeed in undermining either capitalism or nonhuman animal exploitation. Similarly, efforts to improve the standing of other animals within the existing legal framework, which ensnares all of nature in property relations backed up by state firepower, may bring some temporary relief of some forms of oppression but are unlikely to lead to true liberation.

Animality as Antidote

Here are some things that pigeons and cows might or might not have noticed about humans:

They like color. A lot. They decorate themselves and their dwellings, often experiencing such frivolity as absolutely essential. They plant flowers with no food value just for the pretty colors and for their scents, which can have almost intoxicating effects. They like intoxication too, seeking out sensations that feel freeing by an ingenious variety of means, including not only chemistry but also art and music.

While best known (among themselves) for their pronounced tendency to communicate by means of self-generated sound-symbols shaped into words and structured into sentences, these talking apes also use color and other kinds of sound to convey emotions and ideas. Many of them are able to denote sound-symbols visually, thereby increasing the distance across which they can communicate. Tool makers among them have invented various devices that increase that distance even further, so that their exchange networks now encircle the globe.

In other words, these are pleasure-seeking creatures who signal to one another incessantly. This extreme sociality makes sense in the light of their extreme vulnerability as neonates and their comparative lack of muscular strength, relative to other apes, even as adults. Not one of them could survive without some others.

However did such weaklings colonize an entire planet? The fact of that colonization offers a clue. Think of all of the different climates in which these virtually hairless apes abide. Think of all of the different ways they have fed, clothed, transported, and sheltered themselves. Think of all of the different tools, both material and conceptual, they have devised along the way and all of the different practices common in different places.

Quiet as it's kept, this diversity was once much more breathtaking than it is today. For all of the pseudo-variety on ostentatious display on the supermarket shelves of late consumer capitalism, the process of trade globalization has hastened the demise of languages and cultures begun by European imperialism. Nonetheless, the fact remains: Behavioral plasticity is a defining feature of the human species.

Behavioral plasticity refers to changes in behavior arising from an organism's circumstances, including "adaptation, learning, memory and changes in adult behavior as a result of experience during development" (Binder et al. 2008, 372). Animals and other organisms vary in the flexibility of their repertoire of responses to environmental circumstances. Noting that *all* behavior is, to some degree, both innate and learned, Mery and Burns (2009, 571) suggest that we see behavioral plasticity as "an interaction between evolution and experience." Most importantly, for our purposes, Morris (2014) highlights the role of behavioral plasticity in allowing organisms to persist in changing environments as well as colonize new environments.

In colonizing so much of the planet mostly by means of behavior,[6] human beings as organisms have demonstrated a remarkable degree of behavioral flexibility. This accounts for not only the diversity of personalities, abilities, and proclivities among humans as individuals but also for the diversity of cultures that have arisen as groups of people developed cultures in response to varying ecological circumstances.

We're at this juncture, standing amidst the clutter of consumer capitalism as polluted seas rise around us, because certain kinds of cultures—cultures that solve problems with violence, stripping habitats of resources and then moving on to do the same elsewhere—tend to reproduce themselves, but the behaviors encouraged by those cultures are no more (or less) "human nature" than more pacific and sustainable ways of being in the world.

People build concentration camps . . . and nonhuman animal sanctuaries. People amass war profits . . . and divest themselves of all wealth in order to aid others. Most people do a bit of both.

What makes the difference? In every case, a complex conjunction of social and material factors stretching back before birth and continuing throughout the lifespan. Capitalism constricts consciousness, favoring some ways of seeing the world and making others seem impossible, but other ways of thinking and being are not only possible but already present.

In his critique of the concept of "man-the-producer" that inflects both capitalist and communist thought, Baudrillard (1975, 75) asserts that "it is impossible to think this non-growth, this non-productive desire." I respectfully disagree. Lesbians, gay men, and otherwise queer people know all about desire that is not centered on reproduction, and our persistence in pursuing that desire despite social and state repression demonstrates its abiding power (jones 2014a).

People of all sexualities know, at some level, that our most heartfelt desires are not for the 37 varieties of orange juice and 60 kinds of chewing gum that consumer capitalism offers us. Let us tap into those desires. Let us allow Afrofuturists, anarchists, and artists of all stripes to teach us to imagine heretofore unthought-of aims and strategies that take our current social and material ecologies into account. Let's liberate all the animals, including ourselves, from the tyranny of property, profit, and production.

NOTES

1. Inky is an octopus who escaped from a New Zealand aquarium by climbing out of a tank, walking across a floor, and then slipping through a grate into a drainpipe that led to the sea. Would that we all could be as capable of imagination and action, and therefore as free, as Inky.

2. That's the number that I counted one day in one store. Since the brand Minute Maid alone offers 11 varieties—Premium Original Orange Juice, Pulp Free Orange Juice, Orange Juice with Calcium & Vitamin D, Pure Squeezed No Pulp, Pure Squeezed Some Pulp, Pure Squeezed No Pulp with Calcium & Vitamin D, Country Style, Heart Wise®, Home Squeezed with Calcium & Vitamin D; Kids+, and Low Acid—in both liquid and frozen form, and since other brands are similarly prolific in devising variations of the same product, the true total of available varieties of orange juice must be much higher.

3. Pigeons and other birds (along with rodents) are not classified as "animals" under the minimal federal nonhuman animal welfare regulations in the United States, leaving the vast majority of other animals in laboratories entirely unprotected.

4. Collectively, pigeons and doves compose the family *Columbidae*, which includes more than 300 extant and extinct species. (The birds commonly called "pigeons" are member of the "rock dove" branch of that family.) The broader order of *Columbiformes* includes not only pigeons and doves but also the unlucky indigene known to Europeans as the dodo.

5. In their germinal anthology, *Queer Ecologies*, Catriona Mortimer-Sandilands and Bruce Erickson (2010, 11) critique the "repro-centric" logic that presumes reproduction to be the prime aim of all animals. I use the term more broadly, to include not only such misunderstandings of animal behavior but also the monomaniacal focus on reproduction that is a defining feature of sexism, homophobia, and capitalism alike.

6. In those cases where humans eventually evolved new physical characteristics in response to new environments, this was made possible only by the persistence of people in those environments long enough for those changes to occur. That persistence was due to behavioral plasticity.

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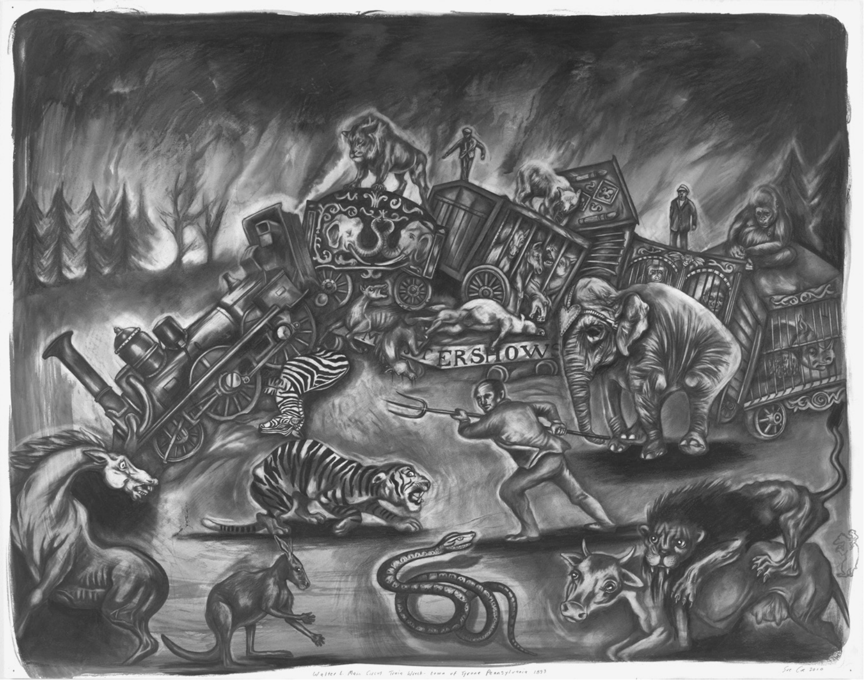
ERSHOWS
Walter L. Main Circus Train Wreck - town of Tyrone Pennsylvania 1893
Sue Coe 2010

Circus Train Crash. (Copyright © 2010 Sue Coe. Courtesy Galerie St. Etienne, NY)

3

Slaves to Entertainment: Manufacturing Consent for Orcas in Captivity

Núria Almiron

Scientists tell us that orcas have inhabited the planet's oceans for at least 6 million years—probably longer since they belong to the oceanic dolphin family, which first appeared around 11 million years ago. Considering that the genus *homo* is only about 2.8 million years old and modern humans, *homo sapiens*, emerged around 200,000 years ago—almost yesterday in geologic time—orcas have had much more time to evolve than humans.

In fact, if we assess evolution in intelligence without referring to human-centered criteria (i.e., not only based on human senses and the capacity of abstract thought), then cetaceans in general and orcas in particular would rank as more evolved sentient beings than humans in some important aspects. According to Dr. Lori Marino (2011, 115), a leading researcher in whale and dolphin brain anatomy, the brains of these species have evolved "along a different neuroanatomical trajectory, providing an example of an alternative evolutionary route to complex intelligence on earth." This, in short, means that if self-serving views of intelligence (designed to put humans on top) are discarded, cetaceans show how intelligence—and thus the capacity of feelings, emotions and suffering—can be displayed in different, fascinating ways.

Nowadays, the *Orcinus orca* is second only to humans (and possibly the common rat) as the most widely distributed mammal on Earth. They can be found in all oceans from Arctic and Antarctic regions to tropical seas—widely considered evidence of the success of the species, since this expanded habitat means a huge capacity to adapt to very different natural conditions. As in the case of humans, this adaption to the natural environment has additionally produced different orca cultures, which are mostly defined by food and communication. Depending on the area where they live, different groups of orcas have developed different diets, including fish and/or mammal prey (Ford, et al. 2011) and different hunting practices, including very creative group techniques (Neiwert 2015). Furthermore, each distinct population has its own dialect, that is to say, a set of stereotyped calls they use to communicate with one another (Morton 2004). All of these traits are cultural because they are learned, passed down over the generations, and refined over time.

This may seem basic compared to the behavior developed by humans in relation to diet and communication, yet this could well be a human delusion. The complexity of orca societies may be something that humans lack the cognitive capacity to truly understand, since it is based on brain capacities that we ourselves are missing. The most important of these, to our knowledge, is their echolocation ability—the kind of sonar orcas use to communicate and see, defined by some as a genuine sixth sense. Dolphin-family *echolocation*—an ability that bats also share to some extent—puts orcas among the most acoustically sophisticated animals on the planet, since it not only helps them hear sounds or detect the presence of objects, but it also produces clear and detailed visions of objects that go beyond mere vision, allowing them to see *inside* things (Marino et al 2007; Neiwert 2015). In fact, this is why the military employ dolphins to locate objects that we humans cannot find in spite of all our sophisticated technologies.[1]

However, what strikes scientists most about orcas is a universal trait they all share, regardless of their ecotype (habitat and cultural distinctions). As orca researcher Howard Garrett puts it: “Even though they are capable of extreme forms of aggression [during hunting] the prevailing ethos of their culture keeps them from harming each other and from harming other life forms they choose not to eat,” including humans (in Neiwert 2015, 92–93). Indeed, cetaceans not only continue to provide an enormous body of empirical evidence for complex behavior, learning, sociality, and culture, but orcas and other cetacean species may “have achieved a level of social-emotional sophistication not achieved by other animals, including humans” (Marino 2011, 125). Orcas’ social life in the wild cultivates empathy to their own species and, moreover, extends empathy to others.[2] Theirs are rich emotional lives organized into matriarchal societies that lack aggressiveness and have instead incorporated cooperation as a major trait. This leads Neiwert (2015, 249) to assert that, "if orcas have established empathy as a distinctive evolutionary advantage, it might behoove a human race awash in war and psychopathy to pay attention."

The latter gives particular pause for thought considering how we humans treat orcas. We pollute their waters with spills (the Exxon Valdez case is still having an impact on the local orca population), with contaminants (mostly through persistent organic pollutants or POP), and with noise (from cargo ship traffic, whale watching tourism, and recreational vessels). We extinguish their food sources (we have wiped out many salmon runs). We kill them (fishermen see them as a threat to their catches). We hunt them for zoological parks or breed them in captivity, where we have forced these fast-swimming, long-lived, intelligent social animals to perform, reproduce, and live in tiny concrete tanks separated from their family members. Even more appallingly, we sometimes forget them in *warehouse pools*—windowless backroom tanks with no daylight, total isolation, and zero stimulation, places where parks store animals that are either on sale, waiting for the legal conditions to allow their exportation, in need of separation (usually calves from mothers), or simply unsuitable for display in the show pool. Junior, an Icelandic orca in Marineland, Ontario, spent up to five years in such an enclosure prior to his death (Diebel 2012).

However, orcas have not been selected for this chapter because they are an apex predator or due to their complex social structure, rather because their capture for exhibition in zoos is a modern phenomenon that allows us to accurately track the linkages between capitalism and speciesism.

THE THEORY OF OPPRESSION

The theoretical framework of this chapter is grounded in the theory of oppression (Noel 1968), as applied by Nibert (2002) to speciesism. This framework does not deny the importance of psychological considerations, but these are situated within the context of structural forces. While I strongly believe that the true battle against oppression can only be fought within each of us, it would be naive to ignore the fact that moral behavior is strongly conditioned by the social environment, that is, by the institutional and economic forces that shape human society. As Nibert (2002) notes, in recent decades a growing number of critical sociologists have recurrently shown that all forms of oppression have historical and social structural causes that are rooted, not only but largely, in an unjust social structure. Stressing the psychological and moral foundations of oppression may lead to relevant individual efforts that challenge oppressive practices. These individual efforts are a necessary condition for social change, but they are not sufficient. As long as oppressive social structures persist, the belief system that prevents the large majority of human beings from changing their behaviors will remain nurtured and thus allow for oppression to be perpetuated.

Comprehending the role played by institutional and economic forces in the exploitation of other animals is useful if we are to understand the entire history of their abuse by humans. However, the emergence of capitalism has made this understanding much more necessary due to the development of a new and much more powerful institution of consent manufacturing: the mass media. They have joined the traditional institutions, or ideological apparatus in Gramscian language, of reproducing hegemony: the state, religion, and education (Gramsci 1992).

Consistent with the theory of oppression, speciesism is not considered here a bias or a prejudice but an ideology that justifies the mistreatment of other animals by humans—in particular, it is a type of anthropocentrism that denies nonhuman interests any moral consideration equal to humans, therefore justifying the exploitation of other animals. This chapter's case study, the abuse of orcas, has been chosen because it clearly demonstrates this point: how speciesist ideology—here the belief that humans have the right to exploit orcas—is not the cause of the abuse but rather an instrument created by the abusers to protect their business. It is not, therefore, a mere prejudice in the minds of humans but rather a set of shared beliefs built to legitimate the social order.

The political economy of orcas in captivity—a relatively new phenomenon with an easily traceable history—perfectly illustrates the three factors deemed necessary for the development and the perpetuation of oppression according to the theory of oppression: 1) competition for resources, 2) economic interest of an elite, and 3) ideological conditioning for obtaining the social rationalization and the legitimization of human actions. This chapter is organized in accordance with these three entangled forces. First, the history of whaling is briefly introduced to show how our perspective of whales, and more particularly orcas, was initially driven by the competition for resources. Second, the business of orcas in captivity is presented as evidence of how orca abuse has been motivated primarily by economic interests. Finally, we describe the ideological conditioning constructed by the industry's public relations and lobbying arms to legitimize the exploitation of orcas.

FROM *ASESINAS DE BALLENAS* TO *KILLER WHALES*

Although many non-Western mythologies have always venerated orcas—mostly as ancient creatures with spiritual powers—Western mythology has always considered them merciless killers that have terrified man on the ocean and on land. Their scientific name, the Latin *Orcinus orca*, also illustrates this perception, roughly translating as "whale belonging to the kingdom of the dead."

Since ancient times, orcas have featured prominently in "marine folklore as bloodthirsty, voracious" predators posing extreme danger to humans (Ford et al. 2000, 11). In the first century AD, in what is probably the first scientific description of orcas, the Roman scholar Pliny the Elder portrayed the orca as "a creature that is the enemy of the other species and the appearance of which can be represented by no other description except that of an enormous mass of flesh armed with savage teeth" (Roberts 2007, 175). Certainly, in Pliny's and later accounts from ancient times, it seems as if orcas' hunting traits and aggressiveness in hunting other mammals could somehow be transferred to how they might potentially treat humans—the myth building upon an expectation stemming from respect and fear. While we can only speculate as to why ancient Western mythology demonized orcas, the reason for their bad reputation over the past three centuries is well documented in the history of human fishing.

For millennia, the coastal communities of North and South America, Siberia, South Africa, New Zealand, Japan, and northern Europe killed whales for their "meat, oil, and blubber"—archaeological evidence suggests that the Inuit practiced whaling as far back as 3000 BCE. Those primitive catches were mostly for subsistence needs and constituted a largely "passive opportunistic enterprise" that did not pose a serious threat to whale populations (Richards 2014, 112). Things changed dramatically with the emergence of capitalism and industrial whaling in the seventeenth century as North American and European whalers organized fleets to actively pursue and hunt whales. Within three centuries, mass commercial whaling—with techniques that included killing both mothers and their calves—led to the extinction of some species in some areas of the world and the dramatic decline in numbers of hunted whales everywhere, reducing the industry to almost nothing by the end of nineteenth century.

From the early days of industrial fishing, orcas were always considered too small to be of interest to commercial hunters, yet they were seen as competitors due to the fact that different populations of orcas hunt some of the same prey as whalers (sea mammals) and fishermen (salmon). It is for this reason that the Basques inhabiting the coastline of the Bay of Biscay, probably the first Europeans to hunt whales commercially (Roberts 2014), labeled orcas *asesina-ballenas*, that is, *whale-killers* or killers of whales (Neiwert 2015). The term was wrongly translated into English as *killer whales*—suggesting a serial killer of all sorts of prey—a version that fitted well with orcas' reputation in Western mythology and, in the process, the interests of their competitors; that is, fishermen and whalers, both in need of justification for their gratuitous slaughter. In the past century, Neiwert (2015, 103) recalls that in Canada "fishermen in the Northwest frequently brought rifles along in their boats for the specific purpose of shooting at killer whales should they encounter them, both out of fear and out of a belief the 'voracious' orcas were competing with them for salmon." The threat fishermen perceived to their livelihood turned into the perception of a threat to their lives, even though orca attacks on fishermen in the wild were, and still are, almost unknown.

During the twentieth century, fishermen's concern regarding economic losses, and therefore their animosity towards orcas, was transferred to governments. In Norway, "it was feared that killer whales were decimating herring stocks, so the government encouraged hunting of the species by whalers, even subsidizing this hunt in some years. Between 1938 and 1980, an average of 57 killer whales were taken each year" (Ford et al 2000, 12). Ford et al. also report how in 1960 pressure applied to the Canadian government by sport-fishing lodges on Vancouver Island led to the Federal Fisheries Department developing a program to reduce the number of killer whales by shooting them from a land-based machine gun. Fortunately, the whales had moved out of the area by the time the culling program was about to begin. Viewing orcas as competitors for salmon in the Vancouver region, whether for industrial or sports fishing, is not devoid of irony, given how human populations have overfished, blocked rivers, and destroyed salmon habitat in that region and throughout the globe over recent centuries.

This negative reputation awarded to orcas due to the fishing industry seeing them as competitors for resources remained intact until late into the second half of the twentieth century, when the economic interests of a more contemporary industry—marine parks with captive orcas—promoted an image of orcas as "cuddly water-going pandas" (Neiwert 2015, 117). Neither the old narrative nor the new were true. However, it was precisely orcas' lack of aggressiveness towards humans in the wild that allowed for their capture, imprisonment, and training to perform in the billion-dollar business of the new marine circuses.

THE BUSINESS OF *AQUAPRISONS*

Aquatic zoos or *aquaprisons,* as they are referred to by Dunayer (2001)—also advertised as aquariums, oceanariums, or marine parks by the industry—first flourished in the United States in the late 1930s when Florida-based businessmen discovered that dolphins could be trained to perform stunts. By the 1950s, shows featuring dolphins had spread across the country, and from 1960 onwards, they reached Europe and the rest of the world. These spectacles were not limited to exhibiting marine animals but also forced them to perform like a circus act, an activity unambiguously driven by profit under the pretext of providing entertainment for families. The success of such shows at this time was strongly tied to the media campaign for dolphins promoted by the 1963 *Flipper* movie and subsequent *Flipper* television series, as well as the lack of legislation and concern for the lives of the captured animals during those times.

At first, the dolphin industry had not considered exploiting whales, even smaller ones such as orcas, but in 1964 an orca captured by an artist who had been commissioned to make a statue of one by the British Columbia government, who barely survived three months in captivity, turned into a media sensation. Moby Doll, as she was named, was probably the first orca to receive positive press in the media, and massive public attention triggered a demand for orcas among aquarium owners. The story of how the business of hunting orcas developed from this moment on is explained in full detail by Neiwert (2015).

Interestingly, prior to Moby Doll, another captured orca had been exhibited in the United States in 1961. She was called Wanda and was found disoriented in Newport Harbor, California. Although she died soon after being put in a concrete tank (apparently she was already ill when captured), her captors at Marineland saw a potential business exhibiting orcas and tried to hunt another individual in the months following her death. The difficulties involved in capturing these cetaceans led to the idea being abandoned, and the business, therefore, did not start at that time simply because humans had not yet discovered how benign orcas are. Once they did, and orcas' intelligence and learning capacity were revealed to us, the business took off with the help of a bunch of unscrupulous greedy entrepreneurs who mastered orca hunting and a few aquarium owners ready to take advantage of the fascination these magnificent creatures evoke in humans.

Although marine zoos had captured and bred other sea mammals over previous decades, orcas quickly became the main attraction of the aquariums exhibiting them. Due to this, parks decided to use them as one of their primary advertising strategies, as evidenced in many of their logos.

However, there is clear evidence that orcas in marine parks have always endured a very difficult life since the business first began. Orcas die very prematurely in captivity, having a radically lower life-span than in the wild (Jett and Ventre 2015). This is because in captivity they suffer from a high rate of lethal respiratory infections and severe dental problems, the former mostly due to the pools' water conditions, the latter to their tendency to chew on metal gates and concrete tanks out of boredom and anxiety (Rose 2011). The shallowness of orca tanks also forces them to spend a lot of time at the surface, which leads to prolonged exposure to ultraviolet rays, causing sunburn and retinal damage (Jett and Ventre 2011). Furthermore, there is also a high rate of aberrant behavior among captive orcas who are forced to engage in unnatural behavior, including aggressiveness towards other orcas in captivity and humans—both extremely rare in the "wild." In fact, the only instances of humans being injured or killed by orcas have occurred in captivity. Not to put too fine a point on it, all the years of holding orcas in captivity have clearly demonstrated something that should be common sense: orcas cannot cope with being kidnapped, separated from their families and spending their entire life confined in tiny concrete pools (where, moreover, they are mixed with orcas from disparate social groups). Nor, in the case of orcas born in captivity, do they endure living in such conditions from birth. These extremely social, cultural, and intelligent animals are severely physically and psychologically sickened in aquaprisons, as the documentary *Blackfish* visibly revealed (Cowperthwaite 2013).

The main orca portrayed in *Blackfish*, Tilikum, was involved in the killing of three human beings between 1982 (when he was captured) and 2016. The last attack, which killed SeaWorld trainer Dawn Brancheau in 2010, was even recorded live and broadcasted across the world, generating great public commotion and some changes in regulations protecting trainers in the United States. However, the business has continued despite extensive scientific evidence regarding the miserable life we force these animals to live in captivity, the unnecessary to human risks resulting therefrom, and the increasing public opposition to these parks. The reason for prolonging the experiment of confining marine mammals in tiny concrete tanks can be reduced to one word: business. Despite the growing public sensitivity, the increased regulation, and the impact of the *Blackfish* documentary, 23 million people still visited SeaWorld parks alone in 2015.

In January 2016, there were at least 55 orcas in captivity across the world (46 on display and 9 awaiting exhibition in China) in at least 12 different parks. SeaWorld was by far the largest captor of orcas, with 29 in captivity (six of them on loan to Loro Parque, in Spain[3]) and $1.37 billion in revenues in 2015. The remaining 17 orcas were being exhibited by other companies in France, the United States, Canada, Japan, Argentina, and Russia at the beginning of 2016 (see Table 3.1).

According to the Whale and Dolphin Conservation Society, from 1961 to 2015 at least 150 orcas were captured in the wild, and at least 163 died in captivity (of which 127 were wild-captured), a figure which does not include around 30 miscarried or stillborn calves that died prematurely. An

Table 3.1 Captive Orcas Industry (January 2016)

Owner	Parks owned (year of birth) Visitors per year	Country	Total of orcas confined	Orcas who died in the parks since opening	Visitors per year (last available)	Revenues
Blackstone Group (private equity firm). (SeaWorld Entertainment Inc. is listed on the stock exchange.)	SeaWorld California (1964).	United States.	Corky 2 (wild-caught in 1969). Kasatka (wild-caught in 1978). Ulises (wild-caught in 1980). Orkid (born in captivity, 1988). Shouka (born in captivity, 1993). Keet (born in captivity, 1993). Nakai (born in captivity, 2001). Ikaika (born in captivity, 2002) Kalia (born in captivity, 2004) Makani (born in captivity, 2013) Amaya (born in captivity, 2014)	16	w	SeaWorld Entertainment Inc. (2015) $1.37 B.
	SeaWorld Florida (1973).	United States.	Katina (wild-caught in 1978). Tilikum (wild-caught in 1983). Kayla (born in captivity, 1988). Trua (born in captivity, 2005). Nalani (born in captivity, 2006). Malia (born in captivity, 2007). Makaio (born in captivity, 2010).	12		
	SeaWorld Texas (1988).	United States.	Takara (born in captivity, 1991). Kyuquot (born in captivity, 1991). Tuar (born in captivity, 1999). Sakari (born in captivity, 2010). Kamea (born in captivity, 2013).	9		

Wolfgang Kiessling (private owner).	Loro Parque (1972).	Spain.	Keto (born in captivity, 1995). Tekoa (born in captivity, 2000). Kohana (born in captivity, 2002). Skyla (born in captivity, 2004). Adan (born in captivity, 2010). Morgan (wild-caught in 2010).	1	1 M.	Loro Parque €62 M.
Parques Reunidos (a Spanish-founded amusement park group owned by British investment funds).	Marineland Antibes (1970).	France.	Inouk (born in captivity, 1999). Wikie (born in captivity, 2001). Moana (born in captivity, 2011). Keijo (born in captivity, 2013).	8	1.2 M.	Parques Reunidos total revenue (2014): €0.5 M.
	Miami Seaquarium (1955).	United States.	Lolita (wild-caught in 1970).	1	0.5 M.	
John Holer (private owner).	Marineland Ontario (1961).	Canada.	Kiska (wild-caught in 1981).	17	1.2 M.	-
Granvista Hotels & Resorts (private company).	Kamogawa SeaWorld (1970).	Japan.	Lovey ((born in captivity, 1988). Luna (born in captivity, 2012). Lara (born in captivity, 2001). Earth (born in captivity, 2008).	11	-	-
Nagoya Port Foundation (public aquarium).	Port of Nagoya Aquarium (1992).	Japan.	Stella (wild-caught in 1987). Ran 2 (born in captivity, 2006). Rin (born in captivity, 2012).	2	-	-

(*continued*)

Table 3.1 Captive Orcas Industry (January 2016) (continued)

Owner	Parks owned (year of birth) Visitors per year	Country	Total of orcas confined	Orcas who died in the parks since opening	Visitors per year (last available)	Revenues
Fundación Mundo Marino (private foundation).	Acuario Mundo Marino (1987).	Argentina.	Kshamenk (wild-caught in 1978).	3	-	-
God Nisanov & Zarakh Iliev (Russian billionaire property developers).	Mosquarium (2015).	Russia.	Narnia (wild-caught in 2012). Nord (wild-caught in 2013). Juliet (wild-caught in 2014).	-	-	-
Chimelong Group (private conglomerate, leader in China's tourism industry).	Chimelong Park (2014).	China.	9 imported; none on display in March 2016 (all wild-caught between 2012–16).	-	-	-

Source: Parks' websites, annual accounts, WDC 2016.

undetermined number of orcas have been born in captivity since 1985 (World and Dolphin Conservation Society 2016).

Regulatory changes have triggered several restructurings of the industry. U.S. authorities banned the capturing of orcas in their waters in 1972,[4] resulting in the business moving to Iceland. The EU also prohibited the wild capture of cetaceans from EU waters and the import of wild-caught cetaceans for commercial purposes at the end of the last century.[5] Cetaceans have still been imported in both cases, ostensibly for education or research purposes, although these individuals have also been displayed in commercial dolphinaria despite neither the United States nor the EU issuing a permit for transferring a "wild orca" to a marine park since 1989. A number of other countries have also banned the capture of orcas, and several have banned keeping dolphins in captivity or introduced such strict regulations that no one is able to meet them. Furthermore, a few countries have banned the captivity of all cetaceans (Costa Rica) or all animals in exhibitions (Bolivia). However, these increasing legal barriers did not bring an end to the industry, but rather made it focus its energies on captive breeding, therefore only adding further reasons for concern over this business.

The ban on capturing orcas in Europe and North America meant that they suddenly became even more valuable to the parks based there—not just because of the limitations restrictions placed on the supply of "wild orcas" but also because of breeding programs, which turned captive males into priceless semen producers.[6] The aim of these programs was to spawn a surplus of animals that could be shipped back and forth between parks, whenever necessary, with no intention of ever releasing them to the wild, yet the genetic pool of captive orcas is very limited, and the breeding programs have, therefore, already resulted in heavy inbreeding (Cronin 2014). Furthermore, marine parks impregnate females at too early an age, a very disturbing practice that literally means raping adolescents due to the fact that artificial insemination is common business. Thus, although captures in the wild ended for these parks, the ethics of keeping orcas in captivity actually worsened during the same period.

In addition, the capturing of orcas in other regions is still far from over. Between 2012 and 2016, at least 15 orcas were captured in the Sea of Okhotsk. The high prices Russian and Chinese parks are willing to pay for an orca are well known to fishermen and poachers in the region (The Dolphin Project 2015). This does not apply only to orcas: 81 beluga whales were caught in the Sea of Okhotsk in 2013 alone. Thirty-four more were believed to have died as a result of the capture operation, and seven died in temporary holding tanks, according to a 2014 paper presented to the Scientific Committee of the International Whaling Commission in Bled, Slovenia (Gilman 2015). Meanwhile, in the West, SeaWorld's profits and share price have been in clear decline since 2013, the year of the release of *Blackfish* (see Table 3.2).

Table 3.2 SeaWorld Entertainment Inc.—Financial Data (in U.S. $)

	2010	2011	2012	2013	2014	2015
Net revenue	1.20 B	1.33 B	1.42 B	1.46 B	1.38 B	1.37 B
Net income	–45.46 M	14.79 M	74.22 M	51.92 M	49.91 M	49.13 M
Stock price (Last in the year) (1)	-	-	-	28.77	17.90	19.69

(1) SeaWorld Entertainment Inc. began trading on the New York Stock Exchange on April 19, 2013, with a ticker symbol of SEAS.

Sources: SeaWorld SEC 10-K Fillings and Yahoo-Finance.com

There can be no doubt that the cruel industry of aquaprisons is first and foremost a big business based on entertaining the masses. The nature of this business is even clearer if we look at the ownership of some of the largest companies: SeaWorld, Marineland Antibes, and Miami Seaquarium were owned by investment funds in 2016 and the remaining parks, notably the new Russian and Chinese ones, by billionaires or private conglomerates built on property and tourism (see Table 3.1). The story these parks have disseminated about themselves in recent times as being research and education facilities is at odds not only with the reality of the inmates confined in their tanks and cages but also with the nature of the parks' owners, mostly businessmen and speculators. How is it that entertainment facilities clearly promoted by capitalist elites who force "wild animals" into slavery have been able to survive for so long?

OF ADVERTISING, PUBLIC RELATIONS, AND LOBBYING

Of course, the answer to the above question is rooted in the ideological conditioning that marine zoos have consistently created to obtain social rationalization and legitimization for their actions. When they were first opened, these aquariums did not conceal their exclusive aim of making profit from animal shows and exhibitions, yet public sensitivity and regulation progressively forced them to mask entertainment behind a veil of education and scientific research, despite the business—that of exploiting public interest in marine mammals and particularly orcas (as well as the self-indulgence of the masses) to make money—remaining unaltered. Since 2013, however, the industry has been forced to invest more in advertising and public relations to convince the public that their activities are innocuous, belying the dramatic lessons we have learnt in the last three decades regarding both orcas in captivity and in the wild.

The public image of orcas has not remained purely in the hands of aquariums, however. Hollywood has also helped to reshape the reputation of orcas from vicious killers to marine pandas through at least three films that portray a meaningful transformation of their image: *Namu, the Killer Whale* (Benedek 1966), *Orca: The Killer Whale* (Anderson 1977), and *Free Willy* (Wincer 1993). *Namu, the Killer Whale* was the first time that orcas were depicted as not only benign but also smart. The starring orca was one of the first to be captured, and the name Namu was also later used as a show-name for different orcas in SeaWorld shows. *Orca: The Killer Whale*, despite being a terribly low-quality movie, also portrayed orcas as intelligent, even moral, beings, while *Free Willy* sent out the message of captivity being negative for orcas back at the beginning of the 1990s.

The impact of Hollywood films on the industry is unknown, yet from the 1990s onward, all aquariums adopted the traditional strategy of zoological parks to build an image of themselves as great contributors to education, conservation, science, and research in order to justify keeping "wild animals" in captivity. Some of the parks, including the largest players in the market, launched foundations or research centers to strengthen this profile, for instance: Fundación Mundo Marino (1987), Loro Parque Fundación (1994), Foundation Marineland (1998), SeaWorld & Busch Gardens Conservation Fund (2003), or Fundación Parques Reunidos (2011). A closer look at the parks' websites in 2016 showed how far this had gone over the years: education and research saturate every element and are sometimes stressed at an even higher level than entertainment, while words like *endangered species, conservation, rescue, rehabilitation, love, respect,* and *care* are ubiquitous on the majority of these websites. It is revealing that the word *captivity* did not appear one single time in SeaWorld's 2014 annual accounts, while *care*—referring to the animals forced to live in its three parks—appeared up to 32 times. Thus, rather than having orcas in captivity, SeaWorld refers to this as having orcas under *human care,* a blatant display of how marketing and advertising have redefined concepts by using language as a tool for masking reality.

Since the 1970s, the aquarium industry has also intensively created different trade organizations and lobby groups to protect its interests. The European Association for Aquatic Mammals (EAAM) was created in 1972. It was followed in 1992 by the European Association of Zoos and Aquariums (EAZA) and the Alliance of Marine Mammal Parks and Aquariums (AMMPA), the latter under the leadership of the most powerful stakeholder in the industry, SeaWorld.[7] It is interesting to note how the language these organizations use has completely suppressed the reality suffered by the marine animals they exploit—that of captivity and exhibition—to focus on the alleged interest they hold for humans—discovering and enjoying the animals on display—as well as conservation and research. For instance, on the 2016 AMMPA website (http://www.ammpa.org), the lobby group defines itself as an international association representing organizations "dedicated to the highest standards of care for marine mammals and to their conservation in the wild through public education, scientific study, and wildlife presentations." On the same page, the lobby group states that it collectively "represents the greatest body of experience and knowledge about marine mammal care and husbandry." Suppression of the captive reality is notable in the lobby group's narrative, in spite of the fact that the whole justification for its purpose is based on the problems caused by captivity itself. AMMPA also defines itself as an organization "dedicated to the concerns and issues that affect the public display of marine mammals." The orca fact-sheet on AMMPA's website even adjusts the facts to suit captivity regulations. AMMPA maintains that orcas in the wild and in marine aquaprisons have the same longevity, disregarding the well-known fact that orcas live longer in the wild, where they can survive for several more decades free from the diseases developed in captivity (Jett and Ventre 2015). Reframing the reality of nonhuman animals in parks by means of the education-research-caring tactic has been the main aim of the industry's lobby groups since their creation.

It should be acknowledged that the educational and scientific transformation depicted in the parks' public image is not devoid of truth. Most aquariums are involved in the rehabilitation of "wild animals" and research.[8] However, they also conduct invasive research projects aimed at furthering knowledge about marine animals mostly for human interests. These projects are at the very least controversial due to the fact that they can be seen as rather sterile in terms of species protection and very harmful in terms of the well-being of the individuals involved. The most serious drawbacks of research conducted by aquariums are: (1) the fact that these programs can in no way address the real causes of the problems "wild animals" endure—that is, the growth of the human population, which is decimating ocean life and increasingly polluting the water with waste—and of course (2) that they cannot morally justify keeping sentient beings in captivity (let alone forcing them to exhibit and perform). Furthermore, there is a lack of evidence for the educational effects of zoos. Studies have actually shown the opposite, that is, the serious obstacles to obtaining meaningful learning from zoos (Marino et al. 2010). These ethical contradictions have proven to be too blatant, and the industry's science- and education-washing strategy has not been able to prevent a second wave of public attention to orcas, this time much more aggressive.

This new wave of hostile public attention started in 2012 with David Kirby's book, *Death at SeaWorld*; this was followed by the *Blackfish* documentary (2013), Sandra Pollard's book *Puget Sound Whales for Sale* (2014), David Neiwert's *Of Orcas and Men* (2015), and Johan Hargrove's *Beneath* *the Surface* (2015), all of which focused on revealing the dark side of the industry and the captivity business. Simultaneously, an endless list of websites protesting orcas in captivity and marine parks emerged promoted by animal activists, former trainers, animal protection organizations, and concerned individuals.[9] This time the industry, led by SeaWorld, did not limit itself to defense via the science-washed image but went on the attack. SeaWorld was itself the focus of *Blackfish* and reacted angrily to the documentary by launching an unprecedented advertising campaign in the traditional media and through its websites. This included a new SeaWorldcares.com site, which opposed the "lies" portrayed in the documentary and provided the "truth about *Blackfish*," labeled as "propaganda." The campaign, which was said to have spent $10 million on marketing (Titlow 2015), offered news media a list of eight points to rebut the film's content. A quick review of these points makes it easy to agree with Neiwert (2015, 127) when he states that "in reality, [they] were all distortions or factually false themselves, including the assertion that we don't really know how long orcas live in the wild." For instance, SeaWorld claimed that it does not separate mothers from their calves, which is only true if one defines a calf as one-year-old or younger, as SeaWorld does.

After the science and education rebranding and the verbal belligerence of the campaign against *Blackfish*, the SeaWorld public relations team adopted a third tactic, a sort of "let's join the public outcry" for orcas. It was, however, conveniently redefined to adapt to SeaWorld's needs. In 2015 and 2016, the company announced plans to phase out performances by orcas and breeding programs, and orcas would from then on be exhibited in new tanks allowing for more "natural behavior." The reason put forward for this was that the company "needed to move where society was moving" (Kay, Schneider and AP 2016). This tactic expanded on the core message from its previous campaigns of "we also care" in an attempt to look as if SeaWorld was adapting to the terms of the public outcry. Yet this tactic left its main strategy unaltered—continuing to exploit orcas for economic reasons—and concealed the fact that concrete tanks, regardless of improvements, can never provide a natural environment for orcas. Furthermore, the public relations tactic of "we also care" has always been at odds with the industry's much less visible lobbying actions. While the industry's public relations and advertising campaigns persistently appeal to its commitment to the well-being of the marine mammals confined in its parks, it has simultaneously been lobbying hard against any regulation trying to improve the life of orcas in captivity and, most importantly, against liberating them. AMMPA, in particular, has focused from the beginning on proving the impossibility of successfully liberating an orca into the wild even in the face of excellent results, as was the case with Keiko in 2002. Keiko was an outstanding example of how not to liberate a captive orca (without identifying her home pod and giving her a real chance to reunite with her family) and at the same time was successful in spite of the tragic ending (she was clearly happier in the open ocean but died the following year from a lung infection common in captive orcas). The role of the aquariums' lobbying in this episode, determined as they were to prove that the Keiko experiment was a failure in spite of the clear improvement in the orca's quality of life, is explained in detail by Neiwert (2015, 208–220).

The public relations campaigns also conceal the fact that the industry has not made a single change on its own. Cruel orca-capture techniques were banned in the United States, as was the import of animals captured in the wild in North America and the European Union,[10] and the exhibitions and breeding programs had been made increasingly difficult by legislation,[11] let alone the pressure of activists and, more recently, of some news media with increasingly well informed journalists. In the meantime, the single real act that would show a true commitment to the orcas and other marine mammals in confinement—liberation—has been systematically opposed and hindered by the industry.

ENTANGLEMENTS OF OPPRESSION

Zoological parks emerged in the early nineteenth century to exhibit the living trophies of imperial conquest. In the beginning, they displayed human and nonhuman animals, demonstrating how connected imperialism was to racism and speciesism. Zoos eventually stopped exhibiting members of our own species in cages and rebranded themselves as main actors in species preservation and public education, yet both are fallacies that research and common sense have already unveiled. As Marino, Bradshaw, and Malamud (2009, 25, 27) put it, "by definition, confinement subordinates its captives and gives the viewer complete power over them . . . We are out here; they are in there" while "a zoo filled with empty cages might be a more realistic way to convey the impending loss of species." Even worse, the message sent out by zoos of any kind is that captivity is normal, concealing the fact that forced confinement is cruel and forced exhibition simple slavery.

As has been evidenced throughout this chapter, the human abuse of orcas perfectly exemplifies the three factors of the theory of oppression: they were first seen as competitors for resources and demonized, then exploited for economic interests as fascinating majestic beings, and communication tactics were used by the elites to manufacture consent for both narratives. Beyond the elites, however, other human beings have also suffered the consequences of our immoral treatment of other species, like whalers—once seen as the worst profession in the world—or orca trainers—who not only risk their lives with these large marine mammals in their tanks but also endure many of the problems that orcas face by spending so much time in intensively chemically treated waters.

Humans are not speciesist, per se; rather interests (mostly economic) make us so. The situation is, therefore, reversible and can be undone at any time with huge benefits for all. As the lobby groups clearly see and panic about, acknowledging that orcas must be liberated will automatically lead society to realize that all captive animals in zoos and aquariums should not be there.

At the time of writing this chapter, the two oldest orcas in captivity are females, Corky and Lolita, having achieved the heartbreaking records of spending 46 and 45 years in a concrete tank, respectively. Corky currently lives in SeaWorld San Diego with several other orcas, and although she has given birth many times, none of her offspring have survived in captivity. Lolita has been living in the Miami Seaquarium since she was captured and is the last surviving whale from the bloody Puget Sound captures of the 1960s and 1970s, the hunting episode that laid the foundations for the captive-orca industry. Lolita is living in the smallest orca pool in North America and has been alone with a few dolphins in her tank since 1980, when Hugo, her male partner, died of a brain aneurysm after years of routinely slamming his head into the walls of the pool.

Both Corky and Lolita are perfect candidates for release, since their home pods in the wild are well known. Once the tactics of manufacturing consent for this cruel industry are visible and no longer accepted, zoos and marine parks have the unique opportunity to fully and ethically reshape their business. The use of digital media allows for the best substitute of real nonhuman animals for educational purposes, while conservation efforts can focus on the protection and restoration of wild habitats, not keeping alive inmates in completely unnatural conditions. Of course, the industry will sooner or later have to take responsibility and show true love and care by releasing its captives into sea pen sanctuaries where they can either be rehabilitated and returned to the ocean or, at the very least, spend the rest of their lives in a setting that is as close as possible to the open ocean.[12]

NOTES

1. For further information, see the U.S. Navy Marine Mammal Program: http://www.public.navy.mil/spawar/Pacific/71500/Pages/default.aspx.

2. Orcas have been seen feeding other members of their groups suffering from problems, taking care of each other, waiting for slower members, and taking care of other species (Neiwert 2015).

3. Recognizing the need for crowd control in their tanks, SeaWorld entered into a financial agreement with Loro Parque to send them their “excess orcas” on breeding loan.

4. The U.S. Marine Mammal Protection Act (MMPA) of 1972 made it illegal to hunt or harass marine mammals in the United States.

5. The Habitats Directive (92/43/EEC) prevents the wild capture of cetaceans from EU waters, and EC Regulation 338/97 prohibits imports of wild-caught cetaceans for commercial purposes.

6. SeaWorld insured Tilikum for several million dollars for this reason (CBS News, 2010).

7. Many other international and regional umbrella professional organizations lobby for aquariums' interests, including WAZA (the World Association of Zoos and Aquariums), AZA (the Association of Zoos and Aquariums), BIAZA (the British and Irish Association of Zoos and Aquariums), ZAA (the Zoo and Aquarium Association), JAZA (the Japanese Association of Zoos and Aquariums), and SEAZA (the South East Asia Zoos Association).

8. It is worth noting that this is all but compulsory by law in the European Union, where a directive introduced in 1999 to strengthen the conservation role of zoos made it a statutory requirement that zoos participate in conservation and education.

9. Some active examples in March 2016 were: savelolita.org, orcahome.de, orcanetwork.org, orcaresearch.org, marinelandindepth.com, orcaaware.org, orcaunited.com, facebook.com/ontariocaptiveanimalwatch, theorcaproject.wordpress.com, miamiseaprison.com, www.freemorgan.org, seaworldofhurt.com.

10. For a description of the methods used by the whalers, see Hoyt (1992).

11. For instance, SeaWorld's announcement of stopping its breeding programme in March 2016 followed the response in October 2015 by the California Coastal Commission to approve plans for a new, expanded orca habitat only if the theme park agreed to end the captive breeding of orcas.

12. Tilikum, the orca whale mentioned earlier in the chapter who was exploited by Seaworld, died on 6 January 2017 while this book was being prepared for publication, after three decades of confinement.

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4

ZooBiz: The Conservation of Business?

Rob Laidlaw

The parking lot was massive, capable of accommodating many thousands of vehicles. Guests parked their cars and then walked to designated waiting areas to catch a shuttle all the way to the main gate. Upon disembarking from the shuttle, they encountered a line of people waiting to buy tickets. The line snaked its way away from the entrance, and I stood at the end of it. Approximately 30 minutes later, I reached the ticket booth and purchased a single-day pass for more than $100. After moving into another shorter line, my pass was checked, and I was at last allowed to enter Disney's Animal Kingdom Theme Park.

Throughout the years, I had heard a great deal about Animal Kingdom. It had routinely shown up on lists of the best zoos in the United States, so I was anxious to finally pay it a visit. I didn't know very much about the zoo, other than they had sent some elephants to a nearby facility called the National Elephant Center, and one of those elephants had died.

The last time I had visited anything Disney was decades ago during a family vacation in Florida when we spent a day at the original Disney Magic Kingdom theme park. The big attraction at the time was the brand-new Space Mountain ride, an indoor outer space-themed roller coaster. Today, there isn't just one Disney theme park in Orlando but several, and Animal Kingdom is the newest. A walkway from the entrance led me past several small "wildlife" displays and then over a bridge to Discovery Island and the base of the Tree of Life, one of Animal Kingdom's most iconic features. A massive artificial sculpted tree 145 feet high and 50 feet wide at its base, the Tree of Life incorporates more than 300 nonhuman animal carvings on its trunk, branches, and roots. The structure is supposed to represent the diversity and interconnectedness of life on Earth. At its base were various live "wildlife" displays featuring flamingos, lemurs, and other living beings.

Beyond Discovery Island were the other main sections of the park—Africa, Rafiki's Planet Watch, Asia, and DinoLand USA. The first on my agenda was Africa. Africa's access point was Harambe, a simulation port town featuring architectural styles from different regions of Africa along with a conglomeration of food stands, restaurants, gift stores, and other outlets where visitors could purchase a variety of goods and services. Several African "wildlife" species could be viewed by following the visitor pathway to their respective cages and enclosures, but most required boarding a truck or train. For example, to view the dozens of savannah species, including elephants, rhinos, hippos, and lions in a subdivided 100-acre compound, visitors were required to board one of the Kilimanjaro Safari trucks, and, of course, there was a line-up.

The line moved slowly, and nearly 90 minutes elapsed before I was at the front ready to board a safari truck. There were so many people in line it was impossible to tell exactly how long it was because it snaked back and forth in irregular ways and was obscured by vegetation, a design strategy often used by amusement parks and other high-traffic facilities to interrupt customer sightlines and help create the impression that things are less crowded than they really are.

The safari trucks were packed with dozens of people, and as soon as one was full, off it went, and another pulled up. The trip into the savannah compound was choreographed, and the narration was simplistic and sometimes a bit corny, being primarily factoids interspersed with the odd joke here and there. It seemed that keeping people moving while at the same time being entertained was the primary concern, understandable because of the sheer volume of visitors, but it didn't allow for relaxed observation of the nonhuman animals. Each time the truck stopped, I barely had time to lift my camera to take a photo before it was on the move again.

The Asia section, called the Kingdom of Anandapur, consisted of two simulated villages, replica temples, monuments, ruins, and a fake mountain with the Expedition Everest ride, buffered by restaurants, food stands, and souvenir shops. Every nook and cranny seemed to provide yet another spending opportunity for visitors. Of course, here and there, real nonhuman animals could be viewed, such as the siamangs on a jungle island or tigers in a simulated temple ruin along the Maharajah Jungle Trek path. As I moved through the area, it almost seemed like the nonhuman animals were incidental to everything else, that the simulated villages, landscapes, and rides were the real attractions.

DinoLand USA was more of a children's amusement park with a dinosaur theme. There was a "prehistoric" midway and rides like the Triceratops Spin. It was a cacophony of movement and color set to a background of loud music. Nestled right in amongst it all was an American crocodile exhibit, presumably there because of the crocodile's somewhat dinosaur-like appearance.

Prior to my visit, I had heard good things about Animal Kingdom. I knew that the Disney theme parks were highly commercialized, but I was still surprised by what I encountered. To me it didn't seem like a zoo, at least not in the conventional sense of the word. It was an amusement park for kids and families, with a nonhuman animal component, and walking through Animal Kingdom seemed more like walking through an elaborate movie set than anything in the real world. The congestion and the noise were startling and something I had only rarely experienced in any other zoo or "wildlife" park anywhere, but what seemed most evident to me was that Animal Kingdom was making money. When I later discovered that the park had 10.4 million visitors in 2014 alone (Walt Disney World 2016), I realized the amount of money was considerable.

Disney's Animal Kingdom is a high-profile example of a private, for-profit zoological facility that, if the crowds were any indication, appeared to be very profitable. It's a capitalist entity, like other private zoos and aquariums, that has built its business and its brand over many years. My visit to Animal Kingdom got me thinking more about the role of capitalism, the free market, and commercialization in the world of zoos and aquariums and how it impacts the other nonhuman animals that are the foundation of this industry. My thoughts went far wider than just the most commercial, privately owned facilities because it seemed to me that a great many public zoos and aquariums are, to one degree or another, pursuing a capitalistic path of quasi-commercialization and the commodification of the nonhuman animals they depend on. That may be manifested in a variety of ways, including but not limited to the makeup of the live collections, how live "wildlife" is used, new attractions, and corporate partnerships. In exploring this topic, however, I also wanted to look at how zoos and aquariums support themselves, what they tell their supporters, how nonhuman animals are used, the conditions they experience, and what all this means for the nonhuman animals themselves.

When I started researching the subject of capitalism, I found entire books devoted to its various theories and philosophies, but for this examination of zoos and aquariums, I decided to choose a broad, simple definition of *capitalism*: an economic system in which a business or industry is controlled by private owners who control the factors of production (e.g., capital, land, and labor).[1] In looking at capitalist systems, synonymous with free market systems, involving industries that also use nonhuman animals, they are often nothing more than commodities with little value except in a monetary sense, and that can lead to normalization and acceptance of widespread cruelty and suffering.

There are many obvious examples, such as the trapping of "wild" nonhuman animals for their "fur." Each year, millions of free-living individuals are caught in antiquated leghold traps or snares, simply so the trapper, wholesaler, buyer, designer, and retailer can all make a profit. There isn't a pretense that trapping benefits "wildlife," although sometimes misleading arguments are presented about how trapping may regulate so-called overabundant species and prevent disease. It is an industry geared toward making a profit, and the nonhuman animal is merely a commodity in the process.

An even more obvious example is the use of nonhuman animals in food and agricultural industries and particularly in mass production, factory farm operations. It is now common knowledge that cows, pigs, chickens, and turkeys, to name just a few domesticated species, may often be incarcerated, sometimes for life, in tiny, barren spaces that spectacularly fail to satisfy their biological, behavioral, or social needs, leading to almost ubiquitous suffering. They may be kept indoors on unyielding concrete surfaces with no chance to run, walk, or even make normal postural adjustments such as standing up or turning around. They may be forced to eat monotonous foods, even their own waste or ground up members of their own species, and breathe putrid air, and because disease is ubiquitous, they may be filled with drugs to prevent catastrophic disease outbreaks. This situation, now endured by billions of nonhuman animals annually, is the result of private businesses maximizing their profits. Each time they decrease the size of space, cheapen the food, or do something else that saves them on production costs, it often means depriving each captive of something they need to ensure even a minimum quality of life.

While it may seem obvious that "fur" trapping or factory farms are manifestations of capitalism at its worst, at least when it comes to nonhuman animals, the effects of capitalism may not be as obvious in other industries, such as in zoos and in aquariums.

A suggestion could be made that many zoos and aquariums are not capitalist in the way that private, for-profit facilities are, primarily because they are publicly owned, and the people that operate them may be accountable, to some degree, to government agencies or officials, but after examining zoos and aquariums for the past three decades, I would suggest that a capitalist philosophy and free market[2] approach permeates much of the zoo and aquarium world; that they are, for all intents and purposes and out of perceived necessity, focused on generating revenue; that they increasingly commodify nonhuman animals and often cause them to suffer because of it.

It should be noted upfront that nearly all zoos and aquariums also claim to have other important nonfinancial goals, including conservation,[3] education, and research. For example, according to the Walt Disney Company website, “Conservation has been at the heart of Walt Disney Corporation since its inception.” Between 1995 and 2013 the Disney “wildlife” Conservation Fund provided 1,000 grants totaling $24 million dollars to projects around the world (The Walt Disney Company 2013).

The reality for almost all major zoos and aquariums, however, is that they need to place considerable emphasis on the business side of their operations. They must generate sufficient revenue from wherever they can, on an ongoing basis, just to keep operating. Since zoos and aquariums are largely designed as entertainment facilities, it is no surprise that the most common source of income for the majority of them comes from visitors who pay an admission fee. In fact, many zoos generate 50 percent or more of their income from visitors (Grant 2011). Since visitors are so important to their bottom line, zoos and aquariums often adopt a customer-focused and often commercialized approach that involves trying to create fresh, new, and exciting things to keep people interested and coming. In large institutions, that can mean bigger, more expensive exhibits and attractions, which in turn mean bigger and more expensive facilities and operations that need all those visitors to keep coming just to stay afloat. In other words, the bigger zoos get, the greater their need. While visitors are vital to the financial sustainability of zoos and aquariums, other revenue generation vehicles must also be introduced because visitors are often not enough to keep the zoo machine running.

Zoos and aquariums recognize they are competing with other entertainment institutions and businesses and believe they must meet public expectations and demand for mass-market entertainment if they want people to keep coming (Grazian 2015, 173). But that perception can conflict with their stated nonfinancial objectives of conservation and education. Since zoos and aquariums see themselves as part of the leisure entertainment market and recognize that most of their visitors attend for little more than an enjoyable day out, the conflict can manifest itself in facilities downplaying the severity and urgency of the “wildlife” and environmental crises, so as not to alienate visitors (or existing or potential corporate sponsors, some of whom may directly or indirectly contribute to endangerment and extinction of “wildlife” species). When you are out for a nice family day, discomforting, reality-based conservation messaging is a downer. That’s why if you walk through almost any major zoo you’ll find vague statements about endangered species in far off places and simple, noncontroversial, throwaway factoids about how to help, like recycle your cellphone, wash your clothes in cold water, or drive your car less. Perhaps not surprisingly, zoos and aquariums are increasingly engaged in efforts to make zoo and aquarium visits even more fun and exciting for visitors, with further sanitizing of conservation messaging. You can see this manifested in both private and public zoos. In fact, it would be reasonable to say that many facilities appear to be devolving into purely entertainment, mass market, amusement park-type venues with shows, rides, concerts, light shows, kid's camps, after-hours events, gift stores selling junk, and lots more. The rule seems to be stay safe, avoid controversies, and don't do anything that might alienate your support base. Despite claims to the contrary, that is not a strategy for conserving "wildlife," but a strategy for economic sustainability.

NUMBERS AND GOVERNANCE

While no one can provide an exact number of zoos and aquariums in the world today, it is thought to be about 10,000, with some 1,200 facilities being core, professional zoos or aquariums which are, or have the potential to be, members of recognized zoo federations or associations (The Zoo Inquiry 1994, 11).

Zoos and aquariums represent a broad range of ownership structures that, for the most part, are either publicly owned and controlled or privately owned and controlled. While the numbers of each can vary considerably from region to region and country to country, in North America, estimates place the number of privately operated zoos at as high as 75 percent (Kenny 2012). In the United Kingdom, 90 percent of zoos are privately owned, while in Germany, about 90 percent are publicly owned (Sheridan 2011, 86).

There may also be variance within each category. For example, public zoos may be operated directly by a municipality or a regional or national government agency or alternatively by a publicly controlled company. Private zoos may be independent, for-profit businesses or nonprofit companies, family owned, or operated by a zoological society or similar entity.

Of course, zoos and aquariums come in a variety of sizes and formats. They sit on a continuum from tiny, mom-and-pop operations to massive public institutions, and within that continuum, nonhuman animal housing and care conditions may range from poor to adequate.

VISITORS MEAN SUSTAINABILITY

Zoos and aquariums of all sizes and types rely on visitors for economic sustainability. In addition to paying an entry fee, visitors may also pay for parking, stroller rentals, food, gifts, shows, rides, feeding sessions, photos, and special tours. The greater the number of visitors, the greater the revenue, and that's why so many zoos seem focused on maintaining or increasing the number of people who come through their gates and in adopting a customer service approach. Already many major zoos boast of annual visitor numbers in the hundreds of thousands or millions. For example, in 2012, the modest-sized Calgary Zoo received more than 1.3 million visitors, (Calgary Zoo 2012), while the London Zoo received 1.265 million visitors in 2015 (Association of Leading Visitor Attractions 2015).

From what I saw, Disney's Animal Kingdom seemed to effectively exploit the fundraising potential of their many millions of visitors by providing a wide variety of spending opportunities on site, as do some other zoos as well. The San Diego Zoo and Safari Park, operated by the nonprofit Zoological Society of San Diego, provides a multitude of onsite shopping and food opportunities, as well as special tours that involve additional fees on top of the zoo's rather hefty $50 one-day adult pass ($40 for children). Tours range from the $50 Cheetah Safari to the eight-hour $999 Ultimate Safari, advertised as "your key to off-exhibit areas, animal interaction, and the very best in personalized service" (San Diego Zoo 2016).

Many zoos and aquariums also solicit individual charitable donations, both on site and remotely, or grants from charitable foundations. These funding sources are generally restricted to zoos and aquariums that are already nonprofit or charitable or that have an ancillary support organization that is, since donors often want a charitable tax receipt when they contribute.

KEEPING THE VISITORS COMING

Other strategies that zoos often employ include mega exhibits, special "wildlife" features (such as white lions or giant pandas), rides and amusement park-like attractions, and special events.

Mega Exhibits

Zoos and aquariums spend substantial funds on new attraction exhibits and exhibit complexes that they hope will increase visitor numbers. These "attraction exhibits" often seem more focused on creating a better visitor experience than on providing enhanced space and conditions for the nonhuman animals they contain. The zoo world is littered with these artificial landscapes that only superficially resemble the natural environments inhabited by free-roaming "wildlife." One example is the relatively new Journey to Churchill arctic exhibit at the Assiniboine Park Zoo in Winnipeg, Canada, which I visited in 2014 and 2015.

Reportedly constructed at a cost of more than $45 million, the exhibit complex is the first phase of the zoo's planned $200 million redevelopment (Kusch 2011). At approximately 10 acres in size, Journey to Churchill sounds large (and, for a zoo, it is a rather sizeable exhibit complex), but a substantial amount of space isn't allocated to the nonhuman animals at all. Visitor pathways, viewing stations, galleries, washrooms, bleachers, concession areas, a movie theater, children's play areas, a facsimile of the Town of

Churchill with a gift store and 200 seat Tundra Grill restaurant, keeper service areas, gardens, planted buffer regions, and other such features and infrastructure, consume a substantial portion of that purported 10 acres. Looking at the exhibit map, I guessed that only half or perhaps even a bit less of the exhibit complex's space was actually allocated to the "wildlife," and even that was subdivided into several enclosures and off-exhibit pens in another part of the complex.

Mega-exhibits don't come cheap. The Dallas Zoo's elephant exhibit came in at $32 million (Grant 2011), while the LA Zoo's came in at more than $40 million (Bartholomew 2010). Even temporary exhibits can be costly. Giant panda exhibits generally run about $5 million (Grant 2011) or, in some cases, more, even though they will only house the bears during the term of the loan agreement. In April 2016, media reported that the Calgary Zoo, who will be receiving four pandas from the Toronto Zoo in 2018 as part of their joint panda rental agreement, announced that their panda facility was projected to cost more than $16 million, and they hoped to get half of that from the provincial government (CBC 2016).

In 2010, I collected news items describing new capital projects in zoos, most of them new mega-exhibits for specific species or taxa, such as penguins, great apes, and elephants. In just one month, the total amount for zoo-based capital projects exceeded $1.213 billion dollars, and those were just the ones I learned about. Assuming a significant number of those projects came to fruition, they represent a massive expenditure of time, energy, and resources to house a relatively tiny number of captives.

Zoos claim these kinds of capital projects are necessary and important for conservation and education and are not just there to attract visitors. About their Journey to Churchill exhibit, the Assiniboine Park Zoo says, ". . . visitors experience a variety of naturalistic landscapes and animal viewing areas. Interpretive signage and interactive displays invite visitors to learn about biodiversity, climate change and conservation. It is an educational classroom like no other, inviting exploration, challenging thinking and promoting personal action" (Assiniboine Park Zoo 2015). Lofty claims, but do they have any basis in reality? Zoos say they do, but zoo critics say the new "attraction exhibits" are just that—attractions. Often after a year or two or three, the novelty factor wears off, the new is no longer the new, and zoos and aquariums have to come up with the next big attraction to keep the visitors coming.

Special "Wildlife" Features

Probably the most common special "wildlife" features are babies. Since modern zoos began, it seems that babies, of both common and endangered species, have been valued because they attract visitors. Clearly babies are seen as good for business, and zoos promote them at every available opportunity. While I was writing this chapter, the Toronto Zoo was asking city residents to come out to see a new baby rhino, a polar bear, two African penguin chicks, and two panda cubs (Toronto Zoo 2016). On their New at the Zoo website page, Utah's Hogle Zoo listed lion cubs, a baby titi monkey, infant giraffe, baby burrowing owlets, and other new arrivals and states that "people are always anxious to see any new babies" (Utah's Hogle Zoo 2016), but it's not just babies that zoos believe bring in visitors. Other new, rare, unusual or charismatic "wildlife" species may as well.

Numerous unusual or difficult to obtain species are sought after as temporary attractions, including komodo dragons, koalas, white lions, and, the most sought after of all, giant pandas.

