Animal Liberation?

The History, Contemporary Network, and Impact of Animal Rights Activism in Europe.

Manès Weisskircher

Thesis submitted for assessment with a view to
obtaining the degree of Doctor of Political and Social Sciences
of the European University Institute

Florence, April 2019

European University Institute
Department of Political and Social Sciences

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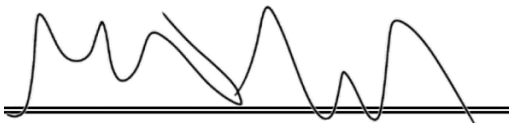

25/04/2019

‘[M]en exploit animals in much the same way as the rich exploit the proletariat.’

George Orwell, 1947

‘History will, in my opinion, judge that the struggle against speciesism ranks alongside the battles against slavery, poverty, racism, sexual discrimination and the denial of human rights generally.’

Richard Ryder, 1975

‘Die Würde des Schweins ist unantastbar.’

Reinhard Mey, 1995

‘O ›Klub zum Schutz der wilden Tiere‹,

hilf, daß der Mensch nicht ruiniere

die Sprossen dieser Riesenleiter,

die stets noch weiter führt und weiter!’

Christian Morgenstern, 1905

Acknowledgments

Living in Italy and studying at the European University Institute has been nothing but a privilege. I have been fascinated by the sun, the great (vegan) food (also as part of the traditional Tuscan cuisine), the *cantautori*, the country's political history and presence, the visual beauty of everything, the many friendly faces, the wine, and the beautiful language, which I regret not to have learnt properly—yet! In Florence, I even began to drink coffee—which, as a Viennese, I should have actually done back home already.

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Studying at the EUI has given me the opportunity to meet many fascinating scholars, in Florence and outside of the city. This is probably one of the most important advantages of studying in such a major international university. There are many individuals who I am privileged to thank in this context.

I especially want to thank Jim Jasper. Not knowing much about animal rights, and even less about social movement studies, Jim Jasper was one of my starting points for both. What a coincidence that I got to know him at my very first academic conference in Bucharest, when Donatella received an honorary doctorate—I did not expect him to be there at all. And I almost would have never known that he was there, as on the day of my departure from Florence I realized that I had lost my passport. Instead of carefully preparing for my first-ever conference presentation, I had to travel to Rome to get an

emergency travel document, and a new flight from there. But sometimes going through a lot is worth it! After my conference presentation in Bucharest, his feedback made me for the very first time feel like I was not only a young, slightly lost PhD student, but also a young scholar. Moreover, ever since then Jim has supported me on many occasions and I am very grateful for his tremendous generosity.

At the EUI I also met Swen Hutter, whose work on protests (or rather their absence) in Austria I had already been introduced to. Despite me working on such strange topics as the animal rights movement, the radical left in Austria, or PEGIDA *outside* of Germany, Swen gave me the chance to work on several projects, which not only boosted my academic confidence, but was also an important financial (and therefore mental) relief given the prospect of a fifth year without scholarship. Most importantly, however, Swen, slowly but steadily, became a very good friend of mine—and, even better for him, a professor!

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After four years of enjoying a scholarship in Florence, I moved to *‘Elbflorenz’*—the

nickname of the city of Dresden—to work at the Technische Universität. I want to thank Hans Vorländer for providing me with what, for a long time, seemed like a utopian dream to me: my first full-time academic position! What I especially appreciate about the work of Hans Vorländer is how he engages in matters directly relevant to a wider public in Dresden and Saxony. Not only doing *l'art pour l'art*, but also trying to be of service to a world outside of the ivory tower, is something that I want to maintain in my future work—despite contrary incentives in contemporary academia. In Dresden, I owe so much gratitude to Oliviero Angeli, whose parents live in walking distance from the Badia Fiesolana and who has taught me a lot about both Italy and Germany (and football!). The city of Dresden is great—and in particular because of my three wonderful friends Ann-Christin, Giovanni, and Kristina—a.k.a. *Forschungsgruppe 5* :)

In Florence, I found so many wonderful friends, who are all crazy in their own peculiar ways and with whom I share so many common Firenze (and beyond) memories. With Dieter I drank *Gewürztraminer* (and Tyrolian Whiskey) in Firenze and went to Graz to interview communists in government. With Fabio, I was introduced to constitutional, solid, and perfect countries, to orecchiette, and to a squatted university cafeteria in Napoli. With Johannes, I lived in the beautiful Via Saffi appartamento, went to Quebec City to celebrate his birthday, and he already visited me in Man(è)sfelder Straße 32. With Lars, I went to Mr. Zu's restaurant in Campo di Marte, to Prato in order to eat even more Chinese food, and to Arezzo, where he bought a magnifying glass. With Marita, I went to Vinandro many, many times (and eventually they even had Coccoli!) and to Puglia once—there we enjoyed long train rides over short distances. With Rutger, I enjoyed very long breakfasts and, not only in Hamburg, very long dinners, including some of the most interesting, and very funny, debates. With Sergiu, I played ping-pong in Florence (and lost…) and I wish to visit him in Moldavia once. With Simon, I had already studied in London, which was clearly not enough: That's why we—fortunately—repeated that experience in Florence!

In Florence I also met Julia—she is the most wonderful person I have ever gotten to know. Since 2015, if one of us went to any place in Florence, it was more than likely that the other one would follow. But with Julia I also traveled to many places outside of Florence, most importantly to our home towns of Sofia and Vienna—which we will do many, many more times in the future. Обичам те!

My family has always been extremely supportive in everything I did, never interfered with any of my strange plans, but instead always made me feel comfortable about them. My late grandfather, who unfortunately did not live to see me moving to Florence, was the person who always had the highest number of books, wrote the most, and also taught. I owe so much to my parents Elisabeth and Günter, my sister Luise (and the dog Fenno!), my grandmother Elfriede, my aunt Veronika (maybe I would have never studied if she hadn't been the first family member who did?), and my step-aunt Karin. My years in Florence had one major drawback: That I couldn't see them more often.

I dedicate this dissertation to my mum who managed to finish her education without a four-year scholarship, but while having to work and raising a small child on her own at the same time.

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Abstract

This dissertation studies the history, contemporary network, and impact of the animal rights movement in Europe—a region that is often regarded as particularly progressive in matters of animal welfare. Each chapter connects to important debates in social movement studies.

The first chapter analyzes the origins of animal advocacy in the 19th century by 'bringing political economy in'. Such a perspective provides important insights for understanding a case of activism that has been typically regarded as primarily driven by 'morals.' In the second chapter I explore the network of the contemporary animal rights movement. Using an innovative methodological approach, I collect relational data on 'SMO populations' and trace the patterns of connections between more than 1500 organizations and groups.

The remaining chapters focus on the impact of the movement. The third chapter studies the most public recent instance of animal rights activism in Europe: The Stop Vivisection European Citizens' Initiative (ECI) against animal experimentation. It shows how the 'opportunity structure' of the ECI benefits activists of populous member states instead of incentivizing Europe-wide campaigns. I also discuss the multiple consequences of Stop Vivisection beyond the failure to achieve policy change. The fourth chapter studies a largely non-public approach in the political conflict over animal experimentation: the push for the development of 'alternatives,' underling that new technologies are a neglected, and contested, outcome of activism. The fifth chapter analyzes the limited gains of activists in the regulation of egg production and animal experimentation more generally. Despite widespread praise for two major EU directives, this chapter argues that gains for animals have remained modest—and that issue-specific contextual factors matter for future developments. Overall, while the actions of the vibrant animal rights movement in Europe have produced a variety of consequences, gains for animals have so far been limited.

Introduction[1]

Empirical and Theoretical Relevance

The animal rights movement[2] has grown substantially since the beginning of its 'second wave'[3] in the last third of the 20th century. In almost every core state of the world economy, and certainly not only there, an uncountable number of individuals, some of them more moderate, and some of them more radical, have pushed for an improvement of the lives of 'non-human animals'[4]. Many activists promote veganism and an end of animal experimentation, sharing the abolition of all forms of animal exploitation as their ultimate goal. Even a partial realization of such a vision would require a radical departure from the status quo—politically, economically, and culturally. Other sympathizers of animal welfare concerns identify with more limited goals. Still, also many of their suggestions would bring about, and have already contributed to, significant changes in our societies: The spread of vegetarian restaurants and the development of so-called 'alternatives' to animal experimentation are only two of many important examples.

[1] Parts of this dissertations are already published or are about to be published: chapter 3 was accepted with minor revisions in Political Studies, chapter 4 is published in Sociological Perspectives (Weisskircher 2019b), and chapter 5 is forthcoming in Ricerche di Storia Politica (Weisskircher forthcoming a). Moreover, some empirical examples in this dissertation draw from publications that were aimed at a broader, also non-scientific audience (Weisskircher 2016a, 2016b).

[2] There is considerable confusion in the literature on how to term a movement that includes more moderate animal *welfare* and more radical animal *rights* organizations. Each flank of the movement usually differs in ideology, especially with regard to (at least short-term) goals, and/or in the choice of actions. While many of the existing studies on animal rights activism focus on both types of groups, authors often continuously refer either to the animal welfare or the animal rights movement. Munro (2005a) advocates the more general term 'animal movement', even though the title of his book refers to the 'animal rights movement'. Others (for example Donaldson and Kymlicka 2011) use the term 'animal advocacy movement' to include the different flanks of the movement. In this dissertation, I usually use 'animal rights movement' to describe the whole movement, and often also when referring to comparatively moderate organizations. On the one hand, this choice accurately reflects the growing importance of animal rights ideology across the whole movement. On the other, the remaining terminological imprecision reflects the impossibility to find concepts that fully represent the complex reality of political phenomena, such as activism in favor of animals.

[3] In referring to a 'second wave' of the movement, I mean the intensification of activism in favor of animals in the second half of the 20th century and beyond, especially since the 1970s. Animal advocacy of the 19th century is usually described as 'first wave' of the movement. This use of these terms is in line with the writings of some authors (e.g. DeMello 2012, Roscher 2009), but notably not with Singer's (2006), who refers to the 'second wave' as the cohort of activists which followed the 'first generation' of renewed protest in the 1960s and 1970s.

[4] Many animal rights activists speak of 'non-human animals' to underline what in their view is a similarity in moral status compared to 'human animals'.

At the beginning of the 21st century, activists in Europe have achieved substantial organizational strength. All over the continent, they participate in thousands of smaller and larger groups, pursuing a broad array of different forms of action (Weisskircher 2016a). Some groups engage in activities that are typically associated with social movement activism, especially public protest—sometimes with several thousand participants, as in the demonstration against foxhunting in May 2017 in London. Other activists secretly enter the facilities of farm factories and research institutions in order to release animals from captivity—a form of intervention that often receives considerable public attention. In April 2013, the liberation of hundreds of animals, mainly mice, from a laboratory in Milan, undertaken by a group called Fermare Green Hill (Stop Green Hill), even provoked the indignation of the renowned scientific magazine *Nature* (22.04.2013).

Moreover, transnational coalitions of many different groups may even mobilize hundreds of thousands of animal rights supporters who aim for legislative change. In 2012 and 2013, Stop Vivisection[5] successfully collect one million signatures required in a European Citizens' Initiative, an EU level instrument of direct democracy. Some proponents of animal rights even found political parties that manage to enter national parliaments, with the Dutch Partij voor de Dieren [Party for the Animals] and the Portuguese Pessoas–Animais–Natureza [People–Animals–Nature] as successful examples.

Apart from such highly public activities, advocates of animal rights also conduct highly professional lobbying work, in the corridors of state institutions, including in Berlin, Brussels, and London, or negotiate with private businesses, as in the headquarters of supermarket chains. The leading groups within the Eurogroup for Animals, a long-standing EU level umbrella organization, are particularly engaged in these type of activities. In short, activism for animals is a widespread political phenomenon in Europe, coming in many different forms, from the public to the private, and operating at many different levels, from the local to the transnational.[6]

[5] 'Vivisection' is an antiquated term for the practice of animal experimentation, which is nowadays only used by its opponents.

[6] Moreover, many adherents to the movement are not interested in organizational affiliations, but are vegetarian and vegans. As vegetarians, they decide not to eat meat. As vegans, they decide not to consume any animal products, often not only in their diet, but also beyond food products, for example

This dissertation provides a comprehensive study of the animal rights movement in Europe. It focuses on three key empirical dimensions of social movement activism: First, it traces the long history of animal rights activism in Europe, starting with the movement's 'first wave' in the 19th century. Second, the dissertation examines the contemporary network of animal advocates in Europe, analyzing the intense activism across the continent at the beginning of the 21st century. Third, the thesis focuses on the impact of activism concerning animal experimentation and food production, studying a crucial instance of mass mobilization (the Stop Vivisection ECI), less public but very innovative approaches to fighting alternative experimentation (the push for 'alternatives') and the long way toward two key EU directives on food production and animal experimentation (Directive 1999/74/EC that regulates the use of cages in egg production and Directive 2010/63/EU on animal experimentation in scientific research).

In doing so, the dissertation provides a different angle than some of the contemporary studies in social movement research. Instead of studying only one narrow aspect of a specific social movement, the present work poses questions that are relevant to understand a specific social movement more comprehensively (as desired for example by Goodwin 2012). This work aims to provide useful insights for a broad audience, which includes researchers of social movements, scholars of animal rights, but hopefully also activists themselves.[7]

Moreover, beyond providing a comprehensive empirical perspective of animal rights activism in Europe, each chapter of this dissertation also provides important insights to the study of activism more generally. The aim of this dissertation is not only to improve our understanding of the animal rights movement in particular, but also to

by not buying leather shoes. These forms of activities matter for much more individuals than only for those that are politically organized. In many European countries, significant shares of the population, and especially the younger cohorts, self-report as vegetarian or vegan. To give only one example, in Switzerland 6.8% of the population report that they always eat vegetarian and 1.5% report that they always eat vegan (Swissveg 2017). Even those who do not join groups might regularly look at the websites of animal advocacy organizations in order to inform themselves about the health aspects of their diet or about new restaurants in town. The spread of non-organized vegetarians and vegans points to the difficult question of how to delineate social movements—are these individuals part of the animal rights movement or not?

[7] For the latter two, many footnotes provide additional empirical information that might not be of interest to those that are mainly interested in social movement activism more generally.

contribute to scholarship in social movement studies. In doing so, the dissertation connects to important debates in this field, including the analytical usefulness of concepts from political economy to understand social movement activism, methodological approaches that measure the network behind 'social movement organization populations' on the basis of social media data, the importance of social movements for direct democracy—and in particular the European Citizens' Initiative, the relevance of new technologies as an outcome of activism, and the explanatory power of long-term developments and issue-specific 'political opportunities' in order to understand the consequences of activism. Each chapter specifies the respective research interest and/or research question, the way it relates to the literature, and expands both existing theory and our empirical knowledge.

In the remainder of this Introduction, I first discuss why the study of animal rights activism in Europe promises particularly valuable insights, highlighting the intensity and the transnationalism of activism. Then I summarize what other social movement scholars have focused on and discovered when studying animal rights activism and underline that this dissertation provides important additional perspectives. After introducing the methodological approaches used in this dissertation, the Introduction ends with a detailed presentation of each chapter's main arguments and contributions in the analysis of the history, the contemporary network, and the impact of animal rights activism in Europe.

The Case of the Animal Rights Movement in Europe

In Europe, the interest in the welfare of animals goes not only beyond movement activists, but also beyond non-organized vegetarians and vegans. Indeed, support of the cause of animal welfare is widespread in Europe: According to the recent *Special Eurobarometer* on *Attitudes of Europeans towards Animal Welfare* (European Commission 2016), no less than 94% of European Union (EU) citizens find it 'important […] to protect the welfare of farmed animals.' Furthermore, another overwhelming majority—82% of respondents—favors improvements in the protection of farmed animals. Therefore, within Europe, the (at least rhetorical) approval of the moral value of animals seems to be almost universally shared. Those who state that they regard 'the welfare of farmed animals' as 'not very important' (3 percent) or even 'not at all

important' (1 percent) occupy marginal positions.[8] In correspondence to this widespread interest, many European media outlets have regularly reported about the exploitation of animals. Their coverage includes conclusions as forceful as referring to factory farming as 'carnage' (*Die Zeit* 2014b) or as 'one of the worst crimes in history' (*The Guardian* 25.09.2015).

A great number of observers—among them both scholars and activists—have emphasized progress when looking at animal welfare regulation in Europe. The EU, it is argued, is a polity ahead of others, for example the United States—a country where national animal welfare regulation is notoriously weak.

Examples for such an optimistic perspective on animal welfare in the EU are plenty. Forty years after the publication of *Animal Liberation* (Singer 1975), certainly the most influential book on animal ethics ever written, its author looked back. In the previous four decades, Singer (2015b) identified that 'in many parts of the world […] there [had] been tremendous progress in changing attitudes to animals.' This progress he also saw reflected in key pieces of recent animal welfare legislation, especially of those adopted in the EU, such as more space for farmed animals. While acknowledging that 'these changes are still far from giving factory-farmed animals decent lives', Singer thought that they had led to 'a significant improvement on what was standard practice before'. In a similar vein, Reineke Hameleers (2016), Director of the Eurogroup for Animals, argues that 'the EU is in the forefront of animal welfare on many issues'. These accomplishments are significant. They're to be celebrated'. Even the political theorists Sue Donaldson and Will Kymlicka (2011: 2, 5)—who criticize the dominant 'animal rights framework' as a 'political non-starter' and thus can hardly be accused of holding an overly favorable position on animal welfare policies—point out that 'animal welfare legislation is more advanced' in Europe than in the United States.

What is certain is that the contemporary animal rights movement in Europe is vibrant and consists of a vast range of individuals, groups, and organizations. Although they share their willingness to act for the betterment of animals, these players are

[8] The fact that such a Eurobarometer was even conducted speaks for the growing salience of animal welfare in European politics. Note also that the Eurobarometer does not speak of 'farm animals,' but of 'farmed animals,' the term preferred by many animal rights activists.

heterogeneous and differ in significant ways. To give only a few examples: While the Royal Society for the Prevention of Cruelty to Animals (RSPCA) has an annual revenue of more than £100 million and hundreds of employees, the Slovenian Veganska Iniciativa is run by a small number of volunteers. PETA (People for the Ethical Treatment of Animals) has branches in European countries, but is originally based in the United States, while Cruelty Free International has its home base in Great Britain, but also operates elsewhere, including in Asian countries. While the vast majority of animal rights organizations operate within the limits of the law, activists that identify with the Animal Liberation Front conduct property damage, for example by destroying tree stands used for hunting.

In Europe, animal advocacy has a long history—much longer than many of those who are interested in social movement activism might assume. With the widespread emergence of 'modern' social movements in the 18th and especially the 19th century (Calhoun 2012, Tarrow 2011: 37–91, Tilly 1978), animal advocates also became active across Europe and, indeed, other regions of the world. The earliest recorded attempts of organizing animal advocacy were in Liverpool in 1809 (Moss 1961: 20–22), but the oldest still-existing organization is the RSPCA, founded as Society for the Prevention of Cruelty to Animals (SPCA) in 1824—the 'Royal' pre-fix would come later.[9]

State regulation of animal welfare in Europe is just as old. The establishment of the SPCA in 1824 was a direct response to the needs of the first modern animal welfare law in history, which had been passed two years before in Great Britain. In 1822, both Houses passed 'An Act to Prevent the Cruel and Improper Treatment of Cattle,' penalizing 'any person or persons wantonly and cruelly beat, abuse, or ill-treat any Horse, Mare, Gelding, Mule, Ass, Ox, Cow, Heifer, Steer, Sheep, or other Cattle.' The primary motivation behind the foundation of the SPCA was to enforce this legislation, which was known widely as Martin's Act—which faced implementation problems from

[9] The history of animal advocacy as an intellectual and practical tradition has an even longer history in—and of course beyond—Europe. In Europe, the Greek mathematician Pythagoras of Samos (ca. 570–495 BC) was one of the first known ethically motivated vegetarians. Ever since, many more or less clear and elaborated supporters of some form of animal ethics have been recorded. The friar Francis of Assisi (1181/1182–1226) and the English merchant and author Thomas Tryon (1634–1703) are just two of many prominent historical examples. Overviews on the history of philosophical thinking about animals are plenty and the best include treatments on developments outside of Europe (Beauchamp and Frey 2011).

the very beginning. Some of the organization's key early figures, such as Richard Martin MP, Fowell Buxton MP, and William Wilberforce MP, were key in supporting the law in parliament (Moss 1961).[10]

Similar to today, animal advocacy of the 19th century was a Europe-wide endeavor—organizations soon spread in many regions, such as in the German states. The first such association was established there in 1837, in the city of Stuttgart by Albert Knapp. This first German group of animal advocates was called the Vaterländischer Verein zur Verhütung von Tierquälerei [The Patriotic Association for the Prevention of Cruelty to Animals]. Similar to the founder of the SPCA, Reverend Broome, Knapp was a protestant cleric, who related his views on animal protection to his religious beliefs, stimulated by the Lutheran pastor Christian Adam Dann. In the following years, similar types of organizations formed in many other German cities, such as Dresden,[11] Nurnberg (both in 1839), Berlin, Frankfurt, Hamburg (all in 1841), Munich (1842), Trier (1852), and Cologne (1868) (Zerbel 1993: 48). Similarly, laws banning 'cruelty toward animals' spread across the German states, for example in Saxony (1838), Württemberg (1839), Prussia (1851), and Bavaria (1861). By 1870, almost every part of the later German Empire had enacted like-minded legislation (Bretschneider 1962: 12; Zerbel 1993: 44). Publications of Munich animal advocates even had an impact on the first piece of animal welfare legislation in France (Zerbel 1993: 45).

Animal advocates organized also outside of Great Britain and the German states. Countries included Switzerland (1840), France (1846), 'Italy' (1858), Norway and Russia (1859), the Netherlands (1861), and Belgium (1863). In most of these countries, several organizations existed: According to the bulletin of the French SPA, in 1868, until that year 33 organizations had been formed in Britain, 44 in 'Germany,' 21 in Austria–Hungary, and 17 in Switzerland (Traïni 2016: 12). In line with the spread of animal welfare ideas, national legislation was also increasingly adopted, albeit not

[10] However, the official founder of the SPCA—Reverend Arthur Broome—was not a MP, but a cleric (Moss 1961). In contrast to many definitions, or at least emphases, of social movements and social movement organizations, the reason for the foundation of this oldest still active animal advocacy organization was not independent from state policy, but closely tied to it. This example shows how social movement organizations do not necessarily precede and trigger policy changes. New policies, and their lack of implementation, can also prompt the establishment of social movement organizations.

[11] Interestingly enough, we also have reports of a law against animal cruelty in Saxony *before* an animal advocacy organization formed in its capital Dresden. This mirrors developments in London at the beginning of the 1820s.

everywhere: Greece and Portugal were among the countries with no national laws against cruelty to animals (Zerbel 1993: 46).[12]

The widespread presence of animal advocacy groups all over Europe, and beyond, led to the desire to institutionalize transnational ties. Almost from the outset, members of the SPCA actively tried to push for the establishment of similar organizations elsewhere. Sir John de Beauvoir, a leading member of the SPCA committee and later also an MP in Britain, visited Paris in 1834 to initiate a French organization. These efforts did not prove to be immediately successful. Only in 1846 did the French doctor Étienne Pariset found the Société Protectrice des Animaux (SPA). Its founding document underlined the European linkages among animal advocates: 'We hereby found, in Paris, a society which, like those already existing in Bavaria and England, aims to pursue, by all means at our disposal, the outlawing of maltreatment of animals' (Traïni 2016: 12f).

From 1860, animal advocates from different parts of Europe began to regularly meet at international conferences all over the continent. The first host was the Saxon city of Dresden. Two years later, animal advocates met in London, at Crystal Palace. In 1863, they returned to a German city, this time to Hamburg. In 1864, Vienna was the host; three years later a conference took place in Paris and in thereafter in 1870 in Zürich (Moss 1961: 186).

Therefore, a brief glance at the history of early animal advocacy in Europe, even without taking into account the rise of specialized associations opposing animal experimentation or promoting vegetarianism in the second half of the 20th century, shows that the movement has always transcended modern states. In other words, animal advocates have traditionally formed, to some degree, transnational networks. Social movement scholars have emphasized the importance of transnational

[12] Beyond laws against cruelty to animals, the substantive impact of animal advocacy legislation in the 19th century was modest. The ongoing political conflict over animal experimentation is a clear case where activism could not put an end to the grievance. Even though opponents of 'vivisection' filed petitions to their legislatures across Europe (Bretschneider 1962: 27–32; Maehle 1996), they failed to achieve national legislation on animal experimentation (Hopley 1998: 1). The only exception was the British movement. Following a Royal Commission on Vivisection in 1875, the British Parliament passed the Cruelty to Animals Act, establishing a licensing system for experimentation on vertebrates one year later. However, also the British legislation failed to prevent the massive rise of animal experimentation which followed over the next decades (Boddice 2014: 85; Lyons 2013).

mobilization (e.g. della Porta and Tarrow 2005) and, strongly related, the significance of the EU level as a target for social movement activists (e.g., Balme and Chabanet 2008; della Porta and Caiani 2009). A focus on national developments alone may thus overlook or omit some key developments of activism. That might be particularly true in the case of animal advocacy: Traïni (2016: 14, his italics) even maintains 'that the cause of animal protection has always been a *transnational* movement'.

The Europe-wide presence of animal advocacy and its transnationalism—both in the past and nowadays—motivates the perspective adopted in this dissertation. Without neglecting the importance of national contexts, this dissertation focuses on some of the key empirical dimensions of animal advocacy that *transcend* national states. These include: the importance of political economy for understanding activism, transnational networks of SMOs, direct-democratic ECI mobilization, the push for the development of new technologies ('alternatives'), and the gains of activists in two key areas regulated at the EU level—egg production and animal experimentation in scientific research. The vibrant movement activism in Europe, the large public support for animal welfare among European populations, and the praise for key legislative output in the EU further underline why a study of animal rights activism in Europe promises important insights.

The Animal Rights Movement in the Social Movement Literature

Since the 1970s, philosophers have shown a remarkable interest in the moral status of animals. The two fundamental works in animal ethics are Peter Singer's (1975) *Animal Liberation*, making a utilitarian argument for the 'equal consideration of equal interest' of humans and animals, and Tom Regan's (1983) *The Case for Animal Rights*, which follows a deontological, 'rightist' approach. Beyond these 'lodestars' in the debate on animal rights, countless other philosophical works on the issue have been published, typically with the idea of contributing to a better understanding on how society should deal with animals (e.g. DeGrazia 1996, Nussbaum 2011). The importance of philosophers for the 'second wave' of animal advocacy is so great that Jasper and Nelkin (1992: 90) have called them 'midwives of the animal rights movement'. Singer's *Animal Liberation* is even regularly referred to as the 'Bible' of

animal advocates.[13] Outside of philosophy, scholars have shown much less interest in the study of animal rights. Some legal scholars, mainly based in the United States, also debate normative questions surrounding animal rights (e.g. Francione 1996, Colb and Dorf 2015). Recently, a growing number of political theorists has addressed this issue too (e.g. Donaldson and Kymlicka 2011). In addition, there is a vast number of activists who have studied many important dimensions of animal rights activism, in particular its history (for particular high quality see Phelps 2007, 2015, Ryder 1983, 2000).

Empirical political science and sociology—including social movement studies—has come late to the study of animal rights. The poor state of affairs is reflected in the nearly complete absence of the movement in the most relevant publications in the field of social movement studies. Even in the index of the 700 page-long *Blackwell Companion to Social Movements* (Snow et al. 2004), there are only seven references to the 'animal rights movements' (and one to the 'Animal Welfare Institute'). On feminism, the anti-war movement or labor organizations, the book does not only include considerably more index entries, but also individual chapters. In the even thicker *The Oxford Handbook of Social Movements* (della Porta and Diani 2015), a reader can find seven index entries on 'animal rights' and five entries on 'animal welfare'. The two most popular journals on social movements have hardly more to offer. By the end of 2018, only one article in *Mobilization* includes the term 'animal' in its title or abstract. A look at *Social Movement Studies* is slightly more encouraging. There are ten articles that include the term 'animal' in their titles, six of which have been published since 2015.

Overall, despite the growth of a vibrant animal rights movement in recent decades, social movement scholars, and empirical social scientists more generally, have overwhelmingly neglected its study. It is still 'one of the most misunderstood social movements of our era', and research on it has remained 'empirically poor' (Munro

[13] Qualifying the importance of philosophical insights, scholars highlight the importance of the 1968 protest cycle for the 'second wave' of mobilization in favor of animals (e.g. Roscher 2009). Philosophers have been important for other social movement mobilization as well. On the French revolution, Eric Hobsbawm (1962: 58) writes that '[the bourgeoisie's] ideas were those of classical liberalism, as formulated by the "philosophers" and "economists" and propagated by freemasonry and in informal associations. To this extent "the philosophers" can be justly made responsible for the Revolution. It would have occurred without them; but they probably made the difference between a mere breakdown of an old régime and the effective and rapid substitution of a new one'. Therefore, one should neither underestimate nor exaggerate the importance of philosophers for the emergence of the 'second wave' of animal advocacy.

2012: 167, 166). Evans (2010: 234) maintains that 'it seems that the animal rights movement is left outside traditional social movement theory because of the societal marginalization of the movement. Ironically, its unpopularity makes the animal rights movement ripe for the most fruitful research'.

Despite the limited empirical scholarship on animal rights activism so far, some social movement scholars have already engaged with the movement, providing insights of importance both for the study of animal rights activism and for the analysis of social movements more generally. So far, social movement scholars have analyzed animal rights activism from various theoretical angles. In doing so, they have focused on conceptualizations of the movement, its forms of action with an emphasis on 'lifestyle activism' and particularly radical and moderate tactics, the role of emotions for why individuals join and stay in the movement, the repression of activism, and the movements' impact.[14]

Jasper (1997) classifies the animal rights movement as one of many 'post-citizenship movements' of the past decades. Such movements do not involve discriminated groups of humans targeting the state for equal citizenship rights, such as for example the much-studied Civil Rights movement in the United States. Instead, those who participate in 'post-citizenship movements' are already accepted members of their polities, often even with a relatively high socioeconomic status. Thus, 'post-citizenship movement members often pursue protections or benefits for others,' which also includes a strong focus on cultural change (Jasper 1997: 7). Survey data has confirmed such a perspective, highlighting the importance of moral convictions as main motivation of activists (Ginsberg and Lowe 2002). Other research has shown that, in contrast to common misconceptions, the more radical wings of the movement go

[14] Other studies have focused on providing more comprehensive overviews of the animal rights movement in different countries without focusing on one theoretical research question in detail. An excellent monograph on the history of the British movement has been published by Roscher (2009), who outlines its historical origins in the 19th century in detail, but also offers a detailed analysis of prominent contemporary players, such as the British Animal Liberation Front (ALF). Even though dealing with an English-speaking country, this highly interesting study has unfortunately only been published in German so far. Similarly, Bertuzzi's (2018) analysis of animal rights activism in Italy only exists in Italian so far. In *The Animal Rights Crusade: The Growth of a Moral Protest*, Jasper and Nelkin (1992) study the development of the movement in the United States. Munro (2005a) provides a comparative study of the movements in the US, the UK, and Australia. Moreover, other empirical works provide an overview of the movement without relying on theories from social movement studies: It is especially Robert Garner who has published intensively on the British animal rights movement (1991, 1998, 2004).

beyond the ‘single issue’ of animal rights, to focus also on anti-capitalism and feminism, among many other issues, underlining the broad ideological scope of parts of the movement (Johnston and Johnston 2017). For Jacobsson and Lindblom (2016), animal rights activism even shares traits of a ‘secular religion,’ such as the importance of ‘conversion experiences’ and the ‘commitment to spreading the message’.

How activists try to spread their message, i.e. their forms of actions, has already attracted considerable scholarly interest. Munro (2005b) provides an overview on the movement’s ‘strategies, action repertoires and DIY [do it yourself] activism’ and maintains that despite often-held preconceptions of the animal rights movements, especially prevalent in the 1990s and early 2000s, its activists are overwhelmingly non-violent[15]: What their forms of actions aim at is gaining publicity, i.e. they are an attempt to change cultural perception, such as through demonstrations and pamphleteering. Moreover, as highlighted by Munro (2005b), activists try to personally interfere in animal exploitation, such as through veganism and vegetarianism, which are widespread ‘lifestyles’ within the movement. As veganism became evermore popular among activists, scholars have shown an interest in the importance of social networks such as family, friends, or subculture for staying vegan (Cherry 2006, 2015). However, scholars have also studied much more ‘moderate’ expressions of animal advocacy: The example of shelter advocates shows how volunteerism can actually inhibit more ‘protest-oriented’ mobilization, thus questioning the reinforcing relationship between different forms of collective action assumed in the social movement literature (Guenther 2017). In Poland, activists mainly follow moderate forms of action, which at the same time are rarely directed at policymakers, a development which is partly a result of the ‘NGO-ization’ of the country’s protest arena (Jacobsson 2013). In Russia, many activists are even more moderate, despite the existence of a radical flank, reflecting the limited political opportunities in a semi-authoritarian political system (Fröhlich and Jacobsson 2017). All in all, when considering the forms of actions of animal advocacy, scholars have shown most interest in both particularly radical and particularly moderate approaches.

[15] From a different perspective than social movement studies, also Hirsch-Hoefler and Mudde (2014) emphasize that only a small part of what they call the ‘Radical Environmentalist and Animal Rights (REAR) movement’ engage in violent forms of actions, questioning the popularity of the term ‘ecoterrorism’ among some policymakers.

How do activists join the movement and why do they stay in it? Research has underlined the importance of emotions for understanding these questions. Jasper and Poulsen (1995) find that the mobilization of many animal rights supporters differs from other prominent cases of social movements that recruit via pre-existing networks, such as churches and colleges in the case of the Civil Rights movement in the United States. Instead of relying on networks, many animal rights activists self-recruit after the experience of 'moral shocks,' for example as a consequence of watching pictures or video of animals used in experiments. Jasper and Poulsen (1995: 498) define a moral shock as 'an event or situation [raising] such a sense of outrage in people that they become inclined toward political action, even in the absence of a network of contacts' and collect empirical evidence at protests against animal experiments at New York University and at the University of California at the end of the 1980s. Jacobsson and Lindblom (2016) show how emotions are also key for understanding why activists remain in the movement: Emotional management is an important part of activism, also because of the need to cope with negative experiences that activism entails.

Some individuals want to stay active, but external forces prevent them from doing so: The repression of animal rights activism has been another important research topic. The best-known case is the legal repression of Stop Huntingdon Animal Cruelty (SHAC) in the United Kingdom, which led to demobilization (Ellefsen 2016). Another key case shows how repression of animal rights activists in Austria was driven by the economic interest of a clothing stores owner as the most visible driver (Ellefsen 2012). The latter study highlights the importance of looking at other players than the state when trying to understand movement repression: Also private security may play an important role in the policing of animal rights organizations (Walby and Monaghan 2011).

The impact of the movement has also drawn scholarly interest. Ellefsen (2018) argues that 'radical' collective action, such as property damage and 'home demonstrations,' lead to gains in the short run, but losses in the long run—which underlines how radical flank effects work differently over time (Ellefsen 2018). Some studies have highlighted the importance of the media for understanding activists' outcomes: Munro (2015) provides an analysis of activism against live animal exports from Australia to India that

benefited from media attention in the beginning, which, however, was not sufficient to achieve long-term gains. When studying how animal rights activists get favorable media coverage, Evans (2016) points to the importance of organizational reputation, going beyond previous findings that focus on the activists' tactics as key variable. Research has also emphasized the importance of opponents for understanding the impact of animal rights activism: Jasper and Poulsen (1993) show how protest against animal experimentation has become less effective over time as opponents have learned on how to find strategies against initially unexpected challengers. Also focusing on interactions, Einwohner (1999b) shows how activists' gender and class identities contribute to the negative responses of hunters in protest against hunting, not to be seen in the responses of circus visitors in protest against circuses. Beyond opponents and targets, many other factors have been regarded as important for understanding the consequences of animal advocacy: Einwohner (1999a) underlines how issue-specific opportunity structures explain outcomes of different animal rights campaigns. Evans (2010) studies a multitude of factors that led to the constitutional inclusion of animal welfare in Germany and Switzerland (Evans 2010). One factor for explaining different outcomes is culture, as argued by Cherry (2016): For the cases of France and the United States, both the culture of activism, interpreted as more programmatic in the United States than in France, and the broader societal culture, such as the traditional role of eating, account for the diverging success of the animal rights movement. Moreover, Einwohner (2002) shows how perceptions about the success of activism—often reinterpretations of a lack of success—is important for the maintenance of social movement activism, pointing to the usually only limited gains of animal rights activism. Still, Evans (2015) discusses how also small gains matter when showing how state regulation of animal experimentation provided access to decision-making procedures within laboratories.

Despite the limited attention that the animal rights movement has received within social movement scholarship, many of the studies referred to above show how the empirical analysis of animal rights activism may translate into important theoretical insights on social movement activism more generally.[16] This dissertation has a similar aim. In its

[16] Moreover, and to the defence of social movement studies, research focusing on animal rights from a perspective of political parties is even rarer, with only a few exceptions: Morini (2018) has classified animal advocacy parties as a new party family in Europe that also cooperates, as Euro Animal 7, for

theoretical focus, however, it is novel in comparison to previous studies of animal rights activism: It contributes by looking at how concepts from political economy help to understand activism, it maps online networks, it considers the importance of direct democracy for the gains of animal rights activists, the role of technology as a movement outcome, and the long-term and issue-specific impact of the movement.

Methodological Choices

In this study of the animal rights movement in Europe, I relate to various types of data, collected and analyzed in different ways. I conducted semi-structured interviews with animal rights activists, I conducted Social Network Analysis (SNA) in order to analyze online data, and I studied a vast amount of primary data produced by animal rights activists, governments, and the EU. While I discuss my methodological choices in a more general way in this Introduction, I provide further details in the respective chapters of the dissertation.

First, I used SNA to analyze data on the organizational landscape of animal rights activism in Europe. This focus on using network data stems from the theoretical understanding of social movements first and foremost as networks (Diani 1992; Diani and McAdam 2003), an insight that has informed much important recent empirical work (e.g. della Porta and Caiani 2009, Diani 2015, Hadden 2015, Saunders 2013). I collected data on animal rights organizations and their interconnectedness from Facebook via in-built third-party software called Netvizz (Rieder 2013). Netvizz allowed me to construct a large database that includes many different animal rights organizations that are active on Facebook, including their popularity among users and among other groups. The latter, relational, dimension allowed me to trace the interconnectedness of different organizations. I analyzed the data with the SNA software Gephi.

elections to the European Parliament. A comparison between the electoral bases of the Dutch Party for the Animals with the GreenLeft shows that the voters of the Party for the Animals are less cosmopolitan and show lower political trust than GreenLeft voters (Otjes and Krouwel 2015). Going beyond parties that focus on animal advocacy, Lelieveldt (2017) studies whether political parties instrumentalize animal rights debates for other purposes, such as the denunciation of cultural minorities. However, he finds only limited evidence of this in his analysis of a de facto ban on religious slaughter in the Netherlands in 2011 and the banning of bullfighting in Catalonia in 2010.

Second, I conducted 27 semi-structured interviews (Blee and Taylor 2002), mainly with activists from various animal rights organizations in Europe. The interviewees included paid employees and voluntary members from large nation-wide organizations with an international outlook to small organizations focused locally. My interviewees were directors of organizations, scientific employees, campaigners, lobbyists, and rank-and-file activists. They were associated with 20 different animal rights organizations—14 of them appearing in the online data collected via Netvizz, including five of the ten most central organizations in the network analyzed (see chapter 2). Beyond individuals associated with animal rights organization, I also conducted one interview with the leader of an animal welfare party, one with a Member of the European Parliament, and another with a member of an animal experimentation body at a German university. The many interesting individuals that shared their views with me hail from a range of countries, including Austria, Belgium, France, Germany, Italy, Slovenia, Switzerland, and the United Kingdom. The geographical scope of their political activity includes even more countries in and outside of Europe. These interviews proved immensely valuable for me. They enhanced my knowledge not only of the political views and identities of animal rights activists, but also of the movements' key historical trajectories and current developments, the importance of different forms of actions, the different interpretations of the impact of animal rights activism, and much more. I conducted these interviews in various settings, from face-to-face meetings in offices and cafes to Skype interviews and written e-mail exchanges in front of a computer (for a full list of interviewees see the Appendix). While the insights from these interviews are used throughout the dissertation, I explicitly refer to them mainly when evaluations of the interviewees are important or when specific quotes are particularly illustrative, rather than when providing factual information. This is in line with many other works in political science, especially qualitative studies of political parties that rely on interview data (e.g. Bale and Dunphy 2011, Luther 2011, Weisskircher 2019a). Even though not requested by all interviewees, I decided to anonymize their names in order to protect their identities.

Third, I analyzed the content of a great number of other sources in an attempt to gain thick data on many other important dimensions of animal rights activism—for example the ideology of specific organizations, their forms of actions, and their assessment of specific gains. These sources include the website and social media platforms of

organizations, and their ‘offline’ publications, such as policy papers, financial reports, and leaflets. Apart from this data from animal rights organizations, I also refer to parliamentary minutes, opinion polls, as well as government and EU statistics. Moreover, the vast literature on the animal rights movement written by activists or sympathetic scholars has also provided important empirical information.

Apart from these more traditional and formal sources, I have gained much knowledge from many conversations in settings that substantially deal with the issue of animal rights, but which were not conducted as formalized interviews. The main examples are two conferences, called ‘summer schools,’ at the Oxford Center for Animal Ethics, where I could listen not only to feedback on my work, but also to the thoughts of other scholars and activists of the animal rights movement. While my conversations in this and in other settings certainly form the ‘softest’ of all ‘data’ possible, it should not be underestimated how such encounters shape the questions that social movement scholars pose and the answers they give. Without these experiences, this dissertation would certainly be less rich.

Although I refer to newspaper coverage in my dissertation, I do not conduct a protest event analysis (PEA) (i.e., a systematic collection of data on animal rights protests over a specific time period in a specific geographical setting). As PEA is one of the most common method used to study the action repertoires of social movements (e.g. Kriesi et al. 1995, Giugni 2004), it is necessary to justify why I have refrained from using it. Indeed, it would be desirable to have a detailed and systematic account of animal rights protest events. However, in the case of the animal rights movement, such a methodological approach would involve two important caveats.

First, there is a consensus in the literature that small-scale and non-violent social movement activities—which is typical of many animal rights protests (Munro 2005b)—are underrepresented in newspaper coverage (Koopmans and Rucht 2002: 232; Hutter 2014b). We may thus reasonably expect that a significant number of public animal rights activism is not covered in mainstream newspapers, perhaps more than in the case of other movements. Anecdotal evidence supports this. For example, in April 2016 the well-known Verein gegen Tierfabriken staged an animal rights demonstration in the Austrian city of Vienna, a small-scale event with 200 to 300 participants, but still

probably the biggest Austrian animal rights demonstration of that year. It failed to gain *any* media coverage in the two main broadsheet newspapers.[17] Unsurprisingly, a similar event was not staged the year after. Moreover, activists in Europe themselves question the efficiency of demonstrations, arguing that it has become increasingly difficult to gain attention through public events such as demonstrations (Interview 5). Correspondingly, in their PEA on environment related activism in Germany, Rucht and Roose (2003: 87) find that, from 1988 to 1997, 'the issue of animal welfare and hunting was marginal'. Also, in a recent large-scale PEA, studying Austria, France, Germany, the Netherlands, Switzerland, and the United Kingdom, Kriesi et al. (2012) find that only 1.8 percent of all recorded protest events from 1975 to 2005 relate to animal rights activism.[18]

Second, and perhaps most importantly, many of the actions of animal rights activists are not reflected in what is usually understood as 'protest events' to begin with. In the context of this dissertation, such forms of actions include online activism, the funding of research in new technologies, the organization of scientific conferences, mobilizing signatures for a European Citizens' Initiative, negotiations with private businesses, the lobbying of politicians, or political consumerism, among others.

All in all, this dissertation uses a wide array of sources and different methods to shed light on the animal rights movement in Europe. Whenever necessary I elaborate my methodological choices in the respective chapters of this dissertation, at some points referring to the Appendix for further details

An Overview of the Dissertation

What will follow in this dissertation? And what are the main findings of this work? The final paragraphs of this Introduction provide an overview of each chapter and how their main theoretical and empirical findings are embedded in the literature on social movements.

[17] These newspapers are *Der Standard* and *Die Presse*. Only a year before, six far-right PEGIDA street protests in the country, on average mobilizing less individuals than the animal rights protest mentioned above, gained enormous media coverage (Berntzen and Weisskircher 2016).
[18] I thank Swen Hutter for providing me with detailed information on this.

