

THE MODERN ANIMAL RIGHTS MOVEMENT
IN THE UNITED STATES (1970-2000)

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History 475: History Seminar

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May 5, 2021

Word Count: 5,203

Words Quoted: 284

ABSTRACT

The contemporary animal rights movement (1970-2000) changed the national discourse with the conscience provoking question: Do animals deserve rights? The welfarist wing of the movement believed that animals deserved humane care but were not entitled to rights as they were seen as human property. The liberationist wing also sought to improve the treatment and conditions for these animals, however this was seen as a short-term goal that should be achieved as a step towards total animal liberation. This essay examines the successes and failures of the movement's liberationist wing to determine if their methods proved effective. Guided by the work of philosopher Peter Singer, liberationists used propaganda, political lobbying, boycotts, protests, and in some cases illegal tactics in their attempt end the three main areas of concern: factory farming, vivisection or animal testing, and animal entertainment. Though each of these concerns are still prevalent today, the combination of these methods, and the liberationists extreme devotion to the movement, proved their methods successful in both securing better treatment and rights for some factory, laboratory, and wild animals. This paper displays three significances of the liberationist wing: liberationists successfully intimidated the reconstruction of numerous cosmetic fashions, medical, and food industries; liberationists created a more cohesive relationship between humans and animals with their developments of the speciesism philosophy; and the grassroots activism created a society more welcoming and accessible for vegans and vegetarians.

In the midst of the civil rights, women's rights, and many other social movements, Americans began to scrutinize the nation's oppressive structures and relationships, including the one between humans and animals. This created a groundswell of concern for the treatment of animals that would lead to the emergence of the contemporary animal rights movement (1970-2000). The debate over what moral and legal rights animals should be given divided the movement into two wings: animal welfarists and animal liberationists. Welfarists had goals of bettering the conditions and treatment of animals under human jurisdiction. Liberationists held these same goals but viewed them as short-term goals that should be achieved as a step toward securing full rights for animals that would protect them from human exploitation. The differing belief systems and goals of each wing prompts the questions: What methods did the liberationists use to achieve their goals, and did these methods prove effective in protecting the lives and securing rights for non-human animals? This paper argues that the animal liberationist used methods of propaganda, petitioning, political lobbying, boycotts, protests, and even illegal tactics and that these methods proved effective in many of the liberationists' political and social goals of securing rights and protections for animals.

Scholars strongly disagree on the moral and legal rights that animals should be granted. Animal welfarists, who include anthropocentric scholars, Marxists, and realists, argue that animals deserve to be treated humanely, but don't have rights. In the welfarist view, the exploitative conditions that animals regularly face should be regulated, but because welfarists believe that animals are inferior beings, humans can still demand the use of them.¹ Conversely, animal liberationists, or animal rightists, reject speciesism or human superiority and argue that because animals have the ability to suffer, they deserve moral and legal rights.² This paper

supports the liberationists perspective and will argue that animals deserve rights to protect them from human exploitation.

Background

The animal rights movement gained significant recognition in 1970s, however, the foundational principles of the movement can be dated back centuries. The ancient Mayan and other indigenous cultures based their creation narratives on the sacred connection among humans, animals, and the Earth, with none greater than the other.³ Similarly, ethical vegetarianism was a main component of ancient Hindu, Jain, and Buddhist scriptures.⁴ Philosophy based practices of vegetarianism and veganism have traveled through history by supporters like Pythagoras⁵, Leonardo de Vinci⁶, Mohandas Gandhi⁷, and Jeremy Bentham.⁸ Yet it was not until the nineteenth century that the first animal welfarists groups emerged: American Society for the Prevention of Cruelty to Animals (1866), American Humane Society (1877), American Human Education Society (1889). However, overtime welfarists organizations such as the ASPCA and the Humane Society of the United States went from being seen as the animals' primary protector to the movement's sell outs. As the organizations grew in size and esteem they grew equally in wealth and connections.⁹ This newfound respect baited the welfare movement's downfall. Welfarist eventually "lost their radical commitment" and "compromised their fundamental principles for the sake of trivial reforms."¹⁰ It was not until the 1960s and 1970s that the movement was reenergized, and the liberationists took charge of the movement.¹¹