Having a direct, close-up nonhuman animal encounter is also a big attraction and can generate extra income. In March 2015, Sea World announced plans for a new multimillion-dollar dolphin facility at its San Antonio location that will offer swim with the dolphin encounters, including a dorsal fin tow ride (Sea World 2015). At the San Antonio zoo, visitors can pay a fee to walk out onto an elevated platform to hand feed a reticulated giraffe (Davis 2016). At the privately owned Featherdale Wildlife Park in Australia, visitors can cuddle a koala or hand feed a kangaroo (Mercer 2014). Hundreds of zoos and aquariums now offer "wildlife" encounters for a fee, and many smaller operations depend on them. In zoos around the world, you can sit on a tiger, have your photo taken with an orangutan, hold a baby kangaroo, or support a giant python wrapped around your waist, all for a fee, of course, but it comes at a cost to the nonhuman animals involved, including stress, discomfort, pain, injury, or even, in some cases, death.

For example, stingray petting pools have become popular in zoos. Large, elevated, shallow pools allow visitors, who have paid a fee, to touch a stingray when it swims by, but these exhibits have had problems, including a number of die-offs. In 2009, 41 cownose stingrays died due to lack of oxygen while they were at the Calgary Zoo (Canadian Press 2009). As I was writing this chapter, the news media reported that 18 stingrays and three sharks died in a petting pool at the John Ball Zoo in Michigan (Wood 8 TV 2016).

Giant Panda Rock Stars

Giant pandas are the rock stars of the zoo world, and institutions often spend years trying to get them. Typically, pairs of pandas are rented for a 10-year period for a fee of $1 million per year, with zoos incurring additional costs related to negotiation and permitting, construction of new exhibits, and then ongoing care. If cubs are produced during a loan, there can also be an additional one-time hosting fee of up to $600,000 per cub. Despite their appeal, many zoos have lost money on pandas. Three years after acquiring pandas in 2003, Memphis Zoo chief executive Chuck Brady said they expected to lose about $300,000 per year (Goodman 2006a). Scotland's Edinburgh Zoo has had a similar experience with the income generated by pandas unlikely to match the expense of having them (Nichols 2011).

In 2010, while the Toronto Zoo was pursuing plans for pandas, Toronto City Councillor Giorgio Mammoliti said, "There's millions of dollars to be made" (Hains 2014). Two pandas arrived at the zoo in March 2013. In addition to spending millions on a new exhibit, the zoo budgets $550,000 per year to fly in bamboo from the United States, $238,149 in staffing costs, and $150,000 in panda insurance. Even with pandas, however, the Toronto Zoo experienced a major decrease in attendance in 2014, with revenues down by $8.3 million (Pagliaro 2014). The birth of two cubs in 2015 presumably boosted attendance and revenue, but whether or not it evens out on the zoo's total panda expenditures, which now include the cub hosting fee, remains to be seen.[4] Regardless, it's clear that in most cases the number of people coming to see pandas drop off dramatically starting about a year after they arrive and then more with each passing year. According to Chuck Brady, Memphis Zoo chief executive, "Year three is your break-even year. After that, attendance drops off, and you start losing vast amounts of money" (Goodman 2006b). It seems those dreams about pandas producing truckloads of cash are just that—dreams.

Amusement Ride Thrills

While attractions not involving live "wildlife" have been present in zoos and aquariums for as long as they have been around, they seem to be gaining in popularity in recent years. Everything from kid's carousels, boat rides, roller coasters, and adventure courses are becoming more common in zoological facilities throughout the world.

The Toronto Zoo recently opened the TundraAir Ride, adjacent to its Arctic wolf exhibit, where for a $12 fee harnessed visitors can shoot along an elevated cable at speeds of up to 48 km/hr. Not too far away is the Gorilla Climb Ropes Course, situated right next to the zoo's outdoor gorilla enclosure. For $8, visitors can climb, swing, crawl, and balance through the almost 33-foot high climbing structure. The Rhode Island Zoological Society, which operates the Roger Williams Park Zoo, signed an agreement with the City of Providence that will supposedly save the city money and allow the zoo to construct zip-lines and aerial courses at certain sites (Pina 2016). A proposal for the new Baton Rouge Zoo mentions zip-lines, adventure courses, a sky lift, splash pads, ropes course, rock wall, and a carousel (Broussard 2016).

As I was writing this chapter, the Toronto Star newspaper featured a story about a proposed magnetic levitation (maglev) monorail at the Toronto Zoo that would let visitors zip around the zoo for a $12 fee (Sachgua 2016).

Take in a Show at Party Central

Many zoos and aquariums offer up various kinds of shows, probably the best known being the orca, dolphin, and sea lion shows in aquatic facilities. SeaWorld's now defunct Shamu Show[5] is arguably the most famous, but almost every zoo and aquarium has one kind of show or another. They can be simple "wildlife" presentations or big production shows, and they can involve almost every kind of nonhuman animal, from reptiles and birds to big cats and elephants.

Music has long been a part of many zoo experiences, but today some zoos also serve as concert venues for major musical acts. At the Toledo Zoo, performers such as Bob Dylan, Steve Miller, and Alan Jackson are part of the zoo's 2016 summer concert series, while the Oregon Zoo also hosts some big-name entertainers. These events require a separate ticket and will be attended by many thousands of music lovers. Other events include annual galas, seasonal light shows, fireworks displays, and kid's camps, to name just a few. Additional revenue may come from the rental of space for weddings, parties, festivals, and other special functions. Of course, depending on how they are conducted, these events may have the potential to affect nonhuman animals in negative ways, especially when they are loud or intrusive in other ways.

CULTIVATING CORPORATIONS

Displayed prominently at many zoo and aquarium entrances, and often at other locations, visitors may find plaques, signs, and other materials featuring the names of various corporate benefactors. They can include big business sponsors from the fossil fuel, forestry, mining, telecommunications, airline and transport sectors, as well as myriad small businesses. They donate cash or goods and services to help with capital projects, exhibit upgrades, "wildlife" acquisitions and transport, and special events. Generally speaking, businesses contribute something, and in exchange, they receive positive exposure (often including media coverage) and an enhanced public image that they believe may benefit their business. A small business donating food for an event may simply receive mention in a newsletter, website posting, or on signs at the event. Major sponsors may receive a lot more.

As a premium status sponsor of the Toronto Zoo giant panda exhibit and sponsor of transportation services, Federal Express Canada received a considerable package of benefits. According to the zoo's COO, the benefits,

> will provide a solid return on investment, measured in terms of brand building, consumer awareness, consumer favour and heightened interest in Federal Express Canada's services and sales. These benefits include the unlimited use of the Panda Partner designation logo, the right to use the Toronto Zoo intellectual property and markings in partner marketing and category exclusivity at the Premium Partner designation. Federal Express Canada will also receive the ability to have a presence at the Zoo with the ability to distribute items to Zoo guests and initiate on-site activations for the purposes of customer engagement. Additionally, there are a number of marketing, media related (both external and internal) and hospitality related benefits at this partnership level. (Hale 2012)

Significant donations can also result in naming rights to buildings or exhibits. One example is the Dallas Zoo's ExxonMobil Endangered Tiger Habitat, which opened in 1999. The name leaves no doubt as to which company paid for a good portion of it.

While seeking corporate support might seem innocuous enough, by doing so, there is the potential for zoos and aquariums to enhance the profile and the reputations of companies associated with the environmental crisis who are criticized by environmental and nonhuman animal rights organizations. Fossil fuel companies are one example. They may support various environmental and climate change initiatives while simultaneously obstructing them through lobbying or the funding of opposing initiatives (Grazian 2015, 202). If zoos and aquariums accept funds from these kinds of businesses and then publicize and praise the companies involved, they may be providing tacit endorsement of those companies and undeservedly enhancing their environmental reputations, something that is often referred to as *greenwashing*.

PUBLIC PRIVATE PARTNERSHIPS

In North America, there is a strong push for the privatization of public zoos, with many major zoos moving in that direction in recent years. Many individual zoos and their respective zoo industry associations promote the idea of public-private partnerships (PPP) that would see zoo operations more or less independent of government, while at the same time continuing to receive public support from them.[6] That model was promoted by the Toronto Zoo in 2012.

At that time, the Zoo projected a 2013 budget of $53.8 million, with $11.1 million coming from the City of Toronto. The municipality owns the nonhuman animal collection and the hard assets (buildings and infrastructure), while the Toronto Zoo Board of Management appointed by the city operates the zoo business. In their commissioned report *The Future of Toronto Zoo Governance*, the Zoo said they wanted a PPP that would provide independent governance, a community-based board leadership and focus with an arm's length relationship with city government (Toronto Zoo 2012, 6). The report goes on to say, "The City of Toronto would annually allocate resources to pay for capital building maintenance, as the property and buildings will continue to be owned by the City of Toronto" (Toronto Zoo 2012, 6). Essentially, the report proposed that the Zoo be free from city control but continue to receive public funding.[7] To date, the Zoo has not been able to secure a PPP.

Zoos can be expensive businesses to operate, especially the larger, urban zoos that employ the largest numbers of staff and who believe they must maintain or increase visitor numbers and revenues. In the City of Toronto where I live, the Toronto Zoo's 2015 revenues were more than $50 million, with expenditures in that range as well. Revenues at the Vancouver Aquarium, Canada's largest marine facility, were $30.45 million (Vancouver Aquarium 2014, 6). Meanwhile, the San Diego Zoo and San Diego Wild Animal Park is estimated to have an annual operating budget more than $200 million (Bennet 2012).

When you add into the mix the fact that zoos are frequently engaged in ongoing capital works projects and infrastructure improvements/repairs, the amounts involved can be very large.

LINING UP FOR PUBLIC HANDOUTS

Many zoos seek and actively lobby for support from governments, and some have come to rely on it for a portion of their annual operating budget and/or for capital projects. That support can be a direct subsidy, such as the more than $11 million of municipal support the Toronto Zoo receives each year from the City of Toronto, or it can be in the form of tax breaks, levies, or bonds.

In many governments, austerity measures have become entrenched, and many public zoos, art museums, and other cultural institutions are seeing their government support diminish each year. They are told to become more efficient and economically self-sustaining by reducing their dependence on government handouts (Mazur 2001, 190). As government support diminishes, many zoos and aquariums look to increased commercialization as their economic salvation, but that doesn't stop facilities from pursuing whatever public funds they can in the meantime.

Some zoos already receive tax breaks, while others are seeking them. Nebraska Legislative Bill 419, which was introduced by State Senator Heath

Mello in 2015, is one example. The bill would allow accredited zoos, including Omaha's Henry Doorly Zoo, to keep funds they collect in sales tax, estimated at approximately $2.67 million over two years, and use them to upgrade their facilities (Gronewold 2015). The bill was passed in 2015 and came into effect January 1, 2016. The Georgia Aquarium and Zoo Atlanta also received tax breaks in 2015 worth $750,000 and $350,000 respectively when the Georgia Senate voted for tax rebates on construction materials (Williams 2015).

That same year, a bill was proposed that would allow for-profit facilities accredited by the Association of Zoos and Aquariums to deduct the cost of goods sold—expenses related to buying or creating a product to sell customers (Cardona 2015). When nonhuman animal activists protested the bill, the two Dallas legislators removed the bill from consideration.

Zoo levies are also on the radar screen of many major zoos. A *levy* is the act of imposing a tax to raise revenue for a project or initiative. A levy can be initiated by a municipality, county, state, or other body who add an extra tax on property owners within the jurisdiction. Specialized levies usually need to be approved by voters before they come into effect. One such levy was overwhelmingly turned down by voters in 2014.

The Columbus Zoo and Aquarium board asked Franklin County commissioners to consider a permanent 1.25-mill levy[8] on the 2014 ballot and launched a $1 million campaign to promote it. The Columbus Zoological Park Association, a private nonprofit group, and businesses provided the funding. Seventy percent of voters turned down the levy. The zoo took another stab at it the following year, but this time they asked voters to renew their existing 0.75-mill property tax for 10 years. They promoted the zoo as an incredible community asset with huge economic and employment benefits and as a critical player in "wildlife conservation." The levy would continue to cost Franklin County homeowners $21 per $100,000 property value on an annual basis, bringing in just under $19 million a year for the zoo. It worked, and the existing levy was maintained (Gray 2015).

Bonds are yet another way that zoos secure public funds. Bonds are debt, and they may be issued by towns, cities, states, or even businesses. Unlike levies that provide funds over a preset period of time, bonds provide cash almost immediately after they are sold. However, the bond issuer must then pay a certain percentage of interest on the bond to the bondholders. The bond issuer is also required to buy the bonds back from the bondholders, repaying the initial purchase price, once the bond's maturity date has been reached.

The Abilene Zoo was hoping to gain approximately $1 million with the passage of Proposition 5 at the City's May 9, 2015, bond election. The zoo planned to use the funds to improve the onsite hospital facility, create bird flight cages, and expand a cat area to accommodate a breeding pair of jaguars. They claimed that not only would the bond improve facilities and enhance the zoo experience for visitors, but it would help facilitate the zoo's conservation work. Once the bonds were sold, the owner of a $75,000 home would see a tax increase of $1.62, while the owner of a $200,000 home would see an increase of $4.33 (Bethel 2015). The bond passed with 70 percent of the city council vote.

In 2008, a $125 million bond for the Oregon Zoo was approved by voters. The money would be used for various projects, including adding space for primates (approximately $22 million) and elephants ($9.2 million), an off-site elephant reserve with a barn, care facilities, and fencing ($12 million), and improving water and electric systems ($11.5 million). Later the zoo reneged on the promise for the off-site reserve, much to the chagrin of elephant advocates (Casey 2008).

Seeking tax breaks, levies, bonds, and other kinds of initiatives are all in the zoo world's fundraising arsenal and collectively add to up to staggering sums of government (taxpayers) support for zoos and aquariums.

THE CASE FOR ECONOMIC SUPPORT

With intense competition for funds, zoos and aquariums often need to convince the general public, businesses, and elected officials that they are serving several useful functions. For those zoos and aquariums that rely on substantive government support, they need to demonstrate that they are serving a beneficial economic function in the community.[9] That can be providing employment, buying local goods, bringing in tourists who then spend money in the municipality, or even by increasing the profile of the community on a regional, national, or international basis. Second, almost all zoos and aquariums need to convince supporters and visitors that they are humane and are legitimately engaged in conservation, including saving endangered species.[10]

THE CASE FOR GOVERNMENT HAND-OUTS

It should be clear by now that many public zoos require some form of ongoing government subsidy to continue operating, as well as for capital projects, and those subsidies can take many forms. To convince decision-makers and legislators that zoos are a good investment, they utilize a variety of tactics, including the production of economic impact studies (EIS) that extol their economic virtues to the communities in which they are located.

A paper posted on the Association of Zoos and Aquariums (AZA) website talks about the economic impacts of zoos and aquariums and construction spending. It indicates that in 2007, AZA member institutions spent a total of $2.98 billion, of which $2.34 billion went for operations, while $643 million went for capital projects, with AZA's international members spending an additional $363.3 million (Fuller 2009, 1). The paper states that the $2.62 billion spent by their U.S. members contributed a total of $7.6 billion to the U.S. GDP, including supporting 74,332 jobs across all sectors of the economy (Fuller 2009, 1). The paper goes on to conclude that each $1 of direct spending by zoos and aquariums generated $2.84 of total economic benefits to the local economies where the institutions were located (Fuller 2009, 8).

A look at some of the many zoo economic impact studies available online reveals a common refrain, that zoos and aquariums are not just local attractions, but they produce substantive economic benefits. On the Cincinnati Zoo website, an article details the findings of a study by the University of Cincinnati Economic Center indicating the Cincinnati Zoo and Botanical Garden has a total annual economic impact of $143 million (Cincinnati Zoo 2013). The study says the zoo generates 1,700 jobs, is a top attraction for visitors from outside the area (who account for a total economic impact of $60.4 million), and that it is "crucial to replenishing and expanding the Greater Cincinnati economy" (Cincinnati Zoo 2013).

A 2010 report about the Toronto Zoo said it ". . . generates significant economic impacts in the regional economy, from its operations and its investment in capital assets" (The Toronto Zoo 2010). The report claims that in 2009 the zoo contributed $39 million to Toronto's GDP with a $47 million contribution to Ontario's GDP, while capital investments between 2007–2009 resulted in $15.7 million to Toronto's GDP and a $20.9 million contribution to Ontario's GDP (The Toronto Zoo 2010). The report also states that the zoo delivers other benefits, including "wildlife" conservation, scientific research, public education, and supporting sustainable environments, although no substantive evidence is provided to substantiate those other claims (The Toronto Zoo 2010).

In yet another report, this one prepared by Applied Economics in association with Aegis consulting Australia and titled *Contribution of Taronga and Western Plains Zoos to the Economy of New South Wales,* the economic benefits of the two zoos are stated unequivocally. In 2004–2005, the two zoos had operating and capital expenditures of AUS $78.6 million, with estimated gross income effects for the New South Wales economy of AUS $248.1 million (Applied Economics 2005). Those figures include the estimated flow-on multiplier effects (i.e., the proportion of income generated that is re-spent on NSW economic resources) (Applied Economics 2005).

A review of a significant number of zoo economic impact statements shows that they all have the same conclusion. They all state, from an economic perspective, that zoos are a great investment with a solid return for the communities in which they are located. Of course, it should be noted many of these studies are commissioned by the zoos themselves, and whoever is doing the analysis presumably relies on information supplied by their employers.

Certainly, from the perspective of zoos and aquariums, it makes perfect sense to create the strongest case you can to generate support for what you are doing. In fact, I would suggest that it's almost a requirement of the system that currently exists. If you want support, you have to convince people (and government) that you are worth supporting.

THE CASE FOR RESIDENT SUPPORT

The other claim of zoos, that they are centers for nonhuman animal well-being and are important, even vital, institutions of "wildlife" protection, also deserves scrutiny, especially when one considers that this is a frequent refrain used to attract support, especially from members of the public. In fact, if you ask most people what zoos do or why they should be supported, a significant percentage will answer conservation. That perspective is pervasive, even though the actual conservation role and effectiveness of zoos and aquariums is often grossly overstated.

For example, last year I came across an example of a rather exceptional claim about the value of zoo and aquarium "conservation." In 2012, the Georgia Aquarium and partners proposed the import of wild-caught beluga whales into the United States. The Georgia Aquarium's website contained the statement, "Maintaining a sustainable population of beluga whales in human care is essential to the survival of belugas everywhere" (Georgia Aquarium 2012). There was no mention of the fact that maintaining a population of belugas in captivity doesn't even begin to substantively address the core, immediate challenges that threaten the species in the wild, such as climate change, pollution, and, in some areas, hunting.

Even if there was some kind of benefit to having a tiny population of whales in tanks in the United States, for anyone looking to do the most good and create the biggest bang possible for their conservation dollar, it wouldn't make any sense to support it. The housing and care of whales is enormously expensive, and they have a bad habit of dying. Keeping and trying to breed a small number of large, long-lived (up to 75 years), wide-ranging, deep diving, highly intelligent, and exceptionally social beings who still number more than 100,000 individuals in the wild doesn't make any conservation sense. It makes far more sense to consider the needs of a raft of critically endangered species and vital conservation projects that are starving for funds where even a small influx of support could make a real difference.

Given all the hype and propaganda, one could be forgiven for believing that zoos and aquariums are a conservation panacea. After all, that's the message they've been promoting for many years, especially regarding captive breeding, but in reality, even though there may admittedly be a small role for them to play in the captive propagation of endangered species, their activities and effectiveness in this area have, in my opinion, been ridiculously and dishonestly overstated throughout the years.

According to renowned architect and former zoo director David Hancocks (2012), "... zoos [and aquariums] shout loudly about their achievements, ignore or defend their shortcomings, and rarely do much that is in fact useful. Most problematically, they persistently say one thing and do the opposite."

The idea that zoos and aquariums can be arks and zoo-based captive breeding is a legitimate, frontline conservation strategy has been significantly eroded, but that hasn't stopped institutions from continuing to promote it to visitors. They have also started to say they have a major role to play in providing technical, material, and financial support for in-situ conservation work and in conducting various forms of research that they claim will ultimately be of benefit to nonhuman animals in the wild. It is certainly conceivable, but so far, their contribution and effectiveness in that area has been overstated as well.

Certainly, there are a few institutions that do seem to provide substantive financial and other support (in proportion to their annual operating budgets and resources) for field (*in-situ*) conservation work, with two of the best known being the Durrell Wildlife Preservation Trust (Jersey Zoo) and the Wildlife Conservation Society, which operates several zoos, including the Bronx Zoo. Others, such as the San Diego Zoo, also claim to be making substantive real investments in conservation, but it appears that most zoos provide proportionately little, if any, direct financial support to the preservation of "wildlife" in nature or wild spaces, and the bulk of those that do allocate something often don't allocate very much at all.

According to *The New York Times* blog titled *Zoos Raise Money for Faraway Animals* by Leslie Kaufman (2012), "... the Association of Zoos and Aquariums [AZA] estimates that its member zoos and aquariums gave less than 2 percent of their operating budgets to field conservation activities for wild animals in 2010—about $134 million." If we accept that number as accurate, it still seems very small compared to the billions of dollars the AZA's members spend each year.

A look at the budget allocation pie charts in some zoo or aquarium annual reports would reasonably lead one to believe that zoological institutions spend considerable amounts on conservation, research and education. For example, the Vancouver Aquarium in their 2014 annual report places that number at $4.059 million or 12 percent of its $33.7 million expenditure total (Vancouver Aquarium 2014). That same year, the Toronto Zoo claimed that expenditures for conservation, research, and education were $14.699 million of its $43 million expenditure total (Toronto Zoo 2014). However, specific details as to what those programs actually include are not outlined in the most accessible reports. Presumably they incorporate a very broad range of internal and external expenses, including nonhuman animal maintenance and staff salaries.

No one, not even the harshest critics of zoos and aquariums, would argue that zoos and aquariums do nothing that is beneficial or worthwhile. With an estimated 10,000 zoos in the world and many of them participating or supporting conservation programs and projects to some degree, such a claim would be absurd. The more pertinent question, however, may be are zoos and aquariums allocating enough of their resources to *in-situ* conservation, especially compared to their overall operating budgets, and are they achieving specific, quantifiable conservation outcomes?

To further illustrate the disparity between the impression created by zoo claims and their actual contribution to *in-situ* conservation, one can look at the issue of elephants in zoos. In North America, the Association of Zoos and Aquariums (AZA) promotes its commitment to the preservation of elephants in the wild, but AZA member facilities often appear to provide only token support to *in-situ* elephant conservation initiatives. It seems that many AZA zoo member contributions are directed to the International Elephant Foundation (IEF), a nonprofit organization supported to a significant degree by members of the zoo and circus industry. According to a January 9, 2012, AZA news release, the IEF and AZA planned to allocate just $225,000 in 2012 to support elephant conservation around the world, raising the IEF's grand total contributed since its creation in 1998 to $2 million (American Association of Zoos and Aquariums 2012). Certainly that $2 million is welcome and every penny is needed, but it doesn't seem like much when you consider that a single new exhibit for a half dozen elephants may cost $10, $20 or even $50 million, and collectively AZA zoos have spent, and continue to spend, in the tens of millions of dollars building or refurbishing their elephant exhibits for the approximately 300 elephants they maintain.

The problems that are endangering "wild elephants" in Africa and Asia are not going to be addressed by spending boatloads of money to keep and breed a small number of them in North American zoos. Elephants are quite capable of breeding successfully on their own when given habitat and protection from poachers. Where money needs to be spent is where the elephants are—in the wild.

Overall, the cold reality is that budgetary limitations don't allow most zoos and aquariums to allocate very much to real conservation at all. That's why the bulk of funding for *in-situ* conservation comes from a tiny number of very wealthy institutions (Grazian 2015, 187–188).

Direct expenditures on *in-situ* conservation programs and projects, the kinds of field activities and initiatives that often come to mind when people think about conservation, such as funding additional ranger staff or aerial anti-poaching patrols, can often be relatively minimal, especially when compared to institutional operating budgets. For example, if we look again at the Toronto Zoo, we see it vigorously publicizing online, in print and onsite their support of a range of conservation projects through their Endangered Species Reserve Fund (ESRF). Reading their material, one is left with the impression that the zoo is driving a global network of important conservation initiatives, when, in reality, the level of financial support provided to each project is minimal. The actual dollar amounts of support provided by the zoo are not posted alongside the project descriptions, so anyone wanting to know how much the zoo provides to each has to do their own research.[11]

The ESRF is made up of funds obtained through coin collection boxes, outside organizations including schools, and individuals making donations plus "wishing well" coin collectors on the zoo site. From the years 2005–2013, the Fund maintained an average balance of $800,851 to be distributed to conservation projects worldwide (Zoocheck 2016). Annually, the zoo provides Toronto City Council a list of projects they wish to fund, which the city typically approves. From 2009–2013, the average approved budget for the ESRF was just $84,940 compared to an average uncommitted balance of $828,611, so the zoo requests access to just 10 to 11 percent of their funds each year, presumably equivalent to the interest accrued on the capital. The amount actually spent on the projects may be even less. Over the same five years, the zoo appears to have only utilized approximately 63 percent of the funds that were approved annually. By my estimate, this reduces the percentage of the ESRF that is going to conservation initiatives to a mere 6.47 percent of the total and yields an average actual expenditure of just $53,340. It was not determined if the reduction in the amount of money used is due to over-estimation of project costs during the initial project funding review phase or for another reason. However, no matter the cause, the financial support provided through the ESRF could quite fairly be described as minimal, at best, and if the selected initiatives do not necessitate using all of the approved funds, other vital, cash-starved conservation initiatives could be provided with support, rather than the funds just being left in an account (Zoocheck 2016).

The ESRF supports both internal projects done at or by the zoo and external projects delivered by other agencies or organizations. From 2010–2015, on average 28 projects were proposed annually, approximately 10 being internal and 18 external. There were consistently greater numbers of external projects proposed than internal. However, more funds were allocated to internal projects, so it would seem that the majority of ESRF allocations have actually been directed back to the zoo itself, leaving little for external projects, many of whom received approximately $1,000 each (Zoocheck 2016).

Presumably the Toronto Zoo would argue that it does a great deal more for conservation, education, and research. It certainly articulates that perspective in its materials, and the ESRF is merely one small facet of their efforts in that regard. However, the ESRF programs are advertised extensively by the zoo and help create the impression that substantial funding is applied directly to *in-situ* conservation work, when that does not seem to be the case.

In the absence of involvement with *in-situ* conservation initiatives, zoos and aquariums may still claim to focus on conservation because they engage in *ex-situ* conservation, which often means participation in zoo industry breeding programs, but the realities and the challenges inherent in zoo-based captive breeding for conservation are rarely conveyed to the public. In fact, captive breeding of endangered species for reintroduction purposes is best done entirely away from public view, such as offsite in nonpublic facilities. With few exceptions, zoos and aquariums just don't have the capacity or resources to do very much for conservation.

ENTERTAINMENT BUSINESSES FOCUSED ON CUSTOMER SERVICE

By now, it should be clear that while there are both private, for-profit and public, nonprofit zoos, and everything in between, and that most of them purport to be primarily institutions of conservation, education, and research, the majority of zoos and aquariums are still, for all intents and purposes, entertainment businesses that focus a great deal of their time, energy, and resources trying to attract visitors and generate revenue just to stay afloat, produce a dividend for shareholders, or to prove themselves worthy of government subsidies. To maintain their public popularity, zoos believe they have to adopt a customer service oriented approach, regularly provide fresh, new, exciting things for visitors to see, including cramming a broad assortment of charismatic "wildlife" species, along with other kinds of attractions, into whatever limited space they have, and coat it all with a veneer of conservation to make it a little more marketable. How does all that affect the living, breathing, thinking beings? Does this capitalist business perspective, free market approach, and commercialization oppress and harm nonhuman animals? I believe it does so in a variety of ways.

HOW ARE NONHUMAN ANIMALS AFFECTED?

The majority of traditional zoos and aquariums maintain substantial, diverse, collections of "wildlife" species from around the world.[12] This menagerie-style format is partly rooted in a history of imperialist exploration and conquest at a time when levels of knowledge of nonhuman animal cognition, ecology, evolution, and rights were nascent at best. It also exists because zoo planners and operators believe they need a diversity of species to attract and maintain public interest. Most zoos still seem reluctant to specialize, so they continue to feature large, charismatic vertebrates, such as tigers, lions, bears, rhinos, giraffes, and elephants, to name just a few of the popular species zoos often feel they must have, but keeping substantial numbers of nonhuman animal species within the limited footprint of most zoos can result in each of them (or each group) being allocated only a small amount of the total available space and resources. This phenomenon is obvious and easy to see in zoos and aquariums around the world, especially when large beings (e.g., elephants in zoos) are kept as they often are in small spaces.[13] They don't get huge amounts of space because it isn't there, or it is already occupied and, therefore, not available.

For the nonhuman animals, all is not well on the ark. Throughout the zoo and aquarium world, one can find grossly undersized cages and enclosures, completely barren environments, lack of shelter and privacy, inadequate heat, poor environmental conditions, no enrichment, low-quality food, overcrowding, physical abuse, and nonhuman animals expressing a broad range of abnormal, often self-destructive behaviors, to name just a sample.[14]

The trend among major and even some minor zoos to pursue costly mega exhibits is also something that can negatively impact the lives of zoo captives. These exhibits frequently provide a veneer of naturalness that may look better to visitors but at the same time may fail to properly address the biological and behavioral needs of the residents themselves. At times, it seems that satisfying the perceived needs of visitors is a major or even the top priority. Mega exhibits might also have the potential to distract or deflect attention away from much needed repairs or improvements to existing zoo exhibits and infrastructure.

The acquisition and promotion of charismatic species can also be costly to zoos, with giant pandas being the most high-profile example. In what is often a financially risky attempt to attract visitors, zoos spend millions of dollars to rent pandas. Meanwhile, work on existing exhibits and infrastructure might be delayed as a result, especially if pandas don't turn out to be as lucrative as expected. When the Toronto Zoo acquired pandas, the zoo had a $90 million backlog of repairs, including much needed refurbishments to existing nonhuman animal enclosures (Alcoba 2011). Perhaps the zoo should have focused on the backlog, instead of the pandas.

"Wildlife" may also be removed from the wild to fill zoo and aquarium displays. Just recently, 18 wild caught African elephants were flown to U.S. zoos (Bekoff 2016). Many of the whales and dolphins in captivity worldwide have been caught from the wild, something that one would be hard pressed to say is in their best interest (Rose, Naomi, and Farinato 2009), especially considering the physical, psychological, and social trauma they may experience when captured, separated from family members, transported, and then incarcerated in tiny pools.

Throughout the zoo world, babies of a multitude of species are used to attract visitors, with many being hand-raised for that purpose. Some small zoos seem to breed nonhuman animals every year to ensure they have babies for the spring and summer seasons, often removing them from their mothers for hand-raising so these appealing beings are comfortable in the presence of people. This practice can negatively impact the individuals involved (Frostic 2013), because mothers generally don't want to give up their offspring, and it may facilitate the production of surplus individuals who may have no acceptable placement opportunities at the end of the season and are offloaded to whoever wants them or, in some cases, are culled (Barnes 2014). The nonhuman animals are commodities, and their value lies in their cuteness and tractability, and once that is gone, so are they.

There are other more obvious manifestations of commercialism and how it affects nonhuman animals in zoos. Hosting loud rock concerts and other musical events or fireworks shows will almost certainly cause discomfort or distress to many zoo captives.[15] Other noisy attractions, such as amusement park-type rides or zip-lines that run adjacent to or over exhibits may also have that effect. Night parties and seasonal light events may also be disruptive to nonhuman animals who have little or no opportunity to retreat from the ruckus and who may perceive ranges of noise and low levels of scent well beyond what is apparent to humans and cause irritation and discomfort in ways we can't perceive. Many "wildlife" species, such as wolves, are by nature shy, retiring and seek to avoid the copiousness of noise, smells, and activity that are so inherent to crowds of people.

The conservation veneer applied to what are essentially entertainment businesses may also be problematic by creating the belief in members of the public that zoos are major players in "wildlife" conservation, that captive breeding is a viable long-term strategy for saving endangered species, and people shouldn't worry about impending extinctions of endangered species because zoos will breed those species and repopulate the wild. Those beliefs appear to be why some zoos generate a significant portion of their support. Conceivably, at least a portion of the funds generated by zoos and aquariums from individual, corporate, and government sources could be diverted to in-situ initiatives instead. Even a small portion could make a world of difference in so many regions where monetary and other resources are scarce beyond what most of us in the industrialized Western world can imagine.

A capitalist perspective, free market approach, and the seemingly inevitable commercialization that results from it permeates the world of zoos and aquariums. The ever-present pursuit of stable or, preferably, increasing visitor numbers and increased revenue influences the way that nonhuman animals are treated and kept and the decisions that are made about them. Mega exhibits, special "wildlife" features, zip-lines, rides, rock concerts, subsidies, tax breaks, and bonds are all manifestations of an entertainment-focused industry.

If capitalist forces were removed from the picture,[16] that would mean the oppressive practices of today would be diminished or in some cases gone altogether. No more menagerie-style collections with large numbers of nonhuman animals being allocated minimal space and resources. No more keeping big, wide-ranging "wildlife" species such as whales, elephants, and polar bears in small zoos that have no ability to provide them with the expansive environments they need. No more taking "wildlife" from the wild. No more expensive, mega exhibits that are all façade and have little or no real relevance to the nonhuman animals they contain or their conservation. No more producing babies to pull in visitors or shunting spectacular, charismatic species around as special attractions. No more noisy disruptive roller coasters, zip-lines, concerts, fireworks shows, and invasive light events. No more buying, selling, or trading nonhuman animals, breeding and then killing them, or using them in off-site film and television productions, circuses, or special events. Instead of being oppressed and commodified, the nonhuman animals would be treated with respect and compassion and their needs placed as the highest priority.

A capitalist free market economy is one in which business and industry are controlled by private owners who function in a way that is largely unfettered by government oversight, regulation, or interference. It is clearly a driving force in many private zoo and aquarium operations, and it seems to be an insidious, yet powerful influence in public facilities. The drive to function with diminishing oversight and control by government (while still receiving public funds), ever escalating degrees of commercialization, and the commodification of "wildlife" all in the pursuit of revenue are indicative of a capitalist free market approach that doesn't put the interests of nonhuman animals, conservation, or education as the highest priority.

As entertainment facilities, zoos and aquariums have shown they work, but they have not shown that they work as a means to substantively help nonhuman animals, conserve species in the wild, or educate and motivate in the way they claim. As conservation and educational mechanisms, they serve to, just barely, fool noncritical observers into thinking they are effective in those realms, but increasingly, people are learning the truth.

NOTES

1. While publicly owned zoos may not be "controlled by private owners who control the factors of production," this chapter suggests that the people who are controlling public zoos often act in the same way as private owners.

2. For the purposes of this chapter, *free market* is defined as a market economy based on supply and demand with no government control.

3. At its best, the term *conservation* means preserving and protecting free-living other animals and their natural environments. However, pro-hunting organizations use the term to denote the necessary regulation of killing hunted other animals to ensure there will be enough of them for recreational hunting in the future.

4. A potential mitigating factor in the Toronto Zoo panda scenario is the fact that the 10-year lease period is being split between the Toronto Zoo and the Calgary Zoo.

5. At the time of this writing, SeaWorld announced that it will be discontinuing its entertainment format orca shows.

6. It should be noted that many PPPs have a goal of weaning zoos or aquariums off the public purse.

7. In 2011 the City of Toronto received a report from KPMG that examined the financial impact of privatizing the zoo. In addition, the Toronto City Council passed a motion directing the Toronto Zoo to send its three surviving elephants to a sanctuary, leading the Association of Zoos and Aquariums to remove the Toronto Zoo's accreditation, a move they claimed was due to a governance issue. However, many observers believe the action was in response to the elephant move decision by the City.

8. A *mill levy* is a tax rate applied to an assessed property. Jurisdictions determine the mill levy rate by figuring out how much tax revenue they will require from it and then dividing that number by the total value of property in the jurisdiction.

9. Some zoos and aquariums also claim they produce a beneficial social function by providing educational and cultural opportunities for lower incomed citizens, students, etc.

10. There do seem to be some exceptions to this premise. For example, Marineland in Niagara Falls, Canada, does not seem to have organized involvement in conservation initiatives, yet it continues to attract significant numbers of visitors.

11. Toronto Zoo Endangered Species Reserve Fund budgets and figures can be obtained through the City of Toronto website.

12. The Toronto Zoo provides an example of how diverse nonhuman animal collections may be. According to its website, the zoo houses more than 5,000 individual nonhuman animals representing more than 460 species. Most other major zoos have analogous live collections.

13. Traditional elephant yards in many urban zoos are less than one acre in size, and even new elephant exhibits are typically just a few acres, often subdivided among numerous elephants. Currently, the Association of Zoos and Aquariums (AZA) outdoor paddock standard for one adult elephant is 5,400 ft^2 (500 m^2).

14. Numerous reports documenting conditions in zoos around the world have been published by a wide variety of NGOs. An abbreviated list of some of them can be found at https://www.zoocheck.com/resources-3/reports-and-research/.

15. The effects, such as stress and fear, of fireworks on domestic "pets" and "wild" nonhuman animals are well established. Fireworks shows in zoos and marine parks have been the subject of criticism from nonhuman animal welfare groups for many years.

16. This comment is not meant to suggest that zoos in other governing systems, including communism, are any better. Nonhuman animals in many zoos situated in communist regimes share many of the same challenges and issues.

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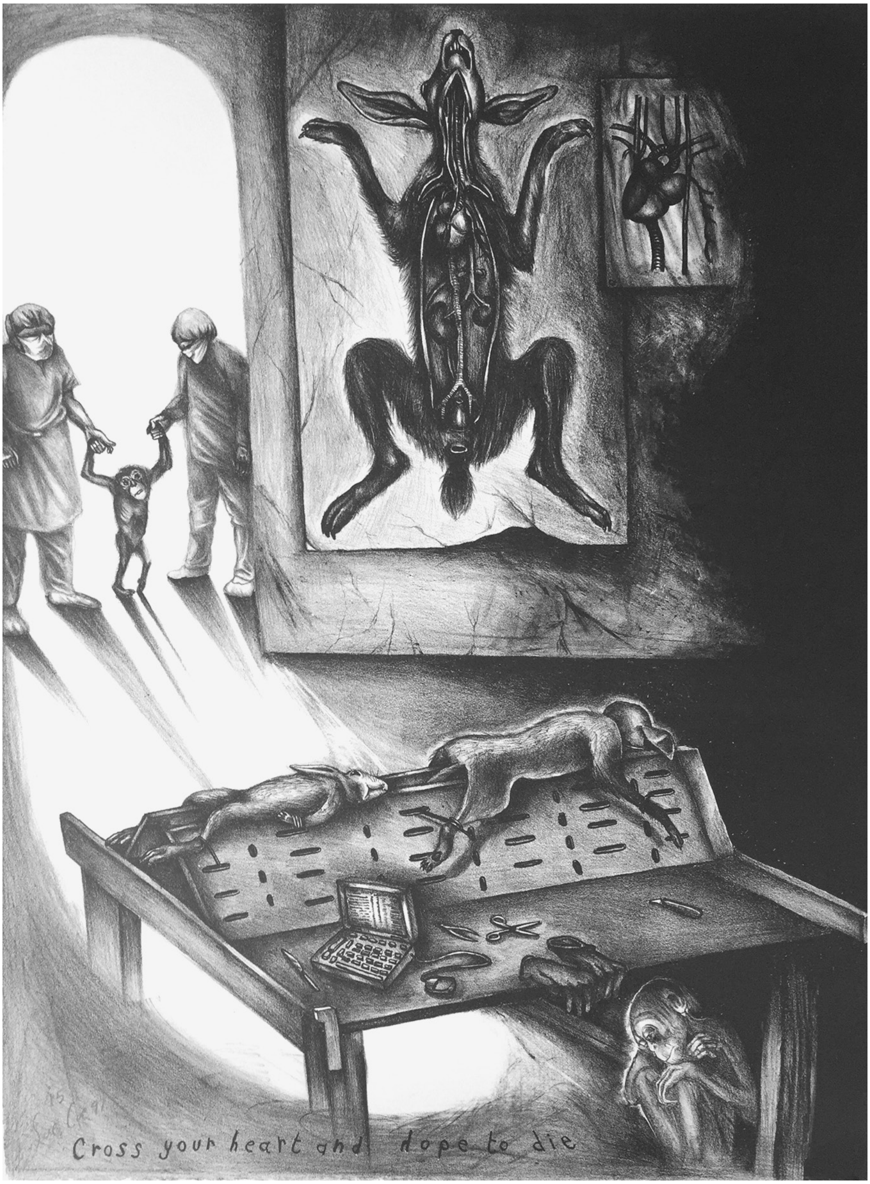
Cross your heart and hope to die

Cross Your Heart and Hope to Die. (Copyright © 1998 Sue Coe. Courtesy Galerie St. Etienne, NY)

5

The ABCs of Vivisection: (Nonhuman) Animals, Brutality, and Capitalism

Carol L. Glasser

> *They administered beatings to dogs with perfect indifference, and made fun of those who pitied the creatures as if they felt pain. They said the animals were clocks . . . that the whole body was without feeling. They nailed poor animals up on boards by their four paws to vivisect them and see the circulation of the blood which was a subject of great controversy.*
>
> Fontanne 1738 (quoted in Spiegel 1996, 65)
>
> A description from Nicholas Fontanne of vivisection practices in the early 1700s.

> *You failed to provide adequate pre-procedural and post procedural veterinary care. You noted that the guinea pig identified as P38 was doing well following an operation to insert a catheter in its jugular vein for Protocol 13-088-H. However, when your staff was not observing it, the adhesive holding the catheter failed, causing the guinea pig to bleed to death.*
>
> (U.S. Department of Agriculture: Citation and Notification of Penalty 2015).

From a 2014 USDA report on nonhuman animal welfare violations found in University of Oklahoma laboratories; guinea pigs "named" P5, P6, P8 and P15 also died in a similar fashion.

There are other reasons to be confident about the University's growth potential . . . Over the last 10 years the University's research portfolio has increased annually by 6 percent . . . the animal research portfolio accounts for 35 percent of the research activity, this year totaling more than $550M total.

From a 2013 internal University of Washington staff email detailing justification for building a new nonhuman animal housing facility and increasing the amount of campus research on other animals.

Every year an estimated 100 million animals are used in research experiments in the United States. Experimentation on nonhuman animals, or *vivisection*, has long been opposed on ethical and moral grounds, and moral opposition to the practice continues to grow. Increasingly, empirical evidence has come to the consensus that vivisection is not the most efficient or effective way to conduct research and myriad effective alternative research methods have been developed. Even so, the practice of vivisection continues. This is of particular concern in the case of public universities, which are receiving taxpayer dollars in the form of state and federal funding. In this chapter, I argue that the reason that vivisection continues and is embraced by public research universities is directly tied to capitalism. Nonhuman animals and vivisection are commoditized, and so it remains supported, even when it is not in the public's best interest or the best interest of scientific and medical advancement.

Following, I provide the reader with empirical evidence addressing the lack of efficacy of vivisection. I then explain the key mechanisms through which universities institutionalize and monetize vivisection. The focus on generating revenue is not only bad for the nonhuman animals who are killed and experience extreme distress in the course of vivisection, but it also stifles scientific innovation and progress. I argue that, even in the face of mounting evidence that nonhuman animal research models are not efficient or effective, the intersections of the "animal industrial complex" and the "academic industrial complex" (problematically) create fertile ground for using vivisection as a source of revenue.

ANIMALS AS LABORATORY "TOOLS"

There are recorded instances of vivisection for academic learning in ancient Greece as early as the third century BC when Erasistratus used pigs to study breathing. In the seventeenth century in France and England, a strong wave of vivisection emerged. Scholars associated with this tradition were known to nail down live dogs by their paws and cut them open in front of other scholars and audiences to study the circulatory system; they believed that other animals could not feel pain. Today, most people recognize that nonhuman animals feel pain and experience stress, but they continue to be objectified as "tools" of research, without much consideration for their lives or well-being.

Nonhuman animals used in experiments have few legal protections; this is particularly true for smaller animals such as hamsters, mice, and rabbits. There is only one federal law, the Animal Welfare Act (AWA), that protects animals used in experiments. Protections under this law are minimal and do not provide *any* protection to birds, fish, mice, and rats, despite the fact that these species make up over 95 percent of all nonhuman animals used for research purposes.

Vivisection is invasive and painful, and other animals are often not provided any pain relief. In the process, they are also commoditized as any other laboratory tool might be. They are sold and purchased in catalogs through which purchasers can request specific "modifications." Nonhuman animals may be manipulated through breeding, genetic engineering, or being physically altered to remove "undesirable" traits (e.g. other animals are bred to contract certain abnormalities and diseases, dogs' vocal cords are typically cut so they don't bark) or to contract certain conditions (e.g. obesity or tumors). Charles River Labs, one of the largest nonhuman animal dealers, makes it clear on a page of their online catalog that other animals are nothing more than objects of research (e.g. "a model"; "study-ready"), rather than subjects of a life:

> *Our preconditioning services can help alleviate the space, time and labor costs involved with refining a model to meet your unique research requirements. Whether you are looking for animals fed a special diet, altered through surgery or reared to a certain age, Charles River has the state-of-the-art animal facilities, professional animal care and robust model selection to deliver study-ready animals right to your door* (Charles River).

Nonhuman animals are (ware) housed in conditions that are more often than not cramped, dirty, and crowded, and most will never see sunlight or touch the earth. After all this, they are typically killed, either through the procedures of the experiment or because they are no longer of use at the conclusion of the study.

Opposition to using nonhuman animals in research has been steadily increasing in the United States, with the least amount of support among teens and those in their 20s (Goodman, Borch, and Cherry 2013).[1] Even so, many people still feel that vivisection is a necessary evil. In a 2010 survey of U.S. adults, 56 percent of respondents agreed with the statement that research on animals is necessary for medical advancement. Another

27 percent indicated they "did not know," and only 17 percent disagreed (Faunalytics.org 2010).

Despite peoples' perceptions, there is mounting empirical evidence that nonhuman animals are *not* the most effective or accurate models for research. In the 1950s, there was acknowledgement in the scientific community that vivisection was often unnecessary, overused other animals, and was superfluously cruel. This led to the promotion of the principles of The Three R's: replacement (using methods that do not use other animals), reduction (using methods that require fewer nonhuman animals to be used or that can yield more data with the same number of other animals), and refinement (minimizing the suffering of other animals when they are used). The principle of The Three R's has been widely embraced since that time and has "become embedded in national and international legislation regulating the use of animals in scientific procedures" (National Centre for the Replacement and Reduction of Animals in Research), though this legislation only provides minimal protections for most nonhuman animals.

It is undeniable that vivisection was used to develop a number of medical advancements that we have today, but it no longer remains the best way forward for educational or medical advancement. Initiatives to promote The Three R's and a growing consensus in the scientific community as to the inadequacy and waste of vivisection have encouraged the development of many new and more effective research methods. Computer-based and virtual models of dissection are an effective way to teach dissection (Merchant et al. 2014) and improves learning outcomes compared to nonhuman animal models (Predavec 2001). As of 2011, 93 percent of U.S. medical and osteopathy schools no longer require terminal nonhuman animal labs (Faunalytics.org 2012), further highlighting the lack of necessity or efficacy of dissection as a teaching model. Nonetheless, dissection labs remain common in K-12 and post-secondary education. Experimentation on other animals for the purpose of testing cosmetics can be easily and successfully replaced using various technologies, including cell cultures, human tissue samples, and computer models. In fact, cosmetic testing is so obsolete that it was banned in the European Union in 2013, though it is still widely practiced in the United States. Alternative models for medical and basic research include using computer models, cell and tissue cultures, stem cells, or microorganisms (Doke and Dhawale 2013). Among other resources, Johns Hopkins University runs a "global clearing house for information on alternatives to animal testing," called Altweb (http://altweb.jhsph.edu/), which provides resources to researchers to help them find and utilize efficacious research methods without the use of other animals.

One of the key issues with nonhuman animal models is a lack of *translation* of findings from other animals to humans (van der Worp et al. 2010). Research experiments conducted on different species of animals, including humans, will more often than not yield different results. This has been a particular problem for nonhuman animal-based models in the development of drugs and understanding of disease. The nonhuman animal model that has come under the most scrutiny for a lack of translation is the mouse (Engber 2011), the species most widely used in vivisection. The lack of predictive value between nonhuman animal models and human outcomes has resulted in major setbacks and disasters for human health. Some of the best known tragedies due to the failure of translation from nonhuman animal models to humans include the drug Vioxx, which caused at least 140,000 people to have heart attacks (Bhattacharya 2005); delayed understanding that cholesterol leads to heart attacks because the other animal species used to examine this relationship in the 1950s didn't develop atherosclerosis on high cholesterol diets (Greek and Shanks 2009, 63); extreme limb deformities and other birth defects in babies of mothers who had taken thalidomide (Smithells 1992); a decade-long delay in the release of penicillin because it was "excreted too quickly" in rabbit models (Greek and Shanks 2009, 63).

These examples of failed translation are not peculiar. Rather, a lack of translation from other animals to humans is the norm, as systematic reviews of the scientific literature reveal. Knight (2011, 89), for example, analyzed 20 systematic reviews of nonhuman animal research and only found two instances of successful translation. In cancer research specifically, less than 8 percent of findings using vivisection successfully transfer to clinical cancer trials in humans (Mak, Evaniew, and Ghert 2014). A review of six medical interventions (Perel et al. 2006), which examined 100 studies, found that there were similar outcomes between humans and other animals only half the time. Further, the Perel et al. review also found that that "[t]he animal studies were of poor quality . . . with evidence of publication bias" (2006, 4).

Publication bias refers to a bias both in terms of what is submitted to and accepted for publication. When there is a lack of success for a particular experiment in a nonhuman animal model, it is less likely to be published (Greek and Shanks 2009). Further, "[d]rug companies own their data, and they are . . . under no obligation to release the data to the public" (Greek and Shanks 2009, 60); therefore, many studies are never even submitted for publication. As will be discussed, universities are patenting their faculties' research and collaborating with drug companies and other corporations more than ever, keeping even more research away from the scientific community and out of the public sphere. Publication bias in the reporting of research using nonhuman animals means that there are likely many unpublished studies in which there was a lack of success, making the rate of successful translation and prediction based on vivisection even lower than reported. The reluctance to publish "nonfindings" also increases the overall number of other animals used in vivisection, because without knowledge that such experiments were previously conducted, they may be repeated by other researchers.[2]

RESEARCH AS REVENUE

The university plays an instrumental role in the continued reliance on vivisection. On a very basic level, the presence of vivisection in universities has normalized this as a research practice. Social scientists generally find that support for liberal ideologies increases with education. However, the opposite is true in the case of vivisection; the more education someone has, the more likely they are to support it (Goodman, Borch, and Cherry 2013). This speaks to the institutionalization of vivisection through the educational system. As an individual moves through school, the use of other animals in science becomes more normalized and reified. For example, many students engage in classroom dissections in middle school, high school, and/or college; there are examples of nonhuman animal experiments in text books, even the textbooks of disciplines that don't engage in research based on other animals (e.g. word problems in math texts); college students take classes with professors who use animals in their own research. All of this normalizes the practices of breeding and caging animals, experimenting on them while they are alive, and killing them after they are no longer of use to a particular experiment or research lab.

The question remains as to why the number of other animals used in experiments continues to grow and why universities continue to support the practice of vivisection at all since there are alternative, generally superior, methods of research. One reason for this may be a type of inertia. Many professional researchers and university faculty learned to do research using nonhuman animals, so that is what they continue to do and how they teach their graduate students to do research. Another reason is that some are "true believers" (Greek and Shanks 2009, 96) who deeply trust that vivisection is an effective research method. However, given the evidence to the contrary, these reasons don't explain the systemic support and the prevalence of vivisection in universities, particularly when alternatives and superior research methods are available. The continued reliance on vivisection in university research is most directly explained as being revenue-driven.

The academic industrial complex is characterized by a chokehold of economic interests, supported and propelled by political concerns, over the activities of higher education. This is exemplified by the increase in administrators coming out of the business world rather than with a background in the academy. Further, despite ample evidence that interaction with permanent tenured faculty increases student retention (Jaschick 2010), universities are steering away from tenured faculty in favor of adjunct faculty (American Association of University Professors). At the same time tuitions are increasing (Mitchell and Leachman 2015), and students are taking on more debt.

To understand the role of vivisection in the context of the academic industrial complex, we first have to understand how research can lead to revenue in public universities and how vivisection, specifically, fits into this framework. In what has been dubbed the "military-industrial-academic-complex," we see the strong roots of the ties between corporations and academic science dating back to World War I (Leslie 1993) and strengthening in the wake of 9/11 (Giroux 2016). In the 1980s, the passage of the Bayh-Dole Act allowed U.S. universities to own and patent the products of research resulting from federally funded projects, which strengthened and solidified corporate influence over universities. These relationships between university research and external collaborations influence what is researched, how and where results are presented, and what is eventually published (Abraham 1995).

The tie between research and revenue stream is particularly strong in the public universities. In the 2013–2014 academic year, U.S. private, for-profit universities received 90 percent of their total revenues from tuition and fees, compared to 30 percent at private nonprofits and a mere 20 percent at public universities (National Center for Education Statistics 2016). These vast differences in revenue streams can largely be explained by differences in the way each type of university structures research. While public universities are only receiving 20 percent of revenues from tuition, 42 percent comes from government grants, contracts, and appropriations—much of which is directed toward research. Two of the key ways that research endeavors generate revenue while also increasing support for vivisection is through technology transfers and grants. While these processes generate profits directly, relationships with corporations that are built through technology transfer agreements and grants can also lead to additional revenue-generating activity for the university, such as the funding of endowed chairs and direct donations. These provide a fertile ground for the continuation of nonhuman animal experimentation, even as alternative research technologies prove to be more promising and efficacious.

Research grants are perhaps the most transparent mechanism through which universities financially gain from research using nonhuman animals. Science, technology, engineering, and mathematics disciplines, or STEM disciplines, receive the largest share of financial research and development support from the federal government (Humanities Indicators 2016), often in the form of grants.

These grants bring money not just to the individual projects for which they are awarded, but to the university as a whole through indirect costs that are attached to grants. *Indirect costs* are funds that go directly to the university to contribute to expenses the university incurs to support research, but that is not exclusively tied to the specific project. For example, staff to handle the finances, maintaining labs and buildings, and other operational costs the university may incurs to functionally support research on the campus. These are payments *in addition to* the money that is awarded specifically for the research project. Indirect costs, also called faculty and administration rates (F & A), are set by the federal government and may vary by university. These rates can range but are often over 50 percent of the direct cost of the grant. This means that if the indirect cost rate is set at 50 percent, and a researcher is awarded a grant for $500,000 in direct costs of research, the university receives an additional $250,000 from the granting agency to go toward indirect costs.

Prestige and job security for university faculty, particularly in the STEM disciplines, are often tied to their ability to win grants, especially large grants. Vivisection often simply costs more money than using alternate technologies to perform the same type of research (Doke and Dhawale 2013). Purchasing nonhuman animals who were bred for use in vivisection is often more expensive than purchasing the alternative nonhuman model (Costs of Animal and Non-Animal Testing, 2012). The use of other animals also generates additional continued costs. Machines, computer models, tissues, cells, and other methods can be relatively easy to store and don't need continuous care. To conduct research on other animals, a lot of additional supplies must be purchased, and a lot of additional industries have been created to do this: vivariums are needed to house them, cages to contain and separate them, tools to perform the experiments, implements to restrain them while they are being experimented on, and specialized waste protocols to kill them and dispose of their dead bodies. Further, for many types of research, the technology does not need to be repeatedly replaced, whereas nonhuman animals do because once a nonhuman animal is "used" in an experiment, s/he cannot usually be "reused," and s/he is typically killed after the research has ended. This means that grants are often initially higher for this type of research, providing faculty no direct incentive to use other models nor for universities to encourage transitioning away from nonhuman animal models because larger grants mean more prestige and higher indirect costs.

Since nonhuman animals cannot typically be "used" for multiple experiments, vivisection can also create a higher likelihood of researchers seeking a grant renewal, as more nonhuman animals will need to be purchased if a research study seeks to expand or continue. Grant renewals are often awarded more readily than new grants. One of the largest federal granting agencies to the STEM disciplines is the NIH (National Institutes of Health); in 2015 grant renewals from the NIH were more than twice as likely to be funded than were new applications, with a success rate of about 37 percent compared to 16 percent for new applications (Laurer 2016). This contributes in an important way to the persistence of vivisection because, even as newer more effective research models are being developed, there is no incentive for researchers to embrace them. In fact, they are disincentivized. For scholars whose reputation and job security rely on bringing in money through grants, it may seem a more secure route to seek the continuation of a current study, perhaps just tweaking it slightly at each renewal iteration, rather than taking the risk of proposing a new study.

Another key way that animal research can generate revenue in universities is through *technology transfer* agreements in which universities seek to patent research findings, including research based on vivisection. This process encourages universities to commercialize research rather than disseminating it in the public commons via journal articles and other traditional academic modes of research sharing and distribution.

As mentioned earlier, in 1980 the federal Bayh-Dole Act allowed universities to have control over any intellectual property produced by their faculty if it was supported with federal grants. Universities have restructured over the past few decades to be able to better profit off the Bayh-Dole Act and other changes to the patent system that allow for selling research outputs (Valdivia 2013). Even though technology transfers often don't produce revenue, most research universities play into the "business model of licensing university patents to the highest bidder" (Valdivia 2013) because when they do payoff they can generate a lot of money. For example, Columbia University developed a $790 million patent for inserting DNA into cells, and New York University received $1 billion for patents associated with the development of the drug Remicade (Pérez-Peña 2013).

The increase in technology transfers supports vivisection in an absolute sense because it has supported a general increase in the overall amount of money that universities are spending on research. A study of 86 land-grant and state-funded universities found a positive correlation between the number of technology disclosures and the amount of money a university spends on research; between 2003 and 2012 technology disclosures increased by 60 percent, which was matched by a 65 percent increase in total research expenditure (Anderson 2004).

Notably, research support that comes directly from universities' budgets is also being funneled into those disciplines most likely to be involved in vivisection. University research and development (R&D) spending in the science, technology, and engineering disciplines was more than three times that spent on the humanities and social sciences. In 2014, about $12 billion each was spent funding research in both the biological sciences as well as in engineering, and over $20 billion was spent on research in the medical sciences. This is compared to under $1 billion for research in the humanities and less than $4 billion in the social sciences (Research and Development Expenditures at Colleges and Universities 2016).

While some universities may incubate startups for commercializing these new technologies in-house, they more often develop industry-university collaborations and work with corporations to turn research discoveries into commercial products (Valdivia 2013; Farrell 2008). Many universities have a technology transfer office (TTO), with the explicit purpose of developing such relationships. This in turn further strengthens university and corporate ties. Industry-academic relationships, which are bolstered through university licensing of their faculty's research and institutionalized via technology transfer offices, support the use of nonhuman animals in research. While these relationships might foster an increase in research output, they negatively impact research quality by creating conflicts of interest while also stifling creativity and innovation (Stuart 2004).

Industry-university collaborations have been strengthening, particularly with growth in the biomedical industry. The biomedical industry, which includes pharmaceutical companies, is experiencing growth (Jacobs 2015). Some universities, eager for profits, are creating programs to encourage and fund drug development research. Corporations are leveraging this to cut their costs by relying on university researchers to do early-phase research:

> *Drug companies and research institutes hope that the new programmers will kill two birds with one stone: replenish the pharmaceutical industry's depleted pipeline of new drugs, and bring money to institutions that face shrinking public funding* (Hayden 2012).

The tight partnerships between universities and industry create conflicts of interest by creating a loss of objectivity as corporations and their economic interests come to control research agendas. As Stuart (2004) highlights, this in turn can also influence teaching agendas as it can influence university hiring decisions. Universities may well favor hiring faculty who engage in research practices that support corporate agendas, while other important issues that might be of use to the public (but which are not as profitable) might be left unaddressed.

Notably, many of these companies are pharmaceutical and medical companies which must get FDA (Food and Drug Administration) approval for many of their products. FDA approval of many pharmaceutical and medical products requires that they be tested on other animals. This incentivizes the use of vivisection in the initial development and discovery phase of research; if there is an interest in developing a product for industry, the norms of the industry are more likely to be utilized when producing the product, even if these are not the best methods available. In the same way, corporate relationships can also stifle creativity and innovation because there is a delay of knowledge dissemination and lack of knowledge sharing as contracts and technology disclosures are developed. Importantly, industry-university partnerships promote an overall increase in nonhuman animal experimentation outside of the university context, and many of the products developed in universities will be tested on other animals, again by firms that are not held to the professional (albeit weak) standards that university faculty are supposed to follow.

CONCLUSION

University support of vivisection is undeniable. Faculty and staff who engage in this research are rewarded with increased physical support and minimal oversight of their research or the well-being of the other animals who they are using. Professors within the STEM disciplines make significantly more on average than their counterparts in the social sciences and humanities (Jaschick 2016). Universities often invest a great deal in building infrastructure and physical resources to facilitate vivisection as well.[3] Further, models of research that use nonhuman animals receive minimal oversight as well. University research proposals and protocols involving other animals are reviewed by each institution's IACUC (Institutional Animal Care and Use Committee), groups that are primarily staffed by others who also conduct research on nonhuman animals, and their institutional supporters. Not surprisingly, research proposals are rarely rejected, requested exemptions to the minimalist standards of welfare are frequently granted, and initiatives embracing The Three R's are underemphasized (Hansen, Goodman, and Chandna 2012).

University support of vivisection is driven by motives for profit. It has created an institution that systemically supports and actively encourages vivisection in order to generate revenues through grants, partnerships with corporations, and technology transfers. Vivisection persists in public research universities despite systematic reviews of scientific literature that consistently find a lack of translation from nonhuman animal models to human trials, notwithstanding that there are initiatives to reduce, refine, and replace other animals in experiments, despite better more effective research models existing, and without regard to the fact that millions of nonhuman animals are suffering immensely and dying needlessly in the process. Put simply, vivisection persists in public research universities because it is viewed as a revenue stream.

NOTES

1. Opposition to research on nonhuman animals grew 25 percent among teens and 20-somethings in the 10-year period from 2001 to 2011, with 59 percent opposing testing on other animals in 2011 (Goodman, Borch, and Cherry 2013).

2. Studies that use nonhuman animal models have also been critiqued for failing to comprehensively report research procedures (Kilkenny et al. 2010). This includes, among other issues, not determining the appropriate sample size for the

study (van der Word 2010) and failing to report the number of other animals used (Kilkenny et al. 2010). These mistakes make it difficult to use the studies to predict human outcomes, to evaluate the quality of the studies, and it can lead to the duplication of studies. All of this leads to an absolute increase in the number of other animals who are used in experiments and invalidates the utility of the findings for which they were sacrificed.

3. For example, the University of Washington received a fine of nearly $11,000 from the USDA after they performed unapproved experiments on several nonhuman primates, and another was starved to death (Doughton 2013). Rather than shutting down or limiting their vivisection program, the University of Washington decided to "improve" and expand it and is currently in the process of building a new "animal-research facility" at an estimated cost of $123 million.