In the first chapter, I focus on the history of the animal rights movement in Europe through the lens of political economy. Most notably, Gabriel Hetland and Jeff Goodwin (2013) have criticized the field of social movement studies for the neglect of economic concepts. Their call to reintroduce such variables has found strong support among some scholars (e.g. Barker et al. 2013, della Porta 2015). Even though the animal rights movement is typically perceived to be mainly driven by 'morals' (Garner 2004, Jasper and Nelkin 1992, Munro 2005a), this chapter shows how the concepts of industrialization, class, SMOs as private businesses, and decommodification contribute to our understanding of animal rights activism. The chapter draws on numerous historical examples of animal advocacy—not only from the widely-covered case of Great Britain, but also from other European regions. In doing so, the chapter also follows research that has been critical of the analytical value of the concept of 'new social movements' (Calhoun 1993, Pichardo 1997).

In the second chapter, I focus on the structure of the contemporary animal rights movement network in Europe. Most importantly, I propose a methodological approach to empirically capture social movement networks. Using the Netvizz software (Rieder 2013) allows for the download of relational data on hundreds of SMOs. Through social network analysis, it is possible to trace connections between the individual players of a social movement, which provides, among other things, information about the centrality of certain SMOs and how they cluster. In doing so, I connect both to the literature on measuring 'SMO populations' (e.g. Brulle et al. 2007, Carmichael et al. 2012, Andrews et al. 2016) and to research on social movements as social *networks* (e.g. Diani 1992, Saunders 2013, Hadden 2015). Empirically, the chapter contributes to the measurement of the animal rights movements by showing how it consists of a huge variety of players that are divided across important cleavages—especially national and issue-specific ones. Western European political players, especially British organizations, are particularly dominant. The chapter also shows the relevance of moderate animal shelters and the ambivalent role of environmental organizations for animal advocates and underlines the absence of links to organizations and groups from other social movements.

The remaining three chapters focus on the consequences and gains of the animal

rights movement in Europe. These chapters underline that animal rights activism has had a variety of consequences but that gains for animals have been very limited. Despite the positive perspectives on animal welfare ‘progress’ in Europe put forward by some prominent observers, we see virtually no movement toward ‘animal liberation’ in the areas of animal experimentation and food production.

The third chapter provides an in-depth analysis of one of the most public animal rights campaigns in Europe, the Stop Vivisection European Citizens’ Initiative. Since 2012, when the use of the ECI as a transnational direct-democratic instrument was first possible, the vast majority of campaigners has failed to collect the one million signatures required to propose legislation to the European Commission. Stop Vivisection’s campaign in favor of legislation to end animal experimentation is one of only five successful ECI mobilization efforts to date. The key contribution is an empirical assessment of the mobilizing strategies and the consequences of the ECI based on social movement theory, bridging the study of activism and direct democracy. Even though most social movement players have been crucial for ECI mobilization efforts (Bouza García and Greenwood 2014: 252), they are typically not the focus in the specialized literature on the ECI (e.g. Boussaguet 2016; Conrad 2016; Gherghina and Groh 2016).

In analyzing Stop Vivisection as a least likely case of successful ECI mobilization, the chapter poses the following questions: Why did the Stop Vivisection organizers manage to mobilize effectively? And what were the consequences of their mobilization effort? In explaining the mobilization effort, I argue that the ECI provides an EU level ‘opportunity structure’ (della Porta and Parks 2018; Marks and McAdam 1996) that does not incentivize activists to organize truly Europe-wide campaigns that embed all (or even most) EU member states. Instead, what the instrument favors is focused campaigning centered in at least one large (i.e., populous) country. Then, mobilization in a few more, often small, countries is sufficient to pass the necessary thresholds. In explaining the consequences of Stop Vivisection, I show that ECI mobilization may have many effects beyond the intended and unsuccessful attempt to cause policy change. Additional unintended consequences included a deep dissatisfaction with the ECI as a direct-democratic instrument and reform debates, a focus on national politics and the countermobilization of opponents, as well as an increase in the social capital

of activists. Therefore, optimistic expectations of the potential of the ECI to contribute to the democratization of the EU (Bouza García and Del Río Villar 2012, Warleigh 2006) seem premature, even though the negative experiences with the instrument also triggered a reform process.

The fourth chapter focuses on a less public approach in the political struggle against animal experimentation: the development of technological 'alternatives'. Since the second half of the 20th century, many opponents of the practice have taken up this strategy as they initiated the development of new technologies, so-called 'alternatives' to animal experimentation. While there is a by now comprehensive literature on the consequences of social movement activism (for literature reviews see Amenta and Caren 2004; Bosi et al. 2016a; McAdam and Boudet 2012), new technologies as an intended outcome has been neglected. Connecting to key insights from Science and Technology Studies (especially Hess 2005, 2007, 2016; Winner 1995), the aim of this chapter is to contribute to the literature on the effects of activism in two specific ways.

As a first contribution, I present and discuss four causal mechanisms that show how activists trigger the development of new technologies: 1) movement protest may lead to state action that funds the development of new technologies; 2) activists may protest businesses to pressure them fund research into new technologies; 3) SMOs may cooperate with third parties in institutionalized ways in order to fund the development of new technologies together, and most directly; 4) SMOs may use their own resources to develop new technologies. Moreover, I highlight the importance of market forces and that innovation is a long-term process.

As a second contribution, I demonstrate how the development of new technologies is a highly contested goal among activists, leading to divisions within social movements. Like any other social movement goal or outcome, also new technologies are not a 'neutral' consequence. Critics, such as many activists behind Stop Vivisection, argue that a focus on 'alternatives' to animal experimentation is not an effective approach in the struggle against animal experimentation. By making these points, I rely on numerous empirical examples from countries such as Germany, Italy, and the United Kingdom.

The fifth chapter studies the long-term impact of the animal rights movement on perhaps the two most important public policy issues its activists engage with: the case of egg production and animal experimentation in science. These cover both the regulation of food production and of the use of animals in modern medicine. Within the EU, the numerous pieces of legislation on both practices have peaked in Directive 1999/74/EC, regulating battery cages in egg production, and Directive 2010/63/EU, regulating animal experimentation in scientific research. Some activists and scholars regard both directives as important successes. In contrast, this chapter argues that the gains made in both policy areas have been rather weak, pointing to the limited improvements for animals that animal advocates have so far secured through policy change. At the same time, I make the argument that any future gains will depend less on 'national political opportunity structures,' but on issue-specific opportunities (e.g. Einwohner 1999a; Giugni 2004; Koopmans et al. 2005; Schnyder 2014, 2015), with a focus on two important variables. While political consumerism and new technologies may bring about some, if limited, future gains in the regulation of egg production, these factors might bear only minor potential for gains in the regulation of animal experimentation in science. Therefore, issue-specific factors are of great influence when accounting for the gains of activists. So far, scholars have mainly focused on analyzing 'those institutional factors that are most relevant to a specific movement,' (Schnyder 2015: 706)—namely, context which is assumed to be similar for all activists of 'one' social movement.

In the Conclusion of this dissertation, I discuss my findings and highlight that while the vibrant animal rights in Europe has had many consequences, gains for animals have been limited. Activism is usually a 'long game' (Jasper et al. forthcoming): An 'animal liberation' in Europe is still far away. Then I propose a set of future research agendas, derived from the insights of this dissertation, that both contribute to our understandings of social movements and especially animal rights activism. Finally, I discuss 'the question of relevance' (Nye 2009) of political science in the context of the study of social movements, underlining that the aim of this dissertation is to provide useful insights to social movement researchers, scholars of animal rights, and activists.

1. Political Economy and Social Movement Studies: The History of the Animal Rights Movement

1.1 Introduction

From the emergence of animal advocacy in the first half of the 19th century in Western Europe up to now, animal advocacy has constantly faced, and often tackled, the sphere of political economy. While neglected in many perspectives on animal rights, concepts such as industrialization and class, for example, are crucial in making sense of historic and contemporary animal rights activism. The first chapter of this dissertation introduces the animal rights movement in Europe through a discussion of important aspects of its history from a political economy perspective, rather than following the typical ideational accounts that focus on the intellectual history of the concept of animal rights.

The study of social movements has recently paid some attention to the combined analysis of activism and political economy—a development that has paralleled the emergence of anti-austerity protests in Northern America and Southern Europe. Most prominently, Gabriel Hetland and Jeff Goodwin (2013) have criticized the field of social movement studies for the neglect of political economy. In their critique of 'the strange disappearance of capitalism from social movement studies,' they argue that 'even "new social movements" that are neither class-based nor centrally concerned with economic or "materialist" issues may be powerfully shaped by capitalism in a number of distinct ways' (Hetland and Goodwin 2013: 102). In particular, the authors point to four causal processes that link capitalism to activism: (1) 'capitalist dynamics' may influence 'the formation of collective identities and solidarities,' even when they are not based on the notion of class; (2) power relations between classes may influence the development of social movements, and especially their impact (i.e., their gains and losses); (3) '[c]lass divisions generated by capitalism' may lead to intra-movement conflicts over strategies and goals, and; (4) 'ideologies and cultural idioms closely linked to capitalist institutions' may also influence the strategies and goals of social movement activists

(Hetland and Goodwin 2013: 91).[19] Donatella della Porta (2015), in her analysis of anti-austerity protests, also calls for a reintroduction of capitalism to the study of social movements. She attempts in particular to 'bring back capitalism in' while studying the grievances of the protestors, their social base, and the relationship between the crisis of the economy and the crisis of democratic legitimacy. In a similar vein, Lorenzo Cini et al. (2017) suggest 'a critical theory of social movements' that includes concepts from political economy in general and Marxism in particular, especially the process of capital accumulation as foundational logic of capitalism which is supposed to shed light on the dynamics of activism. Silver and Karatasli (2015) also call for an integration of the study of capitalism and labor activism in social movement studies, highlighting the constant emergence and transformation of working-class activism around the globe.

This chapter highlights four ways that political economy contributes to our understanding of social movement activism, and in particular of animal rights activism. First, I refer to the importance of long-run political–economic shifts for the emergence of animal advocacy, especially through urbanization in the course of industrialization. Second, the chapter points to the importance of class for animal advocacy, not only for understanding the social base of the activists, but also in understanding their identification of grievances. Third, the chapter highlights the relevance of private businesses for animal rights activism already in the 19th century. Fourth, this chapter suggests that the concept of 'decommodification' helps to understand the development and radicalization of the movement's goal over time.

According to existing conceptualizations, the history of the animal advocacy represents a 'least likely case' (e.g. Gerring 2017: 103) for the importance of political economy. Studies of the animal rights movement do not usually focus on the material dimension behind the political conflicts that activists engage with. Instead, the emphasis is usually on the ideological convictions of the activists. In line with such an interpretation, book titles often focus on the ideational dimension of animal rights activism, referring to it as '*moral* protest' (Jasper and Nelkin 1992), dealing with 'animals, politics, and *morality*' (Garner 2004), or opposing '*moral* orthodoxy' (Munro 2005a) (my emphasis). This

[19] The volume of Colin Barker et al. (2013) includes numerous further suggestions to include Marxist concepts in the study of social movements.

corresponds to the frequent classification of animal rights activism as a ‘new social movement’. This category implies the importance of factors other than political economy: ‘New social movements are typically seen as revolving around “non-material” or “post-materialist” issues, including lifestyles, identities, and “recognition”’ (Hetland and Goodwin 2013: 92).[20]

Buechler (1995) distinguishes between a ‘political’ and a ‘cultural’ version of new social movement theory. The political version links post-industrial capitalism to the emergence of movements situated beyond the class cleavage. In this perspective, new social movements still emphasize the instrumentality of their aims. Their class base is said to be located within the new middle classes. The cultural version is described as having developed in response to the decline of stable identities in an age of informational and symbolic overload. In this perspective, the expression of identity and cultural change is more important than action targeted at the state, making these movements difficult to coopt. Their class base is said to be not clear-cut—instead individuals from various backgrounds may support their ideology or claims. No matter where one would situate the animal rights movement between these two ideal type categories, it seems clear that the material dimension—perhaps apart from the question of class composition—is *not* at the heart of new social movement theory. In emphasizing the importance of concepts from political economy to understand the animal rights movement, this chapter also questions its widespread classification as a ‘new social movement’.

What the chapter does *not* argue is that the introduction of concepts from political economy is *sufficient* for a comprehensive understanding of the animal rights movement. To understand the emergence, development, and impact of animal rights activism, a wide range of well-known other variables—not directly linked to political economy—have been proposed in the social movement literature. These include political opportunities, pre-existing organizations, and framing in the political process approach (McAdam 1982) or agency and culture (Jasper 1997, 2004). For the ‘collective identity’ of its activists (Polletta and Jasper 2001), many other important

[20] Also Hetland and Goodwin (2013) study the LGBT movement as a ‘hard case’ since it is usually defined as a ‘new social movement’. Observers typically do not recognize the importance of political–economic variables for the emergence and development of LGBT activism.

dimensions than class have mattered, such as gender or religion. The point that this chapter does make is that political economy—while not sufficient—is necessary to fully understand some of the key dimensions of social movement activism, as in the case of the animal rights movement.

The chapter relates to some of the specialized literature on animal rights that has emphasized the role of political economy in understanding the political conflict over animal exploitation. Some scholars of this particular social movement have been well-aware of this connection, making such a point from different perspectives. Others connect the problem of large-scale exploitation of animals to economic exploitation in general (and capitalism specifically), making the normative call to connect both issues in activism (Nibert 2002; Torres 2007). Anderson (2011: 49) draws 'political economy history lessons for the animal welfare movement' by comparing its struggle to activism against child labor in 19th century Great Britain, suggesting 'that the ultimate success of animal welfare reform efforts may depend on aligning the moral argument with an economic one', for example through alliances with small-scale producers and environmentalists. McMullen (2016) analyzes the contemporary use of animals from the perspective of an economist, mainly pointing to structural constraints that producers and consumers face when trying to make animal-friendly economic choices.

The chapter proceeds by discussing, in turn: 1) the relevance of long-term economic developments; 2) the importance of class; 3) private businesses and; 4) decommodification. In the conclusion of this chapter, I refer to other parts of this dissertation that highlight the importance of political economy, but I also point to the limits of political economy for the understanding of the animal rights movement.

1.2 'Broad Socioeconomic Processes' and the Emergence of Animal Advocacy

Many contemporary social movements in Western Europe began in the 19th century (Calhoun 2012), coinciding with the 'dual revolution' of democratization and industrialization (Hobsbawm 1962). While both these developments—notably industrialization—began in Great Britain, over the century they diffused to other parts

of Europe—especially industrialization. Industrialization also provided the conditions for the development and appeal of animal welfare concerns among urban elites. While a ‘long-run analysis’ was not at the center of Tilly’s (1978: 194) *From Mobilization to Revolution*, he did note that ‘[o]ver the long run, [it is] the reorganization of production creates the chief historical actors, the major constellations of interests, the basic threats to those interests, and the principal conditions for transfers of power’ (parts of this sentence are also quoted in Hetland and Goodwin 2013: 90).

To be sure, social movement scholars have always been aware of the importance of long-term structural changes. McAdam (1982: 41) highlights that his ‘political process’ model differs from ‘classical’ accounts, especially because it does not suggest a direct causal connection between the existence of grievances and the emergence of protest. The model points instead to an often overlooked background variable: ‘broad social processes that usually operate over a long period of time’. ‘[S]ocial processes such as industrialization promote insurgency only indirectly through a restructuring of existing power relations’ (McAdam 1982: 51). For McAdam, these ‘broad socioeconomic processes’ (the language he uses in the graphical depiction of his well-known model, see McAdam 1982: 51) are less connected to the ‘objective’ emergence of grievances than to a long-term structural improvement of an aggravated population’s capacity to act. In his study of the US Civil Rights movement, McAdam includes economic processes as important long-term social changes, most prominently the decline of the cotton industry in the US south.

Historically, the Industrial Revolution was such a broad socioeconomic process that contributed to the emergence of organized animal advocacy. Pointing to the Industrial Revolution as a key variable not only highlights the emergence of new grievances, such as an increased need for draft animals in vibrant urban environments, but to a more complex picture. Indeed, Lipset and Rokkan (1967) highlighted how the Industrial Revolution gave rise to new political cleavages, especially ‘landed interests’ versus ‘industrial entrepreneurs’ as well as ‘owners and employers’ versus ‘tenants, laborers, and workers.’ The emergence of these new lines of conflict underlines the important role of urbanization. Urbanization also went hand in hand with a restructuring of the way urban populations related to ‘nature’ in general and animals in particular. This, then, is a key element of the story of the growing sympathy and compassion toward

animals in Great Britain at the beginning of the 19th century. Traïni (2016: 20) highlights the timely concurrence:

> The first stirrings of the animal protection movement coincided with the birth of urbanization, industrialization and the capitalist economy. Once again, these changes occurred first in Great Britain, several decades before they reached other European countries.

More specifically, Roscher (2009: 62) points to transformations brought about by the Industrial Revolution as a causal factor for the emergence of new attitudes toward animals:

> The triumphal procession of [animal welfare thought] is closely connected to the growth of the cities, the emergence of an industrial mode of production and the related transformation of the societal order, in which also the quality of the contact with animals adapted to the conditions of work processes.

Related to these cultural changes, Roscher (2009: 62–64) underlines the importance of the invention of the steam engine, which reduced human dependency on animal labor both in production and—soon thereafter through the railway—also in long-distance transport. For some important activities, the ‘use’ of animals came to be seen as less necessary than it had been.

Turner (1980: 37f) provides a list of crucial variables explaining the rise of animal advocacy at the beginning of the 19th century—among them are also those related to political economy. To him, crucial explanatory factors were:

> [An upper-class] drive to reform the manners of the lower orders; a wider recognition of the kinship of people and animals, which both inspired more considerate treatment of these dumb relatives and stirred more deeply the fears of the animal element in human nature; a specific, practical concern that brutal sports threatened work discipline in the new mils; a more general psychological reaction to modernization that engendered a desire for closer intimacy with the natural world so long taken for granted, and the simple fact that humane feelings often had nowhere else to go (Turner 1980: 37f).

Some of these factors are of course largely independent from the political economy of that age. Most importantly, the ‘wider recognition of the kinship of people and animals’

followed important developments in science, already before Charles Darwin. The desire of the most privileged classes ‘to reform the manners of the lower orders’ and ‘a specific practical concern that brutal sports threatened work discipline in the new mills’ were very much related to class structures and class conflict, as I will discuss in the section below. In this section I focus on the ‘more general psychological reaction to modernization that engendered a desire for closer intimacy with the natural world so long taken for granted’. While many of these attitudinal changes are difficult to pin down in retrospect, given the absence of survey data during this period, Turner (1980: 30, 34) interprets the importance of socioeconomic changes, and in particular urbanization, in the following way, relating them to the emergence of ‘compassing for suffering’:

> The entire developing ethos of kindness to animals reflected the worries and psychological stresses of a once-agrarian society suffering the trauma of modernization. […] Industrialization and urbanization greatly augmented the sense of compassion for suffering that was becoming almost second nature to most educated English […]. These social changes inevitably shocked, and thus stimulated, the humane feelings already astir.

To be sure, the end of the dominance of agricultural production and the resulting ‘trauma of modernization’ did not imply the disappearance of animals in the growing cities—quite the opposite:

> In fact, far from being replaced by machines, animals were still very present in urban contexts, principally because economic and demographic change led to the large-scale trading in and transportation of cattle for the purposes of feeding the new urban populations. Slaughter animals continued to be raised in the countryside, but they still had to be transported to and butchered in the cities, where their meat was consumed by the ever-growing urban populations. Moreover, draught animals greatly contributed to the development of the first waves of industrialization by transporting the raw materials and the finished products to and from the centers of industrial production (Traïni 2016: 20–21).

Still, despite the presence of animals in the booming cities, urbanization, for Turner (1980: 15–38), contributed to shifting relations between many human beings and animals. Instead of direct interactions with living animals as farmers were used to, most urban upper-class citizens only observed the animal exploitation of the urban working

class. In this sense, they lived at a distance from animals and ‘nature’ more generally, no longer personally interacting with animals. This allowed them to develop positive emotions such as compassion or kindness toward animals.

In a similar vein, though pointing to the importance of urbanization processes already before the beginning of the 19th century, Thomas (1984), argues:

> Economic independence of animal power and urban isolation from animal farming had nourished emotional attitudes which were hard, if not impossible, to reconcile with the exploitation of animals by which most people lived. Henceforth an increasingly sentimental view of animals as pets and objects of contemplation would jostle uneasily alongside the harsh facts of a world in which the elimination of ‘pests’ and the breeding of animals for slaughter grew every day more efficient (Thomas 1984: 301).

In Great Britain, visions of animal advocacy were strongly related to a broader ‘humanitarian’ movement driven mainly by upper-class evangelical Christians who tried to make sense of the rapid social change that came along with the Industrial Revolution. Confronted with the dark sides of this development, such as the many ‘vices’ of the pauperized working classes—poverty, drinking, and gambling—many ‘humanitarians’ responded by preaching individual morality and the necessity of self-improvement, hoping through that to bring about a betterment of the living conditions of the lower strata. One of the moralities taught was kindness to animals (Phelps 2007: 90–104; Turner 1980: 35–38).

Similar to industrialization in general (and urbanization specifically), the emergence of animal advocacy was not only a British phenomenon. Beginning in the 1830s, animal advocates in many European countries followed the British example and began to organize as well. It is no surprise that organized animal advocacy spread first in regions that were industrializing and urbanizing. Like industrialization, animal advocacy diffused first throughout Northwestern Europe. By 1863, animal advocates were organized in the German states, in the Austrian monarchy, in France, and in Switzerland, ‘Italy,’ Norway, the Netherlands, and Belgium (Traïni 2016: 12; the outlier Russia completes this list). Dresden, the capital of Saxony—a region that was a driving industrial center at that time—hosted the first international conference of animal advocates in 1860 (Moss 1961: 186).

Overall, industrialization and urbanization (especially the latter) together constituted one of the 'broad social processes' (McAdam 1982) related to 'the reorganization of production' (Tilly 1978) which gave rise to social movement mobilization. Urbanization triggered new attitudes among humans toward 'nature' and animals more specifically that included increased sympathy and compassion, as part of a broader trend toward 'humanitarian' values.

1.3 Class and the Pioneers and Targets of Early Animal Advocacy

Of all concepts related to political economy, social movement studies has probably most often referred to *class*. This has also been the case for scholarship on 'new social movements,' such as empirical studies tracing their middle-class character, in particular among core activists (e.g. Kriesi 1989). Eggert and Giugni (2012) have pointed to the recent 'homogenization' of the class structure of 'new' and 'old' social movements, and especially in those countries where the class conflict is particularly salient. In another article, both authors underline how social class matters for activism as it is mainly the 'winners of globalization' who participate in demonstrations (Eggert and Giugni 2015). The history of animal advocacy in the 19th century cannot be fully understood without recognizing the importance of class identities. Nineteenth century animal advocates could be described as the 'winners of the Industrial Revolution': The pioneer animal advocates at the beginning of the century were especially shaped by their distinct class base, which also influenced what animal welfare issues they propagated (i.e. what goals they set for themselves and their organizations).[21]

Most of the early animal advocates were part of the upper classes of highly unequal industrializing societies, especially Great Britain, but also elsewhere, such as France and the German states. Some of the most prominent supporters of animal advocacy were even members of the aristocracy. In Great Britain, the founders of the Society for the Prevention of Cruelty to Animals (SPCA) were mostly Members of the British House

[21] Similarly, Roscher's (2009) historic treatment of the British movement also includes special sections on 'class composition' and 'class ideology'.

of Commons, and therefore quite obviously a part of the societal elite. The organizations' most notable supporter, however, was not in parliament, but in Buckingham Palace; Queen Victoria provided not only generous financial backing to the financially struggling organization, but also awarded the pre-fix 'Royal' in 1840.

Like those in Great Britain, the founders of German animal advocacy groups 'were mostly doctors or lawyers, clerics, aristocrats and high civil servants' (Zerbel 1993: 48). Ignaz Perner, the founder of the Munich-based Verein gegen Thierquälerei (Association against Cruelty to Animals), was a well-connected lawyer, whose wealth allowed him to retire at the age of 35 in order to pursue the cause of animal advocacy. The organization tried to keep an open profile by asking only low membership fees—if we include the members of its many locally associated groups in Bavaria, its membership peaked at more than 11,000 in the 1880s. Still, the bourgeois and aristocrats were clearly overrepresented. Ludwig I, King of Bavaria, supported the organizations in its early years and Ludwig II moved to the foreground as patron of the organization in 1868. Aristocrats outside of Europe were also members of the association, such as the Milan-born Amélie of Leuchtenberg, the Empress of Brazil. In line with the aristocratic overrepresentation in its membership, the organization never campaigned against hunting. The Verein truly excelled in attracting upper-class supporters—prominent guests attended events such as the organizations' 50th year anniversary, including the mayor of Munich. Moreover, from 1843–1914, the organization was formally headed by a representative of the monarchy (Zerbel 1993).

In France, medical doctors played an important role in the history of the Société Protectrice des Animaux (Society for the Protection of Animals), the country's first animal welfare organization. The physician Henri Blatin was long in charge of SAP and particularly inventive when it comes to the development of new technologies to improve the welfare of animals (see the Conclusion of this dissertation), while the scholar—and arguably the first empirical political scientist of the modern era—Alexis de Tocqueville was a prominent member (Traïni 2016: 27, 17). In Tuscany, the Società Fiorentina per la Protezione degli Animali was 'supported by the local aristocracy and British expatriates' (Tonutti 2014: 13).

The distinct social background of many of these early animal advocates also influenced

their aims—what they fought against but also what issues they excluded as unimportant. In doing so, organizations such as the SPCA and the SPA mainly targeted cruelties to animals that were conducted by individuals of 'lower' social origin: 'Apart from the goal of reducing the suffering of animals, animal protection has also always been a mean of social distinction—which among others is reflected in the bourgeois origin of animal protection associations in the 19th century' (Nieradzik 2017: 194).

At the turn of the 19th century, some of the British MPs that were soon to establish the SPCA, made their first attempts to introduce national legislation on animal welfare. Their concern was the animal cruelty by the 'lower' classes, in particular bull-baiting, a form of blood sport that usually opposed bulls and dogs (*bulldogs*), which were provoked to fight each other. A key argument of the proponents of outlawing bull-baiting was the drunkenness and gambling involved in this often day-long activity—the antithesis to the new requirements of disciple and punctuality in factory life (Turner 1980: 25-27). Another concern was cruelty to draft animals, which were ever more visible on the streets of major British cities and often subject to violence from the workers in charge of them.

In 1800, a bill to ban bull-baiting in the British House of Commons became '[t]he first animal protection bill ever debated by a legislature' (Phelps 2007: 96). The legislative proposal was unsuccessful, defeated by a narrow majority, which lead to 'celebratory baitings against bulls, bears and badgers' (Ryder 2000: 78). A reintroduction of the bill also failed (Moss 1961: 15). In 1809, a law proposed to ban the 'beat[ing] or otherwise abuse any horse, mare, ass or ox,' as well as sheep and pigs, failed to get a majority (Moss 1961: 15). As Phelps (2007: 96) emphasizes, this 1809 bill 'pointedly omitted bulls and bears'—the main victims of the 'blood sports'—a practice that some of those MPs who were not staunch supporters of animal welfare probably welcomed as a distraction for the masses. Nevertheless, animal welfare had become part of the parliamentary agenda in the United Kingdom.

In 1822, 'An Act to prevent the cruel and improper Treatment of Cattle' became the first-ever animal welfare law to pass a national legislature. It stipulated fines, and in the case of non-payment also imprisonment, for anyone who 'shall wantonly and cruelly beat, abuse, or ill-treat any Horse, Mare, Gelding, Mule, Ass, Ox, Cow, Heifer, Steer,

Sheep, or other Cattle'. Therefore, the first legislative concern was draft animals specifically, even though in 1835 bull-baiting was finally outlawed in Great Britain. In 1824, when the SPCA was found to implement the 1822 Martin's Act, Fowell Buxton MP, chairing its inaugural meeting, emphasized the following goal:

> [T]o spread amongst the lower orders of the people, especially amongst those to whom the care of animals was entrusted, a degree of moral feeling which would compel them to think and act like those of a superior class (cited in Roscher 2009: 183).

The importance of class is not only visible in the content of the first pieces of legislation, but also, as alluded to, in what was *absent from their advocacy*. First and foremost, this concerned hunting, traditionally an upper class, aristocratic endeavor. According to Phelps (2007: 93), in leaving hunting off the agenda, early British animal advocates contributed to 'protecting the pleasures of the rich':

> Among the titled aristocracy and landed gentry, animal cruelty as amusement took the form of 'hunting' (i.e., hunting in which the killing is done by dogs, usually against foxes, deer, or small game) and 'shooting' (hunting in which the killing is done by the hunter, usually against birds). Hunting and shooting were ancient and cherished traditions that the aristocracy and landed gentry held sacrosanct. They were off-limits to reformers, and the reforms were more than willing to behave with the discretion and tact that were expected of Christian English gentlemen (Phelps 2007: 93).

Animal advocates not only avoided the issue of hunting because they did not want to risk successful coalitions with potential supporters of higher societal ranks. Rather, hunting was an important recreational activity for many of the early animal advocates themselves:

> This was the flower of society, not the grassroots, and they pursued animal welfare as it was conceived by the wealthy and powerful, which meant that the cruelties of the upper class were exempt. Richard Martin was an avid bird hunter, had been when he served in the Commons and continued to be afterwards. Fowell Buxton, the lawyer and Member of Parliament who chaired the first meeting at Old Slaughter's Coffee House, was a lifelong shooter, who once killed five hundred birds in a single week to win a bet (Phelps 2007: 101–102).

Outside of Britain, similar developments can be observed: The Münchner Thierschutz-Verein, successor of the above-mentioned Verein gegen Thierquälerei never campaigned against hunting (Zerbel 1993: 59). Similarly, even though the writer Ignaz Franz Castelli—who in 1846 established the first animal advocacy organization in the Austrian Empire[22]—was a fierce opponent of hunting, the issue did not make it into the founding document of his organization. Castelli's opposition was not shared among the many upper-class animal advocates that were close to him. Instead of opposing hunting, his organization's magazine even included a special section dedicated to hunters (Ebner 2005).[23] In Italy, the republican nationalist Giuseppe Garibaldi co-founded the Società Protettrice degli Animali contro i Mali Trattamenti che Subiscono dai Guardiani e dai Conducenti (Society for the Protection of Animals from Maltreatment Suffered from Guardians and Drivers) in Turin in 1871. Yet Garibaldi himself was a 'convinced and eager hunter' (Bertuzzi 2018: 34).

While class as an identity mattered perhaps less in the emerging political debate on animal experimentation, in one famous episode different class identities stood in conflict with each other. At the beginning of the 20th century, the Brown Dog affair—probably the most public controversy over animal experimentation over the course of the 'first wave' of animal advocacy—became salient in London. In 1903, a University College of London professor faced public criticism after conducting a painful experiment on a dog during one of his lectures. As one of the responses, a number of 'anti-vivisectionist' organizations funded the construction of the Brown Dog monument in Battersea Park in 1906, commemorating the particular dog and other dogs 'used' at the university three years before. Battersea Park was located in a working-class district, close by the Battersea Anti-Vivisection Hospital, an institution which provided health services to poorer people, and which explicitly did not engage in animal experimentation (Bates 2017; Kean 1998). The monument became a bone of contention—supporters of animal experimentation, mostly medical students, regularly

[22] This group was the Niederösterreichischer Verein gegen Misshandlung der Tiere (Lower Austrian Society against Cruelty to Animals) and still exists as the Wiener Tierschutzverein today. In the organization's founding year, the first slaughterhouse was constructed in Vienna (Ebner 2005).

[23] Importantly, at the end of the 19th century the popularity of hunting among aristocrats gave rise to opposition to the practice from the growing middle class, albeit without any legislative implications (Roscher 2009: 186–188). In research on the animal rights movement, Rachel Einwohner (1999b) has shown how similarities and differences in class between activists and their targets still influence how the latter react to the former.

protested against it. This triggered the ‘defense’ of the monument (i.e. countermobilization), and remained an instance of cooperation between workers and suffragettes as both groups could identify with the dog’s position of a victimhood and oppression (Lansbury 1985). In 1910, the monument was removed overnight, with a new one was installed only in 1985.

Overall, this glance at the history of animal advocacy in the 19th century underlines the importance of class in understanding activists and their goals. Therefore, the moderate stances of many representatives of the ‘first wave’ of animal advocacy—also compared to what positions would eventually become common sense over the course of the ‘second wave’ of the movement—are related to the distinct social positions of most of them.

1.4 Private Businesses as SMOs and the Spread of Vegetarian Restaurants

The nature of social movement players has been a constant topic in the literature. Understanding movements as networks that can consist of a great variety of player types has become the most widely accepted definition, usually following Diani’s (1992) seminal article (see chapter 2). Recently, scholars have emphasized that private businesses may also be regarded as social movements or that activists may prove to be market entrepreneurs (e.g. King and Pearce 2010; Schneiberg et al. 2008). However, the importance of private business is not a new phenomenon—‘market rebels’ triggered innovation already back in the 19th century (Rao 2008). The spread of vegetarian restaurants as vegetarianism developed and expanded at that time may be regarded as one instance of such ‘market rebellion’. Their popularity was also driven by the low prices of vegetarian food.

To be sure, early vegetarian activists pursued their cause in the usual organizational form—namely, the foundation of associations. Since vegetarianism was a non-issue for many of the early animal advocates, vegetarians had to found specialized groups. The first, the Vegetarian Society was established in 1847 in the English town of Ramsgate, Kent. A year later, the organization moved to Manchester, where it is still

based today. In its very early period, the organization counted around 150 members. Within a year, the Society had already 265 members aged between 14 and 76. With 235 of them attending the common dinner after the first general assembly, it seems members were very active in the organization's early days. Many of these early members were recruited from the Bible Christian Church and some had already been involved in the effort to organize in 1843.[24] Soon the organization published the *Vegetarian Messenger*, a magazine with a circulation of 5,000, which spread within the United Kingdom in the following years and decades (Davis 2011; Roscher 2009: 104–107).

Similar to the other types of animal advocacy organizations, vegetarian associations also spread throughout Europe. At the end of the 1860s, the first German vegetarian associations were founded. In 1867, Eduard Baltzer, an Evangelic theologian, founded the Deutsche Verein für natürliche Lebensweise in Nordhausen. A year later, it published the *Vereinsblatt für Freunde der natürlichen Lebensweise (Vegetarianer)*. As part of his publication work, Baltzer also wrote a four-volume book on vegetarianism. However, he was not only an advocate for vegetarianism. He was in regular conflict with religious authorities and consequently founded the Freireligiöse Gemeinde in Nordhausen. In addition, he was also an advocate for democracy and Member of the Prussian National Assembly, which was supposed to draft a constitution for Prussia, but which was dissolved by the King (Kaiser 2014).

In 1868, Gustav Struve, also an activist of 1848, founded the Vegetarische Gesellschaft Stuttgart, where the first German animal advocacy organization had been established two decades earlier. Struve also saw the need for publications to change public opinion, publishing a book on the issue of vegetarianism. In the subsequent years and decades, many other German vegetarian organizations followed. In 1892, a nation-wide organization, the still-existing Deutscher Vegetarierbund was created

[24] Again, Great Britain was a pioneer—the first vegetarian organizations were founded in the country. In 1843, while more general animal advocacy organizations spread all over Europe, the British and Foreign Society for the Promotion of Humanity and Abstinence from Animal Food was founded. The title of the organization points to its transnational aims, further highlighted in its statutes, which stated the plan 'to form branches throughout England, the Colonies, and in foreign countries, as a means of greater efficiency and support'. On strategy, the organization foregrounded 'the dissemination, by means of the press, lectures, and missionaries in England and abroad, of correct principles on universal peace, health of soul and body, and on the prolongation of human life'. However, the organization did not come close to realizing its ambitious plans (Axon 1893).

(Heinzelmann 2010).

Beyond these developments in the German states and—subsequently—in the German Empire after its founding, vegetarians elsewhere also started establishing their own organizations:

> Vegetarians in the rest of Europe soon organized as well. Vegetarian societies were founded in Austria–Hungary (in Vienna in 1878, Budapest in 1884, and Prague in 1891), France (1879), Switzerland (1880), the Netherlands (1894), Sweden (1895), Denmark (1896), Belgium (1897), Italy (1899), and Russia (1901). In addition, vegetarianism was exported to colonies. Vegetarian societies were established in New Zealand (1882), Australia (1886), India (1889), and the Dutch East Indies (1920s) (Verdonk 2010: 99–100).

Beyond national states, the foundation of The Vegetarian Federal Union in 1889 marked the first step of transnational vegetarian advocacy (Tonutti 2010: 197).

However, vegetarians did not limit themselves to establishing typical forms of SMOs:

> Around the turn of the 20th century, tens of vegetarian health clinics, dozens of vegetarian colonies (notably Eden in Oranienburg and Monte Verità in Ascona), and hundreds of vegetarian restaurants were established (Verdonk 2010: 100).

Where the first of these hundreds of vegetarian restaurants in Europe was founded remains unclear—several spots claim the title. In 1898, Bavarian journeymen created the first Swiss vegetarian restaurant in Zürich, called the Vegetarierheim und Abstinenz-Café. Soon, the Bavarian tailor Ambrosius Hiltl (1877–1969) took over the restaurant, which exists until today as the Hiltl restaurant. According to Guinness World Records, the Hiltl is the oldest still-existing vegetarian restaurant in the world (Strassberger 2013).

The rise of vegetarianism as a subculture included the spread of vegetarian restaurants over Europe already way before the establishment of the Hiltl in Zürich. In Manchester, two vegetarian restaurants are reported to have been operating in the 1850s and 12 in London in 1886 (Holm 2010). In Vienna, Karl Ramharter opened the

Erstes Wiener Vegetarier-Speisehaus in 1877. Guests included the composer Gustav Mahler, briefly a vegetarian, and the vegetarian Heinrich Braun, a German social democrat, and his brother-in-law, Victor Adler, founder of the Austrian Social Democratic Party (Breuss 2007).

The case of vegetarianism shows that over the course of the 19th century, many individuals that were not from the upper classes also came into contact with animal advocacy. In 1853, more than half of the members of the Vegetarian Society were either workers, artisans, or traders; hardly any member was of aristocratic origin. Motivations for a vegetarian diet varied. Among the 'working class', the reasons for vegetarianism's special appeal included public health concerns but also the comparatively low prices of vegetarian food compared to meat (Roscher 2009: 177). Holm (2010: 204) points to similar reasons for the appeal of vegetarian restaurants, highlighting that low prices allowed vegetarian restaurants to appeal to a broader customer base:

> The customers were not always vegetarian; they represented the new lower-middle class that included shop assistants and thoughtful members of the artisan class. Vegetarian restaurants in 19th-century London were considered cheap, respectable, and safe places to eat for both men and women.

Therefore, the spread of vegetarian restaurants points not only to the existence of a limited vegetarian subculture in European societies at the end of the 19th century, but also to the different organizational forms in which social movements manifest themselves. Spreading vegetarian ideology through private businesses (i.e. restaurants), was a form of action taken by animal advocates already back in the 19th century, an approach particularly suitable for the cause of vegetarianism.

1.5 Decommodification as an Emerging Social Movement Goal

While the early days of animal advocacy during the 19th century were usually linked to relatively moderate goals, the movement became more ambitious over time, and especially during its 'second wave' starting in the last third of the 20th century. Since then, many activists have called not only for the strict regulation, but for an end to all forms of animal exploitation, and especially to those practices that involve animals used as commodity in economic production processes. The concept of 'decommodification' can shed light on the development and radicalization of the movement's goals over time: Understanding the grievance of a social movement as commodification and the demands to end them as calls for decommodification connects both to classical studies in political economy and to modern research on welfare states.

For many political economists, the commodification of human labor has been a key dimension of capitalist development. Marx describes the origins of capitalism as 'so-called primitive accumulation,' mainly discussing the case of Great Britain, where the 'enclosures' constituted an expropriation of the British peasantry, who were 'divorced' from their means of production and had to move to urban centers to find work. From his perspective, this process led to the commodification of human labor (Marx 1867: Chapter 24).

Similary, for Polanyi (2001) the development of capitalism—that is *The Great Transformation*—was shaped by the commodification of land, labor, and money. He labels this trio 'fictitious commodities' as '[n]one of them is produced for sale': 'land is only another name for nature, which is not produced by man' (Polanyi 2001: 76, 75).

> Now, in regard to labor, land, and money such a postulate cannot be upheld. To allow the market mechanism to be sole director of the fate of human beings and their natural environment indeed, even of the amount and use of purchasing power, would result in the demolition of society. For the alleged commodity 'labor power' cannot be shoved about, used indiscriminately, or even left unused, without affecting also the human individual who happens to be the bearer of this peculiar commodity (Polanyi 2001: 76).

Stuart and Gunderson (2018: 2) use Polanyi to argue that 'nonhuman animals' can be

understood as a ‘fourth group of fictitious commodity, analytically sitting somewhere in between land and labor depending on their role in production processes’. Urbanization and industrialization increased the burden of animals already in the 19th century: In some cases, animals were commodified on a large-scale—they were mainly produced, i.e. bred, according to market requirements. The increased need for inner-city transport, for example, led to a significant increase in the breeding of horses. The spread of slaughterhouses, often in the peripheries of cities, relied on a substantial growth in the production of farmed animals. Still, understanding the grievances of the animal rights movement through the concept of commodification is particularly helpful for understanding developments since the mid-20th century, especially with the rise of large-scale farm factories and breeding facilities for laboratory animals. In Europe, the vast majority of animals such as pigs and chicken are bred as commodities.

Modern welfare states have been one response to capitalist development. Research in political economy has identified ‘decommodification’ as the fundamental dimension for understanding the welfare state. For Esping-Andersen (1990: 21–22), ‘[d]e-commodification occurs […] when a person can maintain a livelihood without reliance on the market [and] decommodification strengthens the worker and weakens the absolute authority of the employer’. He further categorizes welfare states according to their degree of decommodification—while really-existing welfare state policies do no always imply high decommodification, especially not in their ‘liberal’ form, its achievement has typically been the aim of the labor movement (Esping-Andersen 1990).

Correspondingly, many demands of the animal rights movement may also be interpreted as a push for the decommodification of animals, especially those expressed since the ‘second wave,’ when activists increasingly insisted on the regulation of the commercial use of animals. Examples are rules on of how to keep (e.g. bigger cages) or transport (e.g. maximum hours) farmed animals. Such demands aim to set rules for market players and constrain the ‘use’ of animals according to the logic of profit maximization, however limited this effect may be.[25]

[25] The argument of some scholars (e.g. Francione 1996) that such ‘animal welfare’ measures stabilize, rather than undermine animal-exploiting industries does not entail that they lack a decommodifying effect. As an analogy, the welfare state could be also regarded as a stabilizer of the capitalist economy

Over the course of the 'second wave,' other goals than the mere regulation of animals as commodity have found widespread acceptance among activists: The attempts of animal rights activists to abolish all forms of animal exploitation—and in particular to grant animals rights—can be understood as the most radical demand for the decommodification of animals, targeting the long-held commodity status of animals. Up to the 21st century, animals have had the status of a commodity or property in most legal systems. As McMullen (2016: 3) has noted: 'The most fundamental economy-wide progress will require a significant change in what it means for a human to own an animal'. Most clearly, attempts to regulate or abolish factory farming tackle the profit interest of big businesses. The aim of animal activists is to grant animals an existence independent from requirements of market actors. Farmed animals are currently bred, raised, and killed according to the logic of profit maximization. The same holds true for companies that raise animals to be used in scientific laboratories for animal experimentation. However, merely targeting the (im-)morality of these practices falls short—companies involved in these practices operate in highly-competitive environments where they are unable to act differently (McMullen 2016). An end of all forms of animal exploitation would also mean the abolishment of commercial forms of animal exploitation (i.e. a detachment of animal life from all market requirements).[26]

Overall, decommodification as a concept borrowed from political economy can shed new light on a social movement that is usually analyzed on the basis of moral philosophy (Singer 1975; Regan 1983). Many of the goals that contemporary animal advocates pursue, such as the regulation of egg production (see chapter 5), tackle the interest of producers, and consumers, to freely 'use' animals as a commodity. While decommodification was not key to early animal advocates, many activists of the 'second wave' have pushed for social change that implies the decommodification of

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that legitimates the continuation of the exploitation of human labor. Still, even if that was true, human labor is much more independent from market requirements, i.e. decommodified, in capitalist economies with welfare states than in capitalist economies without them.

[26] Perhaps counterintuitively, the decommodification of animals would imply the end of their breeding and a substantial reduction in the European, and global, population of certain animal species. From the perspective of standard animal rights theory, focusing on the moral value of the individual animal and not of the species as such, this is not an ethical problem. However, this seemingly paradox—preferring non-existence over liberation—points to the important ethical question of how human societies should deal with domesticated animals and their descendants in the absence of animal exploitation (see e.g. Donaldson and Kymlicka 2011).

animals.

1.6 Conclusion

Ultimately, this chapter has shown how thinking about capitalism contributes to the understanding of the animal rights movement. In doing so, it has discussed four key dimensions: First, the chapter has pointed to the importance of long-term socioeconomic changes to understand the emergence of animal rights activism, especially urbanization in the context of industrialization. Second, the category of class sheds light not only on the social background of animal advocates, but also on how this background influences their goals. Third, the chapter has highlighted the importance of private businesses for animal advocacy, a form of action that operates through the market mechanism in order to achieve social change. Fourth, the development and radicalization of activists' goals over time may be understood as a push toward the demand for the decommodification of animals.

