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**An Examination of Emotion-Based Strategies in  
'Altruistic' Mobilisation: A Case Study of the  
Animal Rights Movement**

Rebecca Grivas

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School of Psychology & Department of Linguistics  
The University of Adelaide, South Australia

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This thesis examines the emotion-based strategies employed by activists for the purpose of persuading individuals to participate directly in social movements. In particular, the emphasis is placed on getting people involved in 'altruistic' mobilisation; a descriptive utilised in order to distinguish these movements from previous research done in which a tangible material gain is presented as an inducement for participation. The thesis investigates the animal rights movement as it pertains to the issue of animal vivisection, and endeavours to identify the linguistic strategies employed by these activists with the goal of understanding how to facilitate 'altruistic' movements more generally.

A textual analysis, which was consistent with Halliday's (2004) systemic functional linguistics, was conducted on mobilisation pamphlets written by groups seeking support for either animal vivisection or animal rights. To this end, the analysis considered both the original movement (i.e. the anti-vivisection movement) and the counter-movement (i.e. the pro-research movement). The analysis considers the linguistic and visual strategies used by movement organisers in placing a moral onus on the reader to support the movement.

From this analysis it is argued that the success of the animal rights movement stems from its ability to present graphic visual imagery that supplies evidential support for the claims being made in text. In addition, the animal rights texts have been able to frame the issue of animal vivisection in terms of emotional appeals designed to elicit feelings of moral outrage in the reader. It is posited that the animal rights movement has been able to effectively combine images and emotion-based linguistic strategies in order to facilitate the consideration of the issue in terms of an 'ethical identity' that helps generate moral outrage in the reader and thereby encouraging participation in the movement.

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*Declaration*

This thesis contains no material that has been accepted for the award of any other degree or diploma in any university and, to the best of my knowledge and belief, contains no material previously published or written by another person, except where due reference has been made in the text.

I give consent for this copy of my thesis, when deposited in the Adelaide University Library, to be made available for loan and photocopying.

Rebecca Grivas

March, 2008



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**Movements and Mobilisations**

This dissertation is an exploration of the emotion-based argument strategies used by animal rights groups to mobilise against animal vivisection. It investigates the linguistic techniques and accompanying visual images that are employed by both animal rights and vivisection groups in order to garner public support. Accordingly, the emphasis is placed on mobilisation rather than social movements. This distinction is made in order to emphasise that the focus here is not on the development, progress, and continuation of a movement, but rather on the process of informing the non-aligned public of the existence, beliefs and work of the movement, and in particular, the process of establishing and maintaining the movement's legitimacy and validity.

The goal behind many social movements is to bring about some form of change, idealised as a transformation in everyday habits. For example, the Feminist movement, in addition to obtaining equal opportunity for women in education and employment, also produced a marked change in the use of language (e.g. the normative use of the masculine pronoun, being challenged and later replaced, by the plural pronoun). Similarly, environmental movements have had considerable success in changing individuals' domestic habits with the vast majority of households now separating their garbage into recycling, green waste, and rubbish (e.g. in Australia, three separate garbage bins are provided in order to facilitate this process).

Thus, in selecting to explore *mobilisation* processes, rather than movements more generally, the emphasis has been placed on the role of language and symbols in generating support. This focus is in contrast to those that highlight resources, grievances and other social movement factors which, while variably contributing to mobilisation processes tend to centre more on movement formation and sustainability, rather than mobilisation per se.

As a process, mobilisation refers to attempts to collectively engage members of the population in some form of social or political action. Essentially, it entails generating support for a particular ideology, as mobilisation leaders endeavour to convince members of the public that change is needed, and that political or social action is necessary to bring it about. When conceptualised in these terms, social movements are primarily understood as a means for enabling minority groups to gain a political voice (e.g. the feminist movement, the civil rights movement, the anti-globalisation movement). Accordingly, a social movement typically generates resistance, and it is frequently the case that a counter movement will arise in response. Whilst the goals of all counter movements are as varied as the original movement, they inevitably seek to inhibit, restrict or reverse the changes sought by the original movement. In noting this distinction it is important to realise that seeking to inhibit or restrict change is not by definition negative.

It is also important to understand that movements are dynamic. The objectives, practices and teachings of movements change with time, as does the legitimacy (in terms of both political and public favour) of a movement. Indeed some movements (i.e. the pro-life/pro-choice movements) are difficult to conceptualise in terms of an original movement/counter movement dichotomy. Similarly, as politics

and societies change, the perceived legitimacy of a cause may also change (e.g. the support for slave-owners during the 1860s civil rights debates and calls for abolition diminished over time and to such an extent that the belief in 'white supremacy' is now considered, in most circles, extreme and socially unacceptable).

Therefore, the purpose of this research is to examine the rhetoric used in the advertising and campaign material produced by individuals engaging in the current debate about the use of animals in research. It involves a consideration of both those organisations who wished to abolish animal experiments as well as the organisations that were either engaged in such research, or independently arguing for its continuation. In considering both arms of the movement it was hoped that the issue of animal research could be presented and analysed within its context. Moreover, it is posited that in considering the linguistic strategies employed by both movements, contrasts could be drawn between them, and ideally help facilitate the identification of strategies that seemed to be successful in generating support.

### **The Meaning and Existence of Altruism**

The decision to examine the animal rights movement and more specifically vivisection centred on the belief that this was an instance of 'altruistic' mobilisation, in that the individual activist was not gaining materially from participating in the movement (and indeed, that such participation would possibly be disadvantageous to the individual). It should be noted however, that altruism is a highly contentious term, and its use here does require some reflection and explanation.

For the purpose of this thesis, the term altruism has been used in a manner consistent with Monroe (1994) who defined altruism as referring to an action that has its primary goal in furthering the welfare of another and carries some possibility of diminution to one's own welfare. In this sense, the term 'altruism' is used in a manner consistent with its original meaning; as descriptive of behaviour designed to benefit another (Compte, 1851: as cited in Monroe, 1994; Ray, 1998).

In defining altruism in terms of welfare, the emphasis is placed on material considerations and accordingly material benefit (direct and indirect) associated with participation. However, it is also argued that altruism is an explanation of behaviour in which the 'doer' does not benefit at all from the action. In defining altruism in these terms the notion of 'psychic gratification' (and therein the possibility that altruistic acts do not even exist) is brought to the fore. From this perspective, the limitation to altruistic acts has been extended to include *any* benefit arising from an action. Accordingly, any psychological benefit, in terms of improved psychological, emotional or spiritual wellness, by definition means that the act is no longer altruistic (see Becker, 1976).

This more restrictive understanding of altruism appears to have stemmed from the theoretical surmising coming out of economics, evolutionary biology and psychology, all of which have placed considerable (theoretical) stake on the assumption that behaviour is motivated by, and can be explained, in terms of self interest. This understanding of human nature could be argued to have its roots in Hobbes' (1651) *Leviathan* in which he suggested that all human action is based on the unashamed pursuit of self-interest (see Monroe, 1994). Hobbes used this position to argue for the need for government, however, it also became the basis for much

theoretical work, especially in psychology (e.g. personality psychology; c.f. Sigmund Freud). Similarly, in the areas of economics and evolutionary biology, the emphasis on Hobbesian constructions of human nature has strongly located the endeavours and achievements of humanity in terms of self-interested advancement. In this context, altruism is seen as arising in contrast to the understandings of human nature articulated by Hobbes.

It is, however, reasonable to see that as a construct, the idea of altruism does not make a ready bedfellow with the ideas of the free market economy or Darwin's explanation of evolution by natural selection. However, whilst some effort has been made to incorporate altruism within economics and evolutionary biology (e.g. Becker, 1976; Monroe, 1994), this work has been criticised for its reliance on a circular understanding of altruism<sup>Ψ</sup> (see Monroe, 1994).

Therefore, it is frequently the case that altruism is explained (or more accurately, dismissed) by arguing that psychic gratification is the basis for all apparent altruistic acts. This allows the definition of altruism to become exceedingly restrictive, and arguable presents less of an ideological dilemma to theorists. However, it is difficult to understand the nature of psychic gratification and its place as a cause or effect of altruistic behaviour. That is, are altruists motivated by the knowledge that they will receive a positive psychological feeling, or is this an incidental side-effect of the action?

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<sup>Ψ</sup> It is suggested that altruism is accounted for on the basis that some people (i.e. altruists) simply get pleasure from other people's happiness. However, circular logic exists in arguing that altruists reveal their preference for making others happy by behaving altruistically (Monroe, 1994; 872-873).

In this instance, it is suggested that the animal rights movement can be described as altruistic, in that it gets people to undertake actions that will benefit animals to the detriment of their own lifestyle, diet, fashion practices, shopping choices, and even their health care. It should also be noted that the anti-vivisection movement was chosen as the basis for this thesis, as it appeared less easy to justify human benefit (in terms of medical advancement, improved medical technology, cures for cancer, vaccinations against AIDS) as arising from the abolition of animal research<sup>Ψ</sup>.

Semantics aside, a particular goal of this thesis was to explore the strategies used by people when the benefits for participating were ambiguous, or non-existent. In this sense, it is the 'altruistic' aspect of the animal rights movement that made it of interest. That is, how were people being encouraged to participate and become active in a movement that did not benefit them? Notwithstanding the problems associated with the use of the term altruism and its existence, the term is used here in the manner defined and was used to facilitate a distinction between movements which sought to benefit the individual (e.g. union strikes, female participation in the Suffragette movement), in contrast to those which did not (i.e. male participation in the Suffragette movement).

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<sup>Ψ</sup> This however, assumes an allopathic perspective on health and healing in which vaccinations, medical advancement, and the pathophysiology of cancer, for example, is not considered problematic. The allopathic-homeopathic debate is extensive, complicated, and not sufficiently relevant to warrant consideration in this instance. Suffice to note that the assumption made here was that medical technology and advancement is beneficial and that it is generated primarily (if not necessarily) through animal research methods. This was the assumption made in the mobilisation material itself and thus it is not challenged in this thesis.

## The Case of Animal Rights

In considering the animal rights movement it is important to note that the emphasis was placed on the *mobilisation* attempts made by various movement organisers and animal rights groups. In limiting the consideration to mobilisation strategies, particular questions about how people were being recruited to participate in this movement could be asked. However, in focusing on these questions many aspects of the animal rights movement were overlooked. Indeed, the purpose was not to explain how or why animal rights activists became polarised or account for why certain individuals became involved in more 'radical' action, but rather to examine the linguistic strategies presented to the non-aligned public.

Thus, it is important to realise, that whilst the animal rights movement provides the background for the thesis, the intention was not to explain, account for, or justify the movement, its actions, or its ethical stance. Indeed, although chapter two provides a historical context for understanding the movement and considers some of the ethical arguments on which the movement is based, this information is presented in order to facilitate an understanding of the movement rather than as a basis for evaluating it. Furthermore, the ethical implications of animal vivisection are not considered, as assessing the veracity of animal rights or pro-research groups' claims was not the purpose of this thesis. Indeed a deliberate attempt was made to *not* go 'fact-checking'. To this end, the semantic content of the texts was taken at face value, only the linguistic assumptions that were embedded in the texts and the grammatical structure of the texts were examined.



The decision to analyse the animal rights movement, stemmed from the belief that it constituted an example of a successful movement. That is, the animal rights movement has changed how people conceive and orient to animals. In deeming the animal rights movement successful, a distinction is made between relative success and ultimate success. The point is that the animal rights movement has made the issue of animal rights firstly, contentious and secondly, has produced considerable change, irrespective of whether or not vivisection still has hegemony in scientific and medical research.

That is, the animal rights movement has achieved considerable relative success. In research, the continued use of animals as the dominant methodological approach, does not negate the fact that animal ethics committees now exist, or that alternatives to research are considered, or that the three R's of research (Reduce, Refine, Replace) are now being advocated (see Australian Code of Practice, 2004). Thus, whilst the movement's success is relative, and the ultimate goal of establishing equal rights for animals has not yet been obtained, these improvements are indicative of social change in much the same way as giving women the vote was indicative of the move toward gender equity. That is, whilst gaining the right to vote did not mean 'equal opportunity' or 'equal pay', it nonetheless was an important step, and one which arguably demonstrated the 'success' of the women's movement.

### **Discursive Psychology, Discourse Analysis and Functional Grammar**

In undertaking any discourse analysis it is important to understand that many fields of research that utilise discourse analytic methods. In social psychology the favoured methods tend to stem from the discourse analytic traditions (e.g. Potter

& Wetherell, 1987; Wetherell & Potter, 1992; Potter, 1996; Edwards 1997) that arose during the early 1990s (see Potter, 2000). However, even from within the field of social psychology, the particular approaches to textual analysis have varied considerably. Different schools have favoured conversation analytic techniques (e.g. Hutchby & Wooffitt, 1998; Sacks, 1992), critical approaches (e.g. Fairclough, 1995), Foucaudian analysis (Hodge and Kress, 1993; Parker, 1992), and variously emphasised the role of ideological and social critique (e.g. Billig, 1992; Parker, 1992; Wetherell & Potter, 1992).

As this diversity would suggest, approaches to discourse analysis are multi and varied, and as expected, ideological tension does exist between the various approaches (see Billig, 1999; Schegloff, 1999; 1998). In light of this eclectic diversity, the decision to employ a linguistic method (i.e. Halliday, 2004) for the purpose of this thesis was based on the belief that the analysis of the grammar used in these texts provided a structured method for understanding how these texts were framed. In this sense it is important to note that the method was chosen based on its perceived *appropriateness* and ability to assist in answering the research questions. In adopting this approach to method selection the decision centred on what would best facilitate the exploration of this data, rather than on any need to adhere to a methodological 'camp'. This position is consistent with that advocated by Chamberlain (2000) who argues against privileging methodological concerns over the research itself. He suggests that there is a risk of becoming overly preoccupied with using the 'correct' method at the expense of the research process.

Accordingly, analysis of the material was done using functional grammar, a model developed in accordance with the theory of systemic functional linguistics

(Halliday, 2004). The decision to use a linguistic method as opposed to the discursive methods more commonly utilised in psychology, was based on the relative strength of the linguistic models in providing an analytic framework for textual analysis and the suitability of this method in exploring emotion in text (e.g. Martin & White, 2005).

The key reason for adopting a linguistic approach over other discursive approaches was the clearly enunciated procedural method provided by theorists in functional grammar (e.g. Martin, Matthiesson, Painter, 1997; Martin & Rose, 2003; Halliday, 2004). Specifically, functional grammar provides an interpretive framework with which to analyse textual data. That is, functional grammar provides an explicit method for which to approach data analysis. Such a framework allows for the systematic identification of key linguistic components that, in this case, facilitated the exploration of the research questions under consideration.

This is in contrast to the more evolving approaches typical of discourse analyses which are, by virtue of their own epistemological emphasis, predicated on emergent themes and structures. As the methods favoured within psychology tend not to provide any sense of the actual veridical underpinnings of the structures identified, it was felt that a functional grammatical approach would better allow for the relevant trends and themes to be established.

## **Overview of the Thesis**

This thesis was largely written as an exploratory analysis, and as such consists of both preliminary theoretical and analytic components (chapters 1-5), as well as a detailed analysis of the material in order to elaborate on the initial findings

(chapters 6-8). The final chapter was written primarily in order to summarise these findings as well as provide a platform for the consideration of the application of the findings and to identify future research directions.

Chapter one contains an overview of the literature on social movements. In particular it considers how social movements and the process of social mobilisation has been conceptualised in research. The goal of this chapter is to highlight the lack of research conducted on *how* to get people to participate in social movements that are not going to promote their own benefit or advantage.

The second chapter presents an overview of the animal rights movement. This material is included to provide the reader with a conceptual background to the movement, to demonstrate why the movement can be deemed successful, and for the purpose of arguing as to why the participation in the movement, especially as regards vivisection, may be considered altruistic. This consideration does not include a detailed examination of all facets of the animal rights movement, but rather seeks to explore the historical beginnings of the movement, the issue of vivisection more specifically, and the ethical justifications for animal rights. This rendering of the animal rights movement, does not elaborate on the aspects of the movement that were not considered pertinent to this text, but rather endeavours to provide a background necessary for understanding the analytic material presented in later chapters.

Chapter three outlines the methodological frameworks underpinning this research. This chapter includes a discussion of the role of language in psychology and research and provides an overview of functional grammar as an approach to discourse analysis.

Chapter four presents the findings from the preliminary analysis; it considers two texts, one each from of the animal rights and the vivisection movements. These two texts are analysed in accordance with the methods outlined by the functional grammar model and considered in terms of the key theories used to account for participation in social movements. This preliminary analysis suggests that the animal rights movement is relying on emotion-based appeals in order to get people to support animal rights.

This issue is further considered in chapter five which endeavours to examine the issue of emotion in movement participation. This chapter principally considers the role of emotion as it has been conceived by theorists engaged in understanding advertising, persuasion and propaganda.

Chapter six presents the findings from an analysis of the mobilisation material presented as part of the animal rights anti-vivisection campaign. This analysis sought to explore how emotion, particularly as it pertains to the notion of 'moral shock', was being generated in language. The emphasis was placed on exploring the emotion based strategies used by movement organisers.

Similarly, chapter seven presents the findings of the analysis conducted on the pro-research material. In particular, this analysis explores the rhetorical devices used in positioning the reader to support the continuation of animal research. This analysis also considers the role of emotion-based strategies, especially as they are consistent with emotional appeals to fear and guilt.

From the analysis of the mobilisation material it became apparent that much of the rhetorical work being done by the movement organisers was achieved through the visual material that accompanied the text. Chapter eight presents the findings

from the analysis of the visual materials used by both the animal rights and the pro-research groups. It explores the types of photographic imagery used and from these findings it is suggested that the animal rights movement is able to do considerable discursive work by presenting 'evidential' images to the reader which support their textual claims.

The final chapter considers these findings in light of the earlier work conducted on social movements and mobilisation more generally. It is proposed that the success of the animal rights groups stem from their ability to provide evidential support for their claims and make the issue of animal research morally unacceptable. It is further posited that this is possible due to the activation of the reader's 'ethical identity'. The implications of this are considered.

### **A Short Note on Terminology**

In distinguishing between the two movements, the terms "animal rights" and "anti-vivisection" were used to describe organisations and mobilisation materials that advocated the abolition of animal research. These terms were reasonably consistent with those used by the organisations themselves and as such were carried over.

However, the use of the terms "vivisection" and "pro-research" to describe the organisations and mobilisation material of those groups that constituted the counter movement (and therein desired the continuation of animal research) were artificially imposed onto these groups in this thesis. It is therefore important to acknowledge that as a counter movement, the "pro-research" groups were not as

cohesively structured. That is, there was no consistent nomenclature employed across these groups that described, defined or unified their position as a movement per se. Thus, the terms used here have been imposed in order to facilitate clarity, rather than attempt to define the scope or nature of these groups. Indeed, whilst ideologically consistent, most of the organisations appeared to be justifying their own actions and their continued use of animals, rather than justifying animal research more generally. However, there was some cross linking between sites, and it is posited that this will increase as the “pro-research” movement gathers momentum.

## **1.1 Introduction to Social Movements**

It is difficult to determine what exactly constitutes a social movement. In most instances it is sufficient to acknowledge that social movements tend to resemble one another without necessarily being identical in any specific way (Crossley, 2002). Although social movements have been defined according to various features, they are most frequently considered to be collective endeavours that are concerned with contentious issues and seek to generate change through social protest (see Blumer, 1971; Eyerman & Jamison, 1991; Tarrow, 1994 and della Porta & Diani, 1999). However, in adopting this definition there is considerable scope for the inclusion of many different kinds of social movement. Thus, the umbrella of social movements has covered the Civil Rights Movement, the Feminist Movement, the Gay and Lesbian Movement and well as various environmental, religious, alternative and political movements.

The sheer diversity, when considering the types of actions that would fall under the rubric of “social movement”, makes any clear definitional boundaries difficult to establish. Although the key point when defining social movements centres on the desire to promote some form of change, the exact nature of that change can be difficult to determine; frequently manifesting at a number of different levels. For example, the Human Rights movement adopts a multifaceted approach to change, campaigning at a ‘sub-movement’ level for both political (e.g. anti-apartheid, anti-torture,) and social (e.g. pro-tolerance, pro-refugee) change (Cohen & Rai, 2000).



More recently, the nature of social movements has shifted with a strong push towards the 'global'; a move that has been enhanced by a number of political and technological advances. These advances centre on the development of 'real-time' communications networks (e.g. internet, fax and satellite transmissions), and the advent of more affordable and efficient travel opportunities, which allow social movements to occur throughout the 'global village' (Cohen & Rai, 2000).

As a result, the issues that form the crux of social movements are themselves being increasingly re-framed to match this global perspective. These alternative framings globalise the nature of the movement, increasing its relevance to incorporate the ever expanding dimensions of contemporary society. By way of example, the environmental movement is ensuring individuals are becoming increasingly conscious of the 'local' effects of pollution while groups such as Amnesty International advocate the need to protest against human rights abuses in 'other' countries (see Tsutsui, 2006; Eschle & Stammers, 2004)

However, to consider social movements as being solely devoted to social change is to ignore the more conservative movements that work to preserve the current ideas and values within society. Snow, Soule and Kriesi (2004) separate these movements from social movements more generally suggesting that such conservative groups are different in fundamental ways. They argue that conservative movements (or counter movements) do not challenge the current social or political status, but rather work within the system by lobbying and soliciting campaign contributions from recognised political and institutional sources. Thus, conservative movements tend to be embedded in the political arena and moreover, are regarded as legitimate sources of information. In practice, this distinction is argued as

sufficient to produce different strategic and tactical behaviours which will themselves result in a different kind of collective action (Gamson, 1990).

However, Whittier (2004) argues that counter movements are not simply spin-off movements, but are established as a result of the original movements' success. She suggests that success provides opposing individuals with concrete targets around which they can rally. From this perspective, a counter movement would be established in the instance of the original movement achieving some degree of social success. Yet, many counter movements are difficult to distinguish, even politically, from social movements more generally as they operate within the same context as social movements and only infrequently show a greater degree of legitimacy (e.g. the pro-life movement). Indeed, della Porta and Diani (1999) indicate that social movements are by nature polar-entities, orienting around both sides of a contentious issue. It seems therefore, premature to separate the two types of social movements despite any possible differences in the social mobilisation strategies employed.

For example, the pro-life/pro-choice movements are highly interconnected, with each side holding varying degrees of political legitimacy. This is because, the primary opponent in the abortion debate comes from the counter movement (whomsoever it may be – pro or anti) rather than the traditional source: the state. In light of this, recent conceptions regarding the movement/counter-movement dichotomy have suggested that both movements place their own, separate claims on the state (Meyer & Staggenborg, 1996). According to this perspective, the pro-life/pro-choice movements are not so much competing with each other, as separately lobbying various aspects of the state in order to achieve their own ends.

Within the context of these two manifestations of social movements, the tactics and recruitment strategies used tend to fall into the same categories. In particular, these strategies emphasise the importance of ideas and beliefs; political and economic opportunity; and social aspects of the individual (e.g. individual susceptibility, social frustration, social conformity).

## **1.2 Social Mobilisation**

Mobilisation refers to the process of generating public support for a particular cause or action. Incidents ranging from the Chernobyl disaster to the Vietnam War have prompted waves of protest in many different countries. The interest in successful social mobilisation stems from the 1960s when social action was the order of the day, and a surprising degree of social reform resulted from the efforts of protesters (see Crossley, 2002). The varying success of social movements has prompted considerable research into mobilisation strategies. In general, these strategies encompass environmental, individual and ideological factors that are likely to increase social participation.

## **1.3 Environmental Factors**

Environmental factors account for movement participation in terms of the surrounding social and political climate. From this perspective, movements are said to arise when there is sufficient political opportunity available. As a result individuals are deemed to be mobilised through repertoires of contention, expectancy or resource availability.

The idea that a collective sense of dissatisfaction was behind the establishment of any social movement underpinned much of the earlier work on social mobilisation (see McPhail, 1971; Seeman, 1983; Lo, 1982). The theory of relative deprivation (see Pettigrew, 1967) accounted for much of this dissatisfaction claiming that individuals experience feelings of deprivation, or dissatisfaction, when they compared their situation to that of a relevant reference group or individual. This conceptualisation of social mobilisation provided a background that was able to partially explain the reasons behind movement participation.

It was theorised that individuals would be more likely to engage in social action if they felt that their social group was experiencing some form of material disadvantage (i.e. collective relative deprivation). This theory was used to account for movements including the feminist movement, where it was held that women were socially, economically and politically marginalised when compared to white males. The perceived inequalities between men and women was what prompted women to engage in social action in order to achieve a greater degree of equality.

Relative deprivation theory was also able to account for the presence of counter movements, which were described as being motivated by status preservation. From this perspective, social groups that envisaged a loss of social standing as the result of a movement are mobilised in order to preserve the status quo. The mobilising success of the Ku Klux Klan and its affiliate organisations can be understood from this perspective. That is, following the American Civil War, there was considerable political upheaval in the Deep South (known as the Radical Reconstruction) during which time blacks were given both civil and political 'rights'. The abolition of slavery, in conjunction with the overturning of the Black Codes,

prompted a significant degree of discontent among Southerners who felt that their way of life was being threatened by the 'Freedmen' (i.e. recently liberated black slaves). Although the Klan had already been operating under various guises prior to the Reconstruction, it was the move towards civil and political liberation that prompted the rise in both the number of Klan groups and Klan membership (see Wade, 1987).

Thus, it is the perception of threat from another group, rather than any real sense of deprivation that is considered significant in accounting for the rise of counter movements (Lipset & Raab, 1978). That is, individuals who opposed innovations were those who associated a particular movement with a threat not only to their social status, but also to their political, economic and moral systems. As a result, feelings of potential threat became associated with protest behaviour almost as much as feelings of dissatisfaction.

However, although logically it should be expected that individuals who experience the greatest level of deprivation should be the most likely to engage in social action, it was found that those with the greatest deprivation were actually the least likely to participate in a social movement (Runciman, 1967; McPhail, 1971; and Portes, 1971). It was hypothesised that the level of deprivation overall was not as important as feeling that claims against deprivation were legitimate in determining the likelihood of social action (Muller, 1980). In light of this finding, it was argued that individuals who experienced some form of absolute deprivation, but did not perceive any positive opportunities as resulting from the movement, were significantly less likely to participate in social action (Klandermans, 1989).

Following on from these discussions, an increased emphasis was placed on a movement's success potential, as it seemed that expectancies of success were fundamental to participation in a movement. To this end, Klandermans (1993) examined participation across three social movements in The Netherlands during the 1980s. He proposed that involvement in a social movement was a function of the perceived costs and benefits attached to participation. According to Klandermans (1993), success hinged on four key factors: the proportion of individuals in a society that are, in general, willing to support the movement; the total number of organisations with which the movement might be able to establish links; the degree to which a movement can encompass a population (i.e. the degree of coverage); and an individual's orientation to the ideology and values expressed by a movement (i.e. some generalised sense of shared grievance or loosely related ideologies). Overall, Klandermans (1993) found that individual participation extended beyond one's own characteristics to encompass movement factors more broadly. Thus, participation in a social movement depended not only on the individual's opinions about deprivation and legitimacy, but also their expectations about the movement's probability of success and number of other people deemed likely to participate.

From this position, participation in a social movement was conceived of as an entirely rational decision-making process. Individuals engaged in a logical analysis of costs and benefits before deciding whether to participate. This decision-making process required the individual to consider not only the likelihood of success, but also the personal benefits that may, or may not, result from engaging in social protest. For example, a workers' strike may be understood as a high-cost form of social action (i.e. loss of income, loss of job security, no guarantee of success) and as

such workers would be less likely to participate unless they foresaw strong peer support and an overall positive outcome. However, this understanding of social movement participation failed to address the concerns raised by Reicher (1984) that such interpretations act less as an explanatory tool than as a metatheoretical justification of participation as a rational choice. Thus, in declaring movement participation to be a highly rational process, one fails to sufficiently acknowledge the pervasive social factors which affected social mobilisation.

On the other hand, McCarthy and Zald (1977) attempted to resolve the absolute deprivation/relative deprivation conundrum by suggesting that in analysing social movements from the perspective of deprivation or expectancy, one did not sufficiently consider the role of social support and social constraint mechanisms within society. Along with Tilly (1973), they argued that contemporary political processes shape the movement environment, making some forms of protest more likely, and more viable, than others. By way of example, McCarthy and Zald (1977) cite a senior citizen based lobby for Medicare in the United States. The group was organised to campaign about the lack of low-cost medical care available for senior citizens. McCarthy and Zald (1977) noted that the mobilisation was brought about only on account of legislation appearing before Congress, suggesting that the important point of this case is that the mobilisation did not develop from senior citizens' grievances, but indirectly through the normal workings of the political system (see also Rose, 1967).

In response, McCarthy and Zald (1977) endorsed a view of social movements that focused on resource mobilisation. According to this theory, emphasis should be placed on the resources necessary for engagement in social conflict. They suggest

that social movements stem from 'conscientious constituents'; that is, individuals and organisations that may not be the intended beneficiaries of the movement or have any real commitment to the values that underlie the movement. The important point was, that these groups had the resources available allowing them to protest, whereas the 'disadvantaged', simply by virtue of being, lacked the necessary social capital to mobilise effectively. Thus, resource mobilisation theory emphasised that social movements would not occur unless there were sufficient resources available in the environment to facilitate social action (Edwards & McCarthy, 2004). Moreover, given the unequal distribution of resources amongst social groups, it was posited that a movement that could target the relatively privileged, would dominate politically. However, whilst this theory has much to say on the reasons behind a movement's existence, it did not address the issue of participation per se. Instead, it provided a theoretical justification for the environmental conditions considered necessary for the formation of a movement, rather than considering any specific individual characteristics that make active participation likely.

#### **1.4 Social Identity**

The role of identity in mobilisation research has tended to focus on two different aspects of the individual: personal traits and social identity. Early movement theorists in particular, accounted for the individual's role in social protest, primarily through theories that emphasised the individual. For example, LeBon's (1895) seminal work on social mobilisation focused on the darker side of crowd behaviour, suggesting that people lost their individuality when they joined groups,



forming a 'collective mind' that fundamentally defined the psychological profile of the crowd as violent and pathological. LeBon (1895) argued that any large gathering of individuals would produce a mindless, singular entity capable of engaging in activities that would be unacceptable to any one individual if they were separated from the collective. This loss of individuality was seen to fuel the anti-social behaviour that was deemed unequivocally linked to social protest.

LeBon (1895) posited that although individuals were capable of acting from reason, when acting as part of a crowd they behaved unconsciously and instinctively. Accordingly to his theory: individuals experienced anonymity and felt a diffused sense of responsibility for their behaviours (i.e. deindividuation); the group provided a feeling of uniformity and homogeneity which helped facilitate the loss of individuality and resulted in an increased emphasis on collective interests as emotional states and actions diffused throughout the crowd (i.e. contagion); and finally, that crowd members themselves were highly suggestible individuals, unconditionally accepting the rationale of the leader due to some irrational emotional tie or submissive attitude toward the group at large (i.e. suggestion).

McDougall's (1920) work, while arguably more sophisticated than LeBon's (Turner, Hogg, Oakes, Reicher & Wetherell, 1987), did little to diminish this negative reputation of crowd behaviour, hypothesising that crowds think and feel on a lower plane than individuals. McDougall (1920) theorised, that individuals assimilated their mental processes into those of the crowd, and while he rejected LeBon's idea of a collective consciousness, he similarly saw crowd behaviour as resulting in an intensification of emotion, a loss of individual identity and a diffusion of responsibility.

Freud (1922) took this theorising a step further, positing a theory of crowd in terms of emotionality and intellectual inferiority. Thus, Freud (1922) propounded that individuals who are engaged in a group will behave in qualitatively different ways due to instinctual impulses operating at an unconscious level. He suggested that group formation was based on erotic (i.e. sexual-emotional) ties between group members.

However, this earlier work failed to acknowledge the social motivations behind collective action ignoring the possibility that crowd behaviour was a viable response to social inequality (Reicher, 1984). As a result, contemporary identity theorists tend to be critical of this earlier work claiming that individuals were unlikely to 'mindlessly' join a group. Thus, whilst still being mindful of the environmental factors that contribute to mobilisation, recent theorists have considered the role of identity from within the context of intergroup dynamics.

This move has shifted the focus from individual traits (e.g. suggestibility, emotionality) to the role of social identity in mobilisation. Social identity theorists argued that the concept of identification was essential to any model of crowd behaviour and that only individuals who identified with the relevant categories or ideas being evoked by a movement leader would be subject to its influence (Turner, Hogg, Oakes, Reicher & Wetherell, 1987). That is, the limits of identification would be the limits of participation (Reicher, 1984). Therefore, they propounded that the diversity of behaviours among movement participants would be consistent with the acceptable behaviours that were defined by the collective.

For example, Reicher's (1984) study of the St Paul's riot in Britain attempted to show the significance of adopting an identity approach to social movements. He

argued that the events of April 1980 could not be accounted for by the group mind theories of the earlier researchers (e.g. LeBon, 1895; McDougall, 1920). Reicher (1984) noted that not only was there a striking match between the social-identity definitions used by riot participants and their actions, but that actions that were inconsistent with this definition were not generalised (e.g. the rioters stoned police vehicles yet did not engage in vandalism of private vehicles or buses). According to Reicher (1984), this could be accounted for by positing that a social-identity, which included acceptance of the identity, 'St Paul's community member', would be sufficient to legitimise the actions undertaken, whilst simultaneously preventing violence against other group members (i.e. St Paul's community members).

The approach to understanding social movements advocated by Reicher (1984) was later conceptualised as the Self-Categorisation Theory (Turner et al., 1987) which stemmed out of Tajfel's earlier work on social identity. The social identity model (Tajfel & Turner, 1979) was developed with the intention of explaining how individuals could hate, fight and exterminate others simply on account of their group membership (Reicher & Hopkins, 2001). Following on from Sherif's work on intergroup relations (Sherif & Sherif, 1953), Tajfel sought to identify the minimal conditions necessary for intergroup discrimination to occur. These studies became known as 'the minimal group studies' (see Tajfel, Billig, Bundy & Flament, 1971; Billig & Tajfel, 1973). The research involved arbitrarily placing participants into two groups, who were required to distribute money to individuals identified as either ingroup members (i.e. belonging to the same group as the participant) or outgroup members (i.e. belonging to a different group than the participant). The studies showed that individuals expressed an ingroup bias, favouring members of their own

group by proportionally distributing more money to ingroup members. Thus, the minimal condition found to be necessary for group formation, and therefore, ingroup bias was that the individuals concerned defined themselves, and were defined by others, as group members.

In accounting for discrimination and oppression between groups, Tajfel and Turner (1979) hypothesised that individuals would strive to maintain or enhance positive feelings about themselves (i.e. a high self-esteem) and that this tendency transferred to their social groups. Thus, given that social groups could conceivably be associated with positive or negative value connotations, an individual's social identity could be positive or negative. Thus, the evaluation of one's own group is of fundamental importance, being determined by comparative references made between specific other groups regarding value-laden attributes and characteristics.

From these initial assumptions it was derived that individuals will seek to maintain a positive social identity and that a positive social identity will be largely based on favourable comparisons. Moreover, when a social identity is found to be unsatisfactory, individuals will either leave their existing group, and join some more positively distinct group or strive to make their existing group more positively distinct. In terms of mobilisation, this theory suggests that social movements arise when members of a social group feel that they are negatively evaluated, and seek to achieve a more positive social identity. Accordingly, the social identity model is largely consistent with other perspectives on mobilisation, including relative deprivation (Pettigrew, 1967) and status prevention (Lipset & Raab, 1978).

Following the development of this model, theorists began to consider how individuals were able to act as a group at all. The resulting theory, which elaborated

on Tajfel and Turner's (1979) original work, posited that each individual simultaneously maintained a number of different identities and that these identities were activated at different times. It was suggested that individuals were able to shift from identities of self as individual to self as group member according to the situation. In particular, it was argued that individuals would behave according to the prescribed principles and stereotypes of the group with which they identified. However, given that individuals typically identified with multiple groups, it was suggested that individuals were capable of holding multiple 'identities', even if these identities were not always consistent. As a result, individuals would behave differently according to the identity that was being activated or indeed, most salient, at any one time.

Self-categorisation theory (Turner et al., 1987) hypothesised that group behaviour stems from a shift in the perception of the self: that there is a change from the personal to the social level of identity which produces a corresponding shift in behaviour. Thus, a 'group' is said to arise when two or more people come to perceive and define themselves in terms of some shared in-group/out-group categorisation. Moreover, the theory posits that any collection of individuals is more likely to categorise themselves as a group if they subjectively perceive that the differences between group members are less than the differences perceived between themselves and other groups (Turner et al., 1987).

Social movement research stemming from this tradition has argued that it is the individual's ability to define themselves at different levels of abstraction that makes collective action possible (Hopkins & Reicher, 1997). Furthermore, they suggest that identification with a category automatically assumes conformity to the

category's defining norms, values and belief systems and, that individuals will modulate their behaviour such that their actions remain consistent with the defining norms and values attached to that identity category.

From this perspective mobilisation is achieved through the creation of a social group or by making membership in a social group more readily accessible (Brewer & Silver, 2000). That is, if individuals will behave according to the norms and goals of a group to which they consider themselves a member, then activating membership in a group will necessarily encourage conformity with the group's social norms. This has been theorised as 'depersonalisation', in which an individual becomes an 'exemplar' of the group and all that the group seeks to represent.

For example, in their analysis of anti-abortion rhetoric, Reicher and Hopkins (1996a) analysed a speech given by a UK Parliamentarian to the Medical Society at a major Scottish teaching hospital. They showed that the speaker, in attempting to have the audience adopt an anti-abortion stance, presented abortion as being antithetical to the medical identity. Moreover, the speaker was able to reframe the anti-abortion argument, expanding the definitional criteria of members so as to include individuals who would not normally be seen as associating with the anti-abortion movement, into the anti-abortion category.

The extension of this argument; that generating a sufficiently inclusive category will result in universal mobilisation, is obviously problematic. However, this line of reasoning has resulted in an alternative take on social identity that views categorisation as a function of how people are organised in the world. This perspective suggests that categories do not reflect existing social structures so much as generate alternative social realities. Indeed much of this work has come to

emphasis the role of language in defining the boundaries that constitute any one group. That is, the behaviours of group members may shift in accordance with definitional boundaries provided by the groups (i.e. norms, stereotypes, etiquette), and that these boundaries may themselves shift depending on how they are constructed in language (see Reicher & Hopkins, 2001).

This emphasis on language is theoretically consistent with a recent reconceptualisation of the social identity model (i.e. Elaborated Social Identity Model). Although the social identity model has been able to account for group formation, it has been criticised for failing to fully explain how conflict actually develops during a social protest (i.e. the shift from protest to riot). As a result, researchers have suggested that social protests are dynamic instances of crowd behaviour and that the identity processes which facilitate group formation are constantly being renegotiated by group members in accordance with the environment and other social groups.

For example, Drury and Reicher (2000) describe the circumstances surrounding an environmental protest at George Green in which approximately 200 people had camped under the base of a large chestnut tree that was scheduled to be removed to make way for a major highway ('No M11 Campaign'). The protest was intended to be non-violent, but confrontations developed between protesters and police. Drury and Reicher (2000) argue that the shift in protester behaviour from non-violent to violent reflects a shift in the protesters' social identity. That is, when the protesters were positioned as engaging in illegitimate acts and thereby treated by police in a hostile fashion, the protesters re-defined their identity, a process that

allowed the group's norms to shift from the prohibition of violence to its acceptance as necessary. As a result, a cyclical escalation of the situation eschewed.

From their examination of the incident at George Green, Drury and Reicher (2000) argued that it is important to see crowd behaviour as a function of intergroup dynamics. Thus, the legitimate identity to which a group member subscribes will undergo any number of changes according to the interactions the group has with other groups. This theory assumes that the nature of the interaction will be contingent on how each group constructs the situation and each other.

This increasing emphasis on the role of language in shaping reality is part of a larger move towards constructionist approaches to identity. Indeed Billig (1995) had previously argued that there is no particular psychological state that equates to 'identity' and that it is dangerously simplistic to explain away various forms of consciousness as 'identity'. Moreover, it has been argued that the significance of adopting a category label as an 'identity' is lost if it is understood as just another form of group identity, for it neglects the implications of what it specifically means to declare oneself a member of a group (Breuilly, 1985; Billig 1995).

For example, the Palestinian Liberation Organisation's National Charter defines the Palestinians as both a 'people' and a 'nation', establishing the legitimacy of the group's existence and their claims for political recognition. However, prior to 1993 the Charter actively distinguished between 'genuine' and 'non-genuine' nations by declaring that Jews are a religious group and not a nation with their own identity (Article 20). In this way Palestinians were able to justify their claims for sovereignty by emphasising the appropriateness of their land claims over Jewish claims. Thus, 'identity' needs to be understood as a socially generated construct, one that



necessarily extends beyond cognitive explanations. Identity claims are powerful political tools, supporting claims for recognition and in justifying oppressive acts. It is therefore essential that the power inherent in identity claims is not underestimated, nor the degree to which alternative framings can implicate the options presented to those being mobilised.

Thus, rather than being construed as a cognitive mechanism, identity becomes a dynamic and powerful tool, providing the boundaries for the division of ingroups and outgroups. Indeed, Reicher and Hopkins (1996b) demonstrated this in their examination of the political rhetoric used by incumbent British Prime Minister, Margaret Thatcher and opposition leader Niel Kinnock during the miner's strike of 1984-1985. Both Thatcher and Kinnock utilised similar categorisation rhetoric, including as many diverse groups as possible within the constructed ingroup, while simultaneously reducing the outgroup to a highly defined and exclusively limited number of individuals. Indeed Kinnock managed to reduce his outgroup to one individual: Thatcher. Reicher and Hopkins (1996b) found that both speakers constructed the category boundaries so as to include as many people as possible into their ingroup, thereby rendering their party's policies consonant with the majority's views and more abstractly, 'British-ness'.

Yet, as this example highlights, it is important to realise that these boundaries can be shaped, changed, managed and renegotiated through the language choices made. Considered from the perspective of mobilisation rhetoric, the ability to construct and re-construct membership categories is significant, making language fundamental not only in defining the boundaries of participation, but in defining the nature of the issue in its entirety. As a result, language becomes an integral

component in the shaping of the ideologies drawn upon when seeking to mobilise individuals.

## **1.5 Ideology**

Ideology frequently acts as a cover term for the relatively stable set of values and beliefs that have become associated with social movements. It is usually argued that ideology provides the rationale for defending or challenging various social institutions and practices (Snow, 2004). Indeed, many groups (or even individuals) come to be defined purely by the ideology to which they subscribe (e.g. feminists, Christians, socialists, environmentalists). However, despite these labels, there tends to be no real consistency in identifying what the dominant ideology is, as the ideologies shared by 'activists' may be strictly contextual and not extend beyond the instance at hand (van Dijk, 1998). Moreover, ideologies may be reframed, according to the nature of the environment and social context in which mobilisation is taking place. Therefore, ideological perspectives on social movements are best understood as being firmly embedded in the symbolic interactionist or social constructionist tradition.

The constructionist perspective holds that meanings are not naturally attached to objects, events, or experiences. Rather, social meanings are imposed through interactive and communicative processes. Social constructionism seeks to challenge understandings about how knowledge is generated and rejects the positivist assumption that what exists in the world is what we perceive to exist (Burr, 1995; 2003). From this perspective, knowledge is sustained through social processes

in which individuals actively construct their reality through the sharing of understandings. Thus, it is through daily interactions that knowledge is created as these 'negotiated' understandings about the world are generated and reinforced. Accordingly, the world is not understood as a product of direct and unmediated perception but rather, is the result of social processes and interactions (Burr, 2003). In terms of social movements, this episteme highlights the importance of meaning making, as meanings are not considered to be 'objectively given' but rather are socially constructed, having been formed and shaped in social situations.

The meanings that are formed are typically referred to in the social construction literature as 'discourses'. Although traditionally 'discourse' has been used to describe an instance of situated language use, it has taken on new meanings since Foucault reconceptualised the notion, referring to the forms of language that are socially available. These common sense understandings were seen as informing the social structures, rules and procedures typical to societies (McHoul & Grace, 1993). In his work, Foucault sought to reveal how these discourses become established culturally and how they become pervasive, common-sense understandings about the world. Thus, Foucault was concerned with how social understandings or meanings about the world were constructed and represented through discourse. For example, in his examination of 'madness', Foucault (1967) describes how the changing discourses of normality shifted in such a way that certain physical characteristics and behaviours became meaningful and therein, seen to reflect abnormality, criminality or illness.

In examining discourse, Foucault sought statements that demonstrated an implicit knowledge prevalent in society. These knowledge representations formed

guidelines governing what could be said, done and thought within a society and provide the essences from which truth claims could be made (Hall, 1997). In this sense Foucault looked towards the boundaries of what constituted acceptability and endeavoured to highlight the authority and power structures that characterised the establishment of various institutions, discourses and knowledges.