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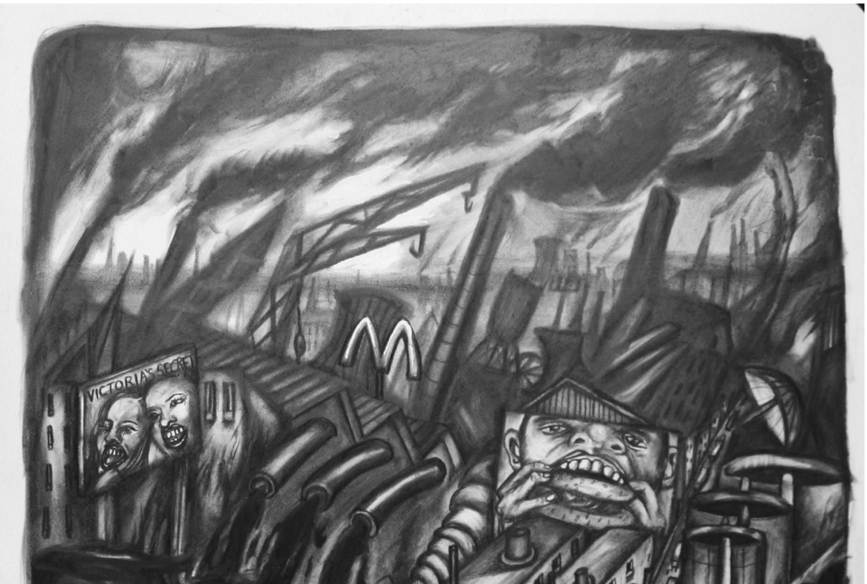
VICTORIA'S SECRET
SWIFT SWIFT
Unwanted

Unwanted. (Copyright © 2016 Sue Coe. Courtesy Galerie St. Etienne, NY)

6

“Wild Animals” as Goods, Chattel, and Perpetual Victims in Post-Apartheid South Africa[1]

Michele Pickover

PROLOGUE: THE VANQUISHED

The ingrained notion that “wild animals” only exist at the behest of human exploitation and generally now only as part of managed and fabricated aesthetically appealing landscapes, which are often privately owned and have financial spin-offs, means that in the current market-driven, extractive anthropocene world, their survival, as individuals or as species, is now almost totally dependent on them being categorized as commodities. According to Cock (2014, 39) “underlying all capital’s strategies—is the broad process of commodification: the transformation of nature and all social relations into economic relations, subordinated to the logic of the market and the imperatives of profit. The process of financialization means increasing instability of these relations and will lead to a deepening of the crisis in nature.” The macroeconomic context in Africa is one based on a heavy dependence on resource-intensive commodity exports mainly through massive exploitation of its so-called “natural resources.” This is having a direct impact on the lives of nonhuman animals on the African continent, and it does not matter where the locus of power over "wild animals" lies: they are continuously commodified.

Consequently, in Africa "wild animals" have become merely species and specimens. They have all but lost their agency, individuality, and independence and are no longer "wild" because the spatial, ideological, and economic context in which they live is fashioned and driven by human dominance, greed, and destructiveness.[2] They have been conquered—and the conquered are held in contempt, disrespected, and unrecognized. "Wild animals" have become socially and culturally marginalized and invisible. They do not live parallel or separate lives, but their lives are entangled with ours. This is the prerequisite on which they are allowed to exist. Essentially it is a case of exeunt the "wild animals," unless they are co-opted as aesthetic props in the capitalist production and construction of notions of wilderness.

Simultaneously, the global political economy, the State and "wildlife industry" is actively promoting the notion of "wild animals" and the chimera of wilderness to propel profits, thus paradoxically and concomitantly obliterating and constructing. The perpetually increasing scale of "wild animal" commodification as a result of the nexus between hypercapitalism, globalization, pro- "sustainable use" policy discourse and the growth-dependent, unjust, and ecologically flawed global and local development model should be screaming out alarm bells to those who are concerned about the interests of these tyrannized victims. The commodification of "wild animals" in South Africa takes place against the backdrop of colonialism, apartheid, neoliberalism, a deeply ingrained marginalization of "the Other," and a militarized conservation sector which is still largely in the hands of an Afrikaner elite and a particular social subclass which reflects this.

Concurrent scarcity and abundance, and the stimulation of both, are the order of the day. In addition, according to the *Anthropogenic Allee effect*, a concept coined by Courchamp et al. (2006), "the human predisposition to place exaggerated value on rarity fuels disproportionate exploitation of rare species, rendering them even rarer and thus more desirable, ultimately leading them into an extinction vortex." There is the ubiquitousness of African "wild animals" in the global subconscious as well as in the overt materiality and co-option of "wildlife" images and media characterizations by almost every industry transnationally (whether in Europe, the United States, Asia, or Africa). While "wild animals" are becoming extinct in their natural habitats, on the other hand, they are being commercially bred for killing and profit. Even in their endangeredness, "wild animals"—seen as abundant and limitless—their scarceness makes them even more of a target for trade and slaughter.

During the nineteenth century "wild animals" in South Africa were killed on a vast scale as new hunting parties from Europe were penetrating deep into the interior. "Big-game hunters" were seen as the harbingers of civilization and the symbols of patriotism and expansionism. There was a frenzied, indeed almost manic slaughter of "wild animals" that took place to make way for urbanized humans. By the end of the 1890s, European rule and merchant capitalism had, by their efforts to subjugate nature, brought about the almost complete destruction of "wild animals" on the subcontinent. As a result, the demands of commercialism, which got under way after settlement began, rapidly transformed hunting into a war against animals. Today the slaughter continues, in an updated post-metropolis form, with all its added weaponry, vehicles, comfort, and sophisticated technology, within the current political framework of "development" and the economic context of capitalism, and this ritualized killing is supported and legitimized in our conservation policies.

The South African government is a formidable barrier to those fighting for justice for animals. This is because its power protects and legitimizes the ideological forces of exploitation. Historically, South Africa has always taken a pro-consumptive use stance in relation to "wild animals." In the past, it was so that a few people could benefit and have private hunting grounds. It is now located within the language of development. The current management policy is effectively the "consumptive utilization of resources," which has ushered in an extensive increase in the trade in animals and what is essentially farming "wild animals," in line with the policy of the "sustainable utilization of natural resources." In addition, the "consumptive use of wildlife resources" is promoted as an important economic driver. Nonhuman animal suffering is, therefore, not on the government's agenda, and indeed, it is advocating endless exploitation of nonhuman animals, concealing ethical issues and real suffering behind its raw commercialism. The government is driving and overseeing the burgeoning trade in "wild animals" and is responsible for the way hunting is flourishing. Its neoliberal position on elephant ivory sales and its promotion of the hunting industry are examples of its overt "consumptive use" conservation policies—"wild animals" are viewed as mere commodities who usually "pay their way" with their lives. The government also wants to export their conservation policies to other countries in Africa.

THE MARKET IS BOOMING

The violent geography of the trade in Africa's "wild animals" is extensive, lucrative, and ever expanding. The international trade (legal and illegal) involves millions of nonhuman animals every year and is one of the key drivers of species extinction, population decline, suffering, abuse, and death.

The trade in African mammals, birds, and reptiles has grown dramatically since the early 1990s. Profit-motivated nonhuman animal dealers and middlemen and a seemingly bottomless market drive this trade, which hides behind the vague and misused concept of “sustainable use” to pursue its short-sighted agenda. Hungry for hard export cash, South Africa is Africa’s biggest “wildlife” trader, and its market is booming and ever-increasing. The major contradiction, although to be expected within the global context of “othering,” is the separation of the illegal trade (trafficking) from the legal trade, despite the fact that the two are naturally and obviously intertwined and part of the same continuum. Allowing a market and having a legal trade in “wild animals” and their body parts is at the root of demand and the conversion of living beings into commodities on the “supply” side. Trade opens the door for abuse, including illegal laundering, the hankering of unlimited profit, and the notion of limitless growth in demand, supply, and sales. Emphasis by international bodies and governments is therefore usually on reducing demand of *illegally* obtained items; awareness-raising; increasing expenditure on enforcement and confiscations of illegally traded “products”; legislative compliance; monitoring and evaluation; and support for “sustainable economic activities benefiting rural communities living in and adjacent to wildlife” (often through trophy hunting). The specific use of desensitized and detached language, by governments, international bodies, capital and conservationists, serves to codify, objectify, control, convert, erase, and disembody living beings. It plays an important role in legitimizing and sanitizing the unspeakable so that there is a deliberate collective forgetfulness about the main actors—who is being traded, where they come from—and the holocaust that is being unleashed on “wild animals” through trade and commercial activities. Hence, sterile scientific terminology such as “game,” “wildlife products,” “wildlife production,” “off-takes,” “quotas,” “harvest,” “high value natural resource,” “wild sourced inputs,” “specimens,” “derivatives,” and “derived products” are endlessly used when referring to living beings so that they can be used in global human industrial consumer markets for investment, conspicuous consumption,[3] “exotic pets,” trophies, exhibition and entertainment, medicine, food, cosmetics and perfume, and fashion.

It is argued in all publications relating to the estimated financial value of the illegal trade in “wild animals” that its clandestine nature make it difficult to measure and quantify. Curiously however, estimated figures for the illegal trade are much more in evidence and readily available than the statistics for the so-called regulated legal trade in “wild animals.” In addition, the term *wildlife* often includes charcoal, plants, and timber, making it impossible to get accurate information in relation to “wild animals” only. Uncovering the mystery of the amount of profits generated from trading in “wild animals” and their body parts as a legally and regulated “commodity” is elusive, untransparent, and obfuscatory. It begs the question: is the focus on the illegal trade by the organizations, states, and institutions that promote sustainable development and trade merely a ruse to divert attention away from the consequences and activities of the legal trade?

According to the Wildlife Trade Monitoring Group (TRAFFIC 2016), during the years 2005 to 2009, the Convention on International Trade in Endangered Species of Wild Fauna and Flora (CITES) "endangered species" trade database recorded an annual average of more than 317,000 live birds, just over 2 million live reptiles, 2.5 million crocodilian skins, 1.5 million lizard skins, and 2.1 million snake skins. In terms of hunting trophies, CITES data shows that 10,000 lions were legally trophy hunted between 2003 and 2013, while between 2003 and 2013, 15,518 African elephants were killed for trophies (Tan 2015). These numbers are a low estimate because most of the countries from where the animals traded originate, are poor record-keepers, and corruption is common. The "exotic pet" trade industry is one of the key drivers of the trade in "wild animals." Countries involved in the "exotic pet" trade—both exporters and importers—do not compile reliable data on the extent but nonetheless, in 2005, Karesh et al. suggested that the magnitude of the global trade for the "exotic pet" trade involves over 350 million live nonhuman animals a year, including primates, birds, reptiles, and fish.

Written evidence submitted by TRAFFIC to a 2012 United Kingdom House of Commons Environmental Audit Committee on Wildlife Crime claims that in the early 1990s the estimated value of "legal wildlife products" imported globally was around $160 billion, while in 2009, it was over $323 billion. TRAFFIC also estimated the legal trade of "wildlife products" into the EU alone was worth an estimated €93 billion in 2005, and this increased to nearly €100 billion in 2009. (United Kingdom Parliament 2012). While in 2013, Hübschle (2014, 46) valued the "global legal trade in wildlife" (excluding fish) to be worth between $22.8 billion and $25 billion per annum. CITES[4] stated that "for **key** commodities of CITES-listed Appendix II animals the monetary value is conservatively estimated to range from $350 to $530 million per year, or almost $2.2 billion over the five-year period 2006–2010" (Scanlon 2012).

According to a 2014 United National Environmental Programme (UNEP) report, environmental crime, which includes the illegal trade in "wild animals," is growing two to three times faster than global GDP, dwarfing the illegal trade in small arms and is the world's fourth largest criminal enterprise after drug smuggling, counterfeiting, and human trafficking (Nellemann et al. 2014). A 2016 report concedes that "given this level of volatility in both the seizure record and what is known about the underlying markets, it is nearly impossible to give an accurate and consistent estimate of the criminal revenues generated by "wildlife" trafficking" (United Nations

Office on Drugs and Crime, 2016, 21). The European Commission argues that "wildlife" trafficking is one most profitable organized crimes in the world, with the illegal elephant ivory trade having more than doubled since 2007, and rhino "poaching" increasing by 7,000 percent in South Africa between 2007 and 2013, "endangering the very survival of this species." (European Union 2016). UNEP argues that the ivory trade has been solely responsible for killing more than a quarter of the world's elephant population in the last 10 years, elephants are being killed at a rate that is growing by more than 25 percent every year (Defense Web 2016), and that the possible number of elephants killed in Africa is in the range of 20,000 to 25,000 per year (5 percent) (Nellemann et al. 2014, 7). Statistics from the Great Elephant Census released on September 1, 2016, show an even more alarming situation. The African savannah elephant population has dropped to about 350,000, with forest elephant numbers as low as 70,000.[5] To put this figure in perspective, approximately 1.3 million elephants inhabited Africa in the 1970s. The pace of the slaughter varies from region to region. Between 2009 and 2015, Tanzania lost half of its elephants, and their population has plummeted from about 109,000 to 51,000, a fall of 53 percent (Sieff 2016).

In 2013, the U.S. government estimated that the monetary value from the illegal trade in "wildlife" was between $45 billion to $120 billion each year, with the illegal trade in "endangered wildlife products" (including elephant ivory, rhino horns, and turtle shells) worth at least an estimated $7 billion to $10 billion annually (Wyler and Sheikh 2013).

Many countries, South Africa being one of them, base their pro- "wild animal" trade policy formulation on a false and discredited market-friendly premise that trade is a conservation solution for so-called "endangered species," and legal markets are a panacea for the illegal trade. For example, in relation to the trade in rhino horn, in March 2013, the South African Minister of Environmental Affairs, Edna Molewa, stated that she believes the legalization of the trade is the right direction to take to curb rhino poaching (Rademeyer 2013), while the Department of Environmental Affairs (DEA) in its Rhino Issue Management Report stated that "banning of the rhino horn trade by CITES and the concomitant moratorium on domestic trade by South Africa has had the unintended consequence of increasing poaching of live animals as there is no other horn available" (Republic of South Africa 2013). The tenet of the pro-trade argument is that trade bans produce high prices and scarcity leading to higher illegal trading, and this can be eliminated by a flow of legal supply through captive breeding (farming), sales of stockpiles, and "culling." In this way, they will be able to out-compete the illegal suppliers and drive prices down, thus making "poaching" unprofitable while ensuring high returns for the legal market. Private ownership and business enterprise are key to this argument, and implicit is the development of expanding demand. A pivotal study by Nadal and Aguayo (2014, 1) reviewed the analytical economic arguments used to support the legal market framework. It powerfully shows that "the literature advocating trade as a conservation solution for endangered species relies on models that are based on simplistic and/or extremely restrictive assumptions. In most cases, these models also rely on conceptual tools that have been theoretically discredited." Nadal and Aguayo argue the belief that markets behave as self-regulating mechanisms that lead to equilibrium, and greater efficiency cannot be substantiated, and "the economic analysis of wildlife trade . . . appears to have been trapped in the backwaters of textbook economics" (3) resulting in "incongruities and misleading conclusions" (4).

THE INTERNATIONAL POLICY FRAMEWORK

The overarching global locale in which all South Africa's policies in relation to "wild animals" are firmly positioned is the notion of "sustainable development," described by Giddens as an oxymoron, (Giddens 2009) à la the Brundtland Report (Brundtland 1987) and the 1992 Rio Declaration on Environment and Development, where humans and development are placed at the center of any concern for sustainability. Sustainable development is also articulated in Chapter 3 (Bill of Rights) of South Africa's Constitution, which espouses ". . . ecologically sustainable development and use of natural resources while promoting justifiable economic and social development." This human *über alles* continuum of discrimination and injustice against the "other" persists in the various UN multilateral environmental programs and treaties to which South Africa is a signatory, states party, or supporter. Two examples are:

1. The United Nations Environment Programme (UNEP) Convention on Biological Diversity (CBD)[6] "which couples environmental objectives to the need for development in developing countries and emphasizes that natural resources are the property of individual countries" (Department of Environmental Affairs and Tourism 1997).
2. The Convention on International Trade in Endangered Species of Wild Fauna and Flora (CITES) which governs the global trade in so-called endangered "wild animals." There are currently 182 states parties to the Convention, including South Africa, which ratified in 1975. CITES appears to be concerned not so much with protecting species as with allowing trade in endangered ones, which makes it almost Orwellian in character. Listing species in a hierarchy of appendices, classified according to their vulnerability to extinction, it operates on the premise that "wild animals," particularly those that are listed as "endangered," have an economic value and can be commercially traded. Because the concept of "sustainable use" is at its core, it regulates rather than prohibits trade.

Trade is only regulated for so-called "endangered species." According to CITES, as of October 2, 2013, roughly 5,600 species of animals are listed as threatened in the CITES appendices (I, II, and III) (Convention on International Trade in Endangered Species of Wild Fauna and Flora 2013). Usually this is as a result of trade or the combination of loss of habitat and trade. This means that there are many other animals that are endlessly traded but are not listed on the three CITES appendices. There are thousands of species of "wild animals" who fall outside of so-called "regulated" international trade yet they are legally traded internationally and accompanied by the appropriate permits and official documents. According to the United Nations Office on Drugs and Crime (2016, 10), permits for about 900,000 legal shipments of protected "wildlife products" are issued annually. These nonhuman animals are often obtained illegally but laundered through the legal regulatory framework, including trophy hunting, live sales, "wildlife" farming and ranching, breeding and captive operations, including zoos. According to a June 2015 CITES press release, their trade database had exceeded 15 million records of trade since the mid-1970s—this would mean many millions more nonhuman animals as each record usually represents more than one individual being (CITES 2015). A recent study that analyzed CITES "wild animal" trade records for Appendix I and II species exported out of Africa (involving 2,337 species), between the years 2003 to 2012 found that 90 percent of the records contained discrepancies across almost every type, including quantity, appendix, origin, purpose, source, term, and year, and records missing an import quantity were the most frequent type of discrepancy, occurring in 63 percent of all trade records. It also found that the 50 African countries included in the study were involved in data discrepancies, with Appendix 1 species having more divergences than the other appendices (Russo 2015).

A number of other additional protocols and frameworks further strengthen the commodification of "wild animals." The Nagoya Protocol on Access to Genetic Resources and the Fair and Equitable Sharing of Benefits Arising from their Utilization is a 2010 supplementary agreement to the CBD, providing a legal framework for the implementation of "the fair and equitable sharing of benefits arising out of the utilization of genetic resources" (UNEP 2010). The Collaborative Partnership on Sustainable Wildlife Management (CPW) was initiated in 2013 in response to the CBD's "Decision XI/25 on sustainable use of biodiversity: bushmeat and sustainable wildlife management" (Convention on Biological Diversity 2012), and is a partnership of 13 international organizations who are pushing for the "sustainable use and conservation of wildlife resources." The mission of the CPW is to "increase cooperation and coordination among its members and other interested parties on sustainable wildlife management to promote the sustainable use and conservation of terrestrial vertebrate wildlife in all biomes and geographic areas, contributing to the conservation and sustainable use of biodiversity, and to human food security, livelihoods and wellbeing" (Convention on Biological Diversity 2016).

Through its 2011 report *Towards a Green Economy: Pathways to Sustainable Development and Poverty Eradication*, the United Nations Environment Programme (UNEP 2011) has also articulated and adopted a framework for 'policy makers' which defines the notion of the green economy as one which improves "human well-being and social equity, while significantly reducing environmental risks and ecological scarcities" through investing in and utilizing "natural capital." By re-packaging neoliberal hypercapitalism as the "green economy" and maintaining that markets are the means of promoting sustainable development, "wild animals" are reduced to "natural capital" and forever coupled to the "green economy" and growth. Embedded within the zeitgeist of this report is not only the commodification of nature (and by implication "wild animals") but also the increase in their transnational flow. According to Cock (2014, 28) we are in an era of new commodification where the market is expanding "into all aspects of the natural world; an attempt by capital—in the name of protection—to affect the last enclosure of the commons—that of Nature itself." Given this context, it is not surprising that Lee Scott, CEO of Wal-Mart is on record as saying "Sustainability . . . the single biggest business opportunity of the 21st century and the next main source of competitive advantage" (Lacour 2009).

Evidence of the support of the South African government for a shift to a green economy and a people-centric approach is clear in key policy documents such as the New Growth Path (2010), the National Development Plan (2012) and State of the Nation addresses, government official speeches.[7] This is all in the context that in South Africa only 11 percent of the land is "under conservation," and according to a 2014 presentation by the chief policy advisor for Strategic Environmental Intelligence of the Department of Environmental Affairs, of the 223 river ecosystem types, 60 percent are threatened with 25 percent of these critically endangered; 50 percent of the wetlands have already been lost, and of the remaining 792 wetland ecosystems, 65 percent have been identified as threatened and 48 percent critically endangered (Lukey 2014). The State is promoting the "wildlife industry" and "sustainable use" as a key strategy for "rapid socioeconomic transformation," the "growth of the wildlife economy" and "economic development." In a 2015 speech, the minister of environmental affairs said that "the sustainable utilization of species, including legal hunting, has historically played a significant role in the growth of populations of species, including lion, elephant and rhino," and the hunting industry, which in 2015 they valued at around R6.2 billion (approximately $500,000,000), "is well-regulated and a source of much needed foreign exchange, job creation, community development and social upliftment" (Modise 2016). In 2015, the government also committed itself to the National Biodiversity Economy Strategy (NBES). A critical element of this strategy is to “empower local communities to become significant players in the wildlife industry through the establishment of wildlife based enterprises . . . we believe local communities must be placed at the heart of conservation because unless local communities receive tangible socioeconomic benefits and become part of the wildlife and related industries, the concept of conservation will continue to be regarded as exclusive and elitist.” Part of this endeavor is to mobilize “new emerging wildlife farmers” and “establish benefit asset sharing agreements around bioprospecting applications” (Thomson 2016). In addition, the Department’s “Vision 2024 Green Economy: Wildlife Based Land Reform Support Programme” key deliverables include: 60,000 jobs; 2 million hectares of communal land restored and developed for “conservation and commercial game ranching;’ equity redress by the provision of R4 billion in “game;” and “300,000 heads of wildlife under black empowered and owned ranches.”[8]

Clearly, globally, as Sullivan (2014) points out, nature (and “wild animals”) is being seen as money. Hence in 2013, with the backing of UNEP, the World Business Council for Sustainable Development (WBCSD) and the International Union for the Conservation of Nature (IUCN) established the World Forum on Natural Capital. According to their website (http://naturalcapitalforum.com), “. . . there are both serious risks to business, as well as significant opportunities, associated with biodiversity loss and ecosystem degradation” and “the World Forum on Natural Capital . . . see it as a chance to reframe nature as the solution to global challenges, rather than a part of the problem.”

In 2015, members of the UN General Assembly adopted the 2030 Agenda for Sustainable Development. The Sustainable Development Goals (SDGs) articulate the “global agenda for improving human living conditions.” At the same time, the SDGs advocate “sustainable consumption and production patterns,” “conservation and sustainable use of the oceans, seas, and marine resources” for sustainable development, and “the protection, restoration and promotion of sustainable use of terrestrial ecosystems, sustainably manage forests, combat desertification, and halt and reverse land degradation and halt biodiversity loss.”[9] Also somewhat duplicitously included in the SDGs is the statement: a world “in which humanity lives in harmony with nature and in which wildlife and other living species are protected.”[10]

NEW DISCOURSES, BUT NO JUSTICE FOR NONHUMAN ANIMALS

In addition, community conservation and development projects funded by the World Bank always ensure that they are compatible with “sustainable development,” UNEP treaties and the goals of the Convention on

Biological Diversity. The perceived legitimacy of these neoliberal "new conservation" projects is reinforced by the argument that they are in response to, and in opposition with, so-called traditional and authoritarian preservationist/protectionist models, which stemmed from imperial Europe into the colonial states. Access to and use of "wild animals" was characteristically restricted in defense of class hierarchy and which, by definition, excluded ordinary people and communities. The power of defining the value and purpose of "wild animals" and the land they occupied in South Africa was the exclusive purview of white hegemony.

Woven into the fabric of their management practices of "wildlife conservation" was the conquest and dispossession of indigenous black communities. What Death (2014, 1226) calls the "exclusive preservationist approaches to conservation, dominated by white liberals and conservatives who obviously put the interests of charismatic mega-fauna, hunting, and white agriculture ahead of black populations." The subliminal underlying assumption by authors critical of this colonial and apartheid model is that "wild animals" were also the main beneficiaries at the expense of people,[11] despite the fact that "wild animals" were similarly victims of the same expansive and abusive social schemas: purely viewed as things, as commodities, as assets within an aesthetic landscape, within the logic of the market and scientific utilitarianism, to be managed, kept, and killed for a financial return. In this way "wild animals" are perpetually positioned as villains, acting against the interests of poor communities who were/are the targets of unjust systems such as colonialism and apartheid. The "new conservation" paradigm, which speaks to issues of redress, parity, land restitution, benefit-sharing, and ownership, does not represent a shift in sensibilities towards "wild animals." The shift in the locus of power over "wild animals" from colonial and apartheid conservation to "new conservation" may have denoted a change in the rhetoric but not in their exploitation and commodification.

Neoliberal capitalism, which is the official UN position, and which has transfigured "wild animals" into goods and chattel has been adopted, adapted, and articulated by governments across Africa and the world, but it is not only mainstream conservation and the global free market agenda that have subjugated animals. It is also the rhetoric of The Left and environmental justice advocates, who, in their criticism of "conservation-oriented . . . dominated character of the . . . mainstream environmental movement" (Munnik 2007, 2) and who "positioned themselves in opposition to many forms of conservation as they supported black South Africans in their efforts to claim back land that they had lost to conservation" (Munnik 2007, 3), also subordinate "wild animals" to human development needs, seeing them as "resources" and as having no place in social justice struggles, particularly in the Global South. It is a matter of righting past human rights wrongs, of unequal access to "environmental resources" between the settler community and the majority African population.

South African environmental and social justice activists who supposedly connect the "red," "green" and "brown" issues such as Jacklyn Cock (2011), while arguing that the sustainability discourse has been appropriated by neoliberal capitalism, and the commodification of nature is driving capital's response to the ecological crisis, simultaneously also argue that the discourse of sustainable development is an advance on the earlier protectionist models because it is concerned with "human needs" (Cock 2007). In this context, social justice is not an all-encompassing notion that affirms the value of all forms of life against the interests of wealth, power, and technology. Instead, the demeaning and sweeping euphemistic language of exploitation is used when referring to "wild animals" and their habitats—their priority is ecological sustainability within the context of protecting limited "resources" but ensuring that these "resources" are used for the benefit of all [humans] and not just for the privileged few (i.e., the idea of "benefit-sharing"). In their quest for social justice for the poor and powerless, "other" nonhuman animals are always excluded.

After the death of apartheid, there was a window of opportunity for inclusive justice to be part of the process of building a new society and for the interests of other animals to be included in the new Constitution. This never happened. In relation to "wild animals," this was for two key reasons: the influence of individuals from the environmental justice movement in developing government policy and legislation (what I call the era of white mischief) in the early 1990s; and the ensuing and almost simultaneous co-option and appropriation of the sustainable community livelihoods and development position by mainstream conservation and the "wildlife" industry, who all jumped on the bandwagon in the service of advancing the neoliberal project within government, its agencies, and policies. In the post-colonial and apartheid State, other animals continue to be subjected to a permanent cycle of never-ending domination, marginalization and injustice. They are reduced to squatter status, occupying land at the behest of their less than fair human owners. For them, whether it is under colonial, capitalist, or African nationalist rule, they are subjected to endless conquests, dispossession, displacement, expropriation, eviction and perpetual removal, and relocation. For the "wild animals," who are equally disempowered and disenfranchised victims of colonialism, apartheid, and capitalism, it has resulted in a lethal and abusive commodification cocktail. It has meant that pro-"wildlife utilization" organizations exclusively partner with government and also act as consultants in designing, managing, and developing government policy, training government employees ("capacity building"), writing up and evaluating reports for government, and facilitating government hosted workshops.

An example of such an organization is Africa Resources Trust (now renamed Resource Africa), which was established in 1994[12] and whose main aim is supposedly to alleviate poverty through the "sustainable use" and exploitation by local communities of "natural resources such as wildlife." It has, amongst others, promoted the Communal Areas Management Programme for Indigenous Resources (CAMPFIRE) in Zimbabwe; supported the Southern African Development Community, Regional Community Based Natural Resource Management Projects (SADC CBNRM); and has been funded by the European Union—Conservation and Development Opportunities from Sustainable Development (CODEOSUB) Southern African Project.

Resource Africa favors the trade in elephant ivory,[13] arguing that "elephants and their ivory are immensely valuable, especially to rural communities, who could benefit from a legal trade . . . The only solution resides in establishing a carefully constructed open market for ivory, which is transparent and regulated, and which channels benefits to the communities who live with these elephants. In this way, trade would be a huge benefit to the species and to Africa."[14] Proponents of the "sustainable use" of "wild animals" argue that developing countries want to see fewer, not more, exemptions for environmental purposes and that stimulating trade helps conservation. They agree with the CBD, which focuses on the supply rather than the demand side of biodiversity, and assumes that "extinction is primarily driven by restrictions on supply, such as loss of habitat, rather than unregulated demand," and argue that "these supply side problems require solutions at national policy level, and particularly solutions which focus on increasing the value of wildlife to producers" (Broad 2001). From this point of view, Africa and the nonhuman animals that live here are just one big marketplace. According to Dr. David Lavigne:

> [C]onservation has reached a turning point. It has been hijacked by the so-called 'wise-use' movement. This Orwellian takeover has stolen the mantle of conservation and abused it to promote trade in wildlife under the guise of ecological sustainability . . . We need to scrap conservation as we know it, because it has become part of the problem, not part of the solution. Perhaps both the word conservation, and the movement it inspired, should be abandoned and replaced with something that recognizes humans are a part of nature and that the future of our species and that of others are inextricably linked. (Siggins 2004)

THE SOUTH AFRICAN "SUSTAINABLE USE" POSITION: EXPLOITATION AND CRUELTY

Historically, South Africa has always taken a virulent "consumptive use" stance in relation to "wild animals." The privatization and commercialization of "wild animals" was well advanced by the late 1800s, through trophy (recreational) hunting consumption and the killing of "wild animals" as "vermin" to make way for agriculture and towns. According to Van Sittert (2005, 272):

> European settlement in southern Africa can be read as a process of "bringing in the wild," which, in the case of nonhuman animals, involved their conversion from res nullius into private property through the act of capture or enclosure. The process was driven by the insatiable appetite of local and world markets for a wide range of animal products, supplemented by state subsidies targeting certain species with too low or no market value.

It is within the global ideological milieu of capitalist production, and the affiliated international trade and utilization treaties that South Africa is currently conceptualizing and affecting "wild animals," not only reproducing colonial conservation practices but adding the political layers of "sustainable development," "benefit-sharing," redress and land reform. This has further subjugated and oppressed "wild animals" and relentlessly exploited other species. More specifically, it is against the sharp edge of the concept "sustainable resource use" that it has honed and entrenched its merciless incentive-driven "conservation" strategies and attitudes toward "wild animals."

The current African National Congress (ANC) government is a formidable barrier to those fighting for justice and against the oppression of nonhuman animals. This is because its power protects and legitimizes the ideological forces of exploitation. It is within the overarching development framework and under the guise of poverty alleviation that the South African government is spearheading an aggressive "consumptive use" and "if it pays it stays" agenda. The prevailing thesis is that species can only be conserved if rural communities become more tolerant of "wild animals," and they will only become more charitable towards them if they receive economic benefits, usually at the expensive of the other animals themselves though trophy hunting of "charismatic megafauna" and other "wildlife species." This stance can be seen in the writings of most South African scientists, as articulated by Selier and Minin: "sustainable utilization of wildlife is . . . a win–win strategy for the expansion of the conservation estate and for generating important economic benefits for local communities."

Bolstered largely by white capital and interests, South Africa's implementation of "sustainable use" is so all-pervasive that its unyielding and vociferously outspoken support for this exploitative and cruel patriarchal enterprise, which kills, commodifies, and subjugates every "wild" individual in South Africa through trade, hunting, and tourism, means it is fast becoming a pariah state, even within the omnipotent and dominant pro-use global landscape. The Department of Environmental Affairs (DEA) maintains that "sustainable use" is the cornerstone of its policies in relation to "wild animals." Nonhuman animal suffering is not on its agenda.

Indeed, it is working hand-in-glove with the "wildlife industry" to advance the trade in and killing of "wild animals." It is also acting as a conduit to provide polices and legislation (or lack thereof) for industries to continue unhindered. In addition, there are inadequate policies and legislation; lack of enforcement and implementation; an ill-equipped civil society and an uninformed public; and pressure on government from a strong pro-trade and pro-hunting lobby and strong and well-funded pro-utilization conservation organizations.

Local legislation, guidelines, norms, and standards serve to entrench exploitation and the conversion and re-coding of individual "wild animals" into human assets and resources. One such problematic concept, which remains part of the South African legal framework, is The Roman Dutch law principle of *res nullius*. It has been expediently used as a defense by both "owner" and "poacher," for example:

a. if a "wild" animal escapes from the "owner's" enclosure and is captured by someone else with the intention to "own" and profit from "it," the capturer would argue that they did not steal but rather took abandoned "property;"
b. it is also invoked by "owner's" (including the State) to avoid responsibility and custodianship by arguing that the nonhuman animal had escaped and had therefore become "ownerless."

This position continues to be evoked even though it is an obsolete defense because there have been changes in the law.[15] In terms of South African common law, *res nullius*, "wild animals" cannot be owned, but in 1991, South Africa passed the Game Theft Act (105 of 1991) so as to legalize private ownership by protecting the landowner's rights of ownership of "wild animals" that escape or are lured from the landowner's "sufficiently enclosed" land. *Res nullius* has no place in South Africa—it was first proposed as a political justification for white ownership of land in the Cape in the 1830s and is closely linked to colonial and imperial notions of possession and ownership. It is in conflict with the South African Constitution and is no longer justifiable in a democratic society.

The South African government regularly states that the hunting industry operates in line with the concept of "sustainable utilization of natural resources" as espoused by the International Conservation Union (IUCN) and argues that hunting and allied businesses, which includes breeding; capture and transportation; and taxidermists, contribute significantly to the central revenue *fiscus* and create jobs. In addition, they argue that hunting is in line with conservation practices and is a "nondetrimental" practice. However, an analysis of six African countries—South Africa, Zimbabwe, Zambia, Mozambique, Namibia, and Tanzania—where trophy hunting has been touted by the industry and governments as "an effective conservation tool," unsurprisingly showed that in reality: trophy hunting is causing decline in "wild animal" numbers, having negative impacts on "wild" populations, and causing the loss of healthy individuals that are key for reproduction and social cohesion; there is also an extremely close link between legal hunting and "poaching;" that trophy hunting is fueling corruption; and that trophy hunting encourages the unfair redistribution of the wealth generated (Cruise 2016).

South Africa has the largest hunting industry in sub-Saharan Africa, and it is Africa's most popular destination for foreigners wishing to kill anything from elephants and buffalo to the 4.5-kilogram blue duiker and 1.6-kilogram genet. South Africa also has a large domestic recreational ("biltong" or South African dried "meat") hunting industry. In addition, so-called subsistence or "bushmeat" hunting, usually referred to as "poaching" (with all its cruel implications), takes place in many parts of the country. "Poaching" is on the increase in South Africa because it coincides with poverty, joblessness, and market-driven "wildlife" trade and policies.

The hunting industry is far from under control, with canned hunting officially endorsed and supported by the State. The reality is that most trophy hunting in South Africa is essentially canned to a greater or lesser extent. According to a 2016 report prepared for the Development Bank of South Africa by the Endangered Wildlife Trust entitled *An Assessment of the Economic, Social and Conservation Value of the Wildlife Ranching Industry and Its Potential to Support the Green Economy in South Africa,*[16] during 2014 in South Africa, there were 6,734 private "wildlife" properties with exemption permits and 2,245 open farms ("wildlife" ranches without exemption permits); the total number of live nonhuman animals sold at auctions was estimated to be 225,200; the total number of other animals trophy hunted was estimated to be 130,186; the total numbers of nonhuman animals killed for "meat" was estimated to be 453,996; the total number of herbivores on all "wildlife" ranches across South Africa was estimated to be 5.987 million; and the number of "wild animals" translocated reached almost 250,000.

South Africa remains the world's top destination for the hunting of captive raised lions, and according to the DEA, there are approximately 6,000 lions in captivity (at any given time) held in about 200 facilities (Funston and Levendal 2014). Sixty-eight percent of Africa's "wild animals" that were killed by American trophy hunters between 2005 and 2014 came from South Africa; that is, of the 565,558 African "wild animals" killed during this period, 383,982 came from South Africa (Bale 2016a). A Humane Society International report for the same period showed that out of a total of 5,587 lion trophies, 3,999 came from South Africa (Humane Society International 2016).

Although the situation with regards to lion and rhino hunting has attracted widespread attention and criticism, both locally and abroad, the killing of all species of "wild animals" has increased significantly over the past 10 years. According to DEA, "hunting tourists inject R1 billion into the South Africa economy in the 2013 season" (Neethling 2015). In 2013, 7,638 overseas hunters came to South Africa, killing 44,028 "wild animals" (African Indaba 2015). "Recreational" or "biltong hunting" is also widely undertaken, and a study by pro-hunter and Professor Melville Saayman (2015) estimated that the 200,000 South African "biltong hunters" kill an average of eight nonhuman animals each a year—approximately 1,600,000 "wild animals" annually. Such statistics are not a given and cannot be independently verified. It is worrying that in a country that is aggressively advocating and allowing the killing of other animals for profit that many hunting regulations are poorly enforced, and provincial and national officials do not collect and collate the relevant data—a failing which calls into question the basis on which many decisions in relation to "wild animals" are taken. Many officials, by the government's own admission, either misunderstand or fail to apply national environmental regulations such as the Threatened and Protected Species regulations (TOPS). In addition, despite the scale of the industry, DEA does not have an electronic permit system that allows it to collate the numbers of hunting permits issued nationally. If it requires information, it has to contact the nine provinces individually, and they too do not have electronic permit systems. The consequence of this is that DEA "does not have information on the number of hunting permits issued for a particular species across the country"[17] nor "does not keep a national register of professional hunters, and there is no limit to the number of hunters permitted." The trophy hunting industry in South Africa is not only growing but is also extremely difficult to monitor or police. Official control is poor at best. The national and provincial hunting permit systems have been inefficiently administered, and a national permitting database does not exist, so for the hunting and "wildlife" industry, it is virtually a case of *carte blanche*.

The so-called "new" conservation paradigms that include notions of the well-heeled legal white hunter versus the illegal impoverished black "poacher;" the intense privatization, corporatization, and commodification of "wild animals;" and livelihoods and benefit-sharing, further exclude and entrench antagonistic views of, and alienation from, "wild animals" by local communities. Fixing the relationship between communities and "wild animals" within the construct of "human-wildlife conflict" leads to loss of agency and exploitation of both humans and "wild animals." Private ownership is at the core of the "new conservation" discourse, and thus there is state-capital collusion and "state capture" by capital, particularly the hunting industry when it comes to "wild animals."

The post-apartheid State has played a significant role in supporting and privileging the privatization of "wild animals" for profit by passing enabling legislation to assure private ownership of "wild animals," selling "wild animals" from national and provincial protected areas and parks at lower prices, and poor institutional enforcement and corruption. This has made it complicit in the growth of the lucrative, unrestrained and reprobate "wildlife industry." There is asymmetry and an ideological convergence between the State and the contentious "wildlife industry." This is particularly problematic given that it is about much more than mere issues of enforcement and regulation. It is about perverted states and power arrangements within the state system. Approximately one-sixth of South Africa's total land has been fenced and converted for private "wildlife-based production." Dhoya Snijders (2014, 178) reveals that the "wildlife industry" is organizing politically and using its muscle and resources to influence government policy, importantly in ways that exclude dissenting voices. An example of this is the establishment of the Wildlife Forum in 2005. It deliberately excludes labor, nonhuman animal welfare, and civil society stakeholders. "When asked why these stakeholders were absent, an industry member commented: 'No, no, they are not real stakeholders. They don't own anything; it's [that they are] not hunters, not landowners.' " The Wildlife Forum, which works hand-in-glove with Safari Club International, promotes a discourse alliance that endorses both government's conservation interests and industry's development interests. Thus, in line with neoliberalism, the development of "wildlife" policy in South Africa reveals a strong alliance between the state and capital (in this case the hunting industry) by means of deregulation and public–private partnerships (Snijders 2014). In this way, the South African government is enabling a political milieu where capitalist interests can influence and shape policy so as to continue to access "resources."

The ANC government, through South African National Parks (SANParks), a public entity of the Department of Environmental Affairs, and whose mission is to "develop, manage, and promote a system of national parks that represents the biodiversity and heritage assets by applying best practices, environmental justice, benefit sharing, and sustainable use," operates at a profit and generates 75 percent of its operating revenue (South African National Parks 2016). This includes revenue from the sale of "wild animals" which from 2011 to 2014 amounted to R134 248 173 (Hübschle 2016). In this same period, the sale of rhinos made up the largest percentage. Between January 2010 and June 2014, 354 rhinos were sold and six "given away" for R 81,060,538 (Molewa 2014). These figures exclude the number of rhinos and profit made by provincial conservation authorities. Thus, at the same time that rhinos are being killed at an accelerated rate, the State is not only actively stimulating the trade in rhinos but making a profit as part of the bargain.

National and provincial parks see "wild animals" as lucrative assets and sell them to local private operators and dealers, including for trophy hunting purposes, for onward sale via private auctions, and to overseas destinations such as zoos and other captive facilities. To ensure the protection and survival of "wild animals," they should not be sold off to be killed as hunting trophies, but rather they should only be translocated in order to expand the range of the species. Instead of this precautionary approach, SANParks appears to prefer to rather promote and actively facilitate the trophy hunting of "wild animals" which they supposedly hold in custody and care on behalf of all South Africans, not only through live sales but also by allowing hunting along the Kruger National Park's ever-increasing porous borders. "Wild animals" in and from protected areas in South Africa are not simply government property or a "natural resource" to do with as bureaucrats please. They are sentient creatures deserving of care and respect. Nevertheless, the Internet is littered with boasts of hunters from Europe and the United States who seem to get a perverse thrill from killing "Kruger animals" from what they often offensively refer to as the "Dark Continent," sticking them on their walls as symbols of domination and prowess. So, on the one hand, SANParks says it goes totally against their mandate and legislative regulations to allow hunting in the national parks, but on the other hand, it appears to be smoothing the way and encouraging trophy hunting and the killing of the very beings that are supposed to be under its protection.

Conservation agencies and private hunting and tourism areas, especially those who share boundaries with national and provincial reserves, have been using *res nullius* to argue that "wild animals" belong to no one and therefore can be freely appropriated and used, including by individuals. Although South African conservation legislation champions the notion of ownership of "wild animals," particularly the privatization of "wild animals," it conveniently avoids the issue of "wild animals" who are removed, lured, or escape from protected areas and national parks or who move through areas where the fences have been deliberately removed between the public estate and private reserves. "Wild animals" living in the Kruger National Park (where hunting is not allowed) are moving across unfenced boundaries on the park's western border into the Associated Private Nature Reserves (APNR) and on the park's eastern border into Mozambique where they are commercially trophy hunted by foreign trophy hunters for exorbitant sums. The Protected Areas Act[18] prohibits certain "extractive activities" in national parks, including hunting. Nonetheless, hunting is taking place in the areas that share open boundaries with the Kruger National Park. Trophy hunters are salivating to kill individuals who originate from the KNP because they have big horns and large tusks. The APNR comprises top tourism lodges and privately owned properties. Trophy hunting takes place in the APNR, and over the past 20 years, elephant, lions, buffalo, leopard, rhino, and other nonhuman animals were hunted and sold off. This fact is carefully shielded from tourists visiting expensive tourist lodges in the area. The 1996 agreement between SANParks and the APNR makes no reference to commercial trophy hunting. The South African government approved the killing of the following nonhuman animals in the APNR for 2016: 33 elephants, 223 buffalos, three hippos, one lion, one rhino, 4,648 impala, one zebra, nine waterbuck, 23 warthogs, and one giraffe. In addition, 19 rhinos were also approved for live sales.

RHINOS: AN EXAMPLE OF COMMODIFICATING UNTIL EXTINCTION

In relation to rhino sales in 2014, SANParks spokesperson said that they "had transactions with several businesses and were not at liberty to divulge who they were doing business with" (Wildenboer 2014). There have been several reports of rhinos that had been bought from the State being shot almost immediately, some even in their crates for their rhino horn, or for trophies in canned (so-called "put and take") "hunts," which in relation to rhinos have been described by one provincial government official as ". . . buy rhino, kill it, replace it, kill it . . . [sic]" (Hübschle 2016, 197). The State does not care what happens to the "wild animals" once they leave its custody, and nor does it seem to care who it sells them to, whether the buyers are known criminals or have been formally charged with crimes, including illegal activities relating to "wild animals." For example, since 2004 SANParks, through the Kruger National Park, sold 120 rhinos, "at a massively reduced fee," to white-lion canned hunter Alexander Steyn a notorious "outfitter" for various Vietnamese rhino hunts (Joubert 2015). Perversely, the authorities claim that revenue from sales goes "back into conservation," and these include anti-poaching activities, research, land acquisition, and community beneficiation projects (Molewa 2014).

Trade and trophy hunting has driven rhinos in Africa to the edge of extinction. In the 1960s, there were approximately 100,000 rhinos. In 2015, the number of white rhinos was estimated to be between 19,682 and 21,077 and black rhinos estimated at between 5,042 and 5,455. South Africa currently holds 79 percent of Africa's rhinos.[19] The fact that the population is currently the largest in the world is perversely perceived as "population success." This has been used as a justification, particularly in a country where greed and poverty intersect, for their exploitation, commodification, and killing, particularly through trophy hunting, local auctions, live international sales, and consumption of their horns. Not surprisingly, and in tandem, the illegal killing of rhinos is also growing exponentially, and rhinos are being slaughtered on an industrial scale to meet demand for horn in newly affluent Asian countries. South Africa is at the epicenter of the rhino horn trade. The trade in rhino body parts, specifically their horns, has meant that more rhinos have been killed illegally in South Africa since 2008 than at any other time in the last 90 years, with official statistics for the period 2008 to April 2016 standing at 5,411, that is, more than 25 percent of the total population in South Africa (including those held on private properties and those being farmed specifically for the purpose of stockpiling their horns in the hope that the trade in rhino horn will soon be legalized). This represents 85 percent of all rhinos "poached" in Africa since 2008 (United Nations Office on Drugs and Crime 2016). South Africa, Mozambique, Zimbabwe, and Kenya are the main sources of seized shipments of rhino horn. The United Arab Emirates and European countries (including Slovakia, the Czech Republic, Belgium, Italy, and Germany) are indicated as transit countries. In order of importance, Vietnam, China, Ireland, the Czech Republic, the United States, and Thailand are indicated as destination countries (United Nations Office on Drugs and Crime 2016). Europe is currently a destination market and an in-transit trafficking hub to other regions. (European Commission 2016).

In line with their pro-hunting position, and despite the unconscionable number of rhinos that are dying as a result of the rhino horn trade, South Africa is also the premier market for those wishing to shoot rhinos legally for trophies.[20] Not surprisingly, the trophy hunting industry is also being used to launder rhino horns into the illegal trade and is fast becoming a front for "poaching" and illegal activities, as the current war on rhinos has shown.[21] Using the CITES legal regulatory framework, and therefore with full knowledge of the South African government and the CITES secretariat, the movement and sale of rhino horns as trophies and live rhinos to overseas destinations, including those who consume rhino horn such as Vietnam and China, constitutes not only a convergence of the legal and illegal trade but also a conscious stimulation of the trade—both legal and illicit. According to CITES (Trade Database 2015), the total number of rhino trophies that were exported from South Africa from 2001 to 2014 was 2,693, with 24 percent of these going directly to countries in the East, mainly Vietnam. Between 1995 and 2014, South Africa exported 1,096 live rhinos, of which 35 percent went to countries in the East, mainly China, Vietnam, and Thailand (CITES Trade Database 2015).

The war on rhinos is also being fed by private ownership. Rhinos are killed legally as hunting trophies and their horns laundered into the illegal trade; owners kill their rhinos and sell the horns to criminal networks claiming they were victims of poachers; owners allow criminals to kill their rhinos and then take a portion of the profits; and others dehorn their rhinos and sell the horns to smugglers. The State, through its environmental agencies, has purposefully transformed private "wildlife" ownership into a full-blown agricultural activity. Its conceptualization of "conservation" as utilization and commodification is also actively encouraging and legitimizing criminal and unethical activities. It has literally become a numbers game: the government can argue in international forums for trade, hunting, and live sales by pointing to the growing number of privately owned rhinos as evidence of successful "conservation" despite the fact that what goes on in many of these privately owned farms is the opposite of protection, unethical and illegal, and not adequately scrutinized or policed. CITES banned the international trade in rhino horn in 1977, and as a result, they were listed as Appendix 1 (most endangered), although they could still be trophy hunted "for noncommercial purposes." The ban failed to include stockpiled horns or the destruction of stockpiles, and this provided a major loophole for continued trade. In 1987, CITES acknowledged that trade was the "primary factor responsible for the destruction of rhinos populations" and urged all parties to destroy their stockpiles (CITES 1987). Domestic trade was also outlawed. It is extremely unlikely that South Africa heeded this call, particularly because deeply woven into the fabric of South Africa's apartheid history is the killing of and profiting from "wild animals," whose fates were closely bound to the use of State-sanctioned violence. The apartheid state was deeply involved in the slaughter of tens of thousands of elephants and in the sustained smuggling of ivory, rhino horn drugs, and diamonds through South Africa for resale internationally to support its war machine in Africa in the 1970s and 1980s (Kumleben 1996; Rademeyer 2012). The smuggling trade in "wild animal" body parts was not only allied to the South African security apparatus but protected by them, and as a result, their networks and reach grew unimpeded and into the post-apartheid era (Humphreys and Smith 2014, 803). After the demise of the apartheid state and the dawn of democracy in 1990 when the social and political landscape was being recast and reimagined, the official approach towards "wild animals" remained seamlessly callous and inhumane, certainly no cause to celebrate as far as the other animals were concerned.

At no stage did South Africa destroy its rhino horn stockpile. Clearly it had been stockpiling and trading in rhino horn for years, disposing of it illegally in the apartheid years, and then, post-1990, actively lobbying for the trade to be legalized. The first step in this process was to have their rhino population down listed to Appendix II.[22] In 1992, South Africa proposed to CITES that the trade in rhino horn be allowed. Although this was not accepted by the parties, two years later, not only was South Africa's proposal to down list their population adopted, but the way was opened for the amassing and privatization of rhino horn with the end game being trade. Part of their rationale for trade was that it would "benefit rhino conservation . . . [and that it] results in improved intelligence, as the legal entrepreneur informs on the black-market activities, and that a dependable supply of products depresses black market prices. In addition, it was argued private landowners would be encouraged to invest in rhino populations and protect them as utilizable, economic assets."[23] The 1994 approval also meant that South Africa could legally trade in rhino horn domestically, making it easier to launder. South Africa has been lobbying for the re-opening of the rhino horn trade ever since, and it is a position continuously supported by the ruling ANC and Cabinet. Currently, South Africa's rhino horn stockpile is in the hands of government, approximately 21 tonnes (Sapa 2015) (representing 5,250 dead rhinos) and the private industry, approximately 6 tonnes[24] (representing 1,500 rhinos). Poor stockpile management practices of ivory and rhino horn in South Africa has encouraged leakage into illicit markets. The demand for future profit through market speculation by stockpiling body parts, for example rhino horn and elephant ivory, is one of the key drivers of the trade in "wild animals." The South African government's pro-use, pro-abuse, pro-trade, and pro-private ownership stance towards rhinos, particularly because they are stockpiling rhino horn and encouraging private owners to do the same, means they are actively not limiting supply and in so doing are spurring on the proliferation of rhino deaths, playing a role in stimulating demand and pushing up the price and perceived value for dead rhinos and their body parts (both legally and illegally). Rhinos have become the victims of financial speculation.

Protecting rhinos for who they are is not on South Africa's agenda, but rather it is the disembodied rhino as a highly profitable commodity which has owners (both government and the private industry) salivating and incentivized by the black-market value of rhino horn, even if this means accelerating the poaching crisis, causing pain and suffering and threatening the very existence of rhinos as a species.[25] As Hübschle notes:

> [R]egulatory breaches and the exploitation of legal and regulatory loopholes, including illegal hunting and dehorning of rhinos, as well as the stockpiling and laundering of illegally harvested rhino horn into legal trade flows constitute modes of 'production.' What renders these flows particularly efficient and safe is the early stage conversion of an essentially illegal good to legal status (the laundering of illegally harvested horn into legal trade flows), and contrariwise, the conversion of a legal product (the hunting trophy) into an illegally traded good in consumer markets. (Hübschle 2016, 292)

The United Nations Office on Drugs and Crime (2016, 10) noted that "case studies show that when illegally traded wildlife is introduced into legal commercial streams, criminals have access to a much larger source of demand than they would have had on the black market alone."

In 1993, there were 650 rhinos in private hands, and there are now 6,200 owned privately (Stoddard 2016). South Africa's deliberate promotion of the commodification of rhinos and their ownership by private individuals has not only grown the trade (both legally and illegally) in, and trophy hunting of, rhinos but has also meant that they are being bred and farmed as agricultural products so that they can be continuously de-horned. Rhino farmer John Hume, who is essentially factory farming rhinos, currently owns approximately 1,200 rhinos and is the largest rhino breeder in South Africa and the world. According to Hume, he "harvests" rhino horn to save them (Bale 2016b). Hume also bought hundreds of rhinos directly from the Kruger National Park. The fact that SANParks has chosen to sell so many rhinos to one single buyer, particularly given the increase in the illegal killing of rhinos and the stockpiling of horns by private individuals, reveals much about the State's position. According to Hume, he has five tonnes of rhino horn stockpiled, and he harvests a tonne every year (Laing 2016). Izak du Toit, John Hume's lawyer, is quoted as saying: "We would sell to the poachers to prevent them from killing rhinos," (Crone 2015) so it seems that breeders such as Hume have no problem with selling their stockpiles off to transnational criminal smuggling networks.

CONCLUSION: WHAT TO DO?

Societal injustice, subjugation, the proliferation of violence, and exploitation frame the indifferent "wildlife" industry. Building on this is layer upon layer of systematic victimization, brutality, unimaginable cruelty, violence, greed, selfishness, disrespect, neglect, insensitivity, denial, disconnection, objectification, disassociation, disharmony, mechanization, commodification, and cultural and religious practices and prejudices. It is with individual, community, and ultimately global silence, consensual ignorance, complicity, and avoidance that these fundamentally cruel practices continue to grow, fester, are camouflaged, and ultimately feed upon themselves. This has particular resonance in South Africa because of the serious problem of violence the country has faced and is facing and the tools required to combat it.

The hegemonic construction, economization, and recasting of "wild animals" as disposable commodities which binds them to the economic concepts and structures of advanced capitalism without intrinsic value, is taking place as the Earth is reaching finite limits and "resource use" is intensifying as a consequence. This refiguring of "nature," including "wild animals," as money presents "a massive opportunity for the invigoration of capitalist economic relations" and is happening at the precise "apocalyptic moment of the Anthropocene and the hegemony of global neoliberal ideology" (Sullivan 2014, 31) and within the "contemporary moment of global crisis . . . wherein 'nature' is being consolidated, metaphorically and literally, as 'natural capital' " (Sullivan 2014, 2). Hypercapitalism and the conversion of "wild animals" into "natural capital" and commodities (the cause) is what has to be addressed otherwise; everything else we do in response to the exploitation of other animals (the symptoms) will be for naught.

The idea that capitalism, through sustainable development, endless growth, putting a price on "wild animals," trade and the market, is a panacea for inequality and poverty and will protect and ensure the survival of "wild animals" is clearly fallacious. Capitalism and the concomitant government "wildlife policies" are not only assuring the extirpation of "wild animals" but are deliberately positioning people against other animals and enhancing existing trans-species inequities, and because the ideological framework of "sustainable and resource use" are corrosive activities and concepts, the current economic policies cannot work for "wild animals" and their protection. The existence of "wild animals" is deeply intertwined with structures of power and othering. Add to this the lack of fiscal resources needed for effective institutional capacity and enforcement, private ownership, and corruption to the mix, and it is a lethal situation indeed.

The nonhuman animal rights and liberation movement raises structural, political, and economic questions and of power relations more generally. It is thus fighting to transform social relations by rejecting dominant cultural, religious, and economic structures and challenging sites of power and privilege and is part of a growing international movement for social change working to construct a new political, social, and economic base. It is a branch of the increasing voice against corporate capitalism, which is exploiting human and other life, particularly because the oppression of other animals is primarily motivated, and it is intensified, by economic and industrial interests. It thus shares the same global and local enemies as other progressive social movements. As a fairly young movement, it is still debating its philosophical and theoretical base. It is also apparent that there is a need for much more discussion about the shape and future direction of the movement. It has also been criticized from within for not paying sufficient attention to other social struggles and the effects of the new global economic order on the oppression of other animals (humans). There is confusion on the theory that informs actions and also too little discussion about how compromises happen, which is leading to division. Additionally, it is being censured for allowing itself to be sidetracked and compromised by the reformist nonhuman animal welfare position, which while caring about nonhuman animal welfare is commendable, it simply isn't enough. Globally the nonhuman animal rights and liberation movement can still be characterized by "social shallowness" because it has no connections to mass-based movements, and it has not yet developed into a coherent oppositional force. There are still a range of disparate organizations, groupings, and activists that are tentatively beginning to challenge the hegemonic, hierarchical, and speciesist concepts of oppression and are, in the final analysis, providing an embryonic foundation for the concept and practice of nonhuman animal rights and liberation to grow and develop into a socially cohesive pressure group. The movement remains in the fledgling stage, still needing to be united, develop resistance strategies and philosophical positioning, and seek popular support.

In the South African context, which has rising inequality poverty and unemployment, corruption, poor service delivery, and growing civil unrest, how does the movement cultivate a "politics of equal dignity" (Taylor 1992, 41) and "ecologies of co-existence," make policy interventions where the interests of "wild animals" are respected while at the same time addressing human inequality and poverty within the context of colonial and apartheid redress; connect "the dots between all these various oppressions" (Bond 2011, 17), and read against the grain of the "new conservation" livelihoods paradigm?

The fight on behalf of other animals is also not just a struggle against capitalism and global corporatism but against the dominant, predatory societal framework of "othering," through hierarchy, greed, power, control, intimidation, subjugation, repression, oppression, destruction, duplicity, apathy, and propaganda. The key is to link the oppressions and recognize common aspects and parallels for humans and other animals. To end nonhuman animal exploitation, social arrangements and institutions need to be changed, and this dictates collectivism, sustained alliances, and bridge building both at the global and at a local level, with human rights organizations, other social actors, and emerging social movements.

Additionally, meaningful and far-reaching policy changes both locally and globally cannot occur without heightened public awareness that is galvanized into action, but globally, the nonhuman animal rights movement first needs self-reflection to engage in dialogue with itself (to establish whether differences are merely on a tactical level or if there are more serious ideological factors) so as to develop a consensual position and move forward. Indeed, future strategies and tactics employed by the nonhuman animal rights groups in South Africa can provide important lessons for the rest of the nonhuman animal rights movements and other social movements worldwide.

The questions that remain to be answered are:

1. Given the severe injustices that South Africans and other countries in the South are facing as a result of free-market and state policies, and the focus of organizations, groupings and activists to right these wrongs, will they be able to make the connections, become more inclusive, and broaden their struggle so as to forge alliances outside of their traditional partnerships that focus on jobs, livelihoods, and living standards?

2. Will academics and activists begin to question the language of development and take on board that the same forces of domination, control, and oppression that marginalized and alienated rural communities in South Africa equally marginalize and alienate animals?
3. Will human-focused civil society groupings be able to deconstruct their long-established anthropocentric identities and promote alternative ones?
4. Will nonhuman animal liberation groupings in South Africa be able to develop their policies and campaigns to link the exploitation of other animals into other social justice issues, thereby generating broader support and effecting and transforming political and social practices?

The exploitation of humans and other animals are mutually reinforcing because they are fueled by a common material exploitation. Oppression of animals that are not human often takes place invisibly, and social constructs and economic arrangements that separate people from the means of production has meant that the brutal exploitation and suffering of other animals is becoming increasingly invisible and ignored. We, therefore, need to work for social changes that lead to the liberation of both humans and other animals. Importantly, we need to take a step back from the immediate and short-term to consider the long-term strategy to achieving freedom for other animals. There needs to be a move from the individual to the collective. We need to think and act strategically if we hope to transform society's values and the dominant political, cultural, social, and economic system. On a broader level, we need to:

1. Develop truly liberatory politics (Boggs 2011) that emphasizes inclusive justice.
2. Develop an agenda revolving around the dismantling of neoliberal capitalism.
3. Initiate an ecological model of development and animal-rights consciousness.

The nonhuman animal liberation movement needs to question and challenge the capitalist economic framework of growth-oriented corporatism and current skewed power relations. It needs to engage in transpolitical and transformative extra-legal, extra-parliamentary activism. The struggle against nonhuman animal exploitation must be framed and contextualized within societal political, economic, and social systems and modes of productions. Dominant modes of production and dominant exploitative cultural practices, whether it is industrialized, religious, or traditional, need to be confronted. We can do this by:

1. Establishing global networking structures and undertaking joint campaigns;

2. Creating think tanks to discuss strategies and tactics and promote debate within the movement and beyond;
3. Pushing for intersectional politics (one struggle) and forming alliances with other diverse, anti-globalization, anticapitalist social movements and those opposed to the financialization of nature (including trade unions, feminists, ecological, civil society networks, and gay/lesbian) and getting the agenda of other animals onto the social justice agenda;
4. Encouraging academic research, publishing, teaching, and the establishment of institutes to ensure that the dominant discourse that is represented in peer-reviewed journals is countered and marginalized;
5. Integrating questions of justice for other animals in debates on the environment;
6. Developing public policy and playing an active, tactical, and strategic role in political processes;
7. Engaging with issues around global hunger and poverty alleviation;
8. Campaigning and developing strategies by drawing on lessons from the South and taking cognizance of the issues of concern in the global South as well as drawing lessons from other social movements;
9. Exposing the link between human and nonhuman animal violence.
10. Pressuring governments to put resources into protection and environmental stewardship.

NOTES

1. A portion of this chapter has been adapted from Pickover, Michele (2005) The Environmental Movement in South Africa: An analysis of animal-based issues, campaigns and organizations. *CCS Grant Report*: 1–47. Available online at http://ccs.ukzn.ac.za/default.asp?3,28,10,2379. Used by permission of the Centre for Civil Society, University of KwaZulu-Natal.

2. It is for this reason that I will be using the phrase "wild animals" in quotes in this article.

3. According to findings by the U.K. Environmental Audit Committee in relation to the nature of demand in Southeast Asia and China, "wildlife" crime is driven by investment and conspicuous consumption. (Fourth Special Report, 2012–2013). Accessed September 27, 2016, from http://www.nwcu.police.uk/wp-content/uploads/2013/04/House-of-Commons-EAC-Wildlife-Crime-Govt-Response-to-Committees-3rd-report-of-sessions-2012–13.pdf.

4. Convention on International Trade in Endangered Species of Wild Fauna and Flora

5. A project led by Elephants Without Borders. Accessed September 27, 2016, from http://www.greatelephantcensus.com.

6. Entered into force on December 29, 1993.

7. See New Growth Path (2010). Accessed September 27, 2016, from http://www.gov.za/about-government/government-programmes/new-growth-path. National Development Plan (2012). Accessed September 27, 2016, from https://www.kpmg.com/Africa/en/IssuesAndInsights/Articles-Publications/Press-Releases/Documents/BRICS%20NDP%20handout.pdf.

8. Vision 2024 Green Economy: Wildlife Based Land Reform Support Programme was a presentation prepared by the South African Department of Environmental Affairs. Accessed on September 26, 2016, from https://www.environment.gov.za/sites/default/files/docs/wildlifebasedlandreform.pdf.

9. See "Sustainable Development Goals." United Nations. Accessed September 26, 2016, from http://www.un.org/sustainabledevelopment/development-agenda/.

10. Probably as a result of lobbying from international nonhuman animal welfare organizations such as WSPA and others.

11. As articulated, for example, in the *"Whose Eden? An overview of community approaches to wildlife management"* Report (International Institute for Environment and Development: July 1994). Accessed September 26, 2016, from http://pubs.iied.org/pdfs/8260IIED.pdf.

12. The founder, Jon Hutton, is a British ecologist. He has been the chair of the IUCN Sustainable Use Specialist Group and the director of the UNEP World Conservation Monitoring Centre (UNEP-WCMC).

13. Despite the fact that between 1979 and 1989 when elephant was listed on Appendix II and therefore legally allowed to be traded, their population declined by half.