Some animal rights groups emphasize the importance of political economy, and more explicitly capitalism, in their ideological convictions: They understand themselves as anti-capitalist, maintaining that animal exploitation and capitalism are directly linked and that the end of the former depends on the end of the latter. Typically, these organizations link the issue of animal rights with other issues, such as racism, or sexism (Johnston and Johnson 2017).[27] One example for such a group is Tierbefreiung Hamburg (Animal Liberation Hamburg), which speaks of 'the necessary of an anticapitalistic critique of animal exploitation': 'Of course animals can also become subject to violence in a non-capitalist society. However, only such a society offers the basis for the realization of the societal protect of animal liberation' (Tierbefreiung Hamburg undated). Animal rights activists also formed part of the well-known Blockupy protests in Germany, holding banners such as 'Transformed into a Good for the Sake of Profit: Stop Animal Exploitation' in Düsseldorf, 'Expropriate the Meat Industry! Abolish Capitalism!' in Hamburg, and 'Humans and Animals are not Capital' in Stuttgart

[27] However, a focus on parallels between these forms of oppression is not restricted to explicitly anti-capitalist animal rights groups alone (see Richard Ryder's quote in the epigraph of this dissertation).

(Tierbefreiung goes Blockupy 2014). Therefore, concepts from political economy can also be an essential part of the ideology and framing of animal rights activists.

While providing important new insights into animal rights activism, a perspective that focuses on political economy certainly does not aim to provide a comprehensive picture of the history or presence of the movement. Therefore, using such concepts should not be understood as refutation of existing theoretical or methodological approaches in social movement studies (Hetland and Goodwin 2013: 90).

The question of identity, as discussed in the section on class in this chapter, makes the relevance of concepts beyond political economy particularly obvious. Many other identities matter for understanding animal rights activism. First and foremost, gender identities have been of great importance—despite the strong and often majority presence of female activists, they have often been barred from occupying leadership positions within the movements' organizations and groups (Gaarder 2011: 87–116). But national affinities also matter: In the United Kingdom, a perception of high animal welfare standards as British exceptionalism is still widely shared within society (Roscher 2009: 384–392). Moreover, some contemporary far-right parties and activists connect animal welfare to national or religious identities, in particular when campaigning against animal cruelty conducted by minorities, such as religious slaughter rituals. To be sure, religious identity was already crucial for animal advocacy in the 19th century. As this chapter notes, animal advocacy needs to be understood as part of a broader humanitarian movement, driven by evangelical Christians and their desire to 'improve' the misery of the lower strata through the reform of its members' behavior (Phelps 2007; Turner 1980).

In discussing many historical examples, the chapter also adds to studies that are critical of the concept of 'new social movements' (e.g. Calhoun 1993; Pichardo 1997). While this argument has not been at the center of the chapter, the historical perspective has indicated that important dimensions commonly associated with 'new social movements' such as activism on 'postmaterial' issues, middle- or upper-class mobilization, the transnationalism of activism, and the importance of individual practices were already of relevance to 'first wave' animal advocates of the 19th century.

The remainder of this dissertation will indicate the importance of political economy for understanding animal rights activism in many places, such as when discussing the role of market forces for the spread of so-called ‘alternatives’ to animal experimentation (see chapter 4), the relevance of political consumerism in the political conflict over egg production and animal experimentation (see chapter 5), or the potential of ‘cultured meat’ to replace traditional meat production (see Conclusion of this dissertation).

The next chapter, however, will jump from the past to the present by turning to the analysis of animal advocacy in the 21st century. In doing so, I study the contemporary animal rights movement through social network analysis. While some of the organizations mentioned in this chapter have remained important players within the animal rights movement until today—first and foremost the RSPCA—many other and new organizations and groups form part of a heterogeneous and vibrant network of activists.

2. Measuring Social Movement Networks: An Analysis of the Contemporary Animal Rights Movement in Europe

2.1 Introduction

In the second decade of the 21st century, the animal rights movement in Europe consists most probably of the highest number of organizations and groups ever, overshadowing the 'first wave' of animal advocacy in the 19th century and the early days of the 'second wave' in the last third of the 20th century. Both the Introduction and chapter 1 of this dissertation already referred to several organizations and groups which have shaped the history and the presence of animal advocacy. The aim of this chapter is to collect and analyze network data on the contemporary animal rights movement in Europe, to identify the main cleavages within the network and to assess the relevance of different organizations both within the network and among supporters.

How to capture the players that constitute 'one' social movement? And how do these players relate—or not—to one another? Two strands of the literature on social movements have dealt with these fundamental issues. The first question has been discussed primarily by scholars who sample 'social movement organizations (SMOs)' in order to gain information on the wider population. The second question has been the focus of those who analyze social movements through social network analysis.

First, social movement scholars have attempted to measure 'SMO populations'. Their main motive has been to improve theories on the emergence, growth, and impact of social movements by tracing the number of individual organizations within a social movement (e.g. Carmichael et al. 2012; Negro et al. 2013). In line with resource mobilization theory, the meso-level of activism has been the focus of this research strand (McCarthy and Zald 1977). Perhaps the key theme of the literature on 'SMO populations' has been the challenge of finding useful sources—relatively easy to gather and that provide a comprehensive picture with little bias. Therefore, some published work mainly tests the representativeness of sources, such as the widely

used *Encyclopedia of Associations*, providing information on SMOs in the United States (e.g. Martin et al. 2006). Brulle et al. (2007) attempt to go beyond organizational directories and yearbooks as traditional sources by compiling a database based on 155 different offline and online lists, showing how they all suffer from selection bias. In a similar vein, Andrews et al. (2016) have proposed the creation of 'peak lists' that bridge different sources.

Second, many scholars have emphasized the network character of social movements. The best-known example is Diani's (1992) definition of social movements as: 'networks of informal interactions between a plurality of individuals, groups and/or organizations, engaged in political or cultural conflicts, on the basis of shared collective identities.' Given the impossibility to distinguish between a political party, an interest group, and an individual social movement organization on a theoretical level (Burstein 1998, 1999), their network character might be the only remaining distinctive feature of social movements. Perhaps not surprisingly then, a growing number of scholars have analyzed social movement networks theoretically and empirically. The empirical studies of social movement networks have emphasized key issues, such as the centrality of players, brokerage, or subgroups within movements (see Diani and McAdam 2003; Krinsky and Crossley 2014). Some of this research has qualified the validity of one aspect of Diani's definition, which speaks of 'shared collective identities,' implying a high degree of identification among the activists of one social movement. However, we now know that what might be perceived as 'one' movement can consist of players that self-identify in conflictual ways (Saunders 2008). Social movements are 'networks in contention' with important divisions and sub-networks (Hadden 2015). In addition, the study of the radical right that has led to a growing interest in online networks among social movement scholars (in particular Caiani et al. 2012).

This chapter tries to offer new insights on these two research questions by combining both approaches. By building on both strands of research, this chapter studies the contemporary animal rights movement in Europe. In doing so, this chapter follows two aims. On a methodological level, I will present a way to collect meaningful data on SMO populations and on how organizations are related to each other within a broader network. On an empirical level, I attempt to capture the most important dimensions regarding the structure and composition of the contemporary animal rights movements

in Europe, as reflected in the network data gathered.

The literature on measuring ‘SMO populations’ largely relies on organizational directories and yearbooks—offline and online—as sources. Despite its significant advantages, this approach has three important limitations: 1) data collection often requires a lot of time and therefore is often applied to geographical areas of a restricted scope; 2) directories and yearbooks on ‘SMO populations’ do not usually include data on the relations between the different players that make up a social movement understood as social movement network and; (3) directories and yearbooks imply preconceptions on which players actually constitute a social movement, mainly capturing what is typically narrowly defined as ‘SMO’.

This chapter suggests an alternative approach that can add to existing methodological approaches for measuring social movements. I study the contemporary animal rights movement in Europe by drawing in data on well over 1,500 political players downloaded from Facebook through the software Netvizz (Rieder 2013). This type of data allows us to analyze not only a vast number of organized animal advocates, but also their connections with each other with the help of social network analysis. In doing so, the chapter contributes to the literatures on SMO populations and on social movements as social networks in three distinct ways, responding to the three limitations of directories and yearbooks identified above. Namely, the data: 1) covers a vast geographical scope by capturing organizations and groups across Europe and from almost all European countries; (2) studies the relations among this great number of organizations and groups and reveals important cleavages—in particular national and issue-specific ones—and; (3) shows how players in organizations that are not typically defined as ‘SMOs’—e.g. political parties and animal shelters—can be equally part of social movements. While this novel approach provides important empirical and theoretical insights, I also critically reflect on its methodological limitations.

The chapter continues with a presentation and discussion of methods and data. Afterwards, I analyze the empirical findings on the network data gathered from Facebook. In the conclusion of this chapter, I discuss the results in light of the literature on ‘SMO populations’ and social networks.

2.2 Methods and Data

I systematically collected network data on the contemporary animal rights movement in Europe by downloading information on social media profiles from Facebook. The vast majority of organized contemporary animal advocates have established a presence on this social media platform. This observation not only applies to the great number of publicity seeking organizations, but also to those organizations that describe themselves as 'lobbyists' on their Facebook profiles. Animal rights organizations use Facebook to establish a public presence and propagate their work; indeed, for many activists, the visual dimension of online activism is particularly important (Interview 21). The vast majority of organizations that I took as a starting point for collecting network data has a Facebook presence (see below). The almost complete absence of organizations electing to remain solely 'offline' shows how important this platform is to contemporary animal advocates in Europe.

The Facebook app Netvizz (Rieder 2013) allows for the collection of various types of Facebook data on *public* Facebook profiles (which are different from the profiles of private users). For this chapter I used the software's 'page like network' function to download information on individual profiles ('nodes'), especially on their connections to other profiles ('edges'). Edges between groups are established when the administrator of one profile 'likes' another profile ('out-degree') or when one profile is 'liked' by another one ('in-degree'). In addition, some other useful information was downloaded, such as the profiles' popularity among Facebook users (the amount of 'likes' they received).

So far, Netvizz data has been massively underused in social movement studies. Berntzen and Weisskircher (2016) use Netvizz data to illustrate the attempt to set up different branches of the far-right PEGIDA group. Berntzen (2018) has also used Netvizz data to show how anti-Islamic groups are connected to organizations from other social movements—namely, traditional far-right groups, on the one hand, and 'progressive' SMOs, on the other. The few other works that use Netvizz for the study social movements do not collect relational data, but focus on the content analysis of postings—Netvizz has this functionality as well (e.g. Poell et al. 2016).

In order to gain meaningful data on SMO populations, an informed choice on what groups to select for data collection is necessary. The goal was to capture the most relevant animal rights organizations in Europe. I tried to avoid snowballing by making an informed choice about the organizations that I collected data on, focusing mostly on the main organizations of the animal rights movement. First, I collected data for the *Eurogroup for Animals*, which is the biggest umbrella organization of animal advocates in Europe, and all its membership organizations; for the *European Coalition to End Animal Experiments*; for the diverse *PETA* branches in Europe; for *Stop Vivisection* and the five organizations which have contributed financially to it (see chapter 3); for the *European Vegetarian Union* and its membership organizations; for the *Vegan Society*; and for the major animal welfare parties in Europe. This numbered 127 organizations and groups.[28] Based on the network database derived from this pre-selection, I added data for the two organizations that managed to garner at least 1,000,000 'likes.' Based on this selection, 129 organizations were the starting point of my data collection: 96 (74.4%) of these organizations were from Western Europe and 28 (21.7%) from Central and Eastern Europe (for a full list see Appendix).[29] I collected 'one-step' data on them—namely, data on all Facebook profiles that the preselected profiles had 'liked.'[30]

What are the advantages of this methodological approach? First, the use of Netvizz offers a relatively quick and accessible electronic method to collect vast amounts of data on the composition of social movements across many countries. In particular, this allows for the study of social movements in numerous countries. In the case of Europe, unlike for the United States, offline directories that cover the whole region are usually not available. Second, the methodological approach allows for the collection of relational data. The Nezvizz 'page like network' function not only captures the members

[28] Eight organizations were not on Facebook (Asociación Vegana Española, Comitato Europeo Difesa Animali, Eurasian Vegetarian Society, Four Paws Romania, Kingston and Richmond Vegetarians, Lietuvos Vegetaru Draugija, North Riding Vegetarians & Vegans, The European Coalition to End Animal Experiments, Österreichische Vegetarier Union). An additional one had a type of Facebook profile that could not be analyzed via Netvizz (Fabryka UTU), while another profile produced error messages (Association Végétarienne de France).

[29] Two were from outside of Europe: Animals International (Australia) and World Animal Net (United States). Three others I coded as Europe/international (Eurogroup for Animals, European Vegetarian Union, Stop Vivisection).

[30] I abstained from extracting 'two-step' data because Netvizz produces error messages when the volume of such data becomes too large.

of a specific social movement, but also how these members *connect to each other* (or not). Third, the approach is conceptually open regarding the types of players that might be considered part of a given social movement. While the selection of those organizations that provide the starting point of the SNA is the choice of the researcher, those that are then added through the collection of Netvizz data reflect the choices made activists themselves. These may include political parties or other types of political players as well as organizations and groups that researchers might regard as belonging to 'different' social movements. Fourth, Netvizz data includes information on the popularity of individual social movement players among a wider public as it collects the 'likes' of individual organizations among Facebook users too. This figure is an interesting alternative to the traditional measurement of membership numbers.

Despite its many promising advantages, the methodological approach also comes with important limitations that merit discussion. First, as in every social network analysis, the network data collected via Netvizz is biased because of the need to choose a starting point—a list of specific organizations—for the data collection. In order to reduce this problem, I selected a high number of heterogeneous organizations as a base, taking most of the countries in Europe into account. In all likelihood, the biggest and most influential organizations of the animal rights movement in Europe are also part of my database.

Second, the methodological approach taken requires social movement activists to be present on Facebook. Obviously, organizations and groups without a Facebook profile have no way of entering the database. Still, as already indicated above, the vast majority of organizations and groups with a given size are on Facebook, many of them considering presence on this online platform as important. In fact, almost all organizations and groups used as a starting point for data collection ran Facebook profiles—there were hardly any exceptions (see footnote 23). In addition, the small minority of activists that also conducts illegal form of actions are not represented on Facebook: first because of their tactical repertoire and second because of their often very informal organizational structures. Another limit of Facebook data concerns the representation of popularity of organizations and groups among a wider audience as some organizations have a high average membership age, such as the TierVersuchsGegner Berlin und Brandenburg e.V. (Interview 10). We can assume that

their popularity is only poorly reflected in their FB ‘likes,’ because old users tend to be less active on the social media and the internet more generally.

Third, the complex relationships between animal rights organizations and groups cannot be reduced to Facebook ‘likes.’ They do not tell us how specific organizations and groups are connected to each other: do they cooperate, for example by sharing resources, staging common events, or agreeing to common positions toward targets? Most of them probably do not. Thus, ‘likes’ only tell us that they subscribed to information of the activities of other organizations on Facebook. For my research interest this is not necessarily a problem given that the prevalent network-based definition implies loose ties bound by ‘collective identity’—these do not point to a minimum intensity of required interactions to constitute a network (Diani 1992). By looking at the betweenness centrality of organizations, I show which organizations other groups and actors are mostly interested in. In order to discuss forms of cooperation, I include some qualitative context to the data, for example by referring to the development of the Eurogroup for Animals, Europe’s biggest animal advocacy umbrella organization, and the most central player in the network.

Fourth, I am not able to compare developments over time, but only look at data downloaded in January 2019. The lack of comparisons over time is a common limit of studies based on social network analysis, even though it can be overcome in principle. I have indeed addressed this in the methodological approach pursued in this chapter, as I will discuss in the conclusion of this chapter.

Fifth, an important limit of the methodological approach is that it relies on only one source: Facebook. That being said, in principle the collection of social media data can be bridged with other sources. I will also discuss such a strategy in the conclusion to the present chapter.

Scholars using SNA have focused on several concepts when analyzing their data (for an overview of the method and its key concepts see Caiani 2014; Diani 2003; Krinsky and Crossley 2014; Saunders 2007): In the language of social network analysis, the key elements of a network are ‘nodes’ and ‘edges’. In this chapter, nodes represent political players, mainly SMOs and groups, while edges are their connections among

each other. With regard to the overall structure of the network, I focus on the different clusters and density. In my analysis of individual nodes, I consider 'betweenness centrality' for assessing the importance of an organization within the animal rights movement. Betweenness centrality measures how central a node is in connecting other otherwise unconnected or less directly connected nodes—in short, their position as a broker.

In addition, for assessing the popularity of an organization not within a network, but within the wider public, I focus on the amount of 'likes' a Facebook group has received, which refers to how many Facebook users have liked (and not just visited) a specific Facebook profile (and not only individual postings). The latter is a very useful and often overlooked measurement of the popularity of specific organizations. It is not only easier to collect than the more standard measure of amount of members, but probably also more informative, because it tells us about the broad appeal an organization has for those who are interested in its cause. One might use the following, admittedly not completely accurate, analogy to party politics. While measurements of betweenness centrality would relate to the embeddedness of a political party within organizations and groups close to them, for example trade unions or feminist organizations for a center–left party, the amount of Facebook 'likes' of an organization and group might be compared with the support a party receives in elections.[31]

I conducted several pre-tests before I collected the data in January 2019. I conducted the following steps in order to delete irrelevant the large number of irrelevant nodes in the database, which includes Facebook profiles that were not social movement players or political parties. First, I deleted all nodes that were categorized under terms that implied that they would not be social movement players or political parties (see Appendix). Second, I deleted all remaining nodes that were: 1) not based in a European country (Russia was included as European country); 2) not SMOs or groups, or political parties, or; 3) inactive, as indicated through the absence of references to existing organizational structures, such as office addresses, or the announcement of (offline) events since 2016. Ultimately, I arrived at a database that consists of 1,699

[31] N.b. Gerbaudo (2018) emphasizes how the rise of the 'digital party' blurs the distinction between classical party membership, on the one hand, and social media following, on the other.

nodes and 9,784 directed edges as the basis for my analysis. Through coding I added both the countries of the organizations and groups in the database, but I also coded whether their issue focus was animals, the environment, or some other topic.[32] I treated an issue focus on animals as a relatively inclusive category, including also organizations and groups that focus on wildlife protection, which are sometimes regarded as a borderline case between animal and environmental advocacy. I used Gephi software for the social network analysis. For analysis and illustrations, I ran the ForceAtlas 2 layout. ForceAtlas2 provides a continuous algorithm that adjusts the data until the user stops the operation, simulating a physical system where '[n]odes repulse each other like charged particles, while edges attract their nodes', especially useful for networks with up to 10,000 nodes (Jacomy et al. 2014: 2, 11).

2.3 A Network of the Contemporary Animal Rights Movement in Europe

The historical accounts in the Introduction and in chapter 1 of this dissertation have stressed the variety of issues that animal advocates have dealt with since the movement's emergence in the 19th century. This heterogeneity is also reflected in the presence of many specialized groups, especially with regards to 'vivisection' and animal experimentation. Similarly, the collected network data on the animal rights movement in Europe underlines a huge variety of organizations and groups that work in favor of animals. Some of the biggest organizations in the network have already been mentioned, in particular the RSPCA. Major organizations from other countries include Djurens Rätt (Animal Rights) in Sweden, Global Action in the Interest of Animals (GAIA) in Belgium, Otwarte Klatki (Open Cages) in Poland, or the Verein gegen Tierfabriken—the Association against Farm Factories—in Austria, known as the VgT.

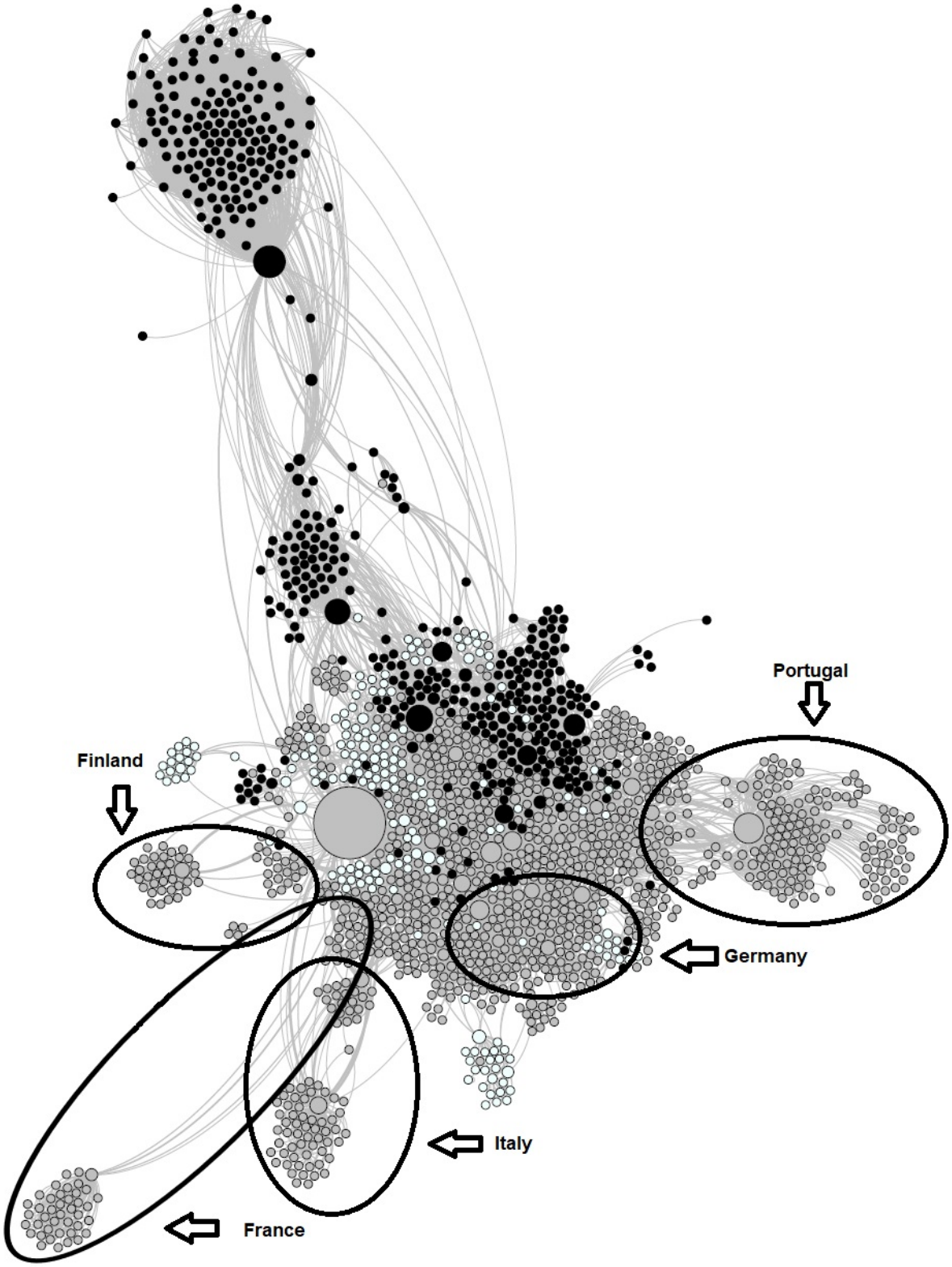
Specialized organizations that focus on veganism and vegetarianism are an important part of the network as well—examples are Belgium's EVA—including its local

[32] In order to study the relevance of other political players for animal rights activists, I left all political parties inside the database as well as organizations and groups that focus on women, gender identity, human rights, labor rights and social policies, farmers, slow food, fair trade, and food politics.

divisions—student groups such as the Vegan Society branch at the University of Cambridge, and Bieg Wegański (Vegan Run) in Poland, an organization of vegan runners. Many other specialized organizations focus on animal experimentation, such as the Action Group of Swiss Opponents of Animal Experimentation (Aktionsgemeinschaft Schweizer Tierversuchsgegner, AGSTG) in Switzerland and Cruelty Free International in the United Kingdom. Moreover, there are many 'unpolitical' organizations and groups that provide care to animals, in particular animal shelters—which range from large nation-wide organizations such as Cats Protection in the United Kingdom and countless small shelters in the Czech Republic, Slovakia, or Macedonia. Other groups focus on activism against bullfighting or fur production, for example. In short, the 'nodes' of the network represent are made up by a heterogeneous range of organizations and groups. An analysis of network data allows us to gain a closer insight into the structure of the contemporary animal rights movement in Europe.

A look at the network data on the animal rights movement in Europe shows clearly that they are clustered in distinct groups, and not very centralized (see Figure 1). The density of the network is quite low (0.003)—which is perhaps not surprising for a network of this size. The modularity value is relatively high (0.768), which points to the importance of separate communities within the network. The main cleavages that structure the network are national and issue-specific ones, which again underlines the heterogeneity of the animal rights movement. In the following, I first discuss the importance of nations and then the relevance of issues for the structure of the network. Afterwards, I present the organizations and groups that are particularly central and popular within the network.

Figure 1: Network data on the animal rights movement in Europe (by region and country)



Note: The colors of the node represent the countries/regions of the respective organizations and groups (black = United Kingdom, grey = Western Europe, white = Eastern Europe). The bigger the individual node, the higher its betweenness centrality. Five additional labels indicate a strong clustering of nodes that are overwhelmingly from one national background.

The Importance of Nations

Importantly, despite the frequently stressed transnationalism of the animal rights movement in Europe, the network data underlines the importance of nations. Most animal rights organizations and groups connect first and foremost to fellow activists from their home country.[33] It is usually only a low number of individual organizations that are strongly connected to activists from other countries—they are therefore the bearers of transnationalism (Rone [2018] finds similar dynamics in the case of anti-ACTA mobilization). The predominance of Western European and especially British-based organizations and groups and the mobilization effort of the Stop Vivisection European Citizens' Initiative (see chapter 3) also underline how nations matter for contemporary animal rights activism in Europe. Central and Eastern European organizations are underrepresented in the network.

The Dominance of Western European and especially British-Based Organizations

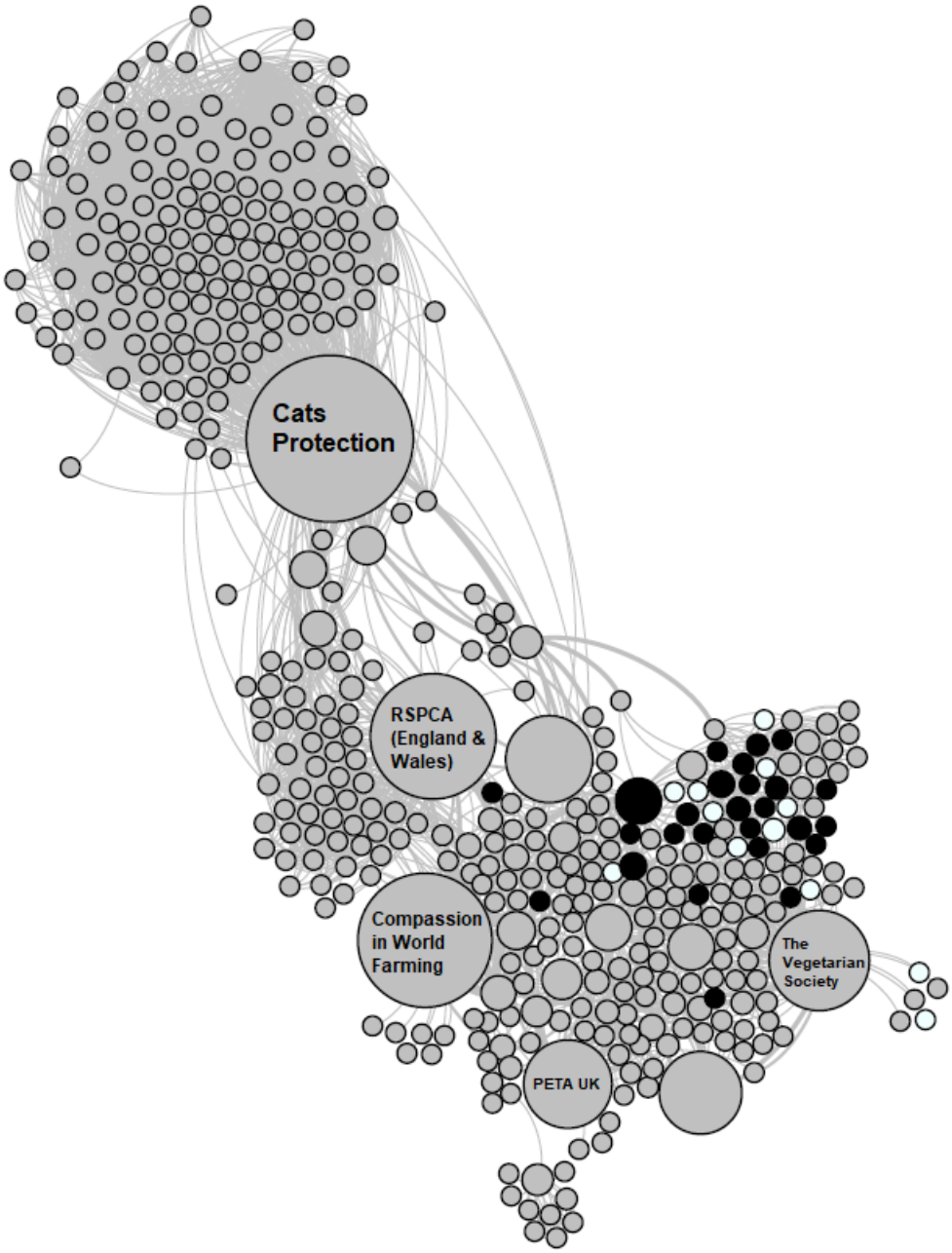
Certain Western European countries provide a significant share of the organizations and groups in the network (see Figure 1). In fact, the top 11 countries are all Western European, with six of them—apart from the United Kingdom, also Germany (8.9%), Portugal (8.8%), France (7%), Italy (6.2%), and the Netherlands (6.1%)—each providing more than five percent of all organizations and groups to the network. Given their population sizes, the strong presence of Portuguese and Dutch organizations and groups is particularly striking. The organizations and groups of many nations clearly cluster in the —although some, and especially the United Kingdom, even form several clusters. Figure 1 also highlights Germany, Portugal, France, Italy, and Finland as countries whose nodes cluster in strong proximity, if not always only in mainly one cluster.[34]

[33] This is also indicated by the modularity function of Gephi, which identifies no less than 43 communities (resolution = 1.0). However, only 18 of them include more than five nodes. Some of these communities mainly include 'nodes' from specific countries—for example Czech, Finnish, Italian, or Portuguese communities. Others combine several geographically close countries: One large community includes organizations and groups from Austria, Germany, and Switzerland. Another mainly consists of 'nodes' from Belgium and the Netherlands.

[34] Figure 6 shows how French and Italian animal shelters form communities separate from their other national organizations. Figure 11 indicates how Dutch nodes form separate, connected clusters.

While this dissertation provides a European perspective that highlights the significance of developments outside of the United Kingdom, the SNA data also underlines the particular importance of British animal advocates (see Figure 1). About a quarter (26.8%) of all organizations and groups in the network are based in the United Kingdom. Therefore, the traditional strong role of British animal advocates is not only visible in the history and composition of the Eurogroup, but also in the prominence of many other British organizations and groups. Taking a closer look at the British network of animal rights organizations and groups (see Figure 2) reveals the centrality of Cats Protection, the RSPCA, the Vegetarian Society, Compassion in World Farming (the organization's crucial role in EU-level mobilization on battery cages is studied in chapter 5), the Vegetarian Society, and PETA UK.

Figure 2: Network data on the animal rights movement in the United Kingdom



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Note: The colors of the node represent the issue focus of the respective organizations and groups (grey = animals, black = environment, white = others). The bigger the individual node, the higher its betweenness centrality. The five nodes with the highest betweenness centrality are labelled.

The Underrepresentation of Central and Eastern Europe

Beyond Western Europe, animal advocacy has also a long history in some Central and Eastern European countries such as Poland and Russia, with advocates often pursuing moderate forms of action (Fröhlich and Jacobsson 2017). Compared to

Western Europe, though, organizations and groups from Central and Eastern European countries play a relatively minor role in the network data (see Figure 1). Their share of organizations and groups is at 11.9%—in comparison, the share for Western Europe is at 86.9%. This is significantly less than the share of organizations from Central and Eastern Europe that provided the starting point for the data collection. The underrepresentation is less stark, however, than it first appears at first sight, given the strong differences in population sizes, illustrated by the fact that Central and Eastern European EU member states make up only about 20 percent of the total EU population.[35] The country with the highest number of organized animal advocates in the region is the Czech Republic (2.5%), followed by Poland (1.8%) and Estonia (1.4%).

Indeed, there are some signs of ideological moderation in the case of animal advocates in Central and Eastern Europe. In most countries of the region, animal shelters are a key part of the picture. Most organizations seem not to direct their demands at the level of the state, such as animal welfare regulation, or the individual, such as veganism or vegetarianism. Instead, there is a vast number of small groups that organize shelter for animals, usually stray cats or dogs.

Moreover, some Western European organizations have established branches in Eastern European countries. The Austrian organization Vier Pfoten [Four Paws] is one such example. Its branches extend beyond Germany, the United Kingdom, and the Netherlands, to include also in Bulgaria, Romania, and Slovakia.[36] Its actions in Central and Eastern Europe are relatively moderate and include taking care of stray dogs and cats, including spaying and neutering. Compassion in World Farming, active in many Western European countries, also has an office in Poland.

It is probably not a ‘digital divide’ that explains the underrepresentation of Central and Eastern European organizations in the network. The Facebook presence of many small shelter organizations in the region point to the penetration of Facebook, especially in the regions’ urban areas. Therefore, the underrepresentation of groups

[35] However, it needs to be emphasized that the data also includes non-EU member states in Western and Central and Eastern Europe.
[36] Beyond Europe, *Vier Pfoten* also has a branch in South Africa.

from the region in the network under study seems to have an empirical base in real-life developments—it is usually some Western European countries that are regarded as those with the most vibrant groups of animal advocates.

The Importance of Issues

Issue specialization and goals also structure the movement, but less so than nationality. Unsurprisingly, the vast majority of organizations and groups (85.6%) in the dataset focuses on animals (see Figure 3). Divisions among them are also reflected in the network data, as illustrated by the ego-networks of the Eurogroup for Animals and Stop Vivisection—both targeting EU politics (see chapter 3). The most notable issue-specific clusters, however, are those formed by the most moderate part of the contemporary animal rights movement in Europe—the large body of animal shelters. These form highly homogenous clusters in France, Italy, and the United Kingdom, among others, and are related to the organizational structure of major national organizations with many local branches. Importantly, environmentalists do not integrate well into the network, but form distinct clusters, while organizations and groups from other social movements hardly play any role in the network.

The Divide between the Eurogroup and Stop Vivisection

Taking a closer look at two key ‘nodes’ reveals important differences, both related to the substance of their activism. Two crucial collective of players targeting the EU level, the umbrella organization Eurogroup of Animals (see below) and Stop Vivisection (see chapter 3), barely interact. In the respective ego-networks of these two organizations, groups that are also part in the ego-network of the other one hardly appear (see Figures 4 and 5). In the ego-network of Stop Vivisection, only 9.4 percent (5 out of 53) of all nodes form also part of the ego-network of the Eurogroup for Animals. In the ego-network of the Eurogroup for Animals, only 5 percent (5 out of 99) of all nodes are also part of the ego-network of Stop Vivisection.

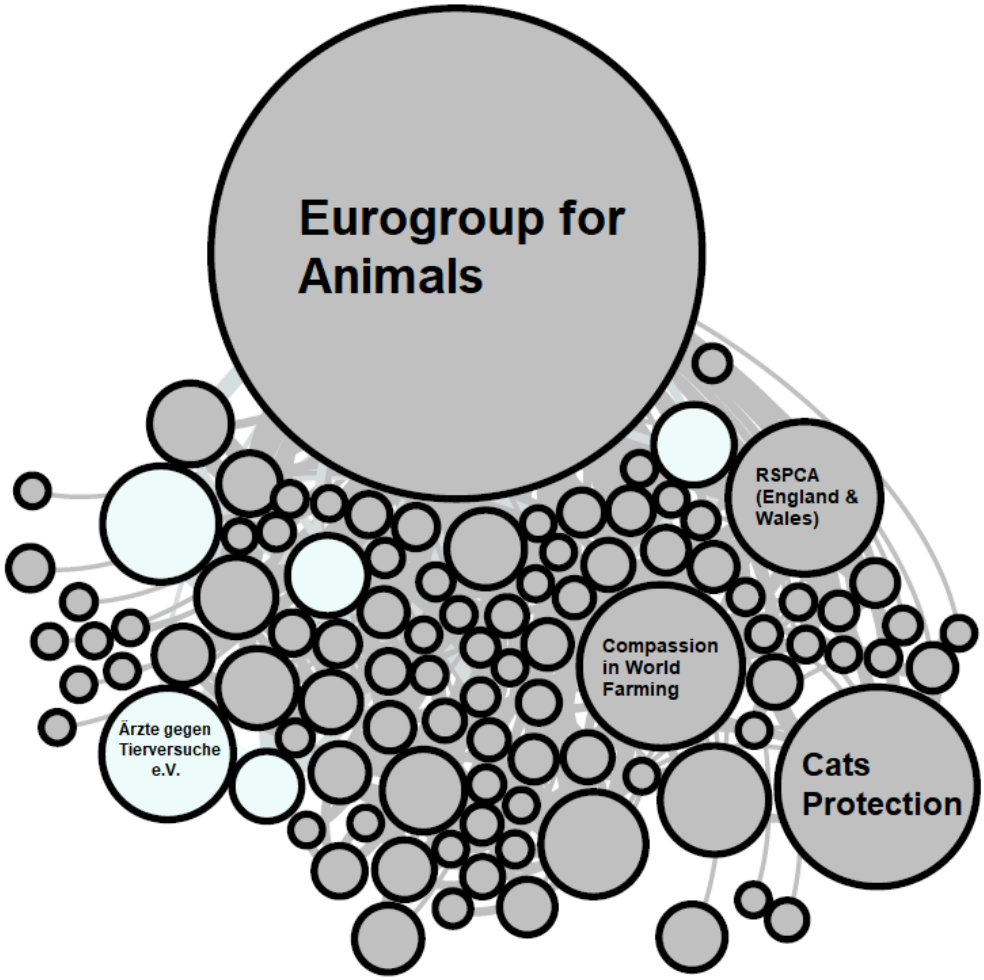
Figure 3: Network data on the animal rights movement in Europe (by issue focus)

Note: The colors of the node represent the issue focus of the respective organizations and groups (grey = animals, black = environment, white = others). The bigger the individual node, the higher its betweenness centrality.

This division does not merely reflect national clusters: Both networks include organizations and groups from a great number of countries (27 in the case of the larger Eurogroup ego-network, 9 in the case of the Stop Vivisection ego-network) and British organizations matter in both of them (20 percent of all nodes in the Eurogroup ego-network as British, in the case of Stop Vivisection the number is 15.1 percent). Therefore, evidence indicates that the online data also reflects more substantial cleavages within the contemporary animal rights movement in Europe: The Eurogroup and Stop Vivisection have different issue focuses (see below and chapter 3), also related to different ideological and strategic considerations.[37]

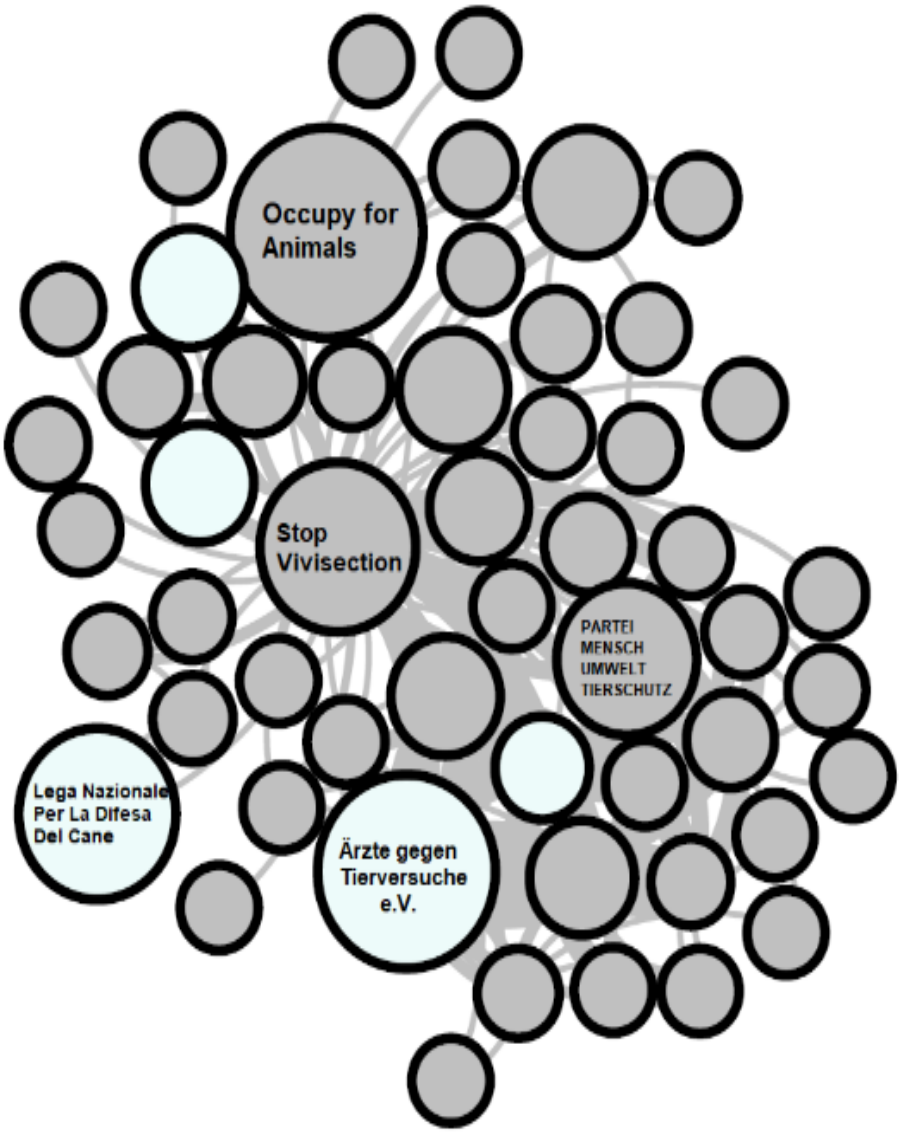
[37] However, it would be wrong to assume that individual organizations are homogenous political players, free from conflict. As the history of some of the largest animal rights organizations has shown, the opposite is the case. The British RSPCA faced particular strong internal conflict in the 1970s and the 1980s. Within the organization, an oppositional group grew strong enough to have one of its members, Richard Ryder, elected the chairman of the Society's council from 1977 to 1979. His victory represented the peak of an intra-organizational conflict that at the beginning mainly revolved around fox hunting, but developed into a broad disagreement about whether or not the organization should tackle animal welfare issues in a more political way (Garner 2004: 67–68). The success of the RSPCA reformists, however, did not remain uncontested. In the 1980s, according to Ryder's (2000: 202) own words, 'ultra-conservative[s]' and 'arch reactionaries' took hold of the organization, without being able to completely reverse the process started by the reformists. Another British organization, the British Union for the Abolition of Vivisection (BUAV) faced internal disputes as well. At the beginning of the 1960s, the BUAV still turned away from radicalism in deciding to also accept measures that were short of the total abolition of animal experimentation as acceptable temporary outcomes (Hopley 1998: 71–73). Two decades later, however, the internal situation of the BUAV was so polarized that even in the official book on its own history it was compared to a 'civil war' (Hopley 1998: 85), which was won by more radical activists, but only temporarily. While '[t]he organization had been excluded from any negotiations about the Bill [The Animal (Scientific Procedures) Act of 1986] on the grounds of its alleged support for illegitimate and illegal activities' (Hopley 1998: 91), it later turned into one of the biggest and international 'anti-vivisectionist' organizations in the world—since 2015 known as Cruelty Free International—regularly negotiating with governments and corporations. Therefore, what seems like a presumably unitary 'node' in a SNA graph is in reality sometimes a highly contentious arena of conflict among activists that have different perspectives over strategies and goals.

Figure 4: Ego-network of the Eurogroup for Animals



Note: Nodes that belong to the ego-networks of both Stop Vivisection and the Eurogroup for Animals are white. The bigger the individual node, the higher its betweenness centrality. The five nodes with the highest betweenness centrality are labelled.

Figure 5: Ego-network of Stop Vivisection



Note: Nodes that belong to the ego-networks of both Stop Vivisection and the Eurogroup for Animals are white. The bigger the individual node, the higher its betweenness centrality. The five nodes with the highest betweenness centrality are labelled.