Foucault believed these institutionalised knowledges to be so pervasive that it would be virtually impossible to think outside of them (Hook, 2001). Knowledges, he argued, were reflections of the truth in that once a particular knowledge was applied it had real effects that rendered the original suppositions true. Therefore, the attachment of truth beliefs to the dominant knowledges came with associated 'power' effects. Thus, knowledge held by a society was understood to be directly related to how that society functioned. That is, what was 'known' about criminals had a bearing on how criminals were controlled and punished (Foucault, 1979); what was 'known' about sexuality had a bearing on the behaviours that were considered morally and socially acceptable (Foucault, 1980).

Although Foucault held that knowledge gave power he emphasised the circular nature of power relations suggesting that the empowered produced knowledge that would reinforce their power, while the oppressed continued to reinforce their own oppression. Moreover, Foucault held that these power relations were pervasive at all levels of society with both private and public aspects of society reinforcing the dominant discourses (Hall, 1997).

This has implications for social movements, suggesting that movements are contingent on having established an agreed understanding about the nature of an issue (i.e. the dominant discourse) as well as agreeing that the 'reality' is, itself,

contentious (i.e. that the dominant discourse is problematic) (Snow, 2004). For example, protesting against child labour during the Victorian era was contingent on the development of the discourse of 'childhood'. Without this discourse there was no way to objectify, articulate and indeed normalise 'childhood'. A construct that was essential to articulating concerns about child labour, as without a 'childhood' discourse there were no socio-cultural understandings with which to critique the practice against (see Aries, 1962). From this point of view, social movements can be understood as being shaped by the discourse that is used to describe events.

Thus, a strong emphasis is placed on framing (i.e. naming the aspects of the issue that is considered relevant). Meaning is assigned to events in order to spark or further promote a movement. In addition, framing may also work in a transformative way, altering the discourse being subscribed to. Thus, routine or inconsequential grievances and frustrations may be framed in a manner that suggests gross injustices, or the ideological backing supporting a movement may shift with the changing environment. For example, Rothman and Oliver (1999) recorded a frame shift in their examination of the anti-dam movement in Southern Brazil between 1979 and 1992. Originally the movement was framed in terms of peasants' land rights; later it became a struggle over the destruction of the natural environment. In this instance, Rothman and Oliver (1999) showed that the movement's *raison d'être* shifted with the changing socio-political climate.

The changing rhetoric of the anti-dam movement highlights that mobilisation rhetoric frequently includes incomplete strands of culturally available, discourses. Indeed, if it is accepted that there are multiple discourses available about any one issues and that each of these discourses provides a separate 'narrative' through

which to account for the events, then there will be multiple pathways through which one can mobilise individuals. For example, McAdam (1996) examined the language used by Martin Luther King during the Civil Rights Movement of the 1960s. He showed how King was able to successfully utilise a number of different discourses including Christian, democratic, and pacifist. In particular, King's adoption of Christian and democratic ideologies ensured that the Civil Rights Movement was firmly embedded within U.S. culture. More importantly, his emphasis on ideological diversity, as demonstrated through this reliance on multiple discourses, provided potential movement supporters with multiple points for ideological contact, allowing him to mobilise beyond the African American population to including Christians, and the liberal clergy.

Thus, examining the ideological frames used in mobilisation rhetoric provides a means for exploring the relationships between available discourses. Within a given social movement, the discourses available emerge or evolve in the course of discussions about the issues and events which encompass potentially relevant cultural material (i.e. beliefs, values, ideologies, myths). This cultural material helps to form collective understandings about the world and provides the backbone for group identification. Accordingly, culturally embedded forms of knowledge (e.g. history), provide a context with which powerful emotions may become associated. For example, in the lead up to the Yugoslav Wars (1991-2001), Serbian national identity was constructed around discourses of the 1389 Battle of Kosovo (Majstorovic, 1997). In this instance, Slobodan Milošević valorised the Battle of Kosovo to the point that it began to exist as a clear identity marker for the Serbian population, around which, powerful nationalistic emotions could be generated

(Vulliamy, 1998; Cohen, 1997). The Battle of Kosovo served as a symbolic marker, providing a focal point for the representation of political attitudes and opinions.

However, it is important to reiterate that there tends to be no real consistency between group members with regard to the ideology to which they subscribe. Indeed, Blee's (2003) examined the role of women in racist hate movements and argued that group ideologies were frequently inconsistent, with members combining and simultaneously sustaining often contradictory ideologies in a manner that allowed a myriad of disparate beliefs to be maintained. Moreover, Blee (2003) argued that different ideologies were promoted according to the nature of the situation facing the group. This is most clearly seen in the shifting discourses surrounding membership recruitment. Blee (2003) noted that traditionally the Klan's reputation for violence had been sufficient to entice avidly racist individuals into joining the organisation. However, a rapid decline in membership has necessitated a need to recruit mainstream whites into a "new Klan". In recruiting from both ends, the Klan needed to maintain two alternate discourses, which has led to discontent between radical and more moderate group members. Furthermore, by expanding recruitment to include women, the role of women as legitimate, active group members has been increasingly juxtaposed against the misogynistic values embedded in many hate groups. Thus, even though racist hate movements maintain a 'surface level' of ideological uniformity, members are much less consistent; drawing on which ever ideology best suits the situation.

Thus, in practice, a social movement is unlikely to be as ideologically consistent as previously assumed (Snow, 2004). Therefore, the framing possibilities may work both for and against mobilisation. That is, the more explicit a movement is

about its goals (and the more extreme these goals are seen to be), the less likely it is that a movement will be able to generate sufficient public support. However, if multiple discourses are drawn upon, there will be more ideological contact points available, but this may itself be problematic as 'core' group members may feel that the primary reason for the movement is being compromised. This typically means that movement organisers need to engage in some form of balancing act that will appeal to both the moderate and the more extreme group members (McVeigh, Myers & Sikkink, 2004).

### **1.6 Summary: Developing an Understanding of Altruistic Mobilisation**

Much of the work on social mobilisation has examined social movements from the perspective of the self. That is, mobilisation research has tended to examine what motivates the individual to participate in social action according to the personal gains that will arise out of participation. Accordingly, theories of mobilisation have advocated the role of dissatisfaction in participation, arguing that individuals will not participate unless they perceive some form of deprivation (e.g. McPhail, 1971) or threat (e.g. Lipset & Raab, 1978). Indeed, perceptions of inequality seem to be sufficient to cause a social movement with many of the civil liberty movements being accounted for in this way. Beyond this however, it has also been suggested that even if an individual experiences a sense of deprivation, they will be unwilling to participate unless they can foresee a positive outcome (e.g. Klandermans, 1993). Klandermans (1993) further emphasised this point arguing that participation is largely a function of perceived costs and benefits. Other environmental perspectives



have argued an ideological commitment is far less important than access to material and social resources (e.g. McCarthy & Zald, 1977).

On the other hand, social identity theorists have posited that participation is a process that works within the context of intergroup dynamics. From this perspective group membership necessarily requires some degree of conformity to the group's social norms; thus participation in a social movement becomes a matter of framing relevant goals in order to increase ingroup membership (e.g. Reicher & Hopkins, 1996a). Later work stemming out of this tradition has moved away from mobilisation, returning to intergroup dynamics in its examination of 'crowds' post-mobilisation (e.g. Drury & Reicher, 2000).

Ideological perspectives take a different emphasis yet again, highlighting the role of framing in making an issue relevant (e.g. Rothman & Oliver, 1999). However, the nature of this 'relevance' is itself questionable as individuals are often persuaded to participate, through movement frames which highlight the 'dangers' or 'inconsistencies' attached to non-participation (e.g. McAdam, 1996). Even social movements such as the environmental movements have been largely framed in terms of personal gain (if at a more abstract level) with the consequences of pollution being marketed in terms of threat to our lived experience (e.g. Tyler & McGraw, 1983).

The tendency to focus on individual gain in mobilisation theory is likely to have been confounded by the social movements chosen for research. In the majority of instances these chosen movements have been seeking some form of social change that directly affects particular members of society in very real ways. Thus, the participant is always presented as participating in order to advance their own ends.

Even when these ends may be deemed morally and socially positive (e.g. feminist movement, civil rights movement), there is still a personal gain that is inherent in participation and movement success.

Whilst all of the mobilisation theories examined have their own strengths and weaknesses, the purpose of this study is to explore how individuals are recruited into social movements for which, benefits cannot be clearly ascertained. It is for this reason that the animal rights movement has been chosen for analysis. Not only does supporting animal rights appear to be an altruistic act (i.e. no personal material gain), but it may be construed as being akin to deprivation, in that support for animal rights often leads to 'personal loss' in that animal rights activists are unable/unwilling to consume meat, wear fur or leather, use products tested on animals; practices that are not normative in mainstream Western societies. In this sense, the present research seeks to look beyond the work of various social movement researchers who have advocated a 'self-interest' model of mobilisation in which individuals will only be encouraged to participate if they can foresee personal gain resulting from their participation.

## **2.1 Animal Rights and Animal Welfare**

The purpose of this chapter is to provide some background information regarding vivisection, the animal rights movement and its philosophy more generally. In broad terms, the animal rights movement argues for the equal consideration of animals (Singer, 1975). In practice, this constitutes criticism of the many areas in which animals and humans interact. Principally, animal rights groups are highly critical of the mass farming of animals for food; the use of animals in toxicological, cosmetic and medical research; the use of animals for making clothing and fashion accessories; and, the use of animals in entertainment (including animals in circuses, those kept in zoological gardens, those used for sport (including hunting), and those used in television and advertisement campaigns). Whilst the majority of groups will more or less advocate support for each of these areas, the movement itself consists of a number of sub-movements which tend to focus on specific areas (e.g. the Hunt Saboteurs Association, Vegan Outreach). However, unlike animal welfare groups (e.g. the RSPCA) who typically focus on the care and protection of animals, animal rights groups seek to gain legal recognition for nonhuman animals (e.g. The Great Ape Project).

The distinction between animal welfare and animal rights is fundamental to the definition of the movement. In general, animal welfare groups support the use of animals in all situations provided no undue harm is experienced. For example, the Royal Society for the Prevention of Cruelty to Animals (RSPCA), a leading animal

welfare organisation states in their charter that: “*animals should not be used in experiments which inflict pain or suffering upon them and which are not essential for the benefit of man [sic] or animals*”. However, the notion of “essential” animal research would be strongly contested by many animal rights activists who would see such a position as antithetical to the notion of animal rights (see Ruesch, 1983).

Indeed animal rights activists would typically question whether *any* research involving animals was *essential*. Similarly, in their policy statement on “Animal Research and Experimentation”, the RSPCA notes that whilst they are opposed to “the use of live animals in experimentation”, they acknowledge that “...until alternative techniques are developed the use of live animals in some experiments will occur” (RSPCA, 2006). Again it is this conditionality that constitutes the main difference, for although animal welfare groups may not actively support the various uses of animals, they do condone or make allowances for particular practices. In fact, in this regard the RSPCA’s policy statement on animal experimentation varies little in terms of overall goals from the National Health and Medical Research Council’s (NHMRC) Code of Practice (NHMRC, 2004), which provides a guide for researchers outlining acceptable animal experimentation procedures. The Code of Practice acts as a primary reference point for Australian research bodies and animal ethics committees. Like the RSPCA’s policy statement, the NHMRC’s code acknowledges the need to use fewer animals, and to provide exceptional levels of care in order to avoid, minimise, or reduce the trauma experienced by research animals. Thus, it is perhaps the acknowledgement of a “need” to continue using animals that marks the key difference between welfare and rights groups. In practice, the animal welfare

groups will tend to encourage care and harm minimisation, rather than adopt a position that strongly advocates the abolition of animal use for human ends.

To further highlight this point, animal rights groups tend to promote vegan (or as a minimum, vegetarian) dietary practices. Animal welfare groups on the other hand, argue more for cruelty-free farming practices. To quote once more from the RSPCA's charter: *"no animal should be used for the production of food or fibre, either by farming practice, transportation, or method of slaughter which in any way may cause suffering, injury or distress"*. Again, the distinction arises between criticising poor animal farming practices (c.f. animal welfare), as opposed to criticising the practice of animal farming outright (c.f. animal rights) (see also, Spedding, 2000).

Although this distinction is fundamental to the contemporary animal rights movement, it is only relatively recently that such a distinction has been necessary for prior to the 1960s the notion of animal rights was still embedded in the animal protection movements of the 1800s. Indeed a large number of animal welfare groups were established during the Enlightenment period, when many ideas were being challenged. Socially, the 1800s was a time of upheaval, as universal suffrage (especially women's suffrage and the abolitionist movement) got underway. In terms of animal protection however, the key issue was primarily animal vivisection (Elston, 1987).

## **2.2 Vivisection and the Anti-Vivisection Movement**

Since the mid-1900s the term vivisection has come to describe all kinds of animal experimentation, however, the term was originally coined to denote the full

(or partial) dissection of a living animal for the purpose of research (Maehle & Tröhler, 1987). As a practice, vivisection can be traced back to Antiquity and stemmed primarily from an interest in physiology, knowledge of which could not be readily obtained from studies of human corpses. Whilst important discoveries were made through the practice of vivisection (most notably Harvey's discovery of the circulatory system in 1628), it is important to realise that anaesthesia only became available on a large scale around 1850. However, the availability of anaesthesia (even today) does not necessarily equate to use.

The practice of vivisection has been debated within various ideological paradigms and the degree of acceptability afforded it has fluctuated accordingly. Initially, problems arose over the acceptability of human vivisection. Given the obvious anatomical differences between humans and animals, various concerns had been raised regarding the transferability of knowledge gained from live animal dissections. Human dissection, it was argued, was a far more reliable practice, despite it being considered anathema to most experimentalists. However, it was widely rumoured that Herophilos (330-250 B.C.E) (who demonstrated the functional difference between tendon and nerve), and Erasistratos (305-240 B.C.E) (who distinguished between sensory and motor nerves), had dissected living criminals, given to them by the Ptolemaic Kings (Maehle & Tröhler, 1987). Thus, although human vivisection was widely rejected as un-Christian and barbaric, it was occasionally adopted. King Mithridates (132-63 B.C.E), for example, allowed toxicological testing on both humans and animals, whilst Maupertuis (1698-1759) openly expressed support for (trained) physicians being given access to criminals for the purpose of pharmacological, toxicological and physiological experiments (as well

as for surgical training more generally). Moreover, the anatomist Rolfinck (1599-1673) reportedly expressed support for the Imperial physicians of Louis XI's court (1423-1483), who were given permission to vivisect a living soldier who had been sentenced to death. Similarly, Wepfer (1620-1695) implied support for human vivisection by suggesting that no complaints had been raised against the Imperial physicians who conducted toxicological experiments on criminals, for if the criminal survived the experiment, he would be set free (Maehle & Tröhler, 1987).

Despite this supportive fringe, the issue of human vivisection was largely curtailed through Catholic dogma, which argued that the practice was akin to excessive cruelty. This same concern was largely unheralded in the case of animal vivisection due to the apparent distinction between the human soul and the animal soul (i.e. the animal soul being largely non-existent). There was however a number of individuals who questioned this distinction arguing that animals did indeed suffer (or at least should be given the benefit of the doubt) and as such the practice constituted excessive cruelty. However, the Christian philosophers, Augustine and St Thomas Aquinas argued that although cruelty toward animals was expressly forbidden in the Bible, its prohibition was only due to the fear that cruelty toward animals would lead to cruelty towards other humans (Maehle & Tröhler, 1987).

In his consideration of the issue, Descartes (1596-1650) proposed that the bodies of animals and humans could be compared to machines. Descartes distinguished between animals and humans by acknowledging the human capacity for speech and arguing for the existence of a rational, immaterial and imperishable soul in humans (Rosenfield, 1968). He posited that animals did not suffer *per se*, but rather they appeared to be suffering because the animal-machine was 'going through

the motions' of pain. Thus, animal pain was contrasted against human pain which was considered 'real' pain. Thus, although animals appeared to be suffering during vivisection, the reality, according to Descartes, was that they were not.

In some quarters, the animal-as-machine theory prompted excessive displays of animal cruelty. For example, Father Malebranche (1638-1715) reportedly kicked a pregnant dog and responded to calls for compassion by claiming "So what? Don't you know it has no feeling at all?" (Maehle & Tröhler, 1987). Although it is likely that this is not what Descartes had envisaged, his teachings were used for the justification of many a pointless vivisection and intentional cruelty against animals occurred under his name for many years (Maehle & Tröhler, 1987).

The movement against vivisection, to some degree, co-evolved with the increasing reliance on animal experimentation. The work of early critics, including Jean Riolan (1580-1657), Edmund O'Meara (1614-1618), Alexander Pope (1688-1744), Samuel Johnson (1758), Immanuel Kant (1797) and Jeremy Bentham (1789), was later supplemented by the formal establishment of anti-vivisection societies (see also Maehle & Tröhler, 1987).

Indeed by the end of the 1800s, England, and much of the Continent, had well-established animal protection societies targeting the practice of vivisection. The most influential of these was the Victoria Street Society (VSS), established in 1875 under the direction of Miss Frances Cobbe (1822-1904). The VSS, like many of the societies of its ilk, campaigned against the use of animals in experimentation, either advocating the total and immediate abolition of the practice of vivisection; or the overall reduction of animals used in vivisection (arguing that whilst the abolition of vivisection would always be the final goal, any measures which reduced the amount



of suffering or the quantity of animals suffering would be supported; Elston, 1987).

With the establishment of these societies, the debate over vivisection became increasingly controversial, particularly when the issue of vivisection crossed boundaries with the suffragette movement. In one instance, Victor Horsley (an outspoken surgeon and vivisector) accused Cobbe of misrepresentation, stating that she had prefaced a book describing animal experiments as consisting of verbatim extracts from vivisectors' own laboratory reports. Horsley challenged this claim, bluntly accusing Cobbe of lying. The ensuing debate concerned Horsley's allegations as well as his impropriety (Elston, 1987). However, Cobbe's dignified withdrawal from the debate did not go unnoticed.

In a later incident (1903), two female medical students, Schartau and Lind-af-Hageby, enrolled in a physiology lecture at the University of London which permitted them to witness a 'real vivisection'. Their claims, publicised by Coleridge, alleged that the dog had been used for multiple vivisections and had remained unanaesthetised. These claims prompted the lecturing physician, Dr Bayliss, to sue Coleridge for libel. Eventually, Dr Bayliss, was awarded damages, but not before considerable support had been generated. Indeed, following the court case, a statue was erected by an unsympathetic public and anti-vivisectionists in remembrance of the little brown dog used by Dr Bayliss and his colleagues. The arrival of the statue sparked a series of riots as medical students, veterinary students and vivisectors took to the streets in protest after they failed to have the local council remove it. A political change saw its eventual removal, but not before 10 arrests had been made and the many attempts to destroy the statue had resulted in 100 police being detailed to protect it. Its eventual removal sparked even more protest as 3000 citizens

marched on Trafalgar Square, although subsequent attempts to reinstall the statue were made, it was found to have disappeared (NAVS, 2003).

However, following this incident, the social condemnation of animal research declined as medical advances ensured many individuals were less willing to condemn animal experimentation outright. With the commencement of World War I, the abolitionist aspects of the anti-vivisection movement receded as groups sought to promote welfare through the three R's: reduction in the number of animals used, refinement of experiments (such that less animals are needed), and replacement of animal experiments with non-animal alternatives (Jasper, 1999).

### **2.3 The Animal Rights Movement**

One of the most damaging criticisms of the early anti-vivisection movement was that of hypocrisy, with key activists being discredited based on their continuing consumption of animal products (e.g. eating meat and wearing fur). This criticism was largely addressed with the reformulation of the anti-vivisection movement in the 1960s, when the issue of vivisection was targeted in conjunction with other instances of animal exploitation. This new formulation saw an increase in more 'radical' approaches to stopping animal cruelty (e.g. the Hunt Saboteurs Association was established in 1963). At the same time an increased awareness of the institutionalised exploitation of animals was achieved through various publications including Harrison's (1964) "Animal Machines: The New Factory Farming Industry".

The movement proper, exploded in 1970 when various philosophers began to provide ideological and theoretical support for the movement. This period was

marked by Singer's (1975, 1995) influential publication *Animal Liberation*. This work was followed by others including Clark (1977; 1982), Midgley (1983) and Regan (1982; 1983) who articulated much of the ethical background used to support the animal rights movement. These publications followed in the wake of numerous organisations, the most notorious being the Animal Liberation Front (ALF) which was established in 1973. The ALF earned an infamous reputation through its 'direct action' campaigns<sup>Ψ</sup>.

Other, potentially less controversial groups were also established during this period. By far the most influential of these groups today is PETA (People for the Ethical Treatment of Animals, established in 1980. Their first major offensive involving an undercover investigation of the Institute for Behavioural Research in 1981. This investigation brought to light the research of Dr Edward Taub, who had been engaged in deafferentation studies on macaque monkeys. These studies involved severing the afferent (or sensory) nerves to some part of the body (typically the arm). Taub was seeking to challenge the dominant view that input from both sensory and motor neurons were necessary for movement, research which had implications for stroke rehabilitation and neuroplasticity. By restraining the 'good' arm Taub was able to re-train the macaques (through negative reinforcement via an administered electric shock), to use their 'bad' arm (i.e. their deafferentiated arm). However, in order to show that the macaques' brains had 'rewired' during the training process (i.e. undergone neuroplastic growth), it was necessary to generate a

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<sup>Ψ</sup> Interestingly, Singer (2006) notes that the tactics employed by groups like the ALF have been responsible for far less damage (and far fewer deaths/murders) than the anti-abortion/pro-live groups.

neural map post treatment; a procedure which necessitated the macaques' death (Schwartz & Begley, 2002).

The PETA investigation showed the appalling conditions in which the monkeys were kept. Moreover, the test monkeys had begun to chew their differentiated limbs, which resulted in the loss of several fingers and a number of wounds that were left untreated. The incident saw Edward Taub earn the dubious distinction of becoming the first researcher to be charged with cruelty to animals, and resulted in the closure of his research laboratory. PETA's subsequent attempt to gain custody of the surviving macaques resulted in a protracted legal battle which was widely protested and highly controversial. Amidst claims of subterfuge (pertaining to the desire to finish Taub's research by completing the neural mapping of the remaining monkeys) many of the surviving monkeys became "ill" and were "euthanised". PETA eventually lost their claim, but in the process managed to raise considerable awareness for their cause. The incident of the Silver Spring Monkeys generated widespread support for the animal rights movement, but perhaps more significantly it encouraging activists to publicise the information obtained from their undercover operations.

The second major offensive occurred in 1984, when undercover video footage (shot by the ALF) was publicised by PETA. This video showed research being conducted at the University of Pennsylvania's Head Injury Clinic. In particular, the footage depicted researchers laughing as they conducted research upon baboons. The research involved generating a head injury or whiplash by hitting the baboons with a hydraulic device, a method that was intended to replicate human injuries sustained

in vehicle and sporting accidents. The public outcry following the publication of the audio-visual material resulted in the closure of the laboratory<sup>Ψ</sup>.

Following these successes the movement expanded with campaigns against factory farming (e.g. Burger King agreed to improve conditions for slaughter animals, 2002) cosmetic companies (e.g. Revlon stopped all animal testing, 1990), fashion houses (e.g. Calvin Klein agreed to be fur free, 1994) and animal circuses (e.g. legal actions brought against Ringling Bros. and Barnum & Bailey Circus, 1998) (see also Singer, 1995). Thus, animal cruelty, which had previously been seen as limited to vivisection, was now considered systematic and pervasive. Businesses involved in animal farming, transport, fur and hunting were (and still are) directly targeted by activists who seek the end of these activities.

The outcomes of these campaigns are indicative of the relative success of the animal rights movement and while animals are still exploited, the level of social consciousness about the mistreatment of animals has increased. Indeed, the advent of animal ethics committees, the implementation of the 3Rs of research practice, the increased availability of faux fur, the decrease in animal testing by cosmetic companies, the availability of alternative, non-animal, research methods and the arrival of vegetarian (and increasingly vegan) restaurants and menus are all contributing factors in judging the animal rights movement to be successful.

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<sup>Ψ</sup> Copies of these videos (“Silver Spring Monkeys” and “Unnecessary Fuss”) can still be obtained from PETA, visit [www.peta.org/mc/videoDisplay.aspx?type=testing](http://www.peta.org/mc/videoDisplay.aspx?type=testing)

## 2.4 Ethics and Animal Rights

A particularly important aspect of the movement is the philosophical support provided by a number of ethicists, which has given the movement a strong and cohesive theoretical basis. As a philosophy, animal ethics arose during the 1960s and 1970s, a period of social reform in North America and throughout much of the Western world. The movements of this time, including the Civil Rights Movement and the Feminist Movement, endeavoured to challenge the dominant social paradigms by providing a forum to examine many of society's beliefs and values. With the increasing emphasis on environmental conservation and protection, individuals began to reconsider longstanding philosophical (and theological) beliefs regarding the role of humans in nature.

Although questions about how humans should interact with the natural environment were not new; discussions about environmental ethics became increasingly prevalent (Palmer, 2003). These debates, like ethical debates more generally, revolved around constructs of rights, fairness, justice, utility, common good and responsibility. However, debates surrounding environmental ethics, of which animal ethics is part, particularly emphasise the notion of value. Indeed, O'Neill (2003) argues that the essence of environmental ethics lies in the belief that non-human beings and states in nature are *intrinsically* valuable. This is an important point, for traditionally moral philosophy has argued that value is anthropogenic (if not anthropocentric). The conceptualisation of nature as intrinsically valuable has considerable implications for environmental ethics (c.f. deep ecology), but also effects the attribution of value more generally and therein has implications for deciding who

and what is significant and accordingly, who or what is worthy of ethical consideration.

The idea of ethical consideration posits that the interests of various beings need to be considered as part of any decision making process. That is, in deciding whether or not an act is ethical, the interests of affected beings should be considered (Singer, 1995). Thus, the basis of the argument for animal rights is that animals are intrinsically valuable and therefore are beings worthy of consideration. The essence of the debate essentially centres on characteristics that are deemed to determine value (e.g. sentience, the ability to feel pain, the ability to engage socially, status as a human), yet as a construct, value is itself problematic.

Moreover, who (or what) constitutes 'a being worthy of consideration' is culturally and historically situated. A poignant example arises in the context of American slavery. It is argued that the act of slavery was considered acceptable despite directly contradicting ideals of American Liberalism, because black people were not human (Nash, 1990). That is, the definition of human (or more correctly 'man') did not encompass black slaves who were seen as a separate species entirely. Thus the values of American liberalism did not apply, and similarly it was not considered meaningful to speak of their rights (e.g. Nott, 1844; Faust, 1981; Fogel, 2003).

In drawing reference to abolitionism the purpose is to acknowledge that the question of who deserves ethical consideration is not as immediately obvious as it may seem. Even historically, the notion of what constitutes 'human' and who makes up 'humanity' has changed. Indeed, in many respects these boundaries are still a source of much contention in many parts of the world.

Thus, it is important to recognise that what constitutes value is not fixed, but is socially created as different traits and qualities are more or less emphasised. Therefore, it is problematic to argue that a clear distinction can be made between 'humans' and 'animals' for the defining points are invariably socially constructed. Indeed at many points in history, and until fairly recently, individuals that would be classified as humans today, would have been classified as animals without any concern or dissent being generated. Accordingly it is from within this philosophical context that the ethical debates about animal rights have occurred. Some of the more central arguments are considered below.

## **2.5 Contemporary Issues and Perspectives in Environmental Ethics**

Contemporary views that justify the use of animals typically stem from Aristotelian ethics that advocates a teleological approach to value. Aristotle argued that all things in nature, including humans, were endowed with a distinctive, natural purpose. He saw nature as existing within a fixed hierarchical order (i.e. 'The Great Chain of Being'). This concept described the natural order through the metaphor of a ladder. The ladder consisted of many rungs with humans (or, more specifically Greek noble men) occupying the highest rung whilst other beings (including women, slaves, peasants and animals) fell below; occupying progressively lower rungs as befitting their status (Lovejoy, 1936).

This hierarchical structure, together with Aristotle's teleological view, naturally legitimized the oppression of groups belonging to the lower rungs as beings on a lower rung were seen to have purpose ('*telos*') in serving beings on



higher rungs (Lovejoy, 1936). To this end, the Aristotelian approach was largely anthropocentric. Simply put, anthropocentric ethics holds that only human beings have moral value. If it is only human beings that are considered to have moral value, it is only humans who need to be considered when making moral and ethical decisions (Engelhardt, 2001).

In general, the influence of Aristotle was remarkable, with his teachings about nature and the natural order influencing, and indeed dominating, many philosophical and theological traditions. Most significantly Aristotle's ideas were carried through into Judeo-Christian thought. The importance placed by Christians on the immortal soul further reinforced these understandings suggesting that human life alone is sacred. In comparison to the standards of Classical Rome, this was a remarkable and significant expansion of the moral sphere (Singer, 1975). Key Christian texts, particularly the work of Saint Thomas Aquinas, were strongly influenced by Aristotle. For example, Aquinas' theology asserted that "in the order of nature, the imperfect is for the sake of the perfect, the irrational is to serve the rational. Man as a rational animal is permitted to use things below him in this order of nature for his proper needs." (Bourke, 1951: 352).

With the Renaissance came an influx of ancient texts and theories, which allowed individuals to question the prevailing assumptions about the physical world. Over time, a subtle rift occurred that allowed an increase in 'scientific' freedom. The works of Descartes, Newton and Darwin all endorsed a position that was significantly less anthropocentric. In particular, their writings provided the theoretical means for questioning the idea that the world had been designed by God for men (Wise, 2000). In particular, Darwin's work on evolution and natural selection

seriously challenged Aristotelian interpretations of nature and specifically the Chain of Being. This paved the way for society at large to begin to address issues of human equality as well as considering environmental issues that sought the establishment of a more global expression of equality (Wise, 2000).

The teachings of Aristotle and Judeo-Christian theology have influenced much of contemporary Western thought regarding the treatment of, and attitudes toward, the environment and animals. However, this is not reflected globally with many Eastern Schools adopting a more holistic approach to the environment. These philosophies purport a more egalitarian understanding of humanity's role in nature and have influenced environmental ethics by challenging previously unquestioned assumptions about the superiority of the human species. The following seeks to explore some of the traditional ethical perspectives that have been used by individuals in the animal rights movement.

### **2.5.1 Consequentialist Approaches**

Consequentialist approaches seek to examine and make decisions about right/wrong, good/bad on the basis of the consequences resulting from certain acts. Accordingly, the value of a particular act is determined by its consequences. An ethical act is considered to be one that maximizes good consequences (Jardins, 2001). Consequences most frequently considered to be valuable are those which are practically useful and satisfy desires such as pleasure, happiness and well-being. In this sense an act is not intrinsically moral; rather claims to morality are derived from the consequences that result from the act (Tester, 1991). This perspective is traditionally found in the work of John Stuart Mill and Jeremy Bentham and most

commonly discussed in terms of utilitarianism. Utilitarianism is the view that morality should be assessed in terms of the effects of behaviour on utility. Currently, the most influential (and controversial) philosopher to advocate utilitarian ethics is Peter Singer, whose work has pushed for an inclusion of animals into the ethical sphere. Singer holds that animals need to be considered equally when calculating the 'goodness' attached to any action. He argues that the human benefit gained from using animals does not outweigh the harm caused to animals. Singer's approach moves the centre away from human individual hedonism into a less anthropocentric understanding of global pleasure or global good.

However, consequentialist arguments have been used with equal success by groups rejecting the move towards animal rights. These arguments hold that the consequences of engaging in animal research provide clear benefits to humans that offset the costs to the animals involved. Whilst these arguments are also utilitarian, they reject the inclusion of nature into the ethical sphere claiming that animals and nature are not morally relevant. The criteria used to determine what does or does not constitute moral relevancy is at the centre of this debate, and indeed Singer himself has been criticized for his arbitrary placement of the boundary line deeming what should be included (and what excluded) in moral considerations (see Midgley, 1983).

Indeed, utilitarianism more generally has been criticized for not allowing acts that would be considered 'favouritism' (i.e. saving a family member or close friend rather than the life of someone who would make a greater contribution to society). An extension of these criticisms flow into the animal rights debate especially within the field of animal research where individuals argue that saving one child would

outweigh the cost attached to the loss of many animals. Here the issue is, as Singer states, *who* deserves equal consideration.

### **2.5.2 Deontological Approaches**

Deontological approaches avoid many of the problems attached to consequentialism by asserting that each organism is fundamentally valuable in itself. This philosophical approach has its roots in Kantian thought which held that the principles of morality should stem from 'duty' rather than from fortune, sentience, utility or self interest (Guyer, 1992). This argument is at odds with the utilitarian belief, for the value of an act is held to be intrinsic to that act instead of being derived from its possible consequences. According to Kant, morality was firmly grounded in rationality. Each individual was morally autonomous in that each was to rely on their own rationality in order to determine what was morally required. Kant sought to ground decisions of morality within a sense of 'duty'. Duty was understood as an expression of good will or good intention, duty for duty's sake not for the sake of any consequences or inclinations. Thus, morality became a categorical imperative; reason demanded that one act according to duty, unconditionally. The categorical imperative also dictated that individuals be treated as ends and never as means (Guyer, 1992).

In terms of animal rights, the deontological position is best expressed by Regan (1983). Regan (1983) adopts a categorical imperative that extends beyond Kant's 'rational subjects' to include all organisms (Tester, 1991). Regan argues that there is an intrinsic value in animals inherent in the simple fact that they possess life. Moreover, Regan (1983) directly rejects utilitarianism, arguing that in certain

circumstances everything may be considered permissible and as such, it is a flawed construct.

Again the problem arises as to where to draw the line in deciding who is to be given 'rights', as a clear preference exists for the sponsorship of mammalian rights over the rights of all living things at large. Schweitzer (1923) addresses this criticism, arguing that all beings are of equal value and that humans are incapable of knowing or judging the relative values of each<sup>ψ</sup>. Thus, if we are unable to know the relative value we should refrain from exploitation. That is, it is better to give more rights to those of lesser value, than to withhold rights to those of greater or equal value.

Other versions of deontology move away from Regan's (1984) inherent value in 'life' to argue that value may be measured according to capabilities of a particular organism (e.g. Lombardi, 1983). Whilst these views still maintain value in all beings, they weigh that value differently. Other views reject this instrumentalist approach, holding that the organism itself is valuable, not what it is doing (i.e. a tree is valuable because it *is*, not because it produces oxygen) (see Palmer, 2003).

### 2.5.3 Constructionist Approaches

Social constructionist approaches have also been developed in response to environmental and animal ethics (Palmer, 2003). Typically, these approaches argue that 'the environment' and 'nature' are interpreted by or through culture. Understandings about 'nature' shift with changes in ideas, culture, politics and socio-

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<sup>ψ</sup> However, Schweitzer simultaneously held that humans were superior to other species – a tension that is possibly waylaid by his thoughts on restitution – a form of ecological compensation that is not relevant to this discussion (see Schweitzer, 1923).

historical factors. Thus, ideas about 'nature' are understood as being culturally relative. While weaker forms of social constructionism do not question the existence of nature *per se*, they do hold that all knowledge about nature is culturally dependent. These perspectives question understandings about nature, arguing that there is no 'real' nature outside of the meaning placed onto it by humans and their cultures. Accordingly, from a constructionist point of view, it does not make sense to talk of 'conservation', 'environmental protectionism' and 'animal rights' for these ideas are only meaningful as they are enacted within our culture.

For example, a constructionist position was advocated by Engelhardt (2001) who states that animals acquire moral significance *from* humans because morality is articulated *by* humans. Engelhardt (2001) advances a case for moral pluralism, holding that in contemporary culture there is no room for society to hold absolutes. Instead, moral authority is drawn from 'persons' (defined as humans that can engage in the practice of morality) and moral conclusions cannot be secured without sound rational arguments. This argument sees morality as a cultural construct: animals are outside of human culture and are thus, outside the sphere of moral concern. From this basis, the argument becomes one of eclectic interests. It is important to have wildlife sanctuaries, cockfights, circuses, zoological gardens, reserves, farms, and so on, in order to satisfy the moral beliefs as well as the material and cultural needs of all persons.

Accordingly Engelhardt (2001) reasons that *all* moral experience is located within human culture and that it is nonsensical to discuss animal 'rights' as separate from animals' role in human culture. To this end, Engelhardt (2001) holds that animals have the right to be used for human ends, be that as food, research subjects,

entertainment or clothing. Alternatively, Routley and Routley (1995) have described philosophical attempts to exclude non-human elements from the ethical sphere as a form of human chauvinism. They argue that placing a clear emphasis on human interests allows for the self-justification and perpetuation of actions without any questioning of the underlying assumptions.

Indeed, this understanding of animals is itself problematic as it takes the debate to the other end of the spectrum in which animals (and the environment more generally) is considered to 'exist' only within a human defined social context. For example, Rolston (1997) argues that to ignore the biotic elements that make up the environment (by either questioning the existence of the environment as a whole or any part there of) is to place the same junctions on the Earth at large as constructionists would cultures. To quote Rolston (1997: 45):

*How can we care for others if we cannot see outside our skins enough to know both that they exist in their different modes of being and that they have their own fields of significances? We will do this, of course, from within our skins and languages, and these things will come to have significance for us. Still, the environment, the biotic community, cannot be reduced to our field of significance, any more than can the cultural community be reduced to my field of significance [emphasis in original].*

The key here is in distinguishing that although the environment and its animal inhabitants, are defined by humans as part of their language and given purpose for human ends, it does not necessarily follow that there is only legitimacy in a human defined *telos*. Similarly, it is important to understand that in exploring our understandings of nature, the environment and the animals within, it is not sufficient to seek shelter behind the rubric of social constructionist theory, for

although we may shape our understandings of nature through a language lens (see Rolston, 1997) it is insufficient to suggest that there is nothing beyond.

## **2.6 Summary: Through a Glass Darkly**

One of the reasons for exploring this particular movement is that the assumptions being made from within the dominant paradigm (which in this case has been simplified to a 'pro-research' paradigm) are themselves socially constructed. Even the attempts to consider nature itself as a social construct is paradoxically empowering to societies that continue to exploit the environment and animals. That is, in claiming that nature is a social construction, we are further imposing our current cultural paradigm of choice (i.e. constructionism) onto nature in order that we, as people, might continue to take what we want from the environment without recourse.

Of significance is the manner in which various ideologies have been able to perpetuate a continuation of the current status quo. For example, the theological interpretations provided by St Aquinas and Augustine have provided a strong ideological rationale behind the use of animals, a perspective that continued with the writings of Descartes. The key point, is that there is no particular overwhelming truth that stands out in this context, the use of animals is, in many respects a history of ideas about a practice of convenience, and demonstrates quite nicely (especially in recent years) how these ideas can be manipulated and shaped in order to achieve diverse ideological ends. The most fascinating aspect of the animal rights movement in recent years has come in its ability to question these ideologies and not only



undermine the beliefs underpinning the animal-human relationship, but also create a significant challenge to the dominant paradigm to the extent that a counter movement has arisen. As noted, the purpose of this thesis was to explore this process, and to see how these understandings are being changed, by examining the language processes used within the two movements. The following chapter explores how language has been considered in psychology and linguistics and how these understandings enable individuals to construct meanings and in doing so, change and shape their reality.

### **3.1 Language and Social Movements**

In adopting a language based approach to studying social movements the role of language in constructing reality is highlighted. From a constructionist perspective, it is important to acknowledge the role of language in both establishing an issue as contentious, and in ensuring that it remains relevant to participants and society at large. The manner through which an issue is framed (i.e. construed in language) is significant not only for creating a site of conflict, but in shifting the ideological emphasis as a movement progresses (e.g. Rothman & Oliver, 1999). Research examining ideology has begun to address this issue with additional emphasis being placed on the role of language in shaping the nature of the situation and in providing ideological anchoring points for individuals (e.g. Snow, 2004; McAdam, 1996).

As mentioned, previous research has tended to examine movements in terms of the direct personal relevance they have on the individual participating (e.g. union strikes; see Klandermans, 1993). It is argued that this understanding may be contrasted with altruistic endeavours that produce no real advantage for the specific individuals involved in the movement (e.g. the work done by white abolitionists). Therefore this thesis is in part attempting to fill this gap in the literature by exploring altruistic social movements and endeavouring to examine the rhetorical strategies employed in altruistic mobilisation.

Thus, the purpose of this thesis is to examine how *selfless* issues are *constructed* as matters of concern (i.e. something which needs to be protested against) and how individuals are *positioned* so that they feel the issue is of significance despite any personal relevance. Through examining the animal rights movement, it is possible to explore how issues are constructed and presented such that individuals are willing to actively support animal rights by making various lifestyle changes.

In order to explore these questions, an examination of the material used in publicising the animal rights movement was undertaken. This campaign material was seen as being a primary tool in reporting both the ideological perspectives being endorsed as well as identifying how the reader was being positioned. To this end, it was considered necessary to utilise a method that would be sufficiently structured and rigorous for the analysis of the language used in the campaign publications.

For this thesis, Halliday's (1994; 2004) model of systemic functional grammar, was taken as the methodological framework for the analysis. In choosing a linguistic method it is worth realising that many of the theoretical and epistemological assumptions underpinning the various discursive approaches typically used in psychology are similar (if not identical) to those that underpin functional grammar. Thus, the adoption of systemic functional linguistics is ideologically consistent with alternative discursive approaches used in psychology.

That is, Halliday (1978) adopts a social constructionist perspective in arguing that language is used to create social structure and that it is through this structure that various social functions are enacted. Halliday (1978) suggests that through communication meanings are created and perpetuated allowing for socialisation. In this way, Halliday's ideas are consistent with social constructionism in that our

understandings are seen to be derived through language use (i.e. Halliday's "meaning-making") rather than due to any real understanding of the external world.

Moreover, Halliday (1978) argues that individuals engage in a manner consistent with the cultural and social context in which they are operating. In this way, systemic functional linguistics is theoretically consistent with the work on collective social identities as it considers people's actions to be shaped and modulated through their language use. Although Halliday does not utilise a concept of 'role' or 'identity' in considering social action, he does stress that individuals enact multiple meanings depending on the functional purpose that needs to be achieved. In this sense, people and processes are not considered to be concrete entities, but rather dynamic actors that may redefine their meanings as social situations change (i.e. as situations are re-defined by others). To this end, it is argued that the utilisation of functional grammatical theory is ideologically consistent with other key theoretical principals drawn upon in this study.

### **3.2 The Role of Language in Psychology**

The emphasis on language within psychology has stemmed from various criticisms surrounding the attempt to gain an understanding of the individual's inner mental processes and thoughts. Traditionally, cognitions were considered and analysed without considering people's talk. Talk, it was argued, was an insignificant and unreliable reflection of how people considered the world (see Potter, 2000). From this cognitive perspective, it was argued that in order to ascertain any understanding of people's attitudes and beliefs it was necessary to look beyond their talk and word

choices, implying that people's language masked their cognitions. This understanding was challenged in the wake of post-structuralism, when it was argued that language is the basis through which reality was enacted (Potter & Wetherell, 1987; Wetherell & Potter, 1992; Potter, 1996). These discursive, or constructionist, approaches have prompted a 'turn to language' in psychology, in which individuals' attitudes, beliefs and understandings of reality are seen as being created in their everyday talk and social interaction (Potter & Wetherell, 1987; Edwards, 1997).

According to Edwards (1997), understandings of language within cognitive psychology are consistent with the ideas of Chomsky (1968) who argued that language could be idealised as a system of categories and rules. In this sense, cognitive psychology can be understood as a reaction against behaviourism, in that it sought the underlying structures that could provide the categories and rules that shaped people's actions. That is, it was argued that an understanding of the human psyche could not be ascertained from the *actions* of people, but rather from developing an understanding of their *thoughts*.

The cognitive approach posits that language is a series of normalised systems that reflect people's perception of reality. In this sense it is Chomskyan in that it assumes a proto-language that is available for individuals to use, to reflect their understanding or thoughts about reality. Chomsky (1965) argued that a "universal grammar" provided the basis for an individual's language acquisition, which itself was developed in order to achieve the best expression of language. Thus, Chomsky posited that the ultimate goal of language was an accurate expression of reality. This is a significant assumption in the context of this debate as it puts reality before language, arguing that language is used in order to describe one's reality. This is in

contrast with the discursive psychological perspective which argues that language shapes, influences and even creates one's reality.

The challenge to this Chomskyan position came from post-structuralism which rejected the existence of any underlying rules that governed reality (Edwards, 2004). In psychology, this rejection saw a change in methodological approaches to research and later, in the research questions posited. Principally, the changes in psychological scholarship reflected a shift in the assumptions made about language and its function. Thus, in contrast to cognitive assertions (i.e. that language use reflected reality), these new post-structuralist approaches argued that language use shaped reality; that it determined perception and therefore how individuals came to understand their reality (Edwards, 2004).