Many scholars believe the timing of the animal rights movement's increased momentum was unsurprising since it was situated in an era where women, gays, Native and Black Americans were all working toward liberation.¹² The 1970's was a period of change and recognition for those who had been denied proper rights and for liberationists, animals were an

important part of that narrative. Many liberationist organizations linked their campaigns to those of human rights to show how animal exploitation should not be seen any differently than the exploitation of humans throughout U.S. history.¹³ Liberationists often used this repressive history and the Elias Theory to argue their point. This theory, developed by Norbert Elias in 1939, revealed how the patterns in the development of human relationships, societal norms and systems proved that human society was capable of and moving toward a “large-scale transformation.”¹⁴ Consequently, liberationists argued that animal rights not only should, but based on the human civilization process, undoubtedly could be normalized in society.¹⁵ Tom Regan spoke on behalf of the liberationists desire to abolish the use of animals, stating that “we don't want larger cages, we want empty cages.”¹⁶ Comparing the animal rights movement with the child labor movement, he argued that child labor activists were not fighting for the children’s work hours to be shortened, but rather the abolition of child labor all together.

Liberationist Activism: The Methods Behind the Movement

The publication of Peter Singer’s *Animal Liberation* (1975) was a revolutionary feat for the liberationist wing of the modern animal rights movement. It gave society the possibility of having top tier research, case studies, and an organized definition of speciesism and veganism at their disposal. The publication was often referred to as the ‘Bible’ of the animal rights because it influenced some of the movements leading organizations, activists, and networks: Tom Regan, Henry Spira, Gary Francione, Animal Liberation Front (1976), Farm Animal Rights Movement (FARM-1976), and People for the Ethical Treatment of Animals (1980).¹⁷ Liberationists agreed that the overall goal of the movement was to eliminate the use of animals in the four main areas of exploitation: consumer industries, scientific research industries, animal entertainment industries, and blood sports. The tactics used to achieve those goals were not always agreed

upon, some being more radical than others depending on the group. Liberationists subscribed to nonviolent methods in that there were no intentions of killing or harming another being. Still many groups, PETA and ALF in particular, were not opposed to illegal tactics nor were they afraid of jail time. Along with the more routine methods like the use of propaganda, boycotts, and mass protests, many liberationist groups were conversant in illegal tactics of economic damage, breaking and entering, and theft. Liberationists' devotion and wide range methods made their efforts in the movement most effective.¹⁸

Throughout the movement, liberationists utilized pro animal rights propaganda to educate and often disarm the public. Vegetarian Times, a California based periodical founded by Paul Obis in 1974, published vegetarian and vegan recipes and urged meat eaters to replace animal products with plant-based alternatives. The magazine was moderate in that it strayed from publishing alarming pictures or statistics of animal slaughter and instead kept the issues colorful and enticing. Similarly, the periodical Animal Law Review was an informational publication with few biases meant to keep the public aware of the status of the current legal cases concerning animal exploitation. The magazine Animals' Voice was more involved in the work of the organizations and the scope of the movement. It released graphic stories and pictures detailing the constant animal cruelty and promoted organization's efforts. The magazine had a reoccurring byline, "You can help animals without lifting a finger! Find out about joining the boycotts" and provided information for the boycotts that were currently in play.¹⁹

The use of propaganda to spread awareness continued, however, more radical organizations released propaganda that would scare or shame the public with drastic slogans and gory cartoons. The New York Times published headlines like "Go Vegan or Die" to display the radical liberationists feelings toward meat eaters.²⁰ The activist group People for the Ethical

Treatment of Animals, more famously known as PETA, sought to “shock, disgust, or outrage” its audience.²¹ In 1991, PETA released a gruesome pamphlet that urged readers to become vegetarian by comparing the animals killed by the meatpacking industry to the victims of serial killer Jeffrey Dahmer. The pamphlet reads:

They were drugged and dragged across the room ... Their legs and feet were bound together ... Their struggles and cries went unanswered ... Then they were slaughtered and their heads sawn off ... Their body parts were refrigerated to be eaten later ... It’s still going on. If this leaves a bad taste in your mouth, become a vegetarian.²²

Though PETA received a lot of criticism for the publication, their tactic of shaming the public did not subside.