The Important Role of Moderate Animal Shelter Organizations

Moderate animal advocacy organizations focusing on companion animals represent a significant part of the network, not only in Central and Eastern Europe. Organizations with a relatively high betweenness centrality and many likes (see below) are Cats Protection (also part of the Eurogroup for Animals) and the Dogs Trust (the former National Canine Defence League), which again underlines the importance of British organizations. Elsewhere in Western Europe, such groups are of key importance: The

most central organization in Italy is the Lega Nazionale Per La Difesa Del Cane—an organization with more than half a million (577,170) followers. In France, the Société Protectrice des Animaux (SPA) runs many animal shelters. Beyond these major organizations and their local branches, many other smaller ones exist.

Importantly, Cats Protection and Lega Nazionale Per La Difesa Del Cane, as the major animal shelter organizations in the network, form distinct clusters, close but separated from organizations and groups of the United Kingdom respectively Italy. The shelters of the French SPA also form their own cluster (see Figure 6). Interestingly, Cats Protection in particular is mainly linked to the rest of the network through moderate British organizations, for example the RSPCA and its local branches.

The strong presence of animal shelters is in stark contrast to some criticism of the idea and practice of 'companion animals' (pets) among some animal right theorists. Some of them reject the idea on ethical grounds, regarding the keeping of an animal as a form of animal exploitation (e.g. Irvine 2004). However, empirical patterns look different. While organizations and groups that protect dogs and cats are not in the center of the network data, they make up a significant share.

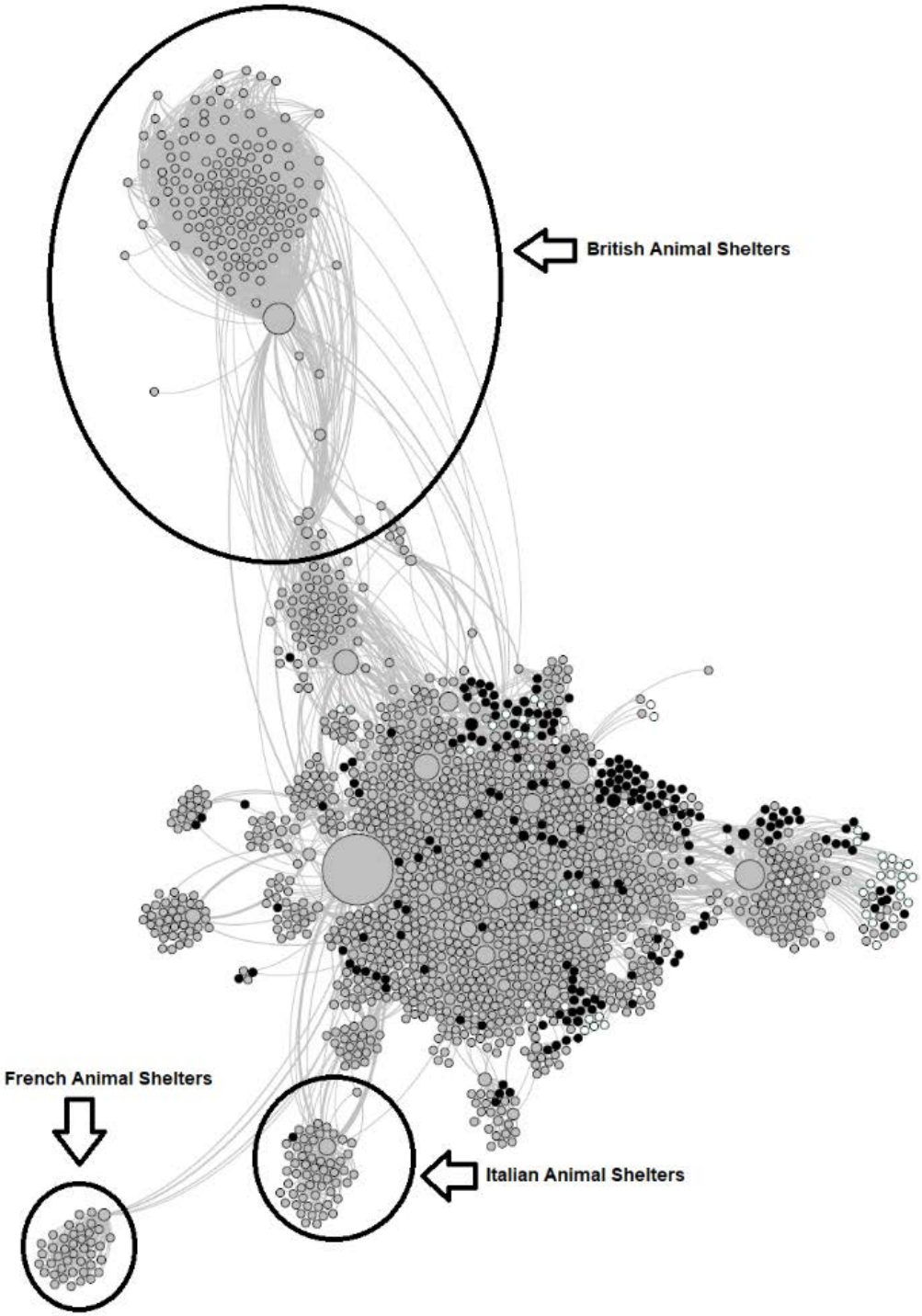
The Role of Environmentalists

In social movement studies, animal rights organizations are sometimes considered to be a subgroup of the environmental movement, as reflected in the following paragraph:

> Environmental movements—narrowly defined, that is, and excluding the antinuclear energy movements—have long-standing historical roots. They can be traced back to the nineteenth century. The American Society for the Prevention of Cruelty to Animals created in 1866 is perhaps the first environmental organization ever, at least at the national level (Giugni and Grasso 2015: 340).[38]

[38] Obviously, the authors err in referring to the American Society for the Prevention of Cruelty to Animals as the 'first environmental organization ever' (see chapter 1).

Figure 6: The importance of moderate animal shelters in the network



Note: The colors of the node represent the issue focus of the respective organizations and groups (grey = animals, black = environment, white = others). The bigger the individual node, the higher its betweenness centrality.

However, many other authors would deny such a categorization (Saunders 2013: 29–30). On the basis of a network analysis of the environmental movement in Britain, Rootes (2000: 30) finds the following:

> In only a relatively small number of cases were two or more groups named as having been involved in the same protest, but whereas the interactions among the EMOs varied, in not a single case was one of the seven leading EMOs mentioned as having participated in a protest with one of the five most mentioned animal welfare or anti-hunting groups. If the environmental movement is a network […], then the animal welfare and anti-hunting groups are at best distant outliers to it, and no more closely connected to it than the Labour or Liberal Democrat parties or several charities not normally considered to be part of the environmental movement (Rootes 2000: 30).

The Facebook network used in this chapter includes a significant number of environmental organizations, underlining the relative proximity of environmental issues to animal advocacy. Of all organizations in the network, 11.4% were coded as environmentalist, even though what some observers could regard as borderline cases—especially wildlife protection—were coded as animal advocacy. The organizations and groups in the network are heterogeneous, from big organizations such as Greenpeace and Friends of the Earth and some of their branches to less prominent groups such as the Naturfredningsforening in Denmark, Acciónatura in Spain, and Eestimaa Looduse Fond in Estonia.

The inclusion of these organizations points to the crucial question of how strong links between SMOs and groups need to be in order to speak of a network. Weak ties may not be sufficient to constitute a social movement (Saunders 2013: 42–43). This point is particularly relevant given the comparatively weak measure for links among nodes used in this chapter (i.e. Facebook ‘likes’). Therefore, to put the presence of environmental organizations in the network data in the right perspective, the reciprocity of ‘likes’ between animal advocates and environmentalists might imply the presence of strong ties.

However, a closer look at the data reveals that the opposite is the case: links between animal rights and environmental organizations are very asymmetrical. While animal rights organizations indeed reach out to environmentalists, reciprocity is quite limited.

Even though data for individual nodes should not be overinterpreted (see above), it is indicative that several prominent environmental organizations do *not* reach out to their animal rights counterparts.

The case of Greenpeace underlines this pattern clearly: all eight Greenpeace branches in the network (Denmark, France, Germany, International, Netherlands, Poland, Spain, and the United Kingdom) have more 'in-degrees' than 'out-degrees'. To give an example, Greenpeace Deutschland has reached out to only six other organizations, while 19 groups have reached out to it. Among the three organizations that Greenpeace Deutschland has reached out do (Amnesty International Deutschland, Bund für Umwelt und Naturschutz, BUNDjugend), none is an animal rights group. At the same time, four animal rights organizations (Anwalt für Tierrecht Ackenheil, Partei Mensch Umwelt Tierschutz, NRW and ProVeg Deutschland) reach out to Greenpeace Deutschland. The story is quite similar for other groups: In the case of WWF UK, only one of the four organizations it reaches out to is a borderline case, RSPB Love Nature (Royal Society for the Protection of Birds), while the Vegetarian Society and World Animal Protection are among the organizations that reach out to WWF UK. This distant role of environmentalists is also indicated in Figures 3 and 11, where a clustering of their organizations and groups becomes visible.

This asymmetry between both movements reflects an ongoing debate among animal advocates, which was also triggered by the movie *Cowspiracy* (2014). Despite the impact of animal agriculture on greenhouse gas emissions, major environmentalist organizations have remained quiet about factory farming. While the network data underlines that there is in fact some proximity between animal advocates and environmentalists in Europe, this is mainly due to the sympathy of the former for the latter—and not vice versa.

The Absence of Organizations from Other Social Movements

Beyond the ambivalent role of environmentalists, organizations and groups from other social movements are hardly significant within the network—only 2.9 percent of the 'nodes' are non-animal welfare parties or organizations and groups that focus on women, gender identity, human rights, labor rights and social policies, farmers, slow

food, fair trade, or food politics. All these political players mostly occupy marginal positions within the network. The absence of other organizations points to the oft-discussed problem of animal rights activists to form coalition with other movements. Especially those that understand themselves as left-wing animal rights activists regularly reflect on why their cause has failed to find the support of others within the left (Benton and Redfearn 1996; Kymlicka and Donaldson 2014). Correspondingly, in the chapters that follow, the instances of animal rights mobilization analyzed do not involve coalition-making with organizations outside the movement.

To be sure, there are some instances of left-wing organizations and groups that appear in the network. Examples are women's group in Portugal (such as UMAR–União de Mulheres Alternativa e Resposta) and in Germany the well-known left-wing organization, Attac Deutschland, and Amnesty International Deutschland. However, these organizations do not reach out to animal advocates—as with the environmentalists, they are only in the network because some animal advocates have reached out to them.

Some far-right SMOs and groups (as well as political parties) have recently shown sympathy for animal welfare issues, often through focusing on instances of cruelty to animals inflicted by minorities, in particular the traditional slaughter methods of Jewish and Muslim people (Kymlicka and Donaldson 2014: 124; Lelieveldt 2017). However, in the network data, far-right players do not matter at all—none of the nodes in the data constitutes such a player.

The Centrality and Popularity of Different Players

The network data also reveals important information on the centrality and popularity of different players within the movement. Organizations and groups differ strongly in their central or peripheral position within the network: The most central organization in the network data is the Eurogroup for Animals, which is also the biggest umbrella organization of animal advocates in Europe. The number of 'likes' represent organizations' popularity among Facebook users more generally: Those organizations working on a variety of issues or those who run shelters are typically the most popular

ones. With the exception of certain animal welfare parties, political parties are only peripheral players inside the network.

Who Are the Central Players?

'Betweenness centrality' is one measure in SNA that captures how central a node is within a network. Nodes with a high betweenness centrality 'often serve as gatekeepers and brokers for different parts of the community' and therefore are influential in, among other things, the transmission of communication (Caiani 2014: 385). Political players with a high betweenness centrality within a social movement network can be assumed to have an important standing, being able to influence debates within movements and providing important information on developments of concern to activists.

Already Figures 1 and 3 have indicated how some individual organizations, illustrated through the *size* of their nodes, have particularly central roles within the network data on the contemporary animal rights movement in Europe. Figure 7 shows the 25 organizations and groups with the highest betweenness centrality. Many major SMOs are in the center of the network analyzed. Some of them work on a wide range of issues, such as the British RSPCA, PETA UK, and OneKind, the Luxembourg-based Occupy for Animals, the Belgium GAIA, or the German Deutscher Tierschutzbund. The RSPCA, PETA UK, and GAIA will appear in chapters 3 and/or 4, cautious with regard to the Stop Vivisection ECI and supportive of 'alternatives' to animal experimentation.

The organization with the highest betweenness centrality within the network is, by far, the Eurogroup for Animals. This rank corresponds to the its status as the largest umbrella organization of animal advocates at the European level. In an information brochure for potential members, the Eurogroup emphasizes what may be expected from an organization that is central within a social movement. The document refers to its vast network and access to 'key European decision makers, institutions, stakeholders and other influencers,' the possibility of 'lobby visits to the European Parliament' and its 'expertise and knowledge through our dedicated working groups as well as reports, studies and surveys' (Eurogroup for Animals, undated)—in short, typical attributes of a broker.

Figure 7: The most central organizations and groups in the network

Position	Group	Betweenness Centrality Value	Country
1	Eurogroup for Animals	0.2550793521268577	Europe/International
2	Cats Protection	0.09335361263918966	United Kingdom
3	PAN (Pessoas–Animais–Natureza)	0.0869343416853855	Portugal
4	Compassion in World Farming	0.07267143068739614	United Kingdom
5	RSPCA	0.0671157369224418	United Kingdom
6	The Vegetarian Society	0.051162381446169115	United Kingdom
7	Occupy for Animals	0.049897593825033996	Portugal
8	PETA UK	0.04356533221602077	United Kingdom
9	Ärzte gegen Tierversuche	0.04343076480660154	Germany
10	OneKind	0.04269019999102535	United Kingdom
11	Stichting AAP	0.04092650378092601	Netherlands
12	Cruelty Free International	0.04001573796257791	United Kingdom
13	Lega Nazionale Per la Difesa del Cane	0.03442991181142874	Italy
14	EVA	0.0341939893671905	Belgium
15	Stop Vivisection	0.033772956653573466	Europe/International
16	ProVeg Deutschland	0.0335656551542997	Germany
17	GAIA	0.028318076055554663	Belgium
18	Sey Suomen Eläinsuojeluyhdistysten Liitto	0.027894504933646966	Finland
19	PARTEI MENSCH UMWELT TIERSCHUTZ	0.026790422298487968	Germany
20	LAV	0.026540151605781142	Italy
21	Deutscher Tierschutzbund	0.025726963008628062	Germany
22	Djurskyddet Sverige	0.025607322267169608	Sweden
23	Centro Vegetariano	0.025453807567250866	Portugal
24	IVU–International Vegetarian Union	0.019865213023762658	Europe/International
25	TARA–Schronisko dla Koni	0.019478777969324984	Poland

Note: These are normalized centrality measures.

The origin of the *Eurogroup* lies at the end of the 1970s, when mainly British animal advocates decided to establish an umbrella organization in Brussels, even though the European Community did not have any explicit competences on the issue of animal

welfare yet. In 1980, key figures within the RSPCA led to the foundation of the then Eurogroup for Animal Welfare.[39] The creation of the Eurogroup 'was quite farsighted of the RSPCA Council for, at the time, many British institutions failed entirely to anticipate the Community's relevance' (Garner 1996: 176). The two most important founding members of the Eurogroup were the RSPCA and the Deutscher Tierschtzbund.[40] Correspondingly, the Eurogroup has followed a 'welfarist' agenda—it was the moderate 'welfarist' wing of animal advocacy that established a presence at the supranational level.

Based on such ideological standards, the Eurogroup has been regarded as a successful advocacy group, acknowledged by several individuals involved in Brussel politics in the 1980s, who also provide key information about the ways the Eurogroup tried to influence the political scene. As a key tactical step, the Eurogroup initiated the foundation of the Parliamentary Intergroup for Animal Welfare in 1982, which allowed a group of MEPs from different parties who were interested in animal welfare issues to regularly meet and coordinate.[41] Among the 24 further organizations with the highest

[39] The decisive steps for its foundation were made under the chairmanship of well-known animal advocate Richard Ryder—key early figures in Brussels included the lobbyist Mike Seymour-Rouse and the scientist David Wilkins (Ryder 2000: 202).

[40] Thus, animal advocates were 'early comers' to Europeanization—many other 'public interest groups' were only founded 'during the establishment of the single market (1984–1992) [when] public interests invested most dramatically in the European area' (Balme and Chabanet 2008: 313).

[41] Until then, only one other Intergroup at the European Parliament had been established: Again, animal advocates were early in responding to the growing importance of European integration. Up to now, the Eurogroup is strongly involved in the Parliamentary Intergroup, providing its secretary. Therefore, the Eurogroup shows how social movement organizations can institutionalize access to EU level policymakers by providing permanent infrastructure. Seymour-Rouse, the first secretary of the Intergroup, traveled to Strasbourg to attend its monthly meetings and provided 'strong moral support,' while David Wilkins provided scientific input as he 'could be relied upon to come up with numbers' (Johnson 2014; the quoted Stanley Johnson is a former conservative British MEP, a former chair of the Intergroup, and the father of former British foreign secretary Boris Johnson). In his autobiography, the former British Tory MEP Andrew Pearce (2013: 123) referred to Seymour-Rouse as '[t]he best lobbyist I knew [...], a character almost too big to be true' and 'as effective a lobbyist for the causes which he supported as any ten British business lobbyists put together'. Johnson (2014) reported that Seymour-Rouse 'had perfected his German in a prisoner-of-war camp,' that '[h]is French was of a high standard too' and that he was '[h]eld in respect by MEPs of all parties and nationalities.' Another former British conservative MEP, Tom Spencer, refers to several actions that underline the importance of the Eurogroup for Animal Welfare. Specifically, he discusses the establishment of the Intergroup, mass pressure as part of its tactical repertoire and its role as an example for other social movements and interest groups: 'The work of my colleague Mike Seymour-Rouse in establishing the Animal Welfare Intergroup became a model. It took the willingness of thousands of animal welfare activists to write letters to MEPs and formed it into a delivery mechanism for policy in an area that not previously featured on anyone's list of priorities for European integration. Other lobbies were keen to follow its example' (Spencer 2003: 80). These statements from British conservatives underline how effectively moderate animal advocates managed to organize at the supranational level.

betweenness centrality, 12 are members of the Eurogroup (Cats Protection, Compassion in World Farming, RSPCA, Stichting APP, OneKind, Lega Nazionale per la Difesa del Cane, GAIA, Sey Suomen Eläinsuojeluyhdistysten Liitto, LAV, Deutscher Tierschutzbund, Djurskyddet Sverige, TARA–Schronisko dla Koni), which further underlines its important role for European animal advocates.

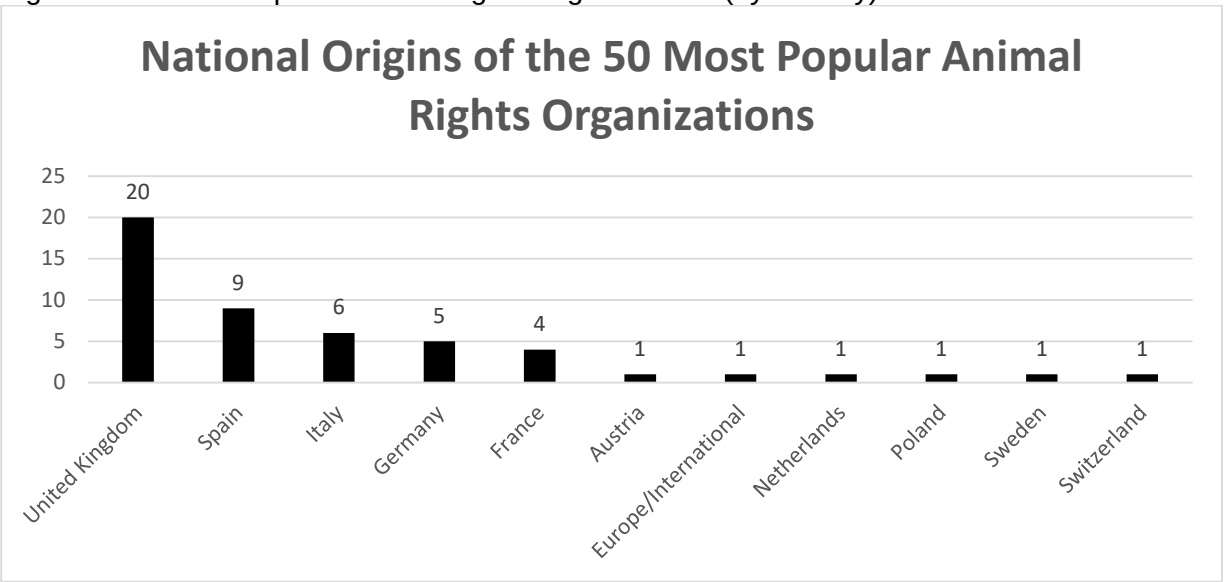
Beyond the Eurogroup and its key members, other organizations with broad networks have operated transnationally: Cruelty Free International, PETA UK, ProVeg, and Stop Vivisection. Moreover, several other organizations that mainly focus on their domestic context are still transnationally embedded: One case is the Belgium organization GAIA—its high betweenness centrality corresponds to its participation in many European umbrella organizations, such as the Eurogroup for Animals, the European Coalition to End Animal Experiments and in the Fur Free Alliance. In line with the relatively minor representation of Central and Eastern Europe, only one organization from the region, TARA–Schronisko dla Koni, is among the 25 most central ones in the network.

Counting Up the 'Likes': Who Is Most Popular Among a Wider Public?

The number of 'likes' refers to the popularity of animal rights organizations among a wider public—namely, all Facebook users. Compared to the typical measure for the popularity of SMOs (i.e. membership figures), Facebook 'likes' require much less effort and show less commitment to an organization. At the same time, this measure indicates how many sympathizers of a cause are aware and sympathize with specific organizations.

Among the most popular animal rights organizations, popularity is clearly linked to national origin: 44 of the 50 organizations with the highest number of 'likes' are from the five most populous Western European countries (see Figure 8). Again, the United Kingdom has a particular prominent place in the network—20 of the 50 most popular animal advocacy 'nodes' are British-based. One reason for the high absolute number of likes for organizations in Spain is most likely not only the size of the country, but also the fact that these organizations are also 'liked' by many Facebook users from Spanish-speaking Latin America countries.

Figure 8: 50 Most Popular Animal Rights Organizations (by country)



A look at five exemplary countries—Germany, Italy, Spain, Poland, and the United Kingdom— also provides interesting insights (see Figure 9). Strikingly, at least the two most popular organizations of each country always have a higher number of followers than the national branches of Greenpeace and the major government party. The only exception is Italy's MoVimento 5 Stelle, well-known for its strong online presence. As expected, many organizations that work on a variety of animal welfare issues ('General') are among the most popular organizations in the network. At the same time, animal shelters for pets and animal rescues for animals 'used' in factory farming or animal experimentation are also among the most popular organizations. It is striking to note that none of these most popular national organizations focuses mainly on veganism or vegetarianism. Even particularly prominent organizations with such a specialization are not among the most popular 'nodes' in their national networks: For example, The Vegan Society is only the tenth most popular organization in the United Kingdom, while ProVeg Deutschland is only the ninth most popular organizations in Germany.

Figure 9: The most popular animal rights organizations in the network (five countries)

Spain			
Position	Group	Likes	Organization Type
1	Fundación Igualdad Animal	2,219,818	General
2	Asociación Animalista Libera	1,644,550	General
3	Fundación Santuario Gaia	863,048	Rescue
4	Santuario Vegan	707,302	Rescue
5	PACMA–Partido Animalista	622,571	Party
Points of Comparison			
Greenpeace España		*615,198*	*Greenpeace Branch*
PSOE		*168,127*	*Major Government Party*
United Kingdom			
Position	Group	Likes	
1	Dogs Trust	1,049,545	Shelter
2	World Parrot Trust	824,092	Wildlife
3	Battersea	672,968	Shelter
4	RSPCA (England & Wales)	658,950	General
5	PETA UK	645,724	General
Points of Comparison			
Greenpeace UK		*782,440*	*Greenpeace Branch*
Conservatives		*652,511*	*Major Government Party*
Italy			
Position	Group	Likes	
1	ENPA–Ente Nazionale Protezione Animali	838,785	General
2	Lega Nazionale Per La Difesa Del Cane	577,170	Shelter
3	LAV	388,191	General
4	Animal Equality Italia	333,298	General
5	Essere Animali	298,758	General
Points of Comparison			
Greenpeace Italia		*743.947*	*Greenpeace Branch*
MoVimento 5 Stelle		*1.430.873*	*Major Government Party*
Germany			
Position	Group	Likes	
1	TASSO e.V.	780,369	Registry
2	International Fund for Animal Welfare–IFAW	727,067	General

3	PETA Deutschland	641,521	General
4	Animal Equality Germany	254,442	General
5	Ärzte gegen Tierversuche e.V.	227,320	Animal Experimentation
Points of Comparison			
Greenpeace Deutschland		*342,923*	*Greenpeace Branch*
CDU		*185,613*	*Major Government Party*
Poland			
Position	Group	Likes	
1	Fundacja Międzynarodowy Ruch Na Rzecz Zwierząt Viva!	301,164	General
2	Otwarte Klatki	220,455	General
3	Schronisko w Korabiewicach Viva	176,562	Shelter
4	TARA–Schronisko dla Koni	100,117	Shelter
5	Ratujmy konie z Morskiego Oka	32,176	Draft Animals
Points of Comparison			
Greenpeace Polska		*218,270*	*Greenpeace Branch*
Prawo i Sprawiedliwość		*210,426*	*Major Government Party*

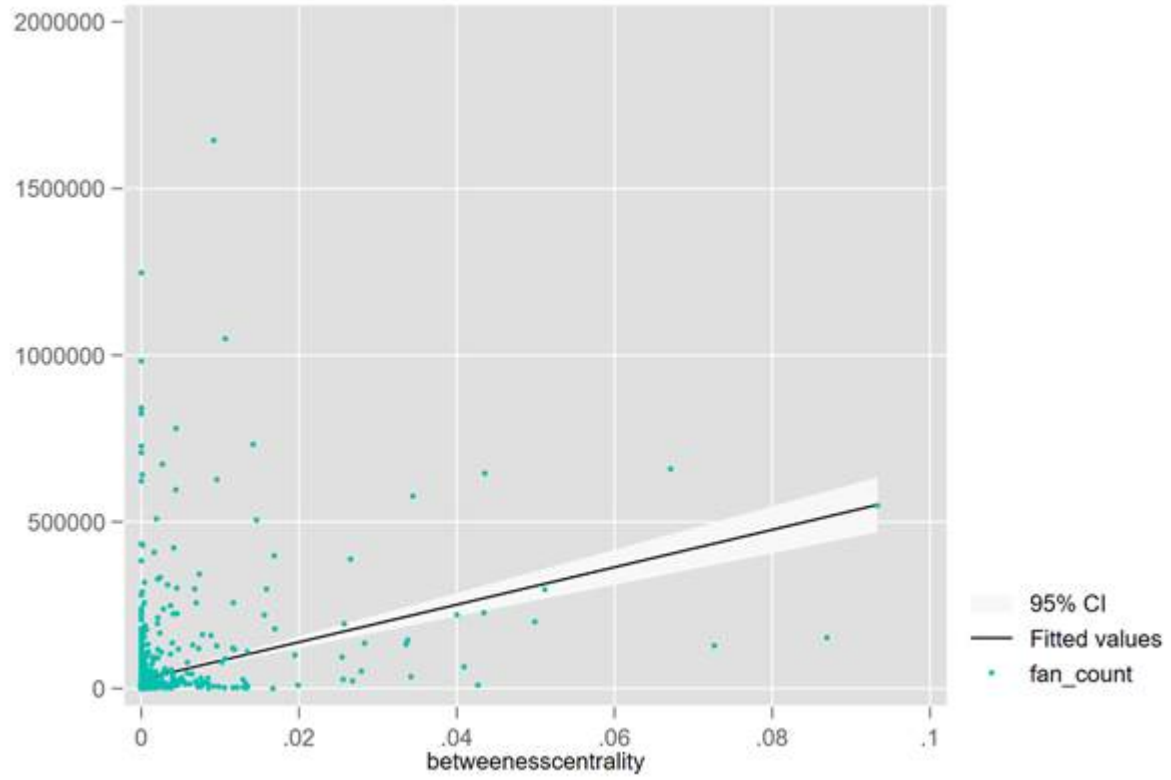
One of the most popular organization in Germany is PETA Germany, originally US-based. An originally German organization on the other hand, Animal Equality, is not only popular in Germany, but also in Italy and in Spain. Among the most popular organizations, only one specializes in the political struggle against animal experimentation. This organization is Ärzte gegen Tierversuche (Physicians Against Animal Experiments) in Germany, which has been in existence since 1979. The organization has almost 2,000 members, who are mainly physicians, veterinarians and natural scientists. The group was also part of Stop Vivisection (see chapter 3). Therefore, an organization focusing only on animal experimentation is more popular than the Deutscher Tierschutzbund (194,042 ‘likes’), the oldest still-existing German animal advocacy organization. Interestingly, in Poland one of the most popular organizations (Ratujmy konie z Morskiego Oka) is one taking care of horses used as draft animals.

What is the relationship centrality and popularity? Looking only at the organizations and groups that focus on animals, there is a statistically significant correlation (r = 0.155) between betweenness centrality and the number of likes of a ‘node’. Removing

outliers increases the correlation (r = 0.308) (see Figure 10).[42] Therefore, there is a (rather weak) positive correlation between higher centrality and more likes.

The conclusion of this chapter refers to the study of the determinants of popularity as potentially fruitful research endeavor—this section has indicated the potential relevance of national origin, issue, and centrality.

Figure 10: Correlation between betweenness centrality and number of likes (only animal rights organizations, without outliers)



Note: Organizations and groups that focus on the environment or other political causes are removed. Outliers (nodes with a higher [normalized] betweenness centrality than .25 and more than two million likes) are excluded.

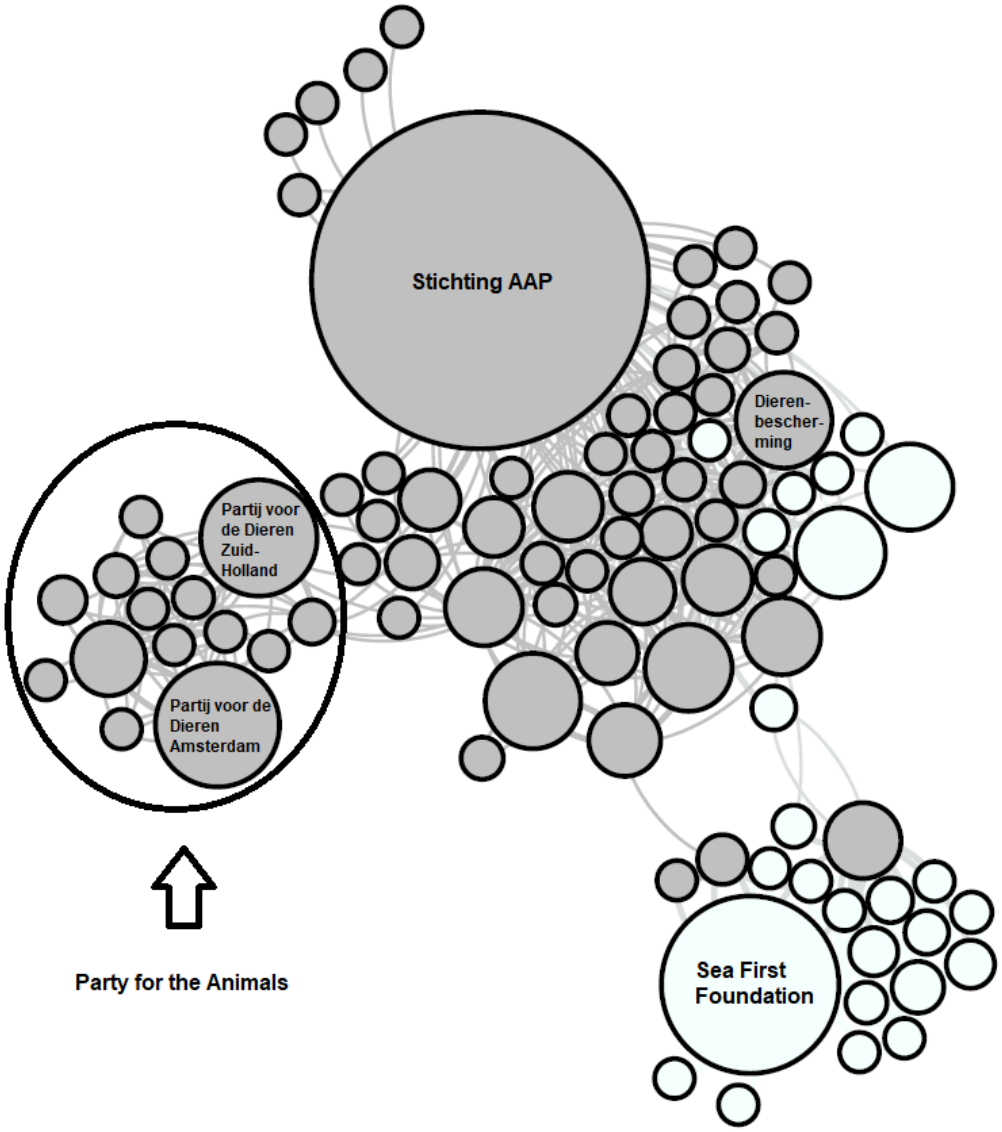
The Role of Political Parties

A network perspective on social movements—one that includes 'a plurality of individuals, groups and/or organizations' (Diani 1992)—also recognizes the possibility that political parties can be part of a social movement. This perspective differs from

[42] Looking at all nodes, independent of their issue focus, the correlation remains significant, but is even weaker.

that found in the literature on ‘SMO populations,’ which so far has—perhaps due to the methodological limits imposed by traditional sources—excluded political parties. The network data shows that one form of party indeed matters for the animal rights movement: the growing number of animal welfare parties, a small but new party family in Europe (Morini 2018). In particular, three animal welfare parties are quite central and/or popular, all of which have gained legislative representation. The Portuguese People–Animals–Nature [Pessoas–Animais–Natureza, PAN] is the third most-central organization in the overall network, a high value that is probably also driven by the high number of Portuguese organizations in general. The number of ‘likes’ is relatively high for Portuguese standards (152,746) —PAN is the fourth most popular organization of animal advocates in its country. The German Partei Mensch Umwelt Tierschutz [Party Human Environment Animal Protection] is the 19th most central node within the overall network and the 3rd most central node of all German animal advocacy organizations. However, the comparatively low number of likes (22,915 likes) shows its minor popularity among a wider audience—this is only the 34th highest value of all German organizations focusing on animals. The Dutch Partij voor de Dieren [Party for the Animals] is the 5th most popular organization of animal advocates in the Netherlands (118,096 likes), its Amsterdam branch represents the 10th most central node in the network data on Dutch animal advocates. The relatively important role of these parties correspond to their electoral strength: The Portuguese and the Dutch parties have entered their respective national legislatures, while the German party gained one seat in the election to the European Parliament, even though since then its MEP has left the organization.

Figure 11: Network data on the animal rights movement in the Netherlands



Note: The colors of the node represent the issue focus of the respective organizations and groups (grey = animals, white = environment). The bigger the individual node, the higher its betweenness centrality. The five nodes with the highest betweenness centrality are labelled.

The Partij voor de Dieren, founded in 2002, was the first animal welfare party to ever gain legislative representation. Benefiting from the low electoral threshold in the Dutch parliament, the party entered the House of Representatives for the first time in 2006. Since then, the party has been continually reelected—in 2017 with a record 3.1 percent of the national. A closer look at the Dutch network of animal rights organizations shows that, while the party is an important player, its own network is distinct from animal rights SMOs as well from environmental organizations—the Dutch organizations and groups in the data form separate clusters (see Figure 11).

Apart from animal welfare parties, hardly any other political parties are part of the network data—those that are, are completely peripheral players. Most strikingly, Green parties are barely relevant. Indeed, some Green parties branches are present (e.g. the European Greens, branches of the Austrian Greens, and the Portuguese Partido Ecologista Os Verdes), but they do not occupy a central role in the network.[43]

2.4 Conclusion

This chapter has attempted to empirically capture a network of the contemporary animal rights movement in Europe, based on social media data. In doing so, it has proposed an innovative methodological approach to collect information on 'SMO populations': the use of Netvizz. This allows for the comparatively efficient collection of data on hundreds of organizations and groups. Most importantly, the software collects relational data, which allows for social network analysis. The chapter has combined both approaches—collecting large-scale data on 'SMO populations' on the one hand, and making sense of the structure and composition of the network of social movement players, on the other.

The use of Netvizz has great potential for further research steps. First, Facebook data could be combined with survey data. It might be comparatively easy to gain survey data on the basis of a Netvizz data collection: researchers can distribute online surveys simply via Facebook. This direct way of communication, including the possibility to easily send reminders, might lead to higher response rates than traditional surveys. What would be particularly tempting is to add systematic information on ideology and forms of action. Saunders (2013: 33) notes that ideological and tactical radicalism do not necessarily correlate—this observation may be particularly true in the case of the animal rights movement. Moreover, information on targets (political institutions and if so, which ones?) would provide interesting data on the insider/outsider status of the different nodes in the network. The use of survey data on ideology, tactics, and targets could show whether organizations and groups are closer to each other when they share similar approaches. Moreover, such information would also help to identify the

[43] It would be most interesting to explore the role and position of Green parties in the environmental movement in Europe.

determinants of an organization's centrality and popularity in the network.

Second, collecting additional Netvizz data at a different point in time would allow for longitudinal comparison. Thus, tracing changes over time is an important further possibility of this methodological approach.[44] Among other things, comparison over time may provide insight on the expansion and contradiction of a network, as Berntzen (2018) shows with the help of Netvizz data.

The chapter has provided many empirical insights on the contemporary animal rights movement in Europe, focusing on the importance of national cleavages, issue cleavages, and the centrality and popularity of individual organizations and groups. Despite the importance of the transnational dimension for animal rights activism, the network analyzed is clearly structured along mainly national clusters. Within the network, there is a strong dominance of Western European organizations and groups, and especially British ones. Central and Eastern European organizations and groups hold a significantly smaller share. Substantive divisions are also visible: Taking a close look at two players targeting the EU level—the Eurogroup for Animals and Stop Vivisection—shows how little their ego-networks overlap. Moreover, a significant number of organizations and groups are moderate, 'unpolitical' animal shelters: While some animal rights theorists reject the idea of 'companion animals' (pets) altogether as unethical, the network underlines that affinity to them is an important dimension of the contemporary animal rights movement in Europe. Furthermore, while environmentalists find significant sympathies among animal advocates, relations between both are highly asymmetric: environmentalists hardly reach out to animal advocates. Beyond environmentalists, social movement players focusing on other issues hardly appear in the network. The most central organization in the network is the Eurogroup for Animals, the biggest European umbrella organization. The most popular organizations, in terms of 'likes,' are typically those that work on a variety of animal welfare issues or animal shelters, usually more popular than comparable Greenpeace branches or major government parties. Political parties, with the exception of some of the parties established by animal advocates, do not play a central

[44] Comparison with information that includes the pre-Internet age—such as that since 1998 the French *Conseil National de la Vie Associative* has counted on average twice as many 'friends of the animals' every year than in the period from 1975 to 1990 (Traïni 2016: 7)—is obviously impossible.

role in the network.[45]

Among other things, this chapter has pointed to the great number and high variety of political players that advocate animal welfare and animal rights in contemporary Europe. The remaining part of this dissertation will turn to the impact of animal rights activism. Now we turn to ask: what gains—if any—have these activists been able to make? In addressing this question, the next chapters will refer to some of these organizations and groups, underlining how they regularly disagree with each other, for example regarding questions of strategy and goals—especially short-term ones.

In doing so, I will focus both on the issues of food production and animal experimentation, two major issues of the contemporary animal rights movement. The next chapter focuses on a network of animal advocates that was also part of the SNA data in this chapter: Stop Vivisection. In particular, it will analyze their European Citizens' Initiative to end animal experimentation, relying on mass mobilization to advance their cause.

[45] Beyond these findings on the centrality and popularity of animal rights players in Europe, the unfiltered Facebook data reveals several other important insights that provide information about the movement. First, some celebrities are popular among animal advocates. Individuals include Ellen DeGeneres, an American TV celebrity and advocate of veganism, Paul McCartney, often quoted as the coiner of 'If slaughterhouses had glass walls, everyone would be a vegetarian', a well-known phrase among animal rights activists, and Dr. Jane Goodall, the most famous primatologist, and a vegetarian. Second, the unfiltered Facebook data reveals the importance of practical tools for animal advocates, especially information on vegan recipes, vegan restaurants, and fur free shops. Third, the data hints to the importance of individual campaigns such as Jeudi Veggie and Cagefree, organized by specific social movement players, which make animal rights concern salient beyond the organizational dimension.

3. Social Movements and the European Citizens' Initiative: Transnational Mass Mobilization Against Animal Experimentation?

3.1 Introduction[46]

After shedding light on network data on the animal right movement in Europe, this dissertation now turns to the *consequences* of this activism. In doing so, the dissertation focuses first on an issue that has long been at the forefront of animal rights activism: animal experimentation. It begins by analyzing one of the most visible campaigns on this issue in the history of the movement—and one of the main instances of mass mobilization in favor of animals—the Stop Vivisection European Citizens' Initiative (ECI). In 2012 and 2013, campaigners managed to collect the one million signatures required to propose legislation to the European Commission.

As the previous two chapters have indicated, animal experimentation has been a key concern of the animal rights movement: Ever since animal experimentation became a standard practice of modern medicine in the 19th century, organized animal advocates have tried to put an end to the practice (Lyons 2013).[47] Beyond medicine, activists have also targeted the smaller, but still considerable, number of experiments upon animals in areas such as the development and testing of cosmetic and household products. Over the past 150 or more years, animal advocates have used different forms

[46] A version of this chapter was accepted with minor revisions in Political Studies. Versions of this chapter were presented at the 'ECPR General Conference' in Prague, Czech Republic (September 2016), at an invited talk at the Constitutionalism and Politics Working Group at the European University Institute in Florence, Italy (March 2017), at an invited talk at the social science department of the University of Düsseldorf, Germany (July 2017), at the Austrian Day of Political Science (December 2017), and the '1968–2018, fifty years after: Where is the social movement field going?' conference at the Scuola Normale Superiore, Florence, Italy (May 2018).

[47] The best-known early opponent of animal experimentation was Frances Power Cobbe, an Irish social reformer, who learned about 'vivisection' on a journey through continental Europe. Later she was mainly active in Britain, founding the National Anti-Vivisection Society (NAVS) in 1875, and the British Union for the Abolition of Vivisection (BUAV), known since 2015 as Cruelty Free International, in 1898. However, her first case of public protest she initiated in Florence, Italy. When Cobbe visited Florence in 1863 to work as a correspondent for the London Daily News, she learned of experiments by the German Professor Moritz Schiff on various animals, including dogs and pigeons. Cobbe convinced 783 people, including neighbors, dismayed by the 'cries and moans of the victims', and 'many eminent and aristocratic Florentines', to sign a petition, 'some of the first evidence of organised opposition to the cruelty of vivisection' in history (Boddice 2014: 88; Ryder 1983: 133).

of action to combat animal experimentation, for example lobbying efforts, demonstrations, vigils, and the production of undercover videos, among others. Typically, their goal has been to bring about a change in the legislative setting or in corporate policy. Stop Vivisection campaigners aimed to achieve new legislation at the EU level with the help of direct-democratic means.[48]

The Treaty of Lisbon (2009) introduced the ECI mechanism, the first-ever transnational instrument of direct democracy. Since April 2012, after its legal specification in Regulation 211/2011, EU citizens have been able to launch an ECI. To propose such legislative action to the European Commission requires the collection of one million signatures from EU citizens. Signatures must come from at least a quarter of the member states and in each case a set of minimum thresholds applies.[49] As of the end of January 2019, more than 50 initiatives had already been registered and launched campaigns for the required level of support. However, only five of them had managed to mobilize successfully.[50]

Since the ECI mechanism was first proposed, intense debates about its impact and value have continued. Some scholars have had largely positive expectations about the its potential to foster transnational democracy and to help address the EU's 'democratic deficit' (e.g. Bouza García and Del Río Villar 2012, Warleigh 2006). Others have been even more positive, portraying the ECI as 'a revolution in disguise' that would substantially increase the role of citizens within EU politics (Hierlemann and Wohlfarth 2010). However, many authors have remained much more cautious in their assessments (e.g. De Clerck-Sachsse 2012, Glogowski and Maurer 2013), correctly predicting that the Commission would remain the player that makes or breaks the success of the instrument (Szeligowska and Mincheva 2012).