Within psychology this understanding of language has become loosely associated with the 'discursive' approach to psychology. However, discursive psychology is not unified as a discipline, despite a consistent emphasis on discourse analytic methods. The continued reliance on the term 'discourse' is used to highlight the role of language in research and principally conveys an understanding that the primary methodological approach centres on the analysis of language (i.e. discourse)<sup>ψ</sup>. To this extent, data is typically drawn from interactional artefacts including, conversations, newspaper articles, speeches and interviews (Edwards, 2004).

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<sup>ψ</sup> It is important to distinguish between the Foucauldian use of the word 'Discourse' and the use of 'discourse' more generally. It should be noted that 'Discourse' is typically used to describe language systems that endorse a particular ideological position whilst 'discourse' tends to refer to the use of language as a text or utterance without the same ideological overtones.

As an approach to analysis, discourse analysis itself encompasses many alternative approaches including conversation analysis (Schegloff, 1989; Sacks, 1992) critical discourse analysis (Parker, 1999) and the method employed in this thesis, functional grammar (Halliday, 1994: 2004) (see also Wodak & Meyer, 2001; Willig, 2001). The common thread throughout the various approaches to discourse analysis is the underlying assumption that language is the medium for social action (Edwards, 1997). Accordingly, the analysis of language, as it presents in both spoken and written forms, provides the key insight into understanding how social action is accomplished.

The following sections attempt to outline the theoretical basis of systemic functional linguistics. In particular, Halliday's conceptualisation of language as a social semiotic and its roots in the linguistic theory of semiotics are explained. The final sections will consider the method of functional grammar and appraisal theory, which forms the basis of the analytic work of this thesis.

### 3.3 Semiotics and Structuralism

Semiotics<sup>‡</sup> is concerned with everything that can be conceived of as a sign (Chandler, 2002). As an approach to social inquiry, it emphasises the role of signs in

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<sup>‡</sup> Semiotics has come to be used as a cover term for both semiology (as developed by de Saussure) and semiosis (as developed by Peirce). Peirce's triadic model, which he developed at around the same time, is slightly different from Saussure's consisting of a *representament* (i.e. the form that the sign takes); an *interpretant* (i.e. the sense made of the sign); and an *object* (i.e. the object that the sign refers to). However, Peirce's work was arguably less influential in the development of semiotics as it was presented within the context of his more general philosophical writings rather than as a cogent theory of semiotics (Hodge & Kress, 1988). In light of this, I have focused primarily on Saussure's model as it is strongly oriented toward linguistics and provides a better basis for understanding social semiotics, and in particular, Halliday's work on functional grammar (see also, Peirce, 1991; Almeder, 1980; Greenlee, 1973).

meaning making. According to Saussure (1959) a sign is the means through which individuals are able to represent reality and engage with each other. Saussure's sign was a dyadic, consisting of a signified and a signifier. From a linguistic perspective the signifier was an abstract 'symbol' used to represent a signified, or object. For example, the signifier (i.e. the word 'tree') is used to represent the signified (i.e. the actual material, or physical form that is a 'tree'). However, despite this very materialistic description, Saussure (1959) suggested that both the signifier and the signified were 'psychological' rather than material, and as such represented *form* rather than physical *substance*. That is, Saussure (1959) argued that the signified was not so much a real 'thing', but a representation of a 'thing'. Moreover, it was suggested that when talking about 'things', individuals are not directly referring to actual objects, but rather conceptions of those objects. Thus, the signified itself, was considered to be a semiotic construct that came to be shaped and given meaning through its use in society (Saussure, 1959; see also Langer, 1960).

To this end, Saussure (1959) argued that a sign was inherently meaningful, with neither the signifier nor the signified pre-existing the other. Meaning, he suggested, resulted from the interplay between signs rather than from any other intrinsic quality in a sign. Indeed, Saussure (1959) posited that there was no direct or inevitable relationship between the signifier and signified in creating a sign, an assumption of 'arbitrariness' that ran counter to commonsense understandings.

Despite this apparent contradiction, Saussure (1959) argued that language was used to divide reality into categories that could be managed conceptually, an opinion he supported by highlighting the inability to directly translate between languages; as no two languages categorise reality in the same way. This position was



questioned by critics who argued that a completely random allocation of signifiers to signifieds would result in nonsensical language patterns, and that this was clearly not the case.

As a result, Levi-Strauss (1977) argued that whilst signs may be arbitrary *a priori*, they soon develop historical meanings and associations which influence the creation of later signs. For example, in assigning the colour 'red' to traffic lights, red came to signify 'stop'; yet this was not a wholly arbitrary allocation of a signifier as 'red' had already come to be associated with 'danger' through other uses. Thus, once a sign comes to be meaningful historically, it can not be arbitrarily 'changed'. Moreover, it was posited that the allocation of one signifier would limit the choices available in allocating other signifiers. In light of this, contemporary semiologists have held that the creation of signs is dependent on the cultural and social environment (Levi-Strauss, 1977).

To this end, semiotics has been used to explore the socio-cultural signs available within a society (e.g. marriage, etiquette, legal system). This is important as Saussure (1959) argued that it is only through the study of semiotics, that individuals may become aware of the signs that are normally transparent. In making signs explicit, the underlying realities become visible, highlighting the underlying nature of a society, and thereby demonstrating the relations between groups and individuals (i.e. identifying who is privileged and who is oppressed).

Despite his own emphasis on language, Saussure (1959) envisaged a 'science of signs', and to some extent this was achieved through the application of semiotic analysis to fields outside of descriptive linguistics. Yet, Saussure (1959) dramatically carved up the field; successively dividing his discipline into drastic dichotomies that

theoretically negated all but language. As a result of this process, Saussure's work has been criticised for being excessively reductionist and much work has gone into re-establishing the importance of these 'discarded' items (e.g. culture, society, politics, non-verbal language systems, the act of speaking, processes of change across time, etc.) (see Vološinov, 1973; Hodge & Kress, 1988).

Saussure (1959) has been further criticised in the wake of the post-structuralist tradition, as much of Saussure's (1959) work on 'value' (i.e. the place of an element in a system or structure), provided the basis for structuralist thought. Structuralism is a way of thinking about the world that emphasises the perception and description of 'structures' (Hawkes, 1977; 2003). It was argued that if any human actions or productions had meaning, then an underlying system of conventions (i.e. rules, norms, structures) must exist in order to make such meaning possible (Culler, 1973). From this perspective, actions are meaningful only when considered in light of the social and cultural context of a particular society. Thus, the social rules of any one society make it possible to engage in various behaviours. From this perspective culture can be understood as consisting of a set of symbolic systems. Structuralism takes the perspective that the human condition is shaped by external structures that the individual has no control over (e.g. Freud's unconscious; Saussure's structure of a language; Marx's economic structures). In accordance with Saussure (1959), the meanings of particular actions may seem natural, but they are always founded on shared assumptions (or structures) and as such, the goal of semiotic analysis is to uncover the assumptions that are fundamental to a society (Culler, 1973).

### 3.4 Social Semiotics

Problems with this understanding were raised within the context of post-structuralism. Post-structuralists considered the correspondence between the word and the 'object' it sought to represent as untenable. Instead, they posited that no word (i.e. signifier) could ever fully represent the concept intended (i.e. signified). Moreover, the possibility of identifying the underlying structures that shape society was argued to be fundamentally problematic, as individuals tended to view their own socio-cultural assumptions as normative (Burr, 2003).

Within semiotics, these concerns were addressed by theorists who posited an increased emphasis on the social constraints operating on the meaning-making process (e.g. Hodge & Kress, 1988). It was argued that rather than being a natural, self-evident relationship between the signified and the signifier, a sign was socially constructed (Chandler, 2002). This shift involved placing an increased importance on the socio-cultural dimensions of meaning making and thereby acknowledging the power relations inherent in sign-systems (Chandler, 2002).

In accordance with this understanding, signs were considered to embody ideology (Vološinov, 1973). Furthermore, it was argued that sign-systems helped to perpetuate ideology by persuading, reinforcing and naturalising existing understandings about the world. From this perspective, sign-systems became not only the means through which communication could occur, but *resources* for supporting and challenging the dominant paradigm (van Leeuwen, 2005).

Consequently, rather than describing and cataloguing signs, social semiotics became concerned with how people regulate the use of 'semiotic resources' (van

Leeuwen, 2005). Semiotic resources constitute all the possible signifiers available for meaning making within the communicative process including language, film, art and music. However, semiotic resources are rarely used 'freely', being constrained by social norms and rules governing the 'correct' usage of sign-systems. In this way, sign systems work to regulate and facilitate particular understandings about the world and thereby help to shape our reality.

This notion of normative use, further highlights that the identification of a semiotic resource does not necessarily equate to a full understanding of the underlying signified. It is argued that information concerning the nature of the signified is socially dependent and may not be understood correctly if deciphered outside of its intended context (van Leeuwen, 2005). As a result, social semiotics has emphasised the role of the reader in determining (and creating) the meaning intended in a sign-system. Indeed, the way a sign-system 'positions' a reader has become a key component of semiotic analysis, providing insight into the various discourses that may be drawn on in order to facilitate the reader's understanding of a particular message.

### **3.5 Language as a Social Semiotic**

Halliday (1978) understood language to be the primary resource available to individuals for the purpose of meaning making. He was critical of the structuralist semiotic traditions, in which 'signs' were reduced to a set of language rules (e.g. grammar), positing instead that language had developed functionally within society. According to this functional perspective, language 'rules' were no more than social

conventions that were likely to shift with time and changing social context. Halliday (1978) argued for a 'semiotic resource' approach to language, suggesting that language, rather than being a structure, was a resource that individuals could draw on for the purpose of communication and interpretation.

Thus, whilst Saussure (1959) argued that language was a semiotic structure that determined what meanings were possible, Halliday (1978) posited that language was a resource from which meanings could be created. From Halliday's (1978) perspective, individuals constantly exchange meanings in order to be understood: a creative process in which language is but one of a number of semiotic resources available for meaning making.

Halliday (1978) considered language to be a tool through which individuals could 'express' things and 'do' things. Accordingly, he argued that language operates as a socially functional system (Halliday, 1976). The functional nature of language is more than just a property; rather it is fundamental to the evolution of language as a semiotic system. Thus, Halliday (1973), following on from Malinowski's (1923) research, argued that all language may be understood from a functional perspective.

Malinowski (1923) reasoned that 'primitive' languages operated according to the same functional basis as 'civilised' languages, a finding that resulted in his questioning the very notion of 'primitive language'. From this, Halliday (1973) argued that all languages could be seen as drawing on the same basic functions. Therefore, in seeking to explain the workings of a language it is important to consider the social context in which language is being used.

Traditionally, linguistics has considered language to be a formal coding system operating at two main levels: that of content (semantics) and that of expression (phonology). Onto this more traditional view, Halliday (1976) has advocated the inclusion of a third, more abstract level: that of form. The inclusion of form into the conception of language allows for the consideration of the role of lexico-grammar in the meaning making process. This is an important consideration for Halliday (1976) who argues that it is in lexico-grammar that meaning is made and content created.

In terms of understanding language, the approach outlined by Halliday necessitates a layered conceptualisation of the meaning making process. That is, meaning does not exist solely at the level of sentence structure. Sentences themselves are worked into paragraphs and paragraphs into text. Each of these structures is individually meaningful as well as working to create a collective meaning across the whole text. Thus, there needs to be consideration of each level both separately and collectively when deciphering a text, a consideration that may require the reader to constantly shift between levels, as different kinds of meaning tend to be created in different kinds of structures across a text.

Hence, the text may be understood as a semantic unit that is fulfilling some purpose (i.e. operating functionally). It is an instance of 'living' language in which meanings are conveyed either through speech, written code or any number of other non-language based meaning making systems (e.g. interpretive dance). However, as a semiotic unit, a text needs to be understood in terms of its function as product and as process. As a product, a text is an object that exists externally and may be recorded and studied. As a process, a text constitutes a movement through a series of meaning

possibilities with each choice influencing the nature of forthcoming choices (Halliday & Hasan, 1985). The problem with this conceptualisation is that it necessitates the need to look beyond language structures in order to interpret the text as it relates to language as a whole. Hence, the text unfolds as part of a systematic relationship between the social environment (process) and the functional organisation of language (product) (Halliday & Hasan, 1985).

A key aspect of Halliday's position was that a text is a product of the linguistic choices made (Halliday & Hasan, 1985). Indeed Halliday's theory relies strongly on the assumption that language is a meaning making resource in which individuals *choose* how to represent and present a text. Following on from this assumption, Halliday (1978) posited that if meanings are made within a social system and that if these meanings are manifested in the form of text, then an examination of a text would provide insight into the social system that was operating during its production.

A system of language is thus, 'instantiated' in the form of a text. By way of example, it may be understood that although a text is a complete unit (consisting of both a semantic and systemic component), a text will have no semantic meaning without referencing a language system (Halliday, 2004). For instance, an English text will remain meaningless, if the reader is unable to understand the language system of English.

## **3.6 Introduction to Functional Grammar**

Halliday's (1994) aim in developing systemic functional linguistics was to construct a grammar for the purpose of text analysis. To this end, a systemic approach (i.e. one that concerns itself with language in its entirety) was advocated. The systemic approach advanced four key claims about language: 1) that language use is functional; 2) that the function of language is to make meaning; 3) that meanings were influenced by the socio-cultural context in which they were exchanged and; 4) that language use is semiotic, with people making meanings through a network of choices (Eggins, 2004). These networks provide a representation of the linguistic system that highlights the choices available when constructing a text (Halliday, 2004). This representation ensures that the meanings made (i.e. chosen) are shown in contrast to those that are not.

### **3.6.1 Metafunctions**

In developing his theory of grammar Halliday focused on two questions; how do people use language, and how is language structured for that use (Eggins, 2004). These questions led systemicists to argue that individuals create, develop and negotiate texts in order to make and exchange meanings with each other. From this point, work in systemics began to focus on what sorts of meanings language is used to make, and how language is organised to facilitate the making of these meanings.

As a result of this work, Halliday (1994) outlined three different types of meaning making resources that were available to individuals. These resources, or



metafunctions<sup>‡</sup>, constitute highly generalised functions operating within the linguistic system and include the ideational, interpersonal and textual metafunctions (Halliday & Matthiessen, 1999).

The ideational metafunction is concerned with construing experience; it provides the means through which individuals are able to describe and reflect on their interaction with the world. The interpersonal metafunction allows people to negotiate their social reality; it is the means through which individuals enact their interpersonal relationships. The textual metafunction is what enables these exchanges to be meaningful across a text, allowing the information to be presented coherently as a message. It is primarily concerned with the organisation of the ideational and interpersonal meanings that have been activated within a text (Halliday & Matthiessen, 1999).

Each metafunction contributes a stratum to the analytic process, however across each stratum there are multiple meanings which can be activated. Thus, when undertaking an analysis of a text there is scope to look across at both the differing metafunctions, as well as looking above and below at the different strata of meaning complexity. Figure 3.1 provides a visual representation of the systemic functional system.

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<sup>‡</sup> The term 'metafunction' was coined in order to distinguish from the more traditional linguistic term 'function' that is used to describe the purpose of language (see Halliday, 2004).

NOTE:  
This figure is included on page 81 of the print copy of  
the thesis held in the University of Adelaide Library.

Figure 3.1: Levels of Communication (Eggins, 2004: 111)

### 3.6.2 Genre

Yet, the metafunctions are not activated in isolation. According to Malinowski (1923), meaning could not be effectively conveyed without some understanding of the situational and cultural context in which the text was produced. In attempting to translate the Kiriwina Islanders'<sup>Ψ</sup> mythology, Malinowski found that it was impossible to make sense of a direct translation between the Trobriand language and English. Instead, he argued that it was necessary for any meaningful translation to include an explanation of the socio-cultural background in which the language had been created. That is, Malinowski found that the meaning of a text could only be

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<sup>Ψ</sup> Previously known as the Trobriand Islands.

understood if sufficient contextual information was provided (Eggins, 2004). This contextual information was argued to include both a *context of situation* and a *context of culture*.

Halliday (1978) acknowledged this in his argument, suggesting that any textual analysis would need to include a consideration of both the cultural context and the situational context in which a text was created. He theorised that the role of context could be considered through an understanding of Genre (i.e. context of culture) and Register (i.e. context of situation).

The concept of Genre is concerned with the purpose a text fulfils and is perhaps explained most simply by a comparison to 'literary genres' (e.g. crime genre, romance genre, science fiction genre). Halliday's Genre is an extension of Bakhtin's (1986) theories of speech genres. Bakhtin (1986) claimed that speech genres develop as language patterns, becoming relatively stable and predictable with use. Halliday extended this beyond speech, to argue that all texts have a predictable composition structure that is determined by the Genre being used. In terms of grammar, Halliday posited that texts from different Genres will reveal different grammatical patterns (e.g. Radway, 1984). Indeed, it is suggested that members of a culture use Genre patterns in order to facilitate communication and accordingly that individuals will use different Genre patterns depending on the meanings they wish to make (Eggins, 2004).

### **3.6.3 Register and Register Variables**

The concept of Register is concerned with the situational information that is necessary for understanding a text. It is argued that an understanding of the

environment in which a piece of language is used is fundamental to the interpretation (and even comprehension) of a text, especially when a text is ambiguous (Eggins, 2004). Register variables account for the constraints of situation, which appear to impact the way a text is realised (e.g. a more formal text is utilised when speaking to an employer, whereas a more relaxed, colloquial text is used for friends and family). Thus, the nature of these situational constraints may be determined from the structure of a text and the kinds of grammatical choices made. This provides a measure of predictability concerning the purpose and target audience of a text.

Halliday argued that the Register variables, Field, Mode and Tenor, constituted all the possible meaning that could be encoded in language. Field, he argued, encompassed what language was being used to talk about (i.e. the 'topic' of a text). It provided information about the intended reader (e.g. a high degree of specialist language in a text necessarily excludes a lay audience) and highlighted the assumptions the text made about the world (e.g. a strong reliance of passive sentences may help to obscure responsibility for actions).

Mode is concerned with the role language plays in an interaction. Every interaction differs according to the distance between participants (Eggins, 2004). Distance affects the likelihood and speed of feedback and is strongly determined by the medium being employed (e.g. television, radio, face-to-face). In addition the medium choice has implications for the role language assumes; that is, whether or not it is used to accompany a social process (e.g. buying a stamp) or, at the other end of the spectrum, whether language is created in the absence of a social process (e.g. writing a novel).

Tenor pertains to the nature of the relationship between participants. Tenor considers the role of power (i.e. equal versus unequal relationships), contact (i.e. the frequency of participant engagement) and affective involvement (i.e. the amount of emotional commitment to the relationship). These constraints dictate the type of language employed including the level of formality, reciprocity and politeness.

Halliday argued that the Register variables effected important linguistic consequences; constraining the type of language used and thereby the meanings that could be made. That is, Halliday suggests that it is only these three variables which will have a direct and significant impact on the type of language that will be produced in an interaction. Halliday posited that Field, Mode and Tenor were social factors that influenced the linguistic choices made. Furthermore, these Register variables were said to correlate at a linguistic level with the ideational metafunction (Field), the interpersonal metafunction (Tenor) and the textual metafunction (Mode). In practice this means that, if the Tenor constrains the nature of an interaction, then an examination of the language that is used to realise the interpersonal metafunction, will reveal the Tenor that was influencing the interaction.

#### **3.6.4 Realisation**

Understanding a text therefore involves moving between strata, a process known as realisation. For example, the semantics of a text are *realised* through the lexico-grammar. In order to understand the meaning of a text it is necessary to explore the lexico-grammar used. Indeed Halliday (1994) argues that the meaning of a text cannot be understood by considering only the individual words, he

emphasises that the placement of words (i.e. grammar) is fundamental to understanding a text.

As noted above, the Tenor is realised through the interpersonal meanings, which is itself realised through systems such as Mood and Modality. To this end, language usage is not just concerned with the processes that describe the surrounding environment, but are simultaneously means through which people can request, proposition, question or demand. The systems of Mood and Modality help to realise the interpersonal metafunction, and thereby enact the interactant's Tenor. The Mood element is concerned with the location of the Subject and Finite in a clause and works to influence the shape and the nature of the information exchanged (e.g. indicative, declarative, or interrogative). Modality is concerned with the probability or degree of obligation associated with a particular proposition. In expressing probability of obligation a proposal may become more or less arguable depending on the strength of Modality accompanying it.

Meanwhile, Field is realised through ideational meanings, which allows for the consideration of the clause as means of representation. The ideational meanings can be considered as encompassing two distinct components: the experiential and the logical. The experiential component is expressed in the system of Transitivity. This system explores how participants encode their experiential reality by exploring their choice of process types (i.e. the verbs in traditional grammar) and the roles given to participants (i.e. the location as Subject or Object in traditional grammar). In examining Transitivity patterns, that is, the actions, relations, participants and circumstances that give context to text, it becomes possible to describe the means by which the Field is constructed. The logical component is expressed in terms of Taxis,

and considers how adjacent clauses are linked. The logical component largely complements that of the experiential and together they allow complex experiences to be represented (Eggins, 2004).

Finally, Mode is realised in the textual meanings, that is, resources through which a meaning is enabled beyond the clause. One of the key resources within the textual is the system of Theme/Rheme which operates at the level of clause, clause complex, paragraph and text. Theme is the starting point for a message; it informs the reader of what is going to be discussed. In English the Theme is primarily presented first, that is, in Subject position (Halliday, 2004). The Theme typically contains that information that is familiar to the reader and has usually been mentioned elsewhere in the text. The Theme/Rheme system provides the link between clauses (and paragraphs) by showing the relationship between the Theme of one clause and the Rheme of the previous clause, and thereby providing the thematic structure of a whole text. The textual metafunction also includes resources such as those of Reference (i.e. the pronouns and related lexemes to establish cohesive links across clauses and sentences) and use of textual conjunctions which signal the relationship between parts of a text (e.g. and, but).

### **3.7 The System of Appraisal**

Functional grammar employs various different analytic tools in order to show and more fully explore the grammar that is available for meaning making. More recently however, the system of Appraisal has been developed, providing a means for the consideration of the positive and negative evaluations used in language (see

Martin & White, 2005). Appraisal focuses on the way individuals overtly and covertly, encode their own judgements, feelings and thoughts into their lexical and grammatical choices.

Appraisal is an extension of the interpersonal metafunction, providing a resource through which individuals are able to negotiate social relationships (Martin & Rose, 2003). The Appraisal framework models meanings at the semantic level, rather than at the level of the lexico-grammar, primarily because evaluations tend to be realised across a text, rather than just at the level of the clause.

Appraisal is consistent with other areas of systemic theory, providing a network of available options with which meanings can be chosen. System networks provide a multidimensional means for handling cross-classificatory choices. In terms of appraisal, the system networks provide a 'map' of the evaluative choices available. Thus, the Appraisal system assumes that individuals will rely on these system networks when choosing evaluating language, simultaneously selecting for the type of evaluation (attitude), the strength of that evaluation (graduation) and the source to which the evaluation is attributed (engagement). Figure 3.2 provides an overview of the Appraisal system.



NOTE:

This figure is included on page 88 of the print copy of the thesis held in the University of Adelaide Library.

Figure 3.2: The System of Appraisal (Martin & White, 2005: 38)

Appraisal is concerned with the attitudes people express when evaluating things (appreciation), judging character (judgement) and describing emotions (affect). Beyond this the Appraisal system also encodes for the degree of specificity (focus), the severity of the statement (force), and whether an individual will acknowledge alternative positions (hetergloss) or only their own (monogloss).

The Appraisal system strongly emphasises the importance of the surrounding language, arguing in a manner consistent with Bakhtin (1981) and Vološinov (1973) that in creating an utterance one references the preceding utterances that have been created about the same subject whilst simultaneously anticipating the audience response. For Martin and White (2005), this means that individuals operate against a dialogic backdrop of alternative opinions, perspectives and ideas, that they orient to when making decisions about which words and grammar to use (hence Appraisal's

location at the discourse-semantic level). Thus, in creating a text the writer/speaker will, to varying degrees, acknowledge and respond to these alternative opinions.

The manner in which an individual negotiates these alternative positions is examined through the system of Engagement. Engagement is the means through which the writer can position themselves with respect to these other stances; that is 'engage' with the alternative view points existing. Thus, Engagement is concerned with whether the writer acknowledges the dialogic background (heterogloss) or presents their perspective as being universally consistent (monogloss). Monoglossic statements primarily work by means of categorical assertions, however there is a distinction in whether the position is presupposed (i.e. taken for granted) or whether it is presented as a contentious issue. Alternatively, heteroglossic statements, which acknowledge multiple perspectives, may work to either expand the dialogic background or contract it. Dialogic expansion can be seen when a text actively makes allowances for alternative positions, whilst dialogic contraction seeks to challenge, reject or minimise these alternatives (see Martin & White, 2005).

The degree with which these positions are more or less advanced can be examined through the system of Graduation. Graduation is primarily concerned with the writer's alignment. It is a system of grading that accounts for intensity (force) and preciseness (focus). Focus considers the degree with which something can be classified as belonging to a particular category (e.g. 'a *pure* chocolate brown colour' versus 'a *sort of* chocolate brown colour'). Alternatively, force covers the area of graduation that is concerned with intensification (e.g. 'dislike' versus 'hate' versus 'loathe'). Accordingly, it is possible to 'sharpen' or 'soften' any claim being made.

The final branch of the appraisal system pertains to the type of evaluation being made. According to Martin and White (2005) an evaluation may be a judgement about other individuals (Judgement), an expression of an emotion (Affect) or an aesthetic evaluation of an artefact (Appreciation). Operating under the macro heading of Attitude, these three types of evaluations constitute the kinds of feelings that are construed in texts. Judgement is concerned with evaluations about behaviour and considers what would primarily be dealt with within the realm of ethics. Affect is concerned with indications of positive or negative emotions (e.g. happy, sad), whilst Appreciation is concerned with evaluations of artefacts and natural phenomena and provides an indication of whether an object is valued.

The most important factor to consider within the system of appraisal is that the attitudinal evaluations being made occur concurrently with Engagement and, more particularly, Graduation. That is, any attitude expressed will allow for alternative dialogic backgrounds (or not), and will be graded in terms of intensity and specificity. These three factors shape the meanings that are being made, positioning the reader across a text.

### **3.8 Analytic Procedure**

The methodological approaches outlined by systemic functional grammar and Appraisal theory provided the basis for textual analysis. In general the texts were analysed systematically in terms of each of the Register variables. In practice this meant that a Transitivity analysis, a Mood and Modality analysis and a Theme/Rheme analysis was conducted on each text. This provided information on

the style and emphasis of the text, preliminary information about how the reader was being positioned and, an understanding of the assumptions that were being made about animals, science and medicine.

A second major analysis was conducted using the Appraisal system. This provided extended information concerning how the reader was being positioned to understand animal vivisection. It highlighted the lexical choices that were positioning the reader to see the issue in terms of movement goals.

### **3.9 Analytic Content and Issues**

The issue of animal vivisection provided a poignant case study for the exploration of a successful altruistic social movement. Generally, the success of the animal rights movement can be anecdotally seen in the increase in vegetarian menus, the availability of products that are “not tested on animals” (and are labelled as such), the advent of animal ethics committees, and even in the availability of “free range eggs”. Indeed Paul and Paul (2001), in their book advocating the need for animal research, acknowledge the success attained by the animal rights movement.

Considering the animal rights movement to be an altruistic movement was initially determined through a consideration of the movement’s philosophy. Animal rights activists advocate changes in behaviour and lifestyle that, if anything, would constitute a loss to the individual rather than a gain. However, unlike environmental movements, that present eco-friendly behaviour in terms of necessity in order to prevent environmental cataclysms, the animal rights movement does not have the scope to strongly argue along these lines. Indeed, even if it is considered that a vegan

diet would be an environmentally sound practice, or lead to exceptional personal health, the same argument can not be taken for advocating the abolition of animal research.

### **3.9.1 Description of Data**

The full data set consisted of some 200 texts downloaded from both pro-research and animal rights websites. Although texts varied considerably in both length (250 – 3000 words) and style, there was a considerable degree of similarity across texts. The boundaries for data collection were established around the issue of the use of animals in biomedical research (including pharmaceutical testing, toxicology, and medical research). The key criterion for inclusion centred on the nature of the website from where the texts were downloaded.

Social movements typically seek to mobilise support from new people while simultaneously encourage ongoing participation from established movement members, potentially leading to the use of different rhetorical strategies. This dual rhetoric was particularly apparent in websites that constituted the counter-movement (i.e. pro-research or 'anti' animal rights websites). The rhetoric of websites that targeted established members was typically polarised and inflammatory and, whilst constituting a legitimate outlet for group members, was strikingly different from mobilisation rhetoric. The distinction is clearly perceptible when visiting these sites, and rhetorically can best be described as the difference between mobilisation discourse (that seeks to persuade others) and polarisation discourse (that seeks to tell the others how wrong they are) (e.g. visit [www.pweeta.org](http://www.pweeta.org) and [www.pathwai.org](http://www.pathwai.org)).

The decision was made to extract information from those sites that sought to mobilise support from, arguably, non-committed members of the public, rather than examine the rhetoric of the highly polarised individuals who had taken an active stance one way or the other. Although the information contained in these 'polarised' sites is pertinent to the animal rights debate and the progression of social movements, it is considered to be less relevant to this thesis which is focused on examining mobilising rhetoric.

Websites were selected for the purpose of this mobilisation based primarily on the fact that the majority of animal rights campaigning occurs on the internet (especially in Australia where the grassroots campaign is marginal). As such, a number of internet sites were visited and from these sites, all texts pertaining to animal research were downloaded. These texts dealt primarily with the use of animals in biomedical and toxicology research. Obviously it was not practical to visit and explore all the websites dealing with animal rights (some two million sites) so the majority of the data comes from the larger, more well known sites.

### **3.9.2 Issues Pertaining to Web Traffic**

An important factor in any consideration of mobilisation is exposure. If a campaign is not able to generate sufficient public exposure no amount of skilful repartee will produce a support base large enough to promote a social movement. In light of this, it is important to consider how effective the internet is in terms of generating exposure.

Information relevant to the issue of exposure can be obtained from the domain host. The host maintains server logs that record information regarding the

number of visitors to a web site; whether these visitors are regular or unique visitors; how many pages each viewer opens and; the amount of time spent, on average, looking at each page. The server logs provide some information regarding the amount of exposure a site is receiving and although this will not provide information regarding how much information is actually read, it provides an adequate indication. However, this information is not publicly available and in this instance, only one organisation was willing to provide the necessary information<sup>Ψ</sup>.

Other methods for ascertaining internet traffic are typically less accurate with various measures being employed in order to determine web exposure. In this instance two approaches were adopted in order to provide a base line for the amount of exposure the various sites are receiving. Table 3.1 provides an overview of this information.

The internet site Alexa (visit [www.alexa.com](http://www.alexa.com)) was used to obtain the majority of the information presented in Table 3.1. Alexa is a web crawler that monitors links between URLs and provides search and publication tools for internet developers and private users. Although Alexa collates data from a very large number of sites, there are statistical problems associated primarily with the nature of the sample. Alexa's information (especially that regarding traffic rank) is obtained by monitoring the websites visited by Alexa Toolbar Users. This means that although Alexa's sample equates to approximately several million users, this sample is still not sufficiently large to obtain accurate information from sites with fewer than 1000 visitors per

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<sup>Ψ</sup> The Animal Liberation Front has approximately 1 825 000 visitors every year (about half of these visitors are unique). Visitors will view approximately four pages and spend about four minutes on each page.

month. In light of this, Alexa has stated that information provided about websites with a traffic ranking of more than 100 000 should be considered unreliable, as the results obtained are not statistically significant. The reverse of this, is that the closer one gets to a ranking of 1 the more reliable the information is.

The Alexa site provides information about traffic ranking, reach and page views. Traffic ranking is based on three months of aggregated historical traffic data and is a combined measure of page views and reach. Reach measures the number of users who access the site and is expressed per million viewers. The page view provides a measure of the number of unique pages viewed per viewer per day. Without server logs it is impossible to estimate how long people are spending on each page.

The final measure included in Table 3.1 indicates the number of other sites that link to the URL in question. This information is obtained by doing a link search on the engine [www.google.com](http://www.google.com) and is another means by which information about reach can be ascertained. This however is a measure of URL appearances rather than the number of people who visit a site (c.f. the reach measure provided by Alexa). Thus, any measure of link numbers from organisations that 'self link' (e.g. universities) will potentially be inflated.

The following chapter will present the initial analysis of the rhetorical strategies utilised by both the animal rights movement and the counter movement.



Table 3.1: Three Month Aggregate of Internet Traffic and Reach Information for Both Comparison and Data Sites (Aug-Oct 2006)

Organisation	URL	Links	Traffic Rank	Reach (per million users)	Page Views (per user)
<b>COMPARISON SITES</b>					
Google	<a href="http://www.google.com">www.google.com</a>	1 910 000	3	267 150	6.4
eBay	<a href="http://www.ebay.com">www.ebay.com</a>	1 250 000	12	31 115	15.6
Commonwealth Science & Industry Research Organisation	<a href="http://www.csiro.au">www.csiro.au</a>	15 200	123 494	13.5	2.3
The University of Adelaide	<a href="http://www.adelaide.edu.au">www.adelaide.edu.au</a>	1 000	21 288	69.5	3
Royal Society for the Prevention of Cruelty to Animals	<a href="http://www.rspca.org.au">www.rspca.org.au</a>	313	425 497	2.1	4
<b>PRO-RESEARCH DATA SITES</b>					
National Institute of Environmental Health Sciences	<a href="http://www.niehs.nih.gov">www.niehs.nih.gov</a>	9 130	318	2 895	3.7
Primate Information Network	<a href="http://pin.primate.wisc.edu">pin.primate.wisc.edu</a>	1 560	2 060	646	2.6
Research Defence Society	<a href="http://www.rds-online.org.uk">www.rds-online.org.uk</a>	394	3 020 723	0.2	1
Americans for Medical Progress	<a href="http://www.amprogress.org">www.amprogress.org</a>	180	-	-	-
Foundation for Biomedical Research	<a href="http://www.fbresearch.org">www.fbresearch.org</a>	173	1 780 569	0.2	5
Institutional Animal Care and Use Committees	<a href="http://www.iacuc.org">www.iacuc.org</a>	91	-	-	-
States United for Biomedical Research	<a href="http://www.statesforbiomed.org">www.statesforbiomed.org</a>	24	-	-	-
<b>ANTI-VIVISECTION DATA SITES</b>					
People for the Ethical Treatment of Animals	<a href="http://www.peta.org">www.peta.org</a>	6130	36 241	51.5	1.9
The Animal Liberation Front	<a href="http://www.animalliberationfront.com">www.animalliberationfront.com</a>	846	225 064	5.85	3.5
In Defense of Animals	<a href="http://www.idausa.org">www.idausa.org</a>	538	455 118	2.7	1.9
An Animal Friendly Life	<a href="http://ananimalfriendlylife.com">ananimalfriendlylife.com</a>	421	-	-	-
Kinship Circle	<a href="http://www.kinshipcircle.org">www.kinshipcircle.org</a>	74	-	-	-
Dr Hadwen Trust	<a href="http://www.drhadwentrust.org.uk">www.drhadwentrust.org.uk</a>	42	-	-	-
Australian Association for Humane Research	<a href="http://www.aahr.asn.au">www.aahr.asn.au</a>	13	-	-	-

#### **4.1 Altruistic Social Movements**

Mobilisation research has emphasised the need for movement organisers to make an issue relevant to as many people as possible in order to generate sufficient public support for enacting change. As a result, theorists have tended to highlight identity (e.g. Reicher & Hopkins, 1996a) and cost-benefit factors (e.g. Klandermans, 1993) in accounting for social participation. In addition, research has stressed the importance of how an issue is presented to the public in order to heighten its perceived relevance (e.g. Rothman & Oliver, 1999). However, problems arise when relevance cannot be readily established. In these instances, it is argued that a movement will need to employ different strategies that provide a basis for triggering 'altruistic' motivation for participation.

In practice, movements need to establish an issue as contentious and then inform (potential) participants why something needs to be done about this issue. In many instances this is achieved by highlighting the problems that will follow from non-action. For example, the Australian Government's WorkChoices Industrial Relations reform bill (passed 2006) provoked strong resistance among the Australian public. Australian labour unions established a campaign (Your Rights at Work) highlighting the costs suffered by individual workers if the bill was passed (e.g. workers would lose overtime pay; the minimum wage would be lowered; loss of protection against unfair dismissal). The "Your Rights at Work" campaign was typical of social movement campaigns in that it emphasised the costs and subsequent

disadvantage to the individual that would follow if the proposed system was adopted (visit: [www.rightsatwork.com.au](http://www.rightsatwork.com.au)).

However, not all social movements have readily identifiable costs. Indeed many social movements, especially those that fall under the rubric of environmental movements, are much more problematic. In general, environmental movements have dealt with this by campaigning at the grassroots level. In this way, smaller campaigns are generated for specific issues, enabling movement organisers to identify the foreseeable and immediate consequences for a local population. However, at a macro level, it has been much harder for environmentalists to generate support for such issues, especially when both the costs and benefits are difficult to isolate. Take for example the campaign to reduce global warming, which, despite consistent scientific consensus, is strongly resisted by politicians who are concerned about the economic costs of reducing carbon emissions (see Gore, 1992; 2006).

In this instance, mobilising support becomes more problematic as the benefits of participating in the movement are projected into the future and thereby removed from the individual's immediate reality, whilst the costs of participation are readily apparent and seemingly high. This poses a significant problem for mobilisation, as the primary objective, to make the issue relevant, remains unchanged. The question then becomes, if traditional mobilisation strategies are not effective, what strategies are being used instead?

For the animal rights movement, particularly in its manifestation as the anti-vivisection movement, the problem is similar. Animal vivisection, taken as the umbrella term for all experimental research conducted on animals, is credited (by the pro-research movement) with all manner of medical achievements including

advances in surgery (e.g. transplants), pharmacology (e.g. drug development), and immunology (e.g. vaccinations and inoculations). Moreover, animal vivisection is described as fundamental to toxicology testing (e.g. determining the safety of cosmetics) and as a site for generating causal evidence for epidemiologically determined environmental hazards (e.g. asbestos, cigarettes).

With this in mind, stopping animal testing would *arguably* forestall medical advancement and *potentially* increase the risk of poisoning through contact with unsafe substances. In terms of mobilisation, this actually suggests that in supporting the anti-vivisection movement, not only will personal benefits be unlikely, but may actually prove disadvantageous in the long term. While the benefits of vivisection are hotly debated within the movement frame itself, it remains apparent that the vast majority of individuals 'benefit' from animal vivisection. It is therefore difficult to establish a strong counter-claim that identifies the human-based harm resulting from animal research. Indeed, many of the claims regarding medical advancement are made, and critiqued, post hoc ensuring they remain largely invalidated (e.g. the polio vaccine was delayed due to physiological differences between humans and monkeys). It is therefore nearly impossible to assess the veracity of claims made by movement organisers.

Thus, the anti-vivisection movement does not have a particularly strong material basis from which to argue that animal experimentation is directly harmful; effectively withdrawing a major rhetorical strategy. In addition, the movement presents a high cost associated with participation. For example, boycotting companies that test on animals is a highly involved behavioural change, and in some instances, it is effectively impossible to totally avoid these products (e.g. prescription

medication). Fundamentally, the animal rights movement is, like other environmental movements, high cost; requiring participants to enact both dietary changes (e.g. vegetarianism) and lifestyle changes (e.g. avoiding animal products, boycotting circuses).

Similar problems are identified if a social identity model is adopted as these models seem to emphasise commonality among group members. Thus, in order for the animal rights movement to successfully employ a social identity approach they would need to argue that animal vivisection was inconsistent with a group identity. Arguably these approaches are being explored by animal rights philosophers, who seek to include animals in the sphere of ethical consideration (e.g. Singer, 1995). However, even in this instance the suggestion is not that animals are ingroup members, but rather that their interests should not be ignored when making decisions. Indeed the primary means through which movement organisers are able to expand social identity is by drawing on a higher level of abstraction. To this end, it may be possible to argue according to the identity 'living', yet this seems like an absurd extension of the theory.

In light of this, the purpose of this chapter is to determine what kinds of strategies the animal rights movement is drawing on in seeking to mobilise support against vivisection. In this preliminary analysis, a text from the anti-vivisection movement was compared to one from the pro-research movement, in order to see if there were any differences in the strategies employed by the different movement organisers.

## 4.2 Description of Data

The following analysis used two recent articles pertaining to the use of animals in research. The first text (word count: 486) is a promotional pamphlet published by People for the Ethical Treatment of Animals (PETA) and is available from their website. The text was written as part of a larger lobby effort that seeks to abolish the use of animals in research. PETA is an animal rights organisation dedicated to establishing and protecting the rights of animals. They operate under the principle that animals are not ours to eat, wear, experiment on, or use for entertainment (visit [www.peta.org](http://www.peta.org)).

The second text (word count: 488) comes from a community liaison booklet published by the National Institute of Environmental Health Sciences (NIEHS) that was written in response to the animal rights movement. The NIEHS is a U.S. based, government research institute that examines the relationship between various environment factors and human health. Their goal is to understand how environmental exposure affects the course and prognosis of a medical condition. NIEHS seeks treatment outcomes that will promote health and longevity within the population and is actively engaged in animal research (visit [www.niehs.nih.gov](http://www.niehs.nih.gov)).

In this instance the analysis was framed in terms of the two main theoretical approaches to social movements (i.e. social identity and more traditional cognitive methods). Accordingly, this initial analysis mainly articulates the findings gleaned in terms of how they are relevant to the issues and assumptions made in the context of these theories. To this end, the analysis primarily focused on the findings from the transitivity and Appraisal analyses. These analyses involved identifying the primary

grammatical structures in the text (e.g. grammatical parallelism, marked themes, grammatical metaphor); any relevant groups (e.g. animals, military, experimenters); and an examination of what these groups were enacting in the texts (e.g. a consideration of who was doing what to whom).

The Appraisal analysis sought to expand on this by examining the word choices and the location of these words grammatically. Specifically this analysis involved the examination of the effect of word escalation on emphasising the framings that were achieved within the overall grammatical structure of each text. This analysis also facilitated the examination of how various groups were evaluated and how these evaluations helped to facilitate particular understandings of the issue.

### **4.3 Animal Rights Mobilisation Rhetoric: Preliminary Analysis**

The purpose of this first analysis was to examine the types of rhetorical strategies being employed by social movement organisers as part of the anti-vivisection campaign. As noted earlier, the nature of this campaign makes it unlikely that standard rhetorical strategies would be effective; as it is difficult to orient the anti-vivisection movement toward individual human cost-benefit; and the degree to which social identification can occur between humans and animals is potentially problematic. This section will analyse the text published by PETA (Text 4.1) in order to show that the animal rights movement is utilising emotion-based strategies in their mobilisation rhetoric.

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## Text 4.1

### **Imagine Having Your Body Left to Science... While You're Still in It.**

Misleading...costly...and cruel

Just a few years ago every cosmetics company poisoned animals with lipstick, shampoo, hair spray or other “beauty” products. Car manufacturers pummeled monkeys’ heads with hydraulic “arms” to simulate crashes. Laboratory technicians killed a rabbit every time they tested a woman for pregnancy. These tests were thought to be “state of the art”. Today, thanks to consumer activists and imaginative scientists, there are better, kinder methods.

But tens of millions of mice, rats, rabbits, guinea pigs, ferrets, cats, dogs, primates, sheep, cows, pigs and other animals are still experimented on and killed in laboratories every year in the U.S. Instead of developing more advanced scientific techniques, vivisectionists infect animals with diseases that they would never contract under normal circumstances. They force-feed and inject them with toxic chemicals. They sever animals’ spines, break their bones, and cement electrodes into their skulls. The military sickens and wounds animals with radiation, chemical agents, and guns even though the effects of these weapons on humans are already well documented. Psychologists subject animals to maternal deprivation, drug and alcohol addiction, and other torments.

These animals’ only legal protection, the federal Animal Welfare Act, covers only housekeeping standards and does not regulate or prohibit any experiment, no matter how frivolous or painful, and more than 90 percent of animals used in these tests aren’t even covered by the act. Many crude experiments are repeated again and again because there is no central information system that lists data from previous experiments.

In addition to being cruel, animal studies often lead down blind alleys and impede progress. Taking healthy beings of a different species, artificially inducing a condition, keeping them in unnatural and stressful conditions, then trying to apply the “results” to humans rarely works. Physiological interactions vary enormously from species to species. The polio vaccine, often cited as an example of why animal studies are necessary, was actually delayed for decades because experiments on monkeys led to a misunderstanding of the mechanism of polio infection.