As the fast food and dairy industries were growing in size and public acceptance, PETA focused its’ attention on bringing them down. The organization launched their “Anti-Milk” campaign in the fall of 2000 and used propaganda as their primary tactic. The organization passed out “Milk Sucker” playing cards with the characters “Chubby Charlie”, “Pimple Patty,” “Loogie Louie,” and “Windy Wanda,” printed on the front to represent the effects of drinking milk: weight gain, gas, acne, and mucus.²³ PETA took the campaign a step further when they used a photo of Rudolph Giuliani, former mayor of New York, in a diss campaign against Goodby Silverstein & Partners ‘Got Milk?’ campaign. PETA released billboards with the face of mayor Giuliani, who had just announced his prostate cancer diagnosis, with the signature milk mustache and the slogan, “Got Prostate Cancer? Drinking Milk Contributes to Prostate Cancer.” The billboards created a massive stir and were taken down just as quickly as they were put up. In a New York Times article, PETA expressed their apologies for the billboards, saying that the

advertisements were “intended to be provocative, not hurtful, a fine line that we regret we crossed.”²⁴

Members of the liberationists wing criticized PETA’s graphic and provoking style of propaganda, especially after the Giuliani ad. Henry Spira was one of the main opponents to this “reintegrative shaming” approach where “stigmatizing white-collar offenders as ‘criminals’” was their tactic to bring about change.²⁵ Instead, Spira felt that motivating the opposers of animal rights to change their minds rather than shaming if a much more effective tactic.²⁶ In a written opinion piece, Ingrid Newkirk, president of PETA, defends PETA’s provocative propaganda pieces, writing that the members of PETA understood it would cause criticism, but that “the message is more important than our discomfort.”²⁷ Newkirk reported that since PETA displayed the Anti-Milk campaign billboards there had been 58,000 new views on their campaign website, www.dumpdairy.com, indicating that being unsparing is what is going to save the animals.²⁸

Petitioning also became a salient tool for activists of the animal rights movement. In April 1978, animal rights supporters protested the University of Michigan laboratory’s experimental use of primates. Activists successfully raised awareness through petition-signing and saved 6 baboons whose lives were going to be sacrificed in car accident simulations.²⁹ Petitioning claimed another animal rights victory in 1988 when advocates campaigned against Dr. Michiko Okamoto, a professor at Cornell Medical College, and forced him to decline a \$600,000 federal grant and terminate a 14-year study that used cats to study the effects of drug addictions. According to fellow scientists at the University of Cornell, it was the first grant to be returned after the research had already been funded. University scientist made public statements disagreeing with Okamoto’s decision and the ideologies of the liberationist movement.³⁰ Steve Siegal, director of Trans-Species Unlimited, spoke against the pro-experiment comments stating,

“we have drug addicts in this city who can’t get methadone for treatment, but monkeys are being addicted to drugs for research and chopped up in laboratories so doctors can make big bucks from grants.”³¹ Again, in 1999, petitioning proved victorious when liberationist group, American Anti-Vivisection Society, collected 40,000 signed petitions to include legal protection for mice, rats, and birds under the Animal Welfare Act.³²

Alex Hershaft, president, and creator of Farm Animal Rights Movement (FARM) believed there were four stages for successful social change: informing the public, discussion, public acceptance, and reform.³³ Hershaft maintained that political action was crucial to reaching the stage of reform and in 1982, created the Compassion Campaign. The campaign proposed different topics of animal rights to chief government officials through various forms of lobbying, and was especially active during the 1984, 1988, and 1992 presidential elections.³⁴ During the 92’ election, Hershaft’s Compassion Campaign introduced the liberationists’ concerns for animal to political candidates Bill Clinton and Jerry Brown and asked for a personal statement on the issue. Hershaft sent the statements and a letter requesting the topic of animal rights be presented at the Democratic national platform.³⁵ The campaign was successful as it “took FARM to the early primary states, to platform hearings, and to the national conventions” to continue the conversations on animal rights.³⁶