14. See Executive Director of Resource Africa, Julian Sturgeon's Facebook page—Accessed September 26, 2016, from https://www.facebook.com/julian.sturgeon.

15. See Game Theft Act 105 of 1991 and Public Protector Report no.3 of 2014/2015. Common law has evolved to transcend the wide reach of the *res nullius* principle, and statutory law has since imposed obligations that supersede the common law. The interpretation is also at odds with the principles of the National Environmental Management Biodiversity Act.

16. A copy of the report can be viewed at https://www.ewt.org.za/scientific%20publications/An%20assessment%20of%20the%20economic,%20social%20and%20conservation%20value%20of%20the%20wildlife%20ranching%20industry%20and%20its%20potential%20to%20support%20the%20green%20economy%20in%20SA.pdf. Accessed September 26, 2016.

17. Parliamentary Question No. 305, July 3, 2009. Still remains the situation in 2016.

18. Act 57 of 2003 (as amended by Act 31 of 2004). For background on the Protected Areas Act, see https://www.animallaw.info/statute/south-africa-protected-areas-act-national-environmental-management. Accessed September 27, 2016.

19. Data compiled by the International Union for Conservation of Nature (IUCN) Species Survival Commission's African Rhino Specialist Group (AfRSG). Accessed September 27, 2016, from https://www.savetherhino.org/latest_news/news/1462_iucn_reports_deepening_rhino_poaching_crisis_in_africa.

20. Of the 317 white rhinos killed by American hunters between 2005 and 2014, 308 came from South Africa (Humane Society International 2016).

21. See, for example, https://fightforrhinos.com/2016/05/12/hunting-outfitters-involved-in-poaching/. Accessed May 15, 2016.

22. The nonhuman animal, CITES argues, can withstand the exploitation resulting from the removal of protection.

23. See the CITES document, https://www.cites.org/eng/cop/09/prop/E09-Prop-17_Ceratotherium.PDF. Accessed September 27, 2016.

24. According to the Private Rhino Owners Association estimates, its members have about 6 tonnes. Accessed September 27, 2016, from http://uk.reuters.com/article/uk-safrica-rhinos-idUKKCN0X1178.

25. White rhinos have the heaviest front horns, weighing on average 4 kilograms. In 2015, a kilogram of rhino horn was said to be worth $65,000. Accessed September 27, 2016, from http://www.dailymaverick.co.za/opinionista/2015-12-01-lifting-the-ban-on-rhino-horn-trade-is-no-victory-for-rhino-owners/#.V0cD3DX5j4Y.

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7

Capitalism and Masculinity: Kangaroo Killing in Australia

Lara Drew

INTRODUCTION

Every year billions of nonhuman animals in Australia are exploited through unwarranted intrusions and abuse. The exploitation of kangaroos in Australia is a damning example of the ways in which nonhuman animals are commodified and viewed as "resources." While the kangaroo is an "iconic" and celebrated Australian symbol featured on coat of arms, trademarks, and advertisements, they also are categorized as "pests" and commodified as "game," "meat," "leather items," tourist "products," and a number of other commercial items. Institutions and systems organize, administrate, and normalize this violence as legitimate, making it an important ethical and political issue in Australia.

This chapter examines how nonhuman animals have long been framed in economic terms as the property of humans. Nonhuman animal lives and bodies are a means of profit creation within capitalism, and this violence is normalized, routinized, and made to appear legitimate. By focusing on kangaroos, this chapter examines the ways in which capital in Australia continues to imprint itself on the bodies of these nonhuman animals in brutal ways. While exploitation can exist without capitalism, the structure and nature of modern-day capitalist relations of production has been deepened (Torres 2007) and fundamentally influenced by the logic of growth and expansion, which continues to exacerbate the domination of nonhuman animals.

Hegemonic masculinity contributes to the routine justification and violence inflicted upon kangaroos. Given masculinity is traditionally intertwined with the killing of nonhuman "wild animals" in general, I critically discuss its inherent relationship to the violence inflicted on kangaroos. I draw on critical animal studies and argue that both capitalism and hegemonic masculinity serve to maintain the routine oppression of nonhuman animals in Australia, with the situation of kangaroos as just one example. The relations of nonhuman animal exploitation are extended, deepened, and maintained through the dynamics of capitalism and hegemonic masculinity, systems of domination that are "mutually reinforcing" (Torres 2007). My intention is to unpack these "mutually reinforcing" forms of domination in order to make them more visible and to highlight their role in the "naturalization" of kangaroo oppression.

Further, while research about kangaroo exploitation exists (Boom et al. 2012; Croft 2005; Garlic and Austen 2012), no research has brought direct attention to capitalism and masculinity in relation to the exploitation of kangaroos in Australia. However, there has been extensive research of the linkage between hunting and masculinity (Kheel 2008; Luke 2007), including research about nonhuman animal exploitation and capitalism (Nibert 2002, 2013; Torres 2007; Wadiwel 2015). Although the chapter is about the exploitation of kangaroos specifically, the basic concepts apply to other nonhuman animals within Australia—and elsewhere—who are routinely oppressed.

Expanding the narrative surrounding the exploitation of kangaroos by addressing capitalism and hegemonic masculinity is crucial for scholars and activists. Many critical theorists have started to point to capitalism and masculinity as key to nonhuman animal exploitation; however, this is most often in regard to nonhuman animal agriculture. The exploitation of "wildlife," in this chapter kangaroos, warrants similar analysis. Scholars and activists must broaden their discourse to elucidate the repressive nature of the kangaroo industry. By bringing critical analysis to bear on the oppression of kangaroos, I hope to help the movement to engage in a stronger liberatory project, one developing in the interests of both human and nonhuman animals.

KANGAROOS

Kangaroos have long been regarded as an iconic symbol in Australia, and Australians have invested their national identity these nonhuman animals. Tall and muscular, they have beautiful slender faces with fine lines.

Sensitive, quiet, present, and observant, kangaroos have long established a presence on the Australian landscape. Australian poet D. H. Lawrence (1994, 23) famously observed the kangaroo in a poem as a "sensitive, long pure-bred face, with full antipodal eyes, so dark. Wistfully, sensitively sniffs the air, and then turns, goes off in slow leaps. On the long flat skis of her legs, steered and propelled by that steel strong snake of a tail. Quiet, remote and inquisitive to look back . . . ." Featured on the coat of arms, major trademarks, advertisements, and a well-known tourist emblem, the kangaroo is *seemingly* "valued" in Australia.

However, the actual life experience of kangaroos is a very different narrative. Kangaroos are commodified as "game meat" and tourist "trinkets." They are advertised as a "healthy red meat" alternative that is framed as "environmentally friendly." In addition to this "game meat" industry, farmers are granted licenses to kill anyone they deem as "pests" or "vermin" on their land. Further, annual government-sanctioned "conservation culls" are granted in the name of "environmental protection" despite that fact that kangaroos are a native species. Kangaroos have been hunted and killed in atrocious ways and have been found disemboweled and in pieces. The act of killing is undeniably violent in itself, but in the cases where kangaroos are killed in particularly ghastly ways, these reports ironically draws the ire of the nation—even though the public supports the killing industry.

The routine killing is often justified through the labelling of kangaroos as "pest" and "vermin." However, according to (THINKK 2015), the think tank or research group that focuses on alternative narratives about kangaroos, the notion of kangaroos as "pests" has been significantly overstated. Current research indicates that kangaroos do not exist in abundance nor in "pest" proportions (Boom et al. 2012). In 2001, kangaroo numbers were estimated to be 57.5 million, but by 2010, the numbers had fallen to just 25 million (Kangaroo Population Estimates 2016), but these numbers are questionable given the counting techniques used by various agents. Further, a "plague" of kangaroos is not biologically plausible given they breed very slowly and only have one joey (a baby kangaroo) per year with one in the pouch at one time. Kangaroo joeys also naturally have very high mortality rates of around 70 to 100 percent depending on species/conditions, further inhibiting their ability to "explode" in numbers as often claimed (Boom and Ben-Ami 2012). Six species of the kangaroo family have become extinct since the European invasion, and some species, such as the brush tailed rock wallaby, have been killed for their "fur" in such numbers that they are endangered (Ramp and Vernes 2015). A country so *seemingly* attached to the kangaroo routinely kills its "valued icon" at 10 times the number of harp seals killed in the Canadian seal hunt (Wicks 2012). Australia is still home to the largest slaughter of land-based "wildlife" on the planet (Boom et al. 2012; Wicks 2012).

The life situation of kangaroos is a routine repertoire of violence, deprivation, suffering, and death. Nonhuman animals should have the basic right to their territory, their selves, their bodies, and their space. They should be free from unwarranted intrusions and/or abuse (Adams and Donovan 2007). Their oppression, normalized and routinized, must be challenged.

THE HUMAN RELATIONSHIP AND ATTACHMENT TO THE "PEST" STATUS

Despite being native to Australia, the perception of kangaroos as "pests" is deeply and widely entrenched (Boom et al. 2012). Kangaroos have long occupied the unusual position as both valued "icon" and "pest." The industry and the government, together with ranchers and farmers, have socially constructed the kangaroo as a "nuisance," thus allowing for the growth of a kangaroo killing industry. This is not surprising given the history of white, colonial Australia that saw "squatters" turn vast tracts of land into ranches for cows, sheep, and horses (known as stations). These invasive enterprises were "driven by the implacable logic of capital accumulation, [as] the squatters inflicted immense damage on the native flora and fauna" (O'Lincoln 2016). Today agriculturalists argue that kangaroo numbers have increased due to the installation of artificial water holes. Kangaroos are regarded as "competitors" within nonhuman animal-based agriculture given they are perceived as "competing" with "livestock" for crops and resources (Boom et al. 2012). The killing of kangaroos is presented as necessity for the protection of agriculture. The killing industry capitalizes on the bodies of dead kangaroos by marketing "products" made from their bodies. In addition, government departments of the environment, national research organizations, and rural corporate enterprises also have declared kangaroos as invasive to grasslands and grassland species throughout the country. The popular opinion of kangaroos as "pests" has meant that they have been lumped into the same stigmatized category as other human-introduced, and consequently devalued, species such as foxes, "wild cats," cane toads, and camels. Kangaroos have long been characterized as a species in "plague proportions" and are represented as a threat to the national economy and to the society.

KANGAROO KILLING AND CAPITALISM IN AUSTRALIA

The Commercial Kangaroo Industry

The public has been encouraged to develop a distant relationship with the "troublesome" kangaroos. From the standpoint of the commercial kangaroo industry, this relationship is framed in economic terms. The "pest" status means that a rather ironic monetary "value" is placed on kangaroos. On one hand, a "pest" is seen as someone of "little value," while on the other hand, "pests" within our economic system are given value because of the "pest" status. The "pest" categorization permits kangaroos to be demonized and to be treated as "resources" without constraint. In the commercial industry, they are deemed a mere commodity for people to kill as they please. Engineering the public to view kangaroos as "pests" serves to normalize the violence.

Thus, capitalist imperatives have legitimated the "pest" status and have shaped the stigmatized identity of kangaroos. The view of the "troublesome" kangaroo, past and present, is cultivated by those whose economic interests are served by kangaroo deaths. These vested interests include the commercial kangaroo-as-food industry. Owners of these businesses promote kangaroo flesh as abundant, environmentally sustainable, and much preferable to the commercial ranching of cows and sheep, which is plagued by concerns about pollution and methane production. Public acceptance of the view of nonhuman animals as mere resources is not surprising given that, for all their lives, humans have been deeply immersed in a "culture that largely devalues other animals and legitimates humans' self-interested use of their lives and bodies" (Nibert 2002, 15). Resultantly, the killing of kangaroos and the commodification of their body parts are normalized by the capitalist system. Their stigmatized identity naturalizes and preserves their commodification.

Also facilitating the commodification of kangaroos is the fact that their brutal treatment and death are largely invisible to the public. They are not farmed like other nonhuman animals killed to be used as food in Australia. Rather, they are killed within their free-living communities where their killing is more hidden and concealed than that of other nonhuman animals. Kangaroos are killed in the dark, in remote environments and away from public view and camera lens. Young kangaroos are removed from the pouch and either clubbed to death or left to starve after their mothers have been killed. Although the killing of other nonhuman animals on farms is typically hidden as well, the visibility of the sheds and slaughterhouse equipment makes their lives and deaths somewhat more noticeable. In regard to kangaroos, most humans are largely distanced from the realities of this production, with very few photographs and video footage having ever showed the process.

Despite their devaluation, the treatment of kangaroos still arouses some conflicting emotions in Australia. Whether they are a "pest," "resource," or an untouchable native "icon" remains somewhat contentious. Kvinta (2015) describes the relationship between humans and kangaroos as fraught with a strong love-hate bond, but all the while, the bodies of kangaroos, like other nonhuman animals in Australia, are leveraged for profit.

Agriculture and Kangaroos

Kangaroos also are killed in the interest of “protecting” the nonhuman animal-based agricultural industry. As mentioned earlier, in this industry they are demonized and seen as “pests” because they supposedly compete with oppressed cows, sheep, and other ranched nonhuman animals for rangeland. The devaluation and violence against kangaroos occurred early after the British invasion as the demand for the hair of sheep by British textile mills and the growth of the “wool” industry came to be regarded as the foundation of the new nation’s economic prosperity (Taylor 2014). The Australian economy was characteristically portrayed as “riding on the sheep’s back.” Kangaroos were killed, and much of their land was used as sheep stations. (Taylor 2014). For this reason, kangaroos have long been vilified and slaughtered by the millions in rural Australia, especially now in the modern era as the overgrazing of oppressed cows and sheep degrade the landscape. From the perspective of ranchers, every blade of grass eaten by a kangaroo is stolen from the mouth of a profitable “livestock animal” (Taylor 2014). Due to this widespread assumption (despite opposing research by THINKK), ranchers continue to label kangaroos as a threat to the “national economy.” Labeling kangaroos a “threat” to the economy shows the privileging of the capitalist economy over the lives of nonhuman animals.

Such oppression of kangaroos is not surprising given the role nonhuman animals—both enslaved and free-living—have been forced to play in the development of capitalism (Torres 2007). To Nibert (2002, 2013), the advent of agriculture, rooted in the oppression of nonhuman animals, led to the creation of hierarchies and the accumulation of privately held wealth. Historically, throughout much of the world, free-living animals were killed in order that land and water were easily available for ranched nonhuman animals whose oppression as food and other resources produced wealth for elites. Continuing this oppressive practice today in Australia, the way to keep the land “free” for agriculture and “development” is to kill kangaroos and related beings, so even though kangaroos are not farmed like other nonhuman animals, they remain victims of violence, which is underpinned by the creation of hierarchy and the accumulation of capital. This economic domination of land and nonhuman animals is justified and made to appear “natural” (Adams and Gruen 2014)—processes necessary for the smooth functioning of the capitalist system. People are conditioned to believe that nonhuman animals, like kangaroos, are inanimate objects that exist only to serve “man’s” needs (Kheel 2007). Tashee Meadows (2010, 153) remarks “unfortunately, unlike car parts on an assembly line, these “products” are living beings that move, often causing the shooter to miss his mark. They’re dismembered while still alive and conscious . . . these beings resist at every point of their captivity and torture.” Kangaroos suffer and are killed merely for the purpose of producing profit. Kangaroos, like other nonhuman animals, should not be considered "objects" or "commodities" as they are living/feeling beings who should have rights to thrive and survive.

Land "Development," Tourism, and Kangaroos

Kangaroos have symbolic worth in that their presence and image are used to "brand" products as Australian and to value-add to capitalist ventures aimed at a tourist market (for example, private kangaroo zoos or tourism in general). There is a clear contradiction between the ways in which kangaroos are publicly embraced and promoted for their use-value as symbolic capital on one hand, but they are also quickly disposed of (out of public eye) when seen to be threatening the profitability of other industries (for example, ranching and the land "development" industry).

In this way, kangaroos are transformed from beings who live for themselves into beings that are exploited for their profit-producing potential. This is not surprising given that people in Western societies are bombarded with ideas of profit and efficiency, and both nonhuman and devalued human animals have been viewed as "resources" or "pests" to be killed in substantial numbers. A world completely tainted by hierarchy and dominance underlie the ways we have been taught to see nonhuman animals—"as objects to be manipulated" (Bookchin 2005, 450) and "objects" to be disposed of in the interest of land "development." Given this, as well as the "pest" status of kangaroos, the public is convinced that this is the "natural order of things" and their oppression is normalized.

MASCULINITY AND HUNTING IN THE AUSTRALIAN LANDSCAPE

Hegemonic masculinity is deeply connected with the oppression of kangaroos. Masculinism is a gendered ideology that is socially constructed and shaped by cultural context (Connell 2005) and in Australia masculinity is grounded in the "macho-Australianism." "Civilization" has been built upon the historical emergence of a masculine ego consciousness that arose in opposition to nature, which was seen as feminine (Ruether 1975). Masculine domination of society—patriarchy—is based upon the imperative to "control" all that is considered "nature." Such male dominance in Australia is deeply rooted in a violent, patriarchal past and over the years the presence of aggressive, controlling males have been "naturalized."

Traditional Australian history tells the tale of the British as "discovers" and how these white men came to settle a strange country and transform it by their science and technology, capital, and labor, thus creating "civilization out of wilderness" (Attwood 2005). Masculinity revolved around the physical mastery of a "hostile environment," tying in with narratives of colonialism, civilization, and "taming" marginalized peoples and nature. Manhood in Australia has been linked to "open rugged spaces of the Australian bush." The "tough," "brave," and "heroic bushman" are popular images in Australian history.

Australian identity and masculinity has been famously examined in Australian literature. This was exemplified by an Australian bush poet, Banjo Paterson (2012, 58), who romanticized the rural Australian male: "The man from Snowy River let the pony have his head, and he swung his stockwhip round and gave a cheer, and he raced him down the mountain like a torrent down its bed." Though these ideals stand in stark contrast to the brutality of "the Australian" also reflected in Australian writings. Bruce Elder (2003), in the famous book *Blood on the Wattle* documented significant painful events of white Australia's past and observed that, "there was no law and no morality on the frontier. It was a shifting territorial cliché where men were men, life was tough. Loneliness was normal, and fortunes were carved out of the virgin bush with bare hands." Kenneth Cook (2012, 31), in the Australian classic *Wake in Fright* encapsulated the masculinity of white Australia in his main character Grant who "killed many kangaroos that night and even once made a disastrous attempt to eviscerate one before he was sure it was dead; and it flopped about with its entrails spilling . . . Everybody laughed, and they laughed again because Grant was covered in blood, and they drank all the whiskey, and all the beer and their shooting became wilder." The masculinization of Australian identity stems from the British invasion of Australia, and it still has a significant hold and impact when looking at how nonhuman animals are treated, particularly kangaroos, and the complex relationship Australia has always had with them.

Despite the high level of urbanization, images of hunting, rurality, and agriculture remain dominant in the Australian consciousness. Traditional hegemonic notions of masculinity play a central role in these images. At center stage is the determined, practical, strong-willed individual—the man of the land—heroic, aggressive, and stoic. Constructs of hegemonic masculinity emphasize rational detachment and emotional stoicism as an ideal (Connell 2005). These images of masculinity in the Australian landscape are reinforced on a daily basis and tend to emphasize and justify behavioral norms in rural culture, which is intent on killing kangaroos. While people in urban areas also hold masculine and macho attitudes about killing kangaroos, the commercial kangaroo industry largely occurs in rural contexts. The practices of hegemonic masculinity often occur in rural spaces and through hunting and agriculture (Luke 2007). Rurality and masculinity within Australia intertwine and play a significant role in the justification of kangaroo killing and categorizing them as a "pest."

The connection between hunting and masculinity is commonly expressed (Kheel 2007). It is mostly associated with male domination, a drive for conquest, and the managing of nature (Kheel 2007). Some feminist theorists have long argued that the killing of "wild" nonhuman animals is an attempt to assert mastery and control over the natural world (Adams and Donovan 2007; Kheel 2007; Luke 2007; Merchant 1980). The method of dominating bodies through hunting is one expression of hegemonic masculinity. Alexis (2015, 117) relates it to "a political-social system that insists that males are inherently dominating, superior to everything and everyone deemed weak, especially females, and endowed with the right to dominate and rule over the weak and to maintain that dominance through violence." Hegemonic masculinity fosters social structures that serve to maintain male advantage over females and the natural world (Kheel 2007). Hegemonic masculinity has been normalized within Australian culture and operates in routinized ways to justify the killing of kangaroos and convince the public that it is the "natural order of things."

Skin and Body Parts: Feeding Masculinity

The manifestation of masculinity is significantly evident in the commercial kangaroo industry. While kangaroos are killed for consumption, parts of the kangaroo's body and skin are made into "products" for tourists. Kangaroo paw backscratchers, scrotum bottle openers, key chains, coin pouches and corkscrews, nipple warmers, and G-strings are produced as Australian souvenirs. These "products" are powerful and significant expressions of masculinity. The nature of such "products" is intentionally vulgar and displays stoic toughness, violence, and aggression, a certain sort of "manliness."

For example, an actual kangaroo paw displaying "the finger" is sold to tourists. The commodity is an example of exaggerated manliness with a display of aggression. Toughness, hostility, and violence are symbolized in this "product." The finger itself resembles macho imagery reflecting dominance and invulnerability. The paw represents not only the defiance of the paw holder but also a defiance toward the kangaroo, a way of proving dominance of the human over the nonhuman animal. It is a prime example of a hypermasculine product intended to a sell a hypermasculine ideology. While consuming body parts of any nonhuman animal is disturbing, these "products" have a particular vulgarness and reinforce a culture defined by violence and objectification. The vulgar "products" are rude, offensive, obnoxious, distasteful, and intertwine with Australian "humor" and its larrikin (a badly behaved young man) character.

Such kangaroo "products" also have a sexual undertone and aggression. The kangaroo scrotums and nipple warmers, for example, feed into objectification and sexualization. The image of the hunter derived from such "products" insinuates a strong, sexual, and "manly" male. The hunter not only asserts his masculinity by successfully killing the kangaroo, but by creating a vulgar product to further demonstrate and reinforce his masculinity. In other words, the hunter has proven that he can "take down" a kangaroo and then produces vulgar "products" to express his own masculinity and dominance. Luke (2007) likens the relationship of the hunter and the hunted to a passionate, yet violently aggressive sexual affair. The nonhuman animal is overcome by the power of hunter and further objectified as his body parts are transformed into sexualized "products." The nature of these "products" feed into the macho-Australian identity. In particular, the kangaroo scrotums perpetuate "Australianness." "Grab them by the balls" is a well-known national slang to impress someone. It implies that, now, one has your testicles they can control you, increasing the aggressor's sense of potency. Given this understanding, successfully killing a kangaroo and to "grab them by the balls" by turning the scrotum into an object for sale is the ultimate domineering and objectifying act toward kangaroos. To "grab them by the balls" could translate to "you're my slave now," and I can objectify and control you any way I like. These "products" resemble forms of entrenched masculinity that is evident within Australian culture.

The macho and competitive relationship that hunters display toward kangaroos is unmistakable. The hunter puts forth his own masculinity through the act of successfully killing/using the body parts of the male kangaroo in particular. Interestingly, male kangaroos will typically display some mannerisms that resemble human male behavior. The largest male may dominate during the mating season, or they may play by kicking and boxing other males in the family group. Additionally, some Australians may see the kangaroo as "competing" with humans because they walk on two legs, have two arms, and have families. The masculinity of the hunter is projected onto kangaroos in such a way that kangaroos are seen as competitors within the cultural landscape. The "products" generated from the bodies of kangaroos reinforces the hunter's own masculinity and sense of dominance.

The commercial kangaroo industry is a prime example of an enterprise in which the oppression of nonhuman animals is used to bolster hypermasculinity. While all forms of hunting and farming are inherently violent, this industry reinforces and fosters a culture of violence in extreme ways. It is violence regarded as "thrilling" and "manly" at the expense of kangaroos. Again, this links back to the fact that "nature" is treated and deemed "inferior," reaffirming masculine values and mindsets that justify violence and exploitation of nonhuman animals.

CAPITALISM AND MASCULINITY: THE INTERSECTIONALIZED NATURE OF DOMINATION

I turn now to a discussion of capitalism and hegemonic masculinity, systems of domination that are "mutually reinforcing." Addressing and analyzing mutually reinforcing logics of domination and drawing connections between power relations is crucial (Adams and Gruen 2014; Cudworth 2015; Eisenstein 1977; Glasser 2011; and Hartmann 2010). Understanding this "interdependence" of hegemonic masculinity and capitalism is essential to the political analysis of the oppression of nonhuman animals and in this case kangaroos specifically. The intersectional nature of these forms of domination reinforces the highly "naturalized" human domination of kangaroos and other nonhuman animals in Australia.

Hegemonic masculinity and capitalism are both founded on notions of authoritarian and hierarchical structures and transactions. Capitalism is grounded in hierarchical and authoritarian class structures, while hegemonic masculinity is underpinned by the hierarchical sexual structuring of society (Hartmann 2010). These hierarchical divisions are intersecting forms of domination that underpin kangaroo exploitation in Australia. At first glance, kangaroos are economically "valued" for the commercial industry. As we live in a society organized around the profit motive, land "development" and agriculture are economic priorities—making kangaroo deaths the basis for the growth of these industries. Given the hierarchical gender divisions, kangaroos and other nonhuman animals are associated with the "feminine." These gendered divisions reflect an ideology that views nonhuman animals as inferior and lacking value, "granting" men the inherent right to objectify and commodify them. This is particularly glaring through the production of the aforementioned grotesque items made from kangaroo bodies that reflect aggression in a particularly hypermasculinist way. Hegemonic masculinity, the domination of females and nonhuman animals, cannot be reduced to economics, while capitalism, as an economic class system driven by the pursuit of profit, feeds off the gendered ordering.

Capitalism drives profit maximization, and devalued humans and other animals are exploited in the process. Nonhuman animals function as property, and the commodification process is writ upon them physically (Torres 2007). Such hierarchy and imposed authority are directly linked to a capitalist mindset, which encourages individualism, competition, and a general lack of concern for other beings (Drew and Taylor 2014). Kangaroos, like other nonhuman animals, become "nothing more than living machines, transformed into beings who live for themselves into beings that live for capital" (Noske 1987; Twine 2012). Not only do they "live for" capital in Australia, but they are born into a country that has long been influenced by and values a stoic toughness and aggression that devalues females and nonhuman animal life. In both systems of domination, the kangaroos are devalued and are perceived as having worth only when their bodies are successfully subject to capitalist and masculinist control.

The kangaroo is seen as a valued "icon,"—a capitalist commodity—yet also regarded as a "wild animal" that must be tamed and controlled by the white Australian bushman. Hence, looking at both hegemonic masculinity and capitalism leads to a fuller understanding of why kangaroos are exploited in Australia. Capitalism and hegemonic masculinity feed into each other and serve to compound the oppression and domination of kangaroos. If the structure of oppression is to be changed, understanding this mutually reinforcing oppressive relationship is fundamental.

However, it is not just capitalism and hegemonic masculinity at play. Race interplays significantly within the Australian narrative. Western culture has justified the killing of "wild animals" to near extinction and the genocidal killing of Aboriginal peoples in countries colonized by the West (Plumwood 2002). The Australian colonizing culture and its treatment of Aboriginal people also has had devastating consequences on the continent and its "wildlife" (Plumwood 2002). The oppression of kangaroos and other free-living nonhuman animals in Australia is deeply entangled with the oppression of Aboriginal Australians. For the white, hypermasculinized Australian male, Aborigines are like women and nonhuman animals—inferior and subject to domination and control. Historically, when white, colonial invaders killed kangaroos and took the land for ranching, they took Aboriginal land too. Aborigines were massacred, repressed, and enslaved on sheep stations and related operations; sexual assault of Aboriginal women was widespread. While each form of oppression is unique, these intersecting elements (race, gender, and species) remain entrenched today and reinforce a cycle of domination that underlies the killing of kangaroos in Australia.

INTERSECTIONAL AWARENESS AS CRITICAL TO RADICAL RESISTANCE

Although some scholars and activists do valuable work in efforts to improve conditions for nonhuman animals, many do not consider the role of capitalism and hegemonic masculinity. Developing powerful critiques of human domination of nonhuman animals is crucial, particularly within the nonhuman animal rights movement and scholarship in Australia. Mainstream literature about kangaroos makes their treatment seem unrelated to the global economic system and disconnected to issues of gender, race, and masculinity. Such critiques tend only to focus on the *morality* of how we treat nonhuman animals. However, the way kangaroos, and all devalued humans and nonhuman animals in Australia, are treated is integrally linked to the nature of capitalist commodity production and the nature of masculinity in Australian society.

However, in Australia, many scholars and activists fail to identify kangaroo exploitation as an expression of capitalism and hegemonic masculinity and as a form of institutionalized domination (Pellow 2014). Calls for more humane treatment of kangaroos should be replaced with calls for total liberation. Moving to an analysis of the multiple forms of domination provides important tools, not only to resist and campaign against kangaroo killing, but to also denounce pro-capitalist and hypermasculinist theories and ideas within existing scholarship and academia in general. This ideological and strategic shift is crucial to expose exploitation and oppression in its many forms. Moreover, when activists and scholars fail to challenge capitalism and the role of hegemonic masculinity, they are complicit in systemic oppression (Drew and Taylor 2014). Challenging the ideologies that makes oppression seem natural and taking action against capitalism and other forces that undergirds oppression are all essential aspects of a liberatory project (Alloun 2015). Understanding the intersectionalized nature of domination can bring liberation movements together and can provide important opportunities for collaboration (Nocella et al. 2014).

CONCLUSION

It has long been argued that nonhuman animals only have value as commodities, and their interests do not matter in any moral sense (Francione 2008). The exploitation of kangaroos in Australia is a powerful case that highlights the ways in which nonhuman animals are commodified and viewed as "resources" for human use and gain. On one hand, the kangaroo is a celebrated Australian symbol. On the other hand, kangaroos are killed every night in remote areas of the Australian outback for reasons of land "development," agriculture, and the commercial industry for their flesh and skin. Capitalist imperatives have shaped the conditions and treatment of kangaroos in Australia and speciesist, sexist and racist ideologies legitimate this exploitation. Capitalism and hegemonic masculinity serve to maintain the routine oppression of nonhuman animals both in Australia and throughout the world. Increasing awareness and understanding of the multiple forms of domination that exist is necessary for the development of an effective movement for liberation for kangaroos and all nonhuman and human animals.

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8

The Roots of the Sixth Mass Extinction[1]

Julie Andrzejewski

> *"Humans aren't the only species on Earth, we just act like it"*
> *Popular Slogan—Anonymous*

EXTINCTION IS PERSONAL

Extinction is personal! Foremost, it means the personal anguish and deaths of billions or trillions of individual nonhuman animals, birds, or insects. It involves the myriad emotions and distress experienced by the parents and/or communities who have lost their young ones (Safina 2015). If we happen to have access to one of the few media sources that cover the sixth mass extinction of species at all, we might see images of emaciated or dead polar bears who are unable to hunt seals without sea ice (Lawler 2015). We might come across a photo of an orangutan whose forest home was torn down for a palm oil plantation, but we may only read that she "disappeared." We likely won't be made aware that she and her baby burned to death as they clung to their familiar tree homes (Tucker 2014).

We have certainly heard of the "colony collapse" of the honeybees whose deaths have been attributed to the neonicotinoid pesticides used on so many crops, pesticides that still have not been fully banned anywhere. But we are not likely to contemplate what was experienced by the individual bees who became sick and disoriented from the poison and left their hive home never to return. And what were the feelings of the last poʻo-uli, the Hawaiian honeycreeper, when there was no answer to his mating call?

We may have heard that amphibian species are vanishing, but have we even noticed that the once frequent frogs, toads, or salamanders are missing in our neighborhoods, local parks, or wilderness areas? What is happening to them? What miseries are they undergoing on their way to extinction? Many people know that Monarch butterflies are becoming scarce, but how many of us know the underlying causes? How and why are they dying? Do we know that bats are dying by the millions of white nose disease? What are the consequences of these deaths for the many nonhuman animals whose lives depend on bats, butterflies, and amphibians?

When we do pursue these stories further and come to understand the interconnections of this massive global agony, it is easy to become overwhelmed. After all, what can *we* do about extinction anyway? Our tendency is to look away, not think about it, avoid information, but *now* is the only time we *can* do something about it, and there are significant actions we can take to make a life-saving difference!

In this chapter, I only have space to highlight key alarming reports about the sixth mass extinction and how the human economic system of capitalism, through pervasive and global exploitation and pollution of the Earth, has created and shaped the driving forces of extinctions. Simultaneously, I will explore why the U.S. public is largely unaware of the severity and consequences of the extinction crisis. Finally, I will present key actions recommended by leading scientists or activist organizations that must be taken immediately if we want to stem the tide of extinctions of other animals and plants and possibly even save ourselves.

WHY ISN'T THE PUBLIC MOBILIZED?

Critical readers must be wary of corporate journalistic reports that sanitize or minimize stories of nonhuman animal extinctions. Our earlier study (Andrzejewski and Alessio 2013) shows a dearth of articles published by corporate media on the topic and how the few that are published promote denial, fragmentation, distancing, and inappropriate relief. Mainstream media frequently make assumptions that foster speciesism. This reporting creates a false sense of being informed among those who rely upon mass media as a primary source for information. The mainstream media distance readers by using terms like *colony collapse, population decline,* or *percentages* of a certain group of living beings that are threatened with *extirpation,* the local or global elimination of a species. In this way, extinctions of particular nonhuman animals, birds, insects, or plants are made to seem remote, less immediate, less catastrophic . . . less personal. Like war victims of some rival country, we are unlikely to hear about their individual lives, personalities, or the particular circumstances of their suffering or deaths, especially since humans and human institutions such as corporations are usually at the root of nonhuman animal deaths and extinctions.

Further, in "the sixth mass extinction of species," the words *mass* and *species* carry a certain quality of alienation, each word signifying an unknown number of beings, possibly hundreds or maybe millions. The nonhuman animals at risk may be endemic (limited) to only one place or span the globe, making it difficult for the public to grasp the enormity of the problem or to empathize with the individual nonhuman animals or their communities. On the other hand, the singularity of the word *extinction* may seem to infer that it is just one event or some natural occurrence rather than referring to the hundreds of thousands of nonhuman animal and plant extinctions that are underway in diverse places as a result of various modes of human exploitation.

Beyond wording, corporate media information about the sixth mass extinction is fragmented, denied, trivialized, distanced, or missing altogether. As a result, people in the United States and other countries under the sway of the Western media are only vaguely aware that such a crisis exists or are lulled into thinking the problem is not that bad, is faraway in time or space, or that science will solve it. Those who are aware of the process of extinction are misinformed about the severity of the problem by media omission or disinformation. In a word, the real extinction story has been *censored* so that the industries profiting from the drivers of extinction can continue to plunder the Earth while decimating other forms of life and/or their means of survival (Andrzejewski and Alessio 2013).

In stressful twenty-first century human lives, words might very well determine whether we pause long enough to consider, even briefly, what extinction means for the beings experiencing it, for the intricate web of life, or for humans. Most people can't conceive that the term extinction could apply to us—the human animals—who have been taught to consider ourselves dominant, superior, rational, technological, or invincible in comparison with other animals or species. In fact, humans are not immune to the extreme events pushing plants and nonhuman animals to extinction.

WHAT *IS* THE SIXTH MASS EXTINCTION?

A mass extinction is when a large number of species become extinct in a relatively short period of time. Based on fossil records, scientists estimate that approximately 99 percent of all species that have ever lived on Earth have become extinct during five previous mass extinctions that occurred at various times millions of years ago. While there is no certainty about the causes of each mass extinction event, various theories suggest that the first one (the Ordovician about 444 million years ago) was the result of glaciation, the middle one (the Permian) was caused by massive lava flows in Siberia that led to global warming (Jamail 2015a), and the most recent (the Cretaceous) occurring 65 million years ago by an asteroid (Kolbert 2014, 16).

Modern humans only appeared on Earth some 200,000 years ago (Sample, 2016). Yet, it is speculated, based on the available evidence, that as humans became established, they began having a negative impact on other forms of life such as mammoths, mastodons, aurochs, and possibly Neanderthals (Kolbert 2014, 238). However, the *rate* of extinctions, meaning how many species became extinct in any given period of time, appeared to remain very low in the nineteenth century, leading Darwin to propose that species went extinct slowly through natural selection. However, Darwin himself noticed “animals which have been exterminated, either locally or wholly, through man’s agency,” extinctions that were clearly not slow (Kolbert 2014, 68). In hindsight, it became clear to scientists in a number of fields that the number and rate of extinctions of nonhuman animals began increasing noticeably and then exponentially with the advent and spread of industrialization, capitalism, militarism, and imperialism.

Since the 1970s, scientists have studied and documented a contemporary massive decline in species. Further, even where other animals have not been entirely extinguished, their populations have decreased dramatically. Recall that *population decline* means that many individual nonhuman animals, including birds, marine life, and insects, suffered and died or were unable to raise their young because of some serious disturbance. The cumulative results of countless research projects clearly verify that with ever increasing technological sophistication, human activities are causing what is now known as the sixth mass extinction of life on Earth.

While many individual human activities are implicated, and some human individuals contribute significantly to extinctions, it is crucial to differentiate between the impact of individuals and the large-scale corporate projects of global capitalism. Projects such as wars, mines, dams, deforestation, factory farming, chemical monoculture agriculture, nuclear power, extraction and combustion of fossil fuels, commercial fishing, manufacture of chemicals and toxic products, various forms of hunting, and the proliferation of garbage—the list is long—are the types of activities primarily responsible for extinctions. Such corporate ventures seize and/or manipulate excessive amounts of materials from the Earth, destroying ecologies and killing other animals, directly or indirectly, for the purpose of maximizing profits. The resulting extinctions are happening so rapidly that they are disrupting the intricate web of life whereby species rely upon each other in complex ways. As explained by the Center for Biological Diversity (2013):

> Although extinction is a natural phenomenon, it occurs at a natural "background" rate of about one to five species per year. Scientists estimate we're now losing species at 1,000 to 10,000 times the background rate, with literally dozens going extinct every day.

Finally recognizing mass extinction as a problem in 2002, the world's governments agreed to stop the rate of biodiversity loss by 2010. Not only was that goal not met, the rate of extinctions continues to escalate unabated (United Nations Environment Programme, 2010). Indeed, activist, environmental and "wildlife" organizations, not governments, are leading the efforts to study, document, educate, litigate, and demand the immense changes needed to slow or staunch this persistent tragedy. One of these, the Species Alliance (2010), succinctly but dramatically summarizes the research:

> Today, scientists believe that we are entering the 6th Mass Extinction. But unlike the previous five, this one will not take centuries to unfold—in fact, it will take place in our lifetimes. As scientists begin to realize the severity of the crisis and new worldwide assessments are made, the news is difficult to believe. At least half of all plant and animal species are likely to disappear in the wild within the next 30–40 years, including many of the most familiar and beloved large mammals: elephants, polar bears, chimpanzees, gorillas, and all the great apes, all the big cats, and many, many others. Bird species are similarly imperiled, songbird populations have declined by 50% in the last 40 years. One out of every eight species of plant life worldwide and almost one third of the plant species within the United States already face extinction. Populations of large ocean fish have declined by 90% since the 1950s. All around the world, birds, reptiles, mammals, amphibians, fish, and invertebrates, as well as trees, flowering plants, and other flora, are all in steep decline . . . Scientists estimate that tens of thousands of species are vanishing every year, including many that have yet to be discovered or named.

HOW CREDIBLE IS THE EVIDENCE?

While mainstream news outlets and even some research publications may introduce their reports with qualifiers such as "we may be in the beginning" of a sixth mass extinction, in fact, the evidence available demonstrates that the sixth extinction event is well underway. Many thousands of scientists and organizations have conducted painstaking research related to the deterioration of the Earth's ecologies and what is called biodiversity. Many of these scientists, emerging from the traditional Western sciences, are unlikely to subscribe to an animal rights philosophy or engage in a critical analysis of capitalism. Nevertheless, collectively the research they present provides a compelling record of the suffering, deaths, drastic population losses, and extinctions that other animals and plants are now experiencing.

Many organizations are involved in providing the data needed for urgent policy changes. One of the oldest global organizations researching and raising the alarm about the extinction crisis is the International Union for Conservation of Nature (IUCN). In partnership with conservation and environmental organizations and a network of scientists and experts from almost every country, the IUCN produces *The IUCN Red List of Threatened Species,* a report formally updated every four years. The goal of the Red List is "to provide information and analyses on the status, trends and threats to species in order to inform and catalyze action for biodiversity conservation" (IUCN 2015). Although it is likely the most comprehensive and well-known report, IUCN acknowledges that it still identifies only a small portion of the countless thousands of species of nonhuman animals, plants, and fungi.

Another significant report, the biennial *Living Planet Report* is based on the Living Planet Index by the World Wildlife Fund (WWF) in partnership with the Zoological Society of London and the Global Footprint Network. In 2014, they reported this grim news:

> Globally, populations of fish, birds, mammals, amphibians and reptiles measured for the report have declined by 52 percent since 1970, and freshwater species have suffered a 76 percent decline—an average loss almost double that of land and marine species (World Wildlife Fund 2014).

Even though such species are not yet extinct, steep population declines make it much more difficult for a species to recover and maintain a viable presence in an ecosystem. Further, other interconnected nonhuman animals, plants, and insects may be forcefully impacted leading to what is described as cascade and collapse. Once a confluence of significant interconnections is violated, a cascade effect is imminent, and collapse will be sudden and permanent.

The United Nations is aware that 80 percent of the remaining biodiversity of plants and nonhuman animals is located in the 20 percent of land mass occupied by indigenous peoples (First Peoples Worldwide, nd). For this reason, the UN and other organizations working to curtail the loss of animals and plants are beginning to value, learn from, and partner with traditional indigenous peoples to develop policies to protect both the peoples and the other animals (Interagency Support Group on Indigenous Peoples' Issues 2014). This effort is especially important given that corporations have been stealing and patenting indigenous knowledge and the flora and fauna endemic to indigenous peoples' lands for decades (Shiva 1997; Smith 1999).

Intergenerational knowledge and spiritual connections with the Earth and all forms of life generates the strength of resistance within some indigenous communities who have formed a frontline against the destructive practices of industrial extraction and exploitation of nature. The tenacity and courage of indigenous activists, often small in number and facing overwhelming forces, cannot be overstated, and at times result in stunning victories, such as the prevention of the "black death" coal terminal at Cherry Point, WA, where coal would have been exported to China (Mapes 2016). At this writing, 200 tribes and their allies have gathered to support the Standing Rock Sioux who are challenging corporate plans to build a Dakota pipeline that threatens their land and water. Their prayerful peaceful protests, met by police exploiting dogs for intimidation and violence on behalf of the company, have inspired rallies in over 100 U.S. cities (Knight 2016a).

While indigenous knowledge is not widely disseminated, alliances between and with indigenous peoples can generate effective activism for extinction prevention. Further, understanding the worldviews of indigenous peoples may facilitate a change in perspective needed to counter capitalism's exploitive view of the natural world.

WHAT IS CAUSING THE SIXTH EXTINCTION? CAPITALISM VS. NATURAL LAW

With all our hubris, humans around the globe have invented imaginative theories, theologies, and/or realities that may or may not correspond with the physical structures or processes of the natural world. Sociologists call such "realities" *social constructions* (Berger and Luckmann 1966). Many, if not most, socially constructed realities serve those who create and control them, justifying oppressive or destructive activities such as the extraction and human "ownership" of natural "resources," the stratification of classes or castes, hierarchies of importance and power based on race, gender, physical appearance, species, and other identifiable or accusatorial characteristics (Andrzejewski et al. 2009; Alessio 2011).

Such "realities" have been coupled with the twentieth century rise of the field of public relations (PR) that fosters skills in manipulating public opinions through carefully crafted and highly selective messaging using compromised authority figures, skewed or false data, emotional appeals, or the creation of doubt. PR skills, brought into the service of corporations and capitalism, became more powerful with the invention of each new communication technology, greatly stabilizing profit-based false realities. Through a combination of censorship (omission) and propaganda (false information), corporate PR has a corrupting influence on public opinion and undermines democracy.

The beliefs of some societies, however, have long been based on close and astute observations of nature and their local ecosystems. Over millennia, they developed and honed their own sciences of nature based on *natural law*. These perceptive observations, many from oral societies, have been acknowledged in the Western world as indigenous knowledge and/or ethnosciences (Harding 1993; LaDuke 1996; Linden 1991; Shiva 1997; Smith 1999).

The fundamental principle of *natural law* recognized by indigenous sciences refers to the physical properties and processes of nature. As LaDuke (1996) explains, natural law is viewed as pre-eminent in indigenous intellectual thought, a law that takes precedence over all others. While humans can devise their own traditions, beliefs, laws, and policies, natural law dictates the consequences of actions regardless of what beliefs or laws humans have fabricated. For instance, the agreement forged at the Conference of Parties (COP) 21 Paris climate talks allows countries to "postpone making critical cuts to their emission outputs;" however, co-author Patrik Pfister points out that such "leeway" is "more than the climate system allows," meaning that drastic and irreversible changes in the climate will, therefore, continue to escalate (McCauley 2016).

Another tenet of indigenous intellectual thought is "taking only what you need and leaving the rest" (LaDuke 1996). In contrast, capitalist thinking is based on human domination and a utilitarian view of nature as only important for its benefits to humans: trees and forests are viewed as timber, water is viewed as irrigation, a wilderness is viewed as holding exploitable resources such as coal or oil. Capitalism conflicts with natural law because it is based on greed—"taking more than you need and not leaving the rest" (LaDuke 1996). Therefore, according to indigenous intellectual thought, capitalism is inherently out of order with natural law.

As Vandana Shiva (1993, 305), one of the leading global activists for biodiversity points out, "The industrial revolution converted economics from the prudent management of resources for sustenance and basic needs satisfaction into a process of commodity production for profit maximization." Naomi Klein (2014, 21), a global climate activist explains,

> . . . our economic system and our planetary system are now at war. Or, more accurately, our economy is at war with many forms of life on Earth, including human life. What the climate needs to avoid collapse is a contraction in humanity's use of resources; what our economic model demands to avoid collapse is unfettered expansion. Only one of these sets of rule can be changed, and it's not the laws of nature.

There is an essential conflict in capitalism between what is beneficial for the Earth and living beings and maximizing short-term profits. Extreme climate disruption, death and suffering of human and other animals, extinctions, predictions of dire consequences—nothing thus far has disrupted the greed and motivation to make the most money regardless of the natural consequences.

WHAT ARE THE DRIVERS OF EXTINCTIONS?

The Hunting Businesses

Controversy persists about whether human hunting drove many other animals to extinction, especially large species or megafauna, as humans migrated to new regions of the world. Some studies claim that climate change (warming or cooling) is the culprit, and humans came on the scene *after* megafauna were already declining (Balter 2014). However, most evidence seems to support the "overkill" theory, which postulates that humans were the driving force behind the extinctions of nonhuman animals such as the mastodons, mammoths, saber-toothed cats, giant sloths, and the like (Kolbert 2014, 230–235; Stolzenburg 2008). It appears that humans were a lethal force even before capitalism.

Yet, with industrialization and capitalism, hunting and fishing quickly became multibillion dollar businesses with many constituencies seeking a piece of the profit pie. Under capitalism, technologies have been developed to entrap and/or kill vast quantities of nonhuman animals, birds, and marine life with deadly efficiency. Trophy hunting, "wildlife" trade, "bush meat," commercial fishing technologies, and the elimination of competitive species, especially predators, are emptying the forests, prairies, wetlands, and oceans. Mountains too have experienced human pressures, but some other animals have been able to survive, if not thrive, by living in places most inhospitable to humans (Wendle 2015).

Safari Club International (SFI), a hunting advocacy organization, epitomizes the interlocking strategies used to support the business of massive killing by "sport" and trophy hunters. Claiming a mission of "wildlife conservation," SFI fosters a culture of self-aggrandizement through the killing of esteemed or feared other animals. Their website hosts a record book to recognize those "who have achieved exceptional levels of big game hunting . . . These individuals show their *support of wildlife conservation* and management through participating in hunting expeditions" (SFI 2016, italics mine). Boasting over 50,000 members and a $10 million budget, SFI "exercises a substantial amount of lobbying power, shaping anti-wildlife conservation policies that only satisfy trophy hunters' bloodlust, negatively impacting wildlife on a global scale," according to an investigative report by AlterNet (Loki 2016). In Defense of Animals (IDA) describes SFI as promoting:

> competitive trophy hunting throughout the world, even of rare species, and not shying away from canned hunts, through an elaborate awards program. SFI continues to create and feed a culture glamorizing death and violence globally, across political lines, international borders, and against wildlife and even people. Fortunes are made on the back of millions of animals . . . (Loki 2016).

SFI offers 15 Grand Slam Awards for killing various combinations of nonhuman animals (the Big Five of Africa, Cats of the World, "Wild" Oxen of the World, etc.) and a Hunting Achievement Award for killing a total of 125 nonhuman animals. The guide and hunter who killed Cecil the Lion in 2015 were members of SFI.

A second example of rampant hunting/killing is the U.S. government agency misnamed "Wildlife Services." Using taxpayers' money, this agency has for decades poisoned, shot, trapped, bludgeoned, and in other myriad ways slaughtered millions of nonhuman animals, particularly predators, every year. Most victims, even threatened or endangered species, are those other animals considered "pests" by the ranching industry (Predator Defense 2014). Ranchers also receive public subsidies by grazing cows on public lands at a small percentage of the actual value, thus contributing to the loss of habitat and forage for native other animals.

Further, many U.S. state Departments of Natural Resources (DNRs), who collaborate with "Wildlife Services," consider hunters and ranchers to be their primary constituencies. They benefit financially from hunting licenses whether for nonhuman animals killed for consumption or for trophies. Contrary to any mission they may espouse relating to "wildlife" conservation, these state agencies often defy the Endangered Species Act regulations and push for licensed trophy hunts for wolves, grizzly bears, big cats, and other predators (Milman 2016).

Illegal "Wildlife" Trafficking

On another front, in Africa, Asia, and Latin America, the increased opening of forest and wilderness areas to logging, mining, agriculture, and other human activities sets the stage for the decimation of other animals through "bush meat" hunting. "Bush meat" "poaching" has become an international commercial enterprise and "the most significant immediate threat to the future of wildlife in Africa and around the world; it has already resulted in widespread local extinctions in Asia and West Africa" (Bushmeat Crisis Task Force, nd). Elephants, apes, monkeys, reptiles, antelopes, buffalo, birds, tortoises, pangolins, civets, porcupines, bush pigs, and others are targeted. This massive killing of other animals for their flesh has led to what has been dubbed the empty forest syndrome, forests where large nonhuman animals can no longer be found (Vander Velde 2014). Rare and endangered species often bring higher prices. Some are captured and transported alive and thus suffer immensely before they are finally killed (IDA Africa 2013).

Under capitalism, the greatest profits are made by going beyond what is legal while continually lobbying to expand the laws to allow even more favorable conditions for making money (Alessio 2011, 162–164). Thus, in spite of national and international laws for the protection of "wildlife," the illegal "wildlife" trade has burgeoned to become a $20 billion a year industry. In fact, the United Nations has only recently passed a resolution "on illicit trafficking of wildlife, calling for urgent action . . . (by adopting) new sustainable development goals identifying wildlife crime as a global threat . . . (and by urging) member countries to treat wildlife crime as a serious crime under the U.N. Convention against Transnational Organized Crime" (Guynup 2016, 12). Unknown to many U.S. citizens, the United States is one of the key destinations for "poached and smuggled wildlife," most of it coming from Latin America through Mexico and destined to be eaten. Highest in demand is "meat," then "fins, feathers, eggs, shells, and shoes . . . followed closely by small manufactured leather products, such as wallets and belts, and dead animals likely intended for display, consumption or further processing" (Indenbaum 2016, 15).

Investigating for Defenders of Wildlife, Guynup (2016, 12) explains, "Everything imaginable is being illegally hunted and traded, from birds, fish and turtles to frogs, monkeys, and butterflies that come in a pupae." Yet the United States only has 200 inspectors trying to search for tens of thousands of pounds of "illegally" killed nonhuman animals, their body parts, or products made from their bodies coming into the country. The consequences of this decimation of global "wildlife" cannot be overstated. Trafficking "wildlife" around the world is wiping out imperiled species and spreading viruses and disease to "wild" populations, but there are broader impacts. Extracting hundreds or thousands of nonhuman animals from an ecosystem causes inestimable damage, dismantling natural systems that have been fine-tuned over millennia (Guynup 2016, 15).

Nonhuman Animal Agriculture

Nonhuman animal agriculture in all forms, but especially the most extreme form called factory farming whereby billions of sentient other animals are subjected to the most restrictive and filthy type of imprisonment, cruelty, and slaughter every year, is a key driver of extinctions. Drawing from scores of global reports, organizations, and experts, the film *Cowspiracy: The Sustainability Secret* (Cowspiracy The Facts 2015) asserts that, "animal agriculture is the leading cause of species extinction, ocean dead zones, water pollution, and habitat destruction."

The challenging truth about the short- and long-term consequences of nonhuman animal agriculture on humans, other animals, and the environment is not often disseminated by the corporate media or even the independent media in many instances. While the endangerment of human health by the overuse of antibiotics in "livestock" has received some coverage, issues such as the connection between nonhuman animal emissions and anthropogenic climate disruption (ADC), the pollution of fresh and ocean waters by nonhuman animal excrement, the starvation of humans in countries exporting "meat," and the killing of endangered species to protect "livestock" have received little or weak attention.

The data, documented from a wide variety of sources, are compelling. Just a few of the alarming factors gathered by Cowspiracy The Facts (2015) from a variety of credible sources like the Food and Agriculture Organization of the United Nations include:

- *Greenhouse gases:* "Animal agriculture is responsible for 18% of greenhouse gas emissions, more than the combined exhaust from all transportation" (1).
- *Water use:* "Animal agriculture ranges from 34–76 *trillion* gallons annually . . . 5% of water consumed in the US is by private homes. 55% of water consumed in the US is for animal agriculture" (4–5).
- *Land use:* "Livestock or livestock feed occupies 1/3 of the earth's ice-free land" (5).
- *Ocean dead zones:* "Livestock operations on land have created more than 500 nitrogen flooded dead zones around the world in our oceans" (6).
- *Desertification:* "1/3 of the planet is desertified, with livestock as the leading driver" (7).
- *Excrement:* "130 times more animal waste than human waste is produced in the US . . . 5 tons of animal waste is produced per person in the US" (8).
- *Empty oceans:* "As many as 2.7 trillion animals are pulled from the ocean each year" (9).
- *Amazon destruction:* "Animal agriculture is responsible for up to 91% of Amazon destruction . . . Up to 137 plant, animal, and insect species are lost every day due to rainforest destruction . . . approximately 136 million rainforest acres (have been) cleared for animal agriculture" (10–11).
- *Impact on "wild" animals:* "10,000 years ago, 99% of biomass (i.e. zoomass) was wild animals. Today, humans and the animals that we raise as food make up 98% of zoomass" (12).

- *Antibiotic use:* "80% of antibiotics sold in the US are for livestock" (12).
- *Impact on human hunger:* "Worldwide, at least 50% of grain is fed to livestock. 82% of starving children live in countries where food is fed to animals and the animals are eaten by western countries" (13).

And yet, such realities of nonhuman animal agriculture and factory farming are ignored, trivialized, or censored so the consequences of eating "meat" and "dairy"—on oceans, freshwaters, "wildlife," ecologies, climate disruption, human health, extinctions, and the future of our planet, not to mention the other animals themselves—are obscured, denied, or even contradicted.

Global Climate Disruption

Anthropogenic (human caused) climate disruption (ACD) with its related perils, ocean acidification, and sea level rise, is probably the single largest threat to plant and animal species, including human animals. As fossil records indicate, climate change, both warming and cooling, has been implicated in previous global extinction events that occurred millions of years ago. Most previous extinctions transpired over tens of thousands of years or longer. However, the extraction and burning of fossil fuels (coal, oil, gas, and methane) to power industrialization and the machinery to make products for the modern world have—in just a few hundred years—created a warming trend that is unprecedented in the history of the planet.

Climate disruption is a more accurate descriptor than global warming because the changes in the atmosphere from burning fossil fuels are triggering extreme weather events of all kinds—heat waves, droughts, hurricanes, typhoons, tornados, excessive rain and floods, blizzards, and extreme cold. Further, as Guy McPherson, 30-year climate change expert and evolutionary biologist points out, climate disruption is exacerbated by self-reinforcing feedback loops.

> A self-reinforcing positive feedback loop is akin to a "vicious circle": It accelerates the impacts of anthropogenic climate disruption (ACD). An example would be methane releases in the Arctic. Massive amounts of methane are currently locked in the permafrost, which is now melting rapidly. As the permafrost melts, methane—a greenhouse gas 100 times more potent than carbon dioxide on a short timescale—is released into the atmosphere, warming it further, which in turn causes more permafrost to melt, and so on (Jamail 2015a, 2).

McPherson and other scientists have discovered more than 50 such self-reinforcing feedback loops, and new ones continue to be found. Further, these feedback loops interact with each other, increasing their impacts on the climate (Jamail 2015a).

How serious is this for life and biodiversity on planet Earth? Award winning investigative journalist Dahr Jamail, author of the Climate Disruption Dispatches based on mega-analyses of hundreds of studies and notable research think tanks, puts it this way:

> Sixty-three percent of all human-generated carbon emissions have been produced in the last 25 years, but science shows us that there is a 40-year time lag between global emissions (our actions) and climate impacts (the consequences) . . . Since the industrial revolution began, the human species has increased the average global temperature by 0.85 degrees Celsius. In December 2010, the UN Environmental Program predicted up to a 5-degree Celsius increase by 2050. This is a shocking piece of information because a 3.5-degree Celsius increase would render the planet uninhabitable for humans due to collapsing the food chain at the level of oceanic plankton and triggering temperature extremes that would severely limit terrestrial vegetation and, hence, our ability to feed ourselves. (Jamail 2015b)

These new predictions are particularly distressing because scientists have been overly cautious and conservative in their calculations. Such conservatism is not surprising given decades of climate change denial and disputes, with scientists and research coming under concerted attack by politicians and media campaigns. This political environment was created by the unrestrained influence of the fossil fuel corporations over politicians, the revolving door between industries and governmental regulatory agencies, and the money poured into PR campaigns to influence public opinion. These attacks clearly act as powerful disincentives to scientists who otherwise might have felt compelled to make bolder, more accurate predictions.

Indeed, it has only recently been revealed that the American Petroleum Institute and the large oil companies *knew* about the catastrophic impacts of carbon emissions since the 1970s. In spite of this knowledge, they funded politicians and PR disinformation campaigns to foster public doubt in order to continue their profiteering at the expense of life on Earth (McCauley 2015; Negin 2016; Knight 2016).

HOW IS CLIMATE DISRUPTION AFFECTING OTHER ANIMALS AND EXACERBATING EXTINCTIONS?

Because climate disruption is interrelated with so many other disturbances of the Earth’s environment, it is not easy to show a direct causality of extinctions. Even when there *is* a clear connection, government agencies, acting in the interests of their corporate friends, impede and delay actions to protect other animals and the earth. For instance, only after a protracted 15-year legal battle by the Center for Biological Diversity and partners, Greenpeace and the Natural Resources Defense Council, were the U.S. Fish and "Wildlife Services" and Department of the Interior forced to list the polar bear as an endangered species based on climate change. The evidence is clear that the bears' diet of ringed seals is threatened by the melting of sea ice (Center for Biological Diversity 2016).

Jamail (2015b) speaks of the impact on human animals, but if the "food chain" collapses, it will collapse for other animals and other forms of life as well. Climate change already appears to be a major factor affecting the ability of living beings to find food. Even the corporate *Washington Post* reported that mass mortality events (MME[2]) of birds, whales, antelopes, and corals are attributed to major changes in their ecosystems related to weather. In particular, huge numbers of murre seabirds in Alaska died of starvation, "having trouble finding their normal food course—herring and other small fish—because of the region's recent unusual weather and the abnormally high temperature of water in the sound" (Kaplan 2016, 2). Similarly, ACD was implicated as a key component in the decline of butterflies in the United Kingdom.

Plants and trees are also facing die-offs that, in turn, affect the other beings depending upon them for food or shelter. Extremely serious is the impact of ACD on phytoplankton (the base of the food chain), in some cases causing large blooms (NRCNA 2015, 12) in other places a reduction by 20 percent or even changing the timing and species of phytoplankton (Jamail 2016a, 4), thereby causing substantial shifts in the "food chain." These are among the changes that human research is observing. However, whether humans are documenting the consequences of all these changes or not, the lives or deaths of other animals and birds are being impacted profoundly.

The Impact of Sea Level Rise on Other Animals

According to the National Research Council of the National Academies (NRCNA 2015), Arctic temperatures are rising twice as fast as the average global temperature rise. These changes occurring in the Arctic are affecting the environments of living beings over the entire planet. The melting of both land and sea ice is causing sea levels to rise and areas of open water to expand and remain open longer. The NRCNA (2015, 11) reports,

> The Arctic is home to living creatures found nowhere else on Earth. Many are highly specialized, having evolved in response to the unique Arctic environment over millions of years. As ice melts and temperatures change, these species face mounting challenges, including the possibility of extinction.
>
> Some of the most recognizable Arctic animals, such as polar bears, seals, and walruses, rely on sea ice as a platform for resting and hunting. Like the

> Arctic's human residents, these animals face the loss of habitat and drastically reduced hunting ranges as sea ice recedes.

Nonhuman animals affected by these changes are attempting to make adaptations. For instance, in 2014, 35,000 walruses crowded onto the shore at Point Ley, Alaska, as there was no sea ice for mothers to raise and nurse their young pups (NRCNA 2015, 11).

ACD in the arctic will affect the weather and environment everywhere. Changes in the jet stream will change the weather substantially in the mid-latitudes including the United States and, "a significant change in the strength of the AMOC (Atlantic meridional overturning circulation) would alter winds, temperatures, and precipitation patterns around the globe" (NRCNA 2015, 17). Further, the Arctic oceans are being flooded with fresh water from the melting. Every change will bring life-altering challenges for other animals, challenges that some will not be able to survive. Each extinction will have ripple effects on still other animals.

In their 2013 report, *Deadly Waters: How Rising Seas Threaten 233 Endangered Species*, the Center for Biological Diversity (CBD) documents the impacts on U.S. coastal nonhuman animals, such as submersion or erosion of habitats, saltwater intrusion of water sources and changes in plants, and destruction of marshes. Highlighting five species most threatened, CBD details how the Key deer, the loggerhead sea turtle, the Delmarva Peninsula fox squirrel, the western snowy plover, and the Hawaiian monk seal will be at great risk of extinction.

The Impact of Ocean Acidification on Other Animals

Acidification is changing the ocean environment in ways too numerous to outline here but will particularly harm any nonhuman animal that builds some type of shell. Beyond clams and oysters, this would include a large number of beings including starfish, sea urchins, barnacles, various worms, snails, and corals.

One of the most destructive results of acidification is the bleaching and death of corals, of which there are hundreds of species. Reefs built by corals create ecosystems within oceans. Kolbert (2015, 130) points out, "Thousands—perhaps millions—of species have evolved to rely on coral reefs, either directly for protection or food, or indirectly, to prey on those species that come seeking protection or food. This co-evolutionary venture has been under way for many geologic epochs." Indeed, it is estimated that 25 percent of ocean species rely on corals (WWF Global nd), and yet, highly endangered by acidification and rising ocean temperatures (Fulton 2016), their demise signifies disaster for the other animals they protect.