Human gene studies, human cell models and cultures, state-of-the-art software, “super” computers, artificial skin, and test-tube studies are now replacing animals in modern laboratories. The Parmagene laboratory, based in Royston, England, for example, uses human tissues and sophisticated computer technologies – and no animals – for drug research and development. In the U.S. Physiome Sciences develops 3-dimensional computer-based models of human organs, which exhibit the biophysical properties of both normal and diseased cells, for use in drug testing and medical research.

What Can You Do:

- Buy from manufacturers that have permanently banned all animal tests (lists available from PETA), and educate friends and family about cruelty-free shopping.
- Reduce your own risk of disease by avoiding the consumption of meat, eggs and dairy products
- If you work in a laboratory where animals are abused, call or write to PETA’s Research Investigations & Rescue Department.



#### 4.3.1 Anti-Vivisection and Traditional Mobilisation Strategies: Social Identity

Following from a review of the literature, it should be expected that the anti-vivisection movement would endeavour to develop identity categories that facilitate group membership. From a social identity perspective, it is argued that individuals will define themselves and act in a manner consistent with the norms of the group to which they identify (Hopkins & Reicher, 1997). Reicher and Hopkins (1996b) posit that categories will be defined in order to establish an 'us-them' dichotomy around which the issue may be framed. However, they note that these definitions will not necessarily be fixed or mutually acknowledged. Indeed Reicher and Hopkins (1996b) argue that the process of defining participant groups will be a potential site of conflict as both sides seek to establish a well-defined, yet exclusive outgroup, while simultaneously working to develop a potentially vague, yet widely inclusive ingroup. It is theorised that in making the ingroup as inclusive as possible, individuals from diverse backgrounds will be encouraged to participate based on activation of their social identity.

In this instance the category boundaries desired by PETA are well established, yet there appears to be no direct attempt to appeal to a more abstracted social identity. For example, the PETA text identifies two main identity categories in the debate about the use of animals in research: one group comprising of animals (bold font) and a second group consisting of animal experimenters (underlined).

Extract 4.1:

*Just a few years ago every cosmetics company poisoned **animals** with lipstick, shampoo, hairspray or other "beauty" products. Car manufacturers pummeled **monkeys'** heads with*

hydraulic “arms” to simulate crashes. Laboratory technicians killed a **rabbit** every time they tested a woman for pregnancy...

These two groups are demarcated in the text through a process of grammatical parallelism. Grammatical parallelism occurs when there is functional (or phonological) symmetry across a text (Halliday, 2004). In this extract, parallelism is primarily established through the Participant^Process^Participant structure used in the initial clause complexes; it is maintained throughout the text (see Table 4.1).

Table 4.1: Grammatical parallelism defining the animal experimenter community

<b>Participant</b>	<b>Process</b>	<b>Participant</b>
cosmetics company	poisoned	animals
car manufactures	pummeled	monkeys’ head
laboratory technicians	killed	a rabbit
vivisectors	infect	animals
the military	sickens and wounds	animals
psychologists	subject	animals

Rhetorically, this symmetry allows for the establishment of two separate, yet individually cohesive groups. Thus, despite the apparent inconsistency among experimenter group members (e.g. the military and cosmetic companies), the reader is positioned to see this grouping as meaningfully interconnected. So whilst the experimenter group could conceivably be said to consist of multinational businesses (first group) and researchers (second group), the structure of the text does not facilitate this separation.

However, despite the clarity with which these two groups are defined there is little specificity regarding actual group membership, especially as it pertains to the experimenter community. Thus, whilst the text fully articulates the membership of

the animal group (see extract 4.2) the nature of the experimenter group remains relatively obscure. This ambiguity is largely achieved as the text prefaces the process of group identification with the Marked Theme "*just a few years ago*".

The Marked Theme acts as a grammatical 'marker', and occurs when something other than the Subject is placed in Theme position. The purpose of a Marked Theme is to attract the reader's attention, letting them know that there has been a shift in meaning or that something unexpected is to follow. In this instance the use of Marked Theme allows for an implicit acknowledgement of improvement (i.e. that some companies are no longer poisoning animals) while simultaneously suggesting that the situation is still a problem (i.e. that right *now* some companies *are still* poisoning animals). In this way, claims of animal cruelty are laid against a rather ambiguous group, for if it is not *every* company, which company? However, whilst the text obscures the definitional boundaries of this group, making its exact membership far less precise, a clear sense of the group membership is still conveyed.

In proposing, that 'some' companies are still poisoning animals the proposition becomes more difficult to manage rhetorically. While this is due primarily to the impreciseness of 'some', the fact that the proposition itself is not overtly asserted makes it difficult to directly challenge. As a result, the reader is left with a clear understanding of what the experimenter group *does*, without any solid conception of who the experimenter group actually *is*. Thus, the PETA text renders it impossible for the reader to ascertain who *specifically* uses animals in research. In all, the experimenter community can, at best, be said to consist of: *some* cosmetics companies and car manufacturers; *some* laboratory technicians, vivisectionists, and psychologists; and *some* parts of the military.

In contrast, the animal group is described in far more explicit detail than the experimenter group. Here the text makes repeated references to a general category of 'animals', as well as a number of specific animal species. Unlike the experimenter community, no effort is made to impede the reader from developing a clear understanding of which animals comprise this group. The text references both 'animals', and 'primates', as well as eleven other animal species. In addition to this, specific body parts are referenced including "monkeys' heads", "animals' spines", "skulls" and "bones". This extended elaboration ensures that the reader is fully aware of the diversity of research animals used.

In terms of social identity, these two groups are poorly oriented to the reader. Indeed, there is little attempt to recruit the reader under the guise of a common social identity. However, the text does presuppose that vivisection needs to be stopped. Indeed, the text tells the reader 'what they can do' about stopping animal vivisection (e.g. "Buy from manufactures that have permanently banned all animal tests"). That is, rather than making the reader identify with one of the categories established within the text, the reader is positioned to empathise with the plight of research animals.

In fact, the entire text may be understood as being framed within this request for empathy as the title asks the reader to consider vivisection from the animals' perspective. The request that the reader "imagine having [their] body left to science... while still in it" encourages an emotional identification with research animals, rather than fostering an intellectual perception of animals as ingroup members.

#### **4.3.2 Anti-Vivisection and Traditional Mobilisation Strategies: Cost-Benefit**

Klandermans (1993) argues that an individual's willingness to participate in a social movement is determined by collective incentives (the worth of the goals of the movement) and selective incentives (individual rewards or punishments attached to participation). Accordingly, Klandermans (1993) holds that although a willingness to participate in a mobilisation develops within a social context, it is nonetheless a function of perceived costs and benefits. A cost-benefit analysis directs individuals toward a framework for decision making that is based on whether a given end is worth pursuing in light of its associated costs (Jardins, 2001). From a social psychological perspective, cost-benefits do not have to be directly economic, as material, social, or cultural factors may be relevant to the decision making process.

It was expected that the PETA text would orient to some of the costs attached to animal research (e.g. possible health concerns) as well as the benefits of utilising non-vivisection based research practices (i.e. the alternatives to animal research). Indeed, to a certain extent the text did consider some of these factors suggesting that vivisection was a scientifically flawed method, and that avoiding the consumption of animal products would reduce disease. It is, however, interesting to note that there was little to suggest that individual people would be directly affected as a result of the continued use of vivisection. In this instance, the costs are presented as more of an intellectual critique of 'bad science'. Extract 4.2 identifies the costs of vivisection, however it is primarily through the depiction of animal research as being methodologically flawed that these costs are identified. That is, there is no clear orientation to direct human costs.

#### Extract 4.2

*These animals' only legal protection, the Federal Welfare Act, covers only housekeeping standards and does not regulate or prohibit any experiment, no matter how frivolous or painful, and more than 90 percent of animals used in these tests aren't even covered by the Act. Many crude experiments are repeated again and again because there is no central information system that lists data from previous experiments. In addition to being cruel, animal studies often lead down blind alleys and impede progress. Taking healthy beings of a different species, artificially inducing a condition, keeping them in unnatural and stressful conditions, then trying to apply the "results" to humans rarely works. Physiological interactions vary enormously from species to species. The polio vaccine, often cited as an example of why animal studies are necessary was actually delayed for decades because experiments on monkeys led to a misunderstanding of the mechanisms of polio infection.*

Thus, rather than highlighting how this affects animals, the extract primarily evaluates the scientific practice of vivisection as unsound. This is done by presenting the reader with a methodological critique of the vivisection method. That is, the generalisability (e.g. physiological interactions vary enormously from species to species"), reliability and validity (e.g. "artificially inducing a condition, keeping them in unnatural and stressful conditions") of the data obtained from these studies is called into question. Moreover, the research itself is presented as sloppy and lazy with experiments described as "crude" and "frivolous". What becomes particularly poignant is that the research conducted is presented as lacking in direction and forethought (e.g. "crude experiments are repeated again and again because there is no central information system that lists data from previous experiments"). Thus, science that uses animals is negatively evaluated and presented as existing in opposition to the epistemic values that are purported to epitomise science. That is,

animal research is poorly conducted, undertaken carelessly and involves a process that is fundamentally removed from reality.

In this text, this representation of vivisection as embodying 'bad science' is juxtaposed against non-animal research which is presented as 'real science' or 'good science'.

#### Extract 4.3

*Human gene studies, human cell models and cultures, state-of-the-art software, "super" computers, artificial skin, and test-tube studies are now replacing animals in modern laboratories. The Parmagene laboratory, based in Roystone, England, for example, uses human tissues and sophisticated computer technologies – and no animals – for drug research and development. In the U.S. Physiome Sciences develops 3-dimensional computer-based models of human organs, which exhibit the biophysical properties of both normal and diseased cells, for use in drug testing and medical research.*

In this extract, non-animal research methods are presented as dynamic, and at the forefront of technology (e.g. "...cell models and cultures, state-of-the-art software, "super" computers, artificial skin, and test-tube studies"). In particular, these methods are presented as having "replaced" animal models, a representation that necessarily antiquates animal research. The idea of non-animal research methods as being more advanced and technologically more superior (e.g. super computers"; "sophisticated computer technologies") provides scope for the reader to draw on pre-existing cultural representations and understandings about computers and technology. This representation is invariably conceptualised as the more advanced the technology, the better the outcome. Thus, non-animal research is constructed as

'good science' in that it is presented as cutting edge, and the technologically superior alternative to vivisection.

However, whilst this construction allows for the creation of a distinction between 'good' science and 'bad' science it does not in itself necessarily equate to human suffering (or costs). Similarly, the benefits of adopting non-animal based methods are not oriented around human benefit. Instead they are presented more as available and legitimate alternatives to the 'bad' science discussed in the previous paragraph (see extract 4.3).

As a result, the text comprises of a series of bold assertions that are justified by various claims and assertions (e.g. the development of the polio vaccine being delayed) that are difficult to prove, or disprove, *post hoc*. Thus, rather than presenting a clear statement about the potential advantages of opposing vivisection, or even raising concern for the possible health risks attached to the continuing use of animal research paradigms, the text presents a series of negative evaluations about the *practice* of vivisection, representing it as an anachronistic research method.

### **4.3.3 Emotion-based Appeals**

What becomes apparent in analysing this text is how much of the meaning is made through evaluations. Rather than mobilising through traditional means the reader is positioned to form a consensus from the evaluations presented. The role of evaluation in language is largely concerned with how readers are positioned through the feelings and values expressed in a text (Martin & White, 2005). Thus, if the text is considered according to the evaluative statements expressed it can be argued that the reader is being mobilised through emotion-based appeals.



Thus, it appeared that the primary means through which individuals were mobilised was through a request for empathy. In addition, whilst the cost-benefit of participating in the anti-vivisection movement was not fully articulated, the scientific basis for vivisection was negatively appraised, suggesting that the issue was not so much an emotional one, but rather a matter of methodological rigour. Although this may seem contradictory, these discourses were systematically woven through the text and it was repeatedly seen that appeals for empathy were presented in conjunction with the negative appraisal of vivisection.

#### **4.3.4 Evaluating Actions**

The body of the text is structured around the interaction between experimenters and animals. In particular, there is a strong reliance on Material processes. Material processes describe changes and/or relate 'happenings' that primarily reflect the physical world; they are "doing" processes. In terms of clause construction, the *Actor* is the individual/entity 'doing' the material deed and the *Goal* is the individual/entity that is impacted by the deed (see Martin, Matthiessen & Painter, 1997). The Actor/Goal pattern is used within a text to make implicit statements about the distribution of power and agency. Table 4.2 shows the Actor/Goal presentation for the PETA text.

Table 4.2: Agency Analysis of Material Processes in the PETA Text

	<b>Actor</b>	<b>Goal</b>
<b>Human</b>	cosmetic company (poisoned) car manufactures (pummelled) laboratory technicians (killed) they (tested) vivisectors (infect) they (force – feed) the military (sickens) psychologists (subject)	(tested) a woman
<b>Animal</b>	they (would never contract)	(poisoned) animals (pummelled) monkeys' heads (killed) a rabbit tens of thousand of mice...(killed) (infect) animals (inject) them (sever) animals' spines (break) their bones (cement) electrodes (sickens) animals (subject) animals (taking) healthy beings of a different species (keeping) them 90% of animals (used)
<b>Other</b>	that (lists) animals studies (lead) experiments on monkey (led to)	(simulate) crashes (developing) more advanced scientific techniques (covered) by the act (lists) data (impede) progress many experiments (are repeated) (inducing) a condition (trying to apply) the results (led to) a misunderstanding

From this table it can be seen that the animal group primarily occupies the Goal position throughout the text, highlighting the fact that animals are being acted upon. This is rhetorically effective, as it emphasises the animal's status as 'victim'. The Actor position is most frequently occupied by the experimenter group. This

placement, together with the representation of the experimenter group more generally underscores the exploitative nature of this group.

However, what is perhaps more important, is that not only are humans (i.e. experimenters) primarily given agency, but the actions which they conduct on animals are of a particularly severe nature. Thus, whilst very few descriptive adverbs are added to the text, the text embeds a series of graded evaluations within the Material Processes chosen (see Table 4.3).

Table 4.3: Intensity Levels for Material Processes

<b>Material Process</b>	<b>Grammatical Reading</b>	<b>Intensity</b>
poisoned	tested^infected^poisoned	high
pummeled	smack^hit^pummelled	high
killed	exterminated^killed^murdered	medium
tested	assessed^investigated^tested	high
infect	expose^infect^poison	medium
force-feed	administer^feed^force-feed	high
sever	disconnect^cut^sever	high
break	fracture^break^smash	medium
cement	insert^implant^cement	high
sickens	tests^sickens^poisons	medium
wounds	injures^wounds^tortures	medium
subject	expose^subject^inflict	medium

This selection of medium to high level Material Processes, subtly inflames the nature of the situation being presented to the reader. This has the effect of placing a negative Judgement on the actions being discussed, suggesting excessiveness and zealously. Through this depiction the reader is encouraged to question the necessity of what is being depicted as extreme action against animals. This evaluative pattern assists in helping to promote this distinction between good science and bad science.

Indeed, whilst the majority of power is located with the experimenter group, who are consistently presented as 'doing' negative things to the animal group, much of the negative appraisal of the experimenter group is achieved through the intense negative terms used to describe their actions. This is a rhetorical approach that lends itself to both increasing the likelihood of the reader developing a negative evaluation of the experiments conducted, whilst simultaneously promoting further feelings of empathy.

#### **4.3.5 Evaluating Experimenters**

The negative evaluation of the experimenter group is further enhanced, as the text constructs this group in a way that undermines its authority. That is, members of the experimenter group are described as 'technicians' and 'vivisectors', two lexical choices that question the legitimacy of the individuals conducting the experiments. Indeed the term 'technician' (as opposed to 'medical researcher') seems pejorative, suggesting that a scientific amateur is conducting research. Similarly, the use of the name 'vivisector' is verbally derived from the term 'vivisection' which originally referred to the undertaking of experiments on *living* non-anaesthetised animals.

More importantly however, the use of the term 'vivisector' needs to be contrasted with the other lexical option available, namely 'researcher' and 'scientist'. These labels suggest to the reader that there is a need to question the authenticity of the individuals conducting the experiments. The terms seem to suggest that 'vivisectors' are not qualified enough to meet the criteria for inclusion in the group 'scientist'. Indeed this interpretation is further reinforced by the following two sentences:

#### Extract 4.4

*Today, thanks to consumer activists and imaginative **scientists**, there are better, kinder methods...Instead of developing more advanced **scientific** techniques, vivisectors infect animals with diseases they would never contract under normal circumstances...*

These sentences contain the only two direct references to 'science' within the entire text. Both references place science in a positive light, suggesting that 'real' science does not involve animal research. This positioning is primarily achieved through the accompanying adjectives. In the first sentence, the adjective 'imaginative' allows for a group of legitimate researchers, who are creative, innovative people and who, perhaps significantly, are not testing on animals. This representation manages to juxtapose all that is inherent in the expression 'imaginative' against the activities of the experimenter group. Thus, the experimenter group comes to be represented as antiquated and stale.

This representation continues in the second sentence which talks of "advanced scientific techniques". Again, science is placed in opposition to the work of vivisectors and other members of the experimenter group. In contrasting science against animal experimentation, Western ideals, including 'progress', 'positivism' and 'technology', are not being attacked or criticised, instead: real science *becomes* animal-free science (c.f. extract 4.2 and 4.3).

#### **4.3.6 Evaluating Animals**

In contrast, the animal group is presented in a clear, yet unappraised, manner. There are no descriptive terms used in portraying the animals; instead they

are listed, but without their attributes or characteristics being articulated. In particular, the animals discussed are not anthropomorphised. This total absence of description provides the reader with an 'objective' report of animal experimentation. However, rather than seeking to evoke a sentimental response from the reader, the PETA text seems more interested in generating outrage towards experimenters.

This sense of outrage is partly achieved through the representation of animal research as irresponsible and bad science. However, the negative depiction of experimenters is extended in the discussion of the use of animals, particularly through the use of amplification:

#### Extract 4.5

*But **tens of millions** of mice, rats, rabbits, guinea pigs, ferrets, cats, dogs, primates, sheep, cows, pigs and other animals **are still** experimented on and killed in laboratories **every** year in the U.S.*

In this instance the number of animals used is given as "tens of millions", a quantification that is followed by a list consisting of eleven different animals. As a result, it is difficult to know whether the "tens of millions" pertains to mice, to all the animals collectively, or to each individual animal listed (which is perhaps the most likely reading). However, as this statement follows on from the earlier point that there are better methods available (see Extract 4.4); the amplification constitutes a further Judgement against the practices of the experimenter group.

Collectively, these Judgements continually reinforce to the reader a sense of wrong doing, by consistently evaluating animal research against scientific paradigms, including conceptions of efficiency, rigour, relevance, wastefulness and

necessity. Thus, the underlying evaluation of animal research is excess: animals are constructed as being carelessly and irresponsibly used by the experimenter group.

#### **4.4 Pro-Research Mobilisation Rhetoric: Preliminary Analysis**

The second part of this analysis is aimed at exploring the kinds of rhetorical strategies employed by the pro-research movement. It was expected that the pro-research movement would employ more traditional mobilisation strategies. The second text (Text 4.2) comes from the NIEHS website, and has been written in response to the animal rights movement. It is aimed at members of the public who are concerned about the NIEHS' use of animals in research. However, rather than directly seeking to recruit direct support for animal research, the NIEHS primarily seeks to downplay the concerns raised by the animal rights movement, reassuring the reader that this is not an issue they need to be concerned with.

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TEXT 4.2: Source NIEHS

##### **Respect for Life: Why Animal Research?**

For many thousands of years, humans and animals have worked together and depended on each other for protection, livelihood, nourishment, comfort, and company.

Today their association has expanded from the farm, field, and hearth into the laboratory. There, because of their striking parallels to human systems and structures, animals serve as scientifically valid surrogates, or substitutes, for people in research, development and testing. These animals have made possible antibiotics, vaccines against diseases ranging from polio to Lyme disease, blood thinners and other cardiovascular therapies, pain-killers and many surgical procedures.

The laboratory rodent used in testing protects all our families from dangerous chemicals (by helping scientists identify them).

Animals themselves often benefit from the surgeries, drugs and vaccines developed. Similarly, the research of the National Institute of Environmental Health Sciences benefits animals because NIEHS research contributes to protecting the environment for all the life that shares the earth - companion animals, farm animals, wildlife, marine life - and plant life as well. All share an existence requiring freedom from pollutants in the air, soil and water.

But no matter how potentially beneficial the research may seem, before laboratory studies are begun, there are checks to assure that the work is really needed and doesn't

duplicate other studies that as few animals as necessary are used... that their treatment is kind... that their surroundings and food are healthy and nutritious... and that veterinary care is at hand... as you will see in this booklet.

And, as you will also read, NIEHS and the National Toxicology Program (which is headquartered at NIEHS) and other federal agencies have joined together to search out alternative test methods and approve any that prove reliable tests that would provide the accurate answers needed but with fewer animals or none at all. This effort is just beginning to show results.

What for Example, is Being Studied?

Americans drink and use, in cooking and in baths and showers, gallons of water every day - gallons of clear, apparently safe water.

But how safe? Every chemical spill and agricultural runoff into lakes and rivers adds contaminants to ground and surface waters. Perhaps these are diluted enough to be relatively harmless. Perhaps not, at least over the long haul.

NIEHS toxicologists are pressing to find out if these low-level exposures may increase risks to pregnant women and their unborn children, and what role chemicals may play in the formation of cancers.

But people move from job to job and community to community. They do not live in anything approaching controlled environments, nor eat and drink the same things day after day. Thus, many illnesses and many observations of those illnesses are required to link a cause with a disease or effect. Animal studies, on the other hand, can help predict human health consequences before disease and death occur. These animal studies can thus help prevent a child or adult's death, disability or illness.

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#### **4.4.1 Pro-Research and Traditional Mobilisation Strategies: Social Identity**

According to traditional theories of mobilisation, it should be expected that the pro-research movement will seek to establish a unified identity between the general public and themselves, thereby rendering the practice of animal research consistent with ingroup behaviour. This follows the work done on social identity theory, which suggests that individuals will define themselves and act in terms of their social identity (Reicher & Hopkins, 1996b). In this instance, it was found that group membership was established primarily by highlighting the extensive and pervasive use of the knowledge gained from animal research.

The NIEHS text defined the participant groups in a strikingly different manner from PETA. In Extract 4.6 a human group and an animal group are clearly



distinguished. However, rather than being systematically opposed to each other (as in the PETA text), these groups are depicted as interdependent.

#### Extract 4.6

*For many thousands of years, humans **and** animals have worked **together** and **depended on each other** for protection, livelihood, nourishment, comfort and company. Today **their association** has expanded from the farm, field and hearth into the laboratory. There, because of striking **parallels** to human systems and structures, animals serve as scientifically valid **surrogates**, or **substitutes** for people in research, development and testing.*

The inclusion of terms such as ‘together’, ‘association’, ‘parallels’, ‘surrogates’, and ‘substitutes’ work to obscure the point where one group begins and the other ends. This has the effect of generating a sense of togetherness that suggests that these groups are indeed one and the same. Indeed throughout this text, the parallels between humans and animals are emphasised in a way that inhibits the reader from identifying any clear boundaries between the human group and the animal group. Moreover, unlike the PETA text which established animals in conflict with experimenters, this text provides only for a human group.

In terms of social identity, the decision to use ‘humans’ as the category label ensures that nobody can be distinguished as being outside of this group; including experimenters. Thus, whilst the human group is defined as including ‘people’ and ‘families’, the research organisation is importantly included in the membership, implying that the NIEHS is also a member of the group, ‘humans’.

The inclusion of the NIEHS into this group is important in humanising the research done by this institution and indeed the NIEHS is depicted within the text as

'responsible' and 'caring' (see Extract 4.7). However, it is also significant as it helps deflect the controversy surrounding the institution by locating the NIEHS within the ingroup (i.e. "us") rather than as the enemy and unknowable outgroup (c.f. Text 4.1). This framing helps to reduce public concern by positioning the reader to see the work being done by the NIEHS as consistent with ingroup behaviours. Thus, the NIEHS is representing itself as doing nothing that would be considered unacceptable to other ingroup members.

In comparison to the PETA text, the NIEHS does not provide an extensive listing of research animals; instead it seeks to obscure the development of a clear understanding of this group by conflating the 'laboratory animal' with various other kinds of animals. Thus, the group 'animals' is defined in the broadest possible terms, constituting marine life, wildlife, plant life, companion animals, and the laboratory rodent. For example;

Extract 4.7

*...NIEHS research contributes to protecting the environment for all the life that shares the earth - companion animals, farm animals, wildlife, marine life - and plant life as well. All share an existence requiring freedom from pollutants in the air, soil and water.*

In light of this, the pro-research movement can be seen as orienting to the theoretical notions of social identity. By defining their group as inclusive of the NIEHS and *all* humans, the work done by the NIEHS is represented as unproblematic. This is possible because *all* people are included in the group that conducts, and is desirous of conducting, animal research. The legitimacy of the NIEHS (and their research programme) is further enhanced by highlighting the

similarity of animals to humans and indeed all life. To this end, it could be argued that the NIEHS text does not propound the existence of two distinct groups, but rather seeks to establish a notion of 'biosphere' in which "all life that shares the earth" is seen as belonging to the same group. If argued from this perspective, the position being forwarded is effectively made stronger, for if the ingroup is inclusive of all life, and the notion of ingroup favouritism is accepted, then it would be impossible to badly treat, exploit, and torture members of one's own ingroup.

#### **4.4.2 Pro-Research and Traditional Mobilisation Strategies: Cost-Benefit**

In terms of the pro-research movement, a cost-benefit analysis may be understood as an individual assessment of short-term personal risks against any possible benefits that may result from involvement. This model assumes that the individual is self-oriented and less likely to engage in behaviours that do not primarily advance their own interests. However, in this instance the pro-research movement is arguably more interested in promoting non-participation in the anti-vivisection movement, than active participation in a pro-research movement. To this end, much of the text is concerned with placating the reader and emphasising the continuing need for animal research. As a result, the NIEHS text adopts a utilitarian ethic, advancing the position that the benefits gained from animal research far exceed any costs associated with it.

The NIEHS identifies a number of benefits as stemming from animal research. These benefits primarily consist of medical advancements and discoveries that have resulted in positive health outcomes for the population (e.g. the polio vaccine).

#### Extract 4.8

*These animals have made possible antibiotics, vaccines against diseases ranging from polio to Lyme disease, blood thinners and other cardiovascular therapies, pain-killers and many surgical procedures. The laboratory rodent used in testing protects all our **families** from dangerous chemicals (by helping scientists identify them). **Animals** themselves often benefit from the surgeries, drugs and vaccines developed. Similarly, the research of the National Institute of Environmental Health Sciences benefits **animals** because NIEHS research contributes to protecting the **environment** for all the life that shares the earth – companion animals, farm animals, wildlife, marine life – and plant life as well. All share an existence requiring freedom from pollutants in the air, soil and water.*

It is important to note that the developments attributed to animal research are relatively mundane, and it is highly likely that the majority (if not all) of Western society would have used (and therefore benefited from) these discoveries (e.g. childhood immunisation programmes, and over-the-counter pain killers). However, the widespread use of these medical developments is not noted, instead the text recognises families and animals as the two primary beneficiaries. By locating the use of medical advancements with 'families', the emphasis is indirectly placed on loved ones and children; positioning the reader to feel concern for the safety of themselves and their families. This concern for safety is again raised when considering the use of animals in toxicity testing (a practice that has been more widely condemned). Locating this consideration within the context of 'protecting the family' is noteworthy as it demonstrates benefit by emphasising possible danger (namely poisoning).

However, it is the benefits experienced by animals that are perhaps more fully articulated. Animals are explicitly described as benefiting from surgeries, drugs

and vaccines. Indeed the ultimate benefits stemming from animal research is located at an environmental level, with the reduction in pollution constituting a 'benefit' for all life. This presentation positions the reader to see the benefits of animal research as being far-reaching. Yet, what specifically this 'benefit' constitutes is difficult to determine as the majority of benefits are framed in terms of 'protection'. Moreover, the recipients of 'protection', especially in terms of animal beneficiaries, are obscured in the text. Indeed it is difficult to distinguish between research animals (who will die and therefore not benefit) and non-research animals (who may benefit).

In addition, the text does not orient to the 'costs' of animal research. The nature of the process described is presented as unproblematic. There is however, an implicit acknowledgement of a dissenting position. Yet, rather than being a site for the expression of potential costs associated with animal research, it primarily works to reject the basis for these concerns, reassuring the reader that any criticisms behind animal research are groundless.

Extract 4.9.

*But no matter how potentially beneficial the research may seem, before laboratory studies are begun, there are checks to assure that the work is really needed and doesn't duplicate other studies.*

Thus, while the only real acknowledgement of the counter position is quietly dismissed as unfounded, the text does imply costs associated with stopping animal research (as in Extract 4.10, below). However, in many respects this consideration of costs is connected with the framing of benefits in terms of 'protection'.

#### Extract 4.10

*Americans drink and use, in cooking and in baths and showers, gallons of water every day - gallons of clear, apparently safe water. But how safe? Every chemical spill and agricultural runoff into lakes and rivers adds contaminants to ground and surface waters. Perhaps these are diluted enough to be relatively harmless. Perhaps not, at least over the long haul.*

In this instance the text seeks to provoke a sense of fear in the reader, equating the loss of animal research with the contamination of water and the outbreak of teratogenic exposure. This argument however is almost nonsensical, as the reader is positioned to see animal tests as preventing contamination, rather than reporting on possible side-effects *post* contamination.

Indeed whilst the NIEHS text does orient to cost-benefit, it frames these concerns at a more emotional level. The text seems to evoke images of fear in its construction of animal research suggesting that animal research is a means of preventing death, sickness and contamination. Thus, even though the text does not fully articulate any major costs attached to animal research, it does frame many of the benefits associated with vivisection as preventing costs.

Arguably, the NIEHS text employs emotion-based appeals in seeking to assure the reader of the need for animal research. In particular, the reader is positioned to feel a sense of fear at the possible dangers if animal research was terminated (c.f. Extract 4.10). Beyond this, the NIEHS text represents animals as willingly engaging in the research process whilst simultaneously obscuring the active role played by humans in this process.

#### 4.4.3 Evaluating Animals

Despite being one of the identified groups, humans remain largely unappraised within the text. While it is possible to suggest that the text promotes a reading that sees the work of the NIEHS and its toxicologists as 'heroic' (e.g. Extract 4.11), the role of humans in this process is largely sidelined.

Extract 4.11

*NIEHS toxicologists are pressing to find out if these low-level exposures may increase risks to pregnant women and their unborn children...*

In contrast to the sidelining of humans, the role of animals in the research process is brought to the fore, with animals being given a considerable amount of agency in the research process. Table 4.4 shows the distribution of agency through the placement of Actor/Goal across the text. Unlike the PETA text, in which the experimenter group is strongly depicted as acting upon the animal group, the NIEHS primarily locates agency with animals and research methods. Argumentatively, this has the effect of constructing animals as willing and active participants in the research process. This representation is in contrast with PETA's construction of animals as victims. Indeed throughout the NIEHS text, there is little indication that animals are passive participants in the research process, let alone victims of researchers. Rather, animals are depicted as willing confederates who have been responsible for the development of vaccines, and antibiotics.

Table 4.4: Agency Analysis of the Material Processes in the NIEHS Text

	<b>Actor</b>	<b>Goal</b>
<b>Human</b>	Americans (drink and use) NIEHS toxicologists (are pressing) people (move)	(protects) all our families
<b>Animal</b>	animals (serve) these animals have (made) [[the laboratory rodent used]] (protects) animals themselves often (benefit)	(benefits) animals
<b>Humans &amp; Animals Other</b>	humans and animals have (worked) their association has (expanded) the research of the NIEHS (benefits) NIEHS research (contributes to protecting) laboratory studies are (begun) NIEHS and the national toxicology program...(joined) any (research methods) that (prove) this effort (to show) animal studies (can thus help prevent)	(made) antibiotics, vaccines against disease... (protecting) the environment (to search) out alternative research methods (provide) accurate answers needed (to show) results

Indeed the degree to which animals are given agency is particularly evident in Extract 4.12. Here the laboratory rodent is represented as actively involved in the experimental process.

Extract 4.12

*[[The laboratory rodent used in testing]] protects (all our families) {from dangerous chemicals} || by helping [[scientists identity them]]*

In this example, the ‘use’ of the rodent is embedded within the noun group of the first clause, and thereby manages to describe the nature of the laboratory rodent itself rather than any actual process (i.e. the rodent used in testing as opposed to the rodent not used in testing). The laboratory rodent is then presented as ‘helping’ scientists identify dangerous chemicals, as well as ‘protecting’ our family. This



structure suggests that the rodent is actively *choosing* to help scientists. Even the use of the word 'identify' obscures the actual role of the laboratory rodent, implying that the 'rodent' is engaged in some sort of visual cataloguing, or mental decision making task. Thus the rodent is more akin to a research assistant, than a test subject. In this way, the actual role of research animals is obscured.

#### 4.4.4 Evaluating Research

Through this obscuring, it becomes difficult for the reader to clearly define the groups involved or the role they play. Whilst in the PETA text the groups involved are represented in a way that would encourage empathy for animals, the NIEHS text makes any such emotional response unnecessary. The situation presented is one that is totally natural (a progression from the "farm, field and hearth") and indeed, desired by the animals themselves. By meshing the animal and human groups, the use of animals in research is presented as a natural outcome of the close relationship between humans and animals.

Indeed, it is only with the consideration of 'research methods' about half way through the NIEHS text that the distinction between animals and humans is clearly made. Although the human element is arguably still present, it becomes embodied in a series of scientific processes including 'research', 'laboratory studies', 'test methods', and 'results'.

#### Extract 4.13

*But no matter how potentially beneficial the **research** may seem, before **laboratory studies** are begun, there are checks to assure that the **work** is really needed and doesn't duplicate*

other **studies**, that as few animals as necessary are used...that their treatment is kind...that their surroundings and food are healthy and nutritious...and that veterinary care is at hand...as you will see in this booklet. And, as you will also read, NIEHS and the National Toxicology Program (which is headquartered at NIEHS) and other federal agencies have joined together to search out alternative **test methods** and approve any **that** prove reliable tests **that** would provide the accurate answers needed but with fewer animals or none at all. **This effort** is just beginning to show results. [ellipsis in original]

These scientific processes are presented to the reader as a series of grammatical metaphors, that is, grammatical representations that allows processes to 'do' things. Thus, although it can be assumed that these processes require some form of 'external' human agency, the use of grammatical metaphor heavily marginalises this human element (see Table 4.5). This is interesting as it obscures the role of humans in the testing process, thereby facilitating a positive evaluation and avoiding the explicit disclosure of what procedures are actually done on animals. However, the discussion of methodology and research procedures only occurs in the context of 'alternative methods', further suggesting that the reader is being directed away from questioning actual research practices.

Table 4.5: Grammatical Metaphor in NIEHS texts

<b>Participant</b>	<b>Process</b>	<b>Participant</b>
research of the NIEHS	benefits	animals
NIEHS research	contributes	[[to protecting the environment]]
laboratory studies	are begun	
that (test methods)	prove	Reliable
that (test methods)	provide	accurate answers need
This effort	beginning to show	Results

The consideration of alternative methods is followed by a number of statements about the care animals receive. It is interesting to note that these statements are issued as a series of factual assertions about what *is*, rather than noting what is actually being *done*. This effect is largely achieved through the use of Relational Processes. Relational Processes are means through which states of ‘being’ may be discussed (see Table 4.6).

Table 4.6: Use of Relational Processes in the NIEHS Text

<b>Carrier</b>	<b>Relational Process</b>	<b>Attribute</b>
Their treatment	is	kind
Their surroundings and food	are	healthy and nutritious
Veterinary care	is	at hand

In grammatically presenting animal care through Relational Processes, these statements act as factual assertions about the animals’ state of being. As a result, many of the concerns raised by animal rights and animal welfare groups (e.g. treatment, level of veterinary care), are rendered indisputable. Moreover, these clauses hinder any further discussion about the treatment of animals in research by categorically presenting the animals’ positive treatment as a statement of fact.

#### **4.5 Summary: Emotional Persuasion in Altruistic Movements**

It has been argued that altruistic movements are less able to draw successfully on traditional mobilisations strategies due to their orientation away from the experiential reality of the individual participant. Accordingly, it has been proposed that movement organisers will need to draw on alternative strategies when generating social support. The anti-vivisection movement provides a case study for

exploring altruistic movements as the abolition of animal research produces no clear advantages for participants.

The analysis of the PETA text suggests that in seeking to generate support, attempts are made to provoke the reader into feeling outrage at the nature of the research process. This feeling of outrage was primarily conveyed through the negative evaluation of the animal experimenters and their actions. However, the text also endeavoured to promote a sense of empathy in the reader. The text encouraged the reader to feel empathy very directly, by framing the entire text in terms of this emotional construct (e.g. “imagine having your body left to science... while you’re still in it”). However, positioning the reader to adopt an empathetic understanding for animals used in research was indirectly reinforced through the negative Judgements raised against the research process and in the depiction of animal research as both pointless and extreme.

Indeed, whilst the NIEHS text relied on more traditional mobilisation strategies (i.e. drawing heavily on cost-benefit framings), these framings could also be considered in terms of emotionality, particularly as both the presentation of the costs and benefits associated with animal research were constructed in terms of ‘protection’; primarily the need to ‘protect’ one’s family. To this end, the cost-benefit framings appeared more akin to scaremongering than a rational ‘economic’ assessment of pros and cons.

Thus, although the analysis showed that to some degree both texts employed traditional mobilisation strategies in seeking to generate support for their position, these framings seemed to be sidelined, with a strong emphasis placed on positioning the reader emotionally. This suggests that in generating support for altruistic

mobilisation, movement organisers are framing the issues primarily in order to provoke an emotional response in the reader. The use of emotion to mobilise support for particular issues will be explored further in the next chapter.

### **5.1 Emotion and Social Mobilisation**

Consideration of the role of emotion in social mobilisation has been consistently overlooked since the original emphasis on crowd behaviour in the early twentieth century (Goodwin, Jasper & Polletta, 2001). These earlier models of collective behaviour (e.g. LeBon, 1895; McDougall, 1920) highlighted the role of emotion, arguing that frustration, anger, alienation and anomie, were instrumental in accounting for social mobilisation (Jasper, 1998). Needless to say, the early theorists of collective behaviour were criticised for this emphasis. Emotional accounts, it was argued, failed to acknowledge any kind of rational or logical motivation behind social action (e.g. social inequality). However, rather than adopting a moderate path, early critics of collective behaviour began to advocate highly rational and instrumental accounts of social movements which ignored emotions altogether (e.g. McCarthy & Zald, 1977). These theories posited that movements arise because of strategic goals, interests, political opportunity and material advantage (Jasper, 1998). This marginalisation of emotion led to the development of a dichotomous relationship between emotions and rationality in social movement theory. As a result, any consideration of emotions was deemed inherently problematic and unsuited to rigorous evaluation (Goodwin et al., 2004).

However, this is not to suggest that emotions have been completely neglected. Within the field of consumer behaviour, persuasion theorists have placed

strong emphasis on fear-based appeals in producing attitude and behaviour change (e.g. Dillard, 1994). Sociologists have more recently begun to examine the role of emotion in social movements (e.g. Jasper, 1998) arguing that emotion is an important factor in accounting for both participation and recruitment in a social movement.

Following from the initial study of the anti-vivisection and pro-research movements, this chapter will endeavour to explore some of the issues surrounding emotion in social movements. In light of the previous study, it is argued that the rhetoric of 'altruistic' movements, such as the animal rights movement, aims to position the reader to feel a sense of outrage against animal vivisection, or (as in the vivisection movement) feel fear over the possibility of losing a loved one to medical illness that could have been prevented through the continuation of animal vivisection. It is argued that this emotional positioning of the reader, suggests that rather than being inconsequential to social movements, emotion based appeals may be a fundamental component of mobilisation, especially in 'altruistic' movements.

## **5.2 Social Influence, Persuasion and Minority Opinion**

To a large extent the work of mobilisation necessitates a consideration of influence phenomena. Broadly, this term encompasses the processes by which groups form, develop, grow and modify their actions, thoughts and value systems (Mugny & Perez, 1991). In this instance, consideration will be given to minority group influence and persuasion as these aspects of influence are considered to be particularly relevant to the topic at hand.

Researchers focusing on social influence have increasingly sought to understand how minority groups are able to generate change, particularly change within a belief system (see Mugny & Perez, 1991). Indeed, Mugny and Perez (1991) argue that by expressing a different point of view, minorities are able to challenge, previously unquestioned social norms, by representing the social field as consisting of two contrasting positions along a continuum. Moreover, they suggest that it is the ability to create social conflict and debate which makes minorities powerful.

That is, it is suggested that minority groups present a message to individuals that is processed at a deeper level. This deep level processing is contrasted with that of majority groups whose message is significant only so long as the majority is present or psychologically salient (Moscovici, 1985). That is, when confronted with a majority supported message, individuals will conform due to its salience. The implication of this is that individuals are readily able to accept the outward (majority) message without necessarily integrating the belief or message into their identity. Moreover, individuals have been found reluctant to challenge the perceived majority even if they feel that the message is inappropriate or disparate to their own beliefs (c.f. Asch, 1951; 1956).

On the other hand, minority influence is seen to be more persuasive as it encourages a deeper processing of the message context as it is presented as a coherent message on a marginal standpoint. This provides a unique situation as explicit adherence to a minority opinion is uncommon, and as a result the social impact of these minority opinions tends to be indirect, latent or delayed (Mugny & Perez, 1991).



Therefore, minority groups are likely to place increased emphasis on the messages they present in disagreeing with the majority. That is, majority groups tend to focus on how the message is being presented, while the minority focuses on what is being said. This necessitates different processing of information and it is argued that individuals will pay more attention to a minority message considering the information given whereas the majority message is held as it is salient.

However, Mugny and Perez (1991) suggest that a significant factor in minority influence stems from the resulting conflict between the minority and the majority. They argue that in developing a counter rhetoric the majority needs to orient to the minority's message. In the case of animal rights this can be seen in the reliance on the 3R's of research, which clearly orient to the animal rights message, by acknowledging their compliance with compassionate and reductionist approaches to animals. That is, rather than saying that the animal rights position is wrong, the counter argument in this instance is that the animal right position is extreme and that animal researchers are considerate and conscious of their dealings with animals (c.f. McGuire, 1964).

Similarly, it has been suggested that even upholding the status quo can force individuals to seek new arguments since in the end the minority has the power to establish the terms of the conflict. Thus, it is argued that during the initial stage of persuasion, minority groups are advantaged in that they can present an argument that is novel, and distinct. This is advantageous as, in creating new arguments that challenge the traditional position, they appear comparatively non-defensive (Maass & Clark, 1983).

The important point to remember in this instance is that the minority message is powerful in terms of facilitating social protest as, by virtue of being a minority message, it encourages a deeper level of processing that is more readily associated with an intellectual consideration of the position being endorsed. The following section will consider the role of emotion and its work in terms of persuasion.

### **5.3 Persuasion and Emotion-Based Appeals**

Emotion based appeals have primarily been considered within the persuasion literature. Persuasion is concerned with shaping, changing and/or reinforcing the behaviour and opinions of others through the strategic presentation of information (Stiff & Mongeau, 2003). Ideally a successful persuasion will result in attitude change coupled with the corresponding behavioural change. However, this attitude-behaviour relationship is problematic and is arguably influenced by a number of mediating factors (e.g. personal characteristics, the nature of the request, time available, presence or absence of directly relevant experience, social-political context etc.) (Fazio & Roskos-Ewoldsen, 1994).

In consideration of these mediating factors, persuasion theorists have identified five main components that need to be accounted for when determining the likelihood of a persuasive attempt achieving success. These factors (including source, channel, context, receiver and message components), endeavour to counteract the role of mediating factors in producing an attitude change that will result in a corresponding behavioural change (Fazio & Roskos-Ewoldsen, 1994).

Research has shown that individuals will be persuaded more readily by a source that is perceived to be credible (see Stiff & Mongeau, 2003). However, problems arise in determining what exactly constitutes credibility as there tends to be a lack of consistency in determining the significance of any one element. Indeed it is suggested that the significance of any one trait is dependent upon the message being conveyed and the socio-cultural environment. For example, research has found: a gender component to source credibility that differs cross-culturally (Hovland, Janis and Kelley, 1953); that the receiver's perception of the source's trustworthiness, expertise and charisma is important in facilitating persuasion (Berlo, Lemert & Mertz, 1969); and, that the more physically attractive a source is perceived to be, the greater the likelihood of persuasive success (especially when the message is considered 'unimportant' as in product advertising) (Chaiken, 1986).