Liberationists heavily criticized laws based on animal welfarist principles and the amount of money the government allocated to animal experimentation. Peter Singer breaks down the United States’ 1986 financial budget found that the National Institute of Mental Health, a government agency, had funded 350 experiments on animals involving the effects of drug addiction, sleep deprivation, and anxiety. As a result, the NIMH spent over \$30 million dollars that year on psychological experiments alone.³⁷ Singer also notes that in similar psychological

studies called deprivation studies, monkeys are brutally beaten and most often eventually killed by a machine disguised as a mother monkey to see if the monkey will attempt to seek the mother's comfort after it has been attacked. Peter notes that between the years 1966-1986 over 58 million U.S. taxpayers' dollars had been spent to... terrify and mutilate baby monkeys?³⁸

Civil disobedience and company boycotts some of the more powerful methods liberations used to fight the growing cases of animal cruelty and the government funds allocated towards them in the U.S. In 1976, Henry Spira, founder of Animal Rights International, received a leaflet from United Action for Animals detailing the animal experiments performed by the Museum of Natural History. When Spira contacted Ann Breen, the museum's head of public affairs, about the experiments, she told him "it is too complicated to explain over the phone" and told Spira that the no one from the department of animal behavior would be talking to him. Spira utilized The Freedom of Information Act to obtain records and reports of the experiments and found that for twenty years researchers had removed pieces of cats' brains, and body nerves to cause blindness, deafness, and anosmia, to find how senses affect animal sexuality.

Spira took the matter public by circulating the recovered records and sending them to New York congressmen Ed Koch and other political figures. Spira had gained the public's attention and successfully led a protest where the public picketed the steps and sidewalks of the museum for 18 months. He had also gained the attention of Ed Koch and 127 other members of congress, who investigated the museum and found that the National Institute of Health (NIH), a government agency, was funding the experiments. Under immense public scrutiny, between the picketing and investigations, the NIH pulled funding and brought the experiments to an end.³⁹ According to animal rights activist Helen Jones, Spira's protest was the first time that the media

referred to those involved in the movement as “animal rights activists” rather than “animal lovers.”⁴⁰

Two years later, in 1978, Spira led another successful campaign against animal testing for cosmetic formulation. Spira again used the Freedom of Information Act to obtain lab reports from cosmetic companies Avon and Revlon and sent them to the United States Department of Agriculture. The campaign sought to end the use of Draize and LD50 tests, in which chemicals were piped and buffed chemicals into the eyes, mouth, and skin of rabbits, cats, mice, and other small fur animals to test levels of irritation and toxicity. Spira and his liberationist group confronted Revlon’s vice principal of public affairs and explained the good they could achieve by being the first in the industry to develop alternative testing. Their plea, however, was ineffective. Spira felt the feat of ending cosmetic testing would need a much stronger support system and created a coalition of over 400 liberationists groups. Spira understood that the cosmetic industry was at the mercy of the public opinion and needed to keep somewhat of a glamorous reputation in order to keep their sales. Spira decided to take the gruesome truth behind the attractive façade of the industry and share it in the NY Times.⁴¹

The fight to end cosmetic testing continued in May 1980 when 300 activists surrounded Revlon’s office in New York and protested cosmetic testing dressed as rabbits. The advertisements and demonstrations were a success; cosmetic labs were closed within a year and both Avon and Revlon soon thereafter donated millions of dollars to surrounding universities to fund alternative product safety test research.⁴² In April 1989, Avon announced that they had developed a material called Eytex that allowed synthetic testing and would replace the Draize test. The domino effect swept through the cosmetic industry and by the end of the year Avon, Amway, Fabergé, Mary Kay Cosmetics announced that they would ban all animal testing.⁴³