Now, seven years after the ECI launched, and with corresponding practical experience

[48] Much of this paragraph stems from Weisskircher (2019b: 63).
[49] These minimum thresholds are the number of MEPs of a given country multiplied by 750. The requirement follows the logic of degressive proportionality, e.g. in Germany 72,000 signatures are required (96 x 750), while in Cyprus, Estonia, Luxembourg, and Malta 4,500 (6 x 750) supporters are sufficient.
[50] In addition to these successfully registered campaigns, the Commission has rejected 19 additional campaigns, deeming their proposals to be outside of the areas in which the Commission has been conferred powers to propose new laws.

of the instrument's operation (for a recent overview, see Weisskircher 2017; for a comprehensive discussion, see Conrad et al. 2016), the number of empirical studies on it continues to grow. More precisely, studies show that negative attitudes toward the EU on the individual level make support for an initiative less likely (Kentmen-Cin 2014), while the perception of individual benefits through EU integration triggers the potential use of the ECI more than linking the EU to democratic values (Kandyla and Gherghina 2018). Individuals' knowledge of the instrument and their readiness to make use of it does not improve their attitudes toward the EU (Gherghina and Groh 2016). Other scholars provide overall assessments of the ECI's practical operation, highlighting the diversity of players that mobilize and the fact that EU outsiders are more likely to present less moderate proposals than EU insiders (Bouza García and Greenwood 2014) as well as the impact of the instrument on (creating) a European public sphere (Conrad 2016, Greenwood and Tuokko 2017, Knaut 2016). Boussaguet (2016) provides an overall assessment of 'participatory mechanisms' in the EU, including the ECI, arguing that they are one of the EU's 'symbolic policy instruments.'

Focusing on the ECI matters above all because of the long-lasting debate on the democratic legitimacy of the EU (among many e.g. Habermas 2001, Moravcsik 2002, Scharpf 1999, Schmitter 2003, Streeck 2014). It is crucial to consider social movements in this context because 'Europeanization from below' may be a possible environment for the democratization of EU politics (della Porta and Caiani 2007, 2009).

Indeed, despite the many ECI campaigns already initiated, most studies of the instrument do not focus on the political players involved. Those that do, focus only on the potential role of political parties in ECI campaigns (Hrbek 2012) or overlook the internal dynamics of specific campaigns (Bouza García and Greenwood 2014). However, the crucial players behind many of the ECIs conducted so far have been social movements. In the 'successful' ECI mobilization efforts so far (i.e., those that mobilized at least one million signatures), trade unions, 'pro-life' organizations, animal rights groups, and environmentalists have been key (Bouza García and Greenwood 2014: 252). In order to understand how the instrument works, one has to look at the mobilization strategies of the players behind ECI campaigns, as well as their consequences.

Therefore, by providing an in-depth analysis of Stop Vivisection—one of the five successful ECI mobilization efforts to date—this chapter not only explores a crucial instance of mass mobilization against animal experimentation in Europe, but also contributes to the growing literature on the ECI. It connects study of the animal rights movement with analysis of the ECI, drawing on theoretical approaches from the social movement literature. Posing key questions raised within social movement studies, the present chapter sheds much-needed light on the mobilizing strategies that inform ECIs, and the consequences of such mobilization efforts. The chapter also compares Stop Vivisection with the four other campaigns that collected sufficient signatures.

Stop Vivisection is a crucial case study with particular import for enhancing our understanding of the ECI as an instrument. On the one hand, Stop Vivisection was a 'least likely case' to gain the required support as 'background factors […] predict otherwise' (Gerring 2017: 103). First, the campaign was able to mobilize successfully, even though it focused on animal experimentation, an issue of low salience in mainstream politics. More specifically, the activists called upon the Commission 'to abrogate Directive 2010/63/EU on the protection of animals used for scientific purposes [in order] to present a new proposal that does away with animal experimentation.' The mobilization success of this initiative focusing on animal experimentation is all the more impressive considering that even factory farming, the number one concern of the contemporary animal rights movement, is marginalized in political discourse.

Second, the campaigners managed to collect enough signatures—in March 2015, they submitted 1,173,130 valid signatures—despite the fact that they did not have the support of the main players of the animal rights movement in the EU. Some of the biggest organizations in Europe refused to promote the campaign, sharing neither its strategy, nor the interpretation of the feasibility of its goals. This points to important cleavages within the animal rights movement in Europe (see chapter 2).

Third, and correspondingly, the campaign lacked funding. Its financial resources were significantly lower than those of the other successful ECI mobilization efforts. Moreover, Stop Vivisection had fewer financial resources at their disposal than many campaigns that ultimately failed to mobilize successfully. Still, against all odds, Stop

Vivisection managed to collect the required number of signatures.

On the other hand, the Stop Vivisection campaign represents a ‘typical case’ (e.g. Seawright and Gerring 2008: 299) of a ‘successful’ ECI mobilization effort, in the sense that it had no impact on policy, but nevertheless produced other important consequences. Ultimately, the Commission declined to go along with the initiative. This is similar to the other ‘successful’ ECI mobilization efforts, whose proposals the Commission did not pursue either. However, a detailed analysis reveals that an ECI campaign may have important effects beyond (the failure to achieve) policy change. Focusing on *multiple effects* thus contributes to a deeper understanding of the role played by ECI campaigns in wider public policy conflicts and how an ECI campaign may influence such policy contestation.

This chapter analyses the Stop Vivisection campaign from the perspective of social movement theory, in line with research that tries to bridge the study of direct democracy and social movements (della Porta et al. 2017). I ask two overarching questions in order to understand Stop Vivisection. These questions correspond to two of the main research strands in social movement studies: 1) the emergence and; 2) the impact of movements and individual campaigns. I ask: Why did the organizers of Stop Vivisection manage to mobilize the required number of signatures, although almost all other ECI attempts have failed to do so? And what were the consequences of Stop Vivisection?

In answering these questions, I make two arguments. First, I contend that the design of the ECI, as a ‘political opportunity structure’ (e.g. Kitschelt 1986, McAdam 1982, McAdam 1996) at the EU level (e.g. della Porta and Parks 2018, Bouza García 2014, Marks and McAdam 1996, Parks 2015) rewards activists who focus on one or a few populous EU member states in order to come close to the required number of one million signatures. At the same time, mobilization in a few other, not necessarily populous, countries is sufficient in order to pass the remaining additional thresholds. I conclude, therefore, that the ECI’s institutional design fails to incentivize the organization of truly Europe-wide campaigns, with a strong presence in all or even only most of the EU’s countries.

Second, in line with a broader understanding of social movement consequences, I

show that an ECI campaign can have many different effects, even when it fails to achieve the desired goal of EU policy change (on the various effects of social movements see Bosi et al. 2016a). A focus on 'unintended effects' (e.g. Gran and Hein 2005, Suh 2014) and on 'venue shopping' (e.g. Baumgartner and Jones 1993, Bouza García 2014) allows for the understanding of individual ECIs as part of long-term social movement campaigns (Bosi 2016, Jasper et al. forthcoming). Beyond the response of the Commission, additional consequences of the Stop Vivisection campaign were a deep dissatisfaction with the ECI as a democratic instrument and activism targeting national politics, where campaigners also faced significant countermobilization. In addition, the activists' experienced the 'biographical consequences' (McAdam 1989) of activism. In other words, their 'social capital' (Putnam 1995) rose due to the experience of campaigning. In sum, the negative response of the Commission to the proposed policy changes is not the full story of the impact of an ECI campaign.

Methodologically, this chapter presents a theory-driven analysis of a crucial case study. The study also sheds light on experiences with the ECI beyond Stop Vivisection, referring to the four other successful ECI mobilization efforts as 'shadow cases' (Gerring 2017: 139).[51] I have gathered much of my data through 27 interviews with a wide variety of animal rights activists, which included individuals that were crucial in the organizations of Stop Vivisection, others that supported the initiative at least formally, without engaging intensively in it, and those who represent organizations that abstained from supporting the initiative. The interviewees are from different EU countries, some of them working in Brussels, others active in countries with particularly large animal advocacy organizations (the United Kingdom and Germany) and from those countries where Stop Vivisection was most successful (Italy and Slovenia). The activists I interviewed are involved in both grassroots organizations and bigger, professionally operating organizations. I conducted semi-structured interviews, focusing on the individuals' activism and their assessment of strategy and public policy.

[51] Beyond Stop Vivisection, the other ECI campaigns that managed to collect at least one million signatures were Right2Water, One of Us, Ban Glyphosate, and Minority SafePack. Right2Water (1,659,543 certified signatures) opposed the privatization of water and wanted to guarantee public supply. One of Us (1,721,626) campaigned for the protection of the human embryo and against the financing of stem cell research with human embryos and of NGOs sponsoring abortion. Ban Glyphosate (1,070,865) mobilized against the use of the pesticide glyphosate in agriculture. Minority SafePack campaigned for several proposals related to autochthonous minorities (1,128,385).

Depending on the knowledge and the role of the interviewee, I asked him or her about the personal involvement in the movement and/or Stop Vivisection, an assessment of the campaign's content, its organization and its impact, as well as views on the ECI as a political instrument. I conducted all these interviews after the European Commission had responded to Stop Vivisection. In addition, I also studied publications, published interviews, websites and other documents of relevant animal rights organizations, their opponents, and EU institutions, including the official information on ECI signatories and finances. The last two sources I also used to gather information on the other campaigns.

In the next section, I outline Stop Vivisection—its key initiators and internal dynamics—in more detail and explain why Stop Vivisection was able to mobilize successfully. I then present the different consequences of Stop Vivisection. In the conclusion of this chapter, I discuss what the findings tell us about the ECI, I refer to possible long-term consequences of Stop Vivisection for the animal rights movement, and I ask questions for further research.

3.2 Why Did Stop Vivisection Manage to Mobilize the Required Support?

The Initiative

Within Europe, Stop Vivisection was the most visible campaign against animal experimentation in scientific research of recent years. The history of animal experimentation as a public policy issue dates back to the 19th century. Since then, the conflict has revolved around whether scientists should be free to experiment upon animals, and if so for what purpose and to what extent. Already in 1876, the British Cruelty to Animals Act became the first state-wide regulation of animal experimentation. Still, until today the many laws regulating animal experimentation all around the world have never seriously challenged the use of animals in scientific research (for the history of animal experimentation as a public policy issue see especially Lyons, 2013; Ryder, 1975). Therefore, the implementation of the goals of Stop Vivisection—a ban on all forms of animal experimentation—would have been a novel political choice.

Its main organizer and ‘citizens’ committee’ representative was André Menache from the French organization Antidote Europe. Menache is a Belgian veterinarian and long-term activist, who, before moving to Paris, worked in several other countries, such as in Israel and South Africa. The other representatives of Stop Vivisection were, like Menache, educated scientists, reflecting their aim to increase the public authority of the campaign as they attempted to change scientific practices. Behind them were mostly Italian animal rights organizations, especially LEAL or Lega AntiVivisezionista [The Antivivisectionists League] and Equivita. In addition to these driving forces, many other groups and organizations from all over Europe were important in organizing, or at least supporting, the initiative. These were based in countries such as Austria, the Czech Republic, Germany, Slovenia, Sweden, Spain, and the United Kingdom, and often included groups at the grassroots level.

The goal of the campaign was to put an end to animal experimentation in science. Therefore, Stop Vivisection called for the replacement of Directive 2010/63/EU ‘on the protection of animals used for scientific purposes’ with a new piece of legislation aimed at abolishing animal experimentation in the very near future. Directive 2010/63/EU was supposed to be implemented in 2013. Already more than half a year before, the activists proposed their initiative, and on 22 June 2012, the Commission officially registered Stop Vivisection. The organizers were granted until 1 November 2013 to collect the required number of signatures. They were given 16 instead of 12 months, as the Commission did not provide software for the online collection of signatures in time. On 3 March 2015, the initiative submitted 1,173,131 certified signatures to the Commission. Stop Vivisection became the third case of a successful ECI mobilization effort.

Nationally Focused Mobilization

A detailed analysis of Stop Vivisection points to the most feasible strategy for ECI campaigners. Far from using the ECI as an instrument of Europe-wide mobilization, Stop Vivisection organizers were mainly embedded in the populous country of Italy, apart from a number of other, typically much smaller, countries. This pattern of mobilization corresponds to the institutional design of the ECI. The instrument can be understood as part of the ‘political opportunity structure’ (Kitschelt 1986, McAdam

1982, McAdam 1996) available to activists when dealing with EU level politics. While the definitions and operationalization of the concept vary significantly within social movements and, increasingly, party politics scholarship, a key dimension of a 'political opportunity structure' is that it includes 'specific [...] institutional arrangements [...] for social mobilization, which facilitate the development of protest movements in some instances and constrain them in others' (Kitschelt 1986: 58). Among others, 'political opportunity structures influence the choice of protest strategies' (Kitschelt 1986: 58), something that has been long established in the literature (e.g. Kitschelt 1986, Kriesi et al. 1995, Hutter 2014a).

In addition, scholars have also focused on the political opportunity structure available to protestors at the EU level (e.g. della Porta and Parks 2018, Bouza García 2014, Marks and McAdam 1996, Parks 2015). In this research, scholars have maintained that political opportunities at the EU level are far from uniform but depend on the EU's different institutions. In other words, the institutional target may also shape the strategies that protestors choose (della Porta and Parks 2018). The ECI can be regarded as such an institutional arrangement of the EU's political opportunity structure, which incentivizes activists to follow particular strategies if they want to be most effective in collecting the required signatures. This follows the basic, often implicit, assumption behind the political opportunity structures approach, which is that activists are rational actors as theorized in rational choice approaches to political behavior (Opp 2009: 161–203).

The case of Stop Vivisection underscores that an ECI does not require 'truly' Europe-wide campaigns, with a strong presence in all or even most of the EU's countries in order to pass the required institutional thresholds. Instead, it incentivizes activists to focus on one (or several) populous EU member states in order to come close to the required number of one million signatures. At the same time, effective small-scale mobilization in a few other, not necessarily populous, countries is sufficient in order to pass the all remaining thresholds. Given the limited resources of many campaigners, this institutional setting offers the prospect of successful mobilization, which seems difficult enough to organize, given the experiences with the ECI so far.

Correspondingly, the fact that successful ECI mobilization will invariably be centered

in a populous country as a ‘home base’ is not unique to Stop Vivisection. It corresponds to the mobilization patterns of the four other ECIs that managed to reach at least one million supporters. The Right2Water ECI focused mainly on Germany and received more than 1.2 of its almost 1.7 million signatures there. One of Us mobilized mainly in Italy, collecting almost 600,000 of its 1.7 million signatures there. Ban Glyphosate collected 663,867 of its 1.1 million signatures in Germany. Minority SafePack mainly mobilized in two medium-sized countries with strong minority politics, Hungary (ca. 530,000) and Romania (ca. 250,000), where it gained more than two thirds of its 1,1 million signatures. Therefore, the ECI has proved to be effective not by mobilizing a ‘European public,’ but by being able to focus on audiences in selected, preferably large countries.

Unfortunately, the Commission does not systematically publish data on support for the ECIs which fail to pass the required thresholds. Therefore, we cannot systematically assess how failed ECI campaigns dealt with the importance of nationally focused mobilization. A first assumption is that unsuccessful activists were either not focused enough on a populous state—perhaps trying to gain support in the large majority of EU member states—making it even harder to collect the required signatures. A second possibility is that their national-level networks were just too weak in order to mobilize effectively in the campaigns’ domestic ‘base camp.’ Despite the dearth of information, data published by one failed campaign suggests that focusing on one populous member state is essential. According to its own website, the ECI ‘Unconditional Basic Income (UBI)—Exploring a pathway toward emancipatory welfare conditions in the EU’ collected 285,041 signatures and fell way short of the required one million, although it passed the required thresholds in six member states (for the data see UBI, undated). These states were Belgium, Bulgaria, Croatia, Estonia, Slovenia, and the Netherlands. In other words, the seven most populous EU member states were not involved.

This analysis does not imply that it is *impossible* to collect one million signatures for an ECI campaign that does not focus on at least one populous state. However, empirical experience suggests that such attempts are particularly difficult. Nor does this analysis imply that effective mobilization in one or a few populous member states is *sufficient* for collecting enough signatures. As explained above, ECI campaigners need to pass small thresholds in one quarter of the member states. For this, national presence and

effective activism is very much needed. In the case of Stop Vivisection, Slovenia and the effective grassroots work of Veganska Iniciativa [Vegan Initiative] was particularly striking: there, almost one percent of the population supported the ECI. Still, the case of Slovenia shows how crucial for success mobilization in at least one populous state is. While the Slovenian mobilization effort was remarkable, the absolute number of signatures gathered was only 19,507, less than two percent of the required one million.

Mobilization Success Despite Intra-movement Divisions and Lack of Funding

United campaigning of activists across the EU was not the reason for the successful mobilization effort of Stop Vivisection. The ego-networks of Stop Vivisection and the Eurogroup for Animals in chapter 2 have already indicated the divisions between the ECI campaigners and the major European umbrella network of animal advocates: Both networks have only shown little organizational overlap.

Indeed, many of the animal rights movements' biggest organizations abstained from supporting the campaign. Examples are the British RSPCA, an organization with annual revenue of about £130 million and the central player within the Brussels-based umbrella organization Eurogroup for Animals (see chapter 2). The biggest European organization specialized only in campaigning against animal experimentation, the British Union for the Abolition of Vivisection (renamed Cruelty Free International in 2015), also abstained. Both organizations are often engaged in consultation procedures at the EU level. They supported parts of the directive and were particularly positive about Recital 10, where the EU commits itself to 'the final goal of full replacement' of all animal experimentation with alternative methods, 'as soon as it is scientifically possible to do so'. Therefore, while lacking a concrete road map, the directive states at least rhetorical support of the ultimate goal of all opponents of animal experimentation: the total abolition of the practice.

According to one of the key figures of the Belgian animal rights organization GAIA, a well-connected group and member of the Eurogroup for Animals, the organization regarded the prospects of an ECI affecting the regulation as small as long as there is no change in societal attitudes and science and therefore decided not to support Stop Vivisection (Interview 14).

Stop Vivisection activists criticized these organizations for these attitudes and what they regarded as a closed community in Brussels:

> No doubt that generally speaking we were seen as disturbing outsiders in a well-established playing field. Generally speaking, the bigger the associations, the lesser help we got from them (Interview 8).

Lacking prominent support, Stop Vivisection could not draw on significant financial resources. The reported funding for Stop Vivisection—public documentation is required for all donations of more than €500—was only €23,651. This sum was substantially lower than for the two other successful ECI initiatives. Right2Water was supported with €140,000 from the European Federation of Public Service Unions. One of Us received €159,219 from conservative organizations in Italy and Spain. Ban Glyphosate received €328,399, of which €200,000 came from the Berlin-based NGO Campact. Fair Transport Europe which pushed for 'equal treatment for all transport workers,' was one of the ECI campaigns that failed to collect enough signatures, although it reported the funding of €322,000 (more than ten times the financial resources of Stop Vivisection). It was not money that allowed Stop Vivisection to mobilize successfully.

The lack of funding complicated transnational cooperation: most meetings between activists took place online, especially via skype, as funds for traveling were largely unavailable. Still, constructing a network of many likeminded individuals in other European countries and the regular exchanges in English were regarded as highly positive experience. While the different tactics for signature collection varied across countries, Stop Vivisection's national committees generally relied on the networks of the many pre-existing organizations and groups associated to the campaign. For example, activists tried to collect signatures through events such as public talks on animal rights or information stalls. Over the course of the campaign, the Commission introduced an online signature system which further boosted the campaigners' capacity to mobilize—about 60 percent of signatures were collected online. Social media activism proved to be effective: The Facebook profile of Stop Vivisection had more followers than those of all other ECIs so far (Varrica 2014). In sum, mobilization efforts

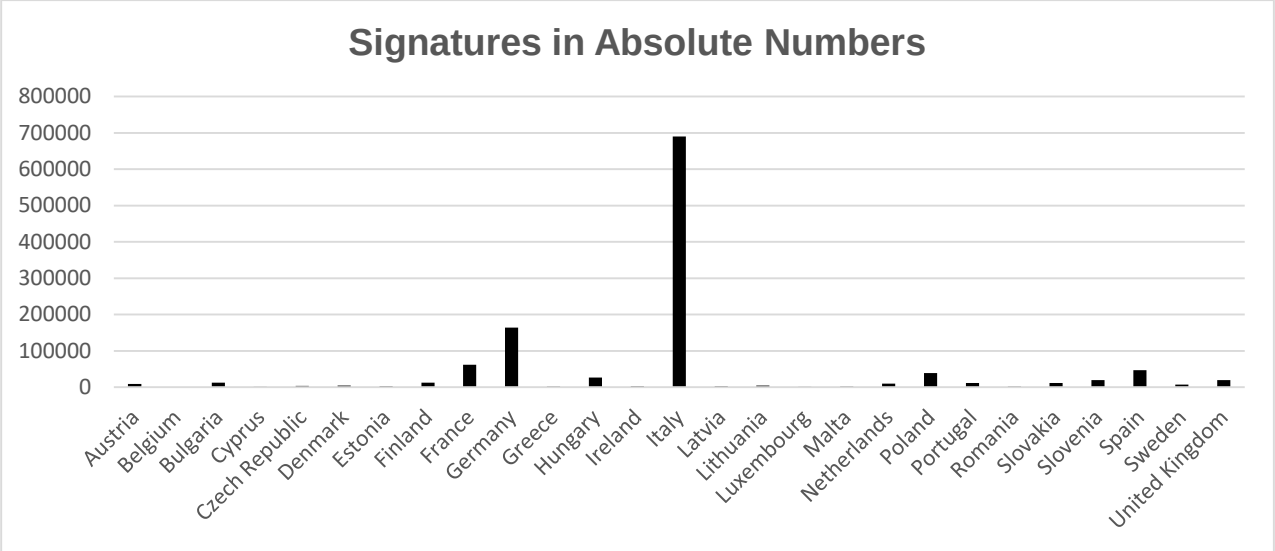
correspond to the moderate forms of actions usually associated with direct-democratic campaigning (Kriesi and Wisler 1996).

Patterns of Support

Despite the diverse backgrounds of its main organizers, the center of Stop Vivisection mobilization was Italy. There, almost 700,000 people (more than one percent of the country's population), signed the initiative. Therefore, almost two thirds of all signatures Stop Vivisection collected were in Italy (for country-level results in absolute numbers, see Figure 12). Relative to population size, Slovenia was the country with the second-highest number of signatures and the other stronghold of Stop Vivisection. In total, nine countries passed the required national thresholds. Apart from Italy and Slovenia, these countries were: Finland, France, Germany, Hungary, Poland, Slovakia, and Spain (for country-level results in relation to the required thresholds, see Figure 13).

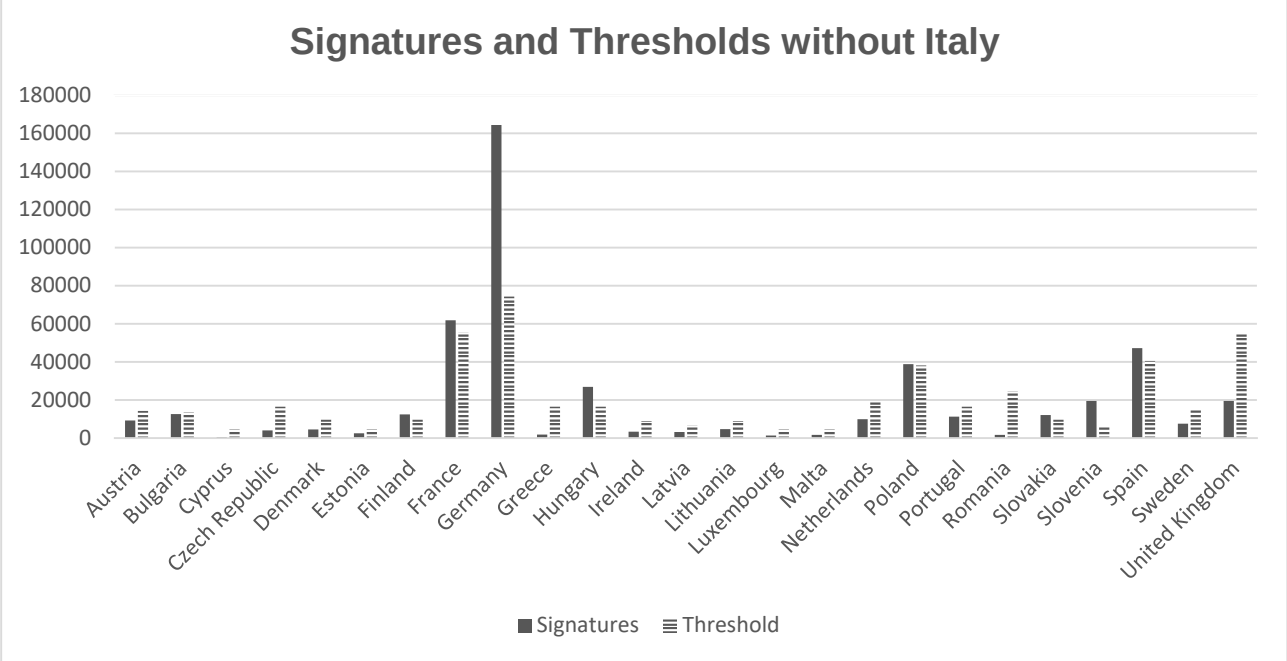
In Germany, 164,304 individuals (about 0.2 per cent of the population), supported the initiative; Stop Vivisection managed to pass the threshold there. This relatively high number of supporters corresponds to the support of the initiative by well-known organizations such as the Bundesverband der Tierversuchsgegner [Federal Association of Opponents of Animal Experimentation] and Ärzte gegen Tierversuche [Physicians against Animal Experimentation]. In the United Kingdom, however, less than 20,000 individuals signed the initiative—despite the long tradition of animal rights activism in this country, pointing to the importance of the rejection of Stop Vivisection by some of the country's biggest organizations. Animal Aid, a medium-sized animal rights organization based in the English Southeast, was the most vocal British voice in favor of Stop Vivisection.

Figure 12: ECI signatures for Stop Vivisection in absolute numbers (by country)



Source: Official ECI website (European Commission, undated).

Figure 13: ECI signatures for Stop Vivisection in absolute numbers compared to national thresholds (excluding Italy)



Note: Italy was excluded in order to make the figure more readable. Source: Official ECI website (European Commission, undated), own calculations.

The Italian Context

The strength of support in one state, Italy, is essential for explaining the mobilization success of Stop Vivisection. Within Italy, three factors were crucial. First, the domestic animal rights movement has been relatively strong and established, with a history dating back to the 19th century. Second, in the years preceding the ECI, Italian activists

had already made substantial efforts to put animal experimentation on the political agenda. Third, Italian activists and voters are familiar with direct democracy: such instruments have been used regularly in the period since World War II.

First, the animal rights movement in Italy has a long history and consists of established, well-connected, and effective players. In fact, the worlds' first known petition against animal experimentation was organized in Florence back in 1863 (Ryder 1983: 33). In the past decades, apart from the organizations working on animal rights issues in general, important organizations have focused on animal experimentation in particular, such as LEAL, founded in 1978, and LAV, the Lega Antivivisezione Italiana [The Italian Anti-vivisection League], founded a year earlier. LAV is member of the Eurogroup for Animals and The European Coalition to End Animal Experiments, which underlines the international connections of Italian activists.[52] Moreover, the presence of many other organizations and groups points to a vivid animal rights movement. The British organization Compassion for World Farming has an office in Bologna. In addition, activists of the Animal Liberation Front, claiming legitimacy for animal liberation and property damage, have been pursued in Italy. While only very specific organizations have been key in the Stop Vivisection campaign (see above), the presence of many distinct groups shows that the animal rights movement is well-established in Italian 'civil society.'

Second, in the years preceding the ECI, animal rights activists have already attempted to put animal experimentation on the political agenda. LEAL's campaign against Directive 2010/63/EU had started already before it was passed. Thus, the ECI was a continuation of previous protest. Already in the summer of 2010, LEAL collected 84,000 online signatures against Directive 2010/63/EU. While this petition could not prevent the directive from passing, the activists managed to establish crucial ties to Sonia Alfano, a Member of the European Parliament from 2009 to 2014. Alfano proved to be

[52] The foundation of the European Coalition to End Animal Experiments was partially a response to the moderate stances of the Eurogroup (see chapter 2). In the 1980s, the Eurogroup received some vocal criticism within the movement. Its key member, the RSPCA, experienced a turn to conservatism at that time. Unhappiness among animal advocates from other organizations found particular expression in debates on animal experimentation. Therefore, the BUAV, which was back then controlled by comparatively progressive activists, found it necessary to organize at the European level as well. In 1990, they drove the establishment of the European Coalition to End Animal Experiments (ECEAE), was established—driven at that time by the BUAV.

essential for initiating the ECI only two years later. A Sicilian politician and prominent critic of the Mafia, she entered the European Parliament (EP) as an independent candidate on a ticket of the Five Star Movement (M5S). In the EP, she joined ALDE (Alliance of Liberals and Democrats for Europe Group), became a member of the parliamentary Intergroup on Animal Welfare (see chapter 2) and voted against Directive 2010/63/EU. Already then, she intended to use the soon to be established ECI as an instrument against animal experimentation. This support for direct democracy corresponded to the ideology of the M5S. In 2012, Alfano provided an employee for supporting the organization of the initiative. Adriano Varrica became the individual responsible for coordinating the different national campaigns. This engagement of a political campaigner not only experienced, but also professionally embedded in EU politics was certainly useful for Stop Vivisection, especially when considering the campaigns' limited financial resources.

In addition to protest against the passing of the directive, Italian animal rights activists had also focused on a political controversy surrounding the Green Hill dog breeding facilities near Brescia. There, the large-scale mistreatment of dogs, which were bred for the use in animal experiments, was discovered. LEAL played a vital role in campaigning against the Green Hill facilities and activists successfully pushed for their closure in 2012. Their protest also had legal repercussions: in 2016, a court confirmed suspended prison sentences against two former managers and one former veterinarian (*La Repubblica*, 23.02.2016). By the standards of animal experimentation, media coverage was unusually high. Various media outlets such as *La Repubblica*, *Il Corriere della Sera*, and *Il Fatto Quotidiano* ran articles covering the protest against Green Hill. Therefore, the Italian public was had already been exposed—at least to some degree—to the issue, which facilitated mobilization for Stop Vivisection.

Third, Italy has a long tradition of direct democracy. In 1946, the Italian public decided in a referendum to adopt a republican type of government, ending the country's monarchy. Since then, more than 70 nation-wide referendums have been held—the Italian political system allows for both the top-down and the bottom-up initiation of this instrument (Qvortrup, 2014: 45–7). Therefore, direct democracy is also a stronger part of the political culture in Italy than in most other EU countries. This makes it not surprising that also One of Us found its most significant support in Italy (see below).

While Right2Water did not gain a lot of signatures in Italy (65,223), support was still higher than in other populous EU countries, such as France, Spain, and the United Kingdom. Ban Glyphosate (71,367) collected more signatures in Italy than in France, although numbers in Spain (72,357) and the United Kingdom (94,502) were slightly higher. In addition, several other failed ECIs were initiated by Italian players, such as the withdrawn ECI on the EU Directive on Dairy Cow Welfare, whose 'citizens' committee' was led by the head of the Italian branch of Compassion in World Farming.

The three factors mentioned—the strength of the domestic social movement, the relative salience of a public policy conflict, and a tradition of direct democracy—show that the Italian political system provided a beneficial context for the mobilization effort of Stop Vivisection. Fortunately, from the perspective of the organizers, a strong showing in a populous country is a fertile ground for a successful ECI campaign.

3.3 What Were the Consequences of Stop Vivisection?

The Multiple Consequences of Activism

Even though activists failed to reach their desired outcome when the Commission refused to initiate legislative action, Stop Vivisection had important effects. Social movement scholarship has increasingly highlighted consequences beyond the explicit goals of social movement players (see for example many of the chapters in Bosi et al. 2016). Beyond achieving (or not) the intended goals of activists—typically policy change—activism may have other 'unintended' effects (e.g. Gran and Hein 2005, Suh, 2014), beneficial or detrimental to a social movement player. These include (among others) the countermobilization of opponents (e.g. Jasper and Poulsen 1993), as well as effects on the activism themselves, usually described as 'biographical consequences' (McAdam 1989) or as 'social capital' (Putnam 1995) in the literature.

Social movement scholars have also recently emphasized that activists hardly ever experience decisive 'wins' or 'loses' in public policy struggles, but most often only make small gains or losses—and often multiple gains and losses at the same time. The achievement of ultimate goals is usually the result of long-term processes and the result of many individual social movement outcomes (Bosi 2016; Jasper et al.,

forthcoming). Therefore, ECI campaigns need to be understood as part of long-term conflicts over public policy. Through highlighting the additional consequences of one particular ECI, much-needed light can be shone on the role of these direct-democratic campaigns in these broader political contexts. This also corresponds to the notion of 'venue shopping' (e.g. Baumgartner and Jones 1993, Bouza García 2014): political players aim to achieve their goals at different polity levels.

Correspondingly, apart from describing the response of the Commission, I analyse three more effects of the Stop Vivisection mobilization. First, activists became strongly dissatisfied with the ECI as an effective direct-democratic instrument. Second, campaigners targeted national politics as well, where they also faced countermobilization by opponents. Third, and more positively, activists' campaigning efforts increased their 'social capital.'

Failure to Achieve the Indented Objective: No Policy Change

Despite collecting the required number of signatures, the Stop Vivisection campaign failed to reach its intended goal. While the Commission 'welcome[d] the mobilization of citizens in support of animal welfare' in its official response on 3 June 2015, it rejected the demands of Stop Vivisection, arguing that:

> [F]or the time being, animal experimentation remains important for protecting human and animal health, and for maintaining an intact environment. While working towards the ultimate goal of full replacement of animals, Directive 2010/63/EU is an indispensable tool at the EU level to protect those animals still required (European Commission 2015).

Not only did the initiative fail to produce the desired policy impact, the Commission also declined to grant any substantial concessions to the organizers: Directive 2010/63/EU was not revoked, and no other type of legislative action was initiated. Instead, the Commission highlighted previous actions. The organizers' views were also not reflected in the 2017 review of directive 2010/63/EU (European Commission 2017). This lack of achievement is not unique to Stop Vivisection, but also corresponds to the experiences of the other 'successful' ECI mobilization efforts. In the cases of Right2Water, One of Us and Ban Glyphosate the Commission also declined to initiate

legislative action.[53]

These results point to the inadequacy of a non-binding initiative such as the ECI to pressure policymakers, especially if they are only indirectly electorally accountable, as the Commission is. The weakness of the instrument corresponds to the findings on other non-binding initiatives—for example, the dominance of agenda-setting effects, instead of substantial concessions, even when national parliaments, i.e. more accountable institutions than the Commission, are the target (e.g. Müller 1999).

Deep Dissatisfaction with the ECI as an Effective Instrument of Direct Democracy

Similar to other ECI organizers, Stop Vivisection activists were not only negative about the response of the Commission; they also strongly criticized the ECI process itself. Key activists stated not having felt a true interest in their cause by the EU institutions, especially the Commission, and proposed changes to the institutional setting of the ECI.

Other activists reported euphoria during the collection of signatures, and a deep disappointment *after* the decision by the Commission. A Slovenian activist emphasized that 'we were living this initiative for a year and a half' and referred to it as a 'once in a lifetime experience'. She also noted that: 'optimism was in the air. We believed that we would win and abolish vivisection forever'. She regarded the outcome of the ECI as 'really a shame' and emphasized the contrast between being 'given the possibility to be active citizens' and the lack of influence at the end of this process (Interview 16).

A major cause of dissatisfaction for activists was the ECI hearing in Brussels. In May 2015, the organizers discussed the initiative with members of the Commission as well as in the European Parliament. An Italian activist and retired journalist, now working for the magazine of LEAL, describes the experiences in Brussels like this:

> In the morning, members of the Commission and other stakeholders were absolutely polite, attentive and formally responsive, but there was no time for

[53] Only Right2Water achieved some indirect policy effects as part of their overall mobilization effort targeting also other EU institutions and (sub-)national institutions. The recently introduced new EU rules on the use of glyphosate were sharply criticized by the ECI campaigners. The Commission response to Minority SafePack is still due.

> a true and meaningful debate. Worse, at the parliamentary meeting in the afternoon, three representatives of STOP VIVSECTION were given a total speaking time of just 34 minutes in which to present their arguments at an event that lasted three and a half hours. Who would reasonably call this a hearing? (Interview 8).

Menache participated at the 'ECI Day' in April 2016 in Brussels and was also strongly critical of the hearing. He ascribed the activists' short amount of speaking time to the organization of the hearing. While the hearings of the previously successful ECI mobilization efforts were presentations, the one of Stop Vivisection was organized as a debate. Also, an expert flown in from California was only given 12 minutes to present. However, reflections of Stop Vivisection regarding the democratic quality of the ECI did not stop there. Menache also authored a scientific article on the process, further criticizing the

> legal constraints and bureaurocratic [sic] hurdles. For example, nearly half of proposed ECIs were declared inadmissible by the Commission on the grounds of narrow legal interpretations, while many citizens were put-off signing because of excessive personal data requirements in the case of some EU Member States. A lack of any impact on EU legislation, as the three first "successful" ECIs have demonstrated, suggests a lack of transparency and accountability on the part of the EC. Calls for improvement aimed at simplifying the registration requirements and urging the EC to respond to successful ECIs with concrete actions, including legislative proposals, have been put forward by the campaign group "for a European Citizens' Initiative that works" (Menache 2016: 386)

According to Menache and other activists, their experiences in being part of the Stop Vivisection initiative made them stop believing in the ECI (as currently organized) as an appropriate instrument to achieve social change. Their experience with the instrument therefore produced a drastic change in their assessment of it. Beyond Stop Vivisection, other ECI organizers, NGOs, and political parties have also developed critical views toward the ECI, manifested in events such as the annual ECI days, where the instrument is reflected on critically.

Activism Targeting National Politics and Countermobilization of Opponents

Italian Stop Vivisection activists did not only try to push for a change of EU policy, but also tried to influence national legislation as well as local events. At the same time, their opponents did not keep quiet.

On the national level, the main goal of LEAL and other organizations was to push for a strict implementation of the disliked Directive 2010/63/EU into Italian law, which they managed to achieve. In 2014, the Italian parliament passed an implementation law that, among others, restricted the use of dogs and cats in animal experimentation to fewer areas, prohibited the use of animal experimentation in research on addictions, and prescribed the use of anaesthesia also in experiments upon animals when they are supposed to cause 'only' 'mild pain' to them. These requirements, according to their opponents, went beyond the EU directive and its prohibition to pass stricter national laws.

At the same time, grassroots animal rightists supportive of Stop Vivisection targeted local grievances, most notably in Milan in April 2013. There, a protest event by the group Fermare Green Hill [Close Green Hill] gained particularly intensive media attention—even the natural science journal *Nature* (22.04.2013) covered the protest, writing that 'animal-rights activists wreak havoc in Milan laboratory'. Activists occupied a research facility at the University of Milan, while hundreds of their supporters demonstrated outside. Inside the laboratory, activists chained themselves to the door in a way that would make it impossible to open it without risking the health of the activists, while others changed the labels of cages in order to sabotage the ongoing research projects. After negotiations between the activists, the scientists, and the police, the activists were allowed to free some of the mice and rats held by the laboratory.

Confronted with these developments, the proponents of animal experiments—mainly the scientific community and the pharmaceutical industry—tried to mobilize against the animal rights movement. In doing so, they even forged new organizational ties. In 2012, Pro-Test Italia was founded, with the aim of influencing public opinion and gaining access to policymakers. At public rallies in Rome, a few dozen supporters of animal experimentation appeared. On Facebook, the group has 20,000 supporters. Scientific lobbying groups such as the European Animal Research Association, the Associazione Luca Coscioni per la libertà di ricerca scientifica [Luca Coscioni Association for the Freedom of Scientific Research] also publicly spoke against the efforts of Stop Vivisection as well as against the efforts to cause a strict implementation of Directive

2010/63/EU in Italy.

The countermobilization of scientists also targeted the EU. In February 2016, 37 Italian scientific organizations, coordinated by the organization Research4life published an open letter to the Commission, calling for infringement procedures against Italy because of the way Directive 20/63/EU was implemented (Research4Life 2016).

The countermobilization by opponents of Stop Vivisection seems to have had important consequences. According to a poll by Ipsos MORI (quoted in Martinez-Sanchez and Leech, 2015), the public support of animal experimentation in Italy grew from 33% in 2012 to 49% in 2014. Also, in April 2016, the Commission announced its intention to initiate an infringement procedure against Italy. Whether the Italian implementation of Directive 2010/63/EU—Legislative Decree 26/2014—will be considered legal remains to be seen. So far at least, Italy-based activism against animal experimentation, which produced the mobilization success of the Stop Vivisection ECI, had its biggest policy impact not on the EU, but on the national level.

Therefore, the case of Stop Vivisection shows how ECI campaigners do not focus on this instrument alone. Instead, activists face, and try to shape, a complex public policy conflict, contested on many levels with the involvement of many other players. Similarly, not only campaigns like Right2Water and One of Us, but also some ECIs with support between 100,000 and 300,000 signatories, like Unconditional Basic Income and Weed Like to Talk, mobilized also in other ways. The same is true for STOP TTIP, which was initially refused to register as official ECI by the Commission. In order to fully understand the consequences of ECI campaigns, it is necessary to take the level of national politics into account (Tuokko and Greenwood 2017).

Social Capital

The Stop Vivisection campaign also had some effects that may be perceived as positive from the perspective of the activists involved. Their personal ties, such as friendship circles and connections to other activists, evolved. Their skills, such as knowledge about animal experimentation, EU politics, and the organization of campaigns, also developed.

Many of the Stop Vivisection activists forged ties on the national and the international level and therefore enlarged their network of animal rightists. For example, the Slovenian organizers travelled throughout their country to get in touch with many other activists in their countries, and also organized events with non-Slovenian activists, such as Martin Balluch, the best-known Austrian activist, and Melanie Joy, a professor from the United States and author of books popular among supporters of animal rights. In addition, various national campaigners stayed in regular contact, for example to discuss the content of social media postings, statements to the press or letters to politicians. Often, these exchanges occurred on a daily basis. Activists described the experiences of having regular international exchanges as very positive, exposing them to the need to use English as means of communication. Therefore, on the organizational level, the ECI mobilization has certainly contributed to establishing and maintaining transnational connections within Europe.

The main representative of Stop Vivisection, André Menache, mentioned that he continued to receive regular requests from journalists on the issue. Through the organization of the initiative, he felt that he gained public reputation to address the issue of animal experimentation.

Also, activists reported how they gained knowledge about many substantial issues concerning animal experimentation, especially its legal regulation and scientific arguments against them. One campaign manager demanded from every new activist to read the directive, and its national implementations, thoroughly so she or he can understand and defend the position of Stop Vivisection (Interview 8).

Adriano Varrica, the coordinator of the different national campaigns and member of MEP Alfano's staff, summarized the biographical consequences for Stop Vivisection activists in the following way:

> According to one national coordinator, many volunteers felt the benefit of actively working for a campaign they felt strongly about. Getting involved with the ECI turned out to add to their quality of life by putting them in touch with like-minded people they could bond with. Not only did this lead to new friendships and better connections to other campaigners and NGOs, but

> volunteers also learned a lot about what did and did not work. This combination of empowering experiences and new contacts prepared volunteers for other civic projects. For example, one volunteer organized an emergency truck to Romania using the abilities and contacts gathered from working on the ECI Stop Vivisection. Several volunteers repeatedly stated they were ready to take one another ECI if the right subject presented itself (Varrica 2014: 30).

According to this last statement, the positive biographical consequences would even move some activists to mobilize for another ECI. However, this evaluation was expressed *before* the European Commission responded negatively to the activists' demands.

3.4 Conclusion

This chapter has provided an in-depth analysis of a crucial case of ECI mobilization, Stop Vivisection, one of only five campaigns that successfully collected the required one million signatures. In explaining why the organizers mobilized successfully and what the consequences of Stop Vivisection were, I have relied on concepts from social movement studies.

For successful mobilization efforts, the ECI provides a political opportunity structure that does not require 'truly' Europe-wide campaigns, with a strong presence in all or even only most EU states. Instead, it benefits activists who focus on one or a few populous EU members in order to come close to the required number of one million signatures. Stop Vivisection activists relied to a substantial extent on one populous country, Italy. Mobilization efforts of Right2Water, One of Us, Ban Glyphosate, and Minority SafePack show similar patterns of nationally focused mobilization. Therefore, at least so far, no campaign has been strongly embedded in all or even most EU member states. The latter requirement would overburden many activists, who often only have scarce resources at their disposal.

Among others, this finding has important implications for the long-lasting debate on a 'European public sphere' (e.g. Fossum and Schlesinger 2007, Gerhards and Hans 2014, Koopmans and Statham 2010). While some scholars find an impact of the ECI on 'the territorial extension of a European political public sphere' (Greenwood and

Tuokko 2017; for additional perspectives see also Conrad 2016, Knaut 2016), the experiences with the instrument described in this chapter also point to the limitations of such a prospect. Although ECI campaigns both reflect and lead to the establishment of transnational ties and debates, what the successful mobilization strategies so far have shown is the importance of the national state as key political arena of mass politics. The presence of ECIs in the mass media, an indicator often used to empirically measure national and European 'public spheres' (e.g. Koopmans and Statham, 2010), was also only marginal.