With the increase in multi-media technologies the channels through which a message can be conveyed are increasing. In general however, messages can be presented directly (as in face-to-face communication) or through a medium (e.g. radio, television, newsprint), and may consist of visual and auditory components. From a health perspective, face-to-face persuasive communications are argued to be more effective in producing behavioural change as the information (e.g. health risks) can be translated and tailored directly for the recipient (Leventhal & Cameron, 1994). However, face-to-face interactions tend to be more limited in scope than multi-modal channels which are typically able to access diverse members of society. Overall, the persuasion seems to have a stronger effect if face-to-face interactions can be supplemented with mass-media campaigns that reinforce the message (Leventhal & Cameron, 1994).

Distinguishing receiver characteristics is frequently problematic as it is invariably the perceived relevance of the persuasive communication to the receiver that promotes attitude change, yet this can be difficult to pre-determine. Similar problems are associated with context features, as the socio-political climate may make an issue more or less salient and thereby increase the effectiveness of a persuasive communication (e.g. the AIDS campaign).

In this instance the primary emphasis will be placed on message characteristics. According to the persuasion literature, there are three main kinds of messages that can be presented; peripheral, central and emotional. Peripheral messages tend to be repetitive and simplistic drawing strongly on jingles and slogans; these messages are common in advertising and marketing. Central messages rely strongly on rational or logical arguments in order to persuade the audience. They assume a higher level of cognitive engagement and tend to be influenced by the socio-political context in which they are created. Emotional messages are those that seek to persuade an audience by igniting an emotional response. Emotional messages primarily consist of emotion based appeals and while it is argued that there are many different types of emotional appeals that can be drawn on (Stiff & Mongeau, 2003), communication theorists have tended to focus primarily on fear based appeals, and to a lesser extent, guilt appeals.

According to persuasion theorists, particular emotions tend to encourage particular behaviours (e.g. the emotion fear producing a fight or flight response). They therefore argue that the presentation of a message, which encourages a particular emotion, should be sufficient to encourage certain behavioural changes (Stiff & Mongeau, 2003).

Guilt appeals primarily seek to foster change by persuading individuals of the hypocrisy inherent in some action (Stiff & Mongeau, 2003). That is, in order to project feelings of guilt, the audience is presented with information that highlights how their behaviour has been inconsistent with their own personal standards. However, guilt appeals are typically considered to be ineffective in producing change (see O'Keefe, 2000).

On the other hand, fear appeals have been used extensively, especially in health promotion campaigns (e.g. the Quit campaign) and safety campaigns (e.g. drink-drive campaign). These campaigns rely on fear arousing messages in order to attract attention and encourage behavioural change. Fear appeals, it is argued, project messages that arouse fear by depicting a personally relevant threat followed by a description of how the threat may be deterred (Stiff & Mongeau, 2003).

The two main theories accounting for fear based appeals are drive theory and the parallel response model. These theories essentially posit that an individual will seek to minimise the feelings of fear that follow the presentation of a confrontational message. It is typically argued that individuals will seek to minimise their fear by changing behaviours in accordance with the message (e.g. drive theories) or; by ignoring the message content and/or its relevance, and thereby avoiding or denying the fear associated with the message (e.g. parallel response model).

Although success has been uniformly achieved in using fear appeals (see Stiff & Mongeau, 2003), research into fear appeals has been criticised for assuming that the emotion 'fear' can be isolated from other emotions. Indeed, in his review of fear appeals, Dillard (1994) argued that theories surrounding fear appeals have moved further away from consideration of emotional content. He argues that fear appeals

have become increasingly removed from the emotional state and that it is necessary to encompass a more holistic approach to emotion in persuasion. Indeed, in a later paper, Dillard, Poltnick, Godbold, Freimuth and Edgar (1996) posited that the success of fear appeals may be 'emotionally' confounded. Their examination of AIDS public service announcements showed that fear appeal messages are likely to produce several different emotional responses, and as such the role of emotion in the persuasive process is argued to be more complicated than previously suggested (Dillard et al., 1996).

#### **5.4 Understanding Emotions**

Much of the difficulty associated with emotion based research comes from the problems associated with clearly defining, and understanding, emotions. Indeed, the concept of emotion raises a number of philosophical concerns, primarily regarding the relationship between the mind and body (Bedford, 1986). Traditionally, emotions have been understood as the descriptive terms given to the internal feelings that arise in response to external stimuli (i.e. evolutionary approach). More recently however, this understanding has been challenged with some individuals highlighting the role of cognition in regulating emotional expression (i.e. cognitive approaches); while others have advocated the need for a constructionist understanding of emotions (i.e. social constructionist approaches). Despite this diverse theorising, each of these approaches tends to account for only certain emotions. As a result, a comprehensive understanding of emotions requires a

degree of theoretical flexibility, as all three approaches are needed in accounting for the complete spectrum of emotional experience.

#### **5.4.1 Evolutionary Approach**

Evolutionary perspectives on emotion derive primarily from Darwin's (1896) work on evolutionary theory. Darwin (1896) posited that, like species, emotions had evolved over time and served adaptive purposes. He theorised that the similarities between animal and human emotion suggested that emotions were physiological responses that served a communicative function. From this perspective, it was primarily argued that human expression was an evolutionary remnant that facilitated environmental interactions. However, Darwin's (1896) work was extrapolated by later evolutionary theorists who argued that the expression of emotion had been retained as it had acquired a secondary function in assisting interpersonal communication (see Griffiths, 1997).

The key work in this field has been conducted by Ekman (1980; 1982; Ekman & Davidson, 1994), who sought to further explore emotional expression across different cultures. Following his research in Papua New Guinea, Ekman (1980) argued that emotions (i.e. surprise, joy, sadness, fear, anger and disgust) were largely expressed in a uniform manner and could be recognised across different cultures. Although this prompted a surge in support for Darwin's (1896) theory of emotional evolution, the nature of emotion remained elusive as further research revealed that whilst individuals may express emotions in the same way, they rarely respond emotionally to the same things. Moreover, Ekman (1971) had identified a striking difference in the 'display rules' between cultures. In his study of Japanese and U.S.

students' emotional response to stressful stimuli, it was found that Japanese participants 'failed' to express a negative emotion in front of an authority figure, despite having previously displayed the emotion among peers. However, it was found that when the film of the Japanese participants (in the authority figure condition) was played in slow motion, an 'appropriate' emotional response was seen before being replaced by a polite smile. Ekman (1971) argued that this was an unconscious and relative automatic response to negative emotion on the part of the Japanese participants and from this it was suggested that there was a social element to emotional display.

This work suggested that whilst emotions had a strong physiological element, there was a social component associated with emotional display that was strongly influenced by cultural norms. However, the suggestion of display rules, and the identification of a cultural component, generated further questions about the role of society in shaping emotions. As a result, theorists suggested that not only is emotional display contingent on cultural norms, but that the emotions themselves may also be dictated through a society's socio-cultural rules (e.g. Harre, 1986).

#### **5.4.2 Cognitive Approaches**

Whilst cognitive approaches assume that emotion is primarily a physiological response to environmental stimuli, these approaches posit that the individual's emotional response is regulated through cognitive appraisals of the situation. That is, activation of the autonomic nervous system is argued to produce a state of arousal and that if no physiological source can be identified, the arousal will be attributed to



an emotion (the type of emotion being dependent on other environmental cues and introspection) (Schachter & Singer, 1962).

Later research (Ekman, Levenson & Friesen, 1983; Levenson, Ekman & Friesen, 1990) found distinct patterns of autonomic nervous system activation for 'primary' emotions (e.g. fear, joy, anger and grief). As a result, it was argued that each of the primary emotions produced a distinct activation pattern in the autonomic nervous system from which individual emotions could be distinguished and identified. However, the extent to which these differences extended to other, potentially more subtle emotions is less clear. As an explanation for emotion, the work of Ekman et al. (1983) was criticised at a number of levels. In the first instance it was argued that the several emotions, for which Ekman and his colleagues found distinct activation patterns, were not sufficient to explain the gamut of emotions experienced. Indeed, it was further suggested that many emotions did not produce sudden changes in state at all, but rather consisted of sustained responses (see Griffiths, 1997).

As a result of these criticisms, a second dimension was added to the earlier theories. From this alternative perspective, it was argued that cognitive judgement or attribution processes were fundamental to modulating emotional experience. Accordingly, it was posited that when people experience a state of non-specific arousal they endeavour to seek a source to which the arousal may be attributed. Thus, it was suggested that there are two kinds of emotions: 'primary' and 'secondary' (e.g. Damasio, 1994). Primary emotions, it was argued, operated within the limbic system and consisted of autonomic nervous system activation (in this sense, they supported Ekman et al, 1983); secondary emotions, however, went

beyond the biological, having been acquired through experience. While primary emotions were theorised to operate according to predetermined physiological patterns and were considered uniform across populations, secondary emotions were influenced by each individual's development (Damasio, 1994). To this end, it was posited that secondary emotions constituted a higher order of emotions, the display and expression of which would be modulated by socio-cultural factors.

Cognitive approaches have been criticised for neglecting the input-output aspects of emotional expression. That is, research suggests that although individuals may react and express the same emotions in the same way across cultures, there is little to suggest that individuals respond with similar emotions to the same stimuli (Griffiths, 1997). To this end, it is argued that cognitive approaches, like evolutionary approaches do not sufficiently allow for the role of socialisation in emotional development and expression.

### **5.4.3 The Social Construction of Emotions**

Social theories of emotion have primarily emphasised the social and cultural components of emotional expression. The significance of socio-cultural factors in emotional development and expression has been acknowledged to varying degrees by emotion theorists (see Strongman, 2003). However, while the majority of social theorists have more or less recognised the behavioural, cognitive and physiological components of emotion (e.g. Davitz, 1969; Eibl-Eibesfeldt, 1970; de Rivera & Grinkis, 1986), constructionists have advocated a more contextualised understanding suggesting that social interaction and language are strongly influence emotional development and expression.

Social constructionist approaches to emotion posit that people display emotions in order to behave in a manner that is considered socially appropriate for that situation (Griffiths, 1997). In this way, emotions are seen to resemble other social products, having a basis in social interaction, culture and language (Johnson-Laird & Oatley, 2000). Adopting a social constructionist approach to emotions resolves some of the philosophical concerns regarding the material location of emotions, especially as emotions are intuitively understood in a physical sense. However, it has been suggested that the constructionist perspective provides only an approach for understanding emotion rather than a theory of emotion per se (Oatley, 1992). To this end, the applicability of a social constructionist approach may be limited.

Constructionists argue that emotions are best understood as consisting of beliefs, judgments and desires. From this perspective, it is posited that emotions are determined and regulated within socio-cultural systems (Armon-Jones, 1986). It is therefore argued that the ability to experience a particular culture's emotions is contingent upon learning to interpret situations according to their cultural system. Thus, emotions should not be understood as natural responses to environmental stimuli, but rather as socially and culturally determined patterns of expression that are learned during social interactions.

Accordingly, it is argued that emotions are expected by other cultural members as a necessary feature of certain situations, exemplifying the cultural values that are challenged or demonstrated in the situation (Armon-Jones, 1986). In this way, the social constructionist perspective is able to account for one of the main criticisms of evolutionary and cognitive perspectives: that is, individuals from different cultures do not display the same emotional responses when confronted

with similar stimuli. Constructionists would argue that this discrepancy is demonstrative of the acculturation process which dictates the appropriate 'emotional' response to situations.

Criticisms raised against the social constructionist approach to emotions centre primarily on the failure to sufficiently acknowledge the role of biological and neurological changes in developing an understanding of emotions. Indeed, the argument has been put forward that rather than emotions being totally constructed, they are more or less emphasised (Heelas, 1986). According to this perspective emotions have a 'fashionable' element, being developed to differing degrees across history. Thus, rather than different emotions being available to different cultures, it is argued that cultures just talk about different emotions to varying extents (Heelas, 1986).

Despite these limitations, the social constructionist approach does highlight the role of language and society in shaping emotions, factors that other approaches have tended to minimise. In this instance, the socio-cultural influence on emotion suggests that emotions may be evoked through situational depictions. That is, if emotional display and expression is taken as having a social element, then it should be possible to (more or less) facilitate the display and expression of particular emotions by manipulating the social environment. Whilst such shaping may not be as powerful in emotions taken to have a strong physiological element (e.g. fear), it may be posited that such an approach would be successful when dealing with emotions that are considered to be strongly influenced by culture (i.e. moral indignation, outrage, empathy). It could therefore be suggested that when

considering mobilisation rhetoric, particular emotions could be encouraged through the strategic presentation of information.

#### **5.4.4 Emotion in Discourse**

This understanding of emotions has been more fully articulated by Edwards (1997; 1999) who argues that the precise development and definition of emotion is secondary to how emotional categories are used in social interaction (Edwards, 1999). He suggests that cognitive models of emotion diminish the role of emotions in discourse, by downplaying the rhetorical work done through the use of emotional categories in interaction.

From this perspective, the use of emotion in language can be argued to permit, normalise or dismiss certain emotional reactions, and thereby help to evaluate and legitimate those responses. For example, in his analysis of relationship counselling sessions Edwards (1999) demonstrates that the description of particular emotions as normal and expected (e.g. "angry stage") helps to justify the expression of the emotion (i.e. anger) as well as attest to the legitimacy of the emotional experience. However, he also notes that in locating the emotion within a normal 'stage' the speaker is able to assert that the emotional experience of anger may be too long lasting or become inappropriate. In the context of marital counselling, Edwards (1999) argued that this explanation of the partner's anger (as being a stage) allowed the speaker to locate marital problems with the partner's ongoing, inappropriate anger, rather than with their own actions, that caused the anger (i.e. infidelity).

Accordingly, Edwards (1999) argues that the use of emotional categories in language is functionally meaningful to the description and understandings of the

reality created. That is, it is the flexibility and ambiguity of emotion that is so powerful when considered from a discursive perspective as it permits the consideration of various kinds of understandings about emotion and accountability.

To this end, Edwards (1999) considers a number of rhetorical effects that can surround emotion categories used in language. Thus, emotions can be constructed as either rational or irrational; as occurring in response to an action or as part of an individual's intrinsic personality; as resulting from cognitive reflection or as spontaneous; and as being honest and natural or fake and contrived. It is therefore the context in which emotions are presented that allows them to serve various rhetorical ends.

## **5.5 Social Movement Theory and Emotion**

The research on emotion, especially fear appeals has been primarily conducted by individuals interested in consumer behaviour and advertising (e.g. Aaker & Willimas, 1998). Outside of the persuasion literature, social movement theorists have tended to marginalise the role of emotions in mobilisation arguing that emotions are too idiosyncratic to be reliably considered (see Goodwin, Jasper & Polletta, 2001).

This neglect of emotion in social movement theory no doubt stems from the original work done on crowd behaviour (e.g. LeBon, 1895; McDougall, 1920; Freud, 1922) which tended to regard crowd participants as emotional to the point of being pathological. Crowd participants, it was argued, were only capable of displaying negative emotions. Accordingly, it has been suggested that this research *equated*

emotions with crowd behaviour, which was itself, negatively appraised (Goodwin et al., 2004). Thus, although these theories are regarded as having considered the role of emotion in social movements, they tended to pathologise movement participants rather than acknowledge their emotional states. For example, Aminzade and McAdam (2001) argue that early theorists considered protesters to be “abnormal, irrational and emotional deviants who threatened social order” (p. 21). Moreover, any emotions considered to pertain to social movements were seen as being connected to outbursts, irrationality and violent behaviour.

As researchers began to move away from this psychopathologised understanding of social movements, greater emphasis was placed on methodologies that were scientific, empirical and rigorous. This trend ensured emotions were excluded from consideration as they are notoriously difficult to define, let alone measure. The ensuing research focused on the environmental factors which aid in precipitating social movements (e.g. McCathy & Zald, 1977). These theories emphasised the rational, cognitive basis behind social movements and treated social movements as if they were devoid of any emotional component. Indeed, even the more constructionist approaches (e.g. Rothman & Oliver, 1999) fail to explicitly theorise or even recognise the role of emotions in social movements (see also Benford, 1997).

However, even if movement theorists are not explicitly recognising the role of emotions in social movements, they are present in many of the concepts identified (e.g. frames, identity, political opportunities). Indeed, Goodwin et al. (2001) argue that many of the causal forces attributed to these concepts result from the emotional elements involved. For example, identity theories posit that individuals are

persuaded to participate in social action as a part of their membership in a group (e.g. Reicher & Hopkins, 1996b). Yet, group membership is not always defined at a purely cognitive level, many groups form as a result of identification with 'beliefs' and 'ideologies', structures that invariably contain some emotional element. To some extent, this 'emotional element' is addressed by Billig (1995) when he argues that social categories are not just mindless structures but are meaningful statements people make that reflect their choices and understandings of the world.

Indeed many social movements are organised in order to overthrow identity categories. For example, understandings about womanhood, femininity and the role of women were directly challenged and rejected as part of the feminist movement. The degree to which identities can be changed and shaped suggests that the strength of an identity comes from the meanings (even emotional meanings) that are associated with it (Goodwin et al., 2001). Furthermore, emotions, when considered from a constructionist perspective, are just as much shaped by expectation as are other cultural entities (e.g. moral principles).

In their paper examining recruitment strategies and moral shock, Jasper and Poulsen (1995) found that animal rights protesters were more likely to be recruited into the movement through the moral shock received following exposure to the movement. In a later paper, Jasper (1999) defines moral shocks as a sense of outrage that prompts people into political action. Jasper & Poulsen (1995) argue that the use of moral shocks became a necessary means of recruitment due to the lack of pre-existing social networks. They argue that rhetorical appeals, especially the reliance on cultural meanings, moral visions and strong emotions, are a significant element in recruiting participants for a social movement. However, despite a brief summary of



some of the framing strategies used, they did not sufficiently articulate how such 'rhetorical appeals' are achieved. Similarly, despite stressing the importance of emotion in mobilisation, there was little strategic consideration of the issue outside positing a link between ideological framings and emotion.

Much of this neglect, however, can be argued to stem from methodological problems inherent in any consideration of emotion. Particularly when operating from a psychological perspective, there is considerable confusion about what the term 'emotion' is even referring to, let alone whether it is uniformly experienced between people. This confusion raises the immediate concern about how to viably measure the construct. Notwithstanding the definitional problems, the subjective nature of emotion and individual emotion experience, make any self-report measures problematic.

### **5.6 Summary: Positioning a Reader through Emotion-Based Strategies**

Despite these concerns, researchers, particularly within sociology, have begun to consider the role of emotion in social movements (see Goodwin et al., 2001). Unlike persuasion research, which assumes 'emotion' to be a primal innate quality that can be activated at will (e.g. drive theories, which presuppose an evolutionary understanding of emotion), the research coming out of sociology and, to a lesser extent, social psychology is increasingly adopting a social constructionist perspective of emotion (e.g. Barker, 2001; Goodwin & Pfaff, 2001; Whitter, 2001).

However much of this research focuses on how individuals are feeling during a protest, rather than seeking to examine the emotions that encouraged participation

in the first place. For example, Groves (2001) argues that the role of emotion within the animal rights movement has diminished as activists advance the scientific and 'rational' arguments for supporting the movement. This move away from emotion is argued to be reflected in the silent tolerance (indeed support) for the work of more militant activists (Groves, 2001). Yet, this shifting emphasis within the movement is potentially different from that which sparked participation in the first place. Indeed, recent theorists have posited that following mobilisation, participants may modify their understanding of the movement, drawing on different frames of reference in light of changes both within the group and in the environment (Drury & Reicher, 2000). It is therefore reasonable to suggest that emotions fostered at the point of mobilisation may be different from those fostered within the movement proper. Thus, the consideration of emotion in social movements has largely focused on the role of emotion in justification for involvement rather than exploring how emotion can be used to induce participation (e.g. Groves, 2001).

For example, in their study of the Central American Peace Movement, Nepstad & Smith (2001) argue that the U.S. citizens who participated were mobilised as a result of the outrage felt after being exposed to the non-media regulated information about the civil wars and U.S. policy in Nicaragua, El Salvador and Guatemala during the 1980s.

Although, Nepstad & Smith (2001) suggest that moral shocks provided a sufficient impetus for an emotional response, they did question the kind of emotional response that might be provoked. Accordingly, they posited that individuals may feel outrage or indignation (emotions which would seem to facilitate mobilisation) or become overwhelmed and despondent (emotions that may lead to an over all sense

of resignation and thereby prohibit mobilisation). To this end, they argue that emotions and rationality are not polarised, but rather the 'rational' presentation of information is a necessary pre-requisite for the 'emotional' response that triggers participation. They reason that, the moral outrage experienced by Peace Movement participants was a logical response given the information about the human rights abuses and atrocities occurring in Central America.

The instance of the Central American Peace Movement is of particular relevance to this case study as it arguably falls under the rubric of an 'altruistic' movement. According to Nepstad & Smith (2001), social action required U.S. participants to travel to war zones, illegally harbour refugees and engage in acts of civil disobedience; actions that could result in arrest, injury or even death. Yet, despite the emphasis on the role of emotion in accounting for the Peace Movement's successful mobilisation, Nepstad & Smith (2001) make no attempt to account for how the moral outrage was achieved, implying instead that it was an inevitable response to the presentation of the information. However, it could be posited that there are many human rights violations that are publicised which do not generate sufficient moral outrage to ignite a movement (e.g. the Rwanda Genocide), thus the question remains as to what in particular about *this* presentation of information was sufficient to foster participation in such a high risk movement.

To this end, the question becomes what kinds of linguistic resources were used by mobilisation participants to facilitate social participation in a movement? From the research just considered, it is argued that the emotional element appears to have some effect in achieving participation, yet it is unclear how an emotional response may be achieved in a campaign. If, however, it is accepted that emotions are

to some degree constructed in society, then it follows that emotions are shaped and generated through societal structures including language. It is therefore possible to argue that individuals may be positioned to feel certain emotions by presenting information in certain ways.

In this instance, emotion is explored by examining the emotional categories the reader is positioned to align with. That is, for the purpose of analysis, emotions are not conceived of as experiential states, but rather as discursive resources (c.f. Edwards, 2001). That is, emotions are considered to be social constructs that are utilised for the purpose of drawing on socially understood meanings and thus social expectations in order to achieve particular ends (see Harre, 1986). Accordingly, the following analyses seek to determine how texts are framed in order to position the reader to respond 'emotionally' and therein experience 'moral shock'. Obviously, it is not possible to determine whether these positions *are* adopted by the reader, only to examine what the text is seeking to achieve through its grammar.

Thus, having found that the animal rights and vivisection movements are both working to position the reader emotionally (as per the previous chapter), the purpose now becomes identifying the linguistic strategies being employed that help facilitate this emotional positioning.

### 6.1 Examination of Anti-Vivisection Rhetoric

This chapter will examine the rhetoric employed by animal rights groups in condemning the use of animals in research. Opposition to the use of animals in research has been a key element of the animal rights campaign. Although animal rights issues, like vivisection, have been debated since Aristotle's time, the current movement may be understood to have followed from a number of high profile anti-vivisection campaigns. These campaigns (e.g. Harlow's monkeys, Silver Springs, and Britches) sparked considerable public outrage and did much to foster movement participation. Indeed, many animal rights groups were formed in the wake of these social controversies.

Much of the experiential knowledge about vivisection has come (and continues to come) from documentation and footage taken by individuals working in research laboratories (both whistleblowers and undercover). This footage has assisted the animal rights movement immeasurably and despite reports of violence and property damage, support for the movement continues. Indeed, given that research *ethics* committees and animal welfare legislation typically post-date groups like PETA (est. 1980) or the work of animal rights philosophers (e.g. Singer, 1975) it is reasonable to suggest that the movement has had success in achieving its objectives (see chapter two).

The primary goal of most animal rights groups is the total abolition of the use of animals by humans. This includes, but is not limited to, the use of animals in food,

fashion and entertainment. In the debate against vivisection, animal rights activists argue that the continued use of animals in research constitutes considerable and unnecessary cruelty to animals. Instead, they advocate the use of alternative research methods, which are presented as methodologically superior to vivisection. These alternatives emphasise clinical and epidemiological studies as well as *in vitro* experiments and computer modelling. Alternatives, from the perspective of animal rights groups, are developed in order to *completely* replace animals in research<sup>Ψ</sup>.

Following from the previous chapter, it is suggested that in seeking to generate support, movement organisers endeavour to provoke the reader into feeling outrage at the use of animals in research. This finding is consistent with earlier studies done on 'moral shock' (see Jasper & Poulsen, 1995; Jasper, 1999). This study attempts to further explore this area by developing an understanding of *how* the reader may be positioned in order to experience 'moral shock'. To this end, a more expansive consideration of anti-vivisection texts was undertaken.

## 6.2 Description of Method and Data

The following analysis was conducted from a social semiotic perspective that assumes language to be a tool for meaning making. In accordance with this perspective, the choices people make at the level of grammar and lexis are purposeful and reflective of their beliefs about the world. Accordingly, a functional grammatical approach (Halliday, 2004) to discourse analysis was employed. This model identifies a series of networks that highlight the choices available in

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<sup>Ψ</sup> 'Alternatives', in the pro animal research sense, is primarily intended to refer to experimental modifications that make fewer animals necessary rather than no animals (e.g. the three R's: Reduce, Refine, Replace).

constructing a text. To this end it identifies not only what lexico-grammatical choices have been made, but also, those that have not.

Texts were collected from websites promoting the animal rights movement. The majority of the data was collected during the first six months of 2005. Additional texts were added as websites upgraded and/or modified the information presented on their sites. The monitoring of websites and data collection was concluded during October, 2006 and no further texts were added to the corpora after this date.

The majority of websites from which data was gathered related specifically to animal vivisection, while others focused on animal rights issues more generally. In this instance, a corpus of 92 items was obtained from nine different internet sites. These sites consisted of some of the most active and well-known animal rights organisations and included: People for the Ethical Treatment of Animals (PETA), the Animal Liberation Front (ALF) and the National Anti-Vivisection Society (NAVS) (see Appendix 1 for a full listing).

While there was considerable variation in how these organisations operated, they all sought to eliminate the use of animals in biomedical and psychosocial research programmes. All of the animal rights websites included in this study published public-education material designed to promote the animal rights movement. This included posters, pamphlets, factsheets, postcards, t-shirts, stickers and mugs that could be ordered or downloaded from the internet site. The texts included in the analysis consisted of general information sheets that addressed the issues surrounding animal research (e.g. vivisection, toxicology testing, medical research, alternatives).

Specifically, the texts were analysed in terms of how they were framing the issues surrounding animal research and evaluating the key groups involved. In practice this resulted in an increased emphasis being placed on the Appraisal analysis, which allowed for a greater understanding of how particular interpretations of the situation were presented as factual.

Accordingly, the analysis primarily emphasised how particularly understandings were made possible within the grammar. That is, the use of relational clauses, as identified from the transitivity analysis, was examined from an Appraisal perspective in order to more completely unpack their qualities (i.e. the kinds of Attributes used). In conjunction, an analysis of marked themes identified the pre-emptive assumptions that were considered normative for understanding the issues. These findings were presented in order to demonstrate how the particular interest groups were framed by animal rights groups.

### **6.3 Framing Vivisection**

The first aspect of this analysis was to explore how vivisection was being framed in order to determine the kinds of meanings that were being presented to the reader. It is important to consider the framings that are being drawn upon as these shape the kinds of actions that are available. For example, Kuusisto (1998) suggests that by framing the First Gulf War in terms of a heroic battle, the leaders of France, Britain and the U.S. were able to legitimately engage in a military offensive. In contrast, he argues that by framing the Bosnian conflict as a meaningless slaughter



with no clear aggressor, Western leaders were positioned in such a way that they were unwilling (or unable) to engage in any direct action (Kuusisto, 1998).

In the animal rights movement, the texts framed the issues in order to promote particular understandings about the movement. These framings typically reflected assumptions about excess; the scientific method; and emphasised the similarities between human and non-human animals. The significant aspect in considering language framings is the means through which they make certain actions and beliefs more or less possible. In terms of the anti-vivisection movement these framings shaped the kinds of emotions and ethical positions that were legitimately available to the reader.

Framings were primarily presented in the texts through the use of presupposition. Presupposition is a type of monoglossic assertion (i.e. an assertion that acknowledges the existence of only one position) that is presented as taken-for-granted (Martin & White, 2005). It arises when an issue is construed as something that is no longer contentious and may therefore be considered as a 'given'. Presupposition has a strong ideological effect, positioning the reader to accept information unquestioningly.

The following analysis seeks to explore some of the understandings presupposed by the animal rights movement and examines how these assumptions position the reader. It is argued that through the use of presupposition, the reader is positioned to see animal suffering as inherent in the research process and animal research as constituting 'bad' science (i.e. lacking in rigour and validity).

### 6.3.1 Animal Suffering

One of the key aspects of the anti-vivisection campaign centres on the notion of animal suffering. Traditionally, it has been argued that animals are incapable of suffering in the same way, and to the same extent, as humans (e.g. Descartes, 1641; see also Maehle & Tröhler, 1987). That is, the nature of animal pain is argued to include a physiological response (e.g. autonomic nervous system activation) without any emotion component (i.e. they cannot suffer from fear associated with anticipation) (Maehle & Tröhler, 1987). This assumption has been used as a basis for arguing that animal experimentation is not fundamentally cruel, so long as appropriate anaesthetics and analgesics are used. However, within the anti-vivisection campaign animal suffering is assumed to consist of both a physiological and an emotional component.

Extract 6.1 is taken from a document that considers product testing (i.e. toxicological testing) on animals. In this example, animal suffering is presupposed to the reader, who is positioned to see it as inherent in experimentation.

#### Extract 6.1

*Every year millions of animals are poisoned and killed in barbaric tests that were crudely developed as long ago as the 1920s to evaluate the toxicity of consumer products and their ingredients. Rats, mice, guinea pigs, rabbits, and other animals are forced to swallow or inhale massive quantities of a test substance or endure the pain of a chemical eating away at their sensitive eyes and skin – even though the results of animal tests are often unreliable or not applicable to humans.*

Although Extract 6.1 directly mentions the “pain” associated with toxicity testing, the “pain” is located with the process of toxicity testing rather than being a

subjective effect that depends on the individual or animal involved. That is, rather than debating whether animals feel pain (and whether this pain is the same as 'human pain') this extract presents toxicity testing as *inherently* painful. Moreover, the reader is positioned to see the pain associated with these tests as being of a particularly severe nature. This is primarily achieved by making the toxin an active agent (i.e. the doer) in the research process.

In addition this extract positions the reader to see cruelty as an intrinsic part of an experiment. The tests are presented to the reader as "barbaric" and "crudely developed", claims which are elaborated on in the description of the processes being done. In using terms like "poison", "killed" and "eating away" the nature of the processes done to animals are negatively evaluated. These terms inscribe an association with torture (e.g. eating away) and murder (e.g. poison) onto the discussion of the research process. In this way the reader is positioned to see not only animal suffering as fundamental to the research process, but the process itself as deliberately cruel.

In another instance, animal suffering was considered in the context of the possible ethical positions held by people (see Extract 6.2). In this example animal suffering is again presupposed to the reader. Here, the understanding that "animals can suffer" is presented as uncontentious.

#### Extract 6.2

*For some people the fact that animals can suffer and experience pain is sufficient reason to refrain on moral grounds from harming them. **Beyond pain**, there is also persuasive evidence that animals, in particular mammals and birds, have thoughts, intentions and memories. This means they can be harmed by confinement, frustration, fear, isolation and*

*loss of life – experiences unavoidable for animals confined in laboratories and used in experiments.*

*Some people claim that because animals do not have duties or responsibilities in the way humans do, they are not deserving of the same protection. However, some humans have no responsibilities or duties, such as babies, the mentally ill, or very infirm, yet they are not stripped of their rights in this way. Indeed, such individuals are usually considered more deserving of protection, not less.*

*Others argue that the potential benefit to human society justifies experiments on animals. However this argument is a slippery slope, as this reasoning would also justify experiments on a few non-consenting humans for the ultimate benefit of human society – a clearly unethical scenario.*

Extract 6.2 presents the reader with a number of ethical positions that are 'available' and held in society (c.f. Potter, 1996). The text works through these positions by first suggesting them as legitimate opinions held by people (e.g. "some people claim that...") and then presenting the inherent flaws associated with this stance (e.g. "However..."). In this instance the 'correct' ethical perspective is presented firstly as a 'fact' (i.e. "the fact that animals can suffer...") and then reinforced in the following sentence (e.g. "Beyond pain..."). In this example, pain is again presupposed to the reader, who is positioned to see it as a fundamental aspect of animal research. That is, this extract is not presenting animal suffering as debatable, but rather is considering whether animal suffering constitutes sufficient *moral* reason for refraining from animal research.

However, although it presents three different ethical options as being legitimately part of the debate, the text positions the reader to see only one of these options (i.e. that pain is sufficient reason for not harming animals) as the 'correct' or 'right' option. Thus, in presenting animal pain as a given and negating the legitimacy

of alternative ethical perspectives (e.g. “clearly unethical scenario”; “more deserving, not less”), the reader is positioned to see only one perspective as ‘truly’ ethical.

### 6.3.2 Legitimate Emotional Responses

In addition to presupposing animal suffering, the animal rights movement worked to legitimise certain emotional responses. Primarily, this involved presenting an evaluative token to the reader *a priori*. In most instances, this token was presented as a Marked Theme. A Marked Theme occurs when something other than the Subject is placed first in a declarative clause. Extract 6.3 provides four examples that involve the evaluative tokens ‘sadly’ and ‘unfortunately’.

#### Extract 6.3

*Sadly, much medical research into human health problems involves experiments on animals.*

*Sadly, animals continue to be seen as cheap, available and disposable ‘tools’ in the laboratory, and so may be used in preference to more sophisticated, or technically demanding alternative methods.*

*Unfortunately, even when the USDA does take action, its authority to stop violations of the [Animal Welfare] Act is limited.*

*Unfortunately, animal experimentation often impedes the ready acceptance of epidemiological evidence.*

In these examples the presence of the Marked Theme is grammatically unnecessary for the coherence of the sentence. To this end, the Marked Theme works

as an evaluative token, having the effect of negatively appraising the statements that it accompanies. For example, in the first clause the use of “sadly” places an emotional evaluation on the use of animals in medical research. Thus, whilst the statement: “medical research into human health problems involves experiments on animals” is not immediately problematic, the use of “sadly” positions the reader to see the statement as contentious. In this instance, the location of the evaluative token at the start of the sentence primes the reader to see the remainder of the declarative clause in a negative light. The use of an Affective label, challenges not only the underlying assumption that animal research is necessary for medical research, but evaluates this position morally.

In other instances, the acceptable emotional response to vivisection was presented in terms of what emotions were considered ‘normal’. These statements again positioned the reader to see certain emotional responses as more legitimate than others. For example, Extract 6.4 tells the reader what the ‘typical’ response is, positioning the reader to adopt a similar emotional attitude.

Extract 6.4

*Most people are shocked to learn that such abuses, when “properly conducted” in the laboratory setting, are exempt from animal cruelty statutes.*

The use of quotation marks around “properly conducted” reinforces the message that animal research is inherently flawed. In referring to experimental procedures as “abuses”, the underlying cruelty associated with research is presupposed to the reader. In suggesting that there is no such thing as “properly conducted” research this text positions the reader to feel “shock” at all forms of

animal research. Moreover, in stating that ‘shock’ is the normative response (e.g. “most people are shocked”) this positioning is reinforced. Again, the possibility of legitimate, necessary research using animals is negated.

### 6.3.3 Pro-Research Supporters

The anti-vivisection texts also endeavoured to negate support for vivisection by suggesting that only “uninformed” people supported the use of animals in research. This positioning worked to diminish the argumentative positions available to the reader. For example, in Extract 6.5, support for animal rights is presupposed to the reader, by presenting all pro-research supporters as unaware of the ‘real’ situation.

#### Extract 6.5

*Class A dealers sell “purpose-bred” animals, born into this world only to be experimented on and then killed. Class B dealers supply “random source” animals purchased at auctions, “adopted” from **unsuspecting individuals** who place “free to a good home” ads in their local papers and/or are stolen from people’s backyards and outside of stores while their human companions are inside. Finally, these animals are offered for sale to experimenters via word of mouth and in publications like Lab Animal magazine. Also advertised in this publication are the cages, miniature guillotines (used to chop off the heads of live rats,) and other sadistic devices used by the vivisection industry...*

*While every laboratory that experiments on animals other than mice, rats and birds is licensed and inspected by the USDA and expected to adhere to the minimal standards of care as set forth by the Animal Welfare Act (e.g., proper cage size, adequate food, water, and veterinary care, etc.), funding comes from a variety of sources: gifts and grants from private individuals and foundations, donations solicited **from well-intentioned but uninformed members of the public**, industry money, etc.*

Thus, this extract presupposes that everyone who knows what ‘really’ goes on in animal research is against it. In this example, animals that are not bred specifically for research are said to come from people who are “unsuspecting”, while individuals who actively support research (i.e. financially) are described as “uninformed”. This representation effectively refutes the possibility of a conscious, knowledgeable, pro-research category of people, by implying that an understanding of the animal research process, equates to support for animal rights. Moreover, it positions the reader to see this information as constituting the ‘truth’ about animal research and therefore necessitating support for the anti-vivisection movement.

In addition, conscious pro-research individuals (e.g. “class A dealers”) are located within the ‘vivisection industry’. These individuals are consistently depicted in a negative fashion (i.e. represented as profiteers). This representation is created through actions of the dealers (e.g. “sell”, “supply”, “stolen”) and by linking them with other negatively evaluated organisations (i.e. they “offer” animals to experimenters via magazines that sell “sadistic” devices). Thus, whilst these texts do provide a category for people who are knowledgeable and pro-research, these people are represented as uncaring rather than legitimately supportive of the animal research (i.e. profit before animal suffering).

#### **6.3.4 Evaluating Research Organisations**

As noted above, the negative evaluation of research organisations was frequently achieved through the use of terms like “industry” and “lobby”. These terms help to reinforce the representation that animal research was about securing grants and maintaining status, and most importantly was motivated by profit.



Extract 6.7

*Each year the National Institutes of Health (NIH) **doles out** hundreds of millions of **taxpayer dollars** in support of some of the most bizarre and sadistic animal experiments ever conceived...Working hand in hand with its supporters in industry, academia, and government, the animal experimentation lobby enjoys a self-serving steady flow of **taxpayer dollars** while fighting animal protection legislation at every turn.*

*The vivisection industry is made up of tens of thousands of individuals and entities who profit from the misery, suffering and deaths of more than 115 million animals a year...*

*Guess who pays for these duplicative projects? **Your tax dollars** are funnelled into the federal agencies that subsidize vivisection. During fiscal year 2001 you helped the National Institute of Health (NIH) **bankroll** roughly 29,441 separate tests on primates, dogs, cats, rats, mice, hamsters and guinea pigs for an estimated \$8.5 billion.*

These extracts position the reader to see animal research as a wasteful use of money. In particular, referring to government funding as “your tax dollars” and “taxpayer dollars” draws on associations of excessive and irresponsible expenditure. Moreover, the NIH is not presented as ‘funding’ research, but rather as “bankroll[ing]” and “dol[ing] out” money to commercial industries. Together these evaluations position the reader to negatively evaluate the organisations involved by again emphasising profiteering over scientific advancement.

These representations help to facilitate arguments that animal research had little to do with human health. Instead, animal research is depicted as a means to academic success, fortune and political advantage. Extract 6.8 includes a consideration of the role of animal research in academia.

#### Extract 6.8

*Vivisection is **easily** published. In the “**publish or perish**” world of academic science, it **requires little originality or insight** to take an already well-defined animal model, change a variable (or the species being used), and obtain “new” and “interesting” findings within a short period of time. In contrast, clinical research (while much more useful) is often more difficult and time-consuming. Also, the many species available and the nearly infinite possible manipulations offer researchers the opportunity to “**prove**” **almost any theory** that **serves their economic, professional or political needs**. For example, researchers have “**proven**” in animals that cigarettes both do and do not cause cancer – **depending on the funding source**.*

Fundamental to this extract is the juxtaposition between clinical research and academic science. Academic science is represented as being motivated solely by the need to produce publications (e.g. “publish or perish”) whilst the findings are depicted as trivial; having been ‘forged’ in order to serve the commercial and funding interests of the researcher and academic institution. Alternatively, “clinical research” is constructed in a manner more akin to real or legitimate science: that is, “difficult and time consuming” yet “more useful”. A similar perspective on the research process is presented in Extract 6.9:

#### Extract 6.9

*Animal research is big business. **Step 1:** Pick an existing animal model. **Step 2:** Alter one or two variables. **Step 3:** Publish a paper and/or receive FDA-approval to market a lucrative drug or product. Researchers can “prove” almost anything by altering statistics, lab conditions, or infinite other variables.*

This formulaic description of the research process trivialises the work being done in academia. In addition it questions the legitimacy of the research process,

suggesting that its purpose lies in profit (e.g. “lucrative”) and commercialisation (e.g. “big business”). This representation positions the reader to see research organisations as working in their own interest rather than humanity’s; that medical research is more about funding rounds, than actual medical discovery.

### 6.3.5 Evaluating Science

This critique of the research organisations extended to the research process and considered the difference between legitimate and pretend science. This distinction was primarily made through the use of two distinct lexical terms: ‘research’ and ‘experiment’. Typically, ‘research’ was evaluated positively and deemed to constitute ‘science’, whilst ‘experiment’ was evaluated negatively and depicted as pointless nonsense.

#### Extract 6.10

*Those who experiment on animals artificially induce disease; **clinical investigators** study people who are already ill or who have died. **Animal experimenters** want a disposable “research subject” who can be manipulated as desired and killed when convenient; **clinicians** must do no harm to their patients or study participants. **Animal experimenters** face the unavoidable fact that their artificially created “animal model” can never fully reflect the human condition whereas **clinical investigators** know that the results of their work are directly relevant to people.*

Extract 6.10 provides a clear example of the distinction that is being established between experiments on the one hand and research on the other. The distinction is drawn around the constructs of utility and legitimacy as reflected in the evaluative terms used to describe each category. These terms represent animal

experiments as intrinsically flawed and clinical investigations as exemplars of high quality science. Table 6.1 provides a list of the evaluations presented in Extract 6.10.

Table 6.1: Evaluations of ‘Experimenters’ and ‘Clinicians’

Token	Evaluation (Value)
Those who experiment on animals	artificially induce disease
Animal experiments	want disposable subjects
Animal experimenters	can never fully reflect the human condition
Clinical investigators	study people
Clinicians	do no harm
Clinical investigators	the results of their work are directly relevant

Much effort is put into separating animal experiments from ‘real’ science. This ensures that the reader is positioned to see animal rights groups as contemporary, progressive and ‘scientifically friendly’ organisations. Indeed the reader is positioned to see non-animal alternatives as exemplars of modern, rigorous science. The implication of this representation is that animal rights groups are not against science, just ‘bad science’, which in this instance is presented as synonymous with ‘animal research’. Extract 6.11 provides another example of this dual representation. In this example, alternative methods are equated with technological advancement, reliability, success and progress.

Extract 6.11

*Forward-thinking companies are exploring modern alternatives. For example, Pharmagene Laboratories, based in Royston, England, is the first company to use only human tissues and sophisticated computer technologies in the process of drug development and testing. With tools from molecular biology, biochemistry and analytical*

*pharmacology*, Pharmagene conducts *extensive studies* of human genes and how drugs affect those genes or the proteins they make. While *some companies* have used animal tissue for this purpose, Pharmagene *scientists* believe that the *discovery process* is much *more efficient* with human tissues. “If you have information on human genes, what’s the point of going back to animals?” says Pharmagene cofounder Gordon Baxter.

In this extract, Pharmagene is presented as a “sophisticated”, “forward thinking” modern laboratory that utilises methods from many diverse fields (e.g. molecular biology, biochemistry). In contrast, the use of animals in research is presented as archaic (e.g. “what’s the point of going back to animals?”). This positions the reader to see animal studies as an unnecessary part of the research process.

Whilst much of the negative evaluation of animal research centred on criticisms of methodology, the research questions themselves were also dismissed as inane. This was achieved by presenting information about the experiment without any elaborating context. Extract 6.12 shows how removing ‘purpose’ from this research allowed the animal rights movement to trivialise individual experiments and animal research more generally.

#### Extract 6.12

- *Squirrel monkeys dosed with lithium, a potent drug used in the treatment of psychotics, lost their appetites; National Institute of Mental Health, \$ 407 200*
- *Old rhesus monkeys do not have the learning or memory abilities of young monkeys; Boston University & Yerkes Regional Primate Centre, \$ 1 225 000*
- *Old cats do not sleep well in very hot or very cold rooms; Stanford School of Medicine, \$150 000*

- *Baby Macaques monkeys separated from their mothers at birth may suffer emotional and behaviour problems in later life; University of Colorado, \$262 400*
- *Dogs with narcolepsy (a disease causing uncontrollable sleeping) spend more time drowsy and asleep than normal dogs; Stanford University School of Medicine, \$847 000*
- *Female rhesus monkeys sprayed with copulins (sex scents) have more sexual encounters than unsprayed monkeys; Emory University, \$164 000*

In this example the reader is presented with an itemised list of experiments which had entirely self-evident outcomes (e.g. narcoleptic dogs sleep more). By presenting these trivial outcomes with a dollar value, the negative evaluation of animal research is supported. Indeed the reader is positioned to see the use of animals in research as habitual and pointless rather than necessary.