Illegal tactics of breaking and entering and theft were occasionally the antecedent to many animal rights protests and boycotts when records of experimentation were the stolen property. When laboratory reports were released, animal liberationists had damning proof to react against. This was the case for the Animal Liberation Front's break-in at the University of Pennsylvania's research laboratory on May 28, 1984, where activists stole over sixty hours of research footage. The lab was receiving around \$1 million in federal grants per year to study the effects of intensive brain injuries, using baboons.⁴⁴ The released footage revealed scientists leaving the baboons open on the operating table, refusing the primates any anesthetics or pain relievers, smoking while performing surgeries in unsanitary conditions, using hammers to cause the brain damage instead of the machine given to the lab, and saying cruelties such as "you better have some axonal damage there, monkey" and later calling the disabled monkey a "sucker."^{45 46} The tapes were given to a state run health inspection service, since those ran by the government denied the tapes, and found that the facility broke 74 codes of the Laboratory Animal Welfare Act.⁴⁷

In November 1984, Gary Francione, who at the time was a law professor at UPenn, attempted to meet with the University's scientific research department about the footage circulating campus, but to no avail. In June 1985, 1,500 animal rightists led by PETA and ALF gathered at UPenn's campus to protest the cruelties that were not being addressed by the university or federal government. The following month, after the protests proved unsuccessful, A coalition of animal liberationists conducted a sit-in at the National Institutes of Health. Hundreds of activists marched to the eighth floor of the building and vacated the office of the National Health Institutes director, Murray Goldstein. The sit-in went on for two days with supporters outside the building sending up food and water in a basket-rope pulley system until

Alex Hershaft, founder of Farm Animal Movement, convinced the participants of the sit-in to commit to a hunger strike. The added pressure of the activists' well-being as well as the wave of enraged letters and phone calls that to the NIH and congress ended the liberationists effort to close the UPenn lab with a triumph. The next day, Secretary of Health and Human Services, Margaret Heckler, ordered the lab be closed.⁴⁸

The protection of farm animals and the elimination of slaughterhouses were also major concerns that fueled liberationists efforts. Along with the 'Compassion Campaign,' Hershaft's FARM was behind a number of campaigns that served to protect farm animals such as the "Veal Ban Campaign," "World Day for Farmed Animals," and "The Great American Meat-Out."⁴⁹ FARM created the "Veal Ban Campaign" in 1982 to urge the public to boycott veal in strides to eliminate the slaughtering and the extreme conditions baby cows are placed in such as removal from their mother right after birth, anti-biotic filled formula, exceptionally small, dark, and unsanitary cages.⁵⁰ FARM placed advertisements in major newspapers, picketed restaurants, and held demonstrations. Alex Hershaft, who told reporters that veal farming is "the epitome of cruelty in today's factory farms", led an extraordinary demonstration on where he locked himself in a small crate on the lawn of the White House for over 24 hours.⁵¹ The crate was covered in pictures of various slaughterhouses around the country to show the reality of the livelihood of slaughterhouse animals. In their analysis of the movement, authors Lawrence and Susan Finsen credited FARM, writing that because of this campaign "the extremity of the conditions under which veal calves are raised is as well-known among the public as it is today."⁵²

The "World Day for Farmed Animals" is FARM's "longest-running annual effort" to end human use of farm animals.⁵³ The campaign started on October 2, 1983, on Mohandas Gandhi's birthday to honor all his work in protecting farm animals. The campaign is an annual celebration

that works to educate society and publicly recognize the animals that had suffered in slaughterhouses.⁵⁴ Each year since 1983, communities across the nation participated in pamphlet distribution, protests outside of slaughterhouses and meat markets, and vigils.⁵⁵ FARM's "The Great American Meat Out" campaign was an annual, nationwide boycott of all meat products that took place every year on March 20th. Originally started in 1985, the campaign urged Americans to boycott all meat products around the first week of spring in hopes that this lighter, healthier and environmentally conscious diet would be a continued practice throughout the warmer months.⁵⁶