LAND USE AND HABITAT LOSS

Human animals now dominate the land and seascapes like no other species. There is virtually no place on Earth untouched or unpolluted by humans where other animals can try to live a "normal" life. Every ecosystem has been shaped by human and corporate projects. Imperialism, the intense global exploitation of the Earth and all forms of life for maximizing profits, has brought living beings to the brink of extinction, yet there seems to be no limit to the destruction that humans will inflict for money. It is not possible to address the damage to habitat and "wildlife" from all the various mining, drilling, agriculture, deforestation, dams, and other projects in this short chapter, but I will highlight a few as examples. Some of the human profit-based projects decimating other animals are:

Mining and Drilling

There are so many types of mining, drilling, and now fracking of the Earth's surface, it would take several volumes to detail the damage they have done and are doing to the Earth, to other animals, and all life. The National Mining Association (2016) lists 40 common minerals. This list doesn't even include various types of oil and gas or even sand and gravel. Some of the well-known minerals include aluminum, clays, coal, cobalt, copper, gold, iron, lead, nickel, platinum, silica, silver, titanium, tungsten, and uranium. The mining of each of these substances causes life-threatening damage to the habitat, water, plants, and other animals living in or near the affected environments, not to mention oil spills, gas leaks, and the longevity of radioactive tailings. Some particularly grievous examples are:

Mountaintop Removal: Appalachia is one of the most biodiverse areas of the United States (Reis, 2009). Yet, since 1970, mountaintop removal (MTR) coal mining has "destroyed some 500 mountains, decimated 1 million acres of forest, and buried an estimated 2,000 miles of streams" (National Wildlife Federation 2016). Coal companies, with the complicity of state and federal government agencies even under the Obama administration, have clear-cut or burned the forests, blown up the top one-third of the mountains, and shoved the "overburden" into valleys obliterating streams "causing permanent and irreversible damage to the landscape" (Curry 2015). There is little to no real reclamation; instead, it consists of planting a monoculture of fast-growing non-native species. Along with the decline of profitable coal in the region, a recent lawsuit by the Center for Biological Diversity succeeded in forcing the U.S. Fish and Wildlife Service to propose the protection of two crayfishes under the Endangered Species Act that could begin a new era to stop mountaintop removal (Curry 2015).

Tar Sands Oil: If you go to the Government of Alberta website and click on Oil Sands (incredulously subtitled Alberta's Clean Energy Story and listed online as Alberta's Oil Sands Wildlife and Biodiversity), you will see an egregious and blatant example of PR greenwashing (another word for a propaganda cover up of environmental devastation). Carefully packaged with claims of operating under "some of the most stringent regulations and standards" and "making operations more environmentally sustainable," these assertions could not be further from the truth (Oilsands.alberta.ca 2014). Compare these claims with the well-documented article, "Alberta's Wildlife Death Toll on the Rise" (Gehrke 2014).

In stark contrast, and making a clear connection to the corporate cause of these other animal deaths, Gehrke (2014, 1) begins,

> Killing in the name of big oil, the tar sands operations happening in Canada will result in a catastrophic death toll of wildlife, this year. Ever since their beginning, the tar sands oil drilling, processing, and distributing have been one of the most alarming environmental issues to face the world . . . The negative impacts from the tar sands include: The loss of habitat land, pollutants released into the air and water, loss of water from nearby waterways, decrease in wildlife populations, more tailings ponds, higher cancer rates among indigenous people, and oil spills through the distribution of these refined oils.

Woodland caribou, critically endangered, are most impacted by the loss of their habitat in the boreal forest. In just 10 years, they have lost half of their population with predictions of losing 5 to 15 percent more each year (Gehrke 2014, 2). To counter this loss of caribou by deforestation, the Canadian Fish and Wildlife (CFW) began shooting and poisoning gray wolves. This misguided reasoning will further endanger the Canadian lynx because fewer wolves will allow more coyotes to increase their competition for snowshoe hares, the primary food source of the lynx. In addition, 145 black bears were also gunned down by CFW as they were pushed out of their normal forest habitat into human residential areas (Huffington Post Canada 2012). Migrating birds are poisoned by what are euphemistically called tailings "ponds" but are really large lakes of permanent poison. In combination with the destruction of their breeding grounds, 58,000 to 402,000 bird deaths each year will be related to the tar sands (Gehrke 2014, 2). The numbers don't show the carnage or the agony foisted on these nonhuman animals. Further, in 2016, climate disruption drought caused the Ft. McMurray wildfire that decimated tens of thousands of other animals living in the boreal forest (Rieger 2016). So much for Alberta's Clean Energy Story—a fable for the benefit of the oil companies.

Hydraulic Fracking: The activist organization Food and Water Watch (2014) explains fracking as "an extreme method of oil and gas extraction that involves pumping millions of gallons of toxic fluid deep underground to fracture rocks and release oil and natural gas. The process can't be done safely, and research has shown that fracking pollutes the air we breathe, makes our drinking water toxic, worsens climate change and makes people sick."

Vice President Dick Cheney, former Halliburton CEO, was able to protect this relatively new fossil fuel industry from federal regulations, ensuring that it was exempt from the Clean Water Act, the Safe Drinking Water Act, the Superfund Act, and more (SourceWatch 2012). After more than 10 years and more than 1 million fracking wells, the evidence is accruing that fracking is destroying and fragmenting habitat, interfering with migration routes, creating dangerous noise, water, and air pollution, and creating earthquakes in places such as Oklahoma where they rarely happened previously (Ridlington and Rumpler 2013).

Just one average well and its extensive industrial infrastructure can disturb 30 acres of prairie or forest (Straub 2015). Endangered species that have already experienced extensive disturbances and losses to fracking are lesser prairie chickens, dunes sagebrush lizards, greater sage-grouse, the Indiana bat, and the northern long-eared bat (Straub 2015). The deaths of these individuals are forewarnings for other animals not yet diminished to the point of endangerment by the various dangers of fracking.

Touted as a "cleaner" fossil fuel, power plant companies are seeking to replace coal with natural gas. While activist organizations such as Food and Water Watch have experienced some success getting fracking bans in localities and in the entire state of New York, fossil fuel companies are working hard to stop local and state bans.

Other Corporate Projects: Corporate destruction of the Earth's environments and nonhuman animal habitats are so great and so many, it is not possible to even mention all of them, but the sum total of these assaults constitutes nothing short of the aftermath of a global war—a war for profit over life. Drilling for oil or gas in oceans (shallow or deep), clear cutting for lumber, deforestation and fragmentation of rainforests (Kolbert 2015, 148–192) are only a few of the many corporate projects destroying habitats. Hydroelectric dams, touted as "clean energy," inundate some habitats with water while disturbing and diminishing the natural flow of rivers, threatening one-third of the world's freshwater fish (Winemiller et al. 2016).

POLLUTION: TOXIC CHEMICALS AND MILITARY CONTAMINATION

The pollution of the air, water, and lands with toxic products, chemicals, nanoparticles, GMOs (genetically modified organisms), and radiation is another key driver of nonhuman animal deaths and extinctions. In the

United States, the Toxic Substances Control Act (TSCA) regulates only a quarter of the 80,000 chemicals "encountered daily in electronics, furniture, clothing, toys, building materials, cleaning and personal care products, and much more" (Grossman 2015). Throughout the chain of production process and product use through disposal, these chemicals get into the air, soil, freshwater, and oceans. These chemicals not only affect the humans that make and use them but other animals as well when the chemicals are dispersed into the environment. Toxic chemicals are also disseminated through the explosion of weapons of war and the burning of fossil fuels and garbage. World Wildlife (nd) explains how they affect other animals,

> When toxic chemicals and metals enter the environment, organisms may absorb them through their skin or ingest them in their food or water. Animals higher in the food chain accumulate these toxins in higher and higher concentrations, a process called biomagnification. Top predators—including fish, birds, and mammals—can have much higher levels of these toxins in their bodies, making them more likely to experience the diseases, birth defects, genetic mutations, and other deleterious effects of these poisons.

Capitalism has created a culture of consumerism combined with disposable products. Through planned obsolescence and perceived obsolescence (fashion), people buy products that rapidly break or go "out of style" transforming into garbage (Leonard 2011). Newly discovered products like antibacterials, nanoparticles, and microbeads are immediately allowed into products without oversight or scrutiny only to discover later the damage to the environment and the health of human and other animals they cause.

Pesticides may cause acute or chronic effects, secondary poisoning, or indirect effects on "wildlife." While most pesticides today do not bioaccumulate like DDT, they can greatly alter the nervous system of other animals and can affect their ability to survive. Birds, amphibians, and aquatic other animals are most affected. As estimated by the U.S. Fish and Wildlife Service, "67 million birds die from pesticide poisoning each year and more than 600 million are exposed" Fish are also vulnerable with 6 to 14 million killed every year (Defenders of Wildlife nd, 3–4). Herbicides also take a toll with one study concluding that glyphosate (Roundup) was killing tadpoles (Meadows 2008).

Further, GMOs have been inserted without labeling into crops and food products. When labeling was placed on state ballots, the industries spent millions on PR campaigns to convince people it would be too costly. Finally, when public demands became too insistent and Vermont passed a GMO labeling law, the industries turned to lawsuits and federal legislation in their attempts to prevent labeling. GMOs and nicotinoids were finally banned on "wildlife" refuges in 2014 but continue to be prevalent throughout the United States and other countries where allowed (Barnard 2014).

Plastics have contaminated food, water, and now the oceans. Giant garbage patches of plastic—larger than area of some countries—now exist in every ocean where they break up into tiny pieces and are eaten by marine animals and birds. Thousands of birds continue to die because their stomachs are filled with plastic. For illustration, one estimate suggests that by 2050 there will be as much plastic as fish in the oceans (Wearden 2016).

U.S. Military Pollution: By far the greatest polluter on the planet, however, is the U.S. military (Andrzejewski 2014; Sanders 2009). Besides being the largest emitter of carbon dioxide than any other entity, the short- and long-term effects of chemical, biological, radioactive, explosive, and environmental modification weapons are more destructive and contaminating than ever before. As I discovered in researching nonhuman animals and war, "most United States weapons now contain radioactive depleted uranium with a half-life of 4.7 billion years" (Andrzejewski 2014, 78–79). In an investigative report on the environmental impact of militarism, Sanders (2009, 88) identifies the total long-term consequences as:

> . . . *omnicide*—the destruction of all life, human and animal and vegetable . . . Human beings are not the only victims of this unspeakable poisoning through exposure to uranium. Plants and animals also absorb the radioactive particles, making uranium a permanent part of the food chain.

Further, radioactive weapons require nuclear power plants that can manufacture weapons-grade plutonium and tritium. Nuclear power plants are a necessary first step to developing nuclear weapons—this is why the United States and the small group of "nuclear countries" are reluctant to allow other countries to obtain nuclear power plants.

Nuclear power plants, in themselves, are a deadly nonhuman animal-killing technology. As demonstrated by Three-Mile Island, Chernobyl, and most recently Fukushima, there are no technologies that can mitigate the radiation released by the meltdown of a reactor. Fukushima is an example of a worst-case scenario where tons of radioactive water has been and continues to be released into the Pacific Ocean (Jamail 2016c). Contamination has been found in tuna near the U.S. West Coast (LaForge 2015). Still, new and destructive military schemes are being deployed every year—one of the latest is the testing of electronic warfare on the Olympic peninsula, a project that was discovered to be already "illegally" in progress, even though the required Environmental Impact Statement and public comments with final authorization were not completed.

> "According to Karen Sullivan, former assistant regional director at the U.S. Fish and Wildlife Service's Division of External Affairs and a retired endangered species biologist, the Navy's actions are also illegal. 'They have exempted themselves from disclosing to the public, and even to state and federal agencies, the full scope and nature of their actions, in order to segment

> them into smaller pieces that individually may look harmless but cumulatively have big impacts' "
>
> (Jamail 2016b)

DO SOMETHING!

Senator Bernie Sanders has called for a political revolution to make governments work for the people and the Earth rather than the corporations and the top 1 percent. Nowhere is this revolution needed more urgently than to stop the assault on the Earth, on the most vulnerable human animals and all the other animals who are suffering greatly from the profit-making schemes of the richest 1 percent and those who aspire to join that exclusive club.

Citizens from every country must mobilize with no delay to take the actions most relevant in their particular circumstances. Environmental, social justice, peace, and nonhuman animal activist organizations have already been collaborating with one another to take legal action against corporations and governments to stop further damage and enforce the laws. Some lobby local, state, and national governments to enact new laws for the protection of people and other animals, birds, marine life, and insects on a broad range of issues. Whatever environmental hazards befall people, other animals suffer as well or greater, sometimes to the extinction of their entire species.

So what strong actions can individuals and communities take as part of a political and environmental revolution to help save other animals and plants of our localities and the world?

15 POWERFUL AND EFFECTIVE ACTIONS YOU CAN TAKE

1. Read independent media for uncensored, more accurate information to be able to critically analyze the biases of corporate media. Don't look away or avoid information that makes you uncomfortable such as the seriousness of the sixth mass extinction, global climate disruption, or the consequences of eating "meat." Investigate and critically analyze constructions of the western mindset, face the truth, then take action. You will feel better when you can act boldly with accurate information.

2. Join activist organizations working on these issues and support them with your money and your actions. The more an organization tries to change the root causes of the problems, the more challenging the work but the more rewarding are the victories. Just a few examples of the

many remarkable organizations that have made a big difference for human and nonhuman animals and the environment:

Center for Biological Diversity: Winning 93 percent of its lawsuits, the Center has successfully gained protection for 757 species under the Endangered Species Act among other impressive victories. Read "Our Story" for inspiration on what a few committed individuals can do. The Center has also provided leadership in alliances between environmental, nonhuman animal, indigenous, and human rights organizations to press government agencies to take forceful actions to defend human and nonhuman animals and the Earth.

Earthjustice: Originally the legal arm of the Sierra Club, Earthjustice now teams up with other organizations and people to successfully defend the Earth, nonhuman animals, and people in court—"because the Earth needs a good lawyer."

350.org: Formed as recently as 2008 by students and author Bill McKibben, this organization has quickly burgeoned into a global force for arresting climate disruption and put themselves on the line for stopping the KXL pipeline.

3. Support the Endangered Species Act: Passed in 1973 almost unanimously with bipartisan support, this Act has been instrumental in saving species and wild places of the Earth. Such protections foil the best laid plans of the wealthy and corporations to exploit every last inch of the Earth regardless of the consequences to plants, human and nonhuman animals, or future generations.

   In the last five years, Republicans have launched 164 attacks according to the report titled: *The Politics of Extinction: The Unprecedented Republican Attack on Endangered Species and the Endangered Species Act*. Many of these attacks have tried to remove certain other animals from ESA protection, nonhuman animals that "are perceived as threatening the economic profits of powerful special interests, such as the oil and gas industry or big agriculture" (Pang and Greenwald, 2015, 3). In spite of 90 percent support of the American public for the Endangered Species Act, the attacks continue to escalate. In addition, these attacks influence regulatory agencies to weaken their support for endangered species (Pang and Greenwald, 2015, 4). Protections for wolves, in particular, have been weakened substantially, leading to the killing of thousands even though they are nowhere near fully recovered. If awareness can be raised and actions taken, public support and actions can make the difference of life or death for these other animals.

4. Stop the vilification and eradication of predators: Given the recent recognition and documentation that top predators are keystone species in maintaining biological diversity, it is particularly important to stop the

state, national, and global wars on predators. Predators such as big cats, wolves, coyotes, bears, killer whales, and sharks continue to suffer particular animosity and targeting towards a goal of complete eradication in most of the world. The loss of these top predators is hastening the extinction of many other animals and plants in their environments. Even the loss of smaller predators such as sea otters, hunted for their pelts, has an extremely deleterious effect on the kelp forests that support many fish and marine animals (Stolzenburg, 2008).

5. Become politically active. Join organizations that will inform you about local, state, and national legislation that will have an impact (good or bad) on animals and the Earth. Get out of your comfort zone and contact your congressperson, senator, state legislator, local county or city officials. Let them know your position and ask them to let you know their decisions. Even politicians influenced by corporate money realize they must respond when the public is watching. Work to elect people who have a record of supporting nonhuman animals and the Earth against corporate greed. Use the League of Conservation Voters (2015) and Humane Society of the United States (2015) legislative scorecards on the environment and other animals to examine the voting records of Congress and, where available, state legislators.

6. Support indigenous tribes, organizations, and activism. Indigenous peoples from hundreds of nations around the world are putting their lives on the line for nonhuman animals, plants, people, and the Earth. Global Witness (2016) documents the danger they are in as they go up against the world's most powerful corporations (Buncombe 2016). Only a tiny number of movements and people, such as Wangari Maathai and the Greenbelt Movement, have received global recognition by the Goldman Environmental Prize, the Right Livelihood Awards, or rarely the Nobel Peace Prize, but independent media outlets provide information about these incredible movements that will never be covered by the corporate news. Support the efforts of these courageous peoples.

7. Support organizations working for campaign finance reform and to reverse the Citizens United Supreme Court decision that allows wealthy donors and corporations to contribute money without being identified. The five congressmen who have initiated the greatest number of attacks against the Endangered Species Act have received millions of dollars from the oil and gas industry and big agriculture (Pang and Greenwald 2015). Such campaign contributions are nothing but legalized bribery. We, the public, must insist that our elected officials are working for the betterment of other animals, people, and the Earth, not for private profits.

8. Work forcefully to avert disastrous climate disruption. Immediate and drastic shifts in energy use and methods must be made to stop greenhouse gas emissions if we are to save life on Earth. A shift to 100 percent renewable energy is possible (Bergeron 2009; Heinberg 2016). Work for peace and sharing resources with other animals and people around the world. Personally and politically, change your lifestyle and work with organizations on campaigns such as Keep It In The Ground—legislation to stop the extraction and use of fossil fuels.

9. Work to shift military policies and activities toward saving the Earth rather than destroying and contaminating it. Even the Pentagon and CIA recognize that climate disruption, water scarcity, sea level rise, food insecurity, land grabs, and other inequities can quickly lead to conflict and wars, with climate change an immediate and urgent threat to national security (Davenport 2014; CNS News Staff 2015).

10. Support the *enforcement* of nonhuman animal protection laws. Having the Endangered Species Act, the Lacey Act, the Global Anti-Poaching Act, and Obama's Executive Order 13684 to combat "wildlife" trafficking (Loki 2016) on the books is one thing, but there must be funding and agency will for enforcement. Join with organizations to work for enforcement of these laws.

11. Pressure corporations to support nonhuman animal saving policies. After Cecil the Lion was shot illegally in Kenya by the trophy hunting Minnesota dentist, a member of SFI, there was such a public outcry that several airlines decided to ban any cargo containing other animal remains from trophy hunts. Public pressure was brought to bear on airlines that did not voluntarily join the ban.

12. Change your diet and your consumption habits: Become a vegan. Boycott all nonhuman animal products, including products that destroy the habitats of other animals. The United Nations and many food and environmental organizations recognize the connection between nonhuman animal agriculture and climate disruption, habitat destruction, and food production. They strongly recommend that humans move quickly toward a plant-based diet if we want to survive on a planet challenged by shrinking resources and global climate disruption (Carus 2010). As for ivory, skins, "furs," body parts, "meat," "dairy," and other nonhuman animal products, it is clear that if there is no demand, the products will not be made, and other animals are less likely to be killed.

13. Shop knowledgeably. Don't buy or use poisons. Avoid purchasing plastic packaging, bags, and other disposable products. Protect the species

in your yard and community. Avoid lawn and garden toxins and plants that contain neonicotinoids and other pesticides. Ask businesses not to supply products containing toxins. Use organic methods of plant protection. Create nonhuman animal, bird, bee, amphibian, and butterfly-friendly yards.

Support local co-ops, farmers' markets, and independent and small businesses that evaluate the impact of the products they produce and sell. Reduce demand by reusing, using up, wearing out, or going without products that destroy other animals or their habitats.

14. Oppose the killing, trapping, or poisoning of any nonhuman animals whether deer, wolves, coyotes, fox, raccoons, frogs, toads, butterflies, or spiders. Make room to share the world with other species. Take unwanted bees, spiders, and mice out of your house to let them live.

15. Support the increase and the protection of public lands, waters, and oceans: local, state, national, and oceanic. For example, work to stop efforts to drill, frack, strip mine, or remove mountains for fossil fuels, to practice damaging war games or dump toxic waste. Protect neighborhood greenbelts.

CONCLUSION

The assaults and extinctions that other animals are suffering from the cumulative impacts of human capitalist industrial projects are pervasive. Many of these projects have similar impacts on human animals. In most cases, these projects and their consequences are censored, denied, or covered up by PR campaigns through the corporate-owned media. Corporations and wealthy individuals continue their projects through the corruption of politicians who accept their campaign donations or through the revolving door where corporate employees are appointed to government regulatory agencies which then favor corporate policies instead of the public good.

When the global public gains access to accurate information, we can mobilize to have far-reaching impacts. The scientific reports about the sixth mass extinction seem bleak since the consequences of capitalist projects on natural law are becoming impossible to deny. However, when people become active, enormous changes can be made much more quickly than expected. Our challenge is to not look away but rather to seek accurate information and become active in an urgent political and environmental revolution.

Extinction is personal. Every frog, bird, butterfly, wolf, orca, lion, and human is affected by one or more of these injurious human capitalist projects. Even species with large populations can collapse. No animal or species, including humans, is safe, but there are opportunities for major changes. It is up to us to take action individually and collectively.

NOTES

1. Small parts of this chapter have been adapted and updated from Andrzejewski, Julie and John C. Alessio. 2013. “The Sixth Mass Extinction.” In Mickey Huff and Andy L. Roth (eds.), *Censored 2014: Fearless Speech in Fateful Times: The Top Censored Stories and Media Analysis of 2012–13,* 365–386. New York: Seven Stories Press.

2. A mass mortality event (MME) is defined as: “removing more than 90 percent of a population, resulting in the death of more than a billion individuals, or producing 700 million tons of dead biomass in a single event” (Fey et al. 2015).

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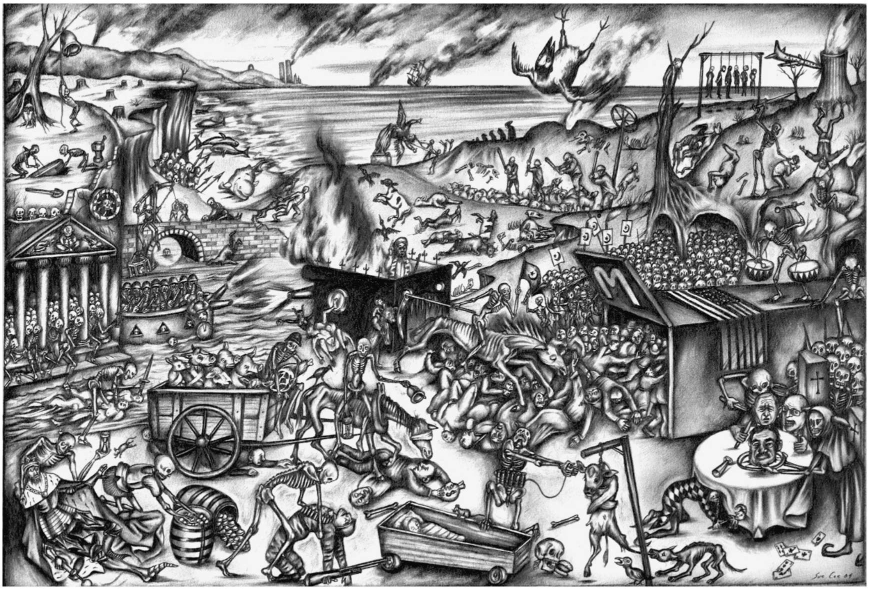

Triumph of Capitalism. (Copyright © 2004 Sue Coe. Courtesy Galerie St. Etienne, NY)

9

Toward a Vegan Feminist Theory of the State

Corey Wrenn

Consumption is the lynchpin of capitalist relations. For this reason, women and other animals, who are systematically packaged as consumable objects to be bought and sold in marketplaces, are particularly vulnerable. Consumption is a practice that necessitates inequality: some will consume, and some will *be* consumed. It is a demonstration of control over others.

In her seminal work, *The Sexual Politics of Meat*, Carol J. Adams (1990, 26) writes of anthroparchy[1] and material relations: "People with power have always eaten meat." In a capitalist system, power is concentrated through the exploitation of vulnerable groups, and this vulnerability is exemplified in "meat."[2] "Meat" in this context refers not only to the butchered flesh of Nonhuman Animals but also the fragmented flesh of human women. In both cases, it holds true that, "consumption is the fulfillment of oppression" and "the annihilation of will" (Adams 1990, 47). Power rests on the consumption of feminized bodies, human and nonhuman alike.

Power is thus defined by access to and control over the feminine, but as this chapter will demonstrate, it is *made possible* by this feminine exploitation as well. Vegan feminism expands traditional analyses of power and identifies an intersection between systemic violence against women and other animals (Adams and Gruen 2014; Kemmerer 2011). It necessitates a conscious acknowledgement of both sexism and speciesism in any class analysis or theory of the state. Patriarchy, anthroparchy, and capitalism are systems that perpetuate the oppression of many for the benefit of few. Within the confines of these interlocking oppressions, consumption is fetishized, and feminized bodies are systemically made vulnerable to interpersonal and institutional violence. Society, in other words, is structured to disadvantage and hurt women and other animals in the process of extracting value and privilege from them. Females are made into "meat" (the commodified and butchered bodies of the feminized), and the making and selling of "meat" is a primary function of capitalism.

This chapter will examine how the female body gets caught in this grind, specifically building on Marxist critique to incorporate a vegan-centric ecofeminist analysis. Traditional approaches most often take a gender-neutral or species-neutral approach, which inappropriately conflates the privileged human male experience as the universal experience. As will be demonstrated, an intersectional lens unveils a system of oppression that is anything but even or universal in its effect. Only through an examination of the suffering of those who are generally made invisible in the narrative can the true mechanics of the system be revealed.

MISOGYNISTIC SCRIPTS

It is useful to clarify that sex and gender are distinct categories, and gender, not sex, is typically the primary focus of feminist critique. Gender refers to the socially constructed expectations ascribed to individuals based on their biological sex. In Western culture, masculinity is a performance of domination, while femininity is a performance of subordination. Thus, any force or entity of domination, control, and violent power can be said to be masculinized, whereas any display or entity of subordination, powerlessness, or vulnerability can be said to be feminized. Importantly, anything and anybody that exhibits feminine gender role characteristics can be considered feminized. Women are feminized, nature is feminized, Nonhuman Animals are feminized, and even proletariats in the Marxian sense are feminized. Femininity is defined by its powerlessness in relationship to masculinity, which in turn is defined by its domination of the feminine. The entire capitalist system in this sense is a patriarchal one, as Nonhuman Animals, women, and exploited workers are all feminized through subordination.

In the anthroparchal-patriarchal capitalist system,[3] Adams (1996) suggests that feminized bodies are both literally and figuratively butchered to facilitate their oppression in a culture of consumption. Among human women, dozens of misogynistic words are regularly employed in the English language (Lakoff 2004), and women are heavily sexually objectified across all mass media (Collins 2011). Both linguistically and figuratively, women are fragmented as legs, breasts, and bottoms; they become a collection of parts and orifices. In such a system, women's bodies are for sale, and the language lands the sale. This may be relevant from an ecosocialist perspective, which acknowledges a societal hyperfocus on production and capital accumulation that is detrimental to the natural world (Löwy 2015), as well as an ecofeminist perspective (which more specifically focuses on gendered exploitation in the natural world) (Adams and Gruen 2014). Like women, Nonhuman Animals are objectified, butchered, otherized, and offered for consumption. Making "meat" is a profitable endeavor.

By way of an example, I pass a small New Jersey restaurant known as Cluck-U Chicken on the way home from work each evening. Located on a major intersection in town, Cluck-U specializes in "fried chicken" and "chicken wing" products. Its mascot is both highly masculinized and humanized with an exaggerated chest and bulging biceps. Advertising materials include cartoons depicting him as "Chicken Man" or "Super Chicken" in the style of popular comic superheroes. Although the chickens bought, sold, and eaten here are predominantly female-bodied, this mascot speaks instead to a perceived male consumer. The relationship here is highly gendered. Males consume, while non-males are consumed; males fuck, while non-males are fucked. Although the eatery's mascot is a chicken in a college basketball uniform (insinuating that "Cluck-U" could be short for "Cluck University"), the double entendre is clear. "Cluck-U" reads similarly to "fuck you," a common expression of aggressive derogation and sexualized depredation among English speakers. This meaning is in all likelihood intentional, as Cluck-U's branding is meant to be interpreted in the context of consuming the feminized body parts of dead chickens. This is a man's marketplace.

In addition to the connotations conjured by Cluck-U's name and mascot, its slogan, "It's an addiction," further exemplifies the masculinization of capitalism. Consumption is framed as sexualized, insatiable, and *uncontrollable*. Men just cannot help but to use women and eat other animals. To be sure, capitalists willfully nurture this addiction. Cluck-U is only one example of many. Addiction ensures continued consumption (it also keeps the citizenry in a state of powerlessness and dependency) (Schaef 1987).[4] Arousal addiction is also thought to disempower and depoliticize, especially so for targeted male consumers (Zimbardo and Coulombe 2012). Addiction terminology surfaces in the context of other gendered relationships of consumption, specifically in men's narratives of rape or pornography use. Framing male violence as "uncontrollable" ideologically masks the fact that it is actually agential and deliberate (Adams 1996).

Misogyny, in other words, becomes a script of oppression in a capitalist system. Gender is difference, and difference is conjured to stimulate market growth. For instance, advertisers carefully craft particular foods as feminine or masculine in hopes of increasing sales (Parkin 2004). This advertising is so thoroughly effective that a physiological reaction can be cued in consumers based on their gender identification (research demonstrates that men's esophagi will dilate at the mention of "steak" and women's to the mention of salad). This capitalist-driven psychology ensures that Nonhuman Animal products remain firmly in the privileged realm of masculinity, securing their profitability in the androcentric (male-oriented) marketplace. Consumers learn a sexist script that translates across anthroparchal, patriarchal, and capitalist systems. Men are positioned as privileged consumers and free agents with interests to speak of in the marketplace, while women and other animals are simply traded goods in that marketplace. They are objects of resource and highly vulnerable in an economy that relies on their relative powerlessness.

CAPITALISM AS AN AFFRONT TO NATURE

Patriarchy and capitalism are inherently linked as they are both hierarchical systems of domination that rely on force and control in their maintenance and growth. In the simplest sense, capitalism relies on class oppression, whereas patriarchy relies on gender oppression. Oppression in both systems is the logic of production. What it means to occupy a particular class or gender will more or less depend on the inclinations of elites occupying the top levels of the social hierarchy. Feminist theory, however, specifically identifies gender as the basic qualifier in the formation and maintenance of social stratification (Marxist analysis instead envisions a relatively genderless class framework). That is, feminism suggests that all systems of oppression (speciesism and capitalism included) are fundamentally products of a more ancient form of sexism. With imperfect research implements and cloudy or adulterated historical record, it is difficult to determine which oppression takes precedence in the larger history of humanity's evolution, be it sexism, speciesism, classism, or something else entirely. Perhaps they are best understood as interlocking systems. The script of misogyny does, however, appear to guide speciesism and other forms of capitalist oppression in several ways. In *Toward a Feminist Theory of the State*, Catharine A. MacKinnon (1989, xi) observes that state power, under closer inspection, ultimately emerges as *male* power. Most importantly, she also identifies gender distinction as a fundamental inequality that is intentionally exploited by the state. As she explains it, "Sexuality is to feminism what work is to Marxism: that which is most one's own, yet most taken away" (1989, 3).

This mechanism was mostly lost on Marx, whose theory views women as defined by nature, not by society as are men (MacKinnon 1989, 13). It is this sexist underpinning (that some social inhabitants are defined by nature and are thus more subordinated than others in society) that immediately conjoins the experiences of women and other animals. This connection necessitates that a feminist critique of capitalism also acknowledges the plight of other beings excluded from the social structure narrative, those who are objectified nonpersons in the "natural world."[5] Just as Marx views women's role-taking as bound to the natural (whereas men's roles in the class system are considered more of an accident that became institutionalized), a human-centric society understands the roles of other animals as "natural." Nonhuman Animal roles are thought a result of social Darwinism or nutritional necessity. Sociobiological explanations of this kind (the same that work against women, disabled persons, persons of color, and poor persons) form an ideology that naturalizes and normalizes socially constructed relationships. As Marx himself has emphasized, ideologies support a false consciousness; they distract and mislead economic participants from the true and actual mechanisms of oppression. The traditional Marxist understanding of work as a male behavior exacerbates the invisibility of others, as it inaccurately paints women and other animals as things of nature who are uninvolved in the creative manipulation of their environment.

Indeed, Marx's understanding of women's plight in the capitalist system (that capitalism is seen as an affront on the "natural" role for women in the home) is quite sexist by modern standards (MacKinnon 1989).[6] With many women pulled into factory work in the nineteenth century, Marx suggests that woman's absence from the home is responsible for "denaturalizing" them, a process that creates significant harms for children.[7] This same logic appears in liberal understandings of Nonhuman Animals in the capitalist system, as evidenced in the hyperfocus on factory farming. As many activists and nonprofits will attest, the goal of the anti-speciesism movement is not necessarily to liberate Nonhuman Animals entirely, but only to return to earlier forms of oppression that are deemed to be more "natural" or "humane." That is, the capitalist system is "denaturalizing" Nonhuman Animals: it is disrupting the "natural" order of things and the "natural" role of other animals. The emphasis is not on the exploitation of women or Nonhuman Animals, per se, but rather on the disruption or distortion of traditional exploitations that were idealized in an anthroparchal-patriarchal system.

What this suggests is that, if the capitalist system were to be replaced or significantly modified in some way, the prevailing social order of male rule and human supremacy would remain supported. The problem is not that women and other animals are being exploited. It is that they are being exploited in ways that challenge older, more established institutions of oppression which are perhaps romanticized as a result of their harms being more carefully concealed within the fabric of social life. The human factories of Marx's era and the factory farms of today's industrialized speciesism erode these illusions and force the consumer to confront the discomforting realities of oppressive social relations.[8]

Certainly, the oppression of women and other animals existed outside of capitalism, but capitalism is nonetheless thought to prevent women and other animals from reaching their "true potential" as doting housewives and "happy meat."[9] Welfare capitalism has subsequently emerged as a means to alleviate this affront to the dignity of sentient beings. Capitalists take the lead (with state encouragement) in the support of social services and charities. In tending to the overall well-being of laborers in this way, control over the means of production need not be relinquished. Laborers thus remain especially disempowered and dependent upon the paternalistic benevolence of their employer. This also aggravates social stratification by creating a hierarchy of need among those who may or may not qualify for assistance (Esping-Andersen 2006). Though human and nonhuman welfare may be marginally improved, the logic of domination thus remains the same so long as hierarchies remain intact.

WHEN FEMINISM BUTCHERS VEGANISM

Critical feminist theories of the state are thus actively engaged in recentering gender in the socialist dialogue. The status of Nonhuman Animals, however, remains inadequately addressed. They are persons who are not readily identified as men, women, or proletariats, and this leaves their inclusion tenuous and their position highly vulnerable. Unfortunately, many of those who are married to the neoliberalized incarnation of feminism see meaningful acknowledgement of Nonhuman Animal interests (hitherto referred to as veganism) as a matter of personal choice and can seem bothered when asked to examine their own role in exploitation.[10] For her part, MacKinnon (2004) fails to grant the attention warranted to the nonhuman experience given the magnitude of species-based oppression, though she does explore the relationship between human and nonhuman oppression in pornography, as evidenced in her publication on "crush" films and the failure of civil rights legislation to protect women and other animals alike.

Feminists such as MacKinnon have criticized traditional critiques of capitalism as androcentric and insensitive to the unique experiences of women, but the feminist critique itself shows itself to be hierarchical in its anthropocentrism. Indeed, much feminist theory erases the Nonhuman Animal experience entirely. If feminism is to fully acknowledge that capitalism is not a gender-neutral phenomenon, it must become species-inclusive in scope. The unpaid or underpaid labor of women undergirds capitalism, but the experience of nonhuman females is no different in this regard. Female cows labor in "dairies" where they undergo repeated sexual assaults, forced pregnancies, and separation from their children before eventually being shipped to slaughterhouses, their still adolescent bodies having become “spent” in the process. Hens are genetically manipulated and physically tortured with starvation, dehydration, and sensory deprivation to coax hundreds of eggs out of each animal until their weakened bodies, too, will be shipped to slaughterhouses. Other species such as pigs, sheeps,[11] horses, turkeys, dogs, and rabbits are similarly confined, assaulted, and killed by the millions as standard practice in capitalist production.

The female body is especially valued in the capitalist system, as it is the machine that creates product (such as breast milk and eggs), but also maintains the system through reproduction (in producing offspring). Sexism and social discrimination against the female body erase this great value and also cheapen its labor. In other words, while female bodies are extremely profitable and integral to the capitalist functioning, they are ideologically devalued as a means of naturalizing the oppressive conditions females endure and extorting more production for less cost. For instance, one survey estimates that American housewives on average work 94 hour weeks, which, if paid, would be worth a salary of more than $133,000 (Woodruff 2013). Yet, housewifery is neither salaried nor especially prestigious. It is this same devaluation which applies to nonhuman labor. Each pregnancy carried by a “dairy cow,” for instance, earns her “owner” approximately $278 in milk sales (De Vries 2006). She also provides value in carrying the pregnancy to term, birthing the calf, and becoming “meat” when she is “culled” after her reproductive abilities wane. In wider culture, however, the roles of housewives, “dairy cows,” and other feminized positions carry little prestige and might even be stigmatized.

In fact, the female body is so integral to the Nonhuman Animal industrial system that non-females are apt to destruction soon after birth in a number of different industries. In the capitalist system, value is tied to productivity, so the reproductive capacities of female-bodied animals of various species are fundamental to economic functioning, while unproductive and nonproducing bodies decrease in value to the point of worthlessness. Sick, feeble, older, and infertile bodies with low production value and little or no hope of future production value are made vulnerable to violence (jones 2014a). For instance, male chicks in the egg industry are subject to immediate suffocation or mincing in industrial grinders, while male calves exiting the “dairy” industry face infanticide in the production of “veal.”[12] The same holds true for nonproducing human bodies who frequently find themselves socially ostracized and victims of institutionalized discrimination.

Vegan feminism acknowledges a speciesist economic system that is not only capitalistic but also patriarchal. Flesh consumption, for instance, is linked to strength and thus believed integral to men’s success in the capitalist system. As a “marker of nationhood, social status, and gender”

(Cudworth 2011, 84), "meat" is the embodiment of oppressive power. Throughout history, colonizers have understood a plant-based diet to be an indicator of economic inferiority and poverty (Adams 1990). Sometimes the act of colonization itself creates this poverty, and Nonhuman Animals vanish from the colony's diet as a consequence, as was the case with Ireland pre-independence (Wrenn, forthcoming). Subsequently, vegetarians and vegans come to represent failures in a capitalist worldview. Flesh consumption is a marker of power, and those who are less able to engage it are disproportionately women, children, persons of color, elderly persons, infirm persons, and impoverished persons. These groups all become feminized in this powerlessness; they can neither consume vulnerable bodies nor adequately contribute to a capitalist system through production.

A vegan feminist theory of the state, however, is specifically concerned with making visible the plight of Nonhuman Animals in their fueling of human economy. The invisibility of Nonhuman Animals' oppression in the anthroparchal-patriarchal capitalist system is such that few take notice of the cows, chickens, pigs, and other animals killed to produce the "hamburgers," sandwiches, and snacks that sustain proletariats and bourgeoisie alike, women and men alike, and labor activists and feminists alike. Little notice is given to those animals killed or displaced to facilitate both labor exploitation and sexual exploitation. As is the case with women's oppression, the unrecognized exploitation of Nonhuman Animals makes possible the exploitation of proletariats. Just as women's unpaid work in the home as manifest in cooking, cleaning, childcare, and elder care allows men to go forth into the public sphere to sell their labor for many hours a day, so too does the unpaid work of Nonhuman Animals in the provision of clothing, food, transportation, and supervision of the home allow the proletariat, regardless of gender, to conduct their work.

By way of an example, the industrialization of cows' milk in the nineteenth century freed working class women to leave babies and young children in the care of others during work hours (Allen 2009). Cows' milk also formed the basis of women's care work in tending not just to their children but also to sick, disabled, and elderly persons who were thought to benefit from the believed high digestibility and healthfulness of milk (Boland 1906). In other words, the capitalist exploitation of male laborers relies on the exploitative domesticity of women, but human exploitation, regardless of gender (or perhaps *because of* gender), relies on the exploitation of other animals. Gender *and* species, as categories of difference, maintain the hierarchy of oppression necessary for capitalism's functioning.

Of course, I am not the first to take notice of these intersections. Vegan socialists have been advocating for the recognition of other species in the class struggle (Nibert 2013), and vegan feminists understand that the oppression of Nonhuman Animals is patriarchal in nature and closely mirrors that of women (Adams 2013; Hall 2010). However, ecosocialist theory displays shortcomings similar to that of nonvegan socialism. It assumes a gender-neutral approach, which either diminishes the unique trials of the female body or incorrectly predicts a trickledown effect, whereby the liberation of the (male) proletariat will also liberate other oppressed groups such as women and other animals. This oversight has much to do with the gender identity of prominent vegan socialist theorists, who, as predominantly male-identified, generally fail to notice how misogynistic scripts order human-nonhuman relations. Sociologist Erika Cudworth (2011) has been more explicit in exploring the intersections of gender and species within the confines of capitalism. Nonhuman Animals, she insists, are gendered in the agricultural system, and the institution of human dominance itself is gendered as well.

For many sociologists of the Marxist tradition, the prevailing economic means of production is thought to determine a society's structure and stratification. In a capitalist economy reliant upon endless production and consumption, women and other animals become the raw materials and vital labor in a society already following misogynistic scripts for many centuries prior. A feminist theory of social structure becomes invalid should it stop short of Nonhuman Animals' vital role in this formula. By focusing only on women's experience, it remains individualist in scope. This individualism obscures the collective condition of oppression and serves to maintain a false consciousness.

WHERE DOES CAPITALISM GET ITS PROTEIN?

Females feed and nourish the economy in many ways. The feminization process facilitates patriarchal exploitation of many kinds of bodies regardless of sex, but it is the female body (with the understanding that there is considerable variation across biological sex characteristics) which is disproportionately exploited. Capitalism runs on females. Females produce the next generation of laborers who will toil in factories and farms, soldiers who will monger for more resources, police officers who will control unrest, and leaders who will maintain ideologies of oppression. Females also tend to the hearth. They ensure that laborers, soldiers, officers, and leaders are well fed and their heirs attended to, so that men can fully focus their efforts in the public sphere.

Women's devalued status in the capitalist system is also functionally important in regard to the role they play in consumption. Food in particular plays a key role in economic relations, though it is often overlooked in its deceptive mundanity. As early socialist feminists such as Charlotte

Perkins Gilman attested, women restricted to the domestic sphere not only support men's ability to participate in the public sphere in caring for men's home, children, food, and clothing, but men are also supported when women become consumers of the products he creates (Allen 2009).[13] This consumption role comes full circle when women are made responsible for food purchasing and preparation, often purchasing adulterated or poor quality foods to the extreme profit of capitalist producers (a particular issue before food safety laws took effect in the early twentieth century).

Women's individualized experience in the home is a more extreme form of individualism experienced by men in the public sphere. Within the confines of domesticity, Victorian and Edwardian feminists identified that women were quite literally isolated from outside processes and other women as potential comrades. Accessing information or mobilizing for social change became all the more difficult.[14] Gilman (1911) was also insistent that women's role as cook kept her in a perpetual state of wage-slavery. It was a form of drudgery that, inefficient as it was for women themselves (women of her time spent the better part of the day busied with food preparation), served an important function in upholding androcentrism. More recent research demonstrates that women's home magazines and cookbooks further uphold anthroparchy and patriarchy in that they tend to emphasize women's place in the home and other animals' place on the dinner plate (Cudworth 2011). As such, cooking is an intensely political act.

The physical bodies of these females feed as well, nourishing capitalist functioning. Be it breast milk, eggs, or the production of edible offspring, females are the literal fodder of capitalism. As Adams (1990) identifies, Nonhuman Animal products for consumption can be understood as "feminized protein" in this regard. First, animal protein is frequently a product of the female reproductive system, as is true of eggs and breast milk. Second, many flesh products butchered for human consumption come from female bodies. For instance, "hamburger" and chicken "meat" derives largely from expended Nonhuman Animals who labored in "egg" and "dairy" industries. Third, these nonvegan products, regardless of make or origin, come from Nonhuman Animal bodies that were dominated and exploited in the production process. This inevitability ensures that *all* nonvegan products are thus feminized. In this way, the capitalist system is not simply carnivorous but also patriarchal in its design.

It is not only domesticated (or *domesecrated*) Nonhuman Animals who are vulnerable in an anthroparchal-patriarchal capitalist system. Free-living animals, too, are subject to systemic oppression on a number of fronts. First, these feminized communities can be displaced, either through habitat destruction or through intentional extermination, to make way for disproportionately male-led, male-owned, and male-profiting farms, resource extraction, or other such industries. Secondly, these free-living communities can be harassed and subjected to a number of violent executions at the hands of "hunters" equipped with guns, traps, and high-powered crossbows. As are farm "owners" and agricultural elites, "hunters," too, are overwhelmingly male (Luke 2007).

The institution of "hunting" is justified in a number of additional ways that work in the service of an anthroparchal-patriarchal capitalist system.[15] First, it is considered a way to affordably supplement a family's food supply. The killing of free-living Nonhuman Animals is understood, in this context, as another means for the male "breadwinner" to offer added value to the home. In the United States, where food security is tenuous for many (generally a result of the exploitative economic system and capitalism's facilitation of poverty), the ideology of "hunting" as a matter of thriftiness or economic necessity is a popular one. In any event, it lacks empirical truth. For the most part, "hunting" is actually a rather expensive enterprise. In addition to the high license fees (state and national "game" management entities solicit many millions of dollars in revenue from licensing each year) (Anderson 2012), participants will likely need to purchase highly expensive weapons (which require regular maintenance), ammunition, camouflaged clothing, and many other crutches or advantages designed to improve their kill rate such as packaged pheromones or tree stands. Kill limits mean that the price of each corpse can be many times that of one produced in the agricultural system when the costs of licenses and equipment are considered. Participants may also need to take time off work, potentially eating into their paid employment (a particular problem for workers with part-time or precarious employment). Despite the enormous advantage given to men with high-powered rifles, camouflage, tree stands and the like, the success rate is not especially high.[16] Time invested into stalking Nonhuman Animals has a much lower return than other solutions for economic supplementation. Furthermore, in those instances when a participant is successful in killing others, time must be invested in the butchering of their bodies. There is also the financial expense required to both store and preserve the flesh. Lastly, the risk is also considerable. "Hunting"-related accidents are responsible for hundreds of injuries and deaths to the participants themselves (2,891 Americans between 2002 and 2007 alone) (IHEA 2016) but also to nonparticipating citizens and nontarget Nonhuman Animals (Anderson 2012). Those who are seriously injured might be hampered in their ability to engage in paid employment. For those killed, they leave their families in an even greater compromised position.

"Hunting" is not only engaged to survive poverty under capitalism, it may also work to satiate frustrated proletariats. Ecofeminists observe that "hunting" is sometimes framed as a way for men to achieve sexual release (Kheel 1995) or "let off steam" to the benefit of wives left at home who are spared his abusive behavior (Adams 1990). Whether as a means to supplement income or deflect aggression, the fragility of capitalism is artificially protected through the outsourcing of costs to vulnerable feminized groups, namely free-living animals. In doing so, an additional level of oppression is implemented with "hunting." A system reliant on male rule and economic exploitation will only compound suffering, allowing for few rational or life-affirming strategies of survival.

MOTHERHOOD AND MISSING CHILDREN

Although capitalism heavily relies on female bodies, this reality is relatively obscured from popular consciousness. The capitalist system is thus degendered. Advertisements selling hens' eggs or cows' milk exemplify this phenomenon. Although hens and cows are often anthropomorphized as "girls" or "ladies," their mother status is frequently concealed. In a typical advertisement for Bregott[17] "dairy products," a cow stands in a sunny field under a bright blue sky. The image reads "Girl Power." On Bregott's Instagram social media page, dozens of portraits capture these "girls" as they graze, relax, and play. Very rarely are the children of these "girls" pictured. Indeed, the invisibility of childbirth, nursing, and parenting is a consistent theme. Consider also the "Happy Cows Come from California" television campaign for Real California Cheese or Laughing Cow's advertising imagery. These cows are shown as giggling, trivial, and carefree. These are not depictions of ideal mothers or even competent mothers. Depicting these cows as mothers would disrupt the fantasy presented to the human consumer; the presence of calves forces the viewer to acknowledge the intended purpose of cows' breast milk. Instead, *farmers* are more frequently pictured nurturing calves when calves are visible at all. In this way, farmers are presented as caring stewards, while the bovine mothers are dematernalized as silly and immature good-time girls. Characterized as such, they are not to be taken seriously as willing participants in this seemingly harmless, live-and-let-live industry.

It is worth considering that "girl" language encourages consumers to only superficially conceptualize "dairy cows" as female. Subsequently, the audience will not be invited to acknowledge that they are actually mothers. Motherhood reminds the audience that these animals do not exist solely for the pleasure of the consumer. It is a reminder of their connectedness in complex social relationships, their responsibilities for others, their love for others, and others' love for them. Motherhood is essential to the reproduction of the capitalist system, but it must be hidden from the public sphere lest its sentimentality interfere with business. That said, it is also true that characterizing mothers as "girls" is certainly accurate in the sense that these are immature cows who are still juveniles themselves. While bovines live an average of two decades, their average age at slaughter is just four or five years.[18] In this way, their own childhoods are erased as well.

Chicks, too, are generally absent from egg commercials. Even in those advertisements that seek to amplify the "naturalness" of the farms from which the eggs are sourced, industry fails to depict the most natural aspect of egg production: the creation of chicks. Hens are shown frolicking in open yards, chasing bugs, and chatting away as though existing in an enclosed, childless, monogender society for the express purpose of ceaselessly producing eggs for another species to consume is the epitome of nature's intention. It is this same seamless idyll of "natural order" that normalizes human oppression, nonhuman oppression, and, under capitalism, a number of other oppressions. "Nature" as an ideology facilitates a false consciousness that disempowers and protects the system as is. Chicks are replaced by the sterile imagery of crisp, clean white eggs that seem to appear almost by magic. The raw emotion and organic mess of egg laying and childbirth are rendered invisible in speciesist advertising, presumably so as not to spoil the consumer's appetite. The birds' eggs humans are invited to dine on only vaguely refer to the femaleness of the hens involved in creating them.

As with cows' breast milk, hens' eggs are degendered. Gendering eggs and egg production would create an awareness unconducive to consumption. As is the function of advertising, this strange fantasy fashioned by capitalist elites is taken for granted as "normal" and "natural" by the audience. It is facilitating consumption by obscuring the unpleasantries of production. Subsequently, the absence of children goes unnoticed. Pornography also engages this approach by encouraging the viewer to consume without emotional attachment (Dines 2010). The omnivore is thus encouraged to become a "playboy," enjoying the pleasures of nonhuman bodies with no ethical qualms and no strings attached. Like playboys who are subscribing to pornography "for the articles," nonvegan consumers also mask the crass consumption of vulnerable bodies with narratives of admirable moral behavior (this is one reason why consumption of "organic" or "free-range" products is linked with class).[19] Eating higher welfare products of speciesism is thought of as a means of treating Nonhuman Animals to a "good life," and nonvegans are reframed as good shepherds of sustainability and community health.

The irony of erasing nonhuman mothering and childhood is especially poignant in the American "milk carton kids" affair. Missing children notices were memorably printed on milk cartons for a time in the 1980s in a campaign to locate the disappeared. When a boy went missing on his newspaper route one morning in Iowa, desperate relatives turned to their family business and began printing his image on the back of their product (99% Invisible 2015). In addition to its primary purpose of spreading awareness, the campaign's latent function was evidenced in its ability to bond, connect, and repair the human community in a time of crisis. What began with one local "dairy" would soon spread to the cartons of competitors seeking similar altruistic recognition. The pretense of caring helps a brand to stand out, and capitalizing on missing children cases would be no exception. "Dairy cows" thus extended their maternalism beyond the baby bottles of infants and the lunchboxes of school children. Now it embraced motherless children scattered to the winds, suffering unimaginable violence at the hands of presumably male perpetrators. Historian Paul Mokrzycki-Renfro comments, "There is a sense of familial unity that I think milk helps to offer; maternal nurturance. And also being this item around which people gather" (99% Invisible 2015). Like the frantic human mothers, "dairy cows," too, seemed to be calling the milk carton kids back to their bosom.

Of course, the nonhuman children of these milking mothers—the calves—were never themselves considered worthy of notice. *Their* abduction and *their* assault are only a matter of course. The violence that these nonhuman children endure is unsettling and is strategically hidden from view. Hundreds of "dairies" volunteered their services to the milk carton campaign, and their participation served as a gesture of good will, but more than a civic duty, these missing children notices also humane-washed the product. In the process, nonhuman children were further invisibilized, and the exploitation of their mothers was further romanticized.

Ultimately, the milk carton campaign was not successful in bringing missing children home, but the campaign *did* raise awareness about violence against children. That is, it brought light to male violence. As a result of this uncomfortable exposure, the campaign was deemed depressing and traumatizing; it began to foster negative responses from consumers. Humane-washing and maternalism, having been employed with the intention of selling more product, were thus subsumed by the overpowering reminder of patriarchal violence. As a result, the "dairies" ceased participation. Drawing attention to missing children of any species is bad for business.

MILKING THEM FOR ALL THEY'RE WORTH

Vegan feminism seeks to make visible that which is made invisible in humane-washed industry narratives, and the 2014 film release *The Herd* exemplifies a graphic attempt to enact this strategy. The film's plot rests on the captivity and torture of several young women who are exploited for their breast milk (and one prepubescent girl who will presumably replace the older captives in maintenance of the system). Viewers are encouraged to consider how the normalized, institutional captivity and torture of female bodies is a horror show in the human context but entirely routine in the nonhuman context. The film subsequently bills itself as a vegan feminist project, but vegan feminist theory is not so simplistic. Indeed, the film actually presents itself as an example of important shortcomings in single-issue veganism.

Veganism, too, can be complacent in obscuring the experiences and the suffering of vulnerable groups by more privileged media producers and storytellers. Most, if not all, of the women featured in *The Herd*, for instance, appear to be white-identified. This invisibilizes the experiences of many women of color who already feel the strain of embodied institutionalized exploitation. These experiences are no fantasy of film production; what is unthinkable for privileged women is a strategy of survival for destitute women. *The Herd*, in other words, asks the audience to think critically about the female suffering involved in food production, but it fails to acknowledge how this feminized oppression is endured by nonhuman *and* human bodies. Indeed, while vegan spaces enjoy a female majority and are generally presumed inclusive, they are notoriously white- and Western-centric (Wrenn 2016). The presumably privileged location of the filmmakers likely accounts for the film's failure to acknowledge how very normalized the exploitation of breastfeeding mothers actually is within the capitalist system, regardless of species. Vulnerable groups are subject to systemic violation, which is otherwise thought a sacred or fundamental right to more privileged mothers. To have autonomy over one's own lactation and custody over one's own young is a marker of social privilege, humans included. Many poor women are pressured into adoption at incredible profit to charities and governments (Joyce 2013), or coerced into using unhealthful infant formulas at the behest of the large food corporations that produce them (Gaard 2013). Wealthier women, in the meantime, are privileged enough to purchase the breast milk of other women for their children if they so desire, and it is disproportionately poor women who will feel compelled to sell their milk to satisfy this demand.[20] Indeed, women of color—colonized, enslaved, or otherwise oppressed—have long acted as wet nurses to more privileged women (Joshel 1986). Today, they continue this tradition in a patriarchal capitalist system that commodifies their milk. As *The New York Times* reports: "Breast milk, that most ancient and fundamental of nourishments, is becoming an industrial commodity [. . .]" (Pollack 2015). While male-owned corporations stand to profit, vulnerable women, especially women of color, are apt to exploitation. In response to one company's attempt to target African American women in Detroit, for example, the Black Mothers Breastfeeding Association in solidarity with a number of other similar organizations penned an open letter that urged: " [. . .] African American women have been impacted traumatically by historical commodification of our bodies. Given the economic incentives, we are deeply concerned that women will be coerced into diverting milk that they would otherwise feed their own babies" (Green 2015).

Eggs and wombs, too, are increasingly commodified. Poor women are encouraged to "donate" eggs for a compensation of a few thousand dollars. Besides the potential psychological consequences of doing so, there are a number of physical risks involved, including an inability for donors to have their own children afterwards (Pearson 2006). The surrogacy industry is another affront to women's well-being. While women in the United States also act as surrogates for hire, increasingly childbirth is being outsourced to developing nations, namely India, China, and the Ukraine (Twine 2015). Through this control of reproduction, patriarchy and anthroparchy thus serve similar functions in the capitalist system:

> [. . .] both daughters and dairy cows were the property of males who presumed the right to force females—whether they be called wives, slaves, or livestock—to bear more or different offspring than they would otherwise choose. [. . .] both require fairly relentless preoccupation with and control of reproduction [. . .] (jones 2014b, 98)

This legacy harkens to the shared word origin of "husband" and "husbandry," terms that imply patriarchal mastery and control over both wives and "livestock." The commodification of female bodies is not only a vegan issue but also a feminist one.

It would be a mistake for vegan feminist theory to overlook this visceral shared experience between human and nonhuman females. Forced sex and impregnation was and *is* a lived reality for many women. As with unproductive nonhumans in speciesist institutions, women can also face neglect or death for failing to produce an heir. Henry VIII famously ordered the public execution of Anne Boleyn and several other wives for failing their duties in this regard. However, many women in India and other developing nations face disfigurement or execution in "accidental fires" and acid attacks for failing to produce adequate capital for their husbands, be it sufficient dowry, adequate servitude in the home, or the production of a male heir (Stone and James 1995).

BUYING AND SELLING BODIES

In early 2016, beachgoers in Argentina spied and captured a newborn Franciscana dolphin,[21] pulling her from the water and releasing her to the mercy of dozens of grabbing hands hoping to use her as a photo prop. As the story went viral and made international news, audiences were horrified by the cruelty this infant endured. Outside of the normalizing confines of capitalist industry, her death was seen as tragic, and yet, there was nothing necessarily unexpected about her treatment. The Kimmela Center for Animal Advocacy (2016) explains:

> It is difficult not to see the connection between how this young dolphin was used and what happens at the institutionalized versions known as zoos, aquariums and circuses. The only difference is that one has to pay for a ticket to gawk at, touch or ride on the animals at one of these facilities. But the psychology is the same.

As this incident demonstrates, anthroparchal-patriarchal capitalism facilitates a social structure that normalizes the exploitation of vulnerable bodies for the entertainment of those in power.

Here, again, the connection to women's struggle is strong. Prostituted women endure comparable debasement and violation, their bodies treated as commodities to be bought, sold, and used. Much of the abuse she endures (groping, hitting, or aggressive penetration) is not included in her price and is certainly not consented to. Once commodified, however, her abuse becomes institutionalized and sanctioned. The cruel violation and violence inflicted on the infant South American dolphin who passed away in a state of terror as she was passed through the hands of so many excited and entitled humans highlights how vulnerable feminized bodies of all make remain in a society where the owning and consuming of bodies is a culturally valid practice. Rates of assault, rape, and murder are high for prostituted girls and women (Moran 2013). Nonprostituted women, too, are endangered in a society that normalizes the entitlement to feminized bodies. Research demonstrates that the legalization of prostitution, for instance, creates a sharp increase in demand (Jeffreys 2008). Sex trafficking increases as a result, as does the likelihood of experiencing sexual assault for all women in the community, prostituted or not. Likewise, research also demonstrates that the arrival of slaughterhouses in a community increases the prevalence of rape against female citizens (Jacques 2015). The commodification of some female bodies, even if comprising only a particular subset of the larger population, spells danger and degradation for *all* female bodies.

Women and Nonhuman Animals are the original proletariats. They are less likely (or not likely at all) to own land or any means of production. To survive, they rely only on their labor. In many ways, however, this contract with the state (the exchange of labor for survival in society) is not consensual. As survivor of prostitution Rachel Moran (2013, 159) explains, "[. . .] choice and consent are erroneous concepts here. Their invalidity rests on the fact that woman's compliance in prostitution is a response to circumstances beyond her control, and this produces an environment which prohibits even the possibility of true consent." In other words, an extremely exploitative economic system severely reduces or even eliminates agency. It is a system that predisposes feminized bodies for entry into exploitative industries. Moran (2013, 183) presses us to consider that, so long as prostitution is deemed an acceptable institution in some areas of society and entry into the industry depends on one's social vulnerability, women *as a class* are oppressed in this context. "The acceptance of prostitution," she offers, "makes all women potential prostitutes in the public view [. . .]." The ideology of misogyny thus normalizes the buying and selling of bodies and degrades the status of women in general. Moran's logic can be expanded to suppose that, so long as the consumption of Nonhuman Animals is deemed acceptable, no feminized group will be safe. In a system that normalizes the exploitation, ownership, and consumption of female bodies, all manner of feminized persons are made vulnerable. Misogynistic scripts can be enacted on anyone in almost any context, so long as they are deemed legitimate in the culture.

Because so much of the work undertaken by human and nonhuman females is nonconsensual, undercompensated, and unpaid in capitalist societies, a discussion of the relationship between the capitalist system and the slave system is also warranted. Slave and capitalist systems are often conceptualized as distinct systems, with the rationalized capitalist system (boasting a supposed equality of opportunity) overtaking the irrational slave system (wherein social mobility and consent are privileges enjoyed only by the owning class). The victory of the industrialized American North over slavery in the South is one popular narrative that depicts capitalism as prevailing in the name of democracy. It is, however, a misnomer that slavery ended with abolition in the United States (Baptist 2014). Capitalism, in fact, continues to foster the systematic ownership of vulnerable groups. It *necessitates* nonconsensual use of others' bodies and labor in a number of ways. The American North profited considerably from slavery before emancipation in the 1860s. For that matter, many institutions of the North were made possible or at least viable by the original boost of wealth and labor provided by slavery. By way of an example, many prestigious northern universities such as Yale, Brown, and Harvard were launched with donations made by wealthy slave "owners" in the community (Wilder 2013). Some of the grounds were built and maintained by enslaved persons as well.

The feminist perspective understands the slave system as a patriarchal one (Wertz 1984). As a dominated group, enslaved persons can be understood as feminized. When slavery as an institution is conceptualized as inclusive of Nonhuman Animals, this gendering becomes stronger. Rarely, however, is the nonhuman experience considered in the Western or global historical narrative of progress. Millions upon millions of horses were and still are purposefully bred, broken, and driven to their deaths after years in the harness pulling humans and cargo in the name of commerce (Nibert 2013). Many whale populations were brought to the brink of extinction as millions drowned or exsanguinated at the end of a harpoon to fuel the lamps that lit streets and factories. Billions and billions of animal bodies were born, killed, processed, and consumed by workers of all industries. Again, these relationships are not only anthroparchal but also patriarchal, as they demonstrate male power over feminized, vulnerable nonhumans.

When the critical lens is explicitly gendered, the enslavement of female bodies becomes visible as foundational to a viable capitalist system. Slavery as a mode of production may predate the capitalist system, but it does not exist outside of it. Slavery was only absorbed and masked by ideologies of free markets and equality of opportunity. Indeed, there are more slaves toiling in today's economy than at any other point of human history, including the era of the transatlantic slave trade (U.S. Department of State 2013). Most of these slaves are girls, women, and other animals (Free the Slaves 2015).[22]

INTERSEX AND GAY ANIMALS ON THE MARGINS

While this chapter has argued that the state relies extensively on the exploitation of the female body, it is important to acknowledge that other bodies, thus feminized, are also necessary for the state's function. Importantly, transfeminist theory recognizes that the "female body" in the strict biological sense is inconsistent; bodies vary tremendously across species and resist clear categorization (Noble 2012). It also recognizes that one need not possess a vulva, vagina, or cervix in order to be feminized. Recall that gender refers to role, not biology. Femininity as a category depends on subservience in relation to masculinity. In other words, anybody of any make or shape can be feminized if they are oppressed under patriarchal conditions.