Indeed, much work went into positioning the reader to see animal research as fundamentally flawed and not stemming from negligent researchers. For example, Extract 6.13 describes experiments conducted at Columbia University. In this example, passive sentences are used, a grammatical representation that allows the agent to be obscured, positioning the reader to see these examples as exemplars of institutionalised practices.

#### Extract 6.13

*Even animal research that is carried out for “medical purposes” tends to be irrelevant to human health. A PETA investigation revealed the grotesque abuse of animals at Columbia University, where **baboons were subjected** to invasive surgeries [by whom?] and left to suffer and die in their cages without any painkillers, and **monkeys were forced to endure** surgical procedures [by whom?] in which **metal pipes were implanted** into their skulls for the sole purpose of inducing stress to study the connection between stress and women’s menstrual cycles. In another Columbia experiment, **pregnant baboons were given** large doses of nicotine and morphine [by whom?], and had backpacks full of **instrumentation***

*strapped to their backs [by whom?], and were tethered inside metal cages for observation. Their babies underwent surgery while still in utero [by whom?]. One baboon lost 40 percent of her bodyweight and developed a severe bone infection that was left untreated [by whom?].*

In this example, the experimental procedures (although without agent) are presented to the reader as excessive, and the treatment of the animals as negligent. This results in a negative evaluation of the research process rather than any particular individual. This has the effect of representing the problems described as systemic within the contemporary (animal) research process; it allows the animal rights groups to argue that all vivisection is wrong, not just painful research or the work done by irresponsible researchers.

The qualities of 'good' science were further elaborated through considerations of alternatives to animal research. In most instances alternatives were presented as an exemplar of cutting-edge, medical research. Extract 6.14 negatively evaluates animal research by presupposing its validity to be a belief-system.

#### Extract 6.14

*Most people believe that experiments on animals are necessary for medicine and science to progress. This is not the case. The belief that we must experiment on animals is being challenged by a growing number of physicians and scientists who are utilising many research methods that do not harm or kill animals. Physicians and scientists also see the negative consequences of using one species to provide information about another species; often the results of animal experiments are misleading or even harmful to humans. So what are non-animal methods of scientific research?*

*The following biomedical research practices reflect true progress – producing accurate, predictive and applicable results. They offer real, immediate insight toward effectively fighting human disease.*

The representation of animal research as a belief is in contrast to the use of alternative methods which are represented as 'real' and 'true'. Again the reader is positioned to see animal research as relying on dogma rather than science.

The anti-vivisection texts also considered 'flaws' inherent in animal research. Indeed one text focused on depicting the human health concerns that stemmed from animal research by exemplifying the frivolity and irrelevance of conducting research on animals:

Extract 6.15

- 40% of *patients suffer* side effects as a result of prescription treatment.
- Over 200 000 medicines have been released most of which are now withdrawn. According to the World Health Organisation, **240 medicines are 'essential'**.
- Thousands of drugs passed safe in animals have been withdrawn or **banned due to their effect on human health**.
- Aspirin fails animal tests, as do digitalis (heart drug), cancer treatments, insulin (causes animal birth defects), penicillin and other safe medicines. They would be banned if results from animal experimentation were accurate.
- When the producers of thalidomide were taken to court, they were acquitted after numerous experts agreed **animal tests could not be relied on for human medicine**.
- At least 450 methods exist with which we can replace animal experiments.
- Morphine puts humans asleep but excites cats.
- 95% of drugs passed by animal tests are immediately discarded as **useless or dangerous to humans**.

Thus, rather than examine the cruelty associated with animal research, this text emphasises its misapplication and irrelevance in medical research. In terms of mobilisation, it is posited that addressing the problems of animal research from a



human health oriented perspective provided opportunity for more pro-research individuals to be mobilised as it focused on the primary concerns of pro-research activists – that animal research is fundamental to the continuing provision of human health care and medical advancement.

#### **6.4 Strategies for Generating Moral Shock: The Use of Narrative**

The meanings about animal vivisection presented as part of the mobilisation material used by animal rights groups worked to strengthen the arguments being outlined. Primarily, the anti-vivisection framings presupposed various understandings to the reader, positioning them to see these arguments as truths about the world rather than as potentially controversial statements. In many instances, these assumptions positioned the reader to accept the case against vivisection uncritically. However, this framing work is not particularly unusual when compared to the rhetorical strategies used in other movements. Indeed what appeared to make the anti-vivisection movement so powerful was the ability to shock the reader morally, making the case for animal research seem fundamentally insupportable. Indeed, as noted by Jasper and Poulsen (1995) the moral shock produced by the anti-vivisection movement was crucial to eliciting the feelings of outrage that promoted social participation.

The following analysis seeks to explore how narrative worked to position the reader to feel outrage about the treatment of animals in research. In particular, it is argued that describing the suffering of one animal, made the systemic nature of animal cruelty in research conceptually manageable. Thus, rather than having to consider the use of many millions of animals in many thousands of research projects,

the reader was only asked to consider the journey of one animal. What was implicitly presented in each of these narratives was that this journey was indicative of the experiences of many other animals. Thus an understanding of the experiences of animals was achieved without losing sight of the institutionalised nature of animal research generally. This made the narrative a particularly significant means for generating outrage (especially when presented in the context of visual material; see chapter eight).

The narratives that appear within the anti-vivisection movement provided the cornerstone for much of the imagery and symbolism presented to the reader. Indeed certain stories and the accompanying photographs (see chapter eight) have become almost iconic (e.g. Britches). The narratives typically presented the story of one animal and their experience as a research subject.

#### **6.4.1 Anthropomorphism**

One of the key strategies in presenting the narrative was to identify the animal involved. In the following example the identification process involves two separate components; naming and locating.

Extract 6.16

*Meet Baboon #6521. We'll call her "Lisa" here. She was taken from her mother long ago, and instead of ambling for miles through grassland, she's been locked in a small, barren metal cage, alone, half a world away from her native African home.*

In the first instance Lisa is presented as she would have been in a research facility, by a numeric identification code (i.e. #6521). In the second clause, #6521 is

allocated a human name: Lisa. This juxtaposition, as it occurs in conjunct clauses, is effective at two levels. This establishes a contrast between the animal as *an individual* and the distancing or dehumanisation that is seemingly inherent in the research process.

This contrast between name and number has recently been foregrounded in the medical profession. Doctors in particular have been criticised for their tendency to treat people as disease cases rather than as real people suffering from medical conditions. In this instance, the contrast works to highlight the excessive distancing that is necessarily part of the research process. In particular, by giving #6521 a name, the identity process is solidified, personality can exist, and the tendency to humanise behaviours and traits is possible. This is reinforced in later paragraphs where Lisa's mother and her own babies are discussed.

#### Extract 6.17

*Meet Baboon #6521. We'll call her "Lisa" here. She was taken from **her mother** long ago, and instead of ambling for miles through grassland, she's been locked in a small, barren metal cage, alone, half a world away from her native African home.*

*Experimenters at Columbia University in New York **have cut Lisa open** in four separate surgeries. **She's been impregnated** twice, and both times, **her babies** were infused with test chemicals, cut **from her stomach**, and killed. When our undercover investigator **found her**, she was scheduled to go under the scalpel a fifth time.*

*If she had rocks and sticks like her free-living relatives, no doubt Lisa would throw them at the men and women in white lab coats who keep cutting her open, killing **her babies**, and locking her inside the metal box that has been her "home" for years.*

In this manner, Lisa is successfully located in terms of a family. 'Family' is importantly something that the majority of individuals can relate to, so the tendency

to empathise with the situation being described is increased. The reader is positioned to feel sympathy for Lisa as “her babies” are being taken from her and killed. Moreover, Lisa’s response to such treatment is predicated in the text by the assumption that if she had access to rocks and sticks she would throw them at research staff. The key aspect of this clause is the adjunct “no doubt”. Including this adjunct in discussing Lisa’s possible behaviour works to normalise such actions. It is presented to the reader that the behaviour is not only acceptable, but would be a victorious opportunity for the oppressed mother, and something that could be understood more generally. Moreover, the reader is positioned to be supportive of this action; this triumph.

This narrative presents the experience of one baboon and makes it very personal; Lisa is given a human name and ascribed human characteristics and behaviours. This positions the reader to feel sympathy for the trauma she has had to undergo. The contrast is established between what she should be experiencing and her current life in the laboratory, a move which positions the reader to feel outrage by heightening the disparity between the “ambling for miles through grasslands” and having “babies infused with test chemicals cut from her stomach and killed”. Thus, this graphic description is personalised, a process that makes it real for the reader: this is not happening to an anonymous animal, but Lisa, the mother.

#### **6.4.2 Nasty, Brutish and Short**

Much of the advantage in presenting narratives to the reader came in the presentation of information that allowed the reader to reflect emotionally and morally on the actions being described. The following extracts are taken from two

texts and constitute a series of photographic captions. Although attached to photographs, the captions were largely self-sustaining and did not specifically reference the photographs shown.

In this instance the researcher's identity is presented. More importantly however, these tests are presented as narratives, derived from first hand experience that seeks to show the true nature of the animal research process. By presenting the opinions as a first-person eye-witness testimony, the reader is encouraged to take the information presented at face-value.

Extract 6.18

*"I'm **trying to think** of something remarkable I could write about them. But, **there is nothing** too remarkable about being locked in a 2-foot cage for 1 full year – getting **lonelier** and **crazier** and **sicker** as the days drag by..."*

*"Brian picked up his razor knife and grabbed a chunk of hair on her upper arm lifting the skin up. Then he began hacking at the arm. His razor was dull and he took several swipes before removing a chunk of flesh the size of a lemon. **I was so shocked I couldn't even ask what he was doing** – the primate was still very much alive!!"*

*"I felt **sorry for her** waking up with incisions in her back and inner thigh, sores and cuts on her front legs and a sore throat from improper intubation, connected to a foreign box by a loud metal tube attached to and wrapped around her body, dressed in a confining uncomfortable jacket with a large collar around her neck."*

In these examples, there is a sense of depression and helplessness coming through from the descriptions of laboratory workers. This is achieved through the use of Affective tokens (e.g. "sorry", "shocked") which evaluate the situations being discussed. In these instances the plight of the animals represented to the reader as

pitiful (e.g. “I felt sorry for her”, “there is nothing too remarkable”), and their treatment as brutal (e.g. “hacking at the arm”, “improper intubation”).

These evaluations position the reader to feel outrage, by representing the animals involved as being piteously neglected. Moreover their treatment (post-experimental) is presented as inadequate and insufficient (“improper intubation”, “uncomfortable jacket”, “loud metal tube”, dull razor). Thus, not only are the situations depicted unpleasant, but they describe needlessly cruel, careless treatment of the animals involved.

A similar example is presented in Extract 6.19; this extract considers the experience of an animal involved in a xenotransplantation experiment. Again the reader is presented with a horrific account of this animal’s experience from an eye-witness account.

#### Extract 6.19

*One of the **most unfortunate animals** had a piglet heart transplanted into his neck. It was a **particularly disturbing example**, I think, because for several days he was holding the heart. It was swollen. It was **seeping blood**, it was **seeping pus** as a result of the infections that often occur in the wound site. He suffered from **body tremors, vomiting, diarrhoea**. And the animal just sat there. I think **living hell** is really the only sort of real way you can get close to describing what it must be like to have been that animal in that situation.*

The negative evaluation of the animal’s experience (e.g. “living hell”) is continued, and again it is the post-experimental condition of the animal that is presented as unacceptable. This evaluation positions the reader to feel outrage and horror at the treatment of animals in research.

### 6.4.3 Encouraging Empathy

Extract 6.20 presents the reader with a series of commands, which ask them to “think”, “consider” or “imagine” what life would be like for a research animal. However, in these instances the texts are presupposing that animal experience is equitable to human experience. Accordingly, the reader is positioned to see the treatment of research animals as undesirable and untenable.

#### Extract 6.20

***Imagine** living locked inside a closet without control over any aspect of your life. **You** can't choose when and what **you** eat, how **you** will spend your time, whether or not **you** will have a partner and children, and if **you** do, who that partner will be. **You** can't even decide when the lights go on and off. **Think** about spending your entire life like this, even though you have committed no crime. This is life in a laboratory for animals. It is deprivation, isolation, and misery.*

*Now **consider** all the specialized needs of the species imprisoned for experimentation. Chimpanzees, in their natural homes, are never separated from their families and troops. They spend hours together every day, grooming each other and making soft nests for sleeping each night. **They are** loving and protective parents, and baby chimps will live close to their mothers for many years. But in a laboratory, chimpanzees are caged alone. **There are** no families, no companions, no grooming, no nests. **There are** only cold, hard steel bars and loneliness that goes on for so many years that most chimpanzees sink into depression, eventually losing their minds.*

In these examples, much of the work is done through the description of the research process. In Extract 6.19 the descriptive language not only negatively evaluates the conditions that laboratory animals are kept in (e.g. “imprisoned”, “caged alone”), but positions the reader to map their own thoughts about this

description onto laboratory animals. In this way, the reader's outrage is evoked at the situations being described. Moreover, the extract presupposes that the needs of chimpanzees cannot be adequately met in the environment (e.g. "...all the specialised needs").

Similarly in asking the reader to empathise with the animals being described (e.g. "imagine", "consider", "you"), the experience of the chimpanzees is presented as equitable to the experience of humans. Thus, the reader is positioned to see animal research as not just physically cruel, but emotionally and developmentally cruel (e.g. "alone", "loneliness", "there are no...").

#### 6.4.4 The Use of Personal Pronouns

The following extract comes from a text about the Hormone Replacement Therapy drug Premarin. It considers a number of different aspects of the drug, including its derivation from pregnant horses' urine, its overall instability (i.e. the fluctuation in estradiol yield across batches), the long term health risks attached to the use of the drug and the cruel treatment of the horses that are used in the production of Premarin. The treatment of the horses (referred to as PMU mares) was highlighted by using personal pronouns to describe the experience of one horse. Extract 6.19 includes the shift from the discussion of horses generally (e.g. ambulatory animals, dead and dying) to the specific discussion of one animal.

Extract 6.20

*Their last stop is the slaughterhouse. **Ambulatory animals** dismount first. The **dead and dying** are hauled out from the trailer in chains. The killing room sputters*



*impending death with a **squash of dazed and moaning horses** in full view of newcomers. A **frantic PMU mare** is prodded from **her** narrow chute through the knock box door. Staggering over blood, urine and manure **she** struggles to balance as workers fire a metal shunt into **her brain**. **She** may need two or three shots from the captive bolt gun before **she** passes out.*

*Next, **she** is cast onto a conveyor belt, bound by a hind leg, and suspended upside down in the air. **She** remains alive, sometimes regaining consciousness, as **her throat** is slit. To render meat suitable for human ingestion, **the horse's** pulsating heart must pump the blood from **her body**.*

The move from the general to the abstract is signalled by the identification of “a” single animal and is carried along by reference to the personal pronouns “she” and “her”. This individualising process in the grammar is important in presenting to the reader the nature of horse slaughter. Rhetorically this is effective as it shifts the discussion from a ‘fact’ (e.g. “Roughly 70 000 PMU castoffs wind up at auctions where most are sold to feedlots to fatten them for the overseas horsemeat trade”), to the lived experience of a single animal. In this instance the horse is made human by ascribing gender, referencing her movements (“staggering” and “struggling”), and attempting to depict some sort of emotional state (“dazed and moaning” and “frantic”). This effectively makes the events ‘real’ by presenting the information as a series of events experienced by *one* animal, rather than as the end result for 70 000 animals.

In addition, the graphic description of the slaughter process (e.g. “pulsating heart”, “regaining consciousness”, “staggering over blood, urine and manure”), positioned the reader to feel repulsion and outrage at the plight of the horses. Indeed the use of graphic language was a crucial part of positioning the reader to feel moral

outrage at the treatment of animals in research. Extract 6.20 presents a particularly poignant example of this.

#### Extract 6.21

*Since 1997, journalists, animal advocacy groups and former HLS employees have contributed to 5 undercover investigations. In one videotaped poisoning experiment, a technician punches a beagle puppy and flings him against a wall. Other footage depicts a necropsy in which a worker slices open the chest of a convulsing, obviously alive monkey. At the New Jersey lab, snickering technicians are observed squirting ECG lubricant down the throat of a chained monkey.*

*In September 2000, HLS techs perform a series of bungled cross-species organ transplants. Hundreds of monkeys with genetically engineered pig hearts crudely stitched to their necks suffer seizures vomiting and diarrhoea. Left in barren cages, their unattended wounds ooze blood and pus. After death from massive organ rejection and hemorrhage, HLS documents falsely call the study a success and claim the monkeys are fine.*

In this instance the treatment of the animals is described in a manner that seems likely to elicit repulsion and provoke outrage in the reader. The experimental process is negatively depicted (e.g. “crudely stitched”) and the status of the monkeys as dire (e.g. “wounds ooze blood and pus”, “convulsing, obviously alive monkey”). Moreover the “technicians” and “workers” are represented as being excessively cruel; torturing animals purely for the sake of it, or for their own amusement (e.g. “snickering technicians are observed squirting ECG lubricant down the throat of chained monkeys”). Again the reader is positioned to feel outrage at the careless treatment being given to the animals.

## 6.5 Summary: A Basis for Emotion-Based Mobilisation

In framing the issue of animal research, the anti-vivisection movement sought to position the reader to consider the use of animals in research as unscientific, dangerous and inherently cruel. Moreover, the reader was positioned to see support for animal research as resulting from commercial interests. In seeking to mobilise the reader much work went into critiquing the legitimacy of animal research, equating it with bad science, and suggesting that animals provide inaccurate (even dangerous) information about human disease. Much of this framing was achieved through the use of presupposition, in which the information was presented as a 'given'.

Whilst much of the framing allowed the animal rights groups to present their opinions about animal research as uncontentious statements, they did not seem to actively position the reader to feel outrage at animal research. Instead, much of the emotional positioning of the reader was achieved through the use of narrative structures.

Narrative structure allowed the reader to understand the experience of being a research animal from a very personal perspectives. The texts presented the reader with profiles about the animal, their history and a graphic retelling of their experiences. Indeed, the retelling of the animals' experiences seemed to be a crucial part of positioning the reader to feel outrage, particularly as it presented very vivid and poignant descriptions of the experimental procedures being endured. Yet, the graphic language choices made in presenting this information did not result in a negative appraisal of the situations described, but rather provided an arguably distressing account of the circumstances.

## **7.1 Examination of Pro-Research Rhetoric**

This chapter provides an analysis of the pro-research campaign material. The purpose of these texts is to highlight the necessity of animal experiments and to promote the ongoing use of animals in biomedical research. The vivisection movement has arisen due to increased pressure and criticism about the use of animals in research. Indeed the majority of pro-animal research campaigning has only commenced since the animal rights movement began to force changes in the research system (e.g. ethics committees, laboratory inspections, closure of laboratories). Among some research organisations, these changes have been regarded as impediments to science, and the result of ignorant masses interfering where they have no right (and understanding of what is really happening). Although this seemingly superficial gloss is arguably not reflective of attitudes generally, it is the position that was presented in much of the vivisection mobilisation material.

The pro-research movement is perhaps best understood as a counter movement. In keeping with Whittier (2004), it is posited that the pro-research movement has resulted from the success of the anti-vivisectionists and the animal rights movement more generally. Thus, the pro-research movement seeks to conserve or maintain the current status quo regarding the use of animals in research. In this instance, this primarily means reducing the impact of animal rights groups on policy decisions (i.e. funding, animal welfare protocols). For example, the euthanasia of monkeys has become increasingly taboo, and following the U.S. CHIMP Act

(2000), non-human primates are expected to be retired to sanctuaries following their release from laboratories.

Indeed, pro-research groups simultaneously support and reject the move toward increased consideration of animals (c.f. Singer, 1995). For example, despite voicing adherence to the three R's of research (reduce, refine, replace), pro-research groups actively assert that the eventual elimination of animals in biomedical research is impossible:

*Adjuncts to animal research, frequently termed "alternatives," can complement research using whole animals but cannot replace the need for whole animals in biomedical research on complex, normal, and disease-related processes.* PIN – Primates in Biomedical Research: The Need to Use Primates in Research.

*Adjunct testing methods are used in nearly all phases of biomedical research. However, they can not give us definitive assessments as to how substances will interact in complex organisms. Compounds must be tested on living systems – made up of interrelated organs and organ systems before they can be tried in human beings.* AMP – Animal Research: Frequently Asked Questions.

*It is a common misconception that "alternatives" implies the complete elimination of animals for research and testing purposes.* NIEHS – NIEHS and the Use of Alternative Methods in Toxicological Research and Testing.

In light of this, the pro-research movement endeavours to: advocate the essential need for animal research; emphasise the high degree of care and humanity associated with the research process; and highlight the professionalism of all staff involved. In particular, the parsimonious use of animals in medical research is repeatedly espoused. However, it is important to remember that the pro-research

movement is campaigning because the animal rights movement has made it necessary to do so. To this end, texts have been produced primarily for the purpose of discrediting the animal rights movement. This means that the pro-research texts are frequently addressing statements (supposedly) made by animal rights groups. In addition, these texts also seek to generate public support for the continuing use of animals in research. However, unlike the anti-vivisection material, the pro-research material seemed to assume a greater knowledge of the issues, apparently targeting readers who were already familiar with the issues presented by the animal rights movement.

This study endeavoured to elaborate on how these texts positioned the reader. Findings from this analysis suggest that by obscuring the exact nature of the research process, and minimising the amount of animal research done, the reader is positioned to see animal research as harmless and inconsequential; thereby resolving any concerns that the animal rights movement may have raised. The analysis also suggests that the reader is positioned to feel morally obligated to support animal research by representing animal research as essential for the prevention of human death and suffering. To this end, the pro-research movement employed strategies that also involved emotional appeals, but rather than the moral shock strategies favoured by animal rights activists, the vivisection movement tended to rely more on fear and guilt appeals.

## 7.2 Description of Data

Texts were collected from a number of different websites that were actively promoting the use of animals in research. As explained in chapter three, data was collected from websites that focused on mobilising readers as opposed to sites that blatantly denounced the animal rights movement. As a result, information was primarily collected from two main sources: research institutes and professional organisations that were engaged in animal research; and private organisations that were publicly promoting the use of animals in research.

In this instance 107 texts were collected from 11 different organisations based in the United States, United Kingdom and Australia. These included: Americans for Medical Progress (AMP), the Research Defence Society (RDS), Foundation for Biomedical Research, and the Primate Information Network (PIN). A full list of pro-research websites is presented in Appendix one.

In this instance, analysis primarily emphasised the way in which animals were conceived of within research and how research was depicted in itself. As such the primary focus was on who was being identified in the text as the relevant interest groups (i.e. grammatical structure of the groups as determined from a transitivity analysis). The actions of these groups were considered in terms of what they were doing (i.e. material processes) and what they were considered to be (i.e. relational processes).

An Appraisal analysis was also conducted in order to consider the types of descriptives being used and their role within the text. In this instance, this was

particularly useful in unpacking how the scientific and statistical framing of the issues were being used to position the reader.

### **7.3 Framing Animal Research**

Unlike the animal rights movement which framed biomedical research as inherently cruel and unethical; the pro-research movement constructed the issue as increasingly expansive, including all possible forms of animal research. Moreover, they argued that animal research was the only means of achieving medical advancement and presupposed that the only alternative to animal research was human vivisection.

The initial analysis examined how the pro-research movement framed animal research in order to determine the kinds of meanings that were being presented to the reader. The findings suggest that the texts aimed to minimise any concerns held regarding the use of animals in research. To this end, the pro-research movement worked to downplay the role of animals, the number of animals, and the kinds of animals involved in research.

#### **7.3.1 Medical Research as Ethology**

Although the pro-research movement was responding to claims made by animal rights groups concerning the treatment of laboratory animals, there was little clear definition of what constituted animal research. Indeed, compared to the specificity associated with anti-vivisection texts (e.g. narrative structures), the field of animal research was presented as expansive. This expansive presentation of animal



research positioned the reader to see animal rights as unproblematic, by suggesting that more naturalistic research programmes were representative of all forms of animal research.

One of the key means through which the exact role of animals in research was obscured, involved the inclusion of ethology into discussions of biomedical research. Indeed, given the animal rights movement is specifically targeting biomedical research and not ethology (which is usually passive, field-observation based research); it is an interesting parallel that is established between the two fields of research. Moreover, the research findings that have stemmed from ethology have occasionally been used by animal rights activists to criticise the use of animals in biomedical research and as a justification for the increased emotional/cognitive/social abilities of other animals (see [www.greatapeproject.org](http://www.greatapeproject.org) and [www.janegoodall.org](http://www.janegoodall.org)). For example, Extract 7.1 presents a listing of all the different “kinds” of primate research, a listing that works to locate ethological and biomedical research into the same category.

#### Extract 7.1

*As you can see, there are many kinds of 'primate research', including **field observations** of undisturbed wild primates, **behavioural observations** of animals in captive colonies, experimental, behavioural and physiological research, biomedical research, and more.*

This example, defines the kinds of animal research programmes that counted among the category “primate research”. This extract presents animal research as multi-faceted implying that there are many different types of research that animal

rights groups consider problematic. This allows the pro-research groups to consider animal research from the perspective of 'research' rather than animal research from the perspective of biomedical and toxicological research. This is a strategic classification which allows pro-research groups to discuss areas of research that are essentially irrelevant to the debate.

Similarly, Extract 7.2 describes the ethical obligations associated with conducting research on animals in the wild.

Extract 7.2

*The same principles apply to research on wild nonhuman primates in their natural habitat. The precise regulations governing research on wild primates vary from country to country, and it is the responsibility of the researcher to make sure all application procedures have been followed. Generally, such applications include a detailed description of the research, its possible consequences for the subjects, and likely benefits for the country involved. Through such **fieldwork**, primatologists help to **educate** people around the world about biology, **wildlife conservation**, and the importance of **natural resources**.*

This example indicates that the same systems and ethical restrictions apply to field researchers as laboratory researchers. This representation of animal research positions the reader to associate the two kinds of programmes. Thus, the reader is positioned to see the elaborated discussion of field research as indicative of the experiences of laboratory animals.

This framing permits the pro-research groups to discuss 'research' rather than 'the use of animals in biomedical research'. This framing positions the reader to see animal rights groups as against research more generally rather than particular uses

of animals. This representation allows the pro-research groups to represent animal research as archaic.

### 7.3.2 Human and Animals

In a manner similar to the anti-vivisection movement, the pro-research groups endeavoured to present an ideal response to animal research. In these instances, the 'normal' or 'appropriate' ethical attitudes to hold were espoused to the reader. For example, Extract 7.3 consists of a discussion of the various ethical concerns that arise for individuals considering the use of animals in research.

#### Extract 7.3

*There are, of course, philosophical and ethical issues to consider. On the most basic level, **most [of] us believe** that it is important for medical doctors to understand the healthy body and diseases as well as other health-related conditions that can diminish our quality of life (trauma, aging, birth defects are some examples).*

*In conducting research to further this understanding, the best model for research must be considered. **Should we use whole living animals** when acceptable alternatives exist? **Most people would say no.***

*And **most people would say** that it is unethical to use human beings as the initial experimental subjects for many types of basic research (especially those requiring invasive procedures), or for the initial "whole animal" tests of promising compounds whose direct effects and side effects can not be predicted with reasonable confidence from in vitro studies alone.*

*Even with the animal testing that takes place today, a recent survey reported in Time magazine (April 27, 2002) found that **79% of all those polled said** people were "gambling with their health" when they participated in clinical trials.*

Although considering the use of animals in research, these three paragraphs are actually addressing the ethics of using humans as biomedical research subjects. In doing this they presuppose that the only alternative to animal vivisection is human vivisection. This is an important presupposition as it reinforces the pro-research claim that 'whole-body' models are a necessary part of medical research.

This representation of the role played by the general population (e.g. "most people would say") minimises the degree to which they can be seen as advocating an extreme or unreasonable position. By presenting these opinions as normative the pro-research movement presupposes what kinds of attitudes should be adopted. Accordingly, the reader is positioned to see support for animal rights as 'radical' and perhaps 'immoral'.

Ideologically however, the reader is positioned to see research on humans as unethical whilst simultaneously being asked to justify animal research due to the similarity between humans and animals.

#### Extract 7.4

*For the most part, nonhuman primates are research subjects because **they are so similar to humans**, and the principal reason for this similarity is simple: **humans \*are\* primates**. Current ideas are that the first primates appeared more than 60 million years ago. In contrast, the common ancestor of humans and African apes lived only about 5-8 million years ago; so, for more than 50 million years, humans and the African apes have **shared primate ancestry**. **Shared ancestry** is a major reason why human and nonhuman primates have many characteristics in common -- **tool use, long-lasting social relationships, and complex communication systems**. By learning about nonhuman primates we may come to learn more about ourselves. For example, humans walk upright, on two limbs -- we are bipedal. Why might humans have evolved to be bipedal, when the vast majority of nonhuman primates are quadrupedal? Individuals of certain nonhuman primate species, however, are*

*bipedal for some activities. By studying those species of nonhuman primates that are occasionally bipedal, and discovering the circumstances in which they display bipedality, we may gain some understanding of the factors that promoted the **evolution** of bipedality in humans.*

This extract presents a justification of the use of primates in research by arguing that primates provide an exemplary model of humans because “humans are primates”. This justification for the use of primates is again mapped onto considerations of more ethological research questions. This positions the reader to see the use of animals as a natural means of learning more about humans.

Indeed, beyond the physical similarities, the pro-research movement also suggests that human and non-human primates share psycho-social characteristics.

#### Extract 7.5

*Of course, nonhuman primates are also studied because they are fascinating animals. They live in a wide range of habitats, and show many interesting differences in behaviour and life styles. For example, in some species like squirrel monkeys, many adult males and many adult females live together the year round in a troop that also contains infants and juvenile animals. In other species, like titi monkeys that live in the same area as squirrel monkeys, a single adult male and a single adult female live together with their offspring. What might account for the differences between these two types of **social systems**? Are there differences in **psychological characteristics** between squirrel and titi monkeys that might be related to their different **social systems**? Male titi monkeys appear to exhibit behaviour that looks very much like jealousy, but male squirrel monkeys do not. Why is that?*

At one level this identification of similarity between human and non-human primates (at all levels) is consistent with the position espoused by the animal rights movement. However whilst the animal rights movement cite these claims as

evidence for why humans *should not* use animals in biomedical research, the pro-research movement use these claims to argue *for* the use of animals in observational design field studies.

### 7.3.3 Animals in Research

This is not to suggest that the issue of biomedical research was completely avoided. However, the role that animals played in biomedical research was invariably downplayed. Primarily the use of animals in research was considered in terms of the number of animals involved. Although even in these instances texts continually referenced ethology.

Extract 7.6 is written in response to the (hypothetical) animal rights claim that “most research animals are cats, dogs, or monkeys”. In refuting this statement the text presents a number of statistics to the reader.

Extract 7.6

*More than 80 out of every 100 animals used in research are mice, rats and other rodents. Less than one in every 200 research animals is a cat or a dog.*

*Dogs, because of the size and similarity of their organs, are important for the development of new surgical techniques and for the study of the heart, lungs and blood vessels. Cats are important in the study of hearing and brain function. The use of both cats and dogs is subject to particular controls which require that they are specially bred for research. Stray cats and dogs or lost pets are not used for research in Britain.*

*Some people believe that monkeys and apes (primates) are used in great numbers but they represent less than one in every 600 research animals. Primates are needed for research into very serious conditions such as AIDS and Alzheimer’s disease (senile dementia).*

In accounting for the number of animals used in research there is considerable variability as to how information can be presented. Numbers may be represented in an absolute sense or they may be represented as a proportion of some total. Understanding the meanings behind statistics in language can be problematic as different 'bases' can be used, resulting in greater or lesser numerical proportions (see Hoff, 1953).

In considering the number of animals used in research, Extract 7.6 presents three different base numbers for comparison against. In this instance there is no absolute number being presented, only a proportion of the total. Presenting information in this way works to diminish the overall sense of the number of animals used. That is, it is impossible to estimate how many "lots of" 600 are being used. In addition, the use of the terms "more than", and "less than", ensures that the numbers are only seen as estimates. For example, one in six hundred seems like very few monkeys, less than one in six hundred reduces this number further.

Moreover, there is similar ambiguity attached to how the base number is defined. That is, depending on the text, what actually counts as a 'research animal' varies dramatically. In most instances fish, reptiles and other exothermic animals are not included in the "research animals" count. Similarly, mice and rodents are occasionally excluded.

Indeed, Extract 7.7 presents the number of animals used in research in terms of different types of species.

#### Extract 7.7

*According to the Fiscal Year 1995 Animal Welfare Enforcement report, 1,395,463 warm-blooded animals were used in research, testing, teaching, or experimentation. This figure does not cover laboratory rats and mice, and farm animals used exclusively in agricultural research. Of these, 50,206 primates (3.6% of the total) were used. Two points should be made. First, the vast majority of animals used in research are laboratory rats and mice. A study by the Congressional Office of Technology Assessment in the mid-1980's indicated a total of 14 to 20 million animals used per year. The difference between the 1.3 million and the 14-20 million numbers mostly reflects rats and mice (and birds). Second, individual animals are 'used' more than once, in most cases. That is, many, if not most, of the 50,206 primates studied in 1995 were probably also studied in 1994, and again in 1996. These numbers refer just to captive animals; unfortunately, there is no estimate available for the number studied in their natural habitat.*

In this example the reader is presented with figures indicating the number of animals used in research. It describes the types of animals that are included in the count. In failing to define the group against which these figures are being presented it is difficult to determine how reflective they are of any real situation. Thus it becomes possible to minimise the number of animals being used and define what 'counts' as an animal. This positions the reader to see the use of animals in research as exaggerated, downplaying any concerns that the number of animals used was excessive or unwarranted. Moreover, the reader is positioned to exclude various types of research from consideration (e.g. agricultural research) and include other areas (e.g. ethology). Thus, research is presented as a constant entity, despite the fact that the nature of the experiments and the research questions would differ remarkably. Thus, rather than addressing the experiments and actual procedures



conducted, the extract focuses on the number of animals involved, irrespective of what that involvement constitutes.

Indeed in accounting for the actual role of the animals in the research process, the pro-research movement presented a number of highly technical nominalisations to the reader. Extract 7.8 provides an example of this.

#### Extract 7.8

*Human and nonhuman primates also share **physiological characteristics**. For example, the way in which the brains of rhesus monkeys and humans are organized is similar. One brain area that has been studied extensively is the visual system. **Neuroanatomical studies** of the nonhuman primate brain have been extremely useful in helping us to understand how the human brain functions and how we see. In this way, nonhuman primates serve as **models of particular processes** that would be extremely difficult or impossible to study in humans. Study of nonhuman primates has also contributed to our **understanding of basic biological phenomena** such as **reproduction**; to better **understanding** of diseases such as AIDS; and to **the development** of drugs, **treatments**, and vaccines for **the promotion** of better health for human and nonhuman primate alike. In fact, research conducted with nonhuman primates has contributed to Nobel-prize-winning **research: development** of yellow fever vaccine (1951); **culturing** of poliovirus that ultimately led to a **polio vaccine** (1954); and the significant **discoveries in visual processing** in the brain (1981).*

This extract explores the actual nature of animal research; however, it does not present an experiential account of what is being *done* to the animals. Instead it uses abstract formulations to describe the procedures being enacted. For example, terms like “neuroanatomical studies” and “models of particular processes” do little to elaborate the nature of these studies or the animals’ actual role in them. It is

interesting that the concern is not to obscure the fact that animals are used, rather to avoid any direct elaboration of the nature of animal use.

In addition, the human benefits associated with animal research were downplayed. Instead, animal research was presented as a means to achieving advancements in veterinary care.

#### Extract 7.9

*Do animals benefit from animal research? Yes, in many ways. Medical discoveries from animal research have been critical to **advances in veterinary care**. Thanks to animal research, **animals have access** to vaccines that prevent rabies, lyme disease and other diseases; antibiotics; chemotherapy; pain relievers; anaesthetics and much more. Vaccines have **prevented much pain and discomfort for beloved family pets**, extending their lives and relieving their suffering.*

This extract presents the advancements in veterinary care as having been the purpose behind animal research rather than a by-product in the development of human vaccines and inoculations. This representation positions the reader to see animal research as directly benefiting animals themselves, rather than as an end in obtaining 'human good'.

Furthermore, by suggesting that the beneficiaries of these veterinary advancements are "beloved family pets" the reader is positioned to distinguish between 'pets' and 'other animals'. Thus, the reader is presented with a distinction between exothermic animals that are not worthy of even being counted in research tallies and pets, whose use in research would be abhorrent. The separation between 'pets' and 'other animals' also extends to the issue of animal suffering with singular

acknowledgement that pets are capable of suffering (e.g. “vaccines have prevented much pain and discomfort for beloved family pets”).

#### 7.3.4 Animal Suffering

The issue of animal suffering was also addressed by pro-research groups; however, they primarily argued that the nature of animal suffering was falsely embellished by the animal rights movement. As when considering the numbers of animals used in research, statistical information was also used to minimise the suffering experienced by laboratory animals. This representation of the nature of animal research worked to reassure the reader that no harm was being done. Extract 7.10 concerns the nature of animal suffering in experiments. It comes from a text that is responding to the claim that “lab animals suffer great pain and distress”.

##### Extract 7.10

*In 1992, according to the U.S. Secretary of Agriculture, 94% of research is not painful to the animals involved. In the majority of cases (58%), animals are not exposed to or involved in any painful procedures.*

*In about 36% of cases, animals receive anaesthesia or pain-relieving drugs during procedures that could involve some pain or distress. In about 6% of research projects, anaesthetics or analgesics are not used because they would interfere with the results of the research or testing.*

*In fact, many of the procedures involving pain are designed to better understand how we can treat people and animals who suffer from severe pain.*

The discussion of animal pain is primarily focused on whether an experiment is pain-free (94%) or pain-full (6%). Pain-free experiments are then divided into two sub-categories: those that are truly pain-free (58%) and those which are pain-free due

to the use of anaesthetics and analgesics (36%). This presentation works to minimise the nature of pain in research. Moreover, despite initially posing the issue of “animal distress” (e.g. “lab animals suffer great pain and distress”); the text does not directly address this issue. Instead, pain or distress is presupposed to follow an experimental procedure (e.g. “...during procedures that could involve some pain or distress”). Thus, the reader is positioned to see animal suffering as short-term and directly related to an experimental procedure rather than related to being in a laboratory.

This presentation is enhanced by shifting between laboratory animals who suffer (e.g. “lab animals suffer great pain and distress”) and research that is painful (e.g. “94% of research is not painful to the animals involved”). This shift allows the number of experiments to replace the consideration of the number of animals. That is, the number of animals used in an experiment is not necessarily consistent with the number of experiments, but presumably a reflection of the research design being employed. For example, it is possible that while only “6% of research projects” are painful, these may be “projects” that contain multiple studies, with each study containing several trial conditions that require a large number of animal ‘participants’ in each condition. Thus, the number of animals exposed to pain, may be much larger than 6% of animals used in research, even though only 6% of research projects involve pain.

### **7.3.5 Evaluating Animal Rights Activists**

The pro-research groups also sought to negatively evaluate the animal rights groups, calling into question the information that they were presenting. Extract 7.11

concerns the development of penicillin and is taken from a text titled, “the truth about penicillin”.

#### Extract 7.11

*Some 50 years ago, doctors demonstrated the remarkably beneficial effect of penicillin, saving a patient seriously ill with septicaemia. Unfortunately, the history of the development of this drug is being **distorted** by the animal rights groups. They have continually **claimed** not only that animal experiments played no part in the development of penicillin, but also that reliance on animal research could have led to penicillin being discarded. **As usual**, they **attempt to justify** these **claims** using **questionable** statements (eg “penicillin is toxic to guinea pigs”) and being **highly selective** in picking passages from scientific papers.*

*Animal rights advocates **insist** that penicillin would never have been used in patients if doctors had known that it kills guinea pigs and hamsters. A review article published in 1966 is usually quoted as the source of this claim.*

***In fact**, the **alleged** sensitivity of hamsters to penicillin is an **illusion**. In 1956, experiments were carried out in which hamsters were given extremely high doses of penicillin, which did indeed kill them. The doses were equivalent to giving 70 million units to an adult patient (70-100 times the normal dose) and this hardly merits the statement that penicillin is “fatal even in tiny amounts”.*

The information presented by animal rights organisations is said to be “distorted” through the use of “questionable” statements that are “selectively” chosen. These evaluative terms position the reader to see the information coming from animal rights groups as unreliable and inaccurate. Moreover, animal rights groups are presented as active in disseminating false information (e.g. “distorted by the animal rights groups”, “highly selective in picking passages”). Thus, the reader is positioned to see animal rights groups as falsely representing the situation and therefore, not to be trusted.

In addition, animal rights groups were presented as lacking basic scientific knowledge. For example, Extract 7.12 consists of a discussion of the neurotransmitter, acetylcholine.

Extract 7.12

*It is of course well-established that the dilator effect of acetylcholine depends on the presence and proper functioning of the delicate layer of cells (the endothelium) that line the lumen of the vessel. Endothelial-dependent dilatation of the human coronary vessels induced by acetylcholine has been consistently observed both in vitro and in vivo since 1987.*

*The paper referred to by Sharpe investigated the effect of acetylcholine on coronary arteries taken from cadavers. It has been repeatedly shown that cadaver coronary arteries cannot be used for the study of endothelium-dependent relaxations, since endothelial cell function is lost soon after death. Current research uses measurement of coronary vessel diameter in vivo, or in vitro studies on vessels rapidly removed from the hearts of transplant recipients, and immediately immersed in physiological saline to prevent damage to the endothelium by exposure to air.*

*Present research in fact is directed at the pathological significance of the loss of the coronary dilator action of acetylcholine that occurs in heavy smokers, in diabetics, with the development of hypertension or in incipient atheroma formation (the last has also been shown to occur in rabbits).*

*Papers describing the coronary vasodilator effects of acetylcholine in humans have appeared in prestigious journals from 1987 until the present.*

Compared to the texts examined thus far, this extract constitutes a significant increase in technicality. Immediately visible is the strong reliance on nominalisations. Thus, not only are the animal rights activists presented as supplying information that is “misleading”, they are depicted as lacking basic scientific knowledge. However, in suggesting that information about acetylcholine is readily available (e.g. “appeared

in prestigious journals from 1987") the reader is positioned to see animal rights groups as lazy rather than unintelligent.

Indeed, despite the immensely specialised language, the information is presented to the reader as a series of statements that should be obvious (e.g. "It is of course well established"). This reinforces the evaluation that animal rights activists are lazy, suggesting that they cannot be bothered even to understand what they are endeavouring to criticise.

Yet for the lay reader, this text creates a sense of bewilderment as the complexity and depth of knowledge is almost 'shown-off' to the reader. Presenting the information in this lexically dense and highly nominalised fashion ensures an emphasis is placed on expertise, the very quality that the animal rights groups are depicted as lacking.

#### **7.4 Fear and Guilt Persuasion: Positioning the Reader Emotionally**

In considering how the reader was being positioned emotionally, it became apparent that the key strategies were fear and guilt. In particular the reader was positioned to feel that abolishing animal research would result in their own (or someone else's) untimely death. For example, Extract 7.13 considers the consequences of stopping animal research.

Extract 7.13

*Without Animal Testing:*

- *Polio would kill or cripple thousands of unvaccinated children and adults this year.*
- *Most of the nation's one million insulin-dependent diabetics would die.*

- *60 million Americans would risk death from heart attack, stroke or kidney failure from lack of medication to control their high blood pressure.*
- *Doctors would have no chemotherapy to save the 70% of children who now survive acute lymphocytic leukaemia*
- *More than one million Americans would lose vision in at least one eye this year because cataract surgery would be impossible.*
- *Hundreds of thousands of people disabled by strokes or by head or spinal cord injuries would not benefit from rehabilitation techniques.*
- *The more than 100 000 people with arthritis who each year receive hip replacements would walk only with great pain and difficulty or be confined to wheelchairs.*
- *7 500 newborns who contract jaundice each year would develop cerebral palsy, now preventable through phototherapy.*
- *There would be no kidney dialysis to extend the lives of thousands of patients with end-stage renal disease.*
- *Surgery of any type would be a painful, rare procedure without the development of modern anaesthesia allowing artificially induced unconsciousness or local or general insensitivity to pain.*
- *Instead of being eradicated, smallpox would continue unchecked and many others would join the two million people already killed by the disease.*
- *Millions of dogs, cats and other pets and farm animals would have died from anthrax, distemper, canine parvovirus, feline leukaemia, rabies and more than 200 other diseases now preventable thanks to animal research.*

Across the text there are a number of different messages being presented to the reader. The dominant one is that large numbers of people will die or suffer through loss of treatment (e.g. “60 million Americans would risk death from heart attack, stroke or kidney failure from lack of medication to control their high blood pressure”). The two other key messages are that the research process will be harder, and medical advancement impossible (e.g. “The development of all promising



techniques to restore function to those paralysed by spinal cord injuries would stop”), and that diseases will continue to ravage the population (e.g. “Polio would kill or cripple thousands of unvaccinated children and adults this year”).