Like the four other 'successful' ECI mobilization efforts, Stop Vivisection activists failed to achieve the desired policy outcome. Still, the campaign has had many other important consequences, which need to be understood to better assess the quality and implications of the ECI as a democratic instrument. On a positive note from the perspective of the activists, campaigning increased their 'social capital.' However, the activists' effort also led to their ultimate disappointment with the democratic quality of the ECI. Importantly, engagement in the ECI went along with activism targeting Italian institutions, where campaigners also faced countermobilization.

The disappointing end to Stop Vivisection, at least from the perspective of its supporters, points to shortcomings of the ECI, which have also been identified by other political players. The decision by the Commission not to consider the STOP TTIP initiative as an official ECI, later deemed void by the European Court of Justice, has only further fuelled such discussions. Recently, the Commission organized an open public consultation on the revision of the ECI regulation, with many reform proposals on the table (European Commission 2017a). Some useful improvements have recently been agreed upon by the EP and the Council—for example, ECI campaigners will have more freedom to decide when their one-year collection period should start (European Parliament 2019; for a comprehensive analysis of the review process see Greenwood 2018). Therefore, institutional reform is one important consequence of previous disappointments of those involved in ECI campaigns. However, a more substantial future reform seems unlikely, not only because the Commission seems to want to avoid a strong ECI, which would be a competitor in agenda-setting. Even more, the most substantial reform suggestions would require EU treaty changes that are unlikely to happen in the near future.

Apart from the reform of the instrument, one reason for the continuing use of the ECI may be an increasing familiarity with the instrument among activist groups. Previous research has underlined that some direct-democratic instruments are regularly used simply because activists know how to make use of it, even though these instruments fail to help activists to make the gains they initially desired. Over the course of such 'learning processes,' activists may even moderate their demands in order to increase the likelihood of a direct effect (Epple-Gass 1988).

From the perspective of social movement scholarship, was the mobilization effort of Stop Vivisection worth trying? Scholars have recently emphasized that activists most often only make small gains or losses, and that the achievement of greater goals are typically long-term developments and sequences of many individual social movement outcomes. Major breakthroughs are rare occasions and need long-term build-up (Bosi 2016, Jasper et al. forthcoming). To some extent at least, Stop Vivisection organizers managed to bring their views on the political agenda, inside and outside 'their' social movement. Their activism might be regarded as one part of a long-term effort to achieve cultural and political change in respect to animal experimentation. While this did not already crystallize in the 2017 review of Directive 2010/63/EU (European Commission 2017b), the activists certainly made their position, in favor of a radical departure from the status quo, more visible. Therefore, although very difficult to measure, long-term cultural and political change could be another consequence of Stop Vivisection. Campaigners who focuses on issues such as a basic income have recently relied on direct-democratic instruments to make their voice heard, without expecting to gain a majority for their demands. Thus, evaluating the extent to which direct-democratic campaigns that fail to bring about immediate policy changes still influence public opinion and public policy in the long term would be a key research agenda bridging the study of social movements and direct democracy, particularly important to animal rights activism (see Conclusion of this dissertation).

Future studies might provide more comprehensive research on how other ECI organizers mobilize, how critical social movements are to these processes, and which other factors determine failed and successful mobilization. Combining in-depth qualitative studies with large-N approaches seems like a particularly fruitful approach

to gain important general insights on the ECI. However, the empirically most relevant questions on the ECI, and on the relationship between social movements and direct democracy more generally, is perhaps also the theoretically and methodologically most challenging. Even when their campaign does not result in short-term policy success, do direct-democratic campaigners still manage to contribute to the achievement of their goals in the middle and long run? And if so, how?

Ultimately, the case of Stop Vivisection underlines the difficulties animal rights activists have in influencing public policy. In a case of exceptional mass mobilization that almost every other ECI campaigners failed to achieve, animal rights activists were still unable to make the policy gains they desired. The next chapter will turn to an approach substantially different from the one of mass mobilization that Stop Vivisection campaigners favored. Other activists, many of those who did not support Stop Vivisection, have tried to push for innovative technologies to combat animal experimentation—that is, so-called ‘alternatives’ to animal experimentation. These efforts have not necessarily targeted policy change and have often been made without raising public awareness.

4. New Technologies as a Neglected Outcome of Social Movement Activism: Providing 'Alternatives' to End Animal Experimentation?

4.1 Introduction[54]

Mass mobilization—such as in the case of Stop Vivisection—has not been the only approach to bringing animal experimentation to an end. Some animal rights activists have pursued a particularly innovative goal, often without raising public attention: so-called 'alternatives' to animal experimentation. Since the second half of the 20th century a growing number of activists has aimed for the development of such 'alternatives', hoping they would drastically reduce, or even eliminate, the suffering and killing of animals (Rowan et al. 1995). 'Alternatives' to animal experimentation are examples of new technologies. There are several ways of combating animal experiments with their help: 'Alternative techniques include tests based on chemistry (*in chemico*), computers (*in silico*), and cells and tissues (*in vitro* […]) and ethical human studies (*in vivo*)' (Taylor 2013: 178).[55] However, in the literature on activism against animal experimentation, the analysis of new technologies as a crucial dimension of this public policy conflict has been largely neglected (e.g. Evans 2016; Lyons 2013)—even though the question whether the pursuit of 'alternatives' is an effective strategy has resulted in considerable intra-movement controversy. Certainly, animal rights activists have made an impact by pushing for 'alternatives'—but what gains for animals did they bring about?

Social movement scholarship has also overlooked the relevance of new technologies

[54] A version of this chapter has been published in *Sociological Perspectives* (Weisskircher 2018). Earlier iterations were presented at the 'Second Oxford Summer School on Animal Ethics' in Oxford, United Kingdom (July 2015), at a conference on 'Social Movements and Protest: Future Challenges for Research and Practice' in Brighton, United Kingdom (October 2016), and at the 'ECPR General Conference' in Oslo, Norway (September 2017).

[55] The theoretical base behind this new goal has been a concept called the '3Rs,' referring to the refinement, reduction, and replacement (the most far-reaching) of animal experiments as goals of researchers. Two scientists, William Russell and Rex Burch, coined the term at the end of the 1950s. While the idea of designing experiments that could replace or reduce animals is straightforward, refinement refers to the minimization of the suffering of individual animals in a given experiment, for example by conducting less painful procedures on animals or improving their housing conditions.

as an intended outcome of activism. Almost two decades ago, even the impact of social movements in general was described as ‘one of the most neglected topics in the literature’ (Giugni 1999: xiv–xv). Since then, even though the overall volume of research might be ‘still relatively thin’ (McAdam and Boudet 2012: 99), scholars have substantially contributed to our understanding of the various consequences of activism (e.g. Amenta 2006; Burstein 2014; Bosi et al. 2016a; McAdam and Boudet 2012; McCammon 2012). Researchers have distinguished between many different effects, for example, on the policies of states and corporations, on cultural understandings and public opinion as well as on participants’ own biographies (for literature reviews see Amenta and Caren 2004; Bosi et al. 2016b; McAdam and Boudet 2012). In this chapter, I contribute to the existing literature by emphasizing that the growing body of research on movement consequences has neglected one important intended outcome of activism: the development of new technologies.

Many social movements are critical of new technologies and try to prevent their breakthrough (e.g. Weber et al. 2009). The Luddites in 19th century England and contemporary opponents of nuclear energy are perhaps the most famous examples of such anti-technology protests. However, many activists also make use of existing technologies, such as utilizing the internet to organize and to spread information. Moreover, and essential to this chapter, social movements may also have a *constructive* role concerning technology, initiating the development of new technologies to provide remedies for certain grievances.

So far, it has been primarily Science and Technology Studies (STS) scholars that have stressed the productive link between activism and technology (especially Hess 2005, 2007, 2016; Winner 1995; see the next section of this chapter). In this literature, technologies are understood as ‘material objects that are intentionally used to modify the social and/or material world’ (Hess 2005: 518). The distinctive features of technology as a specific form of knowledge are its material dimension and its applicability—they are a material and applicable *outcome*.

This chapter follows calls to bridge the ‘distinct fields of science and technology studies (STS), and social movement studies’ (Welsh and Wynne 2013: 542; see also Hess 2015) by contributing to the study of the relationship between activism and new

technologies, both theoretically and empirically. Theoretically, I analyze two important dimensions: 1) the mechanisms that lead from activism to new technologies and; 2) how this outcome leads to movement divisions. Empirically, I provide novel insights into the crucial case of the animal rights movement and its activism against animal experimentation. The strong focus of some animal rights activists on new technologies perhaps can only be matched by similar pursuits of environmental activists.

Theoretically, the chapter goes beyond merely underlining the connection between activism and the development of new technologies. First, it shows how the process unfolds empirically by distinguishing four different mechanisms, following research in social movement studies which calls for a better understanding of mechanisms that link activism to specific outcomes (e.g. Boykoff 2007; Kolb 2007; Young and Schwartz 2014). I also highlight the importance of market forces for the development of new technologies and discuss how diffusion is a long-term process. Second, the chapter points to potential implications for movement dynamics as controversy over technology causes intra-movement divisions—relating to literature that emphasizes the internal heterogeneity of movements (Hadden 2015; Jasper 2004). Similar to other consequences of activism, such as state policy, the desirability of new technologies is also contested among activists (Hess 2007: 531–532).

Methodologically, I have relied on a rich variety of novel data. First, I draw on information from 27 interviews conducted with animal rights activists from different European countries on a variety of animal rights issues, which included activists in favor and critical of alternatives to animal experimentation, active in major NGOs or in grassroots groups (see Introduction). I quote the interviewees when referring to their opinions on specific issues, especially their different views on alternatives to animal experimentation. In addition, I have used this collected data to acquire an in-depth background knowledge of activists' views, activities, and the history of their political efforts (for similar approaches in the study of parties see e.g. Bale and Dunphy 2011: 277; Luther 2011; Weisskircher 2019a). Second, I analyze the publications of leading animal rights organizations that either promote new technologies, or are critical of such approaches. These sources included websites and publications such as annual reports, position papers, public statements, and published letters. These organizations were based in countries with vibrant animal rights activism, such as Germany and the

United Kingdom. Third, I rely on secondary literature on the movement, often written by academics who are activists themselves, which provides important empirical, especially historical, data that no other source could have provided.

In the remainder of this chapter, I first summarize perspectives on knowledge and new technologies as consequences of activism in the existing literature. Second, I present four mechanisms that link activism and the creation of new technologies, mapping out and discussing the ways animal rights activists have pushed for alternatives to animal experimentation. Afterwards, I discuss intra-movement divisions over new technologies, showing how some activists have criticized the pursuit of alternatives to animal experimentation as ineffective. In the conclusion of this chapter, I discuss my findings and highlight important questions for future research.

4.2 Knowledge and New Technologies as Consequences of Activism

Although internet use is frequently studied as an important aspect of activism (e.g. Castells 2015; Gerbaudo 2012; Milan 2013), other dimensions of technology are almost absent from standard social movement scholarship. This is reflected in the key edited volumes and the most popular journals of the field. Tellingly, neither *The Blackwell Companion to Social Movements* (Snow et al. 2004) nor *The Oxford Handbook of Social Movements* (della Porta and Diani 2015) include an entry for 'technology' or derived terms in their indices. Up to the end of 2018, only two articles in *Mobilization* include any derivation of the word 'technology' in their titles, and one of them refers to 'technology-enabled contention'—namely, online activism (Bennet and Segerberg 2014). In *Social Movement Studies*, three articles refer to 'technology' or 'technologies' in their titles, all of them dealing with media.[56]

Technology is also absent in the specialized literature on the impact of activism. Key collective volumes do not include chapters on the development of new technologies

[56] James Jasper briefly mentions technology as an outcome of activism in two textbooks (Jasper 2014: 175; Jasper and Goodwin 2015: 4). Tellingly, he is one of only a few social movement researchers who have conducted research on the animal rights movement (e.g. Jasper and Nelkin 1992; Jasper and Poulsen 1993, 1995).

and never refer to new technologies as a possible outcome in this subfield of social movement studies (Bosi et al. 2016a; Giugni et al. 1998; Giugni et al. 1999).

Still, the relationship between social movements and knowledge more generally has received considerable attention. Researchers emphasize that activists may produce knowledge, some of which may contribute to or contest scientific knowledge (see Casas-Cortés et al. 2008; della Porta and Pavan 2017; Epstein 1996; Esteves 2008; Frickel 2010). Andrew Jamison (2006: 56) points out that 'social movements serve as crucial "sites" for the constitution and reconstitution of the scientific enterprise', and Kelly Moore (2006: 299) maintains that 'there is an unmistakable increase in the types and levels of nonscientist participation in scientific knowledge production and science policy decisions', which also casts doubt on the authority of institutionalized science.

In this context, 'popular epidemiology' is a well-known concept (Brown 1987, 1997). According to Phil Brown (1997), 'popular epidemiology' can manifest itself in the 'mobilization of citizens around the goal of identifying and ameliorating environmental stressors and local illness patterns', contributing to medical knowledge. Further, scholars assess when 'scientific/intellectual movements' merge and institutionalize. However, they use the term 'social movement' rather as an analogy for a collective of scientists pushing for paradigm change or the establishment of new disciplines (Frickel and Gross 2005).

Other research has shown that movements may influence the growth and the transformation of industries, for example the wind energy industry (Vasi 2009), and that movements have been able to create niche markets for products that are in line with their goals, for example by influencing private companies (Balsiger 2016). Although these scholars do not explicitly discuss or show how activists influence the development of new technologies, such processes are certainly an empirical background story behind their theoretical insights. Focusing on a constructive dimension of activism, Hayagreeva Rao (2008) emphasizes the development of new technologies as one of the functions of 'market rebels'.

Scholars of STS and the sociology of sciences have made the link between activism and new technologies most explicitly—this chapter draws on their insights (for a

literature review see Hess 2015). In the contemporary age, according to Ulrich Beck (1997: 52), ‘opportunities for alternative action are opening up in all fields of action—technology, medicine, law, the organization of work—under the pressure of changed challenges and fundamental convictions’, a process which he terms ‘subpolitics’. It is the opposite of ‘[t]echnocracy’, which ‘ends when alternatives erupt in the technoeconomic process and polarize it’ (Beck 1997: 52).

Correspondingly, Ian Welsh and Brian Wynne (2013: 540) highlight the growing polarization of the relationship between institutionalized science and the public in recent decades, pointing to social movements as one of the challengers of ‘scientism’, the ‘elite denial of the normative commitments embedded within science as surrogate politics.’ Such scientism also leads to ‘undone science,’ with ‘areas of research identified by social movements and other civil society organizations as having potentially broad social benefit that are left unfunded, incomplete, or generally ignored’ (Frickel 2010: 445; Hess 2016).

Several authors, such as Ibo van de Poel (2000), identify ‘societal pressure groups’ as some of the ‘outsiders’ that may influence technological development. David Hess (2005: 516) defines these social movement players as ‘technology-oriented and product-oriented movements (TPMs)’, whose ‘mode of action involves less emphasis on the politics of protest and more on building and diffusing alternative forms of material culture’. In addition, David Hess (2016: 35) speaks of ‘industrial transition movements’, with ‘changing the fundamental design of technologies’ as one of their goals. Changing technologies occurs along a ‘continuum’ of two different ideal movement types: the ‘alternative industrial movement’, involved in ‘sunrising’ (i.e. creating new desired technology) and the ‘industrial opposition movement’, pursuing ‘sunsetting’—namely, the elimination of undesired technology (Hess 2016: 35). Beyond offering a typology, the literature also highlights many other important aspects, for example that the impact of TPMs is often limited—‘a mixture of success and cooptation’ (Hess 2007: 164). This occurs among other reasons because new technologies are rarely ever the ultimate goal of activists: Opponents often find creative ways to limit the impact of scientific pursuits by activists (Ottinger 2013).

Most empirical studies on activism and new technologies relate to the experiences of

the environmental movement (e.g. Ottinger and Cohen 2011; Sine and Lee 2009, Toke 2011). For example, David Toke (2011) shows how, especially in Denmark, activists have contributed to the development and breakthrough of wind power as a renewable energy source. However, other case selections point to the broader empirical relevance of the contribution of activism to the development of technologies, such as in nutritional therapeutics and open source software development (e.g. Hess 2005).

Despite many important existing pieces of research, Toke (2011: 62) emphasizes, with good reason, that 'there is doubt as to whether the SM's involvement with technology choices, as opposed to oppositional tactics, has received sufficient attention from SM theorists'. In this chapter, I further develop the insights on the constructive relationship between activism and new technologies, i.e. 'sunrising' (Hess 2016: 35) when it comes to the animal rights movement. I also follow the call to empirically trace the diverse ways social movements relate to and produce new knowledge (della Porta and Pavan 2017).

4.3 Four Mechanisms Linking Activism and New Technologies

Since new technologies as a movement outcome have remained understudied, it is particularly important to disentangle the mechanisms behind the process. I follow the standard definition of mechanisms, 'most often conceptualized as links between inputs (independent variables) and outcomes (dependent variables)' (Falleti and Lynch 2009: 1146). Many movement scholars point to the importance of disentangling the mechanisms that link cause and effect (e.g. Boykoff 2007; Kolb 2007; Young and Schwartz 2014), while Doug McAdam, Sidney Tarrow, and Charles Tilly (2001; see also Tarrow and Tilly 2015) even propose a whole research agenda centered on mechanisms—however, with a different understanding of the term. Sociologists of innovation have also recently called for a stronger focus on mechanisms (Hedström and Wennberg 2017). Tracing the mechanisms involved empirically shows how 'sunrising' can occur in different ways.

Since the second half of the 20th century, animal advocates have tried to push for the

development of such alternatives in various ways, which shows how differently movements may contribute to the development of new technologies. Figure 14 presents four mechanisms. They describe crucial dimensions of activism: targeting states, targeting businesses, cooperating with other players, and do-it-yourself (DIY) activism.

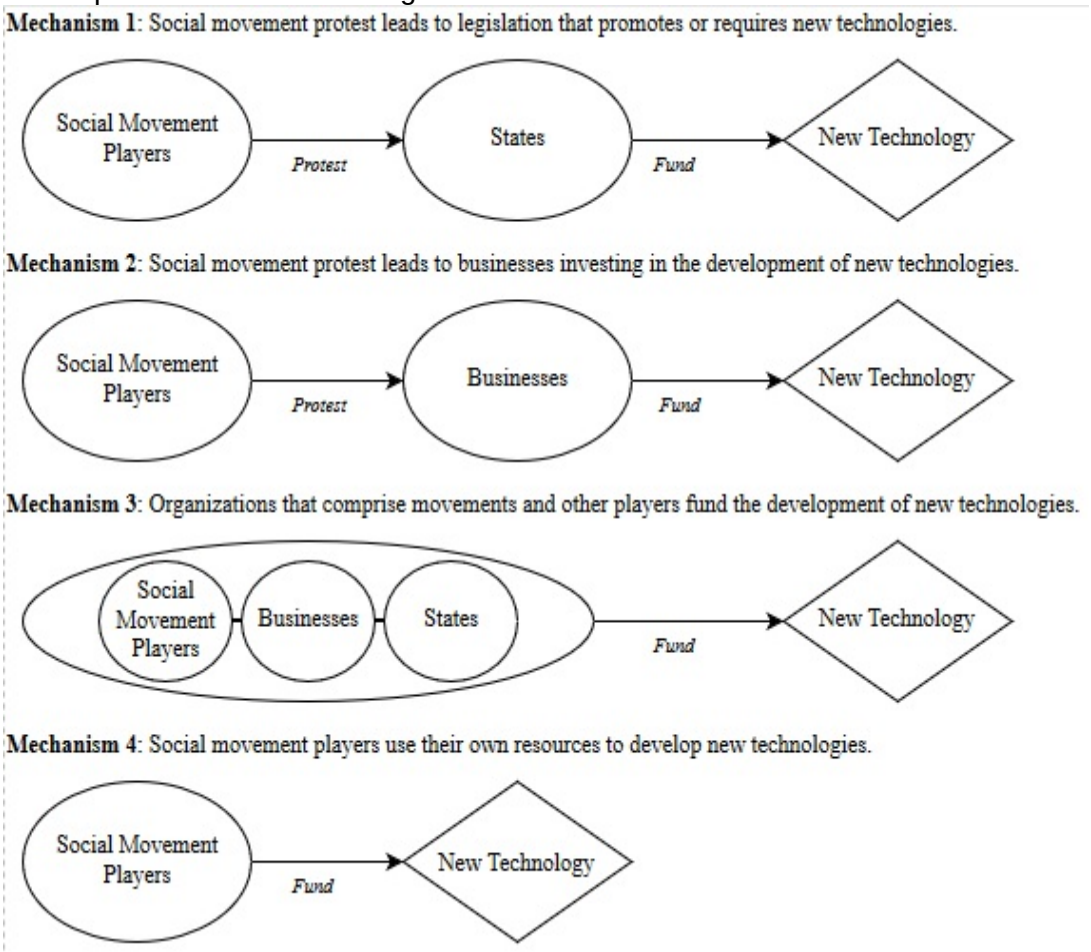
First, movement protest may lead to state action that funds the development of new technologies. Second, activists may protest businesses to make them fund the research of new technologies. Third, SMOs may cooperate with third parties, mainly industry umbrella groups, but also state players, in institutionalized ways in order to fund the development of new technologies together. Fourth—and most directly—SMOs may use their own resources to develop new technologies. In the following paragraphs, I discuss each mechanism and provide empirical examples.[57] Afterwards, I discuss the role of market forces for the development of new technologies and how their breakthrough is a long-term process.

The first mechanism describes how movement protest may lead to state action that funds the development of new technologies. In the political struggle against animal experimentation, protest has led to different types of state action promoting the development of alternatives. Animal advocates have been able to trigger such research through protest ranging from demonstrations to specialized lobbying efforts. Within the EU, activists have been able to push for the establishment of specialized research institutes and the provision of research grants. The European Union Reference Laboratory for Alternatives to Animal Testing, established in 1991 as the European

[57] A possible alternative term for describing these processes—which I call mechanisms—would perhaps be 'strategies.' From such a perspective, social movement players may use four different strategies to push for the development of new technologies: The first strategy is pushing the state to fund the development of new technologies, the second one is pushing businesses to do so. The third strategy is cooperation with other players, while the fourth strategy is the direct funding of the development of new technologies. All these strategies can be pursued through different forms of actions ('tactics'), e.g. businesses can be targeted via demonstrations or boycotts (However, again from a different angle, triggering the development of new technologies in general, irrespective of the exact method behind it, cannot only be regarded as movement outcome, but also as a strategy [see conclusion of this chapter]). Ultimately, I have opted for 'mechanisms' because the term emphasizes the causal (but not monocausal) relationship between activism and the development new technologies that I postulate in this chapter: Given that I call for a focus on new technologies as social movement outcome, it is particularly important to trace down the functioning of this causal relationship. Discussing mechanisms helps to explore that as they 'intercede between input and outcome, forging the link between explanans and explanandum, which makes more finely textured explanation possible' (Boykoff 2007: 286).

Centre for the Validation of Alternative Methods and based in the Italian town of Ispra, not only validates alternatives to animal experiments but also conducts research. Its foundation followed Directive 86/609/EEC, which was pushed for, among others, by the then Eurogroup for Animal Welfare (now Eurogroup for Animals), a movement umbrella organization. Back then, activists were both part of consultation processes and tried to raise public awareness via demonstrations (Johnson 2014: 117–122).

Figure 14: Four Mechanisms of How Social Movement Activism Contributes to the Development of New Technologies



Similar institutions exist in many European states. For example, the British NC3Rs (National Centre for the Replacement, Refinement & Reduction of Animals in Research) funds research into alternatives. It was founded under a Labour government in 2004, following a House of Lords Select Committee that had included a significant number of activists as witnesses. The Labour party had already propagated a ‘New

Life for Animals' in a special manifesto ahead of the 1997 elections, reacting to the demands of animal advocates inside the party, who had founded the Labour Animal Welfare Society, attempting to push for stronger stances against animal experimentation. Beyond the establishment of research bodies and funds, governments also sponsor prizes to promote research into alternatives. The German government, for example, has awarded an annual Tierschutzforschungspreis (Animal protection research prize) since 1980, promoting research which pursues the 3Rs, and granting €25,000 to the winner.

This first mechanism—state action as response to protest—provides the most indirect effect of activism, where activists have least control over the outcome. This is why state-funded institutions often provide money not primarily for technologies replacing animal experiments, but also for their mere reduction or refinement. In addition, corporations may get financially involved, as in the case of the NC3RS, thus further reducing the influence of social movement players.

Second, activists may protest businesses to make them fund the research of new technologies. The most famous instance of such a campaign was initiated by the activist Henry Spira (1927–1998) (Singer 1998). Based in New York City, Spira started to confront cosmetic companies in 1978, especially Revlon, one of the leading cosmetic companies at that time. Revlon engaged in the standard practice of the 'Draize test' to assess the toxicity of chemical substances, typically through the 'application' of a given substance on the eyes of rabbits that are kept restrained for days or even weeks. Spira demanded Revlon invest 0.1 percent of its profits to finance research in alternatives to the test. Protest included building a broad coalition of more than 400 animal advocacy organizations with millions of members. The leaders of these groups pursued a variety of actions, which included purchasing Revlon stocks in order to intervene at the company's general meeting, launching a *New York Times* advertisement with a call to send critical letters, targeting regulatory bodies, organizing several demonstrations, and boycotting Revlon's products. Activism against Revlon was not only based in the United States. Activists in Europe participated too. Demonstrations also occurred in countries such as France, Germany, and the United Kingdom. By the end of 1980, Revlon gave in and agreed to pay US$750,000—five times more than the demanded sum—to finance a research project on cell cultures at

Rockefeller University (Singer 1998: 86–105). Not only the public pressure, but also the prospect of long-term savings and better and quicker information on the toxicity of substances, led to the investment in alternatives (Munro 2002: 182; Singer 1998: 92, 103).

The success against Revlon had effects on the rest of the cosmetic industry. Other companies soon followed, first Avon and Bristol–Myers, and then many others. Ultimately, their umbrella organization established The Center for Alternatives to Animal Testing (CAAT), which in 1981 awarded its first financial support of US$1 million to a researcher from Johns Hopkins University in Baltimore. Therefore, protest against an individual company ultimately pushed the whole industry to institutionalize the funding of research into alternatives (Singer 1998: 105–110). Later, also companies outside cosmetics, such as Exxon and IBM, and state agencies contributed to CAAT. In 1992, in acknowledgment of the key role of activism in bringing about this shift, Spira received a ‘Founder’s Award’ from CAAT (Singer 1998: 137).

This second mechanism—targeting businesses—is mainly successful when it comes to targeting cosmetic companies. Their need to protect their public image raises the chances for consequential boycotts, even if the number of actual boycotters is very small (Jasper 1997: 265). In other words, the ‘industry opportunity structure’ (Schurman 2004) in cosmetics is relatively open. However, compared to science, cosmetics accounts for only a very small share of all animal experiments. And even if they are convinced to fund research into alternatives, businesses focus not only on replacement, but also merely on the reduction and refinement of animal use.

Third, SMOs may cooperate with third parties, mainly industry umbrella groups, but also state players, in institutionalized ways in order to fund the development of new technologies together. Animal advocates have participated in such organizations. A prominent example is located in the German city of Frankfurt am Main. The Stiftung zur Förderung der Erforschung von Ersatz–und Ergänzungsmethoden zur Einschränkung von Tierversuchen [Foundation for the Promotion of Alternate and Complementary Methods to Reduce Animal Testing, SET] was founded in 1986 on the initiative of the German government. It is mainly financed by four umbrella organizations of animal-experimenting industries (chemical producers, the

pharmaceutical industry, the agroindustry and the producers of personal care products and detergents) and, since 2010, by the government as well. On its board are not only industry representatives, but also an equal number of representatives from two well-established animal welfare organizations, the Deutscher Tierschutzbund [German Animal Welfare Federation] and the Bundesverband Tierschutz [Federal Association Animal Protection]. The main task of the SET is to fund research into alternative methods. Recent projects have focused on the reduction of the number of rats experimented upon for certain types of lung research, the development of an in vitro skin model to study dermatitis, or the reduction of the number of pigs experimented upon for certain types of retina research. In its publications, the SET refers to its foundation as ‘revolutionary innovation at that time’ (SET undated: 13).

The third mechanism—cooperation with other players—suffers from a lack of resources. For example, in 2015 the income of the German SET was only € 365,080, mainly based on transfers from its member industries (€222,500) and the government (€100,000). SET was only able to use €295,749 for the funding of research (SET undated: 10). The small size of the budget is also a concern for insiders: Although a leading activist from a participating organizations highlights his belief in the sincerity of all individuals involved, he also criticizes the low budget and regards industry ‘greenwashing’ as a potential problem (Interview 9). In addition, again, the SET not only funds research projects seeking to replace animal experimentation, but also those designed to refine or reduce use of animals.

Fourth, and most directly, SMOs may use their own resources to develop new technologies. In the past decades, many animal rights organizations have done so, some of them established especially for such a purpose. In 1969, Dorothy Hegarty founded the Fund for the Replacement of Animals in Medical Experiments (FRAME) in London. Since 1991, the organization has run its own laboratory at the Medical School of the University of Nottingham (FRAME: undated). In 1970, the British Union for the Abolition of Vivisection (BUAV; now Cruelty Free International) established the Dr Hadwen Trust (DHT), a specialized organization funding projects seeking to replace animals in experimental procedures. In its almost 50-year-long history, the organization has sponsored more than 200 projects. Recently, funding has gone to a multitude of projects, related to research on Alzheimer's, Parkinson's, epilepsy, and breast cancer

(Interview 6). People for the Ethical Treatment of Animals (PETA), perhaps the best-known animal rights organization in the world, has also directly funded a number of research projects with the aim of animal replacement, for example the development of computer models to examine the carcinogenicity of chemical products and medicine. Other projects have focused on the acute toxicity or the allergenicity of chemicals (PETA 2015). While PETA does not own any scientific laboratories, they regularly fund external projects.

Although the DIY approach of the DHT and PETA allows them to focus on the replacement and not merely the reduction or refinement of animal use, they also suffer from a lack of resources. The DHT spends slightly more than £ 1 million every year, most of it for the funding of research projects (Charity Commission for England and Wales: undated). PETA reports the use of

> more than $1.8 million ($4 million including in-kind donations of time and materials from laboratories and manufacturers) in funding for promising non-animal test methods and other alternatives to replace animal use. There is no comparison between this funding and the billions of dollars wasted by the federal government, companies, universities, and many health charities on misleading animal experiments, but it is crucial for getting animals out of laboratories (PETA: undated).

These four mechanisms describe the different ways activism may contribute to the development of new technologies. The contribution to the development of alternatives from other forms of protest that delegitimize the practice of animal experimentation are generally much more indirect and without constructive intentions toward the development of new technologies. These actions include protest for the legal restriction of animal experimentation or against the construction of new animal laboratories.

The Role of Market Forces

However, social movements are, evidently, never the only variable driving social change—including new technology development. Although movements matter, many other potential factors can cause innovation within organizations or industries (Dahlin 2014: 678). The development of new technologies is always a multicausal process, also when it involves activism (e.g. Hess 2007, 2016).

Most importantly, financial incentives can push scientists engaged in the practice of animal experimentation to consider switching to alternatives. Purchasing, housing, and 'using' animals are expensive activities. Since private companies and research institutes operate to maximize their profits, while public universities face evermore financial constraints, these players have an incentive to switch to cheaper ways to produce knowledge—at least in the long term.[58]

Still, while this financial mechanism operates, to a substantial extent, independently of social movements, activism can also be of potential influence here. Social movement research has shown that even a small number of activists can change the practices of non-state players if the latter's financial performance is under attack (King 2016; Vasi and King 2012). Even more importantly in this context, movements can influence non-state players to switch over to more efficient ways of production. In other words, markets do not change automatically, but often only after bottom-up mobilization from niche challengers (King and Pearce 2010). Activists target non-state players particularly in the contemporary era of deregulation, which has left state players with a substantial reduction of their capacity to act (Soule 2009).

Many opponents of animal experimentation are well-aware of the importance of economic factors as potential drivers of the social change that they desire. This sentiment is reflected in the following quote of an activist:

> Frustratingly, people don't start moving away from them as fast as we would want but there does seem to be a big stimulus to do so, even if only for economic reasons. Animal research does actually cost quite a lot of money and if the drug pipelines are drying up in the pharmaceutical industry, they are going to be concerned, so they might be first and foremost forced to move away from the animal models by economics rather than empathy (Interview 1).

The above-mentioned campaign of Henry Spira against Revlon further underlines the awareness of the importance of cost efficiency. In talks with Revlon, Spira underlined

[58] Thanks to an anonymous reviewer for *Sociological Perspectives* for highlighting the analogy between firms producing goods and universities producing research (for example, research that is based on animal experimentation).

to the company's representatives the potential financial rewards of the development of alternatives (Singer 1998: 92).

A political economy perspective often contributes to our understanding of animal rights activism (see chapter 1). The power of markets is crucial for triggering research in alternatives to animal experimentation. Still, even if companies or universities have an 'objective' economic interest to invest into researching alternatives, activists may contribute to the awareness of this interest and to the acceleration of such a decision. This is particularly the case when any material benefits require short-term investments that amortize only in the long run.[59]

Innovation as a Long-term Process

The effect of activism is hampered by the time it takes for the development and breakthrough of new products, for example, technology. A crucial takeaway from STS research is that new technologies cannot be regarded merely as a 'dependent variable', triggered by the 'independent variable' of activism, but that the relationship between activism and new technology is a complicated process that unfolds over a long period of time. Similarly, sociologists of innovation underline that the diffusion of new products can take years, or even decades (Rogers 2003: 15).

The development of alternatives requires long-term efforts—one research project is not enough. And even their successful development does not automatically translate into widespread use. Typically, despite long-lasting validation processes, the use of alternatives is not legally required. For example, while alternatives to the Draize test have been validated and their use accepted by the EU, skin irritation tests on rabbits are still being conducted, albeit to a much lesser extent (Taylor 2014). Many organizations try to spread knowledge about alternatives within industries and science—pushing both for the development of new alternatives, but also for organizations to start using existing ones. As one scientist at PETA notes:

[59] On other issues as well, animal rights activists emphasize the importance of economic factors for achieving social change. One example is the production of 'clean meat'—efforts in cellular agriculture to grow meat from animal cells outside of a living animal (see the Conclusion of this dissertation).

> [W]hen we are working with industry, it is more a case of educating industry to say, you know […] these are the methods you can use that don't use animals, this is how you can meet the regulatory requirements without having to use animals. So we've written various papers about it, we've taken posters to conferences, done the talks, the webinars (Interview 4).

One reason for the slow speed of diffusion are the risks associated with change, which does not enhance organizational performances automatically (Haveman 1992). For example, if scientists work on long-term projects that have relied on animal experimentation, switching to alternatives would threaten the comparability of their data. Such scientists thus have no interest in switching to alternatives, even if they could provide more precise information. Likewise, the methodological training of scientists and their expectation of the preferences of funding agencies contribute to path dependencies in their choices of certain 'animal models' (Evans 2016). McMullen (2016: 132) describes how

> generations of biological scientists are trained to imagine biological research in terms of animal research. Methodological diversity is extremely costly to researchers and to institutions that need to invest in the appropriate equipment. As a result, it is difficult for a biologist to even conceive of bucking the established norms of the discipline by avoiding animal research. As with other forms of institutionally embedded exploitation, individual action to counter the dominant culture is difficult.

Therefore, while the development of new technologies is a necessary condition for their adoption by users such as scientists, it is not a sufficient one: until users decide to continuously use new technologies, several stages of adaptation have to be overcome (Rogers 2003). For movement activists, there is a long way to go from triggering new technologies to the reduction of their grievance, that is, less harm for animals.

4.4 New Technologies as a Controversial Social Movement Outcome

The literature on the consequences of social movements has long emphasized the difficulty of defining 'success' (e.g. Amenta et al. 2010: 289–290; Rucht 1999). One reason for the ambivalence of the term is that activists often have stark disagreements

over the desirability of specific outcomes—outcomes are never neutral. Correspondingly, many scholars have referred to the heterogeneity of social movements, describing them as ‘compound players’ (Jasper 2004; Jasper and Duyvendak 2014) or ‘networks in contention’ (Hadden 2015).

For some activists, pursuing technological change might be insufficient for reaching an overarching goal, pointing to the controversy surrounding new technologies as a desired outcome. Critics might regard new technologies not as a problem solver, but as a distraction from tackling the root causes of their grievances. They see the threat of ‘co-optation’ by opponents, an outcome without substantial benefits to the movement’s constituency (Gamson 1975). This poses a potential danger for movements pursuing the development of new technologies (Hess 2007: 531–532).

In the political struggle against animal experimentation, many activists question whether pushing for alternatives is worth the effort. Their critique is not limited to practical questions related to some of the mechanisms referred to above, such as the lack of sufficient financial resources to promote an alternative research agenda. Instead, they point to a more fundamental caveat: since basic research does not aim for the development of applicable knowledge with a concrete goal, this research area allows infinite possibilities of curiosity-driven research designs. By definition, clear alternatives do not exist for such types of experiments (Menache 2017). Currently, almost 50% of all procedures upon animals within the EU are reported as ‘biological studies of a fundamental nature’ (European Commission 2013; data for 2011). Correspondingly, many animal rights organizations reject calls for the development of alternatives as a meaningful goal—they do not think that any of the four mechanisms described above can lead to a substantial reduction in the overall number of animal experiments. Moreover, since the rise of ‘alternatives’ in the past few decades animal experimentation in Europe has been increasing, not in decline. Moreover, official numbers for the past years have remained fairly stable at between 10 and 12 million animals experimented upon within the EU (European Commission 2013). These number exclude animals which are ‘produced’ for laboratories but then not experimented upon, for example because of the failure to achieve the desired genetic disorder desired by scientists.

One prominent example of a critic of ‘alternatives’ is the German organizations Ärzte gegen Tierversuche [Physicians Against Animal Experiments], which put forward a position paper on the concept of the 3Rs. The organization not only rejects the reduction and refinement of animal use in scientific experimentation as ‘cosmetic corrections of a wrong scientific system’, but also the aim of replacement through alternatives. According to them, the notion of ‘alternatives’ wrongly implies that animal experimentation is an efficient way to conduct research, questioning their utility for medical progress. In addition, they argue that the concept falsely suggests that there could be a potential replacement of all animal use, while replacement is relevant mainly in toxicology and education. Ultimately, they ‘are of the conviction that all animal experiments could be immediately abolished, without it leading to a collapse of the health system. To the contrary, it would abet real medical progress in the interest of humanity’ (Ärzte gegen Tierversuche: undated).

Ärzte gegen Tierversuche is one of many groups with critical views on the desirability of technological solutions against animal experimentation. They were part of a coalition of European activists that supported the Stop Vivisection ECI. In March 2015, Stop Vivisection became the third ECI mobilization effort that successfully collected the required one million signatures for proposing legislation to the European Commission (see chapter 3). The goal of the initiators was to revoke Directive 2010/63/EU, the key piece of legislation on animal experimentation in science in the EU. In this directive, the EU commits itself to ‘the final goal of full replacement’, actually corresponding to the movement’s demand for an end of all animal experimentation. Nevertheless, ‘full replacement’ is only an option ‘as soon as it is scientifically possible to do so. To that end, [the directive] seeks to facilitate and promote the advancement of alternative approaches’. In the eyes of Stop Vivisection, however, this announcement was merely a rhetorical device that does not compensate for the substantially weak regulation of animal experimentation provided by the directive. Campaigners strongly criticized the Directive’s emphasis of the 3Rs:

> Animal experimenters do approve of the Three Rs. The Directive 2010/63 mentions the Three Rs as a cure-all, a panacea. The establishment is unanimously pro Three Rs. So, why should anti-vivisectionist associations uncritically take this universally beloved fig leaf principle for granted? Why should they consider it as their own instrument towards the goal? Shouldn’t

> they ask themselves whether there's something wrong with this 'realpolitik' tool? (Interview 8).

Instead of pushing for the development of new technologies, Stop Vivisection desired a new directive to effectively abolish animal experimentation in science—a demand that the European Commission did not act upon. Other animal advocates, however, did not support the efforts of Stop Vivisection to revoke Directive 2010/63/EU. Among them was the Eurogroup for Animals, the largest European umbrella organization, with the British Royal Society for the Protection of Animals (RSPCA) as its most influential member. Similar to other organizations such as PETA, representatives of the Eurogroup took part in the consultations leading to the adoption of the directive. While not uncritical of the directive, PETA and the Eurogroup see bigger chances in cooperating with scientists to push for the breakthrough of alternatives to animal experimentation than confronting them in a public setting over the morality and effectiveness of the practice. A PETA scientist is positive about future developments regarding alternatives:

> I think the organ-on-a-chip could be the breakthrough for the pharmaceutical industry in drug development, absolutely, and then we have things like the OECD QSAR toolbox, which is computer modeling, and I think computer modeling in particular is another area that can have a huge impact on replacing animals in science in a number of different fields, in a number of different industries (Interview 4).

One RSPCA scientist explains the organizations' rejection of Stop Vivisection with the self-understanding as 'a pragmatic organization' and argues:

> We did not agree with the terms of it [the Stop Vivisection ECI; MW]. We were concerned that if the new directive was repealed then you would need something to replace it. And if you opened it up again, the result probably wouldn't be as strong as what is already in the directive—even though it doesn't go as far as we would want it to go. And also I think it wasn't asking for something that realistically was going to happen (Interview 1).

The strong disagreements among animal advocates over the desirability of new technologies has led to a situation in which organizations with considerable resources, knowledge and support do not cooperate and fail to use their common strength, for example as part of an ECI campaign or other work at the EU level (see chapter 3).

The divisions within the animal rights movement over new technologies as a desirable goal is best exemplified by the different reactions of activists to one move by the European Commission more than a year after it had rejected the Stop Vivisection policy proposal. In December 2016, the European Commission hosted a conference on alternatives to animal experimentation called 'Non-Animal Approaches—The Way Forward', portrayed as a response to Stop Vivisection. However, Stop Vivisection activists refused to participate, arguing that the conference

> [b]y no means, indeed, […] responds to the claims and objectives of the 1,173,131 European citizens supporting our thoroughly successful Initiative. After months of negotiations, its program remains poor, vague, inadequate (Stop Vivisection 2016: 1).

Instead, Stop Vivisection organized a 'counter-conference' at the European Parliament, hosted by an Italian MEP, associated to the Five Star Movement, which also included other members of this party, and also one member from both the Greens–European Free Alliance and the European United Left–Nordic Green Left parliamentary groups—all of them fringe political players in Brussels.[60] On the contrary, organizations such as the Eurogroup for Animals and Cruelty Free International decided to attend the conference hosted by the Commission, underlining their much closer connection to EU policymakers.

These diverging responses by the two main 'flanks' of the opponents of animal experimentation stress their disagreements about the appropriate ways to move forward. This reflects the difficulty of finding common ground between what is often described as more moderate animal welfarists and more radical animal rightists. Although, at least by now, most activists share the goal of the total abolition of animal experimentation, one of the controversial aspects is therefore whether new technologies should be sought after in order to achieve the ultimate goal.

[60] Not only are the parties mentioned fringe players in Brussels—also the MEPs involved in the 'counter-conference' did not include key members of their parliamentary groups. This corresponds to the minor relevance of political parties, apart from animal welfare parties, in the network data analyzed in chapter 2.

Overall, new technologies might be a goal that is particularly prone to intra-movement controversy because they often fail to tackle the root causes of grievances, such as cultural attitudes that dismiss the ethical value of individual animals. Additionally, these new technologies introduce new problems, as scientists can frame themselves as ‘responsible’, arguing to share the same goals as activists (Ottinger 2013). Especially when new technologies have not experienced their breakthrough yet, a focus on them might provoke divisions among activists. If, as in the case of animal experimentation, new technologies have only limited potential to reach an overarching goal, the controversy surrounding the issue is unlikely to decrease. Therefore, while each of the four mechanisms that link activism with new technologies comes with advantages and disadvantages, some activists against animal experimentation reject all efforts of pushing for new technologies on principle.

The issue of ‘alternatives’ has led to so much internal tension among the opponents of animal experimentation because it represents the key strategic division in this public policy struggle. Similar divisions do not exist with respect to ideology. Ideologically, there is wide agreement among activists over the ultimate goal to end all forms of animal experimentation—in fact, some of the movement’s targets, such as the EU, and also cosmetic companies, formally support this goal. In terms of strategy, however, divisions over how to achieve this goal exist: Activists differ whether opposition to animal experimentation should mainly rely on public opposition to animal experimentation or on cooperation with corporations and scientists engaging with the practice. The latter typically involves a focus on the 3Rs and therefore the push for ‘alternatives’. That this occurs often without the attempt to mobilize the public is underlined by the case of FRAME referred to above: Despite its important role to fund research, the network data analyzed in chapter 2 indicates that its popularity in terms of Facebook likes (3,034) is marginal.