Nonetheless, female bodies in possession of wombs that are capable of biological reproduction are especially prized under capitalism. Those bodies which are thought "incomplete" in this regard may be especially endangered. As with the human species, intersexuality exists among farmed animals as well at about the same rate of 1 in 2,000 (Abdel-Hameed 1971; Davis 2015). Like their human counterparts, intersex farmed animals (referred to as "free martins" by speciesist industries) are pathologized. This is evident when "farmers" speak to the difficulty in "diagnosing" this "abnormal" (read: infertile and unproductive) body type. While intersexuality cannot be prevented, the genitals of baby animals are inspected for quality assurance, and defectors are presumably destroyed. The Oklahoma Cooperative Extension Service explains: "The cattleman [*sic*] can predict the reproductive value of this heifer calf at birth and save the feed and development costs if he is aware of the high probability of freemartinism" (Lyon 2007). As with male-bodied "dairy calves," male-bodied chicks, and other undesirables in the capitalist system, intersex animals are not deemed valuable enough to warrant nourishment and care. They are denied the right to exist.

The treatment of intersex farmed animals mirrors closely that of intersex human animals, many of whom have undergone painful and impairing, nonconsensual surgeries by medical practitioners who likewise understand the intersex body as deviant and problematic in a binary society. The intersex community has protested these "corrective" surgeries, as well as the hormonal treatments that are often administered as an act of state violence (Davis 2015). For humans and nonhumans in the capitalist system, a body that cannot produce is a body that is not valued.[23] This lack of productive value is at once a site of extreme vulnerability.

The intersex body, both human and nonhuman, disrupts a gender-based hierarchical society and is apt to state manipulation, control, and extermination. Ecofeminist pattrice jones (2014b) suggests that a gendered capitalist system, so thoroughly reliant on reproduction for its sustenance and growth, also mandates a "compulsory heterosexuality" whereby homosexual or asexual animals are forced into heterosexual relationships. While much of this systemic violence is associated with the horrors of factory farms in "breeding" practices, even innocuous animal businesses engage in compulsory heterosexuality. jones (2014b, 97) explains: "Dog lovers who decry puppy mills still feel free to decide whether, when, and with whom the canines under their control will partner." A gendered capitalist system is thus inherently exploitative of heterosexuality and the female body, but it also exists as a source of immeasurable violence and marginalization for nonconforming bodies and orientations.

FEMALE LABOR IN THE NONHUMAN ANIMAL RIGHTS INDUSTRIAL COMPLEX

While the industries of capitalism hold considerable blame in the exploitation of female bodies, it is interesting that similar misogynistic mechanisms also surface in the efforts to disrupt them. A primary reason for this occurrence springs from the tendency for social movements to themselves become agents of capitalism (Chasin 2000; Smith 2007). Care, empathy, love, and even sex are vulnerable to commodification in social justice industries. As movements raise social awareness to inequalities, they also inspire new markets when emerging concerns can be monetized and activism can be bought and sold. Furthermore, gender difference and sexism lubricate market processes, and, unfortunately, this relationship does not cease to be relevant in the confines of social change spaces. As capitalism infiltrates movements, scripts of misogyny simply transfer to resource mobilization efforts. This happens in at least two ways. First, the bodies of human women are exploited to provide free or meagerly compensated labor, sexually or otherwise.[24] Adams (1996) observes that women's caregiving roles are invisibilized in anti-speciesism spaces, largely a result of a patriarchal culture that is also unacknowledged. Secondly, the bodies of feminized nonhumans (and disproportionately female-bodied nonhumans at that) are exploited without consent to the benefit of activists or organizations.

Researchers have noted that social movements fundamentally rely on gender in both emergence and outcome (Taylor 1999). This reliance has not always developed from an equitable relationship. To name just a few examples, the abolitionists of the nineteenth century (Davis 1981), the Civil Rights movement of the mid-twentieth century (Robnett 1997), and the gay liberation movement of more recent times (Chasin 2000) have documented histories of exploiting women's labor in the service of more visible male leaders. The Nonhuman Animal rights movement, too, while estimated to be 80 percent female-identified, is predominantly led by men and disproportionately celebrates male contributions (Gaarder 2011).[25] In the patriarchal and hierarchical structure of a corporatized social movement space, the threat to female integrity is *inherent*. More and more Nonhuman Animal rights organizations rely on female labor for efficient and economic operations. Much of this work is voluntary, while the rest is extremely underpaid (Coulter 2016).[26] In addition to the drudgery work relegated to women in Nonhuman Animal advocacy, women are also disproportionately engaged in emotional labor (Adams 1996; Coulter 2016; Gaarder 2011), a pattern that is especially pertinent in the affecting and psychologically taxing space of protest (Jasper 2011).

Increasingly, this exploited labor comes in the form of prostitution. That is, women are recruited to enter public spaces adorned with little or no clothing to attract passersby. This attraction is expected to translate into social, cultural, and economic capital such as notoriety, membership, or donations. While some of these prostituted women are admirably attempting to raise awareness to Nonhuman Animal suffering, it is an important distinction that these activities almost always take place within the confines of the organizational identity. Women may be holding signs featuring the organization's name or logo (sometimes the branding is as prominent as the anti-speciesist message itself), or the participants may be distributing leaflets or fliers that are heavily decorated with the organization's information. Women's bodies are thus sold on street corners to the advantage of "nonprofit" pimps. The oppression of female bodies is as much a matter of securing wealth as it is a matter of securing male privilege. Nonhuman Animals, whose bodies are pictured in this protest imagery, are also used for organizational gain in this way. They, too, are feminized, and their participation in campaigns are not consensual. Indeed, the sexist exploitation of women and other animals blend seamlessly in protest, protecting the very hierarchies of domination they were designed to dismantle.

LIBERATORY VEGAN FEMINIST FUTURES

A vegan feminist theory of the state identifies a species-inclusive patriarchal social structure that is dependent upon hierarchy and domination. Male violence flourishes under capitalism, while powerful misogynistic ideologies naturalize or invisibilize feminized oppression. Capitalism's false promise of equality in opportunity is a privilege enjoyed only by groups in power and has little meaning for most women and other animals. Feminist scholars have suggested a reconfiguring of society in general but also the domestic sphere in particular, so that all genders can experience liberation (Allen 2009). If Nonhuman Animals are not accounted for in the feminist vision for the future, however, the scripts of misogyny will remain viable, and oppression will remain ever present. The redesigned home front would need to ensure the elimination of Nonhuman Animal products from the closets, cabinets, and dinner table. As ruling classes gain in power, their consumption of animal foods and nonhuman labor increases. The process applies to entire societies as they rise in the global system and begin to amass wealth (Sans and Combris 2015). Speciesism is as integral to upholding capitalism as is sexism, and speciesism is made possible by the same misogynistic scripts. A feminist approach to dismantling capitalism must include a vegan component, or it is rendered impotent.

Capitalism systematically exploits feminized bodies for smooth and efficient functioning. To do so, it engages class oppression, it stigmatizes and devalues disabled and intersex bodies, and it aggravates sexism and racism in human communities, in addition to the billions of nonhumans also impacted. The strength of vegan feminist theory lies in its intersectional consciousness to these processes (Kemmerer 2011). That is, it recognizes that oppression under capitalism directly impacts the life chances and well-being of various marginalized identities, human *and* nonhuman. Intersectionality theory, born of Black feminism, notes that racism, sexism, classism, and other systems exist in a matrix of domination (Collins 2003). Ecofeminist theory grounds this matrix in the larger natural environment, ensuring that Nonhuman Animals and ecosystems are included in the framework. In turn, vegan feminism emerges from this ecofeminist dialogue to distinguish species as an identity in its own right. While it acknowledges that barriers of access can make participation difficult for some, it also positions veganism as a more or less obligatory expression of political solidarity for other species. In the Marxian tradition, vegan feminists nurture an imagination for change and employ consciousness-raising as a regular tactic. This is an approach promoted by MacKinnon (1989) as well, prized for its power to subversively challenge an oppressive system.

As a juggernaut of oppression, capitalism will require collectively engaged disruption in a number of ways in addition to shared awareness. First, those with the means of doing so can discontinue the consumption of Nonhuman

Animal products, *all* of which are sourced from a relationship of domination. This is important as a political matter, and, to a lesser extent, an economic one. Politically speaking, veganism represents solidarity with oppressed nonhumans. It sends a message of dissatisfaction with a speciesist social structure and desire for justice. Veganism educates, and it leads by example. As an economic matter, anti-speciesist consumption can also contribute to the struggle in the promotion of vegan companies. However, nonvegan industries are intensely powerful and politically protected. Vegan research does not reliably indicate that purchasing-power can significantly manipulate the structure of the food system given the immense control that industry lobbyists wield over the state (Simon 2013; Wrenn 2011, 2016). In other words, activists may be disappointed should they presume to fight capitalism with capitalism. A more sophisticated strategy will be required.

A vegan feminist theory of the state offers not only a critique of the anthroparchal-patriarchal capitalist system but also an imagination for a just future. Upturning capitalism will necessitate, at the very least, a disruption of misogynistic scripts. It will necessitate the abolition of prostitution, pornography, nonvegan food systems, and other institutions that involve the commodification and domination of feminized groups. It also requires an egalitarian approach to social justice activism, one that does not compromise women's integrity in order to "sell" concern for Nonhuman Animals. In short, a species-inclusive critique of the capitalist state will be incomplete if it remains gender-neutral in its scope.

As Kendra Coulter (2016) insists, an "inter-species solidarity" is imperative. It is the *hierarchical structure* of anthroparchy, patriarchy, and capitalism that must be dismantled. The very concepts of "gender," "species," and "class" must ultimately be questioned as these are categories known to serve hierarchies. Hierarchies are themselves social constructions and are thus vulnerable to radical change. In the socialist tradition, Gilman (1911) envisions a society where work is communally conducted, not disproportionately burdened on the lowest classes (Allen 2009). Silvia Federici (2012) also suggests that recreating the commons is one important feminist means of resisting the alienating nature of capitalism. As such, moving away from a corporatized nonprofit structure that monetizes activism to instead embrace a structure that is grassroots and community-based might be appropriate. Values that characterize nonprofitization (privatization, concentrated power, hierarchies of authority, allegiances to industry and the state, copyrighting, and controlled resources) are contrary to vegan feminist goals. The commons is community-centered, not capital-centered.

In said commons, the interests of *all* persons must be accounted for. Gilman (1911) imagined a vegetarian society[27] in her utopian novel *Moving the Mountain*, where "hunting," zookeeping, and even predation ceased to exist. More recently, Federici (2012, 145) continues this species-inclusive approach, insisting that overcoming our "state of constant denial and irresponsibility" in regard to our consumption patterns is a vital first step for reconstructing the commons. In this regard, veganism is feminist resistance. It rejects the legitimacy of powerful groups that dominate and consume less powerful groups. Veganism imagines a society grounded in respect for the autonomy and dignity of all bodies.[28] Subsequently, veganism may speak specifically to the plight of Nonhuman Animals, but it holds genuine implications for other feminized bodies as well. The forced domination of feminized bodies constitutes an injustice. As a consequence, veganism must be absorbed into the repertoire for change, as it explicitly acknowledges that consumption is socially constructed and, at present, hierarchical. MacKinnon (1989, 140) writes of sexual objectification, "To be sexually objectified means having a social meaning imposed on your being that defines you as to be sexually used, according to your desired uses, and then using you that way. Doing this is sex in the male system." It is a mistake to ignore the plight of Nonhuman Animals in the context of socialist or feminist analysis. Nonhuman Animals experience sexual objectification as the designated nonhuman other; they, too, are feminized and sexually exploited by a patriarchal capitalist system.

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NOTES

1. This is a term developed by Erika Cudworth (2011) which refers to the institutionalization of human domination.

2. Language that is speciesist, sexist, or euphemistic will be placed in quotation marks to denote its contested meaning.

3. Adams (1996) refers to this as the "sex-species system."

4. Schaef actually understands addiction and patriarchy to be mutually supporting.

5. This term is meant to encompass urban-dwelling and domesecrated animals who are often invisibilized by the natural/"man-made" binary (Noske 1989).

6. Some scholars disagree with this interpretation and instead understand Marx's scant writings on women's condition to be much more feminist in nature (Brown 2012).

7. Modern sociological research demonstrates that women's employment outside of the home does not damage children and may actually advantage them (Barnett and Rivers 2004).

8. Some of Marx's writings acknowledge the capitalist exploitation and genetic manipulation of Nonhuman Animal bodies (what he describes as "disgusting") already well underway in Victorian England and Ireland (Saito 2016).

9. "Happy meat" is the colloquial term used in vegan spaces for Nonhuman Animal products that are purportedly produced in humane conditions.

10. As one common example of this response, please see the video, *Does Feminism Require Vegetarianism or Veganism?* by popular feminist project, *Everyday Feminism* (Edell 2016).

11. "Sheeps" here is used intentionally to avoid mass terms, which work to objectify other animals.

12. Information on agricultural practices is derived from fact sheets produced by nonprofits such as Farm Sanctuary.

13. While women's work plays an important function, this importance should not negate the inherent conflict to the arrangement. Given the opportunity, many women might opt for greater agency and independence in their economic condition.

14. Wives and mothers have never been universally isolated or completely powerless. As Schirmer (1989) identifies in women's collective action against institutionalized violence, motherhood can be political. Mothers may also be deeply committed to civic engagement in the public sphere, as evidenced in the influence of the National Parent-Teacher Association (Crawford and Levitt 1999). Mothers (and house-husbands/stay-at-home fathers) certainly utilize public spaces to engage in parenting and other collective behaviors, and binary notions of public and private realms can invisibilize this citizenship (Prokhovnik 1998).

15. Sociologist Gail Dines (2010) notes that pornography magazines enjoy levels of popularity comparable to "hunting" magazines and other publications themed in violence, demonstrating an important intersection of sexism and speciesism in the marketplace.

16. Only 48 percent of killers stalking deer in 2011 were successful. This number is double that of the mid-twentieth century before the industrialization of "hunting" (Dougherty 2013). The success rate for killing other "food" animals such as turkeys is much lower (Prettyman 2010).

17. Bregott is a Swedish "dairy" company.

18. Information on agricultural practices is derived from fact sheets produced by nonprofits such as Farm Sanctuary.

19. Dines (2010) argues that the *Playboy* enterprise explicitly appeals to an imagined upper class ideal to encourage consumption. Lower class persons who desire social mobility may consume *Playboy* pornography to attain a sense of being higher classed, while higher class persons who consume the decidedly less "classy" *Hustler* material can do so without an affront to their identity as a sort of "slum-diving." Speciesist industries engage this play on class identity in the marketing of Nonhuman Animal products as well.

20. Some mothers exchange breast milk freely as a community service online or through milk banks. Having access to networks of this kind or the leisure time to donate, however, will also reflect the social privilege of participants (Azema and Callahan 2003; Lindemann et al. 2004).

21. Also known as the La Plata dolphin, the Franciscana dolphin is an endangered species native to South American oceans and estuaries.

22. Reports on trafficking and slavery do not generally include the plight of Nonhuman Animals.

23. Cis-women, too, who are childfree, involuntarily childless, or infertile can experience stigma (Miall 1986).

24. Lauren Ornelas, founder of the Food Empowerment Project, discusses the gender disparities in compensation in a panel presented at the Resistance Ecology Conference 2015 titled "Critiquing Privilege in Animal Advocacy Circles." It is available on Vimeo at https://vimeo.com/131004617.

25. As of early 2016, 66 percent of the inductees to the Animal Rights Hall of Fame operated by Farm Animal Rights Movement (FARM) are male. As of March 23, 2016, 60 percent of the best-selling books on Amazon in the category of "Animal Rights" are male-authored.

26. According to the HSUS 2013 990 IRS form, the average salary for its highest compensated male employees is $166,080, while the average salary for its highest compensated female employees is only $90,526. This is a difference of 54 percent and partially reflects the absence of women in more prestigious, better-compensated positions in the organization. As further evidence, the 2014 990 IRS form filed by Farm Sanctuary reports only one female employee as highly compensated; Vegan Outreach's 2014 form reports none. These figures do not include the litany of other affiliates who are not reported on IRS documents. These organizations, however, rely heavily on female volunteers. For instance, Vegan Outreach's street team (available at http://www.teamvegan.biz/team) is, at the time of this writing, approximately three-fourths female-presenting.

27. This utopian society is not wholly vegetarian. Gilman (1911, 74) imagines that "meat" could be available on request in the now familiar "happy meat" vein. One character in the novel explains, "The way we manage about meat is this: A proper proportion of edible animals are raised under good conditions—nice, healthy, happy beasts; killed so that they don't know it!—and never kept beyond a certain time limit."

28. Ecofeminists in particular promote social relations that are based on caregiving and community (Adams 1996), which directly challenges the exploitative and conflict-focused domination approach favored by capitalism.

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10

Nonhuman Animal Metaphors and the Reinforcement of Homophobia and Heterosexism

Luis Cordeiro-Rodrigues

Homophobia and heterosexism are two phenomena present in most contemporary societies. In this article, *homophobia* is understood as "fear, unreasonable anger, intolerance or/and hatred towards homosexuality" (ILGA–Europe 2013). *Heterosexism* is defined as the discriminatory system that targets gays, lesbians, and bisexuals; this includes, for example, unequal marriage laws that allow different sex couples to marry but not same-sex couples. Portugal is an example of a country where many individuals are homophobic and that operates a heterosexist system. Even though it has made some advances in institutionalizing the rights of sexual minorities, there is still significant discrimination towards gays, lesbians, and bisexuals (A. C. Santos 2012). In this article, I have two objectives. The first objective is to describe a representational schema that predominates in homophobia towards gay and bisexual men in Portugal. I will defend that this representational schema strongly relies on casting gays and bisexuals in the image of nonhuman animals. This is noticeable in the kind of metaphors used to insult gay and bisexual men in Portugal. Hence, my argument is that homophobia towards gay and bisexual men is expressed through images of nonhuman animality. The parallel is insulting for gay and bisexual men to the extent that it aims to dehumanize them. The second objective is to argue that the homophobic metaphors used reinforce a heterosexist system in relation to gay and bisexual men in the areas of family law, health, and violence. The reason why they do so is because these metaphors express the same kind of prejudice that is used to justify discrimination in these aforementioned areas.

By defending this, I do not mean to claim that homophobia and heterosexism in Portugal can be reduced to nonhuman animal imagery of gays and bisexuals. The point is rather to demonstrate that images of nonhuman animality have been largely neglected in the conceptualization of homophobia and heterosexism in Portugal, even though these images play an important role in homophobia in the Portuguese context.

A question that may come up is why I do not also focus on lesbians and transgendered individuals, as most LGBT social movements address the struggles of these individuals as a group, and there does seem to be a connection between these forms of oppression. The reason why I do not include lesbians is because the kind of nonhuman animal slurs used to insult them in Portugal are, broadly speaking, the same as those used to denigrate heterosexual women. This suggests that the conceptualization of discrimination towards lesbian women is more akin to the sexism women suffer than in general than the case of discrimination here. In fact, the kind of discrimination men and women suffer, independent of their sexual orientation, is fundamentally different (Benatar 2012). There are, of course, similarities, but my point is that given the distinct form of insults used against gay and bisexual men, for which a different case study is needed .

There are at least two reasons why I do not include transgender individuals in this article. First, while the normative challenges arising for gays and bisexuals are related to having a sexual orientation towards the same-sex, in the case of transgender, the normative challenges result from a gender identity conflict. Second, in general terms, the interests of transgender individuals are distinct from the interests of gay and bisexual men. Some of these interests include an interest in changing one's official name, having aesthetic operations, changing one's own sexual organ, among other interests (ILGA-Europe, 2013). As a consequence of these different demands, the sentiment against transgender individuals is different from those against bisexual and gay men.

This chapter is organized as follows. In the first section, I contend that in capitalist societies, such as Portugal, nonhuman animals are valued for their utility value for human beings. This generates a tripartite typology of other animals: "domesticated," "wild," and "liminal." In this typology, the ones at the top of the rank with the highest utility value are "domesticated animals," then comes "wild animals," with "liminal animals" situated at the end. In the second section, I defend the idea that metaphors are not only revealing of how individuals perceive social reality, but they also have cognitive functions; that is, they influence how individuals perceive the world. In the third section, I contend that using nonhuman animal metaphors is a way to dehumanize and "other" individuals, and I explain how such metaphors are used in Portugal to refer to gay and bisexual men. Finally, in the fourth section, I demonstrate how the nonhuman animal metaphors mentioned in the previous section perpetuate instances of homophobia and heterosexism towards gay and bisexual men in the areas of family law, health care, and physical and psychological violence. In short, my argument is that metaphors are a form of legitimizing discrimination in family law, health, and a form of self-justification for acts of violence against gay and bisexual men.

A TRIPARTITE NONHUMAN ANIMAL TYPOLOGY

Capitalism is a mark of the contemporary West. Western society, Portugal included, is embedded in the economic system of capitalism (B. de S. Santos 2014; Sennett 2007). Capitalist societies have specific cultures (Gramsci 2012), and in such a culture, everything and everyone tends to become commoditized (Robbins 2004). Commodification means that the value of each person or object in a capitalist society is assigned and perceived as a utility value. In other words, in a society with a capitalist culture, the perceived value of everything—things and persons—tends to be dependent on its instrumental value. The reason why this is the case is because the incentives for action are routinely associated with the instrumental value of the goal of that action.

The same logic applies to nonhuman animals. In contemporary Western societies, including Portugal, nonhuman animals are primarily defined according to their economic relation to economic agents (human beings) and how these perceive other animals' utility value (Stewart and Cole 2009). Those nonhuman animals who are perceived as useful for humans are accorded high utility value, whereas other animals that are perceived as being somehow harmful are assigned a low value (Francione 1995; Stewart and Cole 2009).

Humans, as a result of this commodification, generate nonhuman animal typologies (Benton 1996; Stewart and Cole 2009; Donaldson and Kymlicka 2013). The dynamics of these typologies are explained below from a contemporary Western perspective. However, it is important to bear in mind that these typologies are contingent and socially constructed and therefore culturally and historically variable (Stewart and Cole 2009).

With regard to the socially assigned utility given to nonhuman animals, it can be stated that these can be categorized in a tripartite typology.

Namely, this typology divides other animals into "domesticated, wild and liminal animals" (Donaldson and Kymlicka 2013). Each category is usually assigned different levels of utility.

"Domesticated animals" are the ones that are given higher utility and are those nonhuman animals whose preferences throughout history have been manipulated by humans so they can best serve human interests. This process, involving substantial violation of other animals' negative and positive freedoms, has led these beings to have, broadly speaking, docile bodies and behaviors, which make them follow human interests rather than their own. This category of nonhuman animals includes "pets" such as cats and dogs and farmed animals such as cows, pigs, and chickens. Dogs offer the most illustrative case of how these nonhuman animals' behaviors have been manipulated. Indeed, many breeds of dog have been routinely caged, beaten, and selectively bred throughout history so that they can transform in ways that meet humans' interests (Donaldson and Kymlicka 2013). The reason why these other animals are given higher utility status is because obviously they fulfill humans' interests more often. Farmed animals meet human interests because they are used for food (Leach 1989), while "pets" have affective functions they can fulfill in a human-dominated household (Stewart and Cole 2009). Hence, due to the fact that these other animals play such important functions in contemporary Portuguese society, they are given high levels of utility.[1]

The nonhuman animals that receive, generally speaking, the second level of higher utility value are "wild animals." From a Western perspective, these are normally other animals who live in communities separate from human communities, are autonomous, and do not normally wish to mix with humans (Donaldson and Kymlicka 2013). Some examples of these nonhuman animals are lions, elephants, tigers, and giraffes. The utility attributed to these nonhuman animals in the West has to do mainly with two core ideas. Firstly, the utility resulting from the touristic value that these other animals offer; that is, they are perceived as commodities that are valuable for the aesthetic pleasure given to those who watch them in nature parks, zoos, safaris in the wild, and so forth (Cole and Stewart 2014). Secondly, utility is assigned to these nonhuman animals because they are perceived as having a close link with the highly socially valued ideology of ecological conservation. In the West, what is routinely the most socially convincing argument for protecting other animals is that this is all part of protecting the ecosystem and the diversity of species (Kim 2015). "Wild animals," like the ones mentioned above, are often socially perceived as important in the preservation of ecosystems and are valued because of this.

Finally, the nonhuman animals that are socially given less value are often "liminal animals," like rats, deer, raccoons, spiders, insects in general, and snakes (Donaldson and Kymlicka 2013). "Liminal animals" are those that live in human communities but are not “domesticated.” Rather, they are “wild animals” living amongst humans. Although they share the same geographical space, they routinely avoid human contact. Thus, these other animals have an in-between status, that is, between “wild animals” and “domesticated animals” (Donaldson and Kymlicka 2013). These beings are usually victims of stigma and are often considered invaders of human territory who do not have the right to live within human communities (Donaldson and Kymlicka 2013). In fact, this can be noticed not only by the lack of legal protections in place to defend these nonhuman animals, but also through the campaigns of mass extermination carried out against them. Legally speaking, there is no legislation with regard to limiting humans harming rats, snakes, and similar nonhuman animals. This contrasts with the status of “wild and domesticated animals” that, comparatively speaking, are significantly more protected from human harm (Schaffner 2010). “Liminal animals” are thus absolute pariahs of the legal system. On top of this, humans regularly engage in campaigns including trapping, expelling, poisoning, and creating a variety of lethal barriers to constrain these other animals from entering human territory (Donaldson and Kymlicka 2013).

To sum up, in contemporary capitalist Western society, which includes the Portuguese social reality, nonhuman animals are commoditized, and this is substantiated by a tripartite typology that ranks them according to their utility value to humans. Routinely, the social value given to “domesticated animals” is quite high, that for “wild animals” is medium, and for “liminal animals,” the value is low. I have contended that this typology includes, by order of higher to lower utility assigned, “domesticated, wild, and liminal animals.”

CULTURE, LANGUAGE, AND CONCEPTUAL METAPHOR THEORY IN OTHERING

Human beings are cultural beings. This means that the groups with which humans socialize provide an epistemological basis on which to understand the world and a normative groundwork for acting within it. Epistemologically speaking, the cultural environment influences individuals’ mode of reasoning, evaluating, and expressing (Young 2011). The way the world is perceived strongly depends on what one is taught in one’s own culture. For example, a man who engages in polygamy in a Bantu culture is routinely perceived to be someone who is helping the community flourish because various aspects of such a culture encourage polygamy (Metz 2007). Contrastingly, in Western society, a man who is polygamous is likely to be considered disrespectful of women’s rights, and, indeed, the practice is illegal in most Western countries (Morin 1996). By affirming that culture provides the normative groundwork for acting, I mean that culture is important for one's practical identity, that is "those features of a person that ground at least some of their reasons to act" (Festenstein 2005, 10). Therefore, social relations are a "source, or at least an important source, of a person's values and commitments" (Festenstein 2005, 14). Culture is, therefore, semiotic. As Benhabib explains (2002, 3) "affirming that culture is semiotic means that it is a totality of social systems and practices of signification, representation and symbolism that have an autonomous logic of their own."

A fundamental aspect of culture is language (Taylor 1992; Kymlicka 1996). In fact, there is a positive correlation between the strength of group membership and conformity to linguistic habits. It is important to emphasize that language is not a neutral mechanism for communication, where individuals deliver or receive straightforward and objective information (Mitchell 2011). Rather, language always contains an element of ideology and is inevitably embedded in understandings of the world (Dijk 2008; Fairclough 2010). Consequently, language has the capacity to construct reality and, indeed, is one of the main means of doing so. In particular, language can create representations of reality, thereby constructing and constituting the world with meaning (Fairclough 2010). Thus, individuals' perceptions and evaluations of the world are strongly shaped by language. For example, language can stimulate moral disengagement (Bandura 1999; Bandura et al. 1996; Mitchell 2011). If one describes the same event using different words and forms of agency, the way the message is received by the receiver differs. Imagine, for example, that the *Charlie Hebdo* attacks were described in the two different ways:

1. Islamic terrorists kill again in secular France.
2. Hate speech journalists finally get what they deserve.

These two descriptions are reporting the same event, but the meaning perceived by the reader is completely different. In proposition 1, agency is placed with Islamic terrorism, and the word "again" signals that the agent is someone who routinely engages in such acts, attributing the agent a certain characteristic. Proposition 2, on the other hand, has no reference to Islamic terrorism and puts all emphasis in the kind of speech *Charlie Hebdo* engaged with and criticizes such a posture. Hence, the same message can be significantly different, influencing the receiver of the message in various important ways. As this example demonstrates, language shapes the thought patterns on which actions are based and events can take on very different appearances depending on the kind of lexicon used (Bandura et al. 1996; Mitchell 2011).

The reason why language can be so powerful is because human beings are self-interpreting animals who form their identities dialogically (Taylor

1992). By self-interpreting animals, I mean that individuals' identities depend on the way each individual sees himself/herself. By "dialogical nature" I mean that individuals are continuously formed through conversation with their significant others, with this occurring against a wider linguistic background (Taylor 1992).

Metaphors are one of the main mechanisms of language that are not only revealing of what people think but also have the potential to shape individuals' epistemology and normative beliefs (Lakoff 1981; Deignan 2003; Rodríguez 2009; Kilyeni and Silaški 2014). A *metaphor* can be defined as a figure of speech that identifies something as being the same as another unrelated thing, with the objective of highlighting the similarities between the two.

Contemporary developments in conceptual metaphor theory (CMT) suggest, however, that metaphors are not simply a figure of speech used to add rhetorical flourishes. According to CMT, metaphors are deeply embedded in individuals' way of conceptualizing the world. Consequently, metaphorical linguistic expressions result from the underlying conceptual metaphors that structure individuals' thinking (Lakoff 1981; Kilyeni and Silaški 2014). Hence, metaphors make up part of a central cognitive and representational process. They are not only revealing of what individuals actually think, but they also construct the social reality influencing individuals' perception of the world and actions (Lakoff 1981; Nunberg, Sag, and Wasow 1994; Kilyeni and Silaški 2014).

Indeed, metaphors have been shown to be a quite effective way of othering individuals. In this article, I understand *othering* as a process of exclusion from social and economic institutions of a group that portrays the members of this group as fundamentally different or alien from the ones classifying it. Put differently, *othering* occurs when two groups are classified in juxtaposed ways and classified as opposites, using binary categories that are perceived as the defining categories of the group (Said 2003; Fanon 2008; Al-Saji 2010). In this juxtaposition, one group is classified with positive characteristics and the other with the opposite negative ones. Therefore, part of the process is to essentialize and crystallize differences between the groups by making the identities of the members of the groups inherently relational, that is, to the extent they depend on a dialectical opposition to another identity (Dossa 2002, 2005). Metaphors can participate in the othering process by offering a window into the construction of social identities (Rodríguez 2009). There are mainly two reasons why metaphors can contribute to the othering process. First, they are channels of folk beliefs and thereby convey biases in favor of particular social groups and in detriment of other groups (Lakoff 1981; Deignan 2003; Rodríguez 2009). Second, othering is primarily done through the linguistic manipulation of reality (Dijk 2008; Fairclough 2010).

NONHUMAN ANIMALITY, NONHUMAN ANIMAL METAPHORS, AND DEHUMANIZATION

Harmful conduct is not an ordinary human behavior (Bandura et al. 1996). Rather, humans tend to follow their conscience in everyday actions (Kukathas 2007). Contrastingly, if humans engage in harmful behavior to others, they tend to rationalize what they have done in moral terms. That is, harmful conduct is usually accompanied with a moral explanation of what was done to justify the harm (Bandura et al. 1996; Osofsky, Bandura, and Zimbardo 2005). One of the strategies of moral justification is the dehumanization of the individual being harmed. The reason is that if the one being harmed is perceived as similar, this usually triggers an empathetic emotional response, through perceived similarity; this in turn triggers a sense of social obligation (Osofsky, Bandura, and Zimbardo 2005). Contrastingly, the dehumanization of the individual being harmed enables the person judging to shut down their emotional response; this is due to the fact that the individual being harmed is perceived as a subject without feelings, who does not feel pain or have aspirations (Mitchell 2011; Osofsky, Bandura, and Zimbardo 2005; Osofsky, Bandura, and Zimbardo 2005).

Throughout history, nonhuman animal metaphors have proved an effective and common way to dehumanize others. This has largely happened to dehumanize those who deviate from being white, middle class and male (Rattansi 2007). In other words, women, the working class, and non-whites have routinely been dehumanized by the use of nonhuman animal metaphors. Women, for example, are very often objectified in similar ways to nonhuman animals (Adams 2010; Wyckoff 2014). Women and their body parts are very often definitionally absent through being misnamed and, therefore, objectified (Adams 2010). For example, a vagina is referred to as “pussy” or “kitty,” and women are sometimes called a “cow” or “bitch” (Rodríguez 2009). Blacks have routinely been compared to apes, and this comparison has been used to unfairly justify slavery, discrimination, and oppression (Rattansi 2007). Equally, racists have frequently characterized Chinese culture as “animalistic,” and this has been instrumental for perpetuating hatred towards Chinese (Kim 2015). In Victorian times, interactions with nonhuman animals were a critical part of a middle-class agenda to dehumanize the working class (Deckha 2013). To be precise, the upper class’s treatment of “companion animals” was characterized as humane in contrast with the working class’s interaction with these other animals, which was characterized as “animalistic” and, thereby, inferior (Deckha 2013).

In the Portuguese language, the dehumanization of gay and bisexual men is also, in part, substantiated through nonhuman animal metaphors. Below, I outline and explain the meanings and connotations of such metaphors used in the Portuguese language and then explain how these contribute to the perpetuation of homophobia and heterosexist injustices. As will become clear, most metaphors refer to "liminal animals," although there are two exceptions to this.

One of the most common terms by which to refer to gay men is *bicha*, which means "beast." *Bicha* means a gay man who is extremely effeminate and promiscuous. The term can also mean "bitch" (Dictionaries 2012). The metaphor seems to be motivated by the stereotypical image of dogs being promiscuous (Cacciari, Massironi, and Corradini 2004). In fact, the term "dogging" is an Anglicism used in Portuguese to refer to sexual intercourse in public. Additionally, *canzana*, which means "doggy style" is the name of a sexual position in the Portuguese language. Thus, there is a figurative meaning of connecting gays and bisexuals with promiscuity and reducing bisexual and gay identity to their sexuality (Cacciari, Massironi, and Corradini 2004).

The only non-"liminal animal" word used to describe gay men, besides the connotation of the slur *bicha*, is *porca*. *Porca* literally means pig (Dictionaries 2012). In Portuguese, *porca* is used metaphorically, implying promiscuity and dirtiness. Most likely, this idea of promiscuity derives from "the symbolism which associates cleanliness with purity and dirtiness with immorality" (Cacciari, Massironi, and Corradini 2004). Hence, a reinforcement of the stereotypical view of gays as promiscuous and same-sex intercourse as dirty is implied by means of the figurative use of the nonhuman animal name.

Another category of slurs designed to offend gay men is insect names, insects also being "liminal animals." These include "damselfly" and "butterfly." In the Western social imagination, insects are normally considered annoying and sometimes gruesome, they have little utility for humans, and usually individuals wish to simply exterminate them. Thus, the connotation is that gays are also annoying, gruesome, and useless. Hence, this latter connotation hints at the idea of displacement and despicability, therefore, reducing gays to the category of pariahs. Another two slurs used to refer to gay men are *viado* and *gazela*, which can be translated as "deer" and "gazelle,"[2] respectively (Dictionaries 2012). Once more, the terms refer to "liminal animals," those normally conceived as "pests." As a result, there is a figurative use in the metaphor trying to suggest gay individuals are also "pests."

Finally, another category of insults directed at gay men are those that over-sexualize them by simply referring to them as performers of oral sex for other men. Three terms are used like this: *chupa-cobras*, *mama-cobras*, and *chupa-lesmas*. The first two can be translated as "snake-sucker" and the latter as "slug-sucker." These descriptions over-sexualize gays to the extent that they define them simply as oral sex performers. That is, gay men are described as having a defining feature and that is performing oral sex for other men. There is, thereby, a reinforcement of this stereotypical view of the idea that gay men's actions are fully motivated by sexual desire (Sullivan 2003). On top of this, given the use of the words "snake" and "slug," there are elements of disgust and uselessness embedded in the metaphor. For in the social imagination, these nonhuman animals are "liminal animals" that are considered both disgusting and useless to humans.

Bisexual men are also victims of these slurs outlined above, but terms that refer only to bisexual men have a different element; namely, the element of characterizing bisexuals as sexually ambiguous and confused. "Caracol" which means snail is a slur used to offend bisexuals because it hints at sexual ambiguity, given that snails are hermaphrodites. Equally, the term *barata tonta*, which can be translated as "confused cockroach," also suggests sexual ambiguity. Additionally, as cockroaches and snails are usually considered disgusting by many people, the usage of this term also suggests that such men are despised for their ambiguity, bringing an element of disgust in relation to bisexual individuals.

To summarize, my aim in this section has been to describe a representational schema that predominates in hate discourses towards gays and bisexuals that is carried out in contemporary Portuguese society. It is quite common in the Portuguese language to come across metaphors presenting gays, lesbians, and bisexuals in the guise of nonhuman animals such as snakes or insects. Given that metaphors are a window on how individuals perceive social identities, it can be affirmed that speakers of Portuguese frequently understand sexual orientation differences in terms of nonhuman animal imagery. In other words, if one accepts that metaphors play a cognitive and social role in our understanding of the world, as defended in the previous section, the examples of slurs just outlined illustrate that there is a strong reference to nonhuman animality in hate speech towards gays and bisexuals.

DECODING THE HOMOPHOBIA AND HETEROSEXISM WITHIN NONHUMAN ANIMAL METAPHORS

Having described the representational schema that links hate speech towards gays and bisexuals and images of nonhuman animality, in this section I wish to contend that the use of these metaphors plays a constitutive role in many homophobic narratives in Portugal. This is because they perpetuate current forms of heterosexist injustice present in the Portuguese context. These metaphors contribute to the creation of an image of gays and bisexuals as a kind of constitutive outside (Butler 2006), which helps to sustain the exclusionary function played by this representation. Thus, the metaphors simultaneously structure the ways in which gay and bisexuals are represented and perceived, while also describing the ways in which heterosexist privilege divides bodies politically, economically, spatially, and socially in order to exploit and subvert them. In other words, these homophobic metaphors are not merely accidental, but they sustain a logic of heterosexist dominance. In advancing this argument, my claim is not that homophobia and heterosexism in Portugal are only sustained by nonhuman animal metaphors, nor do I wish to discount the roles played by other important factors. Instead, I wish to explore the role of these metaphors in heterosexist discourse in the Portuguese context. To show this, I will proceed via three steps. Firstly, I will briefly outline what homophobia and heterosexism are. Then, I will contextualize the gay and bisexual rights struggles in Portugal as carried out by LGBT social movements.[3] Thirdly, I will link these with critical metaphor theory in the previous sections.

Homophobia can be defined as hatred, fear, or unreasonable anger and intolerance towards same-sex couples. These emotions, in turn, are what often cause heterosexism. *Heterosexism* can be defined as a form of discrimination that, in a variety of ways, favors individuals with a heterosexual sexual orientation over lesbian, gay, and bisexual individuals. Hence, heterosexism places heterosexual people or relationships as superior to non-heterosexual ones. Heterosexism occurs when state institutions are organized around heterosexual sexual orientation and in a way whereby homosexual relations are outlawed or less valued. In a heterosexist society, it may be the case that legal, social, psychiatric, educational, and familial institutions directly or indirectly assume and promote heterosexual relationships (Calhoun 1994; Calhoun 1995; Calhoun 2003). I am referring to heterosexism as a phenomenon that appears at the institutional level when there are public institutions that correspond to heterosexuals' identity but not homosexuals; these institutions ensure that relationships, directly or indirectly, will be built around male-female pairing (Calhoun 1994; Calhoun 2003; Herek 2004). For example, a society where heterosexual marriage is legal but same-sex marriage is illegal is a heterosexist one. Therefore, in a heterosexist system, there is heterosexual privilege; everyday and institutional advantages and rights that systematically empower heterosexuals over homosexuals.

Even though contemporary heterosexism is widespread and often shows in broadly similar patterns across Europe, the Americas, and Australia (Herek 2004; McCann, Minichiello, and Plummer 2009), the shape of heterosexism varies slightly according to culture, geography, and historical context, among other factors (Mondimore 1996; Herdt 1998; Fone 2001). Consequently, the Portuguese struggle for gay and bisexual rights has its specificities. An informative way to understand heterosexism in the Portuguese context is by looking into the agenda of the Portuguese LGBT rights movements and what they have prioritized as urgent problems. Social movements can provide an important insight in this matter because such movements emerge as a reaction to what is perceived as injustice. Therefore, social movements can be revealing of how societies are structured (A. C. Santos 2012; Pellow 2014).

With respect to the rights of gay and bisexual men, Portuguese LGBT movements have prioritized and concentrated mainly on addressing and campaigning against three forms of heterosexism; namely, these are heterosexism in family law, in health care, and in violence against gay and bisexual individuals (A. C. Santos 2012).[4]

In the arena of family law, LGBT activist groups in Portugal have mainly focused on legalizing same-sex marriage and the access of same-sex parents to the adoption of children (A. C. Santos 2012). The former was achieved in 2010, while campaigns to achieve the latter have only been successful in 2016. A good number of the campaigns have focused on demystifying various forms of prejudice about gay and bisexual men that have the discursive function of justifying discrimination in these areas (A. C. Santos 2012). Regarding same-sex marriage, activists have been focusing on demystifying the idea that same-sex relationships are unstable, impermanent, promiscuous and non-monogamic (A. C. Santos 2012). A significant part of the objection to the institutionalization of same-sex marriage in Portugal has been that same-sex relationships, especially between males, consist mostly of sporadic sexual encounters and often with multiple partners (A. C. Santos 2012). This discourse, however, characterizes same-sex relationships in a way that sustains homophobic discourse to the extent that it justifies discrimination on the basis of affirming a radical difference in how relationships are structured.

The discourse against same-sex parents' adoption in Portugal has followed a similar arc, characterizing gays and bisexuals as too incompetent to be child caregivers. Against the right for same-sex parents to adopt, three arguments have been prominent. Firstly, it is argued that because of the instability of same-sex relationships, children adopted by gay and bisexual parents would be emotionally affected. Hence, the rationale used is that the sexual and sporadic nature of same-sex relationships is unwelcoming and unstable for children. Secondly, it has been argued that children experiencing same-sex parenting will also turn out gay or lesbian, and this is undesirable. Thirdly, those opposed of same-sex adoption in Portugal contend that children need a father and a mother, rather than two fathers or two mothers, to grow up healthy (A. C. Santos 2012). As a result of such discourse, LGBT groups have strongly focused their campaigns on demystifying the ideas that homosexual relationships are unstable, that homosexual parents will necessarily inform the creation of homosexual children, and that two fathers or two mothers cannot jointly raise a healthy child (A. C. Santos 2012).

In the area of health care relating to gay and bisexual men's rights, LGBT activists have focused on campaigning against the association of gay and bisexual individuals with health problems. In Portugal, there is a tendency to associate LGBTs, especially gay and bisexual men, with HIV (A. C. Santos 2012). Consequently, in Portugal, the law does not allow gay and bisexual men to give blood, because they are considered an at-risk group (A. C. Santos 2012). This prejudice has been accompanied and reinforced by many health professionals' prejudiced ideas that homosexuality is a pathology with special consequences for one's sexual behavior (A. C. Santos 2012). As a result, LGBT groups have focused on demystifying the idea that gay and bisexual men engage in riskier sexual behavior than heterosexuals, and that homosexual sexual orientation places individuals in an at-risk health group.

Finally, the third major issue that such campaigns have focused on is violence against these individuals. In Portugal, it is not uncommon for gays and bisexuals to suffer psychological and physical violence (A. C. Santos 2012), with verbal harassment being one of the main ways that gay and bisexual men are attacked. Thus, LGBT rights activists have campaigned strongly for creating the means to report abuse (A. C. Santos 2012).

I contend that all these forms of discrimination are sustained by the nonhuman animal metaphors mentioned in the previous section. To understand this, it is important to recall the idea that language and metaphors have the potential to reveal, sustain and reproduce the social status quo, and, for that reason, can contribute to transforming it. This potential is, of course, dependent on the social-historical context to which language and, in particular, metaphors are used (Dijk 2008; Fairclough 2010; Mitchell 2011). Hence, the metaphors here have the power to sustain heterosexism as a result of the social-historical context in which they are used. The metaphors used by homophobes in Portugal can be said to sustain and perpetuate this kind of prejudice towards gay and bisexual men to the extent that they reiterate and accentuate the forms of prejudice that homophobes use to justify discrimination in the areas of family law, health care and violence. This is done in three ways.

First, the metaphors analyzed in this paper accentuate the heterosexist system to the extent that they stimulate norms of physical disappearance and discursive silence which are prevailing ways of discriminating against gay and bisexual men (Tebble 2011). In other words, the way metaphors accentuate heterosexism is by trying to remove homosexuality from political and legal arenas. In particular, there is a silencing and physical disappearance hinted at in the figurative usage of "liminal animals." These nonhuman animals are absolutely outside the legal system and have no legal status, and this outcast status is exactly what is being pursued with the exclusion of gay and bisexual men from important social institutions, like the family. Put differently, part of what the "liminal animal" metaphors convey is that the moral status of gays and bisexuals is akin to that of these other animals, that is, situated outside the realm of the political and the legal. Also, through their figurative usage, these metaphors suggest a feeling of disgust towards gays and bisexuals. As explained, "liminal animals" are often attributed low utility value and perceived as disgusting. By the usage of slurs such as "snake-sucker," "confused cockroach," and "damselfly," the speaker is conveying a message that associates disgust with bisexuals and gays. Indeed, such a strategy is used in Western discourses to exclude homosexuals from society's legal institutions. Martha Nussbaum (2010), for example, has surveyed various American laws and identified that the rationale behind the exclusion of homosexuals from institutions is not based on reason but instead on the disgust the legislators feel in relation to homosexual acts. In particular, concepts such as dirtiness underlie the rationale for legal exclusion (Nussbaum 2010). Indeed, the exclusion of gays and bisexuals from family laws such as marriage and adoption partly has as a biased rationale, the prejudice that these relations are promiscuous and dirty. Likewise, this rationale is applied to associating them with HIV, pathologizing homosexuality and denying them the right to give blood. As an example of exclusion take the Labouchere Amendment of 1885 in the United Kingdom, where homosexuality was a crime because it was a gross indecency. Another more recent example of this is in Portugal, where gay and bisexual men were not allowed to give blood because they were considered by Portuguese authorities to be individuals who engaged in risky sexual behavior and were considered more likely to have sexually transmitted diseases.

Second, the metaphors sustain a logic of dichotomizing normal and abnormal attributes with the privileging of the former, which is a form of stigmatizing gay and bisexual men (Okin 1996; Herek 2004). They serve the function of abnormalizing gay and bisexual men via the creation of nonhuman animalistic images, with the intention of showing that they are unfit to be members of institutions that heterosexual men are entitled to join, such as marriage, adoption, and social, political, and cultural life. Thus, nonhuman animalization has the purpose of inferiorizing and classifying as abnormal (and thereby pathologizing) gay and bisexual men. This is particularly the case in the classification of gay men as "snake-suckers," as it reduces their identity to a sexual behavior. This strategy of abnormalization validates the current forms of discrimination that gay and bisexual men suffer in Portugal today. Firstly, the idea of abnormality suggests that there is a pathology, which, as explained, is still a way that fosters the discrimination of gay and bisexual men in terms of health care. In particular, the association of gay and bisexual men with abnormal sexual behavior is what is used to justify excluding them from giving blood. Secondly, inferiorization is at the heart of denying family rights to gays and bisexuals. For the reasons to exclude gays and bisexuals from marriage and adoption is that their lifestyles are inferior, and they are thus unqualified to take part in such institutions (Herek 2004).

Third, a significant part of psychological violence is made up of inferiorization through pathologization of what is and what is not normal. Hence, to the extent that these metaphors effeminize gays and bisexuals, they are engaging in psychological violence.

Thirdly, another way that these metaphors dehumanize gay and bisexual men is by degradingly singularizing these individuals to an oral sex act performed or as a solely sexual being. That is, these insults aim at oversexualizing gay and bisexual men through metaphors of nonhuman animalization, interpreting everything that they do in terms of their sexuality. This is clearly the case for the terms "snake-sucker," "slug-sucker," "snail," and "confused cockroach" for such terms reduce gay and bisexual men's agency to sexual agency. As in the previous two instances of heterosexism, this is not accidental. Rather, these slurs are ways to communicate current forms of prejudice that serve to justify exclusion from important institutions. In particular, by reducing gay and bisexual men to their sexuality, these metaphors are reinforcing various forms of prejudice in relation to family law and health care.

In family law, by reducing gays and bisexuals to existing solely as sexual beings, the metaphors substantiate the belief that they live in unstable, love-free and promiscuous sex-only relationships, which, as explained above, is the part of the justification used by heterosexists for justifying their denial of same-sex marriage. Equally, such prejudices extend to denying bisexual and gay men the right to adopt. Here, the fears that arise with regards to gays and bisexuals sexually abusing their children or influencing them into also becoming gay is based on the idea that all their behavior is sexually motivated. Hence, when, for example, a gay man is reduced to being an oral sex performer by the use of a metaphor such as "snake-sucker," the prejudice whereby all gay men's actions are motivated by their sexual orientation is reinforced because the prejudice regarding the right to adopt is the same, then this prejudice is simultaneously reinforced. Likewise, the term "confused cockroach" conveys the message that bisexuals are emotionally unstable and sexually perverse, which is the same kind of discourse as that which limits adoption rights.

Regarding health care, these metaphors reinforce the current prejudice towards gay and bisexual men because the discrimination regarding giving blood is precisely based on the idea that gay and bisexual men are promiscuous, have a pathology, and are more likely to be carrying HIV. To be more exact, metaphors like *bicha*, "snake-sucker" and "pig" convey the message that gays and bisexuals are dirty and promiscuous, which is exactly the same kind of discourse used to justify barring gays and bisexuals from giving blood, pathologizing same-sex intercourse, and associating these individuals with HIV.

To conclude this section, it is important to note the role of the typology in the perpetuation of capitalism. Effective challenges to the capitalist system are undermined by the existence of factions among the working class (Althusser and Bidet 2014; A. F. Gramsci, Hoare, and Nowell-Smith 2005). Prejudice and discrimination against gays and lesbians and their "animalization" by members of the working class serve as a distraction from capitalist-based problems while undermining worker and community solidarity.

CONCLUSION

In this article, I set two objectives. The first objective was to describe part of the representational schema of homophobia that currently exists in relation to gay and bisexual men in Portugal and demonstrate that this is intertwined with images of nonhuman animality. This was shown by using conceptual metaphor theory as a tool by which to analyze insults directed at gay and bisexual men. Owing to the fact that metaphors are a window through which to see how individuals perceive social reality, and that many insults that dehumanize gays and bisexuals are nonhuman animal insults, then I conclude that nonhuman animality, homophobia, and heterosexism, in the Portuguese context, are strongly intertwined. The second objective was to demonstrate that the use of such metaphors is not accidental. Rather, they are used because they sustain current heterosexist institutions in Portugal that disadvantage gay and bisexual men. They do this to the extent that they mirror the discourse regarding bisexual and gay men being entitled to family law, health and antiviolence rights.

Further research should be focused on the idea of total liberation, defended by philosophers like Steven Best (2014) and movements like the Earth Liberation Front (Pellow 2014). The idea of total liberation is that all forms of oppression are linked, so to effectively and consistently address one form of oppression means all others should also be addressed. The reason why this idea should be on the agenda of future research is because what the arguments in this article suggest is a link between speciesism and heterosexism. Other research has demonstrated the links between sexism and racism (hooks 1987; McClintock 1995), sexism and speciesism (Adams 2010; Wyckoff 2014), and so forth. Hence, it is important that research be carried out on a unifying theory of all forms of oppression. Moreover, it is important to find strategies that address all these forms of oppression in their totality.

NOTES

1. Arguably, farmed and "companion" animals may have some differences in utility. The point is, however, that they are at the top of utility scales.

2. These nonhuman animals may seem to be "wild animals" rather than liminal. However, these should be considered liminal because they live amongst humans.

3. These movements have also focused on transgender, intersex, and lesbian rights, but because these are outside of the scope of this paper, I do not mention them here. Hence, while I call them LGBT movements because they also focus on different areas, I only outline the campaigns regarding gay and bisexual men.

4. They have also focused on violence towards transgender, intersex, and lesbian individuals, but these are not critical to understand the point being made in this article.

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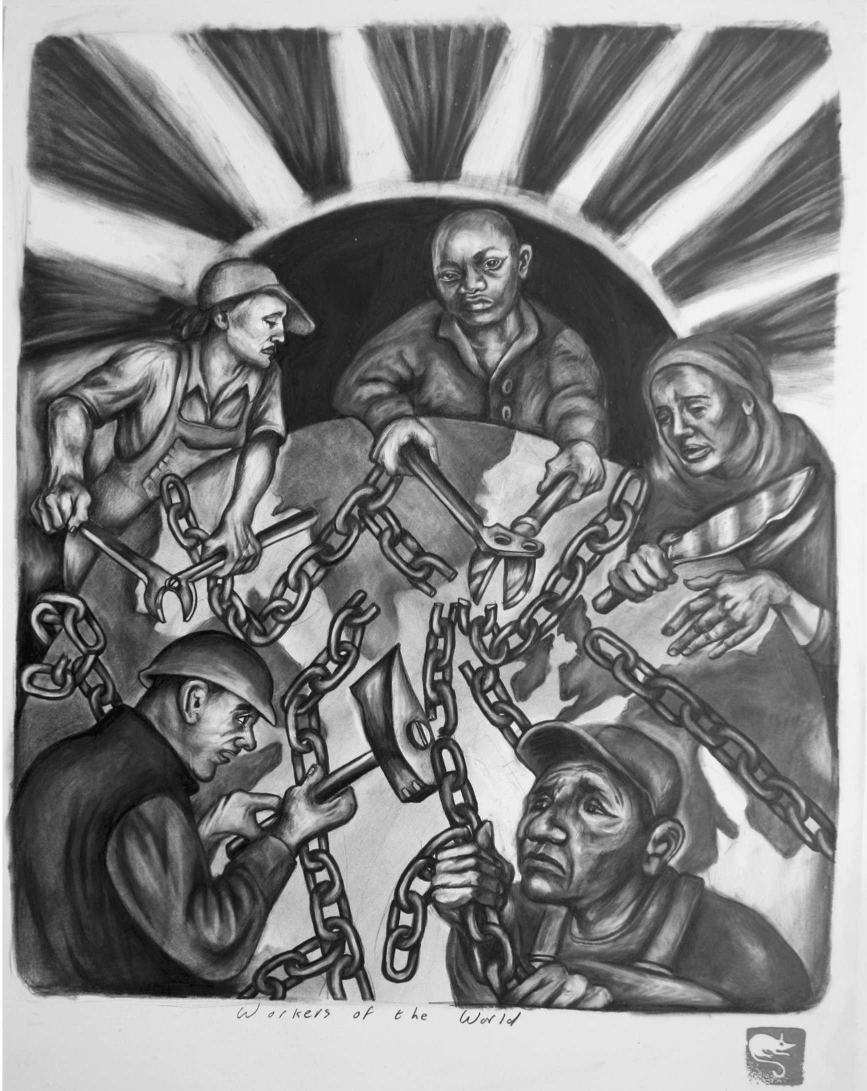
Workers of the World

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11

Ideological Monkey Wrenching: Nonhuman Animal Politics beyond Suffering

Lauren Corman

This chapter asks critical animal studies scholars, intersectional nonhuman animal advocates, and anyone who recognizes that profit drives the overwhelming majority of violence against other animals to take seriously their exploitation while refusing to reduce nonhuman animal subjectivities to representations of suffering and victimization. This kind of beyond suffering approach, which some advocates and scholars may see as fiddling while Rome burns, is a necessary antidote to capitalist objectification of nonhuman animals. That said, suffering should not be dismissed or neglected in efforts to end exploitation. Rather, we must discuss suffering, but we should do so in conjunction with other, richer versions of other animals' experiences beyond suffering.

This *including but beyond* suffering approach strongly resonates with other social justice movements that have long resisted both the homogenization and the reductionism of various subjects to pure victims. These movements, which have fought hard against dehumanization, recognize that objectification manifests as denial of full or even partial subjectivity and thus exclusion from the realm of full humanity. Objectification, and thus use and violation without recourse, is predicated on the disavowal of full subjectivity, to be rendered, as Gary Francione (2008, 103) argues, "exclusively as means to our ends."

Representations of suffering in the absence of fuller versions of nonhuman animal subjectivity allow stereotypes about other animals to persist, stereotypes necessary for the functioning of capitalism. Indeed, we know that capitalist modes of use and production cause a staggering and historically unprecedented amount of suffering for billions of nonhuman animals globally each year. While some may feel distraught and motivated to act when confronted with the nightmarish suffering endured by other animals, the representation of their suffering alone can also fail to unsettle fundamental assumptions about them, the very assumptions required for the continuation of capitalist industries.

In legal terms, the widespread industrial exploitation of nonhuman animals is predicated on their property status. When we think of "property status" as a stereotype (not just a legal category), one based on inaccurate assumptions about who other animals are and can be, it becomes clear that we must address the layered nature of this stereotyping. Public exposure and even condemnation of other animals' suffering—egregious as that suffering is—by liberationists and rightists can fall too easily into existent welfarist paradigms that concede that nonhuman animals suffer but ultimately imply this suffering is less significant than human suffering.

As many have long noted, "unnecessary suffering," which centrally informs our legal approach to other animals, suggests that some suffering is acceptable. The acknowledgment of suffering, as part of the sociocultural turn toward the recognition of nonhuman animal sentience, grants that we have a moral and ethical (and subsequently legal) obligation to minimize their suffering, yet the *diminished* significance of nonhuman animal suffering relative to human suffering is a core presupposition that underpins nonhuman animal welfare legislation, in which we recognize that other animals suffer and thus legislate the prevention of *unnecessary* suffering while their property status remains intact.

The reorientation I suggest in this chapter serves as a kind of ideological monkey wrenching[1] of nonhuman animal politics, including intersectional approaches. Intersectionality demonstrates how different forms of oppression and domination connect and reinforce each other, yet this focus means that issues of suffering, pain, and violence garner the majority attention, while other animals' experiences beyond their capacity to suffer are oddly obscured or erased; further, coalition-building through intersectionality suggests alliance across communities and identities is forged through resistance to interlocking forms oppression. The *intersections* at the heart of intersectionality demonstrate overlap between different forms of domination. As such, through intersectional nonhuman animal politics, certain forms of subjectivity are privileged (suffering), while others are minimized. This is potentially disadvantageous because the re-articulation of human and nonhuman animal suffering in the public sphere—in which subjectivity is presented as and through suffering—limits a broader challenge to objectification by concentrating on a small yet significant band of experience while neglecting the larger spectrum. In relation, our legal system, which overwhelmingly supports the capitalist exploitation of other animals, in essence claims that society has already acknowledged nonhuman animal suffering and laws (however grossly lacking) exist to minimize this.

Through my experience as a sociology professor expressly hired to teach critical animal studies (CAS), I have repeatedly witnessed that it is far more powerful to combine representations of nonhuman animal suffering with representations of their lives outside of such states and conditions. When taught this way, alongside intersectional analyses that foreground the interlocking nature of oppressions and which illuminate the economic conditions frequently driving such treatment, students are more open to engaging with the brutal realities facing humans, other animals, and the planet. In this way, the insights presented throughout the following chapter are corroborated by seven years of teaching critical animal studies courses in the department of sociology at Brock University. To date, I have taught 26 CAS classes to 1,180 students.[2]

More specifically, throughout the following chapter, I build on the work of legal scholar Taimie Bryant (2007), who offers a compelling critique of suffering-focused nonhuman animal advocacy. Additionally, I build on the research of critical disabilities and nonhuman animal scholar Sunaura Taylor, who likewise notes our preoccupation with suffering. Taylor (2014, 113) argues,

> While disability advocates have often pushed away from narratives of suffering, it is everywhere within animal ethics scholarship. A huge amount of work has been done by animal activists simply to prove that animals can suffer, and much more work has sought to explain why human beings should care about this fact. Suffering is an inevitable part of the conversation around animal industries, as well as around disability within these industries and for good reason. However, animals are too often presented simply as voiceless beings who suffer.

The arguments presented here also extend my previous scholarship (Corman 2012; Corman and Vandrovcová 2014), which centrally critiques the nonhuman animal movements' common claim that other animals are voiceless and that we are their voice, while the question of who other animals are and who they might be has often been neglected within rights and liberation efforts.[3]

This chapter suggests in particular that cognitive ethology[4] is an important complement to suffering-based scholarship, in which researchers focus on nonhuman animals' emotions, sociality, and culture. While some cognitive ethology includes studies in pain and suffering, these scientists offer more complex and specific information about other animals' inner worlds beyond the pain-based preoccupation presented within traditional nonhuman animal ethics and critical animal studies, which has not significantly incorporated this work. Pairing such research with representations of suffering deepens the sense of what is lost when other animals are harmed, extending beyond the physical (and to some extent psychological) pain that has largely been the target of nonhuman animal advocacy: As Jonathan Balcombe (2009) contends, a nonhuman animal's quality of life cannot be adequately measured by the absence of suffering, as other animals seek out and experience pleasure. When we harm and kill other animals, we deny them both current pleasure and the opportunity to experience future pleasure. Similar to Balcombe, other cognitive ethologists who study nonhuman animals' emotionality, sociality, and culturality provide crucial knowledge about their subjective experience and relational dynamics. These are also denied or disrupted when other animals are exploited and killed.

Cognitive ethology is one way to include richer versions of nonhuman animals' subjectivity within intersectional and anti-capitalist dialogue about human-nonhuman animal relations. Testimony from shelter and sanctuary workers, as well as anyone with direct, close, and equitable relations with other animals can also offer important insight into their lives. My own draw to cognitive ethology relates to the field's detailed investigation of nonhuman animal relationships, in conjunction with comparative studies, which help situate various nonhuman animal behaviors within larger ecological and evolutionary patterns. Significantly, I have witnessed the potency of cognitive ethology within my courses, as students often identify with, and are compelled by, research about other animals' lives beyond suffering, including their capacities for play, friendship, and grief, among others.

Overall, this chapter emerges at the intersections of nonhuman animal liberation, critical animal studies, and cognitive ethology, as well as the biological sciences and social sciences. Interspersed throughout this chapter are four vignettes that highlight nonhuman animals' emotionality, sociality, and culturality. The first describes the eye-poking ritual of white-faced capuchin monkeys of Costa Rica. The second considers the cultural impacts of hunting right whale elders. The third reframes humans as dogs' tools. The final vignette describes the friendship of Hope and Johnny, two pigs who lived at Farm Sanctuary. Although it might not be immediately apparent how such stories and cognitive ethology generally are relevant to anti-capitalist struggles, the field has a significant role to play in countering the current cultural hegemony that rationalizes nonhuman animal exploitation.

VIGNETTE ONE: THE EYE-POKING WHITE-FACED CAPUCHINS OF COSTA RICE

A group of white-faced capuchins in Costa Rica participate in an eye-poking game, in which they stick a finger of a partner (up to the first knuckle) into their own eye. Anthropologist Susan Perry (2011, 990) suggests that this and other risky behaviors (such as hair pulling) practiced by the capuchins reaffirm trust between individuals. These conventions signal and test social bonds. Perry argues, "Certainly, C. capucinus has one of the highest rates of coalitionary lethal aggression of conspecifics [members of the same species] found in a mammal, and coalitions are employed in a wide range of contexts. The greater importance of alliances may necessitate a richer source of information about whom to trust." She also notes C. capucinus is a "prime candidate to have social conventions, because these monkeys form coalitions in a wide variety of contexts and are highly dependent on allies to successfully migrate, acquire high rank, and defend their offspring from infanticidal males" (p. 988). Part of what makes this behavior so remarkable is that the convention persists (in low frequencies) despite the death of the innovator.