As the movement grew larger, liberationists also executed mass, peaceful demonstrations such as PETA's 1988 Music Festival and the 1990 March for Animal Rights. PETA's music festival which took place at the Washington Monument on June 11, was a day of collaboration and education that involved around 35,000 animal rights activists. With the help from performances from artists like the B-52s, Natalie Merchant, and Howard Jones, PETA's festival was the "largest musical event for animal rights ever."⁵⁷ The festival successfully raised awareness as well as funds for farm sanctuaries and kill-free shelters in multiple states across the nation.⁵⁸ The Animal Rights March that took place in Washington D.C. on June 11, was a similarly successful event. The crowd of 75,000 people was a combination of welfarist and liberationists, however, the march was organized by staunch liberationists Bill Dyer of Last Chance for Animals, Peter Link, and Tom Regan.⁵⁹ The march was the beginning of an entire weekend event where educational workshops and panels and rallies to lobby Congress were on the agenda. The sheer number of participants in both demonstrations showed the growing activism and the united front of the liberationist wing.⁶⁰

Illegal and more destructive acts such as theft and damaging of private property were a large part of the movement, and some of the groups' main method of protest. PETA and ALF were some of the many organizations that would openly claim controversial actions, even those of "vandalism" and other "economic damage."⁶¹ Liberationists argued their tactics of destruction were "crimes of passion"⁶² while welfarists argued they were "sloppy sentimentalist" for letting their passions wreak havoc on society.⁶³ During their "Unhappy Meal" and "Murder King" campaigns (2000) against the fast food chains McDonalds and Burger King, PETA activists were also known for spray painting fast food restaurants.⁶⁴

Blood sport sabotage was a tactic liberationists used to stop the killing of animals by the means of hunting, baiting, fishing, fighting, etc. Hunter interventionists would travel to wooded hunting areas and spread citronella scent to throw off hunting dogs, move feed placed down by hunters, and blow air horns to ward off any animal close enough to be hunted.⁶⁵ Saboteurs were taking a risk using these tactics as they were illegal in 37 states under the Hunters Harassment Laws. In a 1990 article protesting the Hunters Harassment Laws, Wayne Pacelle, director of Fund for Animals, tells New York Times journalist, "We believe we have the same right to protect wildlife as they do to shoot wildlife."⁶⁶ In the same article, a hunter being interviewed called hunt protesters "a bunch of kooks" for risking jailtime to stop hunting.⁶⁷ In many cases, protesters would be detained or charged, but their tampering with the forest environment left a lasting effect and hunters admitted that they had less fortunate seasons when protesters had visited the forests.⁶⁸ Later on that same year, liberationist work paid off when bow hunting was banned in California.⁶⁹

The freeing of laboratory animals by liberationists became a routine headline in the papers. In 1978, solo activist Kenny LeVasseur was tried and convicted of theft after freeing

dolphins from a lab at the University of Hawaii.⁷⁰ In 1983 the members of Animal Liberation Front were responsible for freeing twelve dogs that were awaiting torturous experimentation. Again in 1983, Urban Gorillas, an underground activist group in Los Angeles, freed cats from a university in California while another group, Band of Mercy activists, freed a few dozen rabbits from the labs at the University of Maryland.⁷¹ In a 1984 interview with The New York Times, Dr. Charles McCarthy, director at the National Institutes of Health, told reporters that there had been no break-ins over the last five years, but in the last year alone there had been ten.⁷² One of the most radical protests against the use of animals was in 1988 when activist Fran Trutt bombed an American Surgical facility in Connecticut. Defending herself, she pointed out that American Surgical uses about 1,000 canines each year in training procedures for medical professionals and salesmen.⁷³

Throughout PETA's role in the movement, the group used a unique method of sending a member undercover to obtain evidence of maltreatment at different facilities that used animals. Between May 1996 and June 1997, member of PETA Michell Rokke worked undercover as an assistant caretaker at Village Veterinary Hospital and Huntington Life Science laboratory, both in located in New Jersey. Within the 13 months Rokke worked in these facilities she was able to collect 50 hours of video, 6 hours of audio recordings, and over 8,000 pages of documents. While at Village Veterinary Hospital, Rokke worked under a Dr. Howard Baker who she was able to successfully catch on camera abusing the dogs in his care. PETA released the footage causing Dr. Baker to be charged with fourteen counts of animal cruelty. When PETA had released the footage from Huntington, the facility almost instantaneously lost half of their cliental, a blow that would cost the company over \$1 million in business. Huntington filed a lawsuit against PETA, but the outcome played in PETA's favor. All charges against the members

of PETA that were behind the undercover operation were dropped, and PETA was only required to stop using any materials taken by Rokke. By that point, Huntington still faced the brunt of the situation by bringing more attention to themselves with the public lawsuit and their decreasing cliental.⁷⁴