4.5 Conclusion

Social movement scholarship has emphasized that activism can have many different consequences. By building on insights from STS, this chapter has underlined that the development of new technologies may be one of them. I have distinguished four

different mechanisms that describe how activists contribute to the development of new technologies, exploring how animal rights activists have pushed for the development of alternatives to animal experimentation. I also have analyzed how new technologies may cause intra-movement divisions, showing how some activists do not regard alternatives an ineffective measure to replace animal experimentation—a conflict that was particularly visible during the Stop Vivisection ECI campaign.

Like many other movement goals, the development of new technologies is not easy to achieve. Movement players have often been only able to *attempt* initiating the development of new technologies—an observation that points to the difficulty of distinguishing between strategies and outcomes of activism. Indeed, depending on the perspective, the development of new technologies can both be regarded as outcome of activism and as a strategy. The same holds true for knowledge production more generally, such as DIY data collection through 'bucket monitoring' as part of environmental activism (Ottinger 2013). As Philip Balsiger (2016: 240) acknowledges, 'the distinction between movement actions and movement outcomes can also be blurred'. In a similar vein, Craig Calhoun (1993: 404) argues that for some activists '[e]nd and means are very much the same', referring to the 'protected space' some feminist activists of the contemporary women's movement provide for themselves and others and to the establishment of rural, often socialist or religious, communities in the 1840s as an effort to lead 'simpler' and considered lives. Similarly, phenomena like establishing a party, regular access to public office holders, and veganism can be regarded both as a strategy and as a consequence of activism.

Hess (2005: 531–532) highlights that new technologies are hardly ever the ultimate goal of movements, but a means to an end. Therefore, developing new technologies should be regarded as one step in a larger attempt to bring about broader social change. Recent scholarship calls for attention to such inter-related and long-term effects of activism (Bosi 2016; Jasper et al. forthcoming). Technological change stimulated through activism can be one episode in a long sequence of outcomes, a case that is not unique to technological change. Even new laws, and their proper implementation, are often not the ultimate goals of activists, but are perceived rather as stepping stones for the achievement of further social change.

Further research should investigate many of the issues related to these processes. When do SMOs attempt to bring about technological change? What mechanisms can be found most frequently and which ones promise the best results? Does intra-movement division over new technologies lead to a 'positive' or a 'negative' 'radical flank effect' (Haines 1984)? And, perhaps more importantly, how does pushing for new technologies relate to the ultimate goals of movements? In tackling these questions, scholars would add to the understanding of a crucial outcome of movement activism. The development of new technologies 'from below' is set to become an ever more important phenomenon. It touches upon issues no less important than the relationship between science and democracy and the search for possible solutions to some of the key challenges of contemporary societies.

Ultimately, the chapter emphasizes the importance of studying the relationship of social movements and technology (Hess 2015; Welsh and Wynne 2013), which is likely to become even more salient in the near future. Beyond the animal rights movement, environmental activists might continue to push for new technologies in the political struggle against global warming, while players within the feminist movement might continue to promote gender-specific medicine, for example. Attempts of animal advocates to develop and marketize 'cultured meat', grown in laboratories to replace meat from slaughtered animals, might merit closer attention of movement scholars, and not only them, soon (see Conclusion of this dissertation).

This chapter has shown that animal rights activism is indeed consequential. However, it has also indicated that activists that successfully pushed the development of new technologies have so far been unable to prevent the end of their grievances. The next chapter will turn to the long-term impact of animal rights activism in Europe, analyzing two crucial policy areas: beyond the issue of animal experimentation, the chapter will also study a case of food production.

5. The Long-Term and Issue-Specific Impact of Animal Rights Activism: The Cases of Egg Production and Animal Experimentation in Science

5.1 Introduction[61]

The previous two chapters have shown the variety of approaches animal rights activists have used to pursue their cause, focusing specifically on more public and more private attempts to do so. This chapter will take these experiences up again, this time placing them in a broader context of long-term policy trends in animal experimentation on the one hand, and in food production, the other major issue of animal rights activists, on the other. As many examples from the previous chapters have shown, a key target of many organized animal advocates since the beginning of the 19th century has been the state. In order to improve the lives of animals, activists have sought—and achieved—many instances of state regulation, and especially so in Western Europe. State regulation to 'govern animals' has been ever increasing—modern states deal with animal welfare issues to a significant extent (Smith 2012). Correspondingly, the achievement of policy change has been described as the 'main game' for social movements (Meyer 2005).

This chapter addresses the impact of activism in the European Union (EU) and its member states, focusing on two issues that are, numerically, the most relevant cases of animal exploitation: food production and animal experimentation. More precisely, it studies the areas of egg production and animal experimentation in science. Both areas affect many 'stakeholders'—such as farmers, scientists, big business, consumers, and patients—and have been subject to extensive public regulation, both at the national and the EU level. Moreover, both areas raise important ethical questions about the legitimacy of the use of animals in the production of food and medicine for the purposes of human beings. This is not only the bone of contention for animal rights activists—a wide public in Europe shares at least some of their ethical concerns. For example, 82%

[61] A version of this chapter is forthcoming in *Ricerche di storia politica*.

of EU citizens are in favor of improving animal welfare standards for farmed animals (European Commission 2016).

In analyzing these two cases, I show that even though activists have contributed to a great number of policy changes—most importantly two major and contested EU directives regulating battery cages in egg production (Directive 1999/74/EC) and animal experimentation in scientific research (Directive 2010/63/EU)—the gains for animals subjected to these practices have remained modest. I also highlight the importance of two crucial factors that explain the potential of future gains (or perhaps their absence): the role of political consumerism, on the one hand, and the influence of new technologies, on the other. Overall, the chapter underlines the limited long-term gains of activists and the importance of issue-specific factors for understanding the public policy conflicts they engage in.

Analyzing the impact of activism is perhaps the most relevant question in social movement studies (for literature reviews see Amenta and Caren 2004; Bosi et al. 2016b; McAdam and Boudet 2012). The pursuit of a research agenda that focuses on the macro-level and long-term impact of activism promises particularly important theoretical and empirical insights. A growing number of scholars calls for a focus on macro-structures and long-term developments to understand crucial dimensions of activism (della Porta 2015; Hetland and Goodwin 2013). Mapping out crucial factors for movement gains might not only contribute to academic knowledge, but also to activists' understanding of the public policy conflicts that they engaged with (Bevington and Dixon 2005; Flacks 2004).

At the same time, some scholars have been cautious about analyzing macro-level and long-term gains and losses of social movements, pointing to the complexity of the issue. Rucht (1999) highlights the scope of such a question and the many explanatory factors that need to be considered. The main methodological issue of answering 'big' questions on the impact of movements is the issue of causality. McAdam and Boudet (2012: 103) argue that when scholarship on the consequences of activism 'is pitched at […] a broad, macrolevel […] the connections between hosts of simultaneous change processes are simply impossible to disentangle', highlighting an, in their view, 'impossibility of trying to sort out influences at […] an abstract macrolevel'. Given the

large number of possible explanatory variables that explain social change, any analysis will have problems assessing the relative importance of social movement activism.

In order to mitigate such problems, this chapter goes beyond the 'Ptolemaic' approach—which puts activists in the center of political conflicts, with all other political players revolving around them—and instead follows a 'Copernican perspective' that explores additional possible drivers of stability and change (McAdam and Boudet 2012). The two factors highlighted in this chapter are political consumerism and new technologies—factors that are somewhat independent of activism, but also related to it. While '[s]ocial movements are never the only force at work in social change', '[o]ften, they are both the offspring of shifting visions and their midwives' (Jasper 2014: 183). This observation is also valid when discussing the role of political consumerism and new technologies for the regulation of egg production and animal experimentation in science.

Much of the literature on activism focuses on 'political opportunity structures' (McAdam 1982) to explain cross-national differences in movement outcomes (e.g. Kitschelt 1986; Kriesi et al. 1995). Recently, a growing number of scholars have also emphasized the importance of issue-specific differences (e.g. Berclaz and Giugni 2005; Einwohner 1999a; Giugni, 2004, 2009, 2011; Giugni et al. 2005, 2009; Koopmans and Statham 1999; Koopmans et al. 2005; Kriesi et al. 1995; Meyer and Minkoff 2004; McCammon et al. 2001; Schnyder 2014, 2015; Tarrow 1996). Already 20 years ago, Koopmans and Statham highlighted the importance of differentiating 'between movement types and policy arenas' in order to understand the contexts that activists face (Koopmans and Statham 1999: 227). However, so far this literature has only pointed out the importance of 'variables specifically relevant to the movement in question' (Schnyder 2015), focusing only on different contexts *across* movements. This chapter shows how issue-specific factors matter for understanding the *different* public policy conflicts various activists, typically regarded as representing *one* movement, engage in. In doing so, this chapter highlights the scope for political consumerism and the importance of new technologies as two key variables that differ from issue to issue.

Political consumerism has also been in the center of analysis in recent social movement research. It has not only become widespread in Europe, but it may also have important consequences—among which are the regulation of existing markets or

the creation of new ones (Balsiger 2010; Stolle et al. 2005). For animal rights activists, political consumerism has regularly been of great importance. Veganism and vegetarianism can also be defined as a form of boycott, practiced through the refusal to consume meat or any animal products at all. Beyond veganism and vegetarianism, this chapter shows that activists may also have a variety of options to influence consumers in the area of egg production, but lack opportunities to do so in their struggle against animal experimentation. This both contributes to the understanding of past outcomes and the potential of future gains concerning these issues.

The importance of technologies for activism has also been frequently stressed in the social movement literature. However, scholars have done so mainly when relating to activists' use of the internet. Moreover, activists sometimes even successfully push for the development of new technologies, such as in the case of 'alternatives' to animal experimentation (see chapter 4; Weisskircher 2019b). Here, related but not identical, I emphasize the importance of new technologies as an explanatory factor for previous movement gains, or their lack of, and the likelihood for future ones. This perspective is not one of technological naivety—new technologies may contribute to movement gains, but not necessarily. Automobiles, for example, had some positive effects on animal welfare—replacing horses as a means for transport and war at the beginning of the 20th century—while genetic engineering has had negative effects, triggering ever more animal experiments in recent decades.

In this chapter, I benefit from information gained from 25 semi-structured interviews with animal rights activists based in various European countries, as well as with one member of a commission on animal experimentation at a German university and one written interview with an Austrian Member of European Parliament (MEP). Moreover, I rely on publications and statements of animal advocates, politicians, and state institutions (see Introduction). This chapter follows Rucht (1999), who approaches the issue of the large-scale impact of social movements through the long-form essay format, not in an attempt to provide a comprehensive theory to tackle this question, but to highlight potentially important variables.

5.2 The Political Conflict over Egg Production

Shortly after the Second World War, battery cages for ‘laying’ hens (i.e. factory farming in egg production) was introduced. This ‘production method’ quickly diffused from the United States to Western Europe. It did not take long, however, until battery cages faced public criticism. In 1964, British activist Ruth Harrison (1964) wrote the influential book *Animal Machines*, which popularized critical views on factory farming, including battery cages. Three years later, British farmer Peter Roberts founded Compassion in World Farming (CIWF) to campaign against battery cages in particular. Other groups and organizations in Western Europe followed—the political conflict over egg production took off, slowly, but steadily.

In the following decades, public opinion in many European countries became highly critical of battery cages. For example, already in 1990 a clear majority of 85% of Germans were in favor of banning this practice (Die Zeit 2014a). In other countries, the situation was similar and activists could even achieve individual gains. The biggest one was made in Switzerland: in 1981, new legislation demanded improved conditions, such as more space, for all cages by 1992. Ultimately, Swiss farmers, driven by the decision of major Swiss supermarket chains not to sell domestically produced battery eggs, decided to stop using cages at all (Schmidt 2002).

Policy Change: The Path to Directive 1999/74/EC

Europe-wide, the most prominent legislative achievement to date is Directive 1999/74/EC on ‘minimum standards for the protection of laying hens’—known for its ban on ‘unenriched’ battery cages. This policy change was preceded by a long history of EU level activism. Animal rights activists turned out to be early Europeanizers, establishing the Eurogroup for Animal Welfare already in 1980. The decision to found an umbrella group of big and moderate organizations was driven by the British Royal Society for the Protection for Animals (RSPCA) and included organizations such as the Deutscher Tierschutzbund. Since 1983, a European Parliamentary Intergroup has

provided a regular forum for MEPs to debate animal welfare issues—the RSPCA provided infrastructure (see chapter 2).

In 1986, their efforts contributed to passing Council Directive 86/113/EEC—the first regulation of battery cages at the European level. It required a minimum area of 450 cm^2 for each hen—by 1988 for new cages and by 1995 for all cages.

In 1993, when the European Commission (EC) was required to report on scientific advances on the issue, the European Coalition for Farm Animals (ECFA) was founded. Again, it was a British organization that drove the process: CIWF was the leading group. Its aim was to ban all battery cages. The ECFA used a variety of tactics to pursue its goal, such as touring European states, distributing about 150,000 postcards, and calling for the mass mailing of national ministers and MEPs. In addition, the ECFA published leaflets and scientific reports, and conducted undercover research in factory farms. They funded public opinion polls, staged media events and distributed free-range eggs to ministers. They also relied on public ads—in France, for example in the magazine *Le Monde* or in the Paris Métro. Moreover, the ECFA lobbied key politicians on the national and the EU level (Compassion in World Farming undated).

At the end of the 1990s, activists faced a favorable context at the level of EU politics. In the first half of 1998, the British government (Blair I) held the Presidency of the EU Council, where national ministers meet. For its 1997 electoral campaign, Labour had issued a special manifesto on animal welfare. In the first half of 1999, the German government (Schröder I) held the Presidency—the Greens, junior partner of Schröder's social democrats, held the ministry of agriculture.

In January 1999, after much back and forth between the EC and the Council, a proposal of the Council, driven by the German government, found support. It called for a ban on all battery cages, with the exception of 'enriched' ones—'enrichment' refers to the need to equip the cages with objects that are supposed to increase animal welfare, such as perches. Enriched cages had been commercially introduced a year before in Sweden. While a consultative vote in the European Parliament (EP) supported the proposal, there was an impasse in the Council: key agricultural countries (Greece, France, Italy, Spain, and Portugal) blocked the directive, which put the efforts of activists at risk. In May 1999, as a response to this stalemate, one activist decided to pursue a radical tactic. Adolfo Sansolini, leader of ECFA in Italy, went on a hunger

and thirst strike, aiming to convince the Italian agricultural minister to change his position. After about 40 hours, the Italian government gave in. Afterwards, the others followed (for a detailed account see Ellies 2007, from which my descriptions are drawn). In the words of Sansolini:

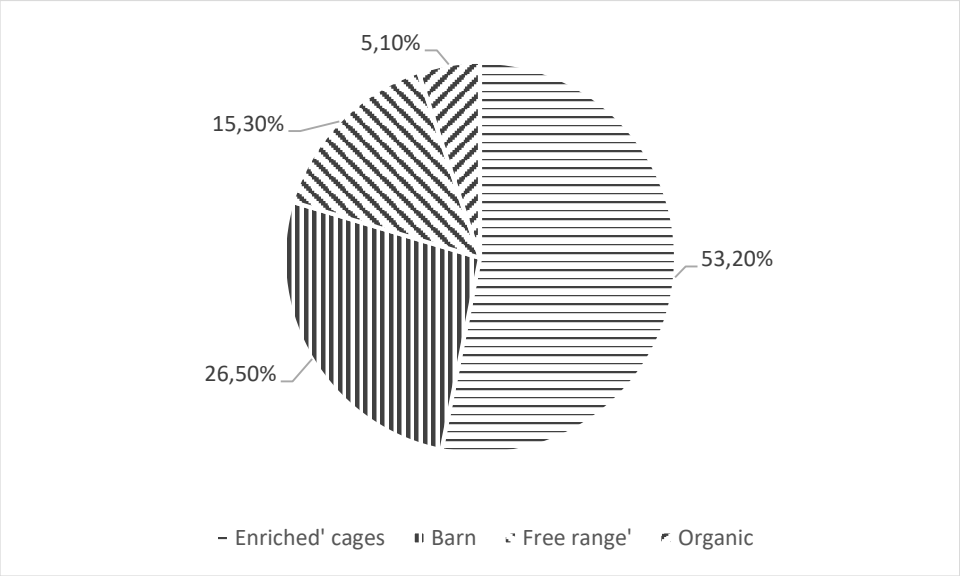
> I knew I was risking a lot. But living is about using life. Between birth and death you should live. I think that's about sharing. If you believe in something you should invest in it to make to happen. What I could invest at that moment wasn't anything else but putting my life at the table (quoted in Ellies 2007: 151).

Sansolini's protest was the final trigger for the adoption of the directive. The directive regulated the phasing-out of 'unenriched' battery cages through to 2012, with the exception of farms with fewer than 350 hens and farms for breeding 'layers'. Crucially, it still allowed for the use of 'enriched cages'.[62]

At the time of the adoption, many activists praised the directive as a huge gain, expecting that, similar to Switzerland, the industry would not adopt 'enriched' cages. However, this turned out not to be the case—instead, they became widely used. Moreover, some countries did not implement the rule by 2012—therefore, even the use of 'unenriched' cages continued longer than expected (European Commission 2012). The following numbers underline the spread of 'enriched' cages: In 2017, more than half of all laying hens in the EU were kept in them, about a quarter were kept in barns, and only about 15 percent under so-called 'free-range' conditions (see Figure 15).

[62] On the national level, some countries pursued stricter regulation.

Figure 15: The Keeping of Laying Hens in the EU



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Note: Share of Laying Hens by Method of Keeping. Data is for 2017. Source: European Commission (2019: 2).

Within the movement, there are conflicting interpretations over whether the policy change constitutes a gain. Peter Singer called it ‘a major advance in animal welfare,’ arguing that ‘at least 300 million hens who would have lived miserable lives in standard battery cages are now in significantly better conditions’ (Singer 2012). Similarly, the British Animal Welfare Party regarded the directive as one of ‘many steps which have improved the lives of millions of animals within [the EU’s] borders’ (Animal Welfare Party 2016).

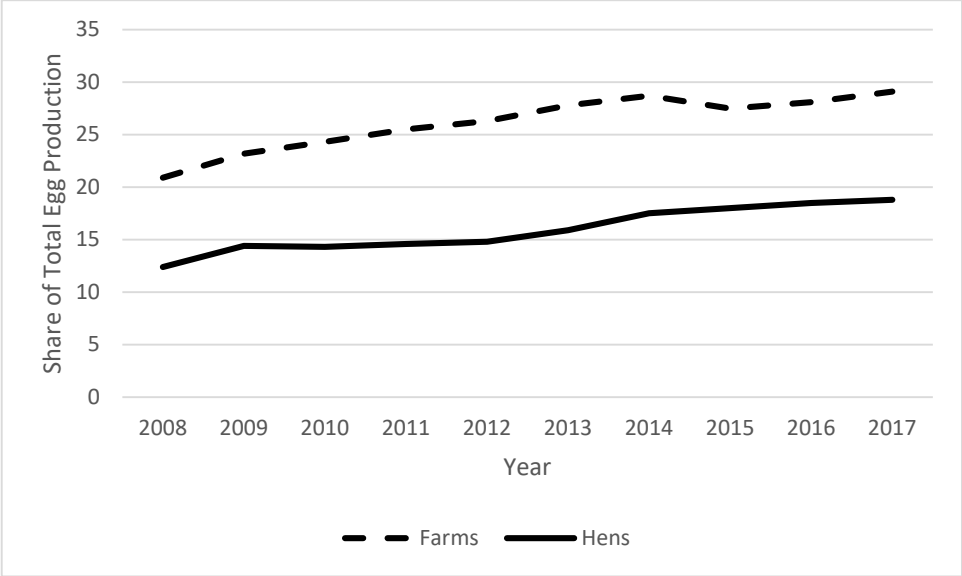
On the other hand, strong criticism exists within mainstream NGOs. Philip Lymbery, CEO of CIWF, regretted that ‘sadly there was a flaw in the legislation’, arguing that ‘[t]he ‘enrichment’ in these cages is little more than window dressing, a cynical sop to consumer concerns’—‘a cage is still a cage’ (Lymbery 2015). What makes this assessment particularly striking is that Lymbery was campaign director of CIWF in the 1990s, chiefly responsible for activism in favor of the directive. Despite the intensive efforts of activists to improve the welfare of layer hens, even the most comprehensive piece of EU legislation has hardly led to substantive gains. Currently, Lymbery and other activists mobilize for the ‘End the Cage Age’ ECI, which also targets the ‘enriched’ cages used in egg production (see Conclusion of this dissertation). The strong central position of CIWF among European animal advocates make successful mobilization very likely (see Figure 7 in chapter 2, where CIWF is fourth-placed in my

network data; its ego-network consists of organizations and groups from 17 different countries, 16 of which are EU member states).

The Power of Political Consumers

Activists have not only pushed for policy change to improve animal welfare in egg production. They have also targeted consumers to use the power of their market behavior and to change market supply—the widespread perception of European consumers that 'organic' or 'free-range' eggs are ethically superior to other eggs is an important consequence of activism. But it is also a prerequisite for future gains. Recently, the demand for such eggs has substantially increased—which is also reflected in the number of 'farms' that produce 'free-range' eggs. In Germany, for example, their share has increased from about 20 to about 30 percent within the past decade—the comparatively small size of 'free-range facilities' is the reason for why the share of hens kept in them has remained lower, growing from slightly above ten percent to slightly below twenty percent (see Figure 16).

Figure 16: 'Free-Range' Egg Production in Germany



.
Source: Bundesanstalt für Landwirtschaft und Ernährung (2018: 8).

Consumers require information to make their choices—which further increases their potential to influence egg production. Council Regulation (EC) No 2052/2003 demands the labeling of eggs with information on the production method, the country of origin, and the production facility.

However, such labeling does not apply to processed foods such as cakes or pasta. Therefore, some activists push for the labeling of eggs also in processed foods in order to raise consumer awareness and to decrease the use of eggs from ‘enriched’ cages further. Some organizations have also introduced their own labeling to distinguish eggs from hens held in ‘enriched’ cages and from those who are not. An example is the ‘RSPCA Assured’ label, which provides information on various animal welfare standards.

Therefore, activists continue to use the power of consumers to make egg producers reconsider their production method, even if law does not require it. Such tactics may contribute to future changes in egg production.

The Potential of New Technology?

New technology also has the potential to substantially decrease the numbers of animals killed in egg production. ‘Chick culling’ is the killing of male offspring of ‘layer’ hens, for which the industry has no use. In highly-specialized industrialized agriculture ‘layer’ hens are bred to maximize egg production, but for meat production ‘broilers’, who grow faster and bigger, are used.

In-ovo sexing is a technology that could substantially reduce the number of animals used for egg production—this method provides information about the sex before hatch. Eggs with male embryos would simply not be hatched anymore. Research in efficient in-ovo sexing methods has been ongoing for years. In Germany, the federal government has even funded research on such methods and a former conservative minister of agriculture has called for their speedy introduction. Even if this method was adopted in Germany only, the annual hatching and immediate killing of about 50 million chickens would be stopped. Similar efforts are currently made in other countries such as the United Kingdom and the Netherlands.

In-ovo sexing has more potential to prevent ‘chick culling’ than dual-purpose chicken breeds. Dual-purpose breeds would be a ‘compromise’ between ‘layers’ and ‘broilers’. However, given the competitiveness of the egg and the chicken meat markets, dual-purpose breeds will likely remain niche products—unlike in-ovo sexing, businesses might not have a sufficient incentive to adopt dual-purpose breeds.

Future Animal Welfare Gains?

Political consumerism and new technologies can improve animal welfare in egg production further, even if no new laws regulating the use of cages are adopted anytime soon. Therefore, some future gains seem likely. Still, any such gains would be limited—not only from an animal rights perspective, but even from the point of view of animal welfare. Outside of cages, for example in barns, significant welfare problems would also persist, including lack of access to nature, the absence of stable packing orders in large flocks, or the killing of ‘unproductive’, old ‘layers’. While political consumerism and technologies might lead to further gains in the regulation of egg production, this will only occur within the limited scope of welfarist goals.

5.3 The Political Conflict over Animal Experimentation in Science

Since the 19th century, animal experimentation has become widespread in modern medical research—and an issue of public contention. The first petition against the practice was organized in Florence, Italy. In 1863, the Irish activist Frances Power Cobbe opposed experiments on animals such as dogs and pigeons conducted at the Istituto di Studi Superiori (Boddice 2014: 88). The first state to regulate the practice was the UK—where, in 1876, Parliament passed the Cruelty to Animals Act.

In 1885, almost 800 licensed experiments were conducted in Britain. A century later, numbers had increased sharply, to 5.5 million in 1970. The practice has been a large-scale phenomenon also elsewhere, for example in Denmark, the Netherlands, and Sweden—with at least one million experiments annually in each of these countries (Ryder 1983: 17, 24, 26). At the same time, many countries took regulatory steps. In West Germany, the 1972 reform of the Tierschutzgesetz—the first major overhaul

since the Nazi era Reichstierschutzgesetz from 1933—introduced a permit procedure for certain tests (Heyde 1987: 1440).[63] In the 1970s, Austria (1974), Belgium (1975), Denmark (1977), the Netherlands (1977), Norway (1974), and Sweden (1979) also introduced new legislation (Philips and Sechzer 1989: 105–107).

Animal advocates influenced these policy outcomes. For example, during the final plenary debate on Austria's first law on animal experimentation in 1974, speakers from all parties referred to the tactics of animal welfare organizations—such as their participation in the formal evaluation procedure of a previous draft and the mailing of a large number of letters that included pictures on animal experimentation to the MPs (Stenographische Protokolle des Österreichischen Nationalrats XIII. GP: 10208). Therefore, contemporary efforts to push for policy change have built on a long history of similar attempts.

However, the regulations of the 1970s were very weak. Their main 'loophole' was 'simply that, although painful experiments are technically only allowed if they conform to the [laws], their necessity is rarely, if ever, questioned' (Ryder 1983: 99). Singer (1998: 59) even claims that until the late 1970s the movement was not able to prevent a single animal experiment. The lack of effect was one reason why many young activists started to formulate more radical goals.[64]

[63] The most infamous historic regulation of animal experimentation is most certainly the supposedly general ban on animal experimentation as part of the first national animal welfare law in Germany, which was passed under the National Socialist government in November 1933, not long after it took power. And already three months before the passing of the Reichstierschutzgesetz, Hermann Göring, then governor of Prussia, banned animal experimentation in his county. A day later, the press office of the NSDAP announced that every violator would be sent to a concentration camp, one of the first references to this institution (Dirscherl 2012). The bans on animal experimentation were more of a publicity stunt than actual scientific practice: 'Animal experimentation for biomedical purposes played the same role in the German Reich as anywhere in the world, as judged by the number of animal studies performed and the species involved,' as judged on the basis of the relevant publications in Germany from this period (Fritzsche 1992: 218). In post-war West Germany, parliamentary efforts were made at the end of the 1950s and throughout the 1960s to reform the animal welfare law inherited from the Nazi era, including attempts to regulate animal experimentation. However, no new law was passed at that time. In 1966, even a draft from members of all parliamentary parties—social democrats, Christian democrats and liberals—failed as the federal competence for animal welfare was not clear. This changed in 1971, when the West German parliament changed the Grundgesetz [German Basic Law] in order to make animal welfare a matter of *Konkurrierende Gesetzgebung* [Competing Legislation], such that the Länder only retain legislative competence if the federal level does not make use of its own (Hackbarth and Lückert 2002: 5–6).

[64] Some animal advocates also started to rely on more radical tactics, including the destruction of research facilities, for example activists of the Animal Liberation Front. Stop Huntingdon Animal Cruelty targeted individuals directly and indirectly involved in the business or practice of animal experimentation. These activists were severely repressed by state authorities (Ellefsen 2016).

Policy Change: The Path to Directive 2010/63/EU

In 1986, the European Community not only 'harmonized' regulations on battery cages, it also adopted Council Directive 86/609/EEC, which introduced minimum standards for the purchase and treatment of laboratory animals, the qualifications of animal experimenters, and the quality of laboratories. It also already called for the promotion and use of 'alternatives' to animal experimentation.[65]

In 1990, the European Coalition to End Animal Experiments (ECAE) was founded—another umbrella organization which included many big organizations in Europe, such as Cruelty Free International (back then, the British Union for the Abolition of Vivisection) and Lega Anti Vivisezione (Anti-Vivisection League). Originally focusing on animal experimentation in cosmetics, they, together with other organizations, campaigned for tighter regulations in science when the revision of existing EU legislation was initiated. In 2002, the EP called on the EC to act. Beyond intensive lobbying and consultation activities, activists also staged many public protests in the following years. One ECEAE member, Ärzte gegen Tierversuche (Physicians Against Animal Experiments), contributed to a Europe-wide collection of 150,000 signatures to the EP organized by the DHT, sent letters to German ministers, convinced 85,000 people to send postcards to all German and Austrian MEPs and cooperated with the German Green Party.[66] In March 2009, the ECEAE organized protests in front of the

[65] Stanley Johnson (2014), then associated with the DG Environment XI, notes not only the importance of regulatory developments at the national level in Great Britain and successful power struggles within the European Commission for the passing of this directive. He also points to the relevance of animal advocates, which were already established in Brussels at that time (see chapter 3): 'It was good to see a handful of demonstrators outside. […] The demonstrators who gathered that morning in front of the Council building in Luxembourg were vocal, if not numerous. One by one the ministers arrived in their cars. Some of them seemed surprised by the demonstrators. In those days, environment ministers were not often the center of attention. But they seemed pleased too. Maybe, after all, they were doing something that mattered' (Johnson 2014).

[66] The strong mobilization of Ärzte gegen Tierversuche over the course of this policymaking process is particularly interesting: In Chapter 4, the group is highlighted as particularly critical of 'alternatives' to animal experimentation—showing its opposition to a key logic of current EU policymaking. It is no surprise then that Chapter 3 referred to the group as one of the supporters of Stop Vivisection. Nevertheless, in the network data in Chapter 2, Ärzte gegen Tierversuche is part of the ego-networks of both the Eurogroup for Animals (Figure 4), of which is it not a member, and of Stop Vivisection (Figure 5). These observations indicate the central role of the group inside the contemporary animal rights movement in Europe—in the network data analyzed it is the 'node' with the ninth highest betweenness centrality (Figure 7).

EP in Strasburg and in Prague—the Czech Republic held then the Presidency of the EU Council (European Coalition to End Animal Experiments undated).

After a long legislative process, Directive 2010/63/EU 'on the protection of animals used for scientific purposes' was adopted and took effect in 2013. Essential features are the requirement to establish national license systems as well as local animal welfare bodies in every laboratory, the inclusion of basic research and education in the scope of the directive, the promotion of the 3Rs,[67] and what many interpreted as a de facto ban on the use of great apes for experimentation. Moreover, in the directive the EU commits itself to the long-term goal of an end of all animal experimentation. Substantially, the directive represents the transposition of the strictest national-level rules to the EU level—however, it does not allow stricter national measures (Hartung 2010).

Soon after its adoption, some activists demanded different legislation 'that does away with animal experimentation'. In doing so, they used the instrument of the European Citizens' Initiative (ECI) to formally propose legislation. Stop Vivisection was highly successful in mobilizing, collecting more than the required one million signatures (see chapter 3). Many small- and medium-sized groups were behind the campaign; almost two thirds of the signatures were collected in Italy. However, the Commission decided against following the proposal of the activists who thought that the directive did not bring enough gains for animals. The mobilization success of Stop Vivisection was particularly remarkable considering that many big organizations from the Eurogroup, such as the RSPCA, and PETA did not show support. These groups, with some access to policymakers, were far from uncritical of the directive:

> [W]e wanted far tighter controls of primate use; we didn't want any get-out clauses to allow the causing of prolonged severe suffering, and those are things that still made it into the Directive. So you can still use primates basically for what you want if you can provide justification, and you could theoretically still cause prolonged severe suffering—at least in countries other than the UK, which didn't include that caveat when they transposed. So there are still massive areas of concern, and the Animal Welfare Body which was based on the UK's Ethical Review Process—now called the AWERB. By the time the process had finished, the requirement was only for a minimum of two members: a scientist and a person responsible for animal

[67] Russell and Burch coined the term '3Rs', referring to the 'replacement' of animal experimentation with non-animal based methods, the 'reduction' of the number of animals used in a given experimentation, and the 'refinement' of experiments to cause less harm to the animals.

> care. Now the AWERB in the UK generally has input from a statistician, the named vets, another scientist unassociated with the project, lay representation or people from animal welfare organizations, a much wider breadth of views, which is much more conducive to properly challenging whether and how animals are used. So yeah, things got watered down, things got changed we weren't happy about. (Interview 1)

However, at the same time they did not think that a more restrictive piece of legislation would be a realistic short-term achievement and were content with some of the gains made from it.

No Power for Political Consumers[68]

Consumers lack a realistic chance to influence the practice of animal experimentation in science. This lack of opportunity is in stark contrast to other fields of animal experimentation, most notably the production of cosmetics. Cosmetic companies strongly depend on their public image—in the past, activists have successfully exploited this weakness, for example by forcing cosmetic companies to invest in research on 'alternatives' to the Draize test (Singer 1998). However, compared to science the number of animals used in cosmetics is very small.[69]

Pharmaceutical companies are not as vulnerable as cosmetic companies are. When it comes to medical products, consumers lack choice. There are two reasons for this. First, by law, the development of new medicine requires animal experiments before clinical tests are conducted—there is no medicine on the market that has not been tested on animals. Second, while consumers could theoretically choose to boycott all medicine, this option is not deemed feasible nor desirable even by the most radical animal rights organizations—and almost all consumers would regard the costs of such a choice as too high. Thus, consumers lack realistic alternatives to influence animal experimentation in science with their market choices.

[68] McMullen (2006: 133–136) provides a similar discussion of this aspect.

[69] This is the reason why the seventh amendment of the EU Cosmetics Directive (76/768/EECW), agreed upon in 2003, is not in the focus of this dissertation. While it formally banned animal testing for cosmetic products and their ingredients, the regulation applies to hardly any animal experiments. Most chemicals used in cosmetics also serve other purposes and are therefore still tested (e.g. Interview 1).

Moreover, a substantial share of animal experiments in science is conducted at universities. Here, activists also lack pressure to influence research practices through the market mechanisms and have to rely on other, not necessarily stronger, forms of pressure.

The Limits of New Technology

Some opponents of animal experimentation have pursued an important path in the past decades, pushing for the development of new technologies (i.e. 'alternatives' to animal experimentation). Animal rights organizations have pursued these goals in various ways, for example by using their own financial resources to fund research into 'alternatives' or by pushing cosmetic companies to do so (see chapter 4; Weisskircher 2019b).

Over time, 'alternatives' to animal experimentation have become a mainstream goal, shared by policymakers and the scientific community. However, within the movement, the goal is highly contested. Not only do some activists reject striving merely for 'reduction' or 'refinement,' they also doubt that a focus on 'replacement' can bring about a fundamental change. The reason for that is that a substantial share of animal experimentation is 'basic research' without any direct aim. Such research allows for a potentially endless number of research designs and is therefore difficult to replace through 'alternatives'. Alternatives can only be found for specific research designs, for example in the testing of chemical substances (see chapter 4; Weisskircher 2019b). Therefore, there are sharp limits to how alternative technologies can reduce the numbers of animal experiments.

Few Prospects for Future Gains?

Political consumers cannot influence animal experimentation in science, while new technologies might only prevent further losses, but do not seem to be a game changer. Current EU statistics precede the year of the implementation of the directive, therefore we do not yet know its impact on animal usage. In the UK, where much of the directive had already been law for years, the number of 'procedures' from 2008 to 2017 remained stable (4 percent increase), with a sharp rise (37 percent increase) in the

creation and breeding of genetically altered animals, and a decline (17 percent) of other experiments (Home Office 2018: 6). The long-term increase in ‘procedures’ since the 1990s, back then with an annual average of about three million a year, to between three-and-a-half and four million in the past decade, could not be halted (Home Office 2018: 10). Therefore, there seems to be reasonable grounds to be cautious about the likelihood of future gains for activists.

5.4 Conclusion

The two cases discussed point to the long-term impact of animal rights activism: While activism was certainly consequential, for example in contributing to various prominent policy changes, the gains for animals have only been limited. While political consumerism and new technologies may bring about some, albeit limited, future gains in the regulation of egg production, these factors might bear only minor potential for gains in the regulation of animal experimentation in science.

Therefore, issue-specific factors are important to understand the context that activists face. So far, scholars have mainly focused on analyzing ‘those institutional factors that are most relevant to a specific movement,’ (Schnyder 2015: 706)—namely, context, which is assumed to be similar for all activists of the ‘one’ social movement. Instead, this chapter shows that different issue-specific factors matter for the various issues that activists from the ‘one’ social movement might deal with.

The focus on issue-specific factors implies that it is impossible, to the dissatisfaction of both scholars and activists, to find general formulas that explain how activists make gains. Charles Tilly pointed to the impossibility of finding invariant ‘laws’ in the study of protest: ‘No universal laws apply to all social movements’ (Tilly 2003: 253). Henry Spira, a famous animal rights activist, also highlighted that his successful campaign to pressure Revlon to fund alternatives to the Draize test depended on many factors (see chapter 4):

> I think it was just absolutely necessary to do the full-page ad. It was absolutely necessary to have demonstrations every weekend. It was absolutely necessary to get these companies and legislators to pressurize NIH. It was absolutely necessary to put pressure on city and state legislators and all the benefactors and donors (Henry Spira quoted in Singer 1998: 71–72)

Accordingly, key arguments in recent works on the impact of social movements emphasize that effective strategies need to adapt to the particular context of activism (Amenta 2006; McCammon 2012).

In studying the Townsend Plan, Amenta's (2006) theoretical argument is that activists are successful only when their actions match the political context: if the wider public or political decision-makers are hostile to the demands of a specific movement, taking assertive actions will be more efficient than in a friendlier setting. A similar point is made in a study of the US women's jury movement. According to McCammon (2012: 16) what is 'more important than the specific type of tactic, the diversity in movement actions, or even the overall amount of activity is the fit of the movement organization's tactics to the broader environment'. Such a general theoretical finding might well be 'banal', as one reviewer of Amenta's book (Richards 2007: 319) claims. That is, while the external validity of Amenta's and McCammon's arguments may be high, the explanatory depth may be limited. However, the perspective at least considers the multiple contexts of social movement activism and therefore, implicitly, concedes the futility to reduce success to a very restricted number of 'variables'.

Going beyond political consumerism and new technologies, other important factors will shape the prospect of animal rights activism in the context of egg production and animal experimentation in science. One example are institutional factors. For instance, the enlargement of the EU to its current 28 members makes achieving consensus on common legislation even more difficult than ever, to the benefit of the legal status quo. Moreover, even if the EU regulated egg production and animal experimentation in science strictly, macro-developments beyond the EU may lead to a worsening situation for animals globally. Economic growth in lower-income countries has increased both the consumption of animal products and the practice of animal experimentation outside the EU. Therefore, any gains in the EU might be overshadowed by losses elsewhere.

In the context of food production, a potential game changer might indeed relate to both political consumerism and new technology—namely, the rise of 'cellular agriculture,' especially of 'clean meat'. In the US, and to a lesser extent in Western Europe, several research institutes and start-ups, often funded with large venture capital, are trying to produce meat in laboratories—that is, outside living animals (see Conclusion of this

dissertation). Some firms are even trying to produce egg white without chicken, for example from yeast. For now, different questions over marketization, for example cheap mass production and consumer acceptance, remain open (Shapiro 2018). However, if consumers would buy such products, a substantial reduction in the number of animals killed for human purposes could be achieved. Such a development might have long-term repercussions on how humans perceive the moral value of animals—which might again harm the legitimacy of egg consumption *and* animal experimentation.

What both scholars and activists can learn from the political conflict over egg production and animal experimentation in science is that policy change as the key goal of social movements needs to be reconsidered. Despite the intensive and long-term efforts to bring about new legislation, substantive gains for animals have only been limited. An overly strong focus on policy change might divert from other important areas of gain and loss, such as political consumerism or the development of new technologies. So far, even two major EU directives hailed by some as significant progress in animal welfare have hardly been major steps toward many activists' desired goal of 'animal liberation'.

Conclusion

This dissertation has provided a comprehensive analysis of some of the main empirical dimensions of animal rights activism in Europe. In doing so, this work has shed light on the history, the contemporary network structure, and the impact of the animal rights movement. Beyond this empirical perspective, each chapter has also connected to important theoretical debates in the study of activism, with the aim of contributing to our understanding of social movements more generally. The dissertation's contributions include the introduction of concepts from political economy to understand animal advocacy, the measurement of a network of the contemporary animal rights movement based on social media data, the analysis of the Stop Vivisection European Citizens' Initiative, the study of new technologies ('alternatives' to animal experimentation) as outcome of activism, and an analysis of the long-term impact and issue-specific contextual factors to assess the gains of activists.

This concluding chapter first discusses the findings of this dissertation. I highlight the intense activism of animal advocates in Europe from the early days in the 19th century up to the presence, which has had many consequences, including high-profile policy changes, but was only able to achieve limited gains for animals so far. Afterwards, I suggest some future research agendas based on these findings, which point to crucial questions in the study of social movement activism in general and animal rights activism more specifically. Ultimately, I approach the 'question of relevance' (Nye 2009) of political science in the context of social movement studies by proposing a focus on research questions that are both theoretically *and* empirically important and that would, ideally, provide insights to social movement scholars interested in theoretical debates on activism, but also to readers interested in specific social movements, and to social movement activists themselves.

Intense Activism, Many Consequences, but only Little Gains for Animals

A constant theme of this dissertation has been to show how strongly animal advocates have mobilized in many parts of Europe, from the emergence of the movement in the

19th century up to today. Already during the 'first wave' of activism, animal advocacy was not only restricted to its 'country of origin,' the United Kingdom, but it occurred in many parts of Europe, dealing with a variety of issues—from the welfare of draft animals to vegetarian diets. At the beginning of the 21st century, animal advocates are widely active all across the continent, and especially in Western Europe. The organizational landscape consists of many heterogeneous players that try to improve the lives of farmed animals, animals used in scientific laboratories, or 'wild' animals, for example. While nations strongly matter for animal advocacy and most activists mainly operate in national contexts, many of the organizations and campaigns referred to in this dissertation also point to the importance of transnational ties and transnational groups. Activists have also been quite effective in organizing at the EU level.

Animal rights activism has been highly consequential, as this dissertation has shown. 'Outcomes' either intensively studied or more briefly referred to have included, first and foremost, a great number of policy changes—with two key EU directives on the welfare of layer hens and animals used in scientific experimentation as the most prominent ones. These directives were preceded by numerous pieces of national and subnational legislation. Moreover, corporations and industries have changed, also as a consequence of activism: Pharmaceutical companies now fund research into 'alternatives' to animals, while, even though 'enriched cages' have become the new standard practice of egg production, also the share of 'free-range' egg production has been on the rise. Moreover, public opinion has shifted too, as reflected in the widespread support for the idea of animal welfare in Europe or the ban of battery cages—survey data that this dissertation has referred to. Also activists themselves have changed: On a micro-level, activists such as the ECI campaigners have gained social capital from their experiences, on a macro-level veganism has become ever more popular within the movement.

When trying to understand the impact of activism, social movement scholars have recently put forward a relatively broad conceptualization: Bosi et al. (2016), for example, study the 'consequences' of activism for people, policies, and institutions, analyzing a large variety of outcomes. From such a perspective, the consequences of animal advocacy in Europe have been plenty. Most certainly, animal advocates have changed the world that we are living in more than many political observers would

suspect.

However, understanding the outcomes of activism in terms of gains and losses (Jasper et al. forthcoming) alters this assessment: Such a perspective looks beyond major 'outcomes' and highlights that social movement activism is a 'long game'— instead of great victories after successful mobilization efforts, the reality of activism is Gramscian wars of position, with many small gains and losses. Other players make activists' lives constantly difficult, including 'state' institutions that reject their demands like the European Commission, business players that try to change as little as possible, such as the egg industry, or individual consumers, who do not turn vegetarian or vegan. Understanding animal rights activism as 'long game' puts the many 'consequences' discussed in this dissertation, including policy changes, into perspective.

This is particularly true if we understand the consequences of animal rights activism only as gains for animals. Then their impact seems less striking. Despite the many consequences of animal advocacy that this dissertation has pointed to, animal advocates in Europe have often remained unable to substantially improve the lives of animals. The dissertation has shown that the number of animals experimented upon has remained fairly stable over the past years, after a substantial increase in comparison to the 1990s. When it comes to food production, this dissertation has focused on a particularly modest goal of activism: Putting an end to battery cages in egg production (and not abolishing egg production altogether). Still, despite major struggles over legislative outcomes, 'enriched' cages have remained the standard practice in Europe.

In a book that has been foundational for the contemporary animal rights movement, Peter Singer (1975) famously called for *Animal Liberation*. More than four decades after Singer's seminal book, Europe has hardly come closer to the realization of such a vision. While the EU is often regarded as the world's most advanced region in terms of animal welfare, especially because of the key pieces of legislation discussed in this dissertation, actual improvements for animals in factory farms or scientific laboratories have hardly been achieved.