CALL AND RESPONSE: NONHUMAN ANIMAL LIBERATION AND COGNITIVE ETHOLOGY

The Western nonhuman animal rights and liberation movements have largely structured their resistance to the objectification, commodification, and exploitation of other animals through what legal scholar Taimie Bryant (2007) calls the similarity argument. These arguments attempt to demonstrate how nonhuman animals, or at least certain other animals, are similar enough to human beings in morally relevant ways.

Bryant (2007, 208) contends, "Stated generally, the [similarity] argument is that if animals are similar to humans as to capacities and characteristics of humans that define humans, then animals should receive protections equivalent to the protections of humans because a just society treats like entities alike." As law professor Gary Francione (2010) argues, the typical criteria used to exclude other animals from the sphere of moral concern, capacities such as language or the possession of a soul, are not morally relevant. In practice, the similarity argument has stressed nonhuman animals' sentience, especially focusing on their capacity to suffer.

While this fixation on similarity has made certain political advances and arguably encouraged empathy for other animals, as Bryant notes, there are a number of drawbacks to this approach. For example, when a criterion is identified, is it similar enough to humans? Disturbingly, efforts to answer this question might prompt further nonhuman animal experimentation to prove how other animals suffer in similar or dissimilar ways to people. Such an approach also has the potential to reinforce hierarchical thinking about human and nonhuman animals, with humans maintaining their status at the top of the speciesist pyramid. Despite the problems associated with the similarity argument, the approach follows the same pattern that various social justice movements have used to advance their causes, especially in their early stages (Bryant, 2007), wherein people lacking rights attempt to show how they are like existing rights holders. The similarity argument replicates the formal equality principle, to "treat like cases as like," which has been considered a moral principle of justice.

While recognizing the work that the similarity argument does and can do, it does little to "de-center" the human subject as figured through liberal humanism. As Cary Wolfe suggests, the conventional arguments for nonhuman animal rights suggest troubling implications for both nonhuman animals and for human beings who also do not possess, or are not perceived to possess, criteria deemed essential to what it means to be human. Wolfe (2010, 13-137) argues that while some important short-term gains can be made within liberal humanist frameworks, such as rights discourses, they do so while sacrificing a more long-term and radical goals:

> What I am suggesting is that these pragmatic pursuits are forced to work within the purview of a liberal humanism in philosophy, politics, and the law that is bound by a historically and ideologically specific set of coordinates that, because of that very boundedness, allow one to achieve certain pragmatic gains in the short run, but at the price of a radical foreshortening of a more ambitious and more profound ethical project: a new and more inclusive form of ethical pluralism that is our charge, now, to frame. That project would think the ethical force of disability and nonhuman subjectivity as something other than merely an expansion of the liberal humanist ethos to ever new populations, as merely the next room added onto the (increasingly opulent and globalizing) house of what Richard Rorty has called "the rich North Atlantic bourgeois democracies."

Cognitive ethology, in some of its manifestations, offers a response to Wolfe's call. Scholars such as Marc Bekoff (2005, 2007) and Barbara Smuts (2001, 2006) attempt to meet other animals on their own terms, in their own worlds, to centralize the ways in which nonhuman animals share certain continuities with humans. These continuities are irreducible to sameness as the similarity argument has often presented them, wherein other animals must mirror some pre-existing image of human subjectivity in order to be granted ethical consideration; comparatively, through the work of Bekoff and Smuts, we are asked to think with and outside of our own literal and metaphorical skins.

As Bekoff (2007) argues, to say that dogs feel joy is not to say that they feel joy as humans do, but instead it is more accurate to speak of "dog joy" or "rat joy" or "monkey joy." Further, not only are these forms of joy particular to the species, they are particular to the individuals within the species. This means holding together two crucial insights. On the one hand, we must recognize that evolutionary continuity implies emotional continuity (Bekoff 2007), which can encourage us not to enact the so-called "'retreat' response" (Alcoff 1991) that has plagued some forms of politics: We can so fear misrepresenting Others that we fail to engage and meet our ethical responsibilities, which I believe must include representations of nonhuman animals beyond the objectified and reductive ones that serve economic interests. On the other hand, we must challenge the tendency to assume that we know who other animals are and what they want, in absence of really paying attention to them. Postcolonial and nonhuman animal studies scholar Philip Armstrong (2002, 417) summarizes this point well when he states, "Encountering the postcolonial animal means learning to listen to the voices of all kinds of 'others' without either ventriloquizing them or assigning to them accents so foreign that they never can be understood."

Of course, cognitive ethology is only one way to pay attention, and the field is not immune from its own challenges and limitations, but it offers an important set of tools that can help us cultivate humility in relation to other animals. Indeed, fieldwork in cognitive ethology begins with the premise that nonhuman animals are worthy of our attention, and we might learn something valuable by paying attention to them. Perhaps such a suggestion seems wildly obvious—that advocacy and scholarly efforts should be informed by studies about other animals—but these sorts of studies are often missing in nonhuman animal ethics and are also chronically missing from CAS and intersectional human-nonhuman animal advocacy.

Vignette Two: When the Elders Aren't Human

After their population was decimated through hunting, the North Atlantic right whales have struggled to rebuild despite a whaling moratorium. Their lack of population resiliency is somewhat baffling if the cultural dimension of these other animals is ignored. However, whale researchers Whitehead et al. (2004) suggest the dependency of the remaining few hundred whales on a single feeding ground, the Gulf of Maine, provides a partial answer: When conditions are poor in this area, the whales lack information about alternative habitats due to a loss of traditional knowledge.

REDUCTIONISM: NONHUMAN ANIMAL SUBJECTIVITY AS VICTIMHOOD AND SUFFERING

Why do the nonhuman animal movements and CAS (their closest academic ally) largely fail to incorporate field-based cognitive ethology and, generally, richer versions of other animal subjectivities—beyond suffering and victimhood—into their work? How is it that movements dedicated to nonhuman animals, and an area informed by these movements and ethically committed to the same goals, have so often neglected a key area of inquiry that is dedicated to better understandings of other animals? As one of my mentors asked me years ago, "Where are the animals in critical animal studies?" And, conversely, as one of my CAS colleagues remarked, "Why do we need to talk about animals? We already know what they don't like."

I would like to suggest some provisional answers to my first question about this specific absence. It feels important to address because, for me, my answers to this question have prompted an overhaul of my subsequent work over the past decade. In other words, how I have answered this question has been paradigm shifting. As noted, I have also observed the positive effects of this paradigm shift on my students. I hope if we can centralize this question and open ourselves to asking these difficult questions, we might further transcend the stagnating "rights versus welfare" debates and other quagmires that currently entangle the nonhuman animal movements.

My question is answered in part through consideration of three compounding and interrelated modes of thinking that I believe work against engagement with richer versions of nonhuman animal subjectivities and associated representations. The first answer relates back to the similarity argument, which although not usually put in these terms, might be credited for launching the Western nonhuman animal welfare movements. The second relates to intersectionality, a form of analysis that predates the rise of critical animal studies. The third relates to the nonhuman animal rights and liberation movements judgments about other animal use.

Let me begin with the first provisional answer: The similarity argument and its articulation of suffering. Utilitarian philosopher Jeremy Bentham (1789, 311), considered one of the earliest proponents of nonhuman animal welfare, famously stated, "The question is not, Can they *reason*? nor, Can they *talk*? but, Can they *suffer*?" Through such proclamations, Bentham helped shift calls for nonhuman animal-related social reform away from concerns about the ill effects of nonhuman animal cruelty on human society to a marked concern with other animals themselves. In this way, nonhuman animal subjectivity enters the public and political spheres through suffering.

Through Bentham, the criteria that had been used to exclude other animals from ethical concern, specifically speech and reason, are dismissed in favor of the "humane treatment principle" (Francione, 2008), which holds that it is wrong to cause unnecessary suffering to nonhuman animals. In this sense, the way that other animals' subjectivity is made visible, and morally relevant, is through their suffering. Indeed, the Western nonhuman animal movements' central aphorism, "the voice of the voiceless," repeatedly names other animal suffering as voicelessness (Corman, 2012). Conversely, advocates' voice signals the broadcast of, and resistance to, cruelty to nonhuman animals and the suffering they endure. Thus, modern Western nonhuman animal advocacy finds its roots in an understandable preoccupation with nonhuman animal suffering and a public rendering of the subjectivity of other animals through victimhood and suffering.

While the focus on nonhuman animals' suffering signaled a vital turn towards other animals and their interests, it also set the stage for the movements' limited conceptual frame regarding their lives. Conversations outside of victimhood and suffering are sometimes understood as potential distractions from the movements' raison d'être. As Bryant argues, the nonhuman animal movements' emphasis on suffering is a form of the similarity argument. The concentration on suffering was a necessary remediation to the wanton abuse of other animals, but it could not and does not adequately disrupt the social construction of animals as lesser beings, which in turn continues to justify their use and mistreatment today.

My second provisional answer as to why richer versions of other animal subjectivities are frequently absent within the nonhuman animal movements, particularly its academic arm, critical animal studies, relates to intersectionality and its origins in feminist praxis. CAS is an interdisciplinary field founded in 2006 and forged through a commitment to intersectional analyses, in part as a response to what cofounder Steve Best (2009) calls mainstream animal studies (MAS), which was critiqued as woefully single-issued and apolitical. Instead, CAS founders sought to build on political and economic analyses that maintained that various different "social axes of difference" intersect, and that systems of domination and oppression overlap and reinforce each other. The earlier work of animal ecofeminists such as Carol Adams and Josephine Donovan, which considered species as another "axes of difference" and included nonhuman animal oppression within intersectional feminist theory, helped lay the foundation for the inauguration of CAS.

The intersectional analyses of nonhuman animal ecofeminists and CAS scholars are vital counterpoints to scholarship that considers the "question of the animal," namely our ethical and political responsibilities toward other animals, in isolation from race, gender, class, and ability. CAS offers an overtly political intervention into the study of human-nonhuman animal relations, and it demonstrates connections between speciesism and other forms of oppression, which often leverage a debased version of nonhuman animality as a means of subjugating marginalized human groups. Over the past 20 years, I have similarly been dedicated to this approach as a student, a radio host and producer, and now as a sociology professor.

Given my background in gender studies, which initiated me into the academy through intersectional theory, I continue to see its tremendous value in both scholarly and political registers. However, despite my appreciation for intersectional thought, particularly as it relates to other animals, I have grown increasingly troubled by the way it centralizes domination and oppression as the sole points of solidarity and coalition-building among oppressed groups. Within CAS and a growing contingent of the nonhuman animal movements dedicated to this approach, the nodes of intersection relate to shared forms of domination, particularly under capitalism. While this helps illuminate mutually reinforcing forms of domination, it also continues to greatly reproduce a version of nonhuman animal subjectivity indivisible from their suffering and victimization. From this orientation, it becomes difficult to imagine the relevance of other animals' lives outside of the ways they are oppressed. Through this, we witness continuity with earlier forms of nonhuman animal ethics that reduce their subjectivity to suffering.

While it might seem counterintuitive to focus on nonhuman animals' subjectivity outside of suffering, by incorporating broader understandings into our work, we are able to get at the "question of the animal" on a deeper level. In my view, not only is this ultimately more effective for unsettling speciesism, but the turn away from purely victim-based analyses is also more closely aligned with other social justice movements and associated scholarship that increasingly emphasize the agency and resistance of their subjects (Mohanty 1988; Kapur 2002; Newdick 2005; Agustín 2003). The point becomes less about saving others but more about striving for solidarity (Hribal 2007; Coulter 2016). Further, from such vantage, we can struggle for a fuller realization of other animals' lives, including their capacity for pleasure, when we highlight that in their "liberation" they deserve so much more than simply the absence of suffering (Balcombe 2009). If we are not attuned to other animals' own forms of sociality, emotionality, and in some cases culturality, we can easily fail to reckon with the complexity of their lives and inadvertently reproduce a reductionist version of other animals that smacks of the kinds we oppose.

My last provisional answer to the question of why analyses of other animal lives beyond suffering are frequently missing from the nonhuman animal movements, and overwhelmingly from critical animal studies in particular, may relate to the movements' position toward nonhuman animal use. Specifically, there is a persistent commitment to noninterference with other animals (Francione 2008), which James McWilliams (2013) aptly calls the "leave animals alone argument." That is, nonhuman animal exploitation arises from their property status and humans' associated use of them, and in an ideal world, so the thinking goes, we would stop meddling in their lives. Liberation and freedom are figured as the possibility of living one's life outside of the oppressive grip of humanity.

Cognitive ethology is a field that combines both lab research and field research, with the former roundly condemned by researchers such as Marc

Bekoff (2007) who maintain that laboratories stress other animals and generate data about their behavior that is separate from the ecological contexts where it originally evolved. Bekoff, an evolutionary biologist, asks how we can accurately draw conclusions about other animals' social behavior when that behavior is divorced from the places where it evolved. Field research, where other animals are studied in more natural environments, may be seen as straying dangerously close to its lab counterpart. Even when field research is unobtrusive, on the surface, these studies suggest use, in the sense of "using" other animals to generate data. Further, these relations, by virtue of the fact that they are *relations*, open the possibility of unequal power relationships among human and nonhuman animals. In human-nonhuman animal relations predicated on nonhuman animal use, many which are enacted through factory farming, lab experimentation, and a host of other capitalist industries, other animals fair terribly, and so some caution about cognitive ethology makes sense. Cognitive ethology is, by definition, nonhuman animal research (of a sort).

Still, the incorporation of cognitive ethology into critical animal studies and the nonhuman animal liberation movements—as one way to encourage more expansive understandings of other animals' lives and fuller representations of them—thus encounters at least three major hurdles. First, preoccupation with suffering marks the historical initiation of nonhuman animal advocacy as a movement, and we continue in that legacy today, as we are rightfully concerned with the horrific treatment of other animals. Second, intersectionality remains perhaps the most significant defining principle of critical animal studies, while intersectionality has taken domination and oppression as its main objects of analysis. Its emphasis on suffering fits lock-in-key with this orientation, and third, the nonhuman animal movements and critical animal studies tend to vehemently eschew other animal use.

Vignette Three: When We Are a Tool—Wolves and Dogs Encounter a Locked Box

A common way of thinking about dogs is that they are simply intellectually-diminished wolves. That in the great trade of evolution they gave up something vital about themselves in order to cohabitate with humans. This story appears corroborated by certain problem-solving tests in which dogs fare worse than their wolf counterparts. Yet, as Alexandria Horowitz explains in her inspiring book Inside of a Dog: What Dogs See, Smell and Know *(2009), dogs (who live in people's homes) give up more easily than wolves when confronted with a secured box containing food. According to these standard intelligence tests, dogs seem like poor problem-solvers. However, unlike* *wolves, dogs search for humans to perform the task. When humans are around, dogs employ a series of solicitation and attention-seeking behaviors to petition for help. Horowitz (2009, 181) declares, "By standard intelligence tests, the dogs have failed at the puzzle. I believe, by contrast that they have succeeded magnificently. They have applied a novel tool to the task. We are that tool. Dogs have learned this—and they see us as fine general-purpose tools, too: useful for protection, acquiring food, providing companionship."*

SOCIAL SCIENCES MEET THE BIOLOGICAL SCIENCES, SHAKE HANDS, AND MAKE A DEAL

I applied for tenure and promotion October 2014, and as part of that process at Brock University, I was required to submit a list of external reviewers who, in addition to the department and larger university faculty of social science committee, would evaluate my research, teaching, and service dossiers. As my research and teaching draws from the natural sciences, social sciences, and humanities, and critical animal studies was founded by interdisciplinary scholars, I generated a list of relevant academics who work across a variety of disciplines.

Keeping with Brock's strategic mandate, which explicitly values "transdisciplinarity," I assumed that my list was appropriate both to my subfield as well as to the university's expectations. This list was then voted on prior and separate to my application. I sweated in the hallway while my colleagues deliberated on my proposed list of external reviewers. When the door finally opened, I was greeted with a significant question, "Why weren't there more social scientists on my list?" Given my interest in nonhuman animal sociality, much of my work had recently been informed by the biological sciences. Unfortunately, social scientists tend not to discuss other animals' societies, yet I wanted scholars on my list who recognize nonhuman animals' own lives, including their own social relationships.

My home discipline of sociology has greatly presumed that society is, by definition, the study of human social relationships. Indeed, the notion of "the social" is indivisibly tied to humanity and what it means to be human. In other words, sociology largely begins with an anthropocentric definition of society as one of its foundational premises. When sociologists study other animals, they do so insofar as they relate to human society, such that the definition of society remains wholly undisturbed. That bias holds throughout the social sciences in which the social is assumed to be the exclusive purview of humanity.

Anthropologist Barbara Noske clearly maps the humanist biases within the social sciences and biological sciences in her groundbreaking book *Beyond Boundaries: Humans and Animals* (1989); she shows how questions regarding nonhuman animal subjectivities, societies, and culturality become largely unthinkable within either of these major academic subsets due to their a priori assumptions about humans and nonhuman animals. In the case of both the social sciences and the biological sciences, other animals are not afforded the possibility of subjectivity, let alone complex subjectivity. First, regarding the social sciences, Noske (1989, 81–21) states,

> The field of the social scientist simply does not include animals as independent beings; one does not look for the social and the cultural where it cannot be found, that is, outside of the human sphere. After all, social science is the science of man—and increasingly of woman—and so social scientists have little or not time for the non-human. And since they began by defining sociality and culturality as exclusively human phenomena, they fall victim to the circular argument that animals, not being human, can in no way be social or cultural beings, as this would be a contradiction in terms.

Second, regarding the biological sciences, she argues,

> Biologists have increasingly come to view the animal as an object to be dissected into its smallest constituent parts, and animal actions as mechanisms of living matter governed by natural laws . . . Nowadays the essential apparatus of the biological sciences consists of genes, phenotypes, genetic variation, genetic transmission and selection. Arthur Caplan has noted that the interactions of these factors are held to be adequate for explaining not only the origin but also the presence of any and all of the persistent traits in living creatures (Noske, 83–84).

Although increasingly there are exceptions, generally speaking, both the social and the biological sciences create a reductionist image of other animals and nonhuman animality. In the sense that we speak of dehumanization, Noske writes of de-animalization, in which nonhuman animal subjectivity is erased, the inner lives of other animals are considered irrelevant or nonexistent, and the kind of theoretical objectification within these academic fields replicates the objectification that factory farming and other industries enact in practice. In both cases, other animals are de-animalized. Consequently, we can think about the social sciences and the biological sciences, while generating different kinds of knowledge and often employing different kinds of methodologies, as nonetheless united in their profound humanism in a kind of academic house of mirrors, each reflecting back an objectified image of nonhuman animals to the other.

In 2011, I taught "Animals in Cross-Cultural Perspective," which was part of the course calendar, but that had not been taught before. Although I had read Noske's *Beyond Boundaries* years ago (which had piqued me to the possibility of nonhuman cultures) and I received two graduate degrees in environmental studies (in which theories of nature and human-nonhuman animal relations include intersectional analyses and complex versions of other animals' subjectivities), I nonetheless assumed that the course would take the expected form: Twelve weeks dedicated to thinking about different human cultural understandings of other animals, their practices, and human-nonhuman animal relationships. We would study different cultures, different countries, and different contexts.[5]

As I researched course material, though, I encountered the "nonhuman animal culture wars" (Kendal 2008). Some scholars within these debates argue that if we are willing to open to nonanthropocentric definitions of culture, it becomes clear that many nonhuman animal populations are cultural. Once we are willing to grant that some nonhuman animals also have cultural lives and are cultural beings, then it raises very challenging questions that seem to cause a great deal of anxiety: If certain nonhuman animals have cultures, and culture has been a key way we have defined what it means to be human, what does it mean to be human then? Consider Jane Goodall (1998), who first observed chimpanzees using sticks to fish ants out of logs. When she later reported her findings to Louis Leakey, he famously declared, "Now we must redefine 'tool', redefine 'man', or accept chimpanzees as humans." I think we are at a similar crossroads now. In light of very convincing research about nonhuman animal cultures, I teach the course in two parts: Nonhuman cultural understandings and human cultural understandings. We spend the first six weeks researching other animals' emotions, sociality, and, in some cases, cultures. Midway through the course we learn about industrial nonhuman animal exploitation as part of a transition into various human cultures and their relationships to other animals, all while employing an intersectional lens.

As critical animal studies is a new field, there are few precedents for pedagogy in this area. When I started teaching at Brock, it was the first time a professor had been hired anywhere to primarily teach and research in this area, although others (including my colleague John Sorenson) had taught CAS courses. So, while I can only speak as one person, I am in the unique position to exclusively teach CAS, and to do that over a seven-year period. What remains remarkable to me is that "Animals in Cross-Cultural Perspective" seems to inspire and motivate students about nonhuman animal issues more than any other course I teach. That may be partially due to my own particular enthusiasm for the material, but I think that at least part of that trend relates to the emotional connection the students develop with the other animals discussed through the materials.

I have come to believe, the more that I teach, that students' exposure to other animals' pain and suffering, coupled with intersectional analyses, is often not enough to thoroughly trouble their entrenched speciesism and anthropocentrism. Otherwise it is too easy to say, I intellectually agree, but still, "they're only animals." When discussions about nonhuman animals entail both descriptions of their subjectivities, including but beyond suffering, students are more greatly motivated to not only build better, multidirectional human-nonhuman animal relationships in their own lives but also to actively resist the capitalist commodification and objectification of other animals' lives. Nonhuman animals move from being seen as passive victims, to emotional, and often social and cultural subjects whose lives have inherent worth. Discussions of suffering alone, intersectional analyses alone, and anti-capitalist critiques alone do not seem to carry the weight they might otherwise when they are decoupled from broader representations of other animals' subjectivities.

The above arguments were drawn into sharper focus when I was visiting Farm Sanctuary for the first time. I had been studying industrial pig production throughout my graduate degrees, with an emphasis on the racialized and gendered dynamics of slaughterhouse labor. At the time, I had been vegan for years and had immersed myself in the nonhuman animal movements. I was hosting a nonhuman animal liberation radio show and conducting one-hour, weekly interviews with a variety of scholars and activists. I considered myself well educated about the "pork" industry and the conditions pigs and other animals endure under industrial capitalism, yet I left the pig barn at Farm Sanctuary startled. I had briefly stood among the pigs, and one rolled on her back for a belly rub. That wide-open motion and contented body language reminded me of my cat. Bending down, I hesitated to touch her. A staff member exclaimed, "They love belly rubs!" For me, this was a life-changing belly rub. It was just as possible that she was not like my cat, but my cat was like her. I had read a great deal about pigs, and nothing had affected me like this.

Given the reprehensible treatment of pigs within factory farms, in which female pigs are kept in gestation and farrowing crates so cramped they are unable to turn around, many people are fighting the industry to meet even the barest minimum of care. Pigs in factory farming conditions are often plagued by stereotypic behaviors, such as bar biting, pacing, and "vacuum chewing" (chewing with nothing present), which signal stress and boredom. Still, the Canadian National Farm Animal Care Council (2014, 5) *Code of Practice* for pigs reminds us, "The Requirements and Recommended Practices in this document represent a challenging balance between animal welfare and the abilities of producers to effect change in an economically viable way."

The "Recommendations" in The Code suggest "provid[ing] continual access to a range of novel suspended toys such as cloth strips or rubber, or straw dispensers, along with free toys on the pen floor in housing where the use of substrates may impede manure management systems" (Canadian National Farm Animal Care Council 2014, 19). They lament, "[o]bjects used for enrichment can quickly lose their novelty value, so it is unlikely that long-term use of the same object will continue to satisfy pigs' enrichment needs" (Canadian National Farm Animal Care Council 2014, 19). These industry handbook comments are distinct reminders that pigs are highly curious and have the capacity to enjoy their lives when given the opportunity, yet even if these forms of enrichment were consistently met, what chance would they have to form friendships and other relationships? Enrichment, perhaps one of the most sophisticated standards for nonhuman animal welfare—one that acknowledges other animals' psychology—seems bleak in comparison to the complexity of pigs' hearts and minds. Industrial production can never truly provide for pigs' potential.

Vignette Four: Friendship Outside of the Factory Farm—Hope and Johnny

Jeffrey Moussaieff Masson (2003) shares the story of two pigs named Hope and Johnny who lived at Farm Sanctuary in California:

> *Able to scoot round on the barn on her three good legs, she could not walk. Johnny, who was much younger than Hope, bonded closely with her. At night, he would always sleep right next to her, keeping her warm on cold nights. In the morning, Bauston would bring Hope bowls of food and water. Johnny would stay with her to keep the other pigs from interfering with her or taking her food. During the day, Johnny would spend most of his time hanging out in the barn with Hope. When Hope died of old age, Johnny was still a young and healthy pig. Maybe he knew about death. The death of his closest friend seemed to devastate him; he died suddenly and unexpectedly within a couple of weeks after Hope, perhaps of a broken heart.*

NOTES

1. Michael Mikulak (2007) coined the term to describe the ideological impact of Earth First! activism.

2. Brock University's Department of Sociology currently houses the greatest number of CAS classes at any postsecondary institution, in addition to offering a concentration and minor in CAS. My position at Brock allows me to develop curriculum and assess its impact through direct feedback from students (either in person or through letters), from teaching assistants, and course evaluations. While I cannot claim that these observations are generalizable to all populations, my courses provide some unique understanding into what reaches students most and how certain curricular choices are more effective than others. That said, certainly my students have various privileges not afforded to everyone: The course demographics include mostly white students and tend to have more women than men. Concomitantly, the university is located in St. Catharines, a city situated within the economically depressed area of Niagara, Ontario. Students are often the first generation within their families to attend university.

3. In particular, I am indebted to Jason Hribal (2007) for his histories of nonhuman animal agency and resistance, which greatly inspired my shift from suffering to a broader approach based on solidarity.

4. According to Marc Bekoff (2005, 40), "Cognitive ethology is the comparative, evolutionary, and ecological study of nonhuman animal (hereafter animal) minds including thought processes, beliefs, rationality, information-processing, and consciousness."

5. A deeper discussion of these points can be found in my coauthored piece, "Radical Humility Toward a More Holistic Critical Animal Studies Pedagogy" (Corman and Vandrovcová, 2014).

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12

Capitalism and the Commodification of Animals: The Need for Critical Vegan Praxis, Animated by Anarchism!

Richard J. White

> Not only is structural violence inherent in the capitalist system, but it results in death on a genocidal scale.
>
> (Leech 2012, 4)

> "Only 10 years ago, roughly 12% of global food and drink products carried any vegetarian or vegan claims, but now even Wal-Mart Stores are stocked with vegan labeled products. Global sales of vegan products are expected to reach $5 Billion by 2020. This trend will continue, so what's driving forward the growth of vegan businesses? There are four main reasons: Millennials are interested, entrepreneurs are working, diseases are growing, billionaires are investing."
>
> (Caldera 2016)

> "Anarchy, being as it is opposed to the many "isms" that keep groups under the dominion of a ruling class or organization (sexism, racism, nationalism) seems a logical place to ideologically position oneself as an opponent to speciesism: the belief that human needs and desires trump those of other species."
>
> (Socha 2012, 17)

> Veganism doesn't solve all the world's problems, but it can offer a springboard into rethinking human-animal relationships, help resist the objectification of animals' lives, and interrupt the idea that animals exist for us.
>
> (Corman 2014)

INTRODUCTION

In many ways, the old Dickensian adage "it was the best of times, it was the worst of times," captures the contemporary nature(s) of the relationship(s) between human and nonhuman animals. For one thing, advanced largely through animal studies, our *academic* knowledge regarding the remarkable beauty, deep intelligence, and rich emotional capabilities and capacities of nonhuman sentient beings is undoubtedly the most extensive it has ever been. Engaged within and beyond academia, these richer layers of understanding have the potential to invite more complex readings of existing human-animal relations, and articulate new, mutually empowering forms of inter-species engagement and ways of being. However, in most cases, animal studies have stopped short of explicitly problematizing the moral and ethical implications that are caught up in our existing relations with fellow earthlings. The notable exceptions here have been those activist-scholars who define the evolving spaces on which an explicitly critical animal studies (CAS) discourse stands (Nocella et al. 2014; Gillespie and Collard 2015). For it is this interdisciplinary community that has always sought to apply knowledge directly in ways that recognizes "the animal condition" (Pederson and Stănescu 2012, ix). This is largely motivated by the desire to continually expose, challenge, and reconfigure many overt forms of prejudice and bigotry that have been used to perpetuate a false "human/animal" binary, and justify human supremacy and speciesist practices. However, *despite* our heightened consciousness concerning the complexity of other animals, and *despite* CAS acting as a tremendous source of inter-species solidarity, the promises that CAS carries—of freedom, liberation and life—will *never* be experienced by billions of human and nonhuman animals alive today and the billions that are yet to be born.

If knowledge is power, then it would seem that critical animal studies are currently nowhere near powerful enough to mount an effective challenge to dismantle those entrenched hegemonic forms of oppression experienced by other animals. This certainly appears to be the case when focusing on farming, "which has long been, and continues to be, the most significant social formation of human–animal relations" (Calvo 2008, 32), and particularly so within the immense, and increasing, capitalist exploitation of nonhuman animal bodies through industrial farming practices. In this context, it will be argued that, despite an unprecedented momentum and visibility of academics and activists directly advocating social justice and total liberation *for all*, and despite the rise of veganism in the Western world, it is without a doubt that for many nonhuman animals our *anthropogenic* epoch undoubtedly represents—or will come to represent—the worst: indeed, the most evil, dark, sadistic, and hellish of times.

Reinforcing an urgent need to envisage and usher "postcapitalist" futures of nonhuman animal liberation into being, and thereby create important new counter-power spaces for CAS to occupy, this chapter focuses both on the struggle to resist capitalism and ways to embed alternative strategies of resistance in the everyday. In particular, the chapter explores the limits of appealing to veganism, *per se,* as a means of challenging capitalist exploitations of animals, both human and nonhuman. This serves as a perfect demonstration of the power of advanced capitalism to commodify the alternative by stripping out the radical praxis of veganism and repackaging this as an "alternative lifestyle choice." The challenge then becomes one of how to envisage and enact a postcapitalist world that is consistent with the appeal for total liberation of humans, other animals, and the Earth. To these ends, the chapter invokes a spirit of anarchism; a radical praxis that has significantly animated the trajectory of critical animal studies to date. Here, a narrative focused on re-imagining of the political economy of the household and community spaces through critical vegan praxis will be outlined.

The structure of the chapter is divided into three key sections. The opening section focuses on the relationship between capitalism and industrial farming, with the intent of drawing attention to the *for-profit* rationales that underpin and legitimate the abusive treatment of "farmed" [sic] nonhuman animals. As Dominick (2015, 35) observes

> (W)e know factory farming wasn't invented as a means of mass sadism; it was established because abusing animals on a large scale is generally more profitable than mistreating them less severely on a small scale.

Indeed, the decision to use the referent "animals," rather than "nonhuman animals" in the title of this chapter was deliberate, for we must be sensitive to the reality that capitalist exploitation of nonhuman animals always overlaps and intersects with human rights violations at some significant level. Indeed, one of the particularly important and emancipatory frontiers of critical research in human-animal relations continues to be embedded in research which approaches these intersections through the prisms of class, gender, and race. The second section, having acknowledged the importance of anarchist praxis within the trajectories of critical animal studies, focuses in more detail about the limits of appealing to veganism as an effective counter-power strategy both to 1) confront the capitalist exploitation of animals and 2) bring forward postcapitalist worlds rich in anarchist narratives of freedom and social justice. In considering how to address these limits of veganism, the third section draws on the importance of bringing these postcapitalist worlds into being through harnessing a critical vegan praxis in our immediate household and broader community spaces.

CAPITALISM, COMMODIFICATION, AND THE EXPLOITATION OF ANIMALS

All societies have economies in which goods and services are produced, exchanged, and consumed. Here two things should be recognized: first, there is nothing natural or inevitable about how economies are organized; and second, there are extraordinarily diverse modes of economic organization functioning within any given society at any one time. With this understanding, though, given its centrality in the chapter, it is important to understand what is meant by capitalism. Most general definitions of a "capitalist" society would broadly agree that this is a society where goods and services are increasingly "organized around the systematic pursuit of profit in the marketplace" (Williams 2005, 13). The term *commodification*, "highlights the fact that the commodity status of a thing, object, idea, creature, person, or what-have-you is not intrinsic to it but, rather, assigned . . . it usefully connotes a process or state that is irreducible to the thing/s being commodified but which nonetheless affect them . . ." (Castree 2003, 277). Given the focus on anarchist praxis in this chapter, and particularly in this context of this present discussion of commodified relations, it is also timely to offer an understanding of anarchism:

> *Anarchism is a purity of rebellion.* A pig who struggles wildly and rends the air with his cries while he is held to be slaughtered, and a baby who kicks and screams when, wanting warmth and his mother's breast, he is made to wait in the cold—these are two samples of natural rebellion. Natural rebellion always inspires either deep sympathy and identification with the rebelling creature or a stiffening of the heart and an activation of aggressive-defensive mechanisms to silence an accusing truth. This truth is that each living being is an end in itself; that nothing gives a being the right to make another a mere instrument of his purposes. (Baldelli 1972, 17)

Baldelli's final sentence perfectly, if unintentionally, captures the ethical violations that occur when sentient life is commodified. Life caught up within the capitalist matrix is valued *instrumentally* (as means to other ends) rather than *intrinsically* (as an end in itself), and perhaps nowhere do such violations occur on such an enormous level as they do within the Animal Industrial Complex. With reference to Noske (1989), Twine (2012, 23) succinctly defines the "Animal Industrial Complex" as

> a partly opaque and multiple set of networks and relationships between the corporate (agricultural) sector, governments, and public and private science. With economic, cultural, social, and affective dimensions, it encompasses an extensive range of practices, technologies, images, identities, and markets.

Great effort has been made within the CAS literature to capture the multiple ways in which nonhuman animals have been cruelly, violently commodified, and exploited by overt capitalist practices (Nibert 2014; Novek 2013; Pachirat 2013; Twine 2013; Stallwood 2014; Sorenson 2014). Though the extent and nature of capitalism in contemporary Western society is subject to ongoing contestation (White and Williams 2012, 2014), there is little doubt that the practices followed by nonhuman animal industries "are embedded in a capitalistic fabric" (Noske 1989, 22). Within these spaces, hierarchical speciesist power relations are institutionalized, and human-animal relationships are transformed in ways that "treat livestock [sic] animals as tools for production and as commodities themselves, prioritizing exchange-values over use values" (Stuart, Schewe, and Gunderson 2013, 209). Even the very language used to differentiate, objectify, and value the unique nature of those nonhuman animals caught in these capitalist spaces is ugly and material. As Wadiwel (2016, 162–163) observes "For 'livestock,' value is tied to the animal's death, since value will only be fully realized when the animal has been raised, is killed, and is converted into meat."

While recognizing that the domination of nature and the capitalist commodification of nonhuman animals manifests itself in many different ways, from horse racing, zoos and circuses to exotic "pet" trades, "canned" hunts, and vivisection, the "political economy of meat production [is] a key social form in which certain species of nonhuman animal are exploited and oppressed. In turn, it is part of a wider system, the domination of nature" (Calvo 2008, 33). Here the sheer scale of nonhuman animal abuse (always culminating in a violence that will directly lead to the animal's death) within industrial farming is staggering:

> Factory farming and industrialised slaughter technologies, for examples, enable a monstrous deployment of violence and extermination. The scale of death defies imagination. One conservative estimate is that worldwide over 60 billion land animals are killed annually for food. Since these figures do not include sea animals killed for human use, they do not illustrate the full scale of death. (Wadiwel 2015, 6).

Part of the power of exploitation lies in the stupefying statistics: in the impossibility to comprehend them, let alone to formulating actions in the name of liberation. Working with an earlier estimate of 55 billion land-dwelling nonhuman animals, Les Mitchell (2011, 38) appeals to a sense of geography to try and offer connection:

> Worldwide, approximately 55 billion land-based nonhumans are killed every year in the farming industry . . . This is over 150 million individuals each day

> or the equivalent of the populations of South Africa, Zambia, Zimbabwe, Malawi, Mozambique, Namibia, Botswana, and Angola . . . Except for a very tiny minority, all the nonhumans in the industry will meet with a violent death at a relatively young age; all will have been confined during their lives; many will have been mutilated; numerous females will have been repeatedly made pregnant but their young taken away shortly after birth; family structures will have been destroyed.

Today, the approximate number of land-dwelling farmed animals killed every year is closer to 70 billion. While it is a struggle to comprehend the sheer magnitude of oppression and suffering, it is important to focus on more immediate, personal human/nonhuman animal relations and actual places of exploitation in order to provide meaning, recognizable contexts, and "achievable" means of intervention.

Qualitative (ethnographic) research focused on industrial farming has time and time again indicated how barbarous practices—"where cruelty is casually dispensed on an unimaginable scale" (Gellatley and Wardle, 1996) are anything but exceptional, and indeed are indicative of normal standard practice (Regan 2004). Despite the belief that the most horrific accounts of cruelty are found within factory farms, (a self-interested idea promoted by capitalist industries keen to market and promote "free-range," "organic," or "ethically sourced" animal flesh as the "cruelty-free" alternative), as Wadiwel (2015, 286) argues: the "idea that there is a 'humane form of killing,' a 'civilized' way to kill is already oxymoronic."

Why such systematic cruelty takes place can be understood with reference to the capitalist imperative to maximize profit, and as such, these terrible and destructive practices become *intrinsic* to capitalist logic. Commodified nonhuman animal bodies are valued only in ways that serve to maximize the owner's profit, even if these fundamentally override and violate all ethical norms. As Stuart, et al. (2012, 209) argue:

> When animals become commodities or production devises they are no longer seen as beings with moral status, and to meet the demands of industry, they are subjected to conditions that do not match their living requirements . . . To maximise profits, capitalist logic squeezes as much from the animal as possible, giving the minimum attention to basic needs. This push for profit is most obvious in industrial or "factory" farms.

What has been emphasized many times by critical animal scholars, and critical research on human-animal relations more generally, is the dark reality that capitalist modes of exploitation and violence in the farming industry—its "fundamental nature" (Mitchell 2011, 9)—are never just about nonhuman animals. Notwithstanding that the treatment of other animals in industrial farms may well be "the worst crime in history" (Harari, 2015), the violence unleashed by capitalism must not be allowed to obscure those broader realities that demonstrate how this violence spans "the species divide." In this context, a significant body of critical literature has drawn attention to these entangled connections in a number of ways, particularly through exploring the intersectional and interlocking forms of oppression between speciesism, class, racism, and sexism (Cochrane 2010; Eisnitz 2006; Fitzgerald and Pellow 2014; Nibert 2003; Pachirat 2013). As Gillespie (2013, 2) points out, these connections of capitalist repertoires of human-nonhuman animal violence are not "optional" extras but are absolutely central to understanding the complex reality of these capitalist circuits of dominion and power:

> Understanding this commodification is important both for the sake of the individual animals laboring and dying within the industry and for the more extensive project of uncovering the consequences of gendered commodification of all bodies—nonhuman and human—and the violent power structures to which they are subjected. Animal bodies, and particularly farmed animal bodies, are subject to mundane, routinized forms of violence in everyday agricultural practice.

Some illustrative ways in which industrial capitalist farming practices routinely violate basic human rights for those working with the slaughterhouse itself include the risk of "chronic respiratory disorders, exacerbation of asthma, cardiovascular complications, and premature death" (Food Empowerment Movement 2016); ill treatment of illegal migrants (Torres and Torres 2005); emotional distress (Leenaert 2016); low pay, physical and verbal abuse (Arrieta 2004); and so on. Focusing on North America, Spangher (2014) reported that:

> Workers in the "meat" industry make an average of $23,000 a year, work 10-plus hours a day, are pushed so hard they often defecate in their pants to avoid slowing down, and suffer a repetitive motion injury rate 30 times the national average.

To maximize profit—where time equals money—the appalling consequences witnessed in the systematic abuse of human rights are staggering.

Another connection needs to be emphasized, namely the fusion of "political" and "economic" interests. Contemporary research focused on the political economy that legitimates this industrialization and exploitation of animals continues to provide important insights into this opaque relationship, with Torres's (2007) *Making A Killing: The Political Economy of Animal Rights* being a particularly influential text here. Indeed, the fact that all of these highly profitable animal farming practices are perfectly legal is a deeply uncomfortable truth for many people; people who are otherwise:

> . . . of the opinion that animals are generally well cared for in animal industries, that laws protect animals, and that it is in the industry's best interest to treat others creature well. Nothing could be further from the truth. (Kemmerer 2011, 173).

As Garcia (2011, 143) writes, "factory farming is a government-sponsored conventional and institutionalised form of animal abuse." Thus, the desire to challenge and dismantle these key intersections of violence and to challenge the exploitation within these capitalist spaces, nonhuman animal liberationist intimately bound up with human liberation.

CHALLENGING CAPITALISM THROUGH VEGANISM THE DANGER OF COMMODIFICATION

There are many inspiring examples of animal-rights activism that challenge and close down capitalist spaces of oppression (Best and Nocella 2006). Concentrating on industrial farming practices, a significant focus of nonhuman animal rights activists—synonymous with the rise of the Animal Liberation Front (ALF) from the 1970s onwards—has been to engage in diverse forms of illegal direct action. Here, the primary intention has been to transgress private, capitalist spaces of oppression, and certainly this has been witnessed in activism focused on factory farms and slaughterhouses. This has been undertaken at considerable personal risk and sacrifices for activists. This risk has often been perceived in terms of the danger of loss of freedom (of being arrested and incarcerated), but there has also been a great personal price to be paid for these undercover operations: a consequence of bearing witness to violence, misery, and suffering. As Ornelas (2011, 153) says:

> Animal investigations are emotionally draining . . . I was horrified watching workers hang ducks upside down on the slaughter line, while some fell off in a desperate attempt to escape. I was deeply saddened by the haunting echoes of confined pregnant pigs banging their heads against bars of crates so narrow that they couldn't turn around.

The dominant justifications for such high-risk activism may be to directly liberate nonhuman animals from these hellish spaces and/or to bring new truths to light that expose the lies and propaganda perpetuated by the animal abuse industry. Through doing so, the hope and the expectation is that this heightened awareness may change hearts and minds in ways that inform future ethical decisions, by encouraging the individual to withdraw their (financial) support for such practices and speak out against them wherever possible.

When these acts of liberation take place in societies where the government is in the thrall of capitalism, their success can perhaps be measured in the excessive legislation and enforcement measurements that follow. Nonhuman animal liberation activists, for example, continue to be among the FBI's "highest domestic terrorism priorities" (Woodhouse 2012). Within North America, some of the most draconian laws in recent years include the Animal Enterprise Terrorism Act (AETA) and other so-called "ag-gag laws," which criminalize undercover investigations of business which exploit other animals (Phelps 2013).

Another key radical form of activism within critical animal studies (Jenkins and Stănescu 2014) and beyond has been to directly appeal to individuals to act ethically in ways that minimize violence against human and nonhuman animal life. Central within this call has been the call to 'go vegan!' Nibert (2013, 261), for example, maintains that promoting veganism is an important part of a broader strategy in the struggle against entangled oppression:

> In the face of these realities, not the least of which is the exploitation and violence against growing numbers of domesecrated animals, the morally responsible position is to practice and promote global veganism.

Prima facie in a capitalist world, veganism as a counter-power strategy in which individuals refuse to financially give support to capitalist enterprises that profit from the ongoing commodification of other animals clearly makes sense. If success could be gauged from the growing number of individuals who identify as vegan, then there would be plenty of reasons to celebrate! Focusing on Western society, for example, within European countries, the number of vegetarians and vegans stands at all-time high. In the United Kingdom alone, the Vegan Society (2016b) reported that, "at least 542,000 people in Britain are now following a vegan diet," an increase of 350 percent over the last decade. Focusing on North American population, Watters (2015) notes, "In 2009, a tiny 1 percent of the U.S. population reported eating vegetarian or vegan. Now, 5 percent of the U.S. population is vegetarian, and half of those people are vegan . . . to think that 16 million people in this country eat absolutely no animal products is pretty amazing."

However, one of the key strengths of capitalism and a key factor of its resilience, fluidity, and dynamism is its ability, "to absorb and reduce all values to exchange values, to commodify everything and put a price on it, *including protest itself*" (Cohen 2015, 162). In this context the danger is that, far from being the radical and critical "alternative" that it is envisaged to be, veganism is subjected to capitalist forms of appropriation and commodification in ways that strip it of any critical intent. Ultimately, this leads to veganism re-packaged and promoted in ways that serve to function as another profitable consumer-based "lifestyle" choice. Indeed, as will be mentioned later in the chapter, there is also a disturbing failure to recognize the capitalist economic practices that potentially underpin the production and distribution of vegan foods, practices that are highly exploitative of both human labor and wider natural environments (Taylor and Sturdy 2013; Food Empowerment Project 2016). On a critical reading of the actual impacts of the rise of veganism across contemporary society, it is difficult to conclude otherwise than to see that a type of commodified veganism has prospered, one uncoupled from its radical roots and divorced from activist intent. It comes as no surprise then to observe how veganism has being marketed as a wonderful business opportunity! The following extracts, taken from *Vegetarian Means Business. Market Strategy and Research Report* (Ginsberg 2011), illustrate and illuminate this commodified reality:

> Would-be entrepreneurs as well as established professionals can benefit from understanding the market and competition in order to determine the best opportunities for success. Given that the trends driving interest in vegetarian eating appear likely to continue, savvy business people can not only profit by catering to this need but also build demand by offering plant-based foods that are delicious, convenient, and affordable (Ginsberg 2011, 3).
>
> Although vegans are a small fraction of the population, they are heavy users of products that meet their needs. They can be loyal, enthusiastic customers who generate word-of-mouth recommendations not only to other vegans but also to the full spectrum of vegetarian eaters (Ginsberg 2011, 6).
>
> A 2004 *Los Angeles Times* article noted the influence vegans have had in the automotive field. "Pleasing vegans, the theory goes, is key to reaching a wider group of consumers—affluent shoppers who worry about the environment and who are willing to pay extra for food, clothing and even automobiles, if they are made in ways that do less harm to the planet" (Ibid).
>
> As a marketer, you want to identify with the passionate group . . . The middle of the bull's-eye is where you want to focus your marketing, and then you want to expand your message around that. If you draw these concentric circles, the middle of the bull's-eye right now is the vegan.—Bob Kurilko of Edmunds.com (Ibid)
>
> Although the trend isn't yet measurable, media coverage suggests the number of vegans may be on the rise. A 2011 article in the *Chicago Sun-Times* reported, "Veganism is moving from marginal to mainstream in the United States." Kathryn Peters of SPINS, a market research and consulting firm for the natural products industry, was quoted in *Natural Foods Merchandiser* as saying, "We're seeing more celebrity endorsements. It's becoming chic" (Ibid).

Thus, far from bringing the industries that profit from nonhuman animal abuse to their knees, veganism has become a handmaiden to capitalism, yet another lucrative way to increase profit margins. That vegan food products are "big business" can be seen in the incredible growth this sector has enjoyed. For example, the Vegan Society (2016a) reported that:

> The Mintel Meat-Free Foods U.K. Report for 2012 shows that meat-free and free-from sales are expected to reach a total of £949 million in 2012, with meat-free sales set to reach £607 million, and free-from market sales expected to reach £342 million. Almost four in 10 (38 percent) Britons have bought vegetarian or meat-free food, while one in five (20 percent) has bought free-from food. The growth of the soya, rice, and other alternatives to dairy milks

> as well as the dairy-free margarine market show the potential for this segment of the market.

More recent U.K. figures attest to this trend:

> In 2013, the U.K. meat-free food market hit £625 million in sales, a figure forecasted to rise to £657 million in 2014. Today, some 12 percent of the U.K. population identify as either vegan or vegetarian, and 20 percent of 16- to 25-year-olds self-identify this way. Jennifer Pardoe, founder of London plant-based food consultancy Zest says businesses are slowly recognising the "mega trend." Recently, we have seen brands like Birdseye introduce plant-based meal options and Sainsbury's create clearer vegan and vegetarian product labelling.
>
> "With more people becoming plant curious, restaurants and supermarkets are realizing they need high-quality, plant-based food options to satisfy consumer demand," explains Pardoe. (Clarkson, 2014)

The inconvenient and unpalatable truth to be told here is that of all the vegan meals consumed, of all the many brave and uncompromising forms of nonhuman animal activism and activists campaigns that have drawn attention to the atrocities of farmed animals, of all the thousands of words written in the name of CAS, when taken individually or collectively, would seem to have had little tangible impact on preventing the rampant acceleration and intensification of global capitalist farming practices. The Worldwatch Institute (2013), for example (I include this quote directly not only to illustrate the figures but also to draw attention to the speciesist language used, where individual sentient beings are aggregated into tonnage), reported that:

> In 2007, meat production remained steady at an estimated 275 million tons; in 2008, output is expected to top 280 million tons. Experts predict that by 2050 nearly twice as much meat will be produced as today, for a projected total of more than 465 million tons. For more than a decade, the strongest increases in production have been in the developing world—in 1995 more meat and dairy products were produced in developing than in industrial countries for the first time, and this trend has continued ever since. In fact, in 2007 at least 60 percent of meat was produced in developing nations.

Indeed, within European countries the trend and future projection is similar:

> Beef and poultry production in the European Union (EU) has been growing steadily this year, putting the sectors on track for further growth in 2015, said a new European Commission (EC) report, released on October 8. (Lange-Chenier, 2014)

Finally, in North America, despite consuming less red "meat," the demand for "poultry" continues to expand. So too does the industrial farm, as "the meat industry lurches on, consolidating operations and stuffing its factory-scale facilities ever tighter with animals . . .” (Philpott 2015). All of this evidence supports the underrepresented critiques that are emerging within critical animal studies, exemplified by Dominick’s (2016, 27) conclusion: “Veganism is not a counter-power movement. It involves at most a hint of a strategy and lacks even the pretense of an institutional alternative to decrease human impact on nonhuman animals.”

In the face of these deeply alarming trends, how can the cutting edge of critical animal studies be sharpened and strengthened in meaningful ways to challenge capitalism and build new counter-power spaces? What would it be to envisage and enact a postcapitalist world where, at a minimum, nonhuman animal abuse and exploitation were uncoupled from the profit-motive and not subjected to capitalist process of commodification? What role would veganism play both in and as a means of achieving a postcapitalist world? The chapter responds to these questions by emphasizing the centrality of anarchist praxis within critical animal studies and focuses on “the household” as an overlooked but crucial site of vegan praxis and intersectional activism.

TOWARD A CRITICAL VEGAN PRAXIS, ANIMATED BY ANARCHISM

> “. . . I see evidence every day of my life that anarchism’s core principles and promises make a lot of sense to those of us who are committed to total liberation—ideas, scholarship, artistic expression, and action aimed at challenging all forms of oppression.”
>
> (Pellow 2015, 1)

To date, the theory and practice (praxis) of anarchism has enjoyed great influence within CAS (Nocella et al. 2014; White 2015, a, b; White and Cudworth 2014). Indeed, through its commitment toward direct action and prefigurative praxis as a means of challenging domination, exploitation, and oppression, anarchism has long been a significant inspiration for nonhuman animal liberation activists, and social justice movements more generally (Colling et al. 2014; Kinna 2012). It is little surprise to note then that understanding, challenging, and confronting capitalism has been a keen and consistent focus within the rich and diverse canon of anarchist literature (Shannon et al. 2012). What must be stressed again here, not least to challenge deliberate misreading’s of anarchism, is that anarchist praxis: (1) is concerned with addressing *all* forms of dominion, and as such “is not reducible to economics—or even economics and political life” (Shannon, et al. 2012, 13); and (2) anarchism emphases the importance of nonviolence as means of achieving social justice (Franks and Wilson 2010).

These two crucial points are perfectly captured by the vegan anarchist geographer Simon Springer (2012, 2016), who argued that the core of anarchist thought should be:

> properly understood as the rejection of all forms of domination, exploitation, and "archy" (systems of rule), hence the word "an-archy" (against systems of rule). Anarchism is a theory and practice that seeks to produce a society wherein individuals may freely co-operate together as equals in every respect, not before a law or sovereign guarantee—which enter new forms of authority, imposed criteria of belonging, and rigid territorial bindings—but before themselves in solidarity and mutual respect. Consequently, anarchism opposes all systems of rule or forms of archy (i.e., hierarchy, patriarchy, monarchy, oligarchy, anthroparchy, etc.) and is instead premised upon co-operative and egalitarian forms of social, political, and economic organization, where ever evolving and autonomous spatialities may flourish. Although it has often been said that there are as many anarchisms as there are anarchists, my contention is that anarchism should embrace an ethic of nonviolence precisely because violence is recognized as both an act and process of domination.

It is this recognition of the intersectional nature of violence and oppression—and the way these transgress species boundaries—that enables anarchism, of all the radical and dissident traditions, to offer particularly timely, and critical interventions. Indeed, a common interspecies sense of freedom, suffering, and resistance has often been woven together by anarchists' critiques of cruelty and brutality. The Baldelli (1972) quote highlighted earlier in the chapter was one example of this; here the French anarchist geographer Élisée Reclus (2009), in *The Great Kinship of Humans and Fauna* wrote this striking—and poignant passage:

> The poet sees in [cats] magicians; it is that in fact they do seem at times more intelligent than their human friends, in their presentiment of the future. And such and such "happy family," exhibited by showmen in the fairs, does it prove to us that rats, mice, guinea pigs and so many other little creatures, only desire to enter, with man, into the great kinship of gladness and kindness? Every prison cell is soon transformed—provided the warders do not impose "good order"—into a school of lower animals, rats and mice, flies and fleas. The story of Pelisson's spider is well known. The prisoner had begun again to take interest in life, thanks to the little friend whose training he had undertaken, but a guardian of order appears on the scene, and avenging official morality with his boot, crushes the creature which had come to console the unfortunate man!

What I want to impress upon is the importance of taking a critical look at anarchist (vegan) praxis through acknowledging the revolutionary potential that is present within the everyday (household/postcapitalist) spaces we occupy. This emphasis is entirely consistent with an anarchist desire to focus on engaging the complex realities of the here and now, thereby resisting the temptation to indulge in excessively utopian visions of a postcapitalist future. Similarly, the delusional way of thinking that the total liberation we desire will be achieved by either adopting a politics of waiting, or by desiring other people to create the changes in the world we wish to see, is also refused. For, as Dominick (2015, 39) argues, "It's not enough to behave as if the world were different; we have to make the world different."

Here we must also be mindful of another question: would a postcapitalist society, one in which there were no capitalist spaces of nonhuman animal abuse and exploitation, be free from animal oppression? Unfortunately, and not dismissing the fact that, "the abolition of capital . . . would eliminate the most profoundly disproportionate incentive to establish mass-scale apparatus of animal exploitation" (Dominick 2015, 36) the answer is surely, *no*, for the geographies of violence toward (all) animals are far from limited or reducible to capitalist relations. There is still a broader speciesist tapestry of oppression that would need unpacking much further, and one, it must be said, that an anarchist reading of the intersectional natures of oppression is particularly well positioned to do. Moreover, focusing singularly on "the economic," when read as an increasingly influential mode of organizing within the global economy, neoliberal capitalism is still a recent phenomenon, no more than 40 years old. Of course, economies have been around as long as people have lived together, and the configuration of each has allowed specific forms of domination and subjugation to emerge. As Nibert (2003, 11) argues:

> The economic factors that primarily cause the oppression of humans and other animals can be traced to the latter stages of hunting and gathering society. Systematic stalking and killing of other animals contributed to other inequalities, such as the devaluation of women. Hunting shaped relations between female and male humans largely because the bodies of other animals became a prized asset and killing them enhanced male prestige and privilege.
>
> Capitalism largely continued the 10,000-year-old tradition of exploiting humans and other animals to create wealth and privilege for the few, exploitation that continued to bind the fate of devalued humans and other animals. (Nibert 2003, 12)

With this in mind, we should also be aware (and thankful for!) the fact that there are no off-the-shelf, made-to-order, "anarchist economic blueprint" waiting to be cut and pasted onto society. Far healthier to recognize that:

> . . . Anarchism, in fact, cannot be linked to a particular economic system. Justice is social rather than economic, and injustice and oppression are compatible with any economic system so far devised. There can be no freedom where the modes of production and consumption are decided on any grounds

> other than a particular society's needs and resources . . . The economic system acceptable to anarchists is one free from coercion; its name and particular modes of operation are of secondary importance. Economy subordinated to ethics and not controlled by power—that is the anarchist formula. (Baldelli 1972, 21)

That said, it is possible to try and determine the relative presence or absence of anarchy in action within economic modes of organization (White and Williams 2014). For example, we can ask how consistent is an economic system with anti-capitalist sentiment? How far does this economic system embody the social principles of anarchism, in particular by emphasizing mutuality, reciprocity, voluntary association, self-determination, horizontality, and experimentation (Shannon et al. 2012; Springer et al. 2016; Ward 1982)?

At the beginning of this chapter, attention was drawn toward the multiple possibilities about how economies could be—and are—organized in society. Embedded in a critical economic geography literature, a great deal of research highlights the pervasive nature of noncapitalist spaces of work and organization in contemporary society. Here, many important findings have focused explicitly on the household and related forms of community self-help. Within this context, research has shown how many of these daily coping practices are consistent with anarchist principles and modes of organizing (White and Williams 2014, 2016). The following section, will argue for the importance of explicitly locating vegan praxis firmly within the household, and radiating intersectional forms of activism outwards from this space. Thus, as well as acknowledging the importance of challenging the commodification of animals through popular direct forms of activism "out there," what overlooked possibilities for vegan praxis can be found by embedding these firstly in our ordinary everyday domestic environments? In many ways, this acts first an invitation to unleash a new radical imaginary that politicizes "the household." As Byrne, et al. (1998, 16) argued:

> We can view the household as hopelessly local, atomized, a set of disarticulated and isolated units, entwined and ensnared in capitalism's global order, incapable of serving as a site of class politics and radical social transformation. Or we can avoid conflating the micro logical with the merely local and recognize that the household is everywhere, and while it is related in various ways to capitalist exploitation, it is not simply consumed or negated by it. Understanding the household as a site of economic activity, one in which people negotiate and change their relations of exploitation and distribution in response to a wide variety of influences, may help to free us from the gloom that descends when a vision of socialist innovation is consigned to the wholesale transformation of the "capitalist" totality.

If critical attention is paid to the social organization of our household economies, mindful of how this can be done in ways that undermine the intersectional, interspecies natures of oppression and violence, then, rooting vegan anarchist geographies within the household holds great transformative and liberatory potential.

There are several strategic advantages gained by choosing to focus attention on the household, and a few indicative examples will be attempted here. The first is that, for many people, the household is often the space where affirmative and caring relations between humans and other animals can be found, epitomized by the presence of nonhuman companion animals. To encourage new empowered connections between this life-affirming space—which recognizes and values the uniqueness of companion animals (e.g., dogs, cats, and rabbits) therein—in ways to challenge the violent (farming) spaces that distance "us" from of other (farmed) animals (pigs, cows, and sheep) is important. As both Owen (2011) and DeVries (2012) suggest:

> The moving away from "face-to-face" positioning of nonhumans to making them "faceless" things must contribute to the cruelty many face today . . . Any possible switch from relating to nonhuman others as collectives to relating to them instead as individuals has profound implications for how we live on this planet and may have a significant narrative for the future. (Owen 2001, 281)

> The idea is that the more closely situated we are to animals and/or the more valued, cherished, and familiar that they are to us, the less likely we are to exploit them. One way of doing this is to form an emotional bond with an animal, something that frequently occurs with dogs, cats, horses, and other animals with which human beings often share close quarters. Another way would be to visit . . . the factory farms. . . . (DeVries 2012, 135)

Second, a focus on the household would encourage critical attention to be paid toward demonstrably "anarchist" modes of organization of the home and, in doing so, encourage further recognition that the household is a legitimate and central crucible of activism. Indeed, focusing on just 'the kitchen' space and the question of "food" itself comes loaded with potential, unjustifiable examples of "archy" that must be recognized and confronted: Who gets the food? Who prepares the food? Who cooks the food? Who sets the table? Who washes the dirty plates? Who puts away the plates? Where does the uneaten food go? Who empties the dustbin? What, if any, are the gendered divisions of labor here? Again, the intersections between class, gender, race, and speciesism are part of this tapestry of household work practices, and these questions are relevant when attempting to articulate and embody a resurgent critical vegan praxis. Crucially here, and always, "veganism" should neither be seen in isolation, nor as an end in itself. Rather, it is an integral part of broader liberatory currents.

Third, in terms of harnessing a critical vegan praxis within the household, the ability and the responsibility to actively seek out information in order to make better informed ethical choices about food and the production of that food is essential. Where real choices exist (and where they do not then 'how to help address this' becomes the challenge), households could be encouraged to engage in DIY food production. Not only would this allow households to participate in what is for many a pleasurable and cathartic activity, but by ensuring further self-provisioning of food, this directly avoids the need to purchase these and engage directly with the capitalist economy. Any surplus food could be distributed to the wider community, particularly aimed at those who are most in need, and done so via a myriad of not-for-profit forms of exchange. Valuable knowledge, experiences, and skills acquired in growing food could also be shared with others in the local community.

There is also, as mentioned earlier, a great need to raise awareness in ways that challenge the uncritical reflection that all vegan food is cruelty-free. Again, there is a responsibility to be active in learning about the (exploitation of) labor and the environment, in the production and distribution of "vegan" foods. It is this attitude, based on the awareness that genuine *choices* are possible, that explains why a critical vegan gaze should always look to question the conditions of which the food was produced and harvested.

Fourth, in what ways can the practice of freedom enacted in the household be connected and informed by other noncapitalist social and economic spheres, particularly in the wider community? This is the key challenge of reclaiming veganism as a radical praxis, as articulated by Corman (2014):

> The vegan challenge for many animal advocates has been to build coalitions across social justice and environmental movements, develop a stronger analysis of capitalism as a key driver of animal exploitation, and centralize the analyses of those who have always made the connections. In absence of these understandings, veganism is destined to stay a fringe activity of those who want their soy lattes free of animal products, and thus "cruelty-free," but saturated with other forms of misery.

Here direct support and/or expressions of solidarity for grassroots and community organizing groups such as *Food Not Bombs,* local food banks, rescue centers and shelters, and so on could be engaged meaningfully. Ultimately these spheres of freedom, building in size and momentum, are powerful affirmations of the ability to move ever closer toward a post-capitalist politics based on total liberation and freedom for all. To these ends:

> Vegan praxis must incorporate a discourse and affect that reflect not only animal liberation but also total liberation. Vegan praxis must be orientated toward challenging all oppressive power structures, externally—in the realm of material institutions—and internally—in discourse/ perception/ affect . . . A

> vegan praxis, ideally, is an ever-changing way of understanding and relations to oneself and all other beings based on empathy, authenticity, reciprocity, justice, and integrity—the principles that underscore true freedom. (Weitzenfeld and Joy 2014, 25)

Recognizing the ever fluid and dynamic nature of society, this ongoing unfolding spirit of freedom and change is important within anarchist sentiments of a (postcapitalist) world, considered by Socha (2012, 15):

> It [an anarchist society] is not a perfect society free from violence, hierarchy, and oppression; rather, it is an evolved society whose abiding objective is freedom from violence and oppression, not capital gain . . . .

This recognition should also be liberating for scholars and activists who central focus is intent on eradicating capitalism and all its represents. The paths toward freedom are many, as conversely are the paths toward violence, domination, and oppression. Thus, a rejection of dogmatic strategies to tackle the capitalist exploitation of other animals, and a turn toward embracing diversity and difference in strategies of resistance, all the better to reflect and respond to specific and contextual values and opportunities should be encouraged. As Dominick (2015, 27) argued:

> What if veganism and anarchism weren't do-or-die, go-for-broke ideologies but rather constellations of values and principles helping us plot our way to a better future?