This message works to emphasise the consequences associated with ceasing animal research by equating death with the abolition of animal research. In this way a reader sympathetic to animal rights is made to feel guilty about that decision as they are depicted as condoning the deaths, pain or suffering of sick/injured children and elderly people.

In addition, the reader is positioned to feel fear at the medical risks that would follow from the loss of animal research. This is primarily achieved through the obscuring of the temporal element (i.e. “would”). In this instance, the use of the finite “would” acts as both a modal operator (providing a degree of uncertainty about the prediction – i.e. polio *would* kill, not polio *might* kill or polio *has to* kill) and a temporal operator (locating the event in time – i.e. polio *would* kill; polio *did* kill; polio *is* killing). The finite “would” is mobilised throughout the text, its ability to obscure the temporality is aided by the absence of any direct indication about where in time the text should be located (i.e. the title of the text is “without animal research”). The only indication for a lay-reader that the text is retrospectively located is towards the end, where the clause “smallpox would continue unchecked and many others would join the two million people already killed by the disease” is prefaced with the Marked Theme “instead of being eradicated”.

That is, past events are presented as possible future events. For example, in the first clause, the loss of animal testing is represented as the first step toward a pandemic of poliomyelitis (i.e. “Polio **would** kill or cripple thousands of

unvaccinated children and adults this year"). This clause becomes confusing as it is highly unlikely that polio *would* do any such thing. The disease is on the brink of being eradicated and cases of polio are now limited to isolated areas in Africa and India (due mainly to a significant vaccination programme being undertaken by the United Nations). Indeed, animals are no longer used in the vaccination process, indeed even the batch testing is done *in vitro*.

This representation positions the reader to feel fear at stopping animal research. In confusing the temporal modal operators the reader is positioned to see this text as reflecting possible future outcomes rather than just a hypothetical projection had animals never been used in research.

#### **7.4.1 Evaluating Medical Research**

What is tacitly assumed in this text is that animal suffering should be embraced in order to protect ourselves from disease. Indeed the pro-research movement represented animal research as fundamental to medical research. Despite presenting an account of the medical advancements that animal research had made possible, the role of animals in this process was never fully articulated and instead the use of animals tended to be hidden behind suggestions that consideration for animals would lead to pain and suffering in humans. For example, Extract 7.14 presents another account of what would happen if animal research was discontinued.

Extract 7.14

*There would be no hope of finding a **safe and effective** vaccine for AIDS*

*The development of all promising techniques to restore function to those paralysed by spinal cord injuries would stop.*

*The development of urgently needed new drugs to treat cancer, including new anti-angiogenesis drugs that shrink tumours by cutting off their blood supply would be severely curtailed*

In this example it can be seen that medical artefacts are being positively appreciated (e.g. “safe and effective”, “promising”, “urgently needed”). However, these texts also presuppose that non-animal research methods would impact negatively on research. That is, it is presupposed to the reader that although a vaccine may be discovered without the use of animal research, such a vaccine would be dangerous; and that all promising techniques use animals and that drug development would stop. In this instance, the reader is positioned to see animal research as the only means through which medical advancements can be made.

Thus, not only is the use of animals in this process being ignored, but the possibility of alternatives is rejected. This positions the reader to see animal research as the only means to medical advancement.

## **7.5 Summary: Fear and Guilt Based Persuasion**

The pro-research groups framed animal research so that its impact on animals was presented as minimal. This reassured the reader that the use of animals in research was for the legitimate use of life-saving medical advances for humans. Indeed, the pro-research movement endeavoured to reassure rather than actively

promote a possible reflection of the movement's status as a counter movement (c.f. Whitter, 2004).

In essence the pro-research movement was operating at a totally different level to the animal rights movement. It seemed to evaluate animal rights less, and tended to avoid consideration of the plight of animals. This seemed to have considerable bearing on how the pro-research movement sought to mobilise support. The key strategy involved a reframing of the debate, in many respects the pro-research texts considered the issue at stake to be '*medical research*' rather than '*animals in research*'. That is, rather than addressing the concern for animals and their use in research the pro-research groups shifted the boundaries of the argument to include an ever expansive consideration of 'research', and in particular, research in medical science.

This manifested most frequently in simultaneously considering ethology and biomedical research. This dual consideration allowed for the issue to be re-positioned so that the role of animals was being legitimately considered. Thus, the boundaries of reference were shifted such that the ethical concerns as expressed by the animal rights groups could be effectively sidelined. In other instances, animal research was presented as being in direct opposition to human research (e.g. clinical trials, epidemiological studies). However, in many ways a much stronger claim was implied than a discrediting of epidemiological work; that is, the choice was animal research or human vivisection. This undermined the legitimacy of the 'alternatives' as advocated by the animal rights groups again implying that the issue was research, not animals in research. Put simply, the pro-research texts were suggesting that

animal research was the only way of assuring medical advancement and human health.

The direct consideration of the role of animals in research tended to amount to a series of assertions that “beloved family pets” were beneficiaries of the research process and that “pets” would never be used in research (because that’s just wrong!). Thus, while the consideration of animals was presupposed as unnecessary, it was simultaneously put forward that no “pets” were used. Indeed, it is noteworthy that the pro-research groups positioned the reader to distinguish between companion and non-companion animals, a seemingly arbitrary distinction, one that perhaps worked primarily to reassure pet owners.

In considering the nature of this movement problems arose as to its ability to assess the concerns that were being raised by anti-vivisection groups. Indeed, given the animal rights groups were considering the use of animals at a very experiential level (i.e. what is actually *happening* to animals in research?) it is significant that the pro-research groups were not responding at a similar level. This suggests that the pro-research groups were seeking to re-orient the issues of the debate rather than directly challenge information being presented with counter-information of their own.

To this end, the pro-research movement seemed to be relying on invoking fear and guilt to obtain support for animal research. These attempts primarily centred on equating animal research with the loss of human life, a representation that was reinforced through the photographic images presented by the pro-research groups. Indeed both movements presented the reader with a considerable amount of visual material that operated in conjunction with the textual material to provide an

overarching message. The visual images presented to the reader as part of the vivisection and animal rights movement is considered in the next chapter.

### **8.1 Imagery in Social Movements**

In examining the animal rights mobilisation texts, it became clear that the lexical aspects of a text were continuously being supplemented by visual images. These images were used in the texts as a means of extending, emphasising and supporting the existing linguistic content. The purpose of this final analysis was to explore the meanings that were being realised in the images of the vivisection and anti-vivisection movements. In particular, this study aimed to explore how visual images were being used to reinforce the emotional positioning of the reader.

Recently, researches have begun to place increasing emphasis on the role of imagery in social mobilisation. For example, Hopkins, Zeedyk and Raitt (2005) examined the use of fetal imagery during a UK pro-life debate. They suggest that the presence of images (particularly those depicting fetal remains) ensured an increased emphasis was placed on the emotions of the reader. Although not considering the images themselves, Hopkins et al. (2005) suggest that the presence of the images in the pro-life rhetoric facilitated emotion-related talk. Indeed, in drawing attention to the emotionality of the issue by increasing the incidence of emotion-based talk, it is reasonable to posit that the consideration of the issue from an emotional perspective may be encouraged. Indeed, Hopkins et al. (2005) argue that emotion-talk may be linked to moral rhetoric, as morality is itself a belief and value system based on thoughts and, importantly, feelings about an issue (Sparkes, 1994).

In another study, Chouliaraki (2004) considered the television images depicting the events of September 11, 2001. She argues that the images presented help to shape the meanings being created about an event or issue. In this instance, Chouliaraki (2004) suggests that knowledge about issues develops from an understanding of the images presented, the emotions these images evoke, and the information provided. Thus, consideration of visual imagery can be seen as an important aspect of any textual analysis as images are important in shaping and directing the overall meaning of a text (Kress & van Leeuwen, 2006). That is, images are rhetorically and ideologically significant, providing information about the agendas of the social institutions that supplied them. Therefore, visual analysis provides an additional means for accessing the ideologies a particular presentation is drawing upon or foregrounding.

## **8.2 Visual Analysis and Social Semiotics**

Unlike traditional semiology, which holds that there is an intrinsic relationship between the signifier (the form which the sign takes) and the signified (the concept it represents), visual analysis from a social semiotic perspective considers sign-making to be a process of representation. From this perspective, meanings are expressed through the mode that is most readily available and subjectively most plausible. Accordingly, sign-making is understood to be embedded in culture, as different items become more uniformly recognised across multiple populations.



This perspective assumes that communication requires participants to represent information so as to make their meanings understood to others. Thus, forms of expression that are deemed maximally transparent are used in preference. Much like grammatical choices, in which individuals have lexico-grammatical options available, the selection and presentation of images is also an active process in which individuals make choices. In the context of mobilisation, the choice of visual material needs to be understood in terms of how it shapes the message being presented and helps to position the reader. However, it is important to remember that dominant cultures and knowledge positions hold a powerful sway in the visual communication process. Typically, those individuals who maintain positions of power can 'force' others to expend more effort in understanding their 'signs' (e.g. children, foreign language learners, lower socio-economic groups).

Visual media is rhetorically significant as it both exemplifies and authenticates the message being presented. This is particularly relevant when considering the animal rights movement, which places a strong reliance on the presence of visual material to support the arguments and accusations that are being made in text. Indeed in their survey of movement participants, Jasper and Poulsen (1995) found that many individuals located their decision to join the animal rights movement with seeing some of the movement's images (particularly anti-vivisection images).

The theoretical background for much of this material comes from media theory, art history and systemic functional linguistics. Kress and van Leeuwen (2006) have transposed much of Halliday's work onto their method for analysing visual media. This mapping creates continuity between the linguistic theory of functional

grammar and the theory of visual analysis. Accordingly, it is argued that meaning is made (or created) in language, and in this instance, in the signs (images, symbols, photographs) that are chosen to represent a particular version of reality. This position assumes that every action has purpose and meaning. Thus, in considering visual images, a 'visual grammar' can be used to describe how images of people, places, events and things, may be combined into a meaningful compositional structure.

This 'visual grammar' provides a structured basis for understanding the meanings embedded within visual imagery. The grammar identifies a number of representative structures that provide a foundation for understanding the meanings and assumptions that are presented in visual material. In turn, these representative structures provide the means for conducting a systematic analysis of visual material.

According to Kress and van Leeuwen (2006), images depict 'represented participants' who convey various meanings by acting as the subject matter of a communicative interaction. A represented participant includes the people, places and events *represented* in an image (i.e. the object that is being pictured). Whilst theoretically the represented participant may consist of various abstract formations (including symbols and diagrams), the represented participants of the animal rights movement primarily consist of animals and humans.

Kress and van Leeuwen (2006) argue that the represented participants are engaged in a semiotic act that is typically enacted through vectors. A vector is formed when two objects are involved in a process of interaction. At one level this interactive relationship is recognised through the use of an 'arrow' (with the arrow constituting the vector). At a more abstract level, the interactive relationship may be

achieved through eye-gaze (with the path of the eye's gaze constituting the vector). The interaction between represented participants and vectors is an important element in conveying meaning, especially in images that express narrative structures.

Narrative structures are concerned with the visual structures that help to realise ways of representing the world (Kress & van Leeuwen, 2006). A narrative is conveyed when participants are connected by a vector, which represents the actions participants are *doing* to each other. Narrative representations present action as unfolding and provide the reader with a sense that the image viewed is a transitory one.

When no vector relationship is present, the image is described as a conceptual structure. Conceptual structures represent participants in terms of their more timeless meanings. That is, conceptual structures are primarily concerned with representing meaning through a classificatory structure that depicts qualities inherent in the participants (through the associations presented). Conceptual representations are also used as a means for identifying Attributes that are considered as belonging to an identified represented participant (who acts as a Carrier for that Attribute).

Under the rubric of conceptual structures, Kress and van Leeuwen (2006) have considered the role of symbolic processes in visual material. They suggest that represented participants may themselves hold the meaning or identity that needs to be contained (i.e. the Attribute). In this instance, the represented participant contains a symbolic meaning that is itself presented to the reader for the purpose of relating a specific message.

The crucial feature of narrative and conceptual structures is that whilst they convey a message to the reader, they primarily exist as a closed system providing the same information irrespective of the reader. This lack of reader engagement is in stark contrast to interactive structures, which seek to involve the reader in the meaning making process. Of particular relevance in this instance is the 'image act'. The image act occurs when an imaginary vector can be established between the eyes of the represented participant and those of the reader. Kress and van Leeuwen (2006) note that there is a fundamental difference between represented participants that 'look' directly at the reader and those that do not. In successfully establishing this imaginary vector, the reader is positioned to *respond* to the image and its represented participants.

Responding necessitates the need for the reader to enter into a relationship with the represented participant. The nature of this relationship depends primarily on the facial expression of the represented participant, and may result in the establishment of rapport, distain, desire, compliance or defence. The image act is an important element of the visual analysis as it is an interactive structure that helps foster a relationship between the reader and the image. This relationship is also influenced by frame size and the angle of the image.

Kress and van Leeuwen (2006) argue that a second level of interactive meaning can be realised through the chosen frame size. They suggest that frame size reflects social distance, with the kind of social relationship between people being indicative of the social distance they keep. In an image, the represented participants may be presented as though they were friends (through the use of a close to medium shot), or as though they were strangers (through a medium to long shot).

The interactive relationship between the represented participants and the reader may be further manipulated through the chosen camera angle. Kress and van Leeuwen (2006) posit that the angle relates to a 'point of view' and is a means through which subjective attitudes about represented participants may be expressed. For example, they suggest that the horizontal angle encodes the degree of 'involvement' between the reader and the represented participant. That is, the further away from the frontal angle, the less involvement demanded from the reader. In addition, the vertical angle may be used to encode statements about power: if a represented participant is seen from a high angle, then the power is located with the reader, similarly, if the represented participant is seen from a low angle, the power is located such that the represented participant has power over the reader. This effect is used widely in cinematography.

These factors work together, and to varying degrees, in order to present a particular message to the reader, with the combination of these structural features combining to shape the nature of the message. However, it should be noted that the strength of a message is heavily influenced by the medium through which the image is conveyed. For example, photographs have historically held a considerable degree of credibility in providing evidential information (Kress & van Leeuwen, 2006). The images of the animal rights movement were primarily photographic.

Kress and van Leeuwen (2006) argue that these features of an image combine to position a reader to evaluate the image in a particular way. That is, an image is structured in order to facilitate a particular understanding of what is being depicted. In this way, the term is used in a manner consistent with Davies and Harre (1990) who argue that readers are 'positioned' through discourse to assume particular

subjective roles and interpretations. They argue that language choices are made in order to facilitate particular social understandings and interactions. In this instance, the reader is being described as positioned by the presentation of the image to construe the events and participants depicted in a particular way. This is consistent with Halliday's (1978) understanding that individuals choose their language and grammar in order to emphasise particular understandings. Hence, images are argued to be constructed and presented over alternative possible versions in order to emphasise particular interpretations of reality. In this sense, images are seen as shaping a readers' understanding of reality by positioning them to adopt particular interpretations over others.

### **8.3 Description of Data**

For the purpose of this study a sample of images was selected from the two corpora for analysis and is considered to be representative of the kinds of images that are being used by the movements more generally (see chapter three). Table 8.1 provides a frequency count of the types of images that were used in both the vivisection and anti-vivisection materials.

A total of 263 images were included in this analysis (110 from the vivisection movement; 153 from the anti-vivisection movement). These images included non-lexical visual material and encompassed both photos and illustrations. For the purpose of this study; diagrams, Figures and additional webpage material, including headers and company/charity logos, were excluded from analysis. It should also be noted that some texts used more visual imagery than others.

In this instance, the images presented were catalogued according to the represented participants depicted (see Table 8.1). Each group (e.g. families, patients, research animals, companion animals) was analysed in accordance with the representative structures outlined by Kress and van Leeuwen (2006) (e.g. narrative, conceptual, and interactive structures). The following results constitute the findings gleaned from this analysis.

#### **8.4 Overview of Visual Imagery Used in the Corpora**

Table 8.1 provides a brief summary of the visual data. It shows the types of represented participants depicted in the visual material. In particular, it shows that the anti-vivisection movement presented more images of animals (N=144) than the vivisection movement (N=28), and that the vivisection movement used more images of humans (N=47) than the anti-vivisection movement (N=8).

The following analysis examines the photographic images that were used in the two movements. It explores the types of pictures that are presented by each movement and argues that these images help to reinforce the emotional positioning of the reader by engaging them in an imaginary relationship with the represented participants.

Table 8.1 Frequency Count of Visual Images Used in the Vivisection Texts

	Image Type	Frequency Vivisection	Frequency Anti-Vivisection
Humans	Adults	7	1
	Children	5	3
	Families	12	0
	“Patients”	8	0
	Researchers	15	4
<b>Subtotal</b>		<b>47</b>	<b>8</b>
Animals	Animals	18	13
	Research Animals	n/a	120
	Children and Animals	6	0
	Adults and Animals	0	3
	Researchers and Animals	4	8
<b>Subtotal</b>		<b>28</b>	<b>144</b>
Illustrations	Animal	6	0
	Human	3	0
	Other	3	2
<b>Subtotal</b>		<b>12</b>	<b>2</b>
Other	(e.g. science equipment, buildings)	23	7
<b>TOTAL</b>		<b>110</b>	<b>153</b>

## 8.5 Photographs of Humans

The vivisection texts typically presented the reader with images of people. These people could be categorised according to the social role they were fulfilling (e.g. family member, researcher, doctor, patient). The presentation of humans in the vivisection movement had the effect of emphasising the ‘human cost’ of abolishing animal research and reinforcing textual messages about the loss of life and increased suffering associated with stopping animal research. In contrast, the animal rights groups provided very few photographic images of people. Indeed the photographs that did contain people seemed to primarily consist of images of researchers employing non-animal methods.



### 8.5.1 Pictures of Families

The primary image used in the vivisection movement depicted humans and their relationships with others. This focus on interpersonal relationships is emphasised in images of families. The overall message was one that sought to equate medical research with healthy, happy families and seemed to imply that stopping vivisection would pose a direct threat to the families. Figure 8.1 is a typical photograph of this genre.



Figure 8.1: AMP5

Here it can be seen that the woman and child in the image are categorically marked as 'mother and daughter' through their similar appearance in terms of hair, eye colour and uniformity in clothing. Moreover, the photograph has captured an 'action sequence' in which the child is shown to have her arms around her mother's neck – indicating some 'piggy-back' game is being played. The facial expressions (smiles and joy) are inviting to the reader who is being asked to participate, or

perhaps, join in with their game playing. This effect is strongly achieved through the eye contact established between the two image participants and the reader.

The interactive nature of this image is further enhanced by the frontal angle of the shot, suggesting that the represented participants are people that the reader needs to become involved with. In addition, the image is presented as a close-up (a head and shoulders shot) that effectively reduces the interpersonal distance, placing the reader in close proximity and encouraging the represented participants to be perceived as 'friends'.

This image positively depicts the mother-child bond, evoking sentimental feelings about families and children. However, the real rhetorical effect of this image is achieved through its location on the page. This image is located directly underneath the page heading "What's at Stake" (see Figure 8.2).



The image shows a screenshot of the AMP (Americans for Medical Progress) website. At the top, there is a navigation bar with the AMP logo and the tagline "Protecting your investment in research". Below the navigation bar, there is a menu with links: "ABOUT AMP", "RESEARCH IS...", "THREATS TO RESEARCH", "ADVOCATE FOR RESEARCH", "SUPPORT AMP", and "REFERENCE CENTER". The main heading is "WHAT'S AT STAKE?". To the right of the heading is a "PRINT THIS PAGE" button. Below the heading is a photograph of a woman and a young child smiling. To the right of the photograph is text that reads: "Animal rights activists grossly misrepresent the treatment and living conditions of laboratory animals. They also deny that animal-based research is of any value to medical progress. By perpetuating a number of negative myths about the use of animals in medicine, animal rights leaders attempt to undermine public support for biomedical research. Animal rights extremists have already hampered - and in some cases completely halted - potentially life-saving work. Left unchecked, their campaigns of misinformation could have a crippling effect on the development of future treatments and cures. Already there have been too many instances of vital research being harmed due to the actions of animal rights extremists. The activists' campaigns of distortion, and in some cases harassment and violence, have affected important research related to HIV/AIDS, cancer, heart disease and other illnesses. It's critical that we all - especially those of us who are patients waiting for enhanced treatments and cures - understand and respect the humane, judicious and beneficial nature of animal-based research. The future well-being of ourselves and our loved ones depends on it."

Figure 8.2: Full page AMP5

The accompanying text goes on to discuss possible research and health benefits that have been lost or hampered due to the activities of animal rights “extremists” and does not directly reference the image. Indeed the question of ‘stake’ does not appear to be directly addressed in the text; however it does seem to be effectively answered by the image. This image, due to its location, and dominance over the accompanying text, encourages the reader to see loss of family as inherent in the decision to not test on animals. This reading is supported in the last sentence of the text which highlights this potential for loss.

#### Extract 8.1

*It is critical that we all – especially those of us who are patients waiting for enhanced treatments and cures – understand and respect the humane, judicious and beneficial nature of animal-based research. The future and well-being of ourselves and our loved ones depends on it.*

In another text, the reader was presented with a chronological listing of the medical developments that had been achieved as a result of animal research (see Figure 8.3). The majority of the images used in this text again depicted families and children; however in this example the photographs were dated in accordance with the chronological period being discussed. For example, the discussion of “pre 1900s” medical achievements was accompanied by a black and white photograph of a mother and daughter from the 1800s. In all, the text contained 9 photographs of which 7 showed images of families. Figure 8.3 shows two of the four pages that made up this text.

The screenshot shows the AMP Animal Research website with a navigation bar at the top. The main content area is titled "Animal Research" and features a "Medical Milestones" section. This section lists various medical breakthroughs, each with a small image and a brief description. The milestones include:

- Medical Milestones**: A general overview of research with animals.
- Pre 1900s**:
  - TREATMENT FOR RABIES**: A deadly disease marked by convulsions and death, afflicts wild and domestic animals; can be transmitted to humans. Species studied: dogs, rabbits. (Image: A person in a white coat, likely a doctor, examining a patient.)
  - TREATMENT FOR SMALLPOX**: One of the world's most dreaded plagues, estimated to have caused two million deaths. Species studied: cows. (Image: A black and white photograph of a mother and her young daughter.)
  - TREATMENT FOR ANTHRAX**: Disease marked by rise in body temperature, followed by depression, spasms, respiratory or cardiac distress, convulsions, and death. Devastating epidemics were recorded up until the twentieth century. Species studied: sheep. (Image: A black and white photograph of a sheep.)
  - 1900s**:
    - CARDIAC CATHETERIZATION TECHNIQUES**: A procedure which allows doctors to insert a flexible tube into an artery or vein to the heart, used for injecting drugs directly into the heart to measure blood flow and pressure, diagnose and treat congenital heart disease and narrowed passages. Species studied: dogs, rabbits. (Image: A black and white photograph of a person in a white coat, likely a doctor, performing a procedure.)
    - TREATMENT FOR RICKETS**: Vitamin D deficiency causes defective bone growth in infants and children. Species studied: dogs. (Image: A black and white photograph of a young child.)
  - 1920s**:
    - DISCOVERY OF INSULIN**: To control diabetes, a chronic disease of the pancreas marked by the inability to utilize carbohydrates, excess sugar in the blood and urine, excessive thirst, hunger and urination, weakness and emaciation, can cause blindness and death. Species studied: dogs. (Image: A black and white photograph of a dog.)
  - 1930s**:
    - DEVELOPMENT OF MODERN ANESTHESIA**: Allowing artificially induced unconsciousness or local or general insensitivity to pain. Species studied: dogs. (Image: A black and white photograph of a dog.)
- 1970s**:
  - PREVENTION OF RUBELLA**: An epidemic viral disease marked by low fever, rash, enlarged lymph glands; can cause severe fetal defects in pregnant women. Species studied: monkeys. (Image: A black and white photograph of a person in a white coat, likely a doctor, examining a patient.)
  - PREVENTION OF MEASLES**: An acute contagious viral disease, once common in childhood, marked by fever and skin eruptions. Can cause death. Species studied: monkeys. (Image: A black and white photograph of a person in a white coat, likely a doctor, examining a patient.)
  - TREATMENT FOR LEPROSY**: A chronic infectious disease marked by severe paralysis, ulceration, nutritional disturbances, gangrene and mutilation. Species studied: monkeys, armadillos. (Image: A black and white photograph of a person in a white coat, likely a doctor, examining a patient.)
  - ADVANCES IN CARDIOLOGY**: Including measurement of coronary blood flow, myocardial preservation techniques, and heart bypass techniques. Species studied: dogs. (Image: A black and white photograph of a person in a white coat, likely a doctor, examining a patient.)
- 1980s**:
  - DEVELOPMENT OF MONOCLONAL ANTIBODIES FOR TREATING DISEASES**: Marked a milestone in the use of antibodies as diagnostic or therapeutic tools to target specific disease cells. Species studied: mice and rabbits. (Image: A black and white photograph of a person in a white coat, likely a doctor, examining a patient.)
  - ORGAN TRANSPLANT ADVANCES**: Surgical and medical advances such as anti-rejection drugs to enable heart, liver, lung and other transplants to succeed. Species studied: dogs, sheep, cows and pigs. (Image: A black and white photograph of a person in a white coat, likely a doctor, examining a patient.)
  - LAPROSCOPIC SURGICAL TECHNIQUES**: Minimally invasive surgery vastly reduces the hospital stay of patients, for example, gall bladder patients now go home the same day, rather than facing hospitalization of a week or more. Patients can now return to work in 2-7 days instead of 4-6 weeks. Species studied: pigs. (Image: A black and white photograph of a person in a white coat, likely a doctor, examining a patient.)
- 1990s**:
  - BREAST CANCER LINKS**: Scientists are closing in on the genetic and environmental factors of breast cancer, the leading cause of death of American women ages 35 - 54. Species studied: fruitflies, mice and rats. (Image: A black and white photograph of a person in a white coat, likely a doctor, examining a patient.)
  - GENE THERAPY FOR CYSTIC FIBROSIS**: Clinical trials are underway in the first step towards curing a disease that threatens the lives of 30,000 children and young adults in the U.S. If successful, the research could lead to a similar approach for genetic diseases such as Duchenne's muscular dystrophy and sickle cell anemia. Species studied: mice and primates. (Image: A black and white photograph of a person in a white coat, likely a doctor, examining a patient.)

Figure 8.3 old AMP12

Like Figure 8.2, it is difficult to clearly establish the link between the text and the images presented. The text consists of a listing of discoveries, what those discoveries prevented (i.e. disease symptoms) and what species was studied in the process. Extract 8.2 is taken from the time “pre-1900s” and, as noted above, is accompanied by the black and white picture of a mother and daughter (see Figure 8.3).

Extract 8.2

*Treatment for Rabies*

*Deadly disease marked by convulsions and death; afflicts wild and domestic animals; can be transmitted to humans. Species studied: dogs, rabbits.*

*Treatment for Smallpox*

*One of the world’s most dreaded plagues, estimated to have caused two million deaths. Species studied: cows*

*Treatment for Anthrax*

*Disease marked by rise in body temperature, followed by depression, spasms, respiratory or cardiac distress, convulsion, and death. Devastating epidemics were recorded up until the twentieth century. Species studied: sheep.*

The relationship between the text and the two individuals represented in the image is unclear. However, the tendency is to view this mother and daughter as either being exemplars of the diseases that are catalogued along side (i.e. they suffered from anthrax, smallpox or rabies) or as representatives of people at the time who succumbed to these diseases. The remainder of the text proceeds in a similar fashion with each image accompanying a catalogue of diseases presented in an identical fashion to those shown in Extract 8.2.

Figures 8.4 and 8.5 also come from this text (see Figure 8.3), they accompany the examination of 1970s (Figure 8.4) and 1980s (Figure 8.5) medical developments. In considering these images, the reader is again presented with a strong sense of family integration and harmony. Much of this effect is achieved through the use of directional vectors which emphasise the attachment between the two represented participants.



Figure 8.4: old AMP12

For example, Figure 8.4 shows the vectors (in this case: 'arms') of both the father and the child directed towards each other. Again, as in Figure 8.1, there is a sense of action and playfulness as the child is lifted in the air. However, unlike Figure 8.1 the reader is not being asked to share this experience. The participants in the photograph are not orienting to the reader and as such the reader is only 'allowed' to view a 'special' moment between a father and son, one that is private and involves only the two represented participants. Yet, despite this distance, the image is familiar and highly recognisable as a typical moment of bonding between a father and son.

This image is accompanied by a consideration of measles, leprosy and cardiology. Again the link between the image and text is unclear, and in seeking to locate the relevance of the image, the reader is positioned to see the individuals depicted as having benefited from the treatments described. In this instance the reader is being positioned to see animal research as the only means of achieving medical advancement and the individual pictured as 'real life' examples of people who have been 'cured' or 'saved' from horrible deaths. Moreover, the reader is positioned to see animal research as the only means of 'preserving' the special family bond.



Figure 8.5: old AMP12

A similar effect is achieved with Figure 8.5 in which two children are presented to the reader. This photograph also relies on vectors (the child on the left has his arms embracing the other boy) which again indicate an attachment between the two children (are they friends, brothers?). Both boys in the image are orienting to the reader, making eye contact and smiling. Thus the reader is positioned to feel a connection to the two boys and relate to the sense of camaraderie they seem to be sharing. Figure 8.5 also places strong interpersonal demands on the reader, demands that are reinforced through use of a close-up shot and frontal angle, camera effects that position the reader to feel a strong connection with the represented participants.

This image is similarly accompanied by a consideration of antibiotics and organ transplantation. Like Figure 8.4, there is no clear relationship between the text and the image, forcing the reader to speculate that the boys have benefited from these advances and presumably would not be alive without them.

The important point about these images is that the reader is asked to become emotionally involved with the represented participants by either identifying or



sympathising with the relationships depicted. The reader is being continually asked to participate in these familial exchanges. Moreover, these images are presented in the context of a lexical discussion that describes the advances that have been made due to medical research. Although not always as explicit as Figure 8.1, these images force the reader to consider families at the same time as they are considering animal research. This confounds the argument about the use of animals in research by weaving in a strongly emotional message; one that implies death of family members and crippling illness.

### 8.5.2 Pictures of Researchers

In addition to images of families, images of researchers made up an important element in the photographic images presented by the vivisection movement. Figures 8.6, 8.7 and 8.8 are taken from the National Primate Research Centres booklet “Linking Research to Healthy Living” and are a typical of photographs in this genre.



Figure 8.6: NPRC1





Figure 8.7: NPRC1



Figure 8.8: NPRC1

The most obvious feature about these photographs is that the participants presented in the images are all turned away from the reader. Secondly, the represented participants are all engaging in research activities. There is a clear use of vectors in each photograph that enables the depiction of active research (e.g. in Figure 8.6 a vector is established between the pipet and the test-tubes; in Figure 8.7 a vector exists between the researcher's left arm and the computer; and in Figure 8.8

there is a vector extending from the video camera lens to the animals in the background).

These photographs are presented without context and no additional information is given about the actions represented in the photographs. In showing these photographs the reader is given a window into the lives of the researchers and their activities. Whilst, this use of narrative structure does not encourage the reader to relate to the researchers depicted (as the interactive structures did) it does provide a picture of the researcher's world. In positioning the reader to see the narrative from over the researcher's shoulder, the reader is invited into the researcher's world and given an opportunity to 'participate' in the research process.

However, what is particularly poignant about this narrative of research is the absence of animals. Despite being located in a document pertaining to the use of animals in research, both Figures 8.6 and 8.7 do not contain any animal referents. Indeed, the only visual image involving humans acting on animals is presented in Figure 8.8 in which a 'researcher' is photographed filming animals. The presentation of ethological research has already been discussed (see chapter 7), however, it is important to note that in this instance, Figure 8.8 was the dominant image on a page discussing "laboratory animal care" (see Figure 8.9).



Figure 8.9: NPRC1

Clearly the presentation of a community of unidentifiable animals, in a large, outdoor enclosure is not a typical feature of biomedical research as issues of cross-infection and the need for sterile surroundings tend to prohibit the use of such environments. Again, this confounds the message being presented to the reader. The criticisms which are being raised by the animal rights groups are not being directly addressed by the vivisection movement. Instead, the lexical information presented (see Extract 8.3), which pertains to biomedical research, is being supported visually by images that reflect ethological research (images that are usually far less confronting and less frequently challenged).

Extract 8.3

*Laboratory Animal Care*

*The humane care and appropriate use of laboratory animals is a high priority of the NPRCs. Animals at all the centres live in facilities inspected by the USDA and accredited by*

*the Association for Assessment and Accreditation of Laboratory Animal Care, International. Centre researchers, veterinarians and animal caretakers are responsible for the care and well-being of some of the world's largest non-human primate breeding colonies.*

*State-of-the-art veterinary medicine is practiced at every NPRC. Diagnostic procedures, surgical techniques and special treatments ensure the health of each centre's colony. Centre veterinarians train specialists in laboratory animal medicine and lecture at schools of veterinary medicine throughout the country.*

In essence, the reader is shown a very abstract representation of animal research. In terms of mobilisation, these images work to allay fears of cruelty and mistreatment. The nature of animal research is presented as very clinical and removed from any 'concrete' use of 'whole' animals (i.e. Figures 8.6 and 8.7). Moreover, when researchers and animals are depicted together, the animals are not actively being *used*, but rather are being *observed*.

### **8.5.3 Pictures of Patients**

The last area to consider in examining images of humans used by the vivisection movement is those depicting patients. These photographs tended to present the reader with images of medical professionals (namely medical doctors and nurses) either accompanying or treating a patient. In instances where no medical professional was pictured the individual was either recognisably in need of care, or the image was accompanied by a suitable caption (e.g. Figure 8.10).

The purpose of these 'patient' images seemed to lie in making the recipients of medical treatment 'real' for the reader. Although the individual is not asked to enter into an imaginary relationship with the participants (due primarily to the lack

of eye contact), the consistent presentation of images, which depict the disabled, the frail and the very young are conducive to encouraging sympathy for these groups.



Figure 8.10: NPRC1

Thus, the reader is presented with the opportunity of witnessing something that would otherwise be unfamiliar to the majority of people. For example, Figure 8.10 depicts a young lady with Down syndrome who is about to receive an injection (the accompanying caption, informs us that this is an insulin injection). The statement presented to the reader implies that this particular individual would have died had she not been able to receive insulin. The specificity makes the situation relevant and personal in a similar way to the narrative form (see chapter six). The reader is therefore positioned to see support for animal rights as resulting in *this* individual's premature death.



Figure 8.11 NPRC1

A similar effect is achieved in Figure 8.11 which shows images of patients with individuals from the medical profession. These images were presented in the context of medical advancements that have been achieved as the result of using animals (see Figure 8.12). Indeed, Figure 8.11 was presented alongside a consideration of the medical advancements that have been achieved as a result of animal research. Yet what stands out in particular is the heading under which these images fall. Figure 8.12 presents the double page from which Figure 8.11 was taken.

We are **fortunate** we no longer have to fear serious diseases that were the main cause of childhood death only a century ago.

Despite remarkable medical advances of the last 100 years, many serious illnesses remain without cures, and newly discovered diseases threaten our health. Alzheimer's, AIDS, cystic fibrosis, Lou Gehrig's disease, Lyme disease, sickle cell anemia, to name just a few, still present formidable challenges to researchers.

Laboratory animals are an indispensable part of biomedical research, and their contributions to increased understanding of health and disease are well known. Basic research with animal models, which accounts for nearly half of the biomedical investigations carried out in the United States, is an essential step in a continuum that progresses to applied research and then to clinical trials in humans. Nonhuman primate models often provide a critical link between research with small laboratory animals and studies involving humans.

**Because of nonhuman primate research:**

- Vaccinated children and adults are protected from polio.
- One million insulin-dependent diabetics are living longer, fuller lives.
- Thousands of people benefit from coronary bypass surgery every year.
- Nearly 38 million Americans with high blood pressure have reduced risk of heart attack, stroke and kidney failure.
- More than 200,000 Americans who have received hip replacements are no longer confined to wheelchairs.
- More than a million people who undergo cataract surgery each year are able to see.
- Thousands of patients with renal failure live longer because of kidney dialysis or kidney transplants.
- Hundreds of thousands of people disabled by stroke or head injury benefit from rehabilitation.
- People with severe depression, bipolar disorder and other psychiatric illnesses lead better lives because of improved medications.
- Millions of children receive better prenatal and postnatal care and are protected from common infections.

Figure 8.13: NPRC1



In this context, Figure 8.11 seems to provide evidential support for the claim that serious childhood diseases are now preventable as the image depicts children receiving medical attention (immunisations?). The accompanying texts were frequently catastrophic in nature, presenting the reader with an elaborate listing of all the medical advancements that have been made as a result of animal research (see Extracts 8.4 and 8.5).

#### Extract 8.4

*Because of non-human primate research:*

- *Vaccinated children and adults are protected from polio*
- *One million insulin dependent diabetics are living longer, fuller lives.*
- *Thousands of people benefit from coronary bypass surgery every year.*
- *Nearly 38 million Americans with high blood pressure have reduced risk of heart attack, stroke and kidney failure...*

#### Extract 8.5

*Despite remarkable medical advances of the last 100 years, many serious illnesses remain without cures, and newly discovered diseases threaten our health. Alzheimer's AIDS, cystic fibrosis, Lou Gehrig's disease, Lyme disease, sickle cell anaemia, to name just a few, still present formidable challenges to researchers.*

*Laboratory animals are an indispensable part of biomedical research and their contributions to increased understanding of health and disease are well known. Basic research with animal models, which accounts for nearly half of the biomedical investigations carried out in the United States, is an essential step in a continuum that progresses to applied research and then to clinical trials in humans. Non human primate models often provide a critical link between research with small laboratory animals and studies involving humans*

In light of these extracts, the images depicted in 8.11 provide examples of the medical advancements in action (extract 8.4). This reliance on narrative representation emphasises the human benefits that have resulted rather than the costs to animals. By presenting these images in the context of such lexical material the reader is strongly positioned to place a human face (one that is principally vulnerable; i.e. young children) to the consequences of not testing on animals. These images are important in showing the reader who and what kinds of people will die/suffer if animal experiments are stopped.

#### **8.5.4 Humans in the Animal Rights Movement**

Unlike the vivisection movement the animal rights groups used very few photographs of people. Figure 8.13 and 8.14 are two images taken from the Dr Hadwen Trust (DHT) texts. DHT is a research trust that provides grants to researchers who use or are developing non-animal methods, so images of researchers made sense contextually. These images are very similar to those presented by the vivisection movement as they depicted individuals engaging in nondescript scientific work. The most noticeable difference being these and the vivisection images is that the eyes of both researchers are visible to the reader. In this instance images depict researchers who are actively engaged in the research process, with the participants of both 8.13 and 8.14 creating vectors between their eye gaze and the test-tubes they are holding.





Figure 8.13: DHT8



Figure 8.14: DHT2

Figure 8.15 is an example of the images that included children, and indeed this particular representation appeared on a number of occasions. It was a particular feature of this type of image that an animal and a human (typically infant) were compared. These images tended to present participants that people would be sympathetic to. That is, rather than picturing a rat or mouse with the toddler, the animal chosen was invariably a 'pet'. The presentation of the two side by side, worked to locate the dog and toddler as members of the same category. Indeed, Kress and van Leeuwen (2006) suggest that representations of this nature work as taxonomies, providing exemplars of a particular category. In this instance, this 'sameness' is reinforced by the similar head sizes and identical angle of head tilt. This creates a point of dissonance for the reader who is being asked to question the legitimacy of using an animal in research when it is essentially no different from using humans.



Figure 8.15: KC5

What is curious about this photograph is that the child is making eye contact with the reader, whereas the dog is not. This ensures that the primary interpersonal relationship is established between the child and the reader rather than with the dog. This is important as it draws attention to the human child, who in the first instance does not look sick, nor is the child represented in any way that might indicate that the child is suffering from a medical condition. In contrast the dog is looking down (depressed?) and has a 'tag' clipped to its outer ear (research animal?). Thus, although the dog is, on the one hand, recognisable as a pet, its tagging is more suggestive of a research animal. By presenting these two participants as members of the same category, the reader is positioned to question the differences that make research on animals acceptable yet research on toddlers unacceptable.

## **8.6 Photographs of Animals**

In presenting images of animals, there was a shift between the two groups with animal rights groups presenting more images of research animals, compared to vivisection groups. The visual imagery employed by the animal rights groups was primarily used to provide the reader with 'evidential' support for the statements being made. In contrast, the vivisection groups provided the reader with images of animals (typically outdoors or in large enclosures) which sought to appease readers regarding conditions in laboratories and the nature of research experiments. The images were rarely accompanied by an explanatory caption.

### **8.6.1 Establishing Eye Contact**

One of the strongest elements of the animal rights images was the reliance on eye contact. Eye contact is of the utmost importance in developing a relationship between the represented participant and the reader. In being able to establish eye contact with the image participant the reader is asked to become involved in an imaginary relationship with the participant; a relationship that importantly involves the acknowledgement of the participant's situation and endeavours to evoke empathy for the participant. Figure 8.16 is a poignant example of this effect.

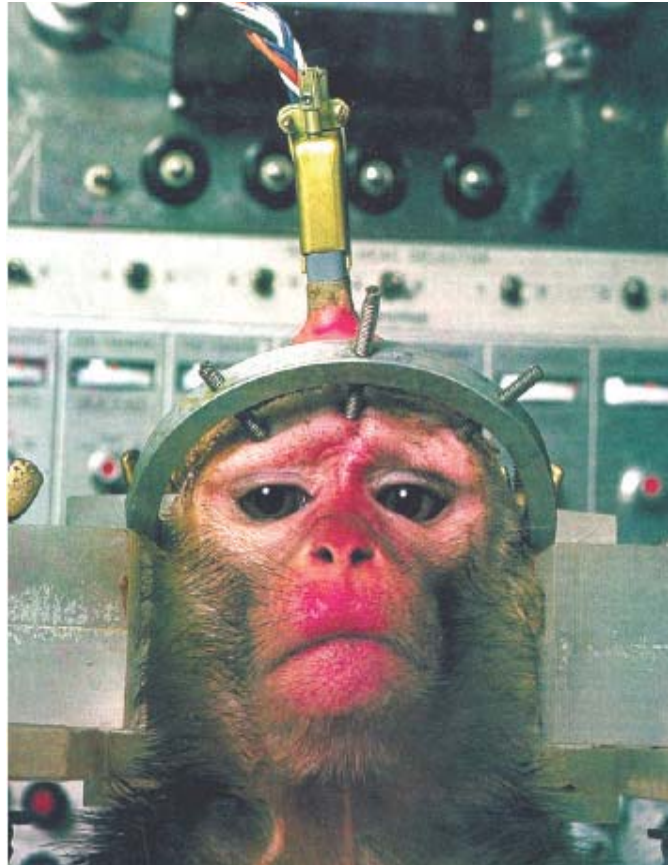


Figure 8.16: KC2

The key aspect of this image is the strong emotional element it draws forth, the primate appears *very* human and the eye contact is fundamental in establishing this foundation. Figure 8.17 and 8.18 are of a similar vein. The eye contact established between the two monkeys in 8.17, and the ape in 8.18, is of primary importance in attaining an emotional response from the reader.

Much of the mobilising power of such images is created by providing the reader with a glimpse of a situation that would be largely unacceptable to a human and establishing a rapport with the animal by being able to perceive their emotions about being in such a situation. In effect the goal here would be to imbue the reader with a sense of the animals' suffering (see Boltanski, 1999).



Figure 8.17: PETA1 and Figure 8.18: IDA9

These images endeavoured to make the line between animals and humans far less explicit. Thus, a central element of these images was their ability to draw the reader into a relationship with the represented participant. This positions the reader to feel that there is more similarity between animals and humans than would otherwise be recognised. In this way, the reader is able to see the animals as human and thereby feel empathy for the animals depicted by asking them to relate to the emotional messages that are conveyed through the eye contact. This is significant as the reader is being asked to empathise with the emotions that it is 'assumed' these animals are feeling and, in particular, endeavouring to communicate (e.g. sadness, depression). It is also of significance that non-human primates were primarily presented in this fashion as the similarity between these animals and humans allowed the represented participants to convey emotions through the eye-gaze. In light of the emphasis Kress and van Leeuwen (2006) have placed on the role of the image gaze, this begs the question of whether this imaginary vector can still be established if the represented participant is a mouse or a cow.