Throughout the movement, liberationists critiqued the insufficiency of the Animal Welfare Act and the welfarists' ultimate goal of providing humane care, claiming that is "merely an expression of human priorities."⁷⁵ The Animal Welfare Act of 1966 and the four succeeding amendments added during the modern animal rights movement period, each fail to provide humane treatment for all animals. The original act was created to regulate the transport conditions and handling of dogs, cats, non-human primates, rabbits, and other smaller household pet animals that would be used for research. The act is states that these animals must be provided with proper shelter, especially from harsh temperatures or weather and unsanitary conditions, and nourishment. This act however sets these standards only to the transport and handling. It still permitted research facilities to determine what extent these are followed during experimentation.⁷⁶

The following amendments attempted to improve the standards for these research animals as well as provide protections for household pets. Nevertheless, they continued to relieve the suffering of animals as amendment added in 1985, also called The Improved Standards for Laboratory Animals Act, states that the pain and distress must be minimized in experimental procedures but not eliminated. In 1985 the Federal Aviation Administration used ten beagles to test the effects of extreme heat. The dogs were locked in small enclosures for 24 hours at a time, muzzled, deprived of food and water and yet this is not in violation of the law. FARM denounced the welfare acts in particular for leaving out protections for all farm animals in each

of the amendments. The lack of farm animal protection allowed a Farm Sanctuary Investigator to find two live hens stuffed in a dumpster with heaping piles of dead birds in 2000, and no technical law was broken.⁷⁷

Epilogue and Conclusion

Since the turn of the century, when this paper's research focus ends, the animal rights movement has not faltered. The continuous rise of dedicated animal rights advocates and grassroots activism has fueled the liberation movement's agenda. In many ways, the movement's achievements over the last two decades greatly surpass those of the movements during the late twentieth century. The liberationist efforts have transformed the consumer, legal, and education industries.

According to Forbes magazine, the number of vegans increased 600% between 2014 and 2017 alone. Veganuary and Februdairy are newer annual campaigns created by FARM to connect vegans and vegetarians that was launched in 2014 with 3,300 members. By 2017, the campaign had 168,000 participants to spread awareness of the philosophies and benefits of veganism. Vegan and vegetarian options can be found in a variety of restaurants and fast food chains such as Burger King, Subway, Taco Bell, and Dunkin Donuts. Vegan options can be even found in many rural hospitals, a feat that journalist Patrik Jonnson says would have been "unthinkable" just a decade ago.⁷⁸ These findings are incredibly impressive in that they were all accomplished through collective action toward a moral understanding, without any assistance from the law.

The liberationist wing of the animal rights movement is significant for several reasons. First, the liberationist efforts persuasively exposed not only the horrors of industrial animal exploitation but the ineffectiveness of the animal welfare wing. Through the use of propaganda, boycotting, and active protests, liberationist intimidated the reconstruction of numerous cosmetic

fashions, medical, and food industries. Liberationists also scrutinized welfarist actions and laws to validate how they are hypocritical, inadequately enforced, and make cruelty systematic.