What if, indeed! What wonderful new horizons and opportunities for liberation and freedom could yet emerge and prosper?

CONCLUSIONS

> In countless ways, the exploitation of animals rebounds to create crises within the human world itself. The vicious circle of violence and destruction can end only if and when the human species learns to form harmonious relations—nonhierarchical and nonexploitative—with other animal species and the natural world. Human, animal, and Earth liberation are interrelated projects that must be fought for as one (Best 2006).

A key aim of the chapter has been to better understand the ways in which capitalism commodifies both nonhuman and human life and seeks to appropriate potentially radical postcapitalist alternatives that are present in activist calls to "go vegan." The focus has been necessarily partial, particularly in the choice to concentrate exclusively on industrial farming practices: to the neglect of other examples of animal abuse done so for profit. Focusing on anything from the "pet" industry, zoos and circus, to hunting and vivisection would have been equally legitimate. The chapter ends, though, as it began, by recognizing that critical animal studies itself is in need of a critical appraisal: how far is the perception of the positive impacts CAS has had—and is having—in the world, reflected in actual lived realities?

In many ways, the challenge for critical animal studies seems to be greater than it has ever been. However, I would suggest that there exists, often in the most unexpected of places, wonderful examples and encounters of interspecies solidarity in the here and now; examples from which we can hopefully draw new depths of inspiration and strength from. In this context, while the need to reflect on the relative success and limits of critical animal studies is an ever present one, there must also be a willingness to push forward into new and increasingly radical directions, *if* this serves to effectively challenge the structural genocide of capitalism and other forms of oppression and domination. Fundamentally, though, these challenges will stand the most chance of success by taking the line of *greater* resistance; that is to say by changing those hearts and minds that are currently unaware of, or resistant too, appeals for a nonviolent, critical praxis of total liberation animated by anarchism. Of course, this challenge also demands that we take an honest look at where we (personally) are now in terms of our own activism and in our future ability "to be" an effective part of the wider change that we wish to see. Goodman (2011, 34) argued that:

> A free society cannot be the substitution of a "new order" for an old order; it is the extension of spheres of free action until they make up most of the social life.

Where better to begin then by focusing more critically on the prefigurative anarchist praxis within the household? How can a more conscious awareness of the everyday activism that takes place work to challenge ongoing, intersectional speciesist and capitalist relations "out there"? How can we strive to ensure that demonstrably anarchist spaces of freedom found within (our) households are always out there and everywhere in (our) worlds? Responding to this challenge, we should always be mindful that our deepest and greatest freedom will always be that which is intimately tied up with the freedom of our fellow beings:

> This is what anarchists mean by freedom. Left to our own devices, freed from the control of rulers and exploiters, we individuals would co-operate and combine in the way that we were intended to, in the same way as our fellow creatures, plants, insects, fungi, and microbes (Cudenec 2014).

If this chapter has served to generate some further insight and reflection, in ways that encourage constructive discussion—and activism—around questions of capitalism and the commodification of animals, vegan praxis, anarchism, and the importance of recognizing the household as an important site of activism, then it will have served an important and timely purpose.

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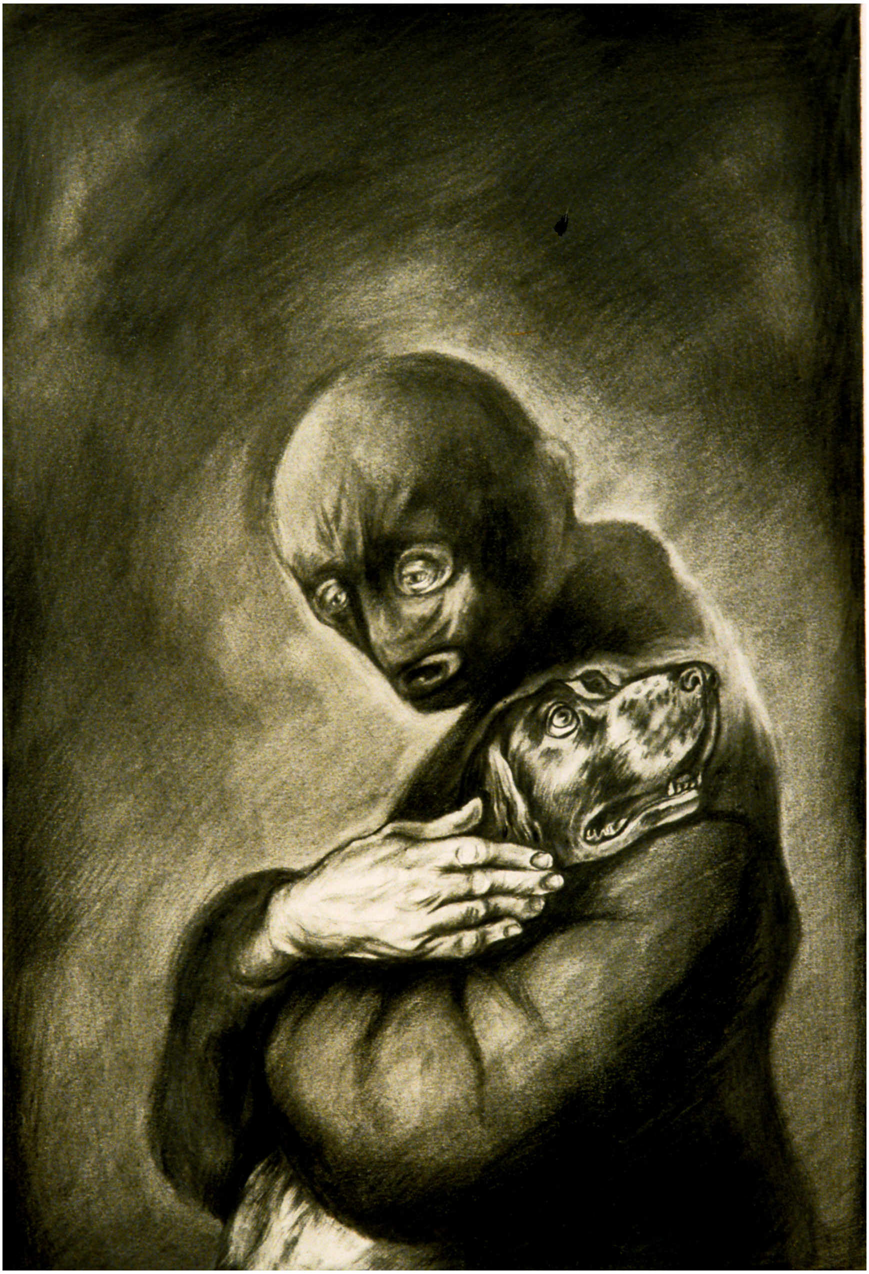

Liberator or Terrorist? (Copyright © 2004 Sue Coe. Courtesy Galerie St. Etienne, NY)

13

The Business of Revolution is Counterrevolutionary

Roger Yates

> In a video entitled *Understanding Sociology: Making Sense of Sociological Theory,*[1] Anthony Giddens explains what he regards as the chief defining characteristic of the capitalist economic system: *Everything can be bought and sold*. The narrator adds, "including people."
>
> *What's up with your vegan animal rights people? They just don't get capitalism.*[2]

The quote here comes from a presentation in Dublin, Ireland, entitled "Challenging Racism and Ableism within the Animal Liberation Movement and Fighting for Total Liberation" by Anthony Nocella II, which took place on March 2014. He was describing an "animal movement problem:" that other social justice movements do not take the modern-day nonhuman animal advocacy movement seriously. Nocella (2014) says they have good reason not to:

> We have to acknowledge, right off the bat, that animal rights people are very single-issue, maybe not the people in this room. But there are a lot of other people like P*e*TA that gives you all a bad name. So the moment you walk into a room, they think you are a member of P*e*TA, right, so they think you are sexist, ableist, and racist. Right off the bat, they think you're vegan, and you

> don't get any other issue. They might even think that you are a republican, a conservative, or neo-Nazi.

Nocella argues that "there are so many organizations [in the nonhuman animal movement] who are saying, oh, you can have green capitalism: all we need is the CEO of Whole Foods to go vegan, and the world is a better place," and maintains that social justice movements tend to regard the nonhuman animal advocacy movement as a naïve apolitical single-issue mobilization. The advocacy movement for other animals displays a shockingly shallow understanding of the importance of the most powerful structural elements of society, namely the capitalist economic system and mindset, even though they represent the main block to the achievement of its aims.[3]

In *Making a Killing: The Political Economy of Animal Rights* (Torres 2007), Bob Torres describes a common view of students in his first-year university class when the issue of poverty comes up. He says: "In many of my introductory sociology classes, I often begin discussions about poverty by asking students why people are poor. Inevitably, people tell me that poor folks are lazy or unintelligent, that they are somehow deserving of their poverty" (Torres 2007, 7). Torres prefaces this remark by noting that we live embedded into capitalist societies run by capitalist economies; that our very thoughts have the ideology that upholds capitalist domination as a central constituent; that we are *utterly familiar* with the norms and values of capitalism, and we come to know through socialization processes its fundamental explanatory "scripts."

Therefore, for Torres, his students were severely hampered by their individualistic view of the world, and a fuller understanding of structural elements of society, especially of structural capitalism, is beneficial. Therefore, he tells them that the sociological literature on poverty reveals a complex picture, a picture that includes understanding that issues such as poverty, unemployment, and reserve armies of labor are simply part and parcel of the capitalist economic order. The sort of structural analysis missing in these sociology students' accounts of poverty is also absent, by and large, in the modern nonhuman animal advocacy movement.

In this chapter, drawing from social movement theory and recent developments within the advocacy movement for other animals, I argue that the modern movement's shallow understanding of social structure, and what it means to exist in—and not challenge—and even attempt to "use" the capitalist mode of production is a serious impediment to it succeeding. Further, its shallowness acts to reduce down the original radical justice-for-all vision of the vegan nonhuman animal advocacy movement. Just as "animal rights" so often slides into some form of nonhuman animal welfare, the modern individualistic conception of "vegan" regularly reduces it to a diet or to some consumer health fad.

Casey Taft (2016) argues that things are so confused within the movement that, ". . . what it really means to be vegan is not well understood, as popular culture and mainstream animal advocacy organizations promote the view that veganism is simply a diet" (Taft 2016, 13). This chapter calls for a radical recapturing of the original vision of veganism, best expressed by sociologist Matthew Cole (2014, 233):

> The vegan telos [end/purpose/goal], therefore, combines compassionate non-exploitation of other animals with an emancipated vegan self and a more compassionate human society. Vegan ethics, from the beginning, was directed towards these interconnected goals of transforming human beings and transforming human society, with both flowing from the foundational reconfiguration of human-nonhuman animal relations.

This must be read as an anti-capitalist venture. Citing Benton 1993, Fox 1999, Nibert 2002, and Torres 2007, Angus Taylor (2009, 183) notes that, "As a number of philosophers and observers have remarked, the animal liberation movement is unlikely to succeed in its goals unless it joins forces with other movements challenging the assumptions in industrial society . . . [in which] capitalism has succeeded in creating an increasingly integrated world economy."

Other academic voices continue to explore these issues. For example, Alex Plows and I (1997, cited in Yates 2009) explored the role of the "activist-researcher" or "bridge person" who could not only explain a social movement to the academy but also teach social movement participants about capitalist social forces that impact on what they do. Rob White (2002) explores how capitalism assigns value to profitable use. Maxwell Schnurer (2004) notes that the creation of industrial capitalist power was essential in enabling "mechanized animal exploitation." Piers Beirne (2007) explores the issue of other animals' use in the context of green criminology and harms to the environment, humans, and other animals. Gaarder (2011) speaks about women in the nonhuman animal advocacy movement, anti-globalization, and the issue of "cross-movement alliances." David Nibert (2013) identifies the use of other animals as violence integral to the rise of corporate capitalism, and Sue Donaldson and Will Kymlicka (2014)note that "as a result of capitalism, we now have very powerful vested corporate interests in the exploitation of animals, who will resist any concerted social movement to challenge supremacist ideologies," while arguing that the rise of nonhuman animal exploitation cannot be laid solely at capitalism's door, and neither will the dismantling of capitalism alone be enough to liberate other animals from human tyranny (Taylor 2014).

A few voices within the advocacy movement for other animals itself have made the case for seeing the struggle for nonhuman animal rights within its structural economic constraints. For example, Juliet Gellatley and Tony

Wardle (1996) describe the role of multinationals, colonization, and the depopulation of Ireland, in an exposé of "meat—the global killer;" Mark Gold (1998, 4) describes the life and work of Henry Salt, "a self-confessed 'rationalist, socialist, pacifist, and humanitarian' " whose position on human and nonhuman animal rights, in the twenty-first century, would be called "intersectional." Both Jim Mason (2005) and Will Tuttle (2005) provide critical accounts of humanity's "herding culture." While Mason focuses on his concept of *misothery* (defined as hatred and contempt for other animals), Tuttle's more radical exposition sees generationally transmitted human culture embedding humans as "modern inhabitants of a herding and animal-consuming capitalist culture" (Tuttle 2005, 22). Richard Kahn (2010) provides a radical, vegan-relevant, exploration of "critical pedagogy" and "ecoliteracy;" Travis Elise (2013) writes an anti-capitalist critique of recent books, debates and issues in the movement; Steven Best's (2014) vision of "Total Liberation" explores crises under the impact of global capitalism, human overpopulation, species extinction, and runaway climate change; and critical sociologists, "opposed to the exploitation of other animals," Matthew Cole and Kate Stewart (2014), explore the capitalist commodification of other animals and how that is reflected in cultural artifacts.

Many radical nonhuman animal advocates came into the movement—or its periphery at least—through punk music, radical feminism, anti-capitalism, and forms of anarchy. A great deal of this often zine-based literature is, naturally enough, staunchly anti-capitalist in outlook. Examples include *From Animals to Anarchism* by Kevin Watkinson and Dónal O'Driscoll (2014), *Beasts of Burden: Capitalism—Animals—Communism*, in Do or Die.[4] The "Anti-Capitalist Meet-Up: An Anti-Capitalist Case for Animal Rights,"[5] contains a critique of private property and labor inequalities. *Humans, Animals and Nature in The Crisis: On the Need for an Anti-Capitalist Critique of Animal Exploitation*[6] is a call to action against the "daily barbarity of capitalism." The Talon Conspiracy[7] (formerly Conflict Gypsy) provides an extensive archive of anti-capitalist, pro-nonhuman animal liberation, materials dating back to the 1940s.

Finally, and most surprising perhaps, is the rather anarchic, anti-capitalist vision created by the Movement for Compassionate Living, an offshoot from the British Vegan Society. They suggest a "new world order" which is based on self-reliant, tree-based, autonomous, vegan villages. They oppose voting, declaring that the "present money-dominated, profit-motivated, competitive civilization" is unsustainable, arguing that workers work long hours at the behest of managers who themselves are trapped into the profit-driven system in which politicians are beholden to corporations. They suggest a radical alternative built on a system of self-governing vegan villages based on frequent decision-making meetings in which issues such as "deviant behavior" is dealt with at "village consensus meetings" (Movement for Compassionate Living, 1997).

Other more prominent and mainstream movement for other animals' names are not so helpful in identifying capitalism as a major cultural and economic engine of nonhuman animal exploitation. David Nibert (2002, 237), for example, underlining his own central position that the exploitation of "others" has capitalist economic self-interest as its chief motivational base, explains that, "Some powerful advocates for other animals—such as Regan, Stallwood, and Spiegel . . . suggest either overtly or implicitly that economic systems, capitalism in particular, are not primary in the causation of oppression." Kim Stallwood (1996, 195) regards the nature of different economic systems as rather irrelevant in terms of the use and exploitation of other animals. Therefore, be it in a communist, capitalist, or a "developing" world, "the labor of nonhuman animals is used." Law professor and animal advocate Gary Francione's view on this subject was outlined in a 2014 Facebook post[8] and is essentially a mirror image of Stallwood's 1996 view.

As a general matter, however, and certainly in terms of the general day-to-day discourse of the mainstream nonhuman animal advocacy movement, this subject is hardly ever mentioned, let alone discussed at length: it is certainly not a major part of claims-making in the movement. Moreover, just as we see that some mainstream voices deny the importance of an anti-capitalist analysis, some also defend capitalist consumerism as a means of ending the exploitation of other animals. Some nonhuman animal advocates believe that "animal rights" and/or veganism can be sold as in the selling of ethics and ethical ideas. Recent developments in the nonhuman animal advocacy movement are quite disturbing in this regard. The last few years have seen a growth in advocates, suggesting the nonhuman animal cause can benefit by becoming familiar with sales psychology and some elements of the data from "pop" psychology. One consequence of this attempt to "sell ideas" as if they are commodities themselves has been a moderation of views, a change in campaigning attitudes, with notions of "effectiveness" as the new clarion call, and moves away from the early radical vision of the vegan pioneers (Cole 2014), for example, in the name of research-informed "strategy" (Taft 2016). Efforts and pressures to moderate views within social movement organizations are predicted in some social movement theorizing.

SOCIAL MOVEMENT DYNAMICS

Social movements "move" and can be lively entities. As early as the 1960s, it was recognized by Herbert Blumer that social movements are, "made by the agents who are involved in them" (quoted in Tovey 2007, 83). However, Blumer (1969) described a career path or "stages" that may apply to social movements (Mauss 1975; Tilly 1978). There is an increasing complex literature on this, but the stages of social movements can be summarized as follows: 1. emergence; 2. coalescence; 3. bureaucratization, and 4. decline. John Macionis and Ken Plummer (2008, 526) note that stage 4, *decline*, does not necessarily mean the death or the total demise of a social movement, precisely because of the dynamism inherent in them. It may mean that a movement may wither, but it may also lead to a new phase, a rebirth, a recapturing of an original radical vision—social movement theorists speak of movement "cycles" (Staggenborg 1998) and "waves." (Freeman and Johnson 1999).

The "stages" of most interest to the thrust of this chapter are 3 and 4. Bureaucratization, as Jonathan Christiansen notes, was called "formalization" by Blumer and is "characterized by higher levels of organization and coalition-based strategies" (Christiansen 2009). Moreover, "SMOs will come to rely on staff persons with specialized knowledge that can run the day-to-day operations of the organization and carry out movement goals."

Doug McAdam (1999, 325), in a critical evaluation of resource mobilization theory, describes the overall process of stage 3 using the following characteristics: "oligarchization," "conservatization," and "institutionalization." McAdam suggests that oligarchization involves

> the emergence of an elite that comes to exercise disproportionate control over the movement organization. These "leaders" share an interest in the organization's survival as a prerequisite of maintaining their privileged position within the organization, *even* when this survival requires the subordination of the movement's original goals. (McAdam 1999, 325–326, emphasis in original)

McAdam is essentially describing phenomena social movement theorists have called "goal displacement" (Warner and Havens 1968)[9] when the original goals of an organization are replaced by more conservative ones. Elizabeth West (2000, 120) suggests that goal displacement is what happens when an organization takes its "eyes off the ball." When it comes to institutionalization, McAdam (1999, 326) says that this

> involves the development of a hierarchical organization, an explicit division of labor, and established administrative procedures. While created to facilitate organizational function, these inevitably dampen member enthusiasm and creativity in favor of predictability and organizational stability. Thus, institutionalization encourages movement organizations to shift resources from achieving their original goals to maintaining their current structure.

As suggested, this is something that *may* happen to social movements and social movement organizations. It is not inevitable, and indeed McAdam (1999, 344) says that the movement he looked at, the civil rights movement, grew progressively more radical over time.

In a similar vein, Suzanne Staggenborg (1988, 585) offers a critical examination of the impact of "professionalization" in the pro-choice movement.

She says that, “Resource mobilization theorists have argued that professionalized social movements emerge as more sources of funding become available for activists who make careers out of being movement leaders.” Staggenborg argues that there is an important difference between waged professional managers and “movement entrepreneurs”[10] Thus, while John McCarthy and Mayer Zald (1977) suggest that movement entrepreneurs create “professional” social movement organizations (SMOs), Staggenborg argues that they may prefer to keep things informal and resist the formalization of organizations. Where organizations *are* formalized, then we see the rise of the “professional”—“the rise in career leadership” (Staggenborg 1988, 594)—who tend to emphasize management issues, and formulization may occur in the social movement organizations “that have the resources to hire professional managers” (Staggenborg 1988, 594). Building on William Gamson’s (1995) insight that bureaucratic or formalized organizational structure is associated with organizational maintenance, Staggenborg (1988, 595) says that, “professional leaders have a strong motivation to promote formalization: ongoing resources are needed to pay the salary of the professional manager.” Thus, professional managers are interested in the expansion and long-term survival of the social movements they lead because their careers are entangled with such developments.

Recent members of the modern advocacy movement for other animals are likely to be aware of criticisms of Greenpeace International from the film *Cowspiracy*.[11] However, those longer in the tooth will know that Paul Watson, who founded the Sea Shepherd marine conservation organization, was expelled from Greenpeace International and has been a critic ever since. In 2016, Watson complained that Greenpeace International had gone over to “the dark side” and “sold out” on its seals campaigning, writing, “I initiated and led the first Greenpeace campaigns against sealing from 1975 until 1977. I really never thought I would see the day when Greenpeace would sell out to the sealing industry.”[12] Ronald Shaiko (1993) wrote about Greenpeace International in terms relevant to this chapter. For example, he mentions that Paul Watson co-founded Greenpeace International in 1971 but “left” six years later to set up Sea Shepherd. Shaiko says that, “dissatisfied with what he perceived to be a betrayal by Greenpeace organizers of the group’s original direct-action mission, Watson criticizes Greenpeace for shifting the focus toward fund-raising and media baiting” (Shaiko 1993, 90). Shaiko (1993, 96) reports that a 1990 study found that the largest proportion (23.1 percent) of Greenpeace International’s budget was spent on fundraising, compared to an 11.6 percent average of 11 other groups surveyed, while the organization became increasingly hostile to some direct-action tactics such as “monkeywrenching” and “ecotage:” “In fact, some of the recent activities of the leadership indicate a greater willingness to act in concert with the mainstream reform organizations” (Shaiko 1993, 98). Pressure to engage in reformism is ever present. Political scientist Robert Garner (2004) speaks about the benefits of campaigning groups achieving "insider status," and Shaiko (1993, 98) suggests that Greenpeace International, seen as radical by some other conservation organizations and as a sellout by others, is left to attempt an "insider-outsider" approach.

CAPITALISM AND THE NONHUMAN ANIMAL ADVOCACY MOVEMENT

The Selling (out) of A Revolutionary Idea

> Rejecting speciesism requires the rejection of the exploitation of *all* who are oppressed under capitalism, and those on the left who reject the oppression of all human animals need to start asking themselves why they draw the line so as to exclude the other sentient beings with whom we share the planet. Conversely, those in the animal rights movement *must* understand that a coherent animal rights position *needs to* provide justice for all beings. Any other position leads to a valid criticism that our movement is misanthropic. (Charlton et al. 1993, emphasis in original)

David Nibert (2002, 243) argues that, "those active in the movement for the liberation of other animals must examine their tendency to view capitalism as a largely benign social force." Unfortunately, the mainstream advocacy movement for other animals does not have a good track record in terms of thinking critically about the structural forces in our lives. If anything, the very structural forces *within* the movement acts against critical thinking and drives towards moderation, as some social movement theorizing suggests. The funding structure and the "faulty giving culture"[13] of the nonhuman animal movement also block what would arguably be the most revolutionary development possible: a growth in grassroots nonhuman animal activism that seeks to join forces with other social justice movements acting and organizing locally. Such a development would inevitably create a reflexive movement culture that would eliminate the racist, sexist, and even fascist factions in the advocacy movement for other animals.[14]

Recent developments in the movement seem to indicate that it is now more corporatized than ever, with several national and international organizations competing in the nonhuman animal campaigning marketplace. The movement is still largely focused on "social transformation largely through changed perceptions and priorities on the part of individuals and through welfarist reforms" (Nibert 2002, 243), with a recent counterrevolutionary push towards developing a capitalist market for new vegan food technologies and a phenomenon known as *reducetarianism*.

A 2016 Orcas and Animals blog entry about nonhuman animal movement matters spells out the problem, and although understated, it can be read as based on an anti-capitalist position:

> The present animal movement contains many groups with approaches that rely on privilege and inequality as a strategy to alter treatment for nonhuman animals in such a way that animals may suffer less. This approach neglects the vast system that is responsible for subjugating nonhuman animals while it maintains the supply and demand for exploited bodies, and this is one consequence of an approach that has prioritized an appeal to the elite in society.[15]

And:

> This conventional campaigning approach from mainstream groups has allowed the fundamental issue of power to remain largely unchallenged. Indeed, it purposefully neglects to examine the issue in order to encourage and reassure those potential "allies," while concurrently promoting such methods of advocacy in the grassroots movement, commonly articulated around the dichotomy of "professionals" (bearers of "knowledge" and "wisdom") and the "civilians" (those that have not thought through their approach to advocacy).[16]

This is a radical statement given the current state and funding structure of the advocacy movement for other animals. For example, this particular essay links to Tom Regan's rights-based nonhuman animal rights position. The very fact that it is necessary to describe the nonhuman animal rights position as "rights-based animal rights" points to a long-standing philosophical problem in the movement. Few people in the movement—even though it often uses the term "animal rights" to describe itself in a rhetorical manner—have much knowledge and thus little or no adherence to rights-based theorizing about human relations with other sentient beings.

The corporate organizations in the movement—to the extent that they are interested in philosophical foundations or anything "theoretical"—subscribe to Peter Singer's utilitarian perspective. The most popular, most widely advertised, and most frequently sold philosophy book in the movement for other animals is Singer's *Animal Liberation* (Singer 1995).[17] *The Case for Animal Rights* by Tom Regan (1983) gets much less publicity and attention.[18] There is some resistance to Regan's position even in the movement's grassroots because people claim that explaining a rights-based position is more difficult than one based on welfarist principles like the opposition to "cruelty," and because there are numbers of misanthropists in the movement's ranks, and for mainstream organizations, nonhuman animal rights in the sense of based on rights-based theorizing is not easy to "sell."

The idea that an ethical position can be "sold" has come to the fore in the vegan community in recent times. Moreover, if the philosophy of veganism cannot be sold *as a philosophy*, especially a far-reaching radical philosophy embedded into the original vision of veganism, then sales psychology research may suggest forms of "repackaging," or at least this is what the rank and file of the movement for other animals are being told by most of the national organizations (Taft 2016). Meanwhile, in terms of the structure of the nonhuman animal advocacy movement, as suggested above, a "dichotomy of 'professionals' (bearers of 'knowledge' and 'wisdom') and the 'civilians' (those that have not thought through their approach to advocacy)"[19] has developed with greater emphasis in recent years. Indeed, there are currently one or two powerful cartels running the mainstream, corporatized, "business side" of the nonhuman animal advocacy movement. Based on the data from "pseudoscience" (Taft 2016), a fairly large segment of the careerist nonhuman animal advocacy movement has backed away from regarding veganism as the moral baseline (Francione and Garner 2010) and embraced the new "effective strategies" of *reducetarianism*[20] and *reducetarian* initiatives such as "Meat Free Monday."[21]

Tobias Leenaert gained prominence in the advocacy movement for other animals in 2013 and is now a leading light and rising star of the *reducetarian* movement, yet going under the name of "The Vegan Strategist."[22] This choice of name is as interesting as it is odd. The fact that Leenaert calls himself The Vegan Strategist is bizarre and counterproductive according to his *own* theory. He outlines a two-phase model. Society, he says, is currently in phase one, and there is no sign of phase two. Phase one is a "pre-vegan stage" in which talk about veganism, nonhuman animal rights, and speciesism should be discouraged and severely restricted. Leenaert's own ideas suggest that the last name he should go under during the "pre-vegan" period is "The Vegan Strategist." In a series of videoed talks to vegans relatively new to the vegan community, Leenaert insists that the vegan movement is "about food," and he is one of those who seeks to reduce the meaning of veganism to its dietary component—in other words, the "sellable" part of veganism. Furthermore, Leenaert openly mocks the philosophy of veganism in his presentations, while constructing a number of bizarre "thought experiments" designed to get the new vegan activists in his audiences to agree that they would be willing to consume nonhuman animal products for some "greater good." He also regularly propagated the myth of the "crazy vegan," a "purist" extremist who furiously waives her arms around in the street screaming and shouting at members of the public.[23] Leenaert's account of the "crazy vegan" stereotype dates back to when he was informed by politicians who provided financial support to the vegetarian organization he founded that they believed vegans to be "crazies."

Leenaert is an enthusiastic supporter of the research he says is designed to reveal "what works" in terms of advocacy for other animals. This research data is widely disseminated on social media by the mainstream nonhuman animal advocacy corporations. Casey Taft (2016), a professor of psychiatry at Boston University, an internationally recognized researcher and methodology expert who has consulted with the United Nations on preventing violence and abuse, claims that the data *reducetarians* and others rely to justify their slide away from veganism is seriously flawed and scientifically unreliable. He is particularly critical of current activities that seem to be set in place to assist a reformist agenda and maintain a system of waged nonhuman animal advocates. Taft (2016, 25) says

> I have witnessed a new cottage industry of advocacy research seeking effective approaches for helping animals. While this is a worthy goal, these groups are conducting and promoting flawed, pseudoscientific research that doesn't really tell us anything about effective animal advocacy. Data from this research are being used by Animal Charity Evaluators (ACE) to determine the most "worthy" charities to donate to, which is problematic because we end up with a "garbage in/garbage out" scenario where flawed data are input to generate flawed recommendations. Unfortunately, ACE regularly rates the organizations conducting this research as top charities, and ACE top charities are overwhelmingly (perhaps exclusively) professionalized organizations that do not promote veganism as a moral imperative, which has contributed to questions about bias in their rating system.

As well as promoting the "data" that the nonhuman animal organizations insist suggests that a moderate, don't-ask-too-much approach is the best, Leenaert argues that technological developments are crucial in increasing the numbers of people who reduce their intake of nonhuman animal produce or became "vegan eaters." The biggest asset of the movement right now, he insists, is the money being spent by rich capitalists and capitalist businesses that are in the process of discovering and exploiting new plant-based food and drink markets.[24]

> I'm happy to see that lately, we've seen another factor at our side: **money**. Not that the vegan movement didn't have any money at all before, but today it's kind of a whole new ballgame. For the first time, **big money** is being bet on vegan products. Companies like Hampton Creek, Beyond Beef, and Impossible foods have raised literally **hundreds of millions of dollars in venture capital** (emphases in original) (Leenaert 2015).[25]

THE MARKETIZATION OF VEGAN NONHUMAN ANIMAL RIGHTS

For Tobias Leenaert (2015) and other *reducetarians*, pragmatism is the key: "I'm a pragmatist. I don't tell people that veganism is the moral baseline or that they should go vegan, but suggest that they take whatever steps in that direction that they are comfortable with."[26] If one merely wants to *sell* a plant-based diet rather than a justice-for-all ethic, one has to be pragmatic, moderate, and *inconsistent.*[27]

> I get a quite a bit of criticism from some people for my blogposts and videos. I'm being told that I'm telling people not to be vegan and that hence I'm an anti-vegan. I'm being told I'm not vegan myself because I'm not picky about

> wine because I would eat a steak for $100 (which I can use for animals), or because I would make small exceptions if I thought it was better for people's idea of vegans and veganism and, therefore, for the animals.[28]

Those in the movement for rights for other animals who have "tactically" moved away from talking about consistent veganism, nonhuman animal rights, and speciesism in the name of bringing about veganism, nonhuman animal rights, and defeating speciesism insist that *they too* are abolitionists. Indeed, in the original formulation of the concept of the "new welfarist" (Francione 1996),[29] such people were seen as ultimately reaching for the abolition of use of other animals but through the use of problematic theories (such as utilitarianism) and flawed methodology (nonhuman animal welfarism). Reformists and *reducetarians* claim that "abolitionists" are asking for too much and certainly asking for it too soon, that "baby steps" are necessary incremental steps, and the alleged abolitionist "all-or-nothing" approach is unworkable and off-putting to the very people the movement is trying to influence. The better "strategy," they say, is to go easy—be moderate—don't ask for much. Tell people that all they need to do is make step-by-step changes in their diet, that they can eat their way to a less cruel world. This world will be chock full of new yummy vegan foods developed by capitalist entrepreneurs who have no interest and need no interest in justice-for-all veganism that, for sure, would look critically at how these new vegan products are produced.

In relation to editorial freedom and self-regulation by the press, journalist Will Hutton (1996, 9) warned against hoping for too much given the "transient preoccupations of editors and proprietors." Similarly, hanging one's hat on the profit-driven wants and wishes of capitalist entrepreneurs in relation to bringing about a vegan world—even in the slimmed down, ethics-free, "food only" sense currently in vogue—seems equally problematic. As David Nibert (2013) writes:

> Today, capitalism promotes domesecration[30] on an enormous level. Tens of millions of animals are tortured and brutally killed every year to produce growing profits for twenty-first-century elites, who hold investments in the corporate equivalents of Genghis Khan. (Nibert 2013, 266)

Nibert warns the transcending of capitalism may not automatically end *domesecration of other animals* or bring about global justice, but he says transcending capitalism, rather than trying to bring about a capitalist vegan world, is a necessary precondition to real and meaningful change. Huge numbers of humans have been impoverished by capitalism, and the World Bank acknowledges that more than 1 billion humans around the world live on less than $1 a day (Nibert 2013, 269). How such people are to take part in the new vegan consumerism remains a mystery. *Reducetarian* theorists do not concern themselves with such weighty matters. Their position is itself elitist, and that makes their rejection of the original vegan ethos of justice-for-all internally logical. They seem able to sell *small* to one another.

Steve Best (2014) insists that the advocacy movement for other animals is a left-wing movement.[31] He, like Nibert, says that capitalism must be abolished if other animals are to be liberated. We need to critique hierarchical domination and realize that "capitalism absorbs our critique," he states. Best is scathing about what he calls "vegan porn." He says veganism is being "marketized." He argues that veganism is being sold to the nonhuman animal movement as vegan capitalism. He says that "capitalism loves veganism" because of its reformist nature—thus modern-day veganism is easily co-opted. The vegan movement, with no economic analysis, doesn't advocate economic change. He says that capitalism is predatory, violent, and its values oppose the very world that vegans want.

Therefore, Best (2014) argues, as a way to move forward and see the problems it faces, "this movement is a left-wing movement." He encourages us to look at and fully understand the common values that many vegan advocates for other animals embrace: equality, democracy, inclusivity, nondiscrimination, nonhierarchy, rights, justice, peace, and nonviolence. These are left-wing values, he says, while right-wing values are hierarchy, military, family, nation, borders, war, and security. Right wing values are *not* our values, Best states—in fact, "we talk about the opposite."

This chapter has examined a worrying development within the modern vegan nonhuman animal rights social movement. The original justice-for-all vision of veganism is being neutered, while the concept of rights-based nonhuman animal rights is totally ignored by an increasingly corporatized hierarchical movement run by a careerist cartel of waged advocates for other animals who, as we have seen, have their jobs bound up in making their cause a business enterprise. The structural effects of capitalism in furthering both human and other animal oppression are also ignored as it is too "big picture" to be *sellable*. Not only is capitalism not problematized by the corporate movement "professionals," many believe that changes in *shopping habits* can bring about an end to one of the most violent, widespread, and profitable capitalist enterprises ever developed. The original radical vision of veganism needs to be recaptured and re-centered in a movement that has almost completely lost its way in modern day consumerism and shallow celebrity culture.

NOTES

1. Marx's Theory. https://youtu.be/6RDRfkEMoF4.

2. Anthony Nocella II. 2014. "Challenging Racism and Ableism within the Animal Liberation Movement and Fighting for Total Liberation." Talk given for the

Vegan Information Project in Dublin, Ireland, March 26, 2014. Accessed September 25, 2016, from https://gaming.youtube.com/watch?v=3iZAZYJTUss&list=PL3Ez-HNLsjFyxsJhM4pjQbYSE0l12BDsU.

3. This tendency extends to the way in which the nonhuman animal movement's core concepts are conceived. For example, Nibert (2002, 7–12) explains that the movement's conception of the term *speciesism* "hampers somewhat the analysis of the social structural causes of the oppression of other animals" (Nibert 2002, 7).

4. See the review of the online work titled "Beats of Burden: Capitalism, Animals, and Communism." Accessed September 23, 2016, from http://www.eco-action.org/dod/no9/beasts_review.htm.

5. *Daily Kos*. "Anti-Capitalist Meet-Up. An Anti-Capitalist Case for Animal Rights." June 5, 2011. Accessed September 25, 2016, from http://www.dailykos.com/story/2011/6/5/982050/-.

6. Red, Black, Green. An Anti-Capitalist Critique of Animal Exploitation. January 24, 2014. Accessed September 25, 2016, from http://www.tierbefreiung-hamburg.org/wp-content/uploads/Capitalism_Englisch_CMYK.pdf.

7. Visit: http://thetalonconspiracy.com/. Accessed September 25, 2016.

8. See Gary L. Francione's August 24, 2014, Facebook post: "On Capitalism and Animal Exploitation." Accessed September 25, 2016, from https://www.facebook.com/abolitionistapproach/posts/840379032648519.

9. There are conflicting accounts as to the origins of the concept of "goal displacement." For example, Gordon Marshall (1994, 203) claims that Robert Michels first noted the idea in his classic study in 1911 of the German Social Democratic Party. Marshall argues that Michels was "particularly interested in the ways in which organizational dynamics inhibit the realization of radical objectives," quoting Michels: "Who says organizations, says oligarchy" (Marshall 1994, 327). On the other hand, David Jary and Julia Jary (1995, 267) claim that Michels was clearly speaking about goal displacement without using the term, which was coined by Robert Merton in 1949. Also in 1949, Philip Selznick published *TVA and the Grassroots*, about the Tennessee Valley Authority, which led a number of researchers to describe how the original goals of organizations can be changed, subverted, and undermined.

10. Understandably, both Peter Singer and Tom Regan have been named as movement entrepreneurs of the nonhuman animal advocacy movement.

11. The film *Cowspiracy: The Sustainability Secret,* which was made by Kip Andersen and Keegan Kuhn, can be accessed at http://www.cowspiracy.com/. Accessed September 25, 2016.

12. This January 26, 2016, commentary by Captain Paul Watson titled "Greenpeace Has Gone over to the Dark Side with Their Endorsement for the Sealing Industry" can be read at http://www.seashepherd.org/commentary-and-editorials/2016/01/26/greenpeace-has-gone-over-to-the-dark-side-with-their-endorsement-for-the-sealing-industry-752. Accessed September 25, 2016.

13. This January 22, 2016, blog post by Roger Yates, titled "The Faulty Giving Culture in the Animal Advocacy Movement," can be read at http://onhumanrelationswithothersentientbeings.weebly.com/the-blog/the-faulty-giving-culture-in-the-animal-advocacy-movement. Accessed September 25, 2016.

14. For a discussion of such a development, see the talk by Steve Best: "Total Liberation—Revolution for the 21st Century," given at the International Animal Rights Conference 2013 in Luxembourg. https://youtu.be/Pr7Ax_p7ocw.

15. "A Few Thoughts on Elitism in the Animal Movement." A March 26, 2016, blog from orcas and animals. https://network23.org/orcasandanimals/2016/03/25/a-few-thoughts-on-elitism-in-the-animal-movement/. Accessed September 25, 2016.

16. Ibid.

17. Singer's status as an applied philosopher is controversial. People opposed to nonhuman animal rights—including many in organized countermovement mobilizations—*want* Singer to be seen as the "leader" of the "animal rights movement" because they believe that brings advocacy for other animals into disrepute as a general matter (Yates 2007).

18. There was a brief moment (the late 1980s) in the history of the modern nonhuman animal advocacy movement when Regan's rights-based position was prominent, leading sociologists James Jasper and Dorothy Nelkin to declare that, "it is Regan's rights argument—not Singer's utilitarianism—that has come to dominate the rhetoric of the nonhuman animal rights agenda, often pushing it beyond reformism and pragmatism" (Jasper and Nelkin 1992, 97).

19. See note 15: "A Few Thoughts on Elitism in the Animal Movement."

20. For a description of the reducetarian movement, go to: http://reducetarian.org/. Accessed September 25, 2016.

21. See 2016 website established by the Meat Free Mondays Foundation: http://www.meatfreemondays.com/. Accessed September 25, 2016.

22. See related blogs by Tobias Leenaert at: http://veganstrategist.org/. Accessed September 25, 2016.

23. For an example of a related talk by Tobias Leenaert, see the video: "Attacking Veganism One Talk at a Time." https://youtu.be/GiEpWaJhUWE. Accessed September 25, 2016.

24. See the blog post by Tobias Leenaert titled "Our Movement's Biggest Asset: Big Money." August 4, 2015. http://veganstrategist.org/2015/08/04/our-movements-newest-asset-big-money-2/. Accessed September 25, 2016.

25. Ibid.

26. http://veganstrategist.org/2015/08/12/can-abolitionists-and-pragmatists-ever-trust-each-other/.

27. In some of Tobias Leenaert's presentations, he tells his audiences that "consistency is overrated."

28. See the August 12, 2015, blog post by Tobias Leenaert titled "Can Abolitionists and Pragmatists Ever Trust Each Other?" http://veganstrategist.org/2015/08/12/can-abolitionists-and-pragmatists-ever-trust-each-other/. Accessed September 25, 2016.

29. Francione (1996, 34) writes, "Many modern animal advocates see the abolition of animal exploitation as a long-term goal, but they see welfarist reform, which seeks to reduce animal suffering, as setting the course for the interim strategy."

30. Nibert (2013, 12) describes his concept of *domesecration* thus: "The emergence and continued practice of capturing, controlling, and genetically manipulating other animals for human use violates the sanctity of life of the sentient beings

involved, and their minds and bodies desecrated to facilitate their exploitation: it can be said that they have been *domesecrated*. *Domesecration* is the systematic practice of violence in which social animals are enslaved and biologically manipulated, resulting in their objectification, subordination, and oppression."

31. See note 14: "Total Liberation—Revolution for the 21st Century."

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Afterword: Animals, Capitalism, and Liberation

John Sorenson

This edited collection provides compelling evidence of the influence of David Nibert's invaluable work on the entangled oppression of humans and other animals and his insistence on the need for structural analysis and an understanding of the role of capitalism. These matters could not be more urgent. In her contribution to this volume, Julie Andrzejewski provides an overview of how the plight of other species, including their mass extinction, is directly linked to the operations of global capitalism, its assault on the entire planet, and why these issues should attract our most urgent concern and active engagement. Yet despite the fact that the issues are of fundamental importance and that this approach offers the best understanding of nonhuman animal exploitation today, few have welcomed it, and it has faced much opposition.

As Marcel Sebastien points out in this work, the significance of capitalism as the economic framework for the exploitation of nonhuman animals and human workers is typically ignored, while Peter Li reminds us that ending the exploitation of the former is unlikely to be achieved without transforming the conditions of the latter. Liberal theorists who have written about nonhuman animal rights focus on ethical, individualistic, or psychological terms rather than examining the social structural aspects of their oppression and exploitation and recognizing these as foundational for the operations of capitalism. Clearly, there are individual ethical choices to be made in terms of one's own involvement in how other animals are used and treated, but that is also true of other types of injustice, and it does not preclude the understanding of broader structural features. Our feelings, ideas, and ethical decisions all develop in particular material conditions and are historically constructed; a system in which nonhuman animals are regarded as resources, property, and commodities is not conducive to analyses in which their use and treatment will be understood as matters of social justice.

In this book, Roger Yates criticizes the shallowness that characterizes some of the nonhuman animal advocacy movement. None of the large, conservative nonhuman animal organizations are willing to undertake the necessary structural analysis, but instead they solicit donations for their efforts to ameliorate some of the most egregious forms of abuse while maintaining partnerships with the very industries that perpetuate those abuses on a regular basis. While failing to analyze and oppose the systemic nature of the abuse of other animals as well as the fundamental significance of the capitalist framework in which it occurs, these organizations do not advocate for veganism as a boycott of such institutionalized abuses. The Humane Society of the United States provides an unfortunate example with its sponsorship of events such as "Hoofin' It" in Denver, where "humanely slaughtered" other animals of various species are served at local restaurants, as does the marketing of "high welfare" pig-flesh by the Royal Society for the Prevention of Cruelty to Animals (RSPCA). Citing such spectacles, Francione (2013) condemns them as forms of "happy exploitation" in which nonhuman animal welfare organizations present themselves as working for other animals but collaborate with the industries that exploit them for mutual benefit. Earlier, Marx (1977, 343–344) criticized the hypocrisy of these reformist organizations. However, as Gunderson (2011) points out, his target was not the welfare of nonhuman animals themselves. Rather, in the only references that Marx made about nonhuman animal welfare issues, in Volume 1 of *Capital* and in the *Communist Manifesto*, both concerning the RSPCA, Marx uncovered the hypocrisy of reformists who expressed sympathy for oppressed other animals but not oppressed humans and criticized them seeking to change certain social relations while preserving the social structure that provided them with advantages.

Given such shortcomings, it is unsurprising that many on the left see no radical potential in these mainstream organizations. Of course, some leftists who wish to continue consuming nonhuman animal products themselves find this lack of radical commitment on the part of mainstream welfarist organizations a convenient excuse for evading their own ethical responsibilities to refrain from supporting exploitation as much as possible, but as Tracey Harris and Corinne Painter argue in their chapters here, food choices are part of a genuine politics of liberation.

In contrast to the reformist efforts of conservative welfare organizations, many grassroots activists are making determined and sustained efforts to advance the truly radical agenda of the nonhuman animal rights movement and advocate for a project of total liberation rather than reformism. That project of total liberation has a history going back to nineteenth-century nonhuman animal advocates in Britain and France. They were also socialists, anarchists, and feminists who recognized the intersectionality of these struggles and criticized reformists; for example, socialist and vegan Lewis Gompertz was expelled from the SPCA for his radical views, even though he was one of the organization's founders. Today, critical animal studies (CAS) avoids such omissions and employs structural analysis to investigate the intersectionality of oppressions and academics working in this field support activists' efforts to promote total liberation.

In spite of nonhuman animal advocacy's historical roots in the political left, the current political left has failed to be as visionary as these early radicals and has been unsympathetic and dismissive, even contemptuous, of the nonhuman animal rights movement (Sorenson 2011). Failing to recognize our relations with other animals as a fundamental aspect of our social structure, or the intersectionality of various forms of injustice, many on the left dismiss nonhuman animal rights and veganism as forms of lifestyle politics or matters of individual choice and as less significant than mobilization around other issues than concern only humans. One of the most notorious denunciations was that of Michael Albert, cofounder of *Z* magazine and Z-Net, who told *Satya* magazine (2002) that he did not regard nonhuman animal rights as being "remotely as urgent as preventing war in Iraq, winning a 30-hour workweek, or overthrowing capitalism." Albert rejected analogies between the oppression of human and nonhuman animals and dismissed rights for other animals as a serious issue. Albert, like many others on the left, rejects any suggestion that the oppression of other animals is not only analogous to the oppression of humans but that these forms of oppression are intertwined. He, therefore, assumes that the latter constitutes a serious political issue, while the former does not. However, as Peter Singer pointed out, all animals are equal in the sense that their interests have to be considered, and Tom Regan has argued all animals who are self-aware subjects of a life have inherent value and cannot be used as instruments to further the ends of others. Thus, there is no justification for Albert's position beyond the assertion of prejudice. David Nibert and the contributors to this collection challenge such narrow views of social relations. They demonstrate not only that human and nonhuman animals are exploited in similar ways under capitalism, but these processes are historically interconnected and remind us that we have ethical obligations to oppose all forms of oppression and exploitation.

Astonishingly, Albert's dismissive comments were made in the course of an interview that concerned efforts to build social movements and incorporate diversity of political concerns; his remarks were unlikely to have encouraged any feelings of solidarity from nonhuman animal activists, who he depicted as hypocrites and dilettantes. One might expect such a dismissal of concern for the suffering of others, including that of other animals, from those who embrace the most vulgar ideas of neoliberalism, such as Margaret Thatcher's claim that "there is no such thing as society" (Keay 1987), an assertion still promoted as if it contained some particular insight. It is more disappointing to find such sentiments among progressives on the left where one expects empathy, concern for others, solidarity, and a sense of the common good, none of which should be limited only to humans. In fact, ideas of speciesism and human exceptionalism are as deeply rooted on the left as elsewhere in society. Albert did vaguely suggest that the success of his own anthropocentric priorities might establish conditions that could be "beneficial to any animal rights commitments that emerge," much as some Marxists once claimed that a socialist revolution would automatically resolve issues of women's oppression. However, Albert's failure to recognize the exploitation of nonhuman animals as a fundamental pillar of capitalism is an indication of both how radical and how necessary Nibert's analysis of entangled oppression was, in his *Animal Rights/Human Rights*, published that same year.

To the extent that many on the left have considered nonhuman animals at all, it is mainly to view them as part of "the environment," which is itself imagined as existing for human benefit. Other animals are not regarded as being of concern in themselves but only as peripheral matters and mainly as resources to be owned and used. The extent of most leftists' concern is to join in the general chorus of what is misleadingly called "animal welfare." Reformist, welfare initiatives suggest the idea that contemporary societies are evolving towards ever more humane ways of treating nonhuman animals, without questioning the fundamental issue of using them in the first place. Rather than progress in the treatment of other animals, what we see are simply ever more efficient ways of exploiting them, as corporations adopt methods and practices that allow them to process huge numbers of other animals faster and at lower costs.

The "animal welfare" chorus mingles the voices of virtually every operator of a factory farm, slaughterhouse, or vivisection laboratory, all calling for these other animals to be tortured and killed "humanely." The left's contribution to the overall performance, exemplified by Michael Albert's case, has been to add the refrain that a future socialist society will offer something better, all the while sneering at those who would attempt to actually establish such conditions. Like Albert, most leftists today have accepted the general view, pervasive in our speciesist society, that there is a qualitative and hierarchical distinction between humans and other animals (to the extent that humans are even recognized *as* animals). They have failed to recognize that similar processes of alienation, exploitation, and oppression have affected *all* animals.

For example, Noske (1997, 18–21) has outlined how the Marxist concept of alienation applies to nonhuman animals. Under capitalism, other animals are not considered individuals with their own interests but as property; used as raw materials or instruments of production, they are forced to work and die for the benefit of the humans who enslave them. They are alienated under capitalism in the sense that they are prevented from realizing their own nature in environments that would allow them to fully develop those capacities. For all the exploitation endured by human workers, Torres (2007, 38) argues that nonhuman animals are oppressed and suffer misery to an even greater extent because they do not receive compensation in the form of wages and are confined within the cage of capitalism for the entire duration of their prematurely shortened lives. This is most obviously apparent in those industries that transform other animals into food.

Nonhuman animals are alienated from the products of their labor, which include their own flesh, eggs, and milk as well as their offspring, who are taken from them soon after birth. While corporations mask these atrocities with images of contented cows, activists remind us that "milk comes from a grieving mother" (Peaceful Prairie Sanctuary, nd), and the abduction of children causes anguish both for the mother whose natural desire to care for her child is thwarted and for the child who needs care, love, and security. These other animals are also alienated from productive activity. They are forced to labor in completely unnatural ways, with their entire being made to serve a single productive function, in factory farms, for example, where they are immobilized, isolated, or overcrowded, repeatedly and forcibly impregnated before they are all killed. "Not only has the animal been dispossessed of its productive activity, the *total* animal is being subordinated to this one activity" (ibid., 19), a process that Noske identifies as deanimalization, which operates to subdivide them and transform them into machines (ibid., 12).

Perhaps, this process has reached its most dreadful and shameful apogee in the transformation of the bodies of chickens, as they are produced for a division of labor as egg-laying machines in the case of females and "broilers," "fryers" or "roasters" in the case of males engineered for "meat" production, all kept in intensive confinement and physically constructed to meet the profit-seeking needs of industry; Davis (2014, 175–176), too, describes this as alienation. Other animals are also alienated from their fellows, either by removing them from the families and societies they would naturally share or distorting their social existence by forcing them into unnaturally close proximity, which stimulates anxiety and aggression. Nonhuman animals are alienated from their natural environments, removing them from the ecosystems they would normally inhabit and forcing them to live in artificial and alien conditions to which they are not adapted and which create physical and psychological stress. Noske (1997) concludes that these all constitute alienation from species life as nonhuman animals are subsumed by capitalism, while Davis (2014, 176) emphasizes that we have stripped the lives of these other animals of everything that provides any pleasure in living, forcing them to inhabit "an existential void" until we see fit to kill them. They are further victimized by the alienation of human workers, such as those in slaughterhouses who are forced to perform their tasks of killing and eviscerating other animals at ever-increasing speeds to enhance efficiency and profits and who violently take out their frustration on nonhuman animals who struggle, resist, or attempt to escape. Such violence is facilitated not only by the horrific conditions that prevail in these institutions but also by speciesist ideology that devalues other animals and often denies their ability to suffer. As Kimberley Ducey demonstrates in her powerful chapter that opens this collection, both chickens and human workers are exploited simultaneously by the institutionalized system of domination that serves the interests of a small elite, which is predominantly male and white.

In general, not only have other social justice movements been uninterested in the nonhuman animal rights movement, but they have resisted efforts to demonstrate the intersection of various forms of oppression when these involve nonhuman animals. Lara Drew and Corey Wrenn provide examples here in discussions of the intersecting and mutually supporting systems of capitalism and hegemonic masculinity. We should be clear that it is not the fact that these forms of oppression are interrelated that makes them relevant for those on the left; rather, it is simply an additional factor that should be taken into account in one's analysis of their operation. The instrumental use and suffering of other animals in itself should be of ethical and political significance for those on the left. It may be possible that, for some, their lack of concern reflects a lack of awareness of the extent of nonhuman animal suffering. That would seem strange, given the fact that nonhuman animal advocates have worked for decades to expose the use and treatment of other animals in factory farms, vivisection laboratories, zoos, circuses, rodeos, and other sites of institutionalized abuse. By providing a glimpse into the inferno to which we have consigned other animals, the striking illustrations by artist Sue Coe used throughout this volume provide a sobering counterpoint to the comforting illusions of industry propaganda. For those who are involved in nonhuman animal rights issues, it does seem inconceivable that anyone could remain unaware of these realities. Nevertheless, some do remain ignorant of how other animals are used or even of basic biological facts, such as that cows produce milk to feed their children. As Kadri Aavik notes, such ignorance about other animals and the myth that humans must consume products derived from their bodies are perpetuated by government and industry propaganda. Such harmful disinformation is disseminated in societies where the idea that other animals exist for us has come to saturate our lives and shape the construction of personal, gendered, and national identities

While many on the left dismiss the significance of the nonhuman animal rights movement, it is true that some advocates for other animals maintain that an understanding of capitalism is not significant for their work. They point out that nonhuman animal exploitation existed before capitalism and has occurred in all types of economic systems, ranging from indigenous hunting and gathering societies to industrial states and socialist countries. Indeed, it is true that the exploitation of other animals has been ubiquitous throughout the whole course of human history, and all societies have developed various means to justify these practices. These ideological justifications have ranged from claims that other animals allow themselves to be hunted and killed because they pity the weakness of humans who would otherwise starve to death, to assertions that other animals are only machines who lack awareness, the capacity to think, or the ability to feel pain. In their contributions to this collection, Lauren Corman, Taichi Inoue, pattrice jones, and Mary Trachsel point out how the consistent disregard of other animals' subjectivity and cultural lives helps to perpetuate their exploitation, while Luis Cordeiro-Rodrigues adds that the institutionalized contempt for other animals has provided a useful mechanism that facilitates the oppression of various groups of humans. Usefully, Richard White reminds us that the goal of an interdisciplinary CAS is to recognize "the animal condition" and to create interspecies solidarity.

While it is certainly true that speciesism predates capitalism, the latter's imperative for ceaseless growth has expanded and intensified the exploitation of other animals and their suffering. In his incisive chapter, John Sanbonmatsu identifies speciesism as a mode of production and, indeed, as a fundamental form of oppression and argues that capitalism is speciesism in its most developed form. In his major historical studies, Nibert (2002, 13) pointed out that capitalism perpetuates nonhuman animal suffering through economic exploitation, unequal power, and ideological control. This is most obvious in the case of the "meat" industry and agribusiness. Although based on horrendous suffering and massively inefficient in terms of energy use, the "meat" industry has been able to expand globally to unprecedented levels while making consumption seem both natural and indispensable. As consumption has increased, so have many associated diseases and dangerous health conditions, environmental destruction, climate change, biodiversity loss and extinction, displacement of rural human populations, use of pesticides and other chemicals, mismanagement of water resources, pollution, and threats to the effectiveness of essential antibiotics. Neoliberal policies accelerated processes already underway: concentration of ownership, vertical integration, and control of entire supply chains, including fertilizers, pesticides, genetically modified seeds, trading companies, farm machinery, "livestock" sales, transportation, slaughterhouses, and supermarkets. A very small number of massive corporations control these industries, supported by public subsidies awarded as corporate welfare by compliant politicians, while paying their employees minimum wage for extremely hazardous work in conditions that brutalize and desensitize them, encouraging them to commit acts of deliberate sadism towards the other animals they kill, and contributing to substance abuse and domestic violence in their own homes. The suggestion that nonhuman animal exploitation is merely a personal matter, unrelated to the most urgent problems of our time, is entirely mistaken, as is the suggestion that it is something that exists and operates outside capitalism. The industries that exploit other animals are operated by some of the world's largest and most powerful corporations, and historically the oppression of other animals has been consistently intertwined with human violence (Nibert 2013).

As Nibert demonstrates, capitalism perpetuates these intertwined forms of exploitation through ideological means. The foundation of these ideological operations includes the fervently held convictions of human exceptionalism and speciesism, which insist that only humans count morally, and the suffering of other animals (if it is even acknowledged to exist) is of no, or at least far less, consequence. The system that Ariana Ferrari identifies here as biocapitalism does not recognize the oppression of nonhuman animals as a problem but treats these other beings as living machines to be increasingly exploited by ever more sophisticated technology. While these attitudes are deeply rooted in Western history and culture, they have been intensified and amplified under capitalism in the construction of fantasy worlds through advertising. Wealthy and powerful corporations control mainstream media and use them to disseminate propaganda about their products, including those derived from nonhuman animal exploitation. The global "meat" industry is the most obvious example, although as Núria Almiron, Carol Glasser, Rob Laidlaw, and Michelle Pickover demonstrate here, the commodification of other animals takes endless forms in a wide variety of industries. However, keeping to the case of the "meat" industry, we see how commodity fetishism operates through advertising to transform the flesh of other animals into an object of intense desire and prime value, able to provide unparalleled pleasures. Activists' efforts to present the facts about the suffering of nonhuman animals are often ignored, censored or blocked. Even if information about the suffering and killing of other animals, environmental damage, and dangers to human health caused by "meat" consumption is available, it is swept aside by the torrent of paid advertising that is engineered to stimulate desire and present these products as exciting and essential, far removed from suffering and death. Beyond the advertisements themselves, there is an overwhelming preponderance of journalistic support for the "meat" industry in the form of restaurant reviews, nutrition advice, columnists who denounce nonhuman animal activist as extremists and fanatics, and stunts by celebrity chefs and their denunciations of vegans (e.g. Anthony Bourdain compared vegans to Hezbollah, and more recently Italian television chef Gianfranco Vissani described vegans as "members of a sect," saying "I'd kill them all"). Overwhelmingly, veganism is presented as a difficult and austere form of self-denial in which, inexplicably, one deprives oneself of all of life's pleasures. Not only do corporations spend billions of dollars to ensure that these sorts of messages are conveyed, but they also fund propaganda and lobby groups such as the Center for Consumer Freedom to attack nonhuman animal rights groups and veganism. As Mathew Cole demonstrates in his chapter, ethical concerns about the use, commodification, and killing of other animals are swept aside by advertising that creates false needs and conceals exploitation through propaganda constructions about "animal welfare" consisting of minor reforms. As noted, industry propaganda has responded to activists' efforts to end other animals' suffering through the creation of fantasies about "humane meat." In this volume, Livia Boscardin and Jana Canavan reveal the hollowness of these "green capitalist" fantasies, with Vasile Stănescu characterizing them as biopolitical myths and emphasizing the significance of veganism as a revolutionary ethical/political strategy. However, as Richard White warns here, capitalism stands ready to undermine any alternative, including veganism, in this case presenting it merely as an alternative lifestyle or consumer choice and jettisoning its radical praxis that challenges all forms of domination.

As well as being targeted by such corporate propaganda efforts, the nonhuman animal rights movement is subject to corporate-funded repression. Because of their economic power, corporations involved in the exploitation of other animals are able to call upon all of the resources of the state's police and legal apparatus to repress their critics. Tactics deployed to defend nonhuman animal-exploitation industries include infiltration and provocation by undercover police agents, manufacture of evidence, the design of new laws and harsher punishments specifically for nonhuman animal and environmental activists, the use of the "terrorism" label to demonize activists and justify their repression, libel and ag-gag laws that make it a criminal offence to criticize or expose the institutionalized cruelties inflicted on nonhuman animals, and the direct use of physical violence, including murder, against activists (the organization Global Witness designated 2015 the deadliest year for activists so far, with 185 murders). That these efforts are directed against nonviolent activists whose objective is to prevent the suffering of other animals and protect the environment in which they live is a powerful indication of the determination to protect corporate profits against opposition from citizens.

Compassion itself is seen as dangerous and as intolerable interference with the operation of business as usual, even when that business is murderous. For example, in June 2015, Anita Krajnc, of the now-international activist group Toronto Pig Save, was charged with mischief and faced possible imprisonment for giving water to dehydrated pigs being trucked to their doom at (the aptly named) Fearmans Pork, Inc., a slaughterhouse in Burlington, Canada. The case demonstrates how the industry's relentless drive for profit makes a mockery of its claims to be concerned about "animal welfare." Obviously, an industry based on killing other animals so that their flesh can be consumed cannot be interested in the welfare of its victims, but even within the obfuscatory framework of industry discourse, which construes welfare as meaning only that other animals will be kept in saleable condition until they are killed for maximum profit, it is clear that crowding nonhuman animals in overheated trucks with other panicked beings is a form of torture. The fact that Krajnc could be charged for providing such small mercy to these helpless and terrified individuals provides a stark example of the debasing effects of capitalist production on both human and nonhuman animals.

Not only are the oppression of human and nonhuman animals intertwined, but Nibert (2002) and Patterson (2002) argue that the exploitation of other animals provides a useful model for the exploitation of humans. The construction of nonhuman animals as a category of beings who can be exploited legitimately provides a serviceable tool by which to denigrate other humans and justify their exploitation and oppression. Most of those on the left, like the majority of the population generally, have failed to examine these practices and these serviceable tools, rejecting only the inclusion of humans within such a despised category without challenging the category itself. Nonhuman animals are constructed as mere objects, denying their subjectivity so that we can continue to profit from their exploitation in various sites of institutionalized violence.

Speciesism has its own history, but capitalism has supercharged its scale of operations. Overthrowing capitalism will not automatically eliminate speciesism, although to give Michael Albert his due, by providing greater material security for the majority of people and promoting a more democratic system, it may facilitate a context in which more enlightened ideas can flourish. However, it would be a serious mistake to assume that these developments will happen automatically without the determined efforts of nonhuman animal advocates to transform the dominant anthropocentric values and ideas that still persist among the left. What is needed is a social movement that hearkens back to the expansive and encompassing vision of the nineteenth-century radicals in the sense of calling for total liberation and that brings socialism and nonhuman animal liberation into coalescence (Sanbonmatsu 2011, 31).

As a contribution to these worthy objectives, this work is vitally important. David Nibert and the contributors to this edited collection have furthered the goal of total liberation by calling on readers to reconceptualize our relations with other animals. They remind us that our oppressive relations with other animals are not natural, and our commodification and exploitation of their bodies and minds, indeed, their entire lives are not matters of personal preference or lifestyle choice but matters of social justice. This monumental edited collection demonstrates the need to recognize that our use and treatment of other animals is not simply unjust, exploitative, and violent but that it is systemically so, and what is required to break with this system is a rejection of both speciesism and capitalism.

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