### 8.6.2 Pictures of Bodies

Images used by the animal rights groups also included graphic images of animals who had been 'discarded' following an experiment. These images presented the reader with intensely confronting images of animal research. Figure 8.19 and 8.20 consist of images of animal corpses. The presence of blood is symbolically significant in indicating death from trauma. Moreover, showing images in which multiple trauma sites can be detected enhances the overall effect, highlighting the violence and cruel treatment experienced by these animals.



Figure 8.19: KC6 & KC7





Figure 8.20: KC1, KC6 & KC7

On viewing such images the reader is positioned to feel a sense of shock and outrage at the treatment given to research animals. Such images are presented primarily to undermine claims that animals are well cared for, and are used as a rallying point for mobilising animal welfare supporters. The presentation of such graphic images is therefore used as a means of confronting the reader. The purpose in such presentations is generating a feeling of pity towards the animals that are being used. An important point about these images is that they are presented to the reader as exemplars of the norm.

Figure 8.21 is a black and white image of the vivisection of a rabbit. The key feature of this image is the perspective from which it is taken. The photographic angle is such that the rabbit appears to be 'strung-up' by the strings extending from both front legs. Kress and van Leeuwen (2006) argue that perspective can be a way to express subjective views about the represented participants. In this instance the rabbit is pictured from above, a photographic angle that is effectively used in cinematography to makes the subject look small and insignificant. In this instance, such an angle helps create a sense of suffering and enhances feelings of pity as this is

a participant that is small and powerless. It is also noteworthy that this photographic angle was the dominant angle used by the animal rights groups in depicting animals. The use of a high camera angle helps position the reader to consider research animals in a sympathetic light.

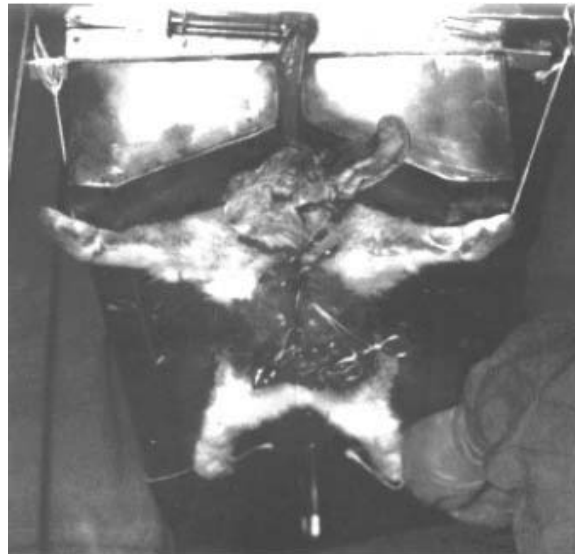


Figure 8.21: ALF4

### 8.6.3 Pictures of Procedures

The most prevalent images used by the animal rights groups were those that showed animals being used in an experimental procedure. Often this necessitated the presentation of restraining devices and experimental equipment to the reader. The images presented frequently showed animals that appeared to be experiencing pain and or distress. The primary purpose in presenting these images was in the evidential support they gave for the animal rights groups. Alongside narratives, these images provided insight into the *individual* animal's experience of being a



research participant. To this end the images were presented as ‘self-explanatory’, presumably relying on the adage that ‘a picture is worth a thousand words’.



Figure 8.22: PETA (pilot version 2)

Figure 8.22 is a particularly poignant example of this case. In this image the monkey is making eye contact and screaming at the reader. Thus, the represented participant seeks to engage the reader in an imaginary relationship that has both a visual component (i.e. eye contact) and an auditory component (i.e. the open mouth). The caption states: “Imagine having your body left to science...while you’re still in

it”; a statement that seeks the reader’s empathetic engagement with the situation being depicted.

However, the image is not only seeking empathy for the animal being depicted, but rather challenging the reader’s own commonsense understandings about how they themselves would like to be treated. Thus, the image is drawing on an implicit assumption regarding “what we should do unto others”. Interestingly, in drawing on this belief, there is no recognition that the animal is not human and therefore warrants different treatment.



Figure 8.23 and Figure 8.24



Figure 8.25

Figure 8.23, 8.24, and 8.25 demonstrate other examples of this genre. From a mobilisation perspective, they work to directly challenge the animal welfare position, which argues for the continued use of animals, provided they do not feel pain or distress. Thus, the role of these images is to provide evidential support, suggesting that the animals are indeed experiencing pain and distress. Much of this is implicitly expected of the reader, with little information presented to explain or account for the situations depicted. This lack of contextual information is also of some significance as it prevents the reader from forming any utilitarian arguments (i.e. the treatment is justifiable because of the outcome that will be achieved). Thus the reader is left to formulate an understanding about the role of animals in research through knowledge of the emotions that the animals are feeling (e.g. distress, pain, fear, depression and sadness) and implicitly invited to empathise with these emotions based on their own commonsense understandings about these emotional states. To this end the reader is presented with a representation of animal research that

emphasises the emotionality of animals and, as these depictions are understandable, the reader is strongly positioned to identify and empathise with their plight.

#### 8.6.4 Animals in the Vivisection Movement

In contrast the animal images used by the vivisection movement tended to be clean and bright. They typically reflected animals engaging in social enrichment activities rather than as research participants. The difference between the images used by the animal rights groups and the vivisection groups are strikingly apparent. There was again a conflation between pictures of animals in a laboratory setting and those photographed outside.

A key factor in considering the animal images used by the vivisection groups was that it was frequently difficult to distinguish research animals from non-research animals. Unlike the animal rights material, in which there was no question of an animal's status as 'research participant' (due to the presence of experimental apparatus), the vivisection material tended to involve a blending of all forms of animal 'use' and it was, perhaps, the less controversial uses of animals that were frequently presented to the reader.



Figure 8.26: AMP2

For example Figure 8.26 shows a laboratory mouse standing in a blue dish (toy?). The picture presents a clean bright image to the reader; an image that does not show the mouse to be experiencing any stress, nor indeed, does it seem likely from the image, that such a mouse would be distressed. However, it is much harder to relate to a mouse in comparison to a chimpanzee. It is also much more difficult to gain an impression of a mouse's emotional state (i.e. is a mouse even capable of conveying emotion through eye-gaze?). Thus, not only is the reader presented with a clean, calm image, but the represented participant is one that can not be easily related to or empathised with.

Similarly, Figure 8.27 depicts a number (of what is assumed to be) research apes. The apes are presented in a large enclosure that contains grass and some kind of shelter. Once again there is a conflation between biomedical research animals and 'other' animals. The image presented to the reader harks more of animal shelter/sanctuary than it does of a laboratory research facility. It is therefore less threatening and as such, warrants less concern. In a sense the reader is positioned to see an extremely mild version of animal research as representing the norm.



Figure 8.27: NPRC1

The majority of images encountered in the vivisection corpus were of this nature. There was consistency in the presentation of animals in bright, well-lit or external environments and usually in the company of other animals. The animals were rarely identified specifically as research animals, although this could be assumed from the text in many instances. The important point however, was that the nature of the experimental procedures that would be conducted on the animals was glossed over and there was no clear boundary established between research animals and non-research animals.

### 8.6.5 Companion Animals

In addition to research animals, the vivisection movement also used images that depicted companion animals engaging with humans. These images inevitably sought to highlight the nature of the relationship between humans and animals. Figures 8.28 and 8.29 provide an interesting example of this by presenting the reader with an image of a small child and a dog. The positioning of both the child and the

animal is of some significance, creating a sense of the dog 'standing guard' over the child.

Figure 8.28 symbolically represents an ideological position that has been presented linguistically throughout the vivisection movement. This position suggests that it is unproblematic to use animals in research as they are duty bound to engage in such practices. This construction of the human/animal relationship works to simplify the nature of animal experiments by suggesting that the use of animals by humans is a natural progression from their role as companions and pets in our lives. In this sense animals are not only our friends and playmates, but also our guardians and it is the animals' 'love' for humans that makes them willing (indeed consenting) participants in the research process.



Figure 8.28: FBR7 and Figure 8.29: FBR5

### 8.7 Summary: Imagery as an Emotion-Based Strategy

This study endeavoured to provide a sample of the types of photographic images that were being used by the two movements as part of their respective



mobilisation campaigns. In particular this study sought to explore how the reader was being emotionally positioned by the chosen images.

In the first instance it is important to note that the animal rights movement presented the reader with more images than the vivisection movement. In addition the images presented by the animal rights movement tended to be of animals actively involved in research. This ensured that the images were seen by the reader as evidence for the claims being made. In contrast the vivisection movement presented very few images of animals, relying instead on pictures of people. The important point about this difference is that whilst both groups were discussing animal care and the role of animals, it was only the anti-vivisection movement that was systematically presenting images of *animals in research* to support their claims.

It is hypothesised that this lack of consistency between topic and image is disadvantageous for the vivisection movement. However, the vivisection movement did seem to compensate for this lack by presenting the individual with positive images of families (occasionally accompanied by animals). These positioned the reader to see what could be 'lost' if animal research was discontinued. To this end, it is argued that the strength of the vivisection movement's images was in equating this 'loss' with family and thereby positioning the reader to feel guilt (that others may suffer if they support animal rights) or fear (that their own family may suffer if they support animal rights).

In conjunction with this presentation the vivisection movement worked to minimise the role of animals in the research process. Animals were presented as removed from the research process (e.g. Figures 8.6, 8.7, 8.8) or as highly indulged



research adjuncts (e.g. Figures 8.26, 8.27). That is, despite strong messages regarding the crucial need for animals, their 'use' was not considered visually.

This seems to be where the animal rights groups had the advantage, for how does one present the actual research process in an unproblematic, non-confrontational way? Thus, irrespective of concerns that the animal rights groups may be exaggerating the nature of the research process, it is difficult to see how the vivisection movement could present this information in a positive light (and indeed it appears that they do not even try). To this end, the animal rights movement is well able to position the reader to feel outrage ('moral shock') at the use of animals in research (c.f. Jasper & Poulsen, 1995).

This sense of outrage is particularly developed through the presentation of images like those depicted in Figure 8.16 and 8.22 in which an experiment seems to be underway and yet the animal remains conscious (i.e. not anaesthetised) and therefore capable of engaging in visual communication with the reader. It is proposed that it is this consciousness that provokes outrage in the reader as it allows communication to occur during the act that is being questioned. Thus, there is considerable evidential support that can be achieved in these images as the image act is occurring in the context of the research processes that are being condemned by the animal rights groups. That is, the represented participant is able to support the claims made linguistically through the conveyance of emotional distress through the image act.

As expected the animal rights movement sought to present the reader with the absolute darkest representations of animal experimentation, favouring the presentation of animals that are actively undergoing an experimental procedure.

What is particularly poignant about these images is the reliance on non-human primates as represented participants. This is significant, as non-human primates seemed capable of conveying their emotions through image acts with the reader. Thus, in considering the images presented to the reader as part of the anti-vivisection texts, one is overwhelmed by the message of despair that is conveyed through this imaginary interactive relationship.

It is argued that it is this relationship, this sense of despair that is conveyed to the reader, which is of primary importance in generating support for the animal rights movement. Moreover, the vivisection movement seems unable to match this effect as distant images of apes, and pictures of 'happy mice', do not counter-act the force of looking at the eyes of a non-human primate as it is 'participating' in research. Finally, with technological advances the animal rights movement is increasingly presenting their material as a video stream (visit [www.peta.org](http://www.peta.org)). It is hypothesised that video provides a much richer form of exposure and may indeed facilitate feelings of outrage in the reader, and presumably increasing support for the movement.

Whilst both movements endeavour to construct a particular version of reality about the role of animals in medical and scientific research experiments, the images provided by the animal rights groups provide evidential support for the claims being made that appear to 'override' those presented by the vivisection movement. It is argued that this is because of the almost personal involvement the animals were able to undertake in communicating the concerns about animal research. Thus, by not having these same research animals presenting a more pro-research perspective (e.g. the use of the image act being ill-favoured by the vivisection movement) the version

of reality presented to the reader, is conflicting only from the human point of view, not from the animals' point of view.

Thus, it could be hypothesised that the in part, a sense of outrage may stem from the apparent discrepancy between the reality presented by the vivisection movement and the reality presented by the animals. The weakness in the vivisection movement being the lack of this 'animal perspective' on research that is, by all appearances, central to the animal rights mobilisation strategy.

### 9.1 The Animal Rights Movement as an Example of an Altruistic Movement

Since its re-emergence in the 1960s, the modern animal rights movement has had a considerable degree of success in changing many of the practices involving animals. In terms of animal research, this change can be seen in the creation of animal ethics committees, the introduction of the 3R's of research (i.e. reduce, refine and replace) and the increasing reliance and use of alternative, non-animal based research methods. These changes are indicative of the success of the movement and whilst animal research is still dominant, considerable restrictions have been placed on the use of animals in research. Thus, despite the continuation of animal research, it is important to acknowledge the change that has resulted from this movement, and thus it is the movement's *relative* success rather than its *ultimate* success which is emphasised here.

The decision to explore the animal rights movement was based on its relative success in generating both social and behavioural support for animal rights. In particular, the increased labelling of products as "not tested on animals" is demonstrative of the consumer support behind the movement. Accordingly, the animal rights movement became the focus for this thesis as it was considered to be an example of an altruistic social movement, in that social change was being advocated from which activists would not materially benefit from being involved.

In examining the mobilisation campaigns of the anti-vivisection and pro-research movements, the emphasis was placed on the role of language and visual

imagery in framing the issue of animal research. In light of the preliminary study, the principle consideration was how these texts positioned the reader emotionally. Therefore, the purpose of this thesis was to further examine the mechanisms that prompted moral outrage in the reader. This chapter seeks to review and examine the results of the three studies and considers these findings in the context of previous research done on social movements.

## **9.2 Framing the Animal Rights Movement: Consideration of Findings**

In considering the issue of animal vivisection, the purpose was to examine how people were being mobilised to participate (both socially and behaviourally) in social action for which there was no apparent material gain. Accordingly, the analytic intent was to identify the linguistic strategies used to position the reader emotionally. In this instance, the two movements were able to emphasise alternative aspects of animal research through the framings used in the mobilisation material. At this stage, the emphasis is placed on the reliance of alternative definitions of key terms, the framing of animal suffering, the construction of science and animal research in the text, and the use of visual images in the campaign material.

### **9.2.1 Deciding What Counts as 'Animal'**

Of particular interest when considering the framing of animal vivisection was the definitional boundaries surrounding 'animal research' as a practice, and 'research animals' as a group. That is, the animal rights groups and the pro-research groups

respectively defined 'animal research' differently, and included different kinds of animals in the group 'research animals' irrespective of their actual involvement.

For example, the anti-vivisection groups were opposed to the use of animals in laboratories for the purpose of biomedical or psychosocial research. Whilst generally the animal rights movement argued against the use of animals entirely, in this instance the prime concern centred on *laboratory* animals. This emphasis on laboratory animals is in contrast to the pro-research groups which sought to re-frame the issue, such that *all* animal research was included in the debate. This move allowed the pro-research groups to consider the use of animals in largely unproblematic areas of research (i.e., fields of research that are arguably pro-animal rights: e.g. ethology). In this way, the pro-research groups were able to consider a number of less contentious research practices, in conjunction with the use of animals in laboratories.

This all encompassing representation of 'animal research' made it possible for the pro-research groups to sideline the issue of laboratory research by presenting it as just one of the many types of research practices. Whilst not avoiding the issue of laboratory animals, this particular framing of animal research positioned the reader to see laboratory animals within the context of research programmes that are vastly less problematic. Thus, the reliance on this more expansive framing of animal research affected how the pro-research groups framed other issues raised by the animal rights groups. In particular, the issue of animal suffering was able to be considered from within a 'definition' that encompassed ethology.

A second definitional distinction was made regarding the inclusion criteria for the category 'research animal'. For example, one of the key strategic moves that

appeared in the animal rights texts was the consideration of “human and non-human animals”. This distinction is functionally important as it presupposes the existence of a larger category of “animals” that is fundamental and universal. This is important as it places *Homo sapiens* in the same category as all animals and therefore facilitates the assumption that ‘we’ are all the same. Thus, if human animals feel pain, then *ipso facto* non-human animals also feel pain. This was important as it emphasised ingroup similarity and created a sense of solidarity with the larger taxonomy ‘animals’.

Alternatively, whilst the pro-research movement presented a similar distinction (e.g. “human and non-human primates”), it achieved a strategically different outcome, allowing the pro-research groups to justify the use of primates in research due to their similarity. This distinction immediately begged the question, that if they are so similar, should they not also feel pain and experience emotional distress at being used in research? Thus, in one sense it could be immediately identified as a weakness in the pro-research material, that there was no real consistency about where animals fit, ontologically. This is again seen in the evident distinction drawn between “pets” and “non-pets”. It seems largely inconsistent that the pro-research movement should advance that research on pets is unacceptable and that pets suffer, whilst simultaneously suggesting that research on pet-like animals (who are not actually ‘owned’) is legitimate.

In many ways the pro-research movement seemed to be at cross-purposes with itself. However, this did not seem to be an issue for the animal rights groups. Animal rights content remained fairly consistent across groups, with all groups arguing that there is no empirical evidence supporting animal research as a method,

and that animal research is inherently cruel; amounting to little more than abuse at both a physical and psychosocial level.

### **9.2.2 On the Issue of Animal Suffering**

From the animal rights perspective, animal suffering was presented as an intrinsic part of animal research, encompassing physical, emotional and social distress. The issue of animal suffering was presupposed to be fundamental to the research process, a framing that was achieved through the use of passive clauses (in which no agent was identified), or through the placement of a research artefact as agent within a clause. This had the effect of removing the human element from active clauses. That is, rather than having a person do something to an animal, a chemical did something to an animal. This framing ensured that blame was not located with an individual, and therefore, the effects of the actions described were not the result of any one person's action, but rather as an inherent outcome that was *ipso facto* a part of the research process. That is, suffering was made to be an *inherent* part of animal research. This ensured that 'rogue' individuals could not be held responsible for animal suffering, but rather that animal suffering was a guaranteed event associated with any research process using animals. Thus, actions and research artefacts were presented as responsible for animal suffering, not callous or unskilled individuals.

This meant that the research process itself had to be stopped in order to cease animal suffering rather than regulate the process altogether. Moreover, by presenting the issue of animal suffering in these terms, animal rights groups were forcing a more hardline position, one that does not condone 'compromises' by vivisectionists that 'reduce' animal suffering (e.g. the use of analgesia).



Linguistically, this framing of animal suffering was primarily achieved through the use of presupposition. That is, issues were not presented as contentious or problematic, but rather as states of 'being'. By framing in these terms, legitimacy is given to the statement, making it almost a 'natural' phenomenon rather than an 'ideological' phenomenon. In this instance, the nature of animal suffering was presented as an unquestionable, undeniable 'fact' about the world. Thus, although the degree, nature and even existence of animal suffering were questioned by pro-research groups, they were not questioned by the animal rights groups. Instead, animal suffering (and pain) was presented as a 'given' to the reader and more importantly, was presented as comparable to human pain.

This supposition formed the basis of the animal rights campaign, which worked to *show* that animals were suffering, rather than justify it conceptually. The point of distinction occurred in the provision of visual and lexical evidence to the reader that supported the claim that "research *is* inherently cruel". This construction is fundamentally different from providing evidence that suggests that an animal is *capable* of suffering. The key point about presupposing these issues is that the reader is positioned grammatically to accept these assertions as reflecting reality.

Framing animal suffering as intrinsic to animal research contrasted with that presented by the pro-research groups. In general, the issue of animal suffering was not a key feature of the pro-research texts. When it was considered, animal suffering was represented as an issue of 'pain management'. That is, animal suffering was reduced to the experience of pain that could not be controlled through the use of analgesics or anaesthetics. Moreover, the pro-research groups represented the issue of animal suffering as only occurring during an experimental procedure. That is, pain

was considered to be transient. More problematic issues pertaining to animal suffering, such as distress or emotional anguish, were largely subsumed under the consideration of physical pain.

Furthermore, the pro-research groups considered pain to be necessary for scientific advancement. Indeed, scientific advancement (and research more generally) was presented as only being possible through the use of animal research. In most instances this representation was coupled with the implicit suggestion that the only viable alternative to using animals was to use humans.

### **9.2.3 The Nature of 'Good' and 'Bad' Science**

Throughout many of the texts there was a continuing debate concerning the exact nature of science. This consideration involved describing science and outlining the role of medical and technological advancement in determining what constituted 'real science'. These considerations were heavily laden with evaluative language that framed the issue in terms of good versus bad science.

Typically the animal rights groups argued that non-animal alternatives (which did not include human vivisection) constituted 'real' science. These alternative methods were presented as technologically superior, progressive, and argued to provide a more viable means of achieving positive human health outcomes<sup>Ψ</sup>. However, whilst the animal rights groups did indirectly argue that animal research was dangerous to human health, their primary emphasis was that animal research delayed medical progress, or produced unimportant, irrelevant

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<sup>Ψ</sup> It should be noted, that the examples of why animal research is effective or not, were (for both movements) unsubstantiated and indeed, impossible to substantiate empirically as they were typically retrospective.

findings. Thus, the emphasis primarily centred on the cruelty and worthlessness associated with animal research, which was depicted as methodologically inferior; lacking in validity, generalisability or reliability.

By contrast the pro-research movement strongly emphasised that the loss of animal research would lead to an immediate end to all medical advancement. This representation was used by the pro-research movement to frame the loss of animal research as equating to death, disease and pain for many (if not all) individuals. In this respect, this framing allowed the pro-research groups to position the reader to feel anxiety and fear.

The evaluation of science was primarily achieved through the use of descriptive process elements rather than through the use of adverbs. This ensured that judgements were conveyed to the reader without appearing particularly exaggerated or inflammatory. That is, the information appeared 'factual' and 'rational' whilst still positioning the reader to evaluate the science accordingly.

This was particularly noticeably in the animal rights texts. In these texts the evaluative term was located at the level of the verb (i.e. Process) rather than as an adverb. This created a more subtle effect, positioning the reader to see the actions as inherently problematic rather than as an external judgement of an action. Thus, while the language was still quite inflammatory at times, it rarely came across as extreme, exaggerated or unreasonable.

#### **9.2.4 Supporting or Rejecting Animal Research**

Despite positing that animal research is essential to medical advancement, the pro-research movement endeavoured to minimise the number and the direct role of

animals in the research process. Primarily this centred on a consideration of the number of animals used in research. In most instances this entailed a statistical presentation of the data, which aimed to minimise the overall number of animals used in research. Similarly, the number of animals used was obscured by including different animals in the count and by considering the number of experiments rather than the total number of individual animals.

In addition, the pro-research groups used highly technical nominalisations to describe the research conducted on animals (e.g. “neurological studies”). These abstract formulations ensured that only the bare minimum of information was conveyed to the reader regarding the nature of the research undertaken. Thus, the pro-research movement presented animal research in a vague manner, which strategically hindered the acquisition of any real information about the animals involved.

By contrast animal rights groups endeavoured to present animal research in as much detail as possible. This primarily meant that a strong focus was placed on the explicit recounting of the animal’s involvement in research (e.g. narrative). In presenting these experiences to the reader the anti-vivisection movement negatively appraised the situations being described through the use of evaluative tokens. However, rather than presenting the tokens as adverbs, the evaluations were made at the level of the verb (i.e. Process). This ensured the texts remained ‘objective’ in tone, whilst still encoding the desired evaluations (e.g. “poison”).

The movements also sought to locate their position within an ethical framework. At one level this ensured that the appropriate ethical and emotional response to the issue of animal research was identified to the reader, whilst at

another level, support for the opposing movement was accounted for. This was achieved by positing how the majority of people consider the role of animal research. For the animal rights groups this primarily consisted of suggesting that the only people who support animal research are those that are 'uniformed' about the issues. In contrast, the pro-research groups argued that animal rights supporters were dangerous extremists, who lacked any scientific knowledge or credibility. In most instances, this framing was achieved by suggesting to the reader what the 'correct' or 'most ethical' response to animal research was.

Defining the 'normal' response to the situation allowed the reader to align themselves or become aware of the socially accepted (normative) response to these issues. This involved declaring what most people thought, felt or believed about a particular issue. For animal rights groups, this identification of the 'normal' response was presented in addition to statements that presupposed all readers would be animal rights supporters after learning what happens to animals involved in research.

### **9.2.5 The Use of Imagery as Evidence**

The animal rights groups were effectively able to support the majority of their claims about animal research being unacceptably cruel, through the use of visual imagery. In most instances this imagery depicted animals that were actively being used in an experiment. In this way, the images facilitated the positioning of the reader to feel outrage at the use of animals. These images were especially poignant in examples where the eye contact between the animal in the photograph and the reader could be established.

In contrast, the pro-research groups presented very few images of animals, and no images of animals being used in experiments. Instead the pro-research groups primarily presented images of happy families which appeared to facilitate their claim that stopping animal research would lead to sickness and death. That is, the majority of pro-research images assisted the positioning of the reader to feel fear, by reminding them of what was at stake. This meant that pro-research organisations were relying on the reproduction of scientific and statistical findings associated with medical advancement in order to support their claims about the need for continuing animal research; a far less emotive message.

Thus, in trying to counteract the anti-vivisection message, the pro-research groups were seemingly only able to suggest that death and plague would follow from the discontinuation of animal research. Yet, they were not able to provide any evidence that was not retrospective to back up that claim, whereas, by comparison the animal rights groups could state that 'animal research is cruel' and then present photographic material that went towards providing support for this assertion. The presentation of photographic images of individual animals worked to facilitate an understanding about the situation, especially when images established eye-contact between the reader and the represented participant.

The key difference in considering the images presented by the animal rights movement as compared to the pro-research movement, is that the relevance of the images that could be shown. For example, the animal rights movement had a plethora of images that directly reflected the claims they were making about animal research (i.e. that it causes suffering). Whilst not all of these images were equally confronting, they reflected some degree of suffering, be that pain or sadness.

This presentation by the animal rights groups is in direct contrast with that of the pro-research groups, who seemed unable (unwilling?) to present photographs of laboratory animals that were not suffering. The obvious exception is perhaps the perky little mouse in figure 8.26, but this image is problematic as it does not show an experimental procedure being undertaken only an animal in what is *presumably* a laboratory.

However, whilst the depiction of human and non-human primates can readily be construed as emotive and communicative, it is questionable as to whether this message is effectively conveyed between mice and humans? To this end, the lack of any close-up photographs of primates in laboratories who were well-adjusted was an obvious failing of the pro-research mobilisation material. Thus, it was readily apparent that the use of visual material provided the reader with 'evidential' support for the issue.

### **9.2.6 Emotional Positioning through Linguistic and Visual Strategies**

In relying on messages of guilt and fear, the pro-research movement appeared to be disadvantaging itself. Indeed, as suggested by O'Keefe (2000), guilt messages have typically been considered ineffective in producing change, and whilst fear appeals have been shown to be more successful, the responses such appeals generate are not always those desired (Dillard et al., 1996). The apparent success of the anti-vivisection movement and animal rights movement more generally seems to lie in its ability to present an internally consistent message that positions the reader to feel outrage at the treatment of animals.

Indeed much of the work done by the pro-research movement went to assuage the concern that was being raised by the animal rights groups. This could be seen in the continual framing of the animal rights movement as an extremist movement. Moreover, the pro-research movement tended to be less interested in promoting animal research, than in reassuring the reader that there was nothing to be concerned about. This was primarily indicated by the overall orientation of the texts which invariably assumed *a priori* understanding of the animal rights movement and its agenda. Thus, whilst the animal rights texts spelled out their position and identified problems with animal research, the pro-research texts appeared to be less able to articulate the tangible benefits of animal research, instead relying on fear and guilt based strategies. However, it is important to acknowledge that much of the power associated with the vivisection movement, came from their firm location within the dominant paradigm. Indeed, as scientific method is the culturally accepted basis for discovery, and the use of animals is imbedded in much scientific research, there was considerable rhetorical work achieved by suggesting that animal research and scientific method were not mutually exclusive.

For the animal rights movement, their success appeared to be facilitated by the ability to create both a visual and linguistic story about the animals involved in research. Whilst this, to an extent, necessitated an anthropomorphising of the animals, this was done in a subtle way that did not evoke any unusual characterisation. However, there are a number of means through which the narrative was effective without a gratuitous reliance on anthropomorphism. In the first instance, this involved the use of personal pronouns, and names. This usage moved



the reader to a consideration of the individual animal and allowed the writers to begin to describe the experiences of the animal(s).

A significant aspect of this story was presented to the reader in the contextual information. That is, the animal was considered in terms of what it 'should' be doing and where it 'should' be. This representation was then contrasted to the reality that is: life in a laboratory. Importantly, the texts never made the laboratory experience unique. Animal research was presented as a horrific thing that happens to *many* animals. The construction of animal research as a systemic practice was continually being highlighted: there were many animals (each with their own story) that were currently being used in research and suffering in a similar way. Thus, reflecting on the animal's personality, interests and experience made the animal 'real' to the reader, who is positioned to feel empathy (or sympathy) for the plight depicted.

It seemed apparent that this linguistic work, in conjunction with supporting evidence (i.e. the visual material) strongly enhanced the animal rights mobilisation material. In particular, the image act (i.e. represented through eye-contact) established between the reader and the depicted animal helped to 'bring life' to the words presented; facilitating the emotional positioning of the reader.

Indeed, the animal rights movement has successfully utilised sensory mediums for presenting information. For example, previously PETA has employed VHS for the public presentation of the information they have collected. More recently, they have been providing video stream footage taken from within research laboratories (visit: [www.peta.org](http://www.peta.org)). Whilst not analysed in this instance, it is reasonable to expect that video stream will facilitate the emotional positioning of the reader for many of the same reasons as the presentation of visual images facilitates

this positioning. The analysis of video stream is identified as a site for further research in studying emotion-based mobilisation. Indeed, it is posited that the video stream will have the advantage of giving the animals represented an 'audio' element as well as conveying the message in 'real time'. Thus, the reader will be able to obtain information, see the animals, hear the animals and watch experiments being conducted on them.

Having previously noted that the animal rights movement have used images and video footage from almost day one, it is important to realise that the pro-research movement has been slow to adopt this medium. Indeed, a fundamental difference between the movements is that the animal rights movement presents the reader with photographic material that can be considered 'evidence'. In comparison, the pro-research movement presents images of families, happily interacting with each other. It is posited that these latter images worked to position the reader to feel fear at the loss of family that would come from the abolishment of animal research. In this instance, hypothetical loss is presented against evidence of animal suffering.

### **9.3 Implications for Social Mobilisation Theory**

The theoretical basis for this study stemmed from a reading of the literature that suggested there had been relatively little work done in exploring how individuals are mobilised to participate in social movements when there is no material reward resulting from participation. For example, Klandermans (1989; 1993) has researched extensively the factors that help to facilitate social movement participation when a clearly definable stake and interest can be identified. He has

argued that participation in a social movement is the result of a series of evaluations in which potential participants seek to determine the costs and benefits attached to participation.

In many respects the work done by Klandermans (1993) can be considered in conjunction with earlier work on resource mobilisation (McCarthy & Zald, 1977). The resource theory of mobilisation argues that, participation arises in situations where individuals have the necessary social and financial means to overcome the costs associated with participation. Indeed this conceptualisation of participation may similarly account for the finding that individuals who are the most deprived are the least likely to participate (Runciman, 1967; McPhail, 1971; Portes, 1971). Thus, it could be argued that the means available to the most deprived are insufficient to overcome the costs of participation and thus it is these groups that fail to mobilise (see Edwards & McCarthy, 2004).

However, this cost-benefit understanding of participation fails to account for why people may be encouraged to participate in social action for which there are no benefits. Moreover, as noted by McCarthy and Zald (1977), individuals do engage in social actions on behalf of others, however beyond suggesting that these individuals have the necessary social and financial means to mobilise, McCarthy and Zald (1977), fail to suggest why this kind of participation occurs.

These considerations of participation also need to be considered in terms of the overarching environmental or situational factors. These factors, like those considered by McCarthy and Zald (1977) provide an overarching situational context in which movements may be facilitated and supported, or hindered. It is therefore important to realise that movements are in a way, socially prescribed. That is, the

existence of a movement is shaped by the environment within which the movement is seeking to emerge. Accordingly, the establishment of a movement may depend on a number of different factors being met.

However it is also important that an issue over which to mobilise is identified, and that it is made contentious. This notion of 'framing' seems to operate at a secondary level to that of social movement formation, yet the framing of the issue is crucial to the process of mobilisation. Furthermore, environmental and identity factors also play a role in the framing of issues for mobilisation, in particular it is necessary that ideas should be framed in terms that are understandable and meaningful to the individuals that are being targeted for mobilisation. Thus, it is in the process of framing, that identity and social factors can again come to the fore, with research highlighting the role of establishing issue relevance and the use of identity labels in mobilisation rhetoric.

It is at this point that the research on mobilisation rhetoric coincides with that done on persuasion with both approaches seeking to identify the factors which influence individuals and facilitate participation. The literature on persuasion suggests that individuals make decisions about their involvement (i.e. to participate, purchase, vote) based on their assessment of a number of different categories. For example, the emphasis in persuasion literature is placed on the particular characteristics of the source, the message, the receiver, the channel and the context in presenting a persuasive argument (see Stiff & Mongeau, 2003). Again, it is the message characteristics that provide the basis and the focus for this thesis.

Alternatively, participation in social movements for which there are no benefits can be accounted for by adopting a social identity model. Research

conducted by social identity theorists has clearly established that beliefs about self and understandings about belonging strongly influence the desire to participate in a social movement. For example, Turner et al. (1987) suggests that individuals endeavour to behave in a manner that is consistent with their identity. Thus, it is argued that claims to identity potentially evoke particular beliefs, behaviours and patterns of understanding that are consistent with that identity. Therefore, if identity claims are held to be significant in their ability to shape and direct behaviours, choices and beliefs (e.g. Billig, 1995) then it is reasonable to suggest that such identity claims may also be valid in considering ethics and value systems.

Thus it is posited that an 'ethical identity' may be used for establishing an identity that can be used as a basis for altruistic mobilisation. Thus, it is suggested that in this instance an ethical identity was appealed to by presenting information to the reader that was 'morally shocking'. Therefore, by relying on emotion based strategies, mobilisation organisers are able to generate moral outrage in the reader. Accordingly, the reader is positioned to consider the issue in terms of their ethical position, or evaluate the issue in a manner consistent with their ethical identity. With regard to mobilisation discourse, the goal is to frame the issue in a manner that is sufficiently provoking such that the majority of individuals will see the issue (i.e. animal vivisection) as unethical. It is also important to note the more recent work coming from the social identity tradition, which suggests that participation, when conceived of and explained in terms of identity, is not clear cut, but rather an aspect of a dynamic process that influences the decision and the extent to which an individual participates in a social movement (Drury & Reicher, 2000).

In this instance the decision was made to more specifically focus on how the reader was being positioned emotionally within a text. This decision stemmed from an understanding that the animal rights movement was an instance of altruistic mobilisation and that the more typical modes of mobilisation were not directly available to movement organisers (i.e. claims that participation would lead to benefit or personal gain). That is, the explicit identification of the material benefits associated with participation. The apparent loss of the primary tools of mobilisation prompted a consideration of the type of material that was being presented to the reader.

The finding that the animal rights movement relied on emotion in mobilisation was consistent with the conclusions drawn by Jasper (1998) who suggested that strong emotions are embedded in many aspects of a social movement, including mobilisation and protest. More specifically, in their consideration of recruitment strategies and moral shock, Jasper and Poulson (1995) argued that emotion was a necessary part of a mobilising attempt, and that it was necessary to generate moral shocks in order to facilitate mobilisation when there were limited mobilisation options available (i.e. recruitment through social networks).

Yet, Jasper (1998; 1999) does not specify what it is specifically, that animal rights movement organisers do that facilitates moral outrage among readers. Thus, the weakness in the literature on social movements is not in acknowledging the role of emotion in mobilisation, but rather in articulating “how” emotional-based mobilisation actually occurs.

Moreover, this work (Jasper 1999; Jasper 1998; Jasper & Poulson, 1995) suggests the possibility that the role of emotion in persuasion and mobilisation extends beyond fear and guilt positioning. Even the support for the notion of ‘moral

shock' which provides the reader with a somewhat ambiguous understanding about moral outrage being the basis for mobilisation seems ill-defined. While there are problems inherent in any consideration of emotion, due to the definitional ambiguity associated with it, it is plausible to suggest that a more diverse array of emotions may be being experienced. Similarly, the term 'moral shock' is used by Jasper (1998) to account for the intense passion and activity expressed by activists involved in animal rights.

In light of this, it is suggested that much of the work done in accounting for moral shock is achieved by facilitating emotions of empathy, sadness and distress in the reader. However, it is suggested that positioning the reader to feel empathy for animals prompts feelings of moral outrage in the reader and thereby facilitates participation in the movement.

Furthermore it is posited that the movement's ability to activate the processing of the issue at a 'moral' level is significant in terms of making moral or ethical beliefs a salient identity. As suggested by social identity theorists, the ability to maintain multiple understandings and identities may vary depending on the importance attributed to each of these identities (Turner, et al., 1987; Hopkins & Reicher, 1997). Thus, a stronger adherence to a particular identity may be achieved when an individual approaches an issue from a 'moral' or an 'ethical' position, rather than from a social or political one. If the role of identity is considered from this perspective then the issue of abortion (which is similarly framed in terms of morality and ethics) may potentially be conceived of in this way (see Hopkins & Reicher, 1997; Hopkins et al., 2004). Moreover this framing may in part account for the considerable polarisation and extremity of activists and group members, which is seen in the

bombing of abortion clinics and some of the more radical actions undertaken by animal rights activists.

To this extent, it is perhaps the merging of ideology with social identity that is best facilitating an understanding of mobilisation at this level. Accordingly, it is posited that the perceived advantage in employing emotion-based strategies is that the information is constructed ideologically and in a manner that emphasises its moral relevance. This construction in turn facilitates an internalising and processing of information in terms of moral identity; an identity which is arguably central to self-definition. Accordingly, it is posited that moral shock (and thereby mobilisation) is achieved by activating an ethical identity that is triggered through the use of linguistic and visual emotion-based strategies.

#### **9.4 Creating Moral Shock: Implications for Altruistic Mobilisation**

The particular purpose of this research was to develop a strategy that could be used to facilitate participation in movements that could be conceived of as altruistic. Extrapolating from the research findings, it is posited that it is necessary to generate a sense of moral outrage at a situation in order to achieve mobilisation when there are only tenuous claims for personal gain or social cohesion (i.e. when pre-existing networks are unavailable or insufficient). This is primarily achieved by positioning the reader to empathise and relate to the situation being presented. Moreover, the goal is to position the reader to feel compelled to participate by the activation of their own sense that some situation is 'morally wrong'.



Therefore the application of this thesis extends to attempts to mobilise support for altruistic movements or endeavours. This may be conceived to include various attempts to give money to charity; generating support (financial) for various social reform activities and aid work, helping to facilitate various environmental programmes as well as mobilising support for more long-term environmental conservation efforts (i.e. abolition of fossil fuels). In particular, these long term environmental endeavours may be considered akin to altruistic movements as they result in a benefit that, whilst existing, is potentially removed from the individuals who need to make the sacrifice economically and in terms of lifestyle.

Limitations of this research naturally extend to the ambiguity associated with what emotion is, who feels it and when. This consideration is naturally impeded by individual variation in moral understandings. That is, if morality can be conceived of as 'relative' (which is itself philosophically problematic) then the notion of what constitutes acceptable and unacceptable is potentially very different and depends on various social and cultural perspectives. Thus, in seeking to mobilise a population for an altruistic social movement it is posited that similar theoretical implications apply as with social identity in rhetoric. That is, the issue will need to be presented such that moral outrage will be experienced by the maximum number of individuals. Accordingly, it is suggested that due to the ambiguous nature and diverse ethical positions adhered to, ingroup-outgroup implications hold.

More tangibly, in being a primarily exploratory study, additional work needs to be done to ascertain whether the findings are applicable outside of the context of animal rights. Moreover, it would be particularly interesting to see if an apparently unsuccessful social movement could be restructured along these lines in order to

facilitate social participation and whether or not this participation was due to the emotional positioning of the reader, or because of some other factors.

Perhaps more directly, a fundamental aspect of this thesis was its interdisciplinary nature. A number of psychological theories were combined and onto this eclecticism a linguistic analytic method was employed. Indeed, whilst the diverse theoretical frameworks allowed for multiple theoretical perspectives to be considered, not all these theories are perfectly consistent in all respects. Accordingly, aspects of some theories were developed and drawn upon without necessarily adhering to the epistemological and methodological underpinnings espoused by each. This may be viewed as either a strength, in that it allowed for the reconsideration of 'old' ideas and the formation of 'new' ones; or as theoretically problematic, as no one theory was privileged in its entirety.

## **9.5 Conclusions: Emotion-Based Strategies in Social Movements**

In closing, it should perhaps be reiterated that the process of mobilisation and participation is not isolated and that many factors contribute to the overall decision to participate in a social movement. Moreover, recent work coming from the social identity tradition has begun to consider identity based reasons for participation as malleable, suggesting that understandings about self and belonging are flexible and change with time and context (Drury & Reicher, 2000).

Of particular relevance in this instance, the emphasis in social mobilisation literature has primarily been the consideration of mobilisation as a series of intellectual rationalisations that are based on understandings about material gain

and identity appropriate behaviour. The purpose of this thesis was to explore how mobilisation was occurring when these issues were potentially more ambiguous. Accordingly, the goal was to see how social movement organisers were mobilising people when the more 'traditional' rhetorical strategies were either unavailable (i.e. gain, benefit) or less easy to articulate (i.e. identity arguments).

The findings from this thesis suggest that in such instances movement organisers are mobilising by relying on emotion-based strategies. This finding is consistent with that reported by Jasper (1999; Jasper 1998; Jasper & Poulson, 1995) who noted that the animal rights movement generally relies on emotion to facilitate social mobilisation. In particular Jasper (1999; Jasper 1998; Jasper & Poulson, 1995) suggests that it is the ability to generate 'moral shock' that directly facilitates movement participation.

Following on from this research, and in a manner consistent with the work done by identity theorists, it is posited that moral shock is achieved by activating an ethical identity through the use of emotion-based strategies. Theoretically, this thesis is interesting when considered in terms of the considerable emphasis placed on the ethical justification of animal rights. Indeed one of the more unique aspects of the animal rights movement when contrasted to the pro-research movement was the dense consideration of the ethical background that provided justification for animal rights. It is arguable that the support provided by ethicists and philosophers is potentially able to intellectually back the emotional claims presented by animal rights activists.

Thus, it is posited that the linguistic and visual strategies employed by the animal rights movement have contributed to the success of the movement by

facilitating the consideration of the issue of animal vivisection from within an emotional and ethical perspective.

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**List of Animal Rights Websites**

All Creatures [www.allcreatures.org](http://www.allcreatures.org)

Animal Liberation Front (ALF) [www.animalliberationfront.com](http://www.animalliberationfront.com)

Australian Association for Humane Research (AAHR) [www.aahr.asn.au](http://www.aahr.asn.au)

British Union for the Abolition of Vivisection (BUAV) [www.buav.org](http://www.buav.org)

Dr Hadwen Trust [www.drhadwentrust.org.uk](http://www.drhadwentrust.org.uk)

In Defense of Animals (IDA) [www.idausa.org](http://www.idausa.org)

Kinship Circle [www.kinshipcircle.org](http://www.kinshipcircle.org)

National Anti-Vivisection Society (NAVS) [www.navs.org](http://www.navs.org)

People for the Ethical Treatment of Animals (PETA) [www.peta.org](http://www.peta.org)

**List of Pro-Research Websites**

American Society of Primatologists [www.asp.org](http://www.asp.org)

Americans for Medical Progress [www.amprogress.org](http://www.amprogress.org)

Foundation for Biomedical Research [www.fbresearch.org](http://www.fbresearch.org)

Huntingdon Life Sciences [www.huntingdon.com](http://www.huntingdon.com)

Institutional Animal Care and Use Committee [www.iacuc.org](http://www.iacuc.org)

National Institute of Environmental Health Sciences [www.niehs.nih.gov](http://www.niehs.nih.gov)

National Primate Research Centres [www.primate.wisc.edu](http://www.primate.wisc.edu)

Oregon National Primate Research Centre <http://onprc.ohsu.edu>

Primate Information Network <http://pin.primate.wisc.edu>

Research Defense Society [www.rds-online.org.uk](http://www.rds-online.org.uk)

States United for Biomedical Research [www.statesforbiomed.org](http://www.statesforbiomed.org)