The key reason for this is certainly that animal rights activists do not only face long

games, but ‘the longest struggle’—in the words of the late activist and writer Norm Phelps (2007). Indeed, animal advocates face a particularly hard task given that they try to improve the living conditions of other individuals, animals, that are usually unable to defend themselves. Especially when promoting veganism or vegetarianism, activists need to oppose not only the practices of state institutions, corporations, or scientists. Moreover, they need to oppose widespread and deeply ingrained human behavior. Their targets are the overwhelming majority of human beings, whose food consumption is not only a daily activity, but typically also regarded as a very personal decision. And when fighting animal experimentation, activists target a practice that many regard as important for research into human health and the fight against major diseases. This constellation makes animal rights activism quite unique within the world of social movements: Facing such a context, major gains are particularly difficult to achieve. In the remainder of this dissertation, I will continue referring to the crucial question of the impact of animal rights activism.

Some Suggestions for Future Research Agendas

This dissertation has referred to many important research areas that merit the attention of social movement scholarship. Starting from the limitations of each chapter of this dissertation, I propose theoretical questions that should guide future studies. Answering these questions would not only expand our knowledge of social movements in general, but of animal rights activism in particular.

The Importance of History: Lessons for Understanding Today’s Animal Advocacy?

Chapter 1 has underlined how a historical perspective helps us to understand key features of social movements—and how the lack of such a perspective might lead us to overstate the originality of some dimensions of activism. Various scholars have explicitly highlighted the relevance of a historical perspective in social movement research (e.g. Calhoun 1993; Haydu and Skotnicki 2016; Tilly 2006). To stress this point one more time, the following section highlights that even the causal relationship between activism and the development of new technologies described in chapter 3 is not a recent phenomenon. Therefore, even something often deemed to be as ‘modern’

as the relevance of technology for social movements has quite long historic roots. This observation points to the opportunity of studying the ‘first wave’ of animal advocacy in order to improve our understanding of the contemporary movement.

When the pioneers of animal advocacy in the 19th and at the beginning of the 20th century tried to trigger the development of new technologies, their efforts corresponded to the movement’s grievances of that period. Before the invention of the car, animals—mainly horses and donkeys—were the most widespread ‘means’ of transport. Suffice to note that these so-called draft animals usually had to ‘operate’ under extremely intense and often dangerous conditions. In this period, the growing number of slaughterhouses—and the doubtful ‘quality’ of the ever more industrialized killing process of farmed animals—became another topic of controversy. Already back then, some animal advocates tried to provide technological ‘solutions’ for these problems of animal welfare.

The French Société Protectrice des Animaux (SPA) is a particularly salient example. The organization highlighted contributing to the applied sciences as one of its main objectives. These activities reflected the high number of doctors and veterinarians in the SPA. The organization ‘made annual awards, promoting inventions and apparatuses which, by reducing all counterproductive suffering, facilitated the work of domesticated animals’ (Traïni 2016: 29). In 1876, for example, the group aimed at improving the transportation of injured draft horses from the place of accident to a veterinarian. According to its own bulletin, ‘the SPA Committee for Horses recommended that a prize of 500 francs be awarded to the inventor of the best machine for the transportation of wounded horses’ (Traïni 2016: 27).

Already a year earlier, and in a similar vein, the organization financially rewarded the following inventions:

> a drinking bottle for helping horses swallow medicine, a collar to protect young chicks from being attacked by cats and other small predators, a spring-loaded trap to be used by clay pigeon shooters, and a new muzzle which was lighter and less likely to hurt the animal wearing it than previous designs (Traïni 2016: 27).

Apart from using the SPA's financial resources to fund public contests, the society also used its internal 'human resources' to fund research. As Traïni (2016: 27) notes:

> Henri Blatin, a doctor who was for many years a leading figure in the association, himself invented a number of devices which ensured that if a draft horse collapsed the tongue of its harness would become unbuckled, and the animal immediately freed of its heavy load.

Outside of France as well, animal advocates tried to trigger the development of new technologies. These efforts related to the 'humane' slaughtering of animals in an era when many farmed animals were slaughtered with knives or pole-axes, as mechanical equipment to conduct and 'standardize' the killing was unavailable. In combination with the weak regulation of slaughter processes and the lack of 'skill' or care of the employees of slaughterhouses all over industrializing Europe, slaughter regularly was an even less 'clean' process than it is nowadays.

In Germany and Great Britain (among others), advocates pushed for the development of new technologies. In 1901, the local animal advocacy organization in Leipzig awarded 5,000 German marks, provided by an anonymous female (!) donor, for the creation of a tool to 'stun effectually sheep and pigs' before the killing took place. The contest was part of a long-lasting campaign for 'humane' killing methods. There was no shortage of interest—183 proposals were submitted. The Bavarian Hugo Heiss won a part of the prize for producing an essay on the development of a captive bolt pistol. At around the same time, in 1906, Major Derriman of the RSPCA invented a 'humane killer', a device to stun animals. Five years later, an improved captive bolt pistol was developed in Germany—its bolt automatically returned to its initial position—and then further advanced in Britain. In the following decades, animal advocates promoted these stun devices and a combination of persuasion and legislation contributed to their breakthrough (Moss 1961: 68–89).

Hugo Heiss, one of the winners of the competition in Leipzig in 1901, and a leading advocate of 'humane' slaughter—was a veterinarian in the Bavarian town of Straubing, where ran the local slaughterhouse. Not only was he a speaker at several international animal welfare conferences, but he also registered numerous patents for the 'advancements' of slaughterhouses. His acceptance—both among mainstream animal

advocates and the wider public—is reflected in his honorary memberships of animal advocacy organizations, based in cities such Berlin, New York, London, and Paris, and in a private audience to the Austrian Emperor Franz Joseph (Krenn 2007: 75–79).

These empirical examples serve as more than mere historical curiosity. They underline how even such a presumably particularly 'modern' dimension of animal rights activism—the relevance of technology—has been a long-standing phenomenon. In the case discussed above, social movements triggering the development of new technologies, a historical perspective might make us aware of the potential and the limits of technology for solving some of the grievances of social movement activists. For example, promoting the development of a captive bolt pistol in order to kill animals aims at increasing the efficiency of the killing of animals in slaughter houses, perhaps not merely to the benefit of the animals involved, but mainly to the operators of such pistols. For animal rights activists, drawbacks of improved efficiency could include an increase in the number of animals killed in a given timeframe and a higher public legitimacy of the killing process due to the introduction of supposed 'clean' killing procedures. Among many things, a historical perspective may also underline how the effect of new technologies strongly differs with the issue at stake—as I show below, one particular case of new technology might even have the potential to replace the use of animal in food production.

The Importance of Online Data: Social Media to Promote Animal Rights?

Chapter 2 has shown how online data may help researchers to analyze key dimensions of social movements, such as their composition: Who makes up a social movement and how are different players connected to each other? In doing so, the chapter has benefited from the ever-growing presence of SMOs on social media platforms on the one hand, and software that allows the collection of great amounts of data on them, on the other. What the chapter did not analyze was how animal advocates make use of these platforms: How do they communicate with their audiences, how do they try to spread their ideology?

Therefore, beyond studying the composition of social movements, their activism on

social media platforms may also be analyzed from a more content-oriented perspective. Exploring what SMOs 'produce' online (e.g. what they 'share' on their Facebook pages or Twitter profiles) might teach us about a great variety of issues. Examples of the previous research on the substance of activists' online activism include a typology of the content of movement websites (Stein 2009), a study of the role of Tweets in reducing the information asymmetry between protestors and police (Earl et al. 2013), and an analysis how over time peripheral frames may become central within a movement (Bennett and Segerberg 2018).

The analysis of social media data also allows us to go beyond the study of text, something of particular importance to animal rights activists. On social media platforms visual presentation (i.e. images and videos) are of key importance (Doerr et al. 2013). The popularity of Instagram among young cohorts underlines the need to study the visual dimension of online activism even more. The use of such potentially vast empirical material might revive research that relies on framing theory, which studies how 'objective' subject matters are 'subjectively' portrayed (e.g. Chong and Druckman 2007; Benford and Snow 2000). Here we can, for example, ask: What dimensions of an issue do social movement players highlight through visual images, and how does that influence their audience?

Interview data collected for this dissertation has suggested that some animal rights organizations are highly conscious about which type of visuals to post online: One organization decided to focus on 'positive' images which highlight the beauty and the capacities of animals, for example in their natural habit (Interview 21). This goes against the option to 'shock' the audience by focusing on the suffering of animals, for example in factory farming or in scientific laboratories.

The analysis of animal rights content on social media might bear the potential of bridging research on framing theory with the study of the impact of activism. So far, we know only little on the popularity of individual frames and how and why one frame finds more public appeal than another: Often, framing research in social movement studies has remained either descriptive or framing has been treated as 'dependent variable' rather than as an 'independent variable'. Through the collection of the number of 'likes' and 'shares' received from users, studying data from social media platforms allows the

analysis of the popularity of content. Experimental methods would be another option to assess the effectiveness of different types of visual social media activism. Such approaches would be promising additions to existing academic research on how activists frame animal rights issues (Freeman 2014), providing important knowledge on the impact of their online activism.[70]

The Importance of Direct Democracy: The Long-Term Effect of Animal Rights Campaigns?

Chapter 3 has highlighted the importance of direct democracy for animal rights activism, with a focus on the ECI as a new transnational instrument. Social movements have been key players in many direct-democratic campaigns. Still, especially in the specialized literature on the ECI, studies of direct democracy and social movement activism have remained disconnected (for research on direct democracy and social movements in general see e.g. Dufour 2010; Fatke and Freitag 2013; Kriesi and Wisler 1996). Taking a closer analytical look at social movement campaigns in the context of direct democracy does not only point to one of the theoretically and methodologically most challenging question for social movement researchers, but also to a key issue for activists themselves: What are the long-term consequences of direct-democratic campaigns, even when they do not directly lead to the policy changes desired? Are there any important gains made through social movement campaigns even if they do not convince a majority of supporters at the ballot? These questions are especially relevant for the growing number of direct-democratic animal rights campaigns. One limit of this dissertation was that it focused only on the experiences of a single case, Stop Vivisection, without drawing insights from comparisons with other direct-democratic animal rights campaigns in Europe.[71]

[70] An important precondition of the possibility of research using social media data will be the policies adopted by social media companies themselves. Often it is not easy to extract data on social media postings, such as in the case of old content on Twitter. Also for Facebook, the functionality of Netvizz (Rieder 2013) or other software cannot be taken for granted. Already in the past, the functionality of Netvizz was reduced—and in August 2018, the developer of Netvizz raised doubts over the future functionality of his software (Rieder 2018). For Savage and Burrows (2007) the private ownership of large-N data is one aspect of 'the coming crisis of empirical sociology' (Savage and Burrows 2007).

[71] Also outside of Europe, animal advocates have used direct-democratic instruments to advance their cause: 'Animal rights activists leveraged a Florida vote to push the pork industry to phase out the use of gestation crates nationally. They have used city circus bans to financially undercut traveling animal circuses. They have used a major California initiative to push for an end to battery cages of laying hens' (Mongiello 2016: 331).

At the level of the EU, 23 members of the Eurogroup for Animals initiated another ECI campaign, named ‘End the Cage Age’, in September 2018. Its aim is a ban on ‘cages for laying hens, rabbits, pullets, broiler breeders, layer breeders, quail, ducks and geese; farrowing crates for sows; sow stalls, where not already prohibited [and]; individual calf pens, where not already prohibited’ (Official ECI website [European Commission, undated]). In short, the organization seeks the end of the use of cages in all industries that ‘use’ animals. Some of the activists behind this new ECI effort were already behind previous attempts to ban battery cages in egg production, which took the route of representative politics (see chapter 5). Given that these campaigners are part of some of the largest animal rights organizations in Europe, it seems realistic that activists will succeed in collecting the required one million signatures. After all, Stop Vivisection also managed to do so, lacking support of many key animal welfare organizations, especially those from the United Kingdom (see chapter 3). Compassion in World Farming already provided €132,000 to the ‘End the Cage Age’ campaign, which is more than the overall funding reported for Stop Vivisection (European Commission undated). The deadline for signature collection is 11 September 2019.

Given the limited possibilities to put pressure on EU policymakers through an ECI, even when successfully mobilizing one million supporters, it seems likely that the activists behind the ‘End the Cage Age’ campaign will not achieve all their goals. Even if such a pessimistic interpretation on the effectiveness of the ECI as a direct-democratic instrument holds true, there may still be grounds to claim that the activists’ resources will have been well-invested—for example if ECI campaigners managed to initiate a Europe-wide debate on grievances and their demands, changing views on the issue among a wider public.

In Switzerland, animal rights have long been an issue of direct-democratic campaigns. Already three initiatives focusing on animal experimentation lost at the ballot: Most prominently, in February 1992 a relatively moderate proposal on the ‘drastic and gradual limitation’ of animal experimentation was only narrowly rejected (by 56.4 percent), being preceded by policy changes as preemptive response to the vote. More radical initiatives on the abolishment of animal experimentation were rejected by larger

majorities, in December 1985 (70.5 percent) and in March 1993 (72.2 percent).[72] In early 2019, a new initiative collected the required number of signatures needed for another vote on a ban of animal experimentation. Similarly, the German–Swiss organization Sentience Politics focuses on direct democracy, having attempted to bring several animal rights issue to the ballot in Switzerland, both at the local level and at the national level. Currently, the group is collecting signatures for a nation-wide initiative against factory farming.

Social movement activists regularly make use of direct-democratic instruments with full awareness that their likelihood of immediately gaining a majority is modest, at best.[73] What they realistically plan to achieve instead is to cause a public debate on what they identify as grievances and their demands. Forcing majorities to listen to the voices of minorities was exactly what Lijphart (1999: 230–231) regarded as the consensual element of direct democracy, arguing against the widely-held presumption that direct democracy should necessarily have a 'blunt majoritarian character'. In the future previous and present experiences with direct-democratic animal rights campaigns, for example those against animal experimentation, could be studied in a comparative perspective, focusing on the extent to which direct-democratic initiatives by these minorities were actually heard. What were the outcomes of these campaigns, beyond the failure to achieve the policy change desired? These crucial questions point to the need to connect the study of direct democracy with the impact of social movement activism on public opinion and broader cultural change.

The Importance of Technology: The Impact of 'Cultured Meat'?

Chapter 4 has underlined the relevance of technology as an outcome of social movement activism—perhaps put in an oversimplifying way, new technologies can be

[72] In June 1998, an initiative on genetic research that included the call for ban of animal experimentation in this area was also rejected (by 66.7 percent) (for a history of Swiss direct-democratic campaigns against animal experimentation provided by the organizers of the latest initiative, including references to the initiatives mentioned here, see Tierversuchsverbots-Initiative undated).

[73] One prominent example for such an attempt was the recent Swiss referendum on the introduction of some form of basic income, initiated by the 'Initiative Grundeinkommen' ['Basic Income Initiative']. Even though less than one quarter of the voters supported this proposal in June 2016, the activists in favor of a basic income did not regard their campaign as a failure: the initiative's website still declares: 'Nach der Abstimmung ist vor der Abstimmung' ['After the vote is before the vote']. Moreover, they highlight a survey of 62% of the Swiss expecting another vote on the issue (Initiative Grundeinkommen undated). Already before the vote, Daniel Häni, one of the key figures behind the effort, emphasized that 'thinking about it already changes the society' (Spiegel.de, 28.01.2016).

regarded as ‘dependent’ variable of activism. Also chapter 5 pointed to the relevance of technology, in this case, again simplifying, as an ‘independent’ variable of social movement gains and losses. In the case of animal rights activism, the issue of new technologies will remain salient—not only regarding the issues that were already discussed in this dissertation, that is ‘alternatives’ to animal experimentation or egg production. It is the biggest grievance of animal rights activists—the popularity of meat—that might be fundamentally challenged through the development of new technologies in the area of ‘cultured meat’ production. How animal advocates currently try to promote cultured meat has been a neglected issue in this dissertation, but it is key to the future of the movement.

Cultured meat is produced by animal cells that do not grow in animal bodies, but in laboratories. While their development looked like a distant vision only a few years ago, recently many start-ups researching cultured meat have been founded, both in the EU and in the US. Moreover, some major multinational food corporations have recently invested in cultured meat too. The promise is not only to produce what is actual meat without harming animals, but also to be able to free these meat products from harmful substances, and to add healthy ones, such as omega-3 fatty acid. Furthermore, the widespread replacement of conventionally produced meat with cultured meat may, it is hoped, lead to a substantial reduction of the carbon footprint of human food production. Many different companies are trying to mass produce cultured products, such as Memphis Meat, based in San Francisco, Mosa Meat, based in Maastricht, or SuperMeat, based in Tel Aviv. So far, production costs have been one of the stumbling blocks: The costs of the first-ever ‘cultured meat’ burger patty, presented by the Dutch researcher Mark Prost in London in 2013, was around US$300,000. Since then, however, the costs of this and many other cultured meat products have fallen sharply (for a recent account of this emerging industry see Shapiro 2018; Hopkins and Dacey 2008; Schaefer and Savulescu 2014).

It can be expected that many animal rights activists, perhaps in a coalition with environmental activists, will try to promote these products when they are marketized. Should at least a significant number of costumers accept cultured meat, the case of cultured meat would not only show that animal rights activists may contribute to the development of new technologies, but that new technologies may also play a crucial

role in eliminating some of the grievances of social movement activists. In the history of animal rights activism, the introduction of the engine-powered automobile is often referred to as having eliminated the need for draft animals as 'means' of transport. In the study of social movements, the role of technology merits further attention, in particular the conditions in which new technologies facilitate or impede the achievement of social movement gains.

Importantly, therefore, and often overlooked, new technologies may substantially influence the outcomes of public policy conflicts that social movements engage with. Without falling into the trap of technological determinism, it is safe to say that the development of new technologies will be important beyond animal rights activism. They will shape, among others, the capacity of environmentalists to contribute to the limitation of global warming, probably positively, or of labor activists to save jobs in the manufacturing sector, probably negatively—to give only two of many examples. So far, the relevance of technology both as an 'independent' and 'dependent' variable in social movement studies has been rather neglected, and has been mostly limited to media production, especially online activism.[74]

Expecting the introduction of cultured meat to immediately bring about a widespread change of human consumption patterns—and therefore to significant gains for animal rights activists—would imply the naïve perspective of technological determinism. Instead, 'culture' will be a key intermediate variable. Even if cultured meat products become competitive on prices, fundamental questions will remain: To what extent will consumers be inclined to switch to them, will they accept cultured meat products as similar to what they were used to before? Therefore, research on the promotion and potential breakthrough of cultured meat could bring about important insights on how activism, technology, and 'culture' interact—insights of high practical relevance to animal rights activists.

The Importance of Issue-Specific Variables: Explaining the Gains of Animal Advocacy?

Chapter 5 highlighted the need to go beyond traditional conceptions of 'political

[74] To be sure, the production of what is often called 'citizen media' is a highly relevant dimension of social movement activism (Weisskircher forthcoming b).

opportunity structure' in social movement studies in order to explain the gains and losses of activists, and especially beyond those 'opportunity structures' that focus only on the institutions of the political system.[75] The main logic behind most comparative research on 'opportunity structures' is to find explanation for, often small, cross-national differences, especially regarding the emergence of movements and to their gains. Sometimes, these differences in outcomes mainly concerned timing, for example variation in the introduction of a law of a couple of years. The gains and losses of animal rights activism, however, vary strongly across issues. One limitation of this dissertation is that it did not compare issues with highly diverging patterns of outcome. Doing so would shed more light on the conditions of successful animal rights campaigns.

Wolfgang Streeck has questioned the strong focus on explaining *cross-national* differences in contemporary social science, a position which is reflected in his critique of the study of comparative political economy. Instead, Streeck argues in favor of studying cross-national commonalities:

> [For] much of comparative political economy today, […] it is cross-sectional variations between, typically, national 'capitalisms' that matter most. Where comparative political economy sees essentially frozen 'varieties' of capitalism, my perspective highlights the commonalities of its varying institutional embodiments, or more precisely: the common dynamics that are responsible for the parallel trajectories on which national capitalisms historically move. [...] I believe that it is more than that, and that the inherent generic dynamism of all capitalist political economies is much more instructive for the study of contemporary society than are the differences between them. […] Add to this that the national capitalisms that are the units of comparison in the 'varieties of capitalism' literature are in fact much more interdependent than allowed for by the theory, as a result of their ever closer interaction in capitalist world markets (Streeck 2016: 221).

For the purpose of social movement scholarship, including the study of animal rights activism, this quotation is more important than it may seem at first sight. Not only the main features of 'capitalism,' but also the main dimensions of the policy issues that

[75] Moreover, the term 'political opportunity structure' consists of three highly ambiguous terms—'political', 'opportunity', and 'structure'—which might be imprecise or even misleading. We should rather talk about 'context' (Jasper and Goodwin 2012), or in the case of this dissertation, 'issue-specific context'.

bear activists' grievances show more similarities than differences across countries. These include concerns as broad as the economic logic of an industry (e.g. the way eggs are produced); cultural attitudes and consumption patterns among the wider public (e.g. in the way eggs are consumed); and the balance of power between social movements and their opponents (e.g. between animal rights activists and egg producers). In all cases, these are more similar across different countries than across different issues.

While some social movement scholars have already tried to focus on 'issue-specific opportunity structures' (see chapter 5), their conceptualization, however, has remained rather limited. For example, Giugni (2004) describes two dimensions as crucial: the distinction between domestic and foreign policy issues, on the one hand, and between issues of high and low salience—defined as how strongly an issue affects 'core interests' of the state—on the other. The above definition simplifies, probably in order to find dichotomous variables for statistical analysis, by focusing only on the state as providing issue-specific structural constraints and opportunities, notably without defining the state's 'core interest'. As I have shown in this dissertation, such a view is too limited: issue-specific matters, such as the potential influence of consumers or the importance of technology, might in some policy areas be of much greater importance.

Giugni (2004) also looks only at *inter*-movement differences in policy areas, neglecting the importance of *intra*-movement differences as, what at least most of us understand as 'single', movements deal with a great variety of issues. These issues often come along with highly different contexts that facilitate or impede the possibilities of activists to make gains. Two of the movements Giugni studies, the environmental and the peace movement, show this. When environmentalists demand reductions in climate gas emissions on a global scale, they face a context much different from the one when they try to prevent the construction of a hydroelectric power station. When peace activists try to prevent their government from going to war, they face a different setting than when they call for a ban on weapons exports to dictatorships. Only one of the three movements that Giugni studies, activism against the production of nuclear energy, focuses on a rather narrow topic. However, strictly speaking, this movement must actually be considered a part of the environmental movement—therefore, nuclear energy might just be another example of strong *intra*-movement variation regarding the

contexts of issues that activists work on.

As Meyer and Evans (2014: 270) accurately summarize, '[t]he political process literature now spans across case studies of individual movements across multiple territories in one nation, or across multiple nations, or multiple movements within one nation.' This dissertation aims to highlight that it also makes sense to better theorize the contexts that activists from 'one and the same' movement face when dealing with a variety of issues. The animal rights movement might be a particularly suitable empirical case for attempts to analyze issue-specific contextual variables, given the great variety of goals its activists pursue. Apart from those referred to in this dissertation, other goals include, for example, the legal recognition of basic rights for great apes, the closure of orca theme parks, the prohibition of hunting, or the end of fur production.

Since the 'second wave' of the movement, animal rights activists in Europe have perhaps been most successful in mobilizing against the use of fur. Apart from the long-term decline in the popularity of fur as piece of clothing, countries such as Austria, Croatia, Czech Republic, or the Netherlands have banned fur production altogether. Going beyond a mere focus on cross-national variation, an issue-specific perspective would ask: How does the logic of fur production differ from the operation of other animal-exploiting industries? Why have cultural attitudes toward wearing fur developed differently than those toward eating meat? Why did some fur producers lose against activists, while egg producers that rely on cages are still in business?

There are two reasons why a stronger emphasis on how activism differs across issues might improve our understanding of the animal rights movement. First, such a perspective would allow for the identification of important contextual variables, such as technology, the scope of consumers to make choices, the international division of labor, or the societal entrenchment of certain social practices. Such crucial contextual factors are often missed in cross-national comparisons that instead focus on differences in the institutions of the respective political systems. Second, a focus on issue-specific factors might be particularly relevant for the study of the consequences of activism, where it could incentivize researchers to focus on the actual public policy conflicts that activists engage in. Such a perspective could provide important insights for activists

themselves—which is the topic of the last section of this dissertation.

‘The Question of Relevance’

What should the works of social movement scholars teach an audience, i.e. social movement activists, interested more in the empirical case than in conceptual work on activism? Such a question does not often pose a challenge to social movement studies alone, but to political science in general.

In *The Future of Political Science* (King et al. 2009)—a volume that was dedicated to Sidney Verba—Joseph S. Nye (2009: 252) poses ‘[t]he question of [r]elevance’ of political science as he emphasizes that ‘[p]olitical scientists should devote more attention to unanswered questions about how our work relates to the policy world we live in’—instead of overly focusing on the refinement of theory and method in matters that are only of relevance to fellow political scientists. According to Nye (2009: 253), ‘there are costs as well as benefits if we become more elegant and less relevant. There is a danger that political science will say more and more about less and less’. To be sure, as a scholar of international relations, Nye is actually active in a subfield of political science that regularly provides prominent intellectual voices to US foreign policymaking (Anderson 2014)—which means that the ‘question of relevance’ even is of concern for a scholar from a political science subfield that actually has, for better or for worse, some practical bearing.

Comparative political science seems to struggle with the question of relevance even more. In their analysis of publications in major journals of comparative politics, Munck and Synder (2007: 12) initially planned to measure the share of articles that tried to develop ‘knowledge of direct relevance to policy decisions’. However, as they quickly realized that hardly any article tried to do so, the authors ultimately decided to exclude this variable from their questionnaire.

In social movement studies, several scholars have posed the question of relevance as well (e.g. Bevington and Dixon 2005; Flacks 2004). From my own perspective, it is important that works on social movements do not remain *akteurszentriert* (actor-

centered), but also relate their analysis of political players to the gains and losses they make (i.e. to the public policy conflicts they engage in). The strong focus on the consequences of activism in social movement literature in the past two decades is an important step in that direction. It corresponds to the strong interest of activists themselves in assessing the efficiency of their work (i.e. their impact).

Some animal rights activists have been eager to analyze the impact of animal rights organizations, most prominently the Animals Charity Evaluators (www.animalcharityevaluators.org). Following the logic of the utilitarian 'effective altruism' perspective (e.g. Singer 2015a), the Animal Charity Evaluators assess individual animal rights organizations on the basis of how much a given amount of donation contributes to the saving of an animal's life. Three of the four 'charities' the organization recommended in 2018 are in the database of animal rights organizations used in this dissertation: Animal Equality, the Albert Schweitzer Foundation, and the UK branch of The Humane League.[76] Interestingly for social movement scholars, the methodology of the Animal Charity Evaluators is based on a theory of social change that regards influencing 'public opinion', 'industry', and 'policy/law' as cornerstones.

This example underlines the strong interest of activists themselves in research questions dealing with the substantive consequences of their work. A next step in the literature on the consequences of social movements could be an integration of the literature on public policy—the two research strands only seldom talk to each other. The literature on welfare state formation, expansion, and retrenchment is one major example among many.[77] As chapters 3, 4, and 5 in this dissertation have indicated, public policy conflicts often imply complex constellations of variables, with many different political players and institutions on different scales, and other variables such as new technologies that can be of key importance. Taking the implications of *Putting Social Movements in Their Place* (McAdam and Boudet 2012) seriously demands looking at a great variety of contextual and issue-specific variables.

[76] The fourth—the Good Food Institute—is only US-based and therefore not in the database. While animal shelters are ubiquitous in real-life animal advocacy (see chapter 2), the Animal Charity Evaluators assess donations to them as particularly ineffective as they save comparatively few animal lives.

[77] To be sure, some of this criticism is also valid for research on political parties, even if probably less so with regard to the role of political parties in welfare state research. The relatively scant literature on the influence of radical right parties on migration policies, especially in comparison with the vast number of studies on radical right parties themselves, is a case in point.

Analyzing the consequences of social movements, Giugni (1998) asks: ‘Was it worth the [activists’] effort?’ At the end of a dissertation, a PhD student necessarily asks herself or himself the same question. Again, the aim of this dissertation was to arrive at one outcome or consequence: the development of knowledge that is of some interest to researchers of social movements, scholars of animal rights, and animal rights activists themselves. I hope that some of them will take the chance to interact with and critically assess some of the arguments made in this dissertation. ‘After all’, as Giugni (1998: 389) also points out, ‘without interactions there are simply no outcomes or consequences’.

In all likelihood, and in full acknowledgment of the limited ability of political science to predict future developments, public policy conflicts over the ‘use’—that is to say, the exploitation—of animals in Europe will gain salience. The aim of this dissertation was to provide a comprehensive analysis of the political players that have been crucial in putting the issue on the agenda—animal rights activists. While the consequences of their vibrant activism have been plenty, they have so far remained unable to significantly improve the welfare of animals in Europe. Up to now the story of their activism is a story of only very limited gains. Still, we have not seen the end of the matter yet. Some animal advocates are now hoping for the mass appeal of ‘cultured meat’ as a game changer in their struggle against animal exploitation—underlining the importance of technology as a social movement outcome. If that was about to happen, the two approaches to movement activism described in chapter 3 and chapter 4, mass mobilization, on the one hand, and fewer public means to influence corporations on the other, would certainly contribute to the breakthrough of this new product. Therefore, despite the limited gains of animal advocates described in this dissertation, there might be grounds for ending on a positive note: The new technology of ‘cultured meat’ might actually provide one chance toward a closer approximation of ‘animal liberation.’ Not many other social movements might have so much room for—cautious—optimism as the contemporary animal rights movement.

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Appendix

List of Interviews

Nr.	Role	Age Group	Organization	Date	Location
1	Scientist	30–50	RSPCA	15.06.2015	Southwater (UK)
2	Leading Activist	50+	Animal Aid	16.06.2015	Tonbridge (UK)
3	Leading Activist	50+	Compassion in World Farming	17.06.2015	London (UK)
4	Scientist	30–50	PETA	17.06.2015	London (UK)
5	Leading Activist	50+	Compassion in World Farming	22.07.2015	Godalming (UK)
6	Scientist	30–50	Dr Hadwen Trust	23.07.2015	Hitchin (UK)
7	Scientist	50+	Antidote Europe / STOP VIVISECTION	17.12.2015	Skype
8	Leading Activist	50+	LEAL / STOP VIVISECTION	14.01.2016	Skype and E-Mail
9	Leading Activist	50+	Bundesverband Tierschutz	05.02.2016	Berlin (GE)
10	Leading Activist	50+	TierVersuchsGegner Berlin und Brandenburg e.V.	05.02.2016	Berlin (GE)
11	Activist	30–50	Ärzte gegen Tierversuche AG Berlin	06.02.2016	Berlin (GE)
12	Leading Activist	30–50	Aktiver Tierschutz Berlin	06.02.2016	Berlin (GE)

13	Leading Activist	30–50	Eurogroup for Animals	09.02.2016	Brussels (BE)
14	Leading Activist	50+	GAIA	09.02.2016	Brussels (BE)
15	MEP	50+	European Parliament	18.03.2016	E-Mail
16	Leading Activist	30–50	Veganska Iniciativa / STOP VIVISECTION	12.04.2016	Skype
17	Leading Activist	30–50	Animal Welfare Party	21.07.2016	London (UK)
18	Leading Activist	50+	Ethical Voice for Animals	02.08.2016	Edinburgh (UK)
19	Activist	50+	Ethical Voice for Animals	02.08.2016	Edinburgh (UK)
20	Activist	50+	Ethical Voice for Animals	02.08.2016	Edinburgh (UK)
21	Leading Activist	30–50	The Vegan Society	05.08.2016	Skype
22	Scientist	30–50	Ärzte gegen Tierversuche	20.07.2017	Cologne (GE)
23	Scientist	30–50	Ärzte gegen Tierversuche	20.07.2017	Cologne (GE)
24	Activist	30–50	Tierrechtsinitiative Köln	20.07.2017	Cologne (GE)
25	Activist	Below 30	Tierrechtsinitiative Köln	20.07.2017	Cologne (GE)
26	Leading Activist	Below 30	Animal Rights Switzerland	31.05.2018	Skype
27	Member of Animal Experimentation Body	50+	German university	05.06.2018	City in Germany

List of Organizations as Starting Point for the Social Network Analysis

Nr.	Organization	Country
1	AAP Animal Advocacy and Protection	Netherlands
2	ADDA	Spain
3	ANIMA MUNDI	Macedonia
4	Animal Action Greece	Greece
5	Animal Defenders International (ADI)	United Kingdom
6	Animal Free Research	Switzerland
7	Animal Party Cyprus	Cyprus
8	Animal Protection Agency (APA)	United Kingdom
9	Animal right protection organization Lithuania	Lithuania
10	Animal Welfare Foundation	Germany
11	Animal Welfare Party	United Kingdom
12	Animal	Portugal
13	Animalia	Finland
14	Animals International	Australia
15	Antidote Europe	France
16	Ärzte gegen Tierversuche e.V.	Germany
17	Asociación Animalista Libera	Spain
18	Asociación Vegetariana Canaria Pasiflora	Spain
19	Associação Vegetariana Portuguesa	Portugal
20	Associacion Nacional para la Defensa de los Animales (ANDA)	Spain
21	Associazione Vegetariana Animalista	Italy
22	AVATMA	Spain
23	Badger Trust	United Kingdom
24	Bont voor Dieren	Netherlands
25	Bulgarian Vegetarian Society	Bulgaria
26	Catholic Concern for Animals	United Kingdom
27	Cats Protection	United Kingdom
28	Centro Vegetariano	Portugal
29	Česká společnost pro výživu a vegetariánství	Czech Republic

30	Česká veganská společnost	Czech Republic
31	C'Est Assez	France
32	Comitato Scientifico Equivita	Italy
33	Compassion in World Farming	United Kingdom
34	Confédération Nacionale de SPA	France
35	Cruelty Free International	United Kingdom
36	Dansk Vegetarisk Forening–DVF	Denmark
37	Deutscher Tierschutzbund	Germany
38	Dierenbescherming	Netherlands
39	Djurens parti	Sweden
40	Djurens Rätt	Sweden
41	Djurskyddet Sverige	Sweden
42	Dyrenes Beskyttelse	Denmark
43	Dyrevern Alliansen	Norway
44	Dzīvnieku Draugs	Latvia
45	EDEV	Netherlands
46	Essere Animali	Italy
47	Estonian SPA	Estonia
48	Eurogroup for Animals	Europe/International
49	European Vegetarian Union	Europe/International
50	EVA	Belgium
51	FAADA	Spain
52	Fédération végane	France
53	Feniks	Serbia
54	Fondation Brigitte Bardot	France
55	Forsøgsdyrenes Værn	Denmark
56	Four Paws Bulgaria	Bulgaria
57	Fundación Igualdad Animal	Spain
58	GAIA	Belgium
59	Hayvan Partisi	Turkey
60	Humanitarno društvo Hrana za življenje–Food for Life Slovenia	Slovenia

61	Internationale Bund der Tierversuchsgegner	Austria
62	Ippothesis	Greece
63	Irish Anti-Vivisection Society	Ireland
64	Irish Society for the Prevention of Cruelty to Animals (ISPCA)	Ireland
65	L214	France
66	La Fondation Droit Animal, Ethique et Sciences—LFDA	France
67	LEAL Lega AntiVivsezionista	Italy
68	Lega Anti Vivisezione (LAV)	Italy
69	Ligue National pour la Protection des Animaux (LNPA)	Luxemburg
70	LNDC–Animal Protection	Italy
71	Loomus	Estonia
72	LSCV	Switzerland
73	Luonto Liitto	Finland
74	Menschen für Tierrechte—Bundesverband der Tierversuchsgegner e.V.	Germany
75	Nadace na Ochranu Zvířat	Czech Republic
76	Norsk vegansamfunn	Norway
77	Öko-völgy Alapítvány	Hungary
78	One Kind	United Kingdom
79	One Voice	France
80	Organisation for Respect and Care of Animals—ORCA	Serbia
81	Otwarte Klatki	Poland
82	PACMA—Partido Animalista	Spain
83	PAN Partido pelos Animais e pela Natureza	Portugal
84	Partei Mensch Umwelt Tierschutz	Germany
85	Partij Voor De Tieren	Netherlands
86	Partito Animalista Europeo	Italy
87	Partito Animalista Italiano	Italy

88	PETA Deutschland	Germany
89	PETA France	France
90	PETA Nederland	Netherlands
91	PETA UK	United Kingdom
92	Prijatelji Zivotina	Croatia
93	Protection Mondiale des Animaux de Ferme—WELFARM	France
94	ProVeg Deutschland	Germany
95	RSPCA	United Kingdom
96	Schweizer Tierschutz STS	Switzerland
97	SEA FIRST FOUNDATION	Netherlands
98	Sloboda za životinje	Serbia
99	Sloboda Zvierat	Slovakia
100	Sociedade Portuguesa de Naturalogia	Portugal
101	Societatea Vegetarienilor din Romania	Romania
102	SPAL	Slovenia
103	Společnost Pro Zvířata	Czech Republic
104	Stop Vivisection	Europe/International
105	Suomen Eläinsuojeluyhdistys SEY	Finland
106	Svenska Vegetariska Föreningen (SVF)	Sweden
107	Svoboda zvírat	Czech Republic
108	Swissveg	Switzerland
109	Tara Foundation	Poland
110	The Donkey Sanctuary	United Kingdom
111	The Dublin Society for Prevention of Cruelty to Animals	Ireland
112	The Vegan Society	United Kingdom
113	The Vegetarian Society	United Kingdom
114	Tierpartei Schweiz	Switzerland
115	Tierschutzbund Zürich	Switzerland
116	Ulster Society Prevention of Cruelty to Animals	Ireland
117	Unión Vegetariana Española UVE	Spain
118	Vegan Derneği Türkiye–TVD	Turkey

119	Vegane Gesellschaft Österreich	Austria
120	Vegetarian Society of Ireland	Ireland
121	Vegetariërsbond	Netherlands
122	VEGETARISCHE INITIATIVE e.V.	Germany
123	Vier Pfoten	Austria
124	Vissenbescherming	Netherlands
125	VIVA	Poland
126	WCAPS	Hungary
127	World Animal Net	United States
128	World Animal Protection	United Kingdom
129	World Horse Welfare	United Kingdom

List of categories of nodes deleted in the social network analysis: Academic Camp; Accessories; Actor; Adoption Service; Advertising/Marketing; Advertising Agency; Advertising/Marketing; Agricultural Cooperative; Agricultural Service; Airline Company; Airport; Album; Alternative & Holistic Health Service; Amateur Sports Team; American Restaurant; Amusement & Theme Park; Animal Breed; App Page; Apparel & Clothing; Appliances; App Page; Aquatic Pet Store; Art Gallery; Artist; Arts & Entertainment; Arts & Humanities Website; Asian Restaurant; Athlete; Author; Automotive Manufacturer; Automotive Wholesaler; Bags/Luggage; Bakery; Bar; Bar & Grill, Beauty, Cosmetic & Personal Care; Beauty Supply Store; Bed and Breakfast; Belgian Restaurant, Bicycle Shop; Biotechnology Company; Blogger; Boat Tour Agency; Book; Book & Magazine Distributor; Books & Magazines; Bookstore; Brand; Brazilian Restaurant; Breakfast & Brunch Restaurant; Brewery; British Restaurant; Broadcasting & Media Production Company; Buffet Restaurant; Burger Restaurant; Business & Economy Website; Business Service; Café; Campground; Campus Building; Candy Store; Car Dealership; Caterer; Cheese Shop; Chef; Chinese Restaurant; City; City Hall; Clothing (Brand); Clothing Store; Coach; Cocktail Bar; Coffee Shop; College & University; Comedian; Commercial & Industrial; Commercial Real Estate Agency; Community College; Company; Computer Repair Service; Computers & Internet Website; Concert Tour; Consulate & Embassy; Consulting Agency; Convention Center; Cooking School; Corporate Office; Cosmetics Store; Costume Shop; Credit Union; Cultural Center; Dairy Farm; Dance & Night Club; Dancer; Dance Studio; Day Care; Deli; Department Store; Design & Fashion; Dessert Shop; Diner; Discount Store; Doctor; Dog Trainer; E-commerce Website; Eco Tour Agency; Education; Educational Consultant; Educational Research Center; Education Website; Electric Utility Provider; Elementary School; Emergency Rescue Service; Entertainment Website; Entrepreneur; Environmental Consultant; Environmental Service; European Restaurant; Event Planner; Fairground; Family Medicine Practice; Family Style Restaurant; Farm; Farmers Market; Fashion Company; Fashion Designer; Fashion Model; Fast Food Restaurant; Festival; Fictional Character; Film Director; Financial Service; Fire Station; Food & Beverage; Food & Beverage Company; Food Consultant; Food Delivery Service; Foodservice Distributor; Food Stand; Food Truck; Footwear Store; Fruit & Vegetable Store; Furniture; Games/Toys;

Garden Center; German Restaurant; Gift Shop; Gluten-Free Restaurant; Government Website; Graphic Designer; Grocery Store; Hair Salon; Health/Beauty; Health & Wellness Website; Health Food Restaurant; Health Food Store; History Museum; Home & Garden Store; Home & Garden Website; Home Decor; Home Goods Store; Home Improvement; Horse Riding School; Horse Trainer; Hospital; Hospitality Service; Hostel; Hotel; Hotel Resort; Household Supplies; Housing & Homeless Shelter; Ice Cream Shop; Indian Restaurant; Insurance Company; Interest; Internet Company; Internet Marketing Service; Internet Service Provider; Italian Restaurant; Jewelry/Watches; Jewelry & Watches Store; Journalist; Just For Fun; Kennel; Kitchen/Cooking; Landmark & Historical Place; Landscape Company; Language School; Law Enforcement Agency; Lawyer & Law Firm; Lebanese Restaurant; Library; Live & Raw Food Restaurant; Live Music Venue; Livery Stable; Local & Travel Website; Local Business; Locality; Lodge; Lottery Retailer; Lounge; Magazine; Marketing Agency; Massage Service; Media; Media/News Company; Medical & Health; Medical Company; Medical Equipment Supplier; Meeting Room; Merchandising Service; Metal Fabricator; Middle School; Military Base; Modern Art Museum; Monarch; Motivational Speaker; Movie; Movie/Television Studio; Movie Character; Movie Theater; Museum; Music; Musician/Band; Nail Salon; Neighborhood; New American Restaurant; News & Media Website; Newspaper; News Personality; Nursing Home; Nutritionist; Office Supplies; Organic Grocery Store; Outdoor & Sporting Goods Company; Outdoor Equipment Store; Patio/Garden; Performance & Event Venue; Performance Art; Performance Art Theater; Performing Arts; Persian/Iranian Restaurant; Personal Blog; Personal Chef; Personal Coach; Personal Website; Pest Control Service; Pet; Pet Adoption Service; Pet Breeder; Pet Groomer; Pet Service; Pet Sitter; Pet Store; Pet Supplies; Photographer; Photography Videography; Pizza Place; Playground; Podcast; Police Station; Polish Restaurant; Political Ideology; Politician; Preschool; Printing Service; Private Members Club; Private School; Producer; Product/Service; Professional Service; Pub; Public Figure; Public Relations Agency; Public Service; Public Utility Company; Publisher; Radio Station; Recreation & Sports Website; Recreation Center; Recruiter; Recycling Center; Reference Website; Regional Website; Residence; Restaurant; Retail Company; Safety & First Aid Service; Salad Bar; Sandwich Shop; School; Science Website; Scientist; Screen Printing & Embroidery; Seasonal Store; Shopping & Retail; Shopping Mall; Shopping Service; Show; Sightseeing Tour Agency; Skin Care Service; Smoothie & Juice Bar; Social Club; Social Service; Society & Culture Website; Software; Software Company; South Indian Restaurant; Specialty Grocery Store; Sports & Recreation; Sports & Recreation Venue; Sports Club; Sports Event; Sports League; Sports Team; Stadium, Arena & Sports Venue; Statue & Fountain; STD Testing Center; Supermarket; Tattoo & Piercing Shop; Tea Room; Teens & Kids Website; Telecommunication Company; Tex-Mex Restaurant; Textile Company; Ticket Sales; Tour Agency; Tourist Information Center; Toy Store; Transit System; Translator; Travel & Transportation; Travel Company; Travel Service; Tutor/Teacher; TV; TV/Movie Award; TV Channel; TV Network; TV Show; Urban Farm; Vegetarian/Vegan Restaurant; Veterinarian; Video Creator; Vintage Store; Visual Arts; Vitamins/Supplements; Vitamin Supplement Shop; Web Designer; Website; Wedding Venue; Wholesale & Supply Store; Wine, Beer & Spirits Store; Wine Bar; Women’s Clothing Store; Writer; Yoga Studio; Zoo.