Second, the animal liberationists were responsible for the influencing a more cohesive relationship between human and nonhuman animals, teaching society to think ethically and introducing the moral philosophy of speciesism. Coined by Richard Ryder and popularized by Peter Singer, the term speciesism was a result of the pressure put on by philosophers and activist of the movement to rethink the moral hierarchy of living beings. Speciesism stands firmly against the use of animal abuse, experimentation, or manipulation of any kind. The term has helped scholars and advocates educate themselves and others against the exploitation of animals merely based on their interests and abilities. Tom Regan admits that more has been written on the animal rights philosophies in the thirty years of the contemporary movement than there had been in the last 3,000 years.⁷⁹

Third, the grassroots activism of the animal liberationists created a drastic increase of independent vegans, vegetarians, and animal rights advocates. Though there has been no laws against the use of animal products for dietary reasons, animal liberationist activism has successfully made vegan options available in major food chains and grocery stores around the world. As a result of the animal rights movement, plant-based and cruelty-free options can be found in the food, cosmetic, and fashion industries and are more readily available than ever before.

End Notes

¹ For the welfarist interpretation, see Alan Wolfe, The Human Difference: Animals, Computers, and the Necessity of Social Science. (Berkeley CA: University of California Press, 1973); Tim Hayward, "Anthropocentrism: A Misunderstood Problem." Environmental Values 6, no. 1, (1997): 49-63; David Sztybel, "Marxism and Animal Rights." Ethics and the Environment 2, no. 2 (1997): 169-85.

² For the liberationist interpretation, see Peter Singer, Animal Liberation: A New Ethics For Our Treatment of Animals. (New York: Avon Books, 1975); Tom Regan, The Case For Animal Rights. (Los Angeles: University of California Press, 1983); Steven M. Wise, Rattling The Cage. (Cambridge, MA: Perseus Publishing, 2000); Gary L. Francione, Animals, Property, and the Law. (Philadelphia: Temple University Press, 1995); Gary L. Francione, Rain Without Thunder: The Ideology of the Animal Rights Movement. (Philadelphia: Temple University Press, 1996).

³ Dennis Tedlock (trans.), Popol Vuh (New York: Simon & Shuster, 1985), pp. 21-60.

⁴ Elizabeth Cherry, "Shifting Symbolic Boundaries: Cultural Strategies of the Animal Rights Movement." Sociological Forum 25, no. 3 (September 2010): 454-455.

⁵ Pythagoras (570-495 BC) was an ancient Greek philosopher. Although his legacy was built primarily on his interests in cosmology, numerology, and of course his creation of the Pythagorean Theorem, Pythagoras was also an advocate for the abolition of animal cruelty and was a vegetarian himself. For Pythagoras, see Louis C. Coakley, and Dimitra Karamanides, Pythagoras : Mathematician and Mystic (New York, NY: Rosen Publishing Group, 2015)

⁶ Leonardo de Vinci (1452 – 1519) was an artists, scientist, and theorist of the Renaissance era. He is most popularly known for his paintings "Mona Lisa", "The Last Supper" and Vitruvian Man." De Vinci was also an advocate for animal liberation and was a vegetarian himself. For Leonardo de Vinci, see Carmen Bambach, Rachel Stern, Alison Manges, Leonardo Da Vinci, Master Draftsman. (New York: Metropolitan Museum of Art, 2003)

⁷ Mohandas Gandhi (1869-1948) was an equal rights activist, lawyer, politician, and pioneer in the methods of nonviolence. Gandhi lead a number of campaigns in both South Africa and India in attempt to free these nations of British control. Gandhi was also a leader in the practice of self-purification, vegetarianism, and veganism. For Mohandas Gandhi, see Gandhi, Mohandas, An Autobiography: The Story of My Experiments with Truth. Edited by Sissela Bok and Mahadev Desai. Boston: Beacon Press: 1957; Brown, Judith M. Gandhi: Prisoner of Hope. New Haven: Yale University Press, 1989.

⁸ Jeremy Bentham (1748-1832) was a philosopher and equal rights activist best known for his developments in the philosophies of utilitarianism and welfarism. Bentham influenced many of the works published during the modern animal rights movement. For more on Jeremy Bentham, see, Jeremy Bentham, The Works of Jeremy Bentham, Now First Collected: Under the Superintendence of His Executor, John Bowring (Sheridan, WY: Creative Media Partners LLC, 2018); Steven M. Wise, Rattling The Cage, pp. 9-22.

⁹ Ibid., p. 218.- Singer, Animal Liberation, p

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