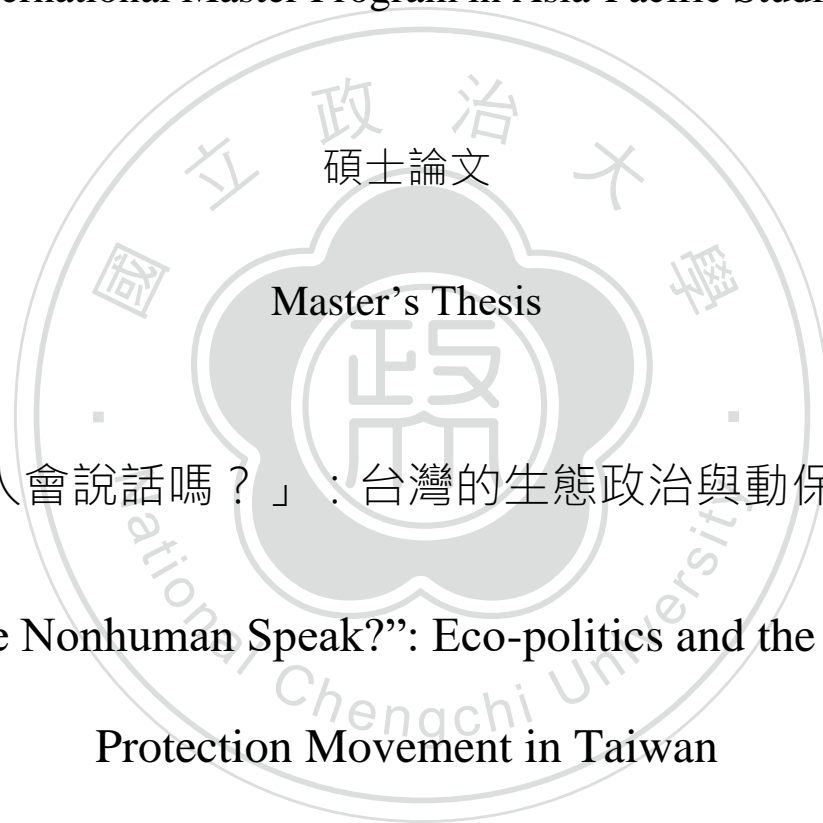


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碩士論文

Master's Thesis

「非人會說話嗎？」：台灣的生態政治與動保行動

“Can the Nonhuman Speak?": Eco-politics and the Animal
Protection Movement in Taiwan

Student: Gina G. Song-Lopez

Advisor: Professor Tang, Ching-Ping

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“So long, and thanks for all the fish!”¹

Keep on Rockin’

¹ See: *Hitchhiker’s Guide to the Galaxy* by Douglas Adams, good read.

Abstract

The title of this thesis is a reference to Spivak's famous essay: *Can the Subaltern Speak?*² By introducing the concept of the nonhuman in the context of this question, this action seeks to highlight the characteristic silence surrounding the inclusion of nature and animals in mainstream socio-political discussions. In the East Asian context this rings true due to the relatively limited scholarship on animal advocacy dynamics in the region. Taiwan is one such example where in spite of its increasing visibility and effectiveness, the animal protection movement has received little attention in relation to its growing influence in the eco-political landscape of the country. This thesis examines the emergence of animal protection rationales in Taiwan as an example of a 'New Social Movement' (NSM), and explores the mobilization dynamics employed by animal advocacy groups engaged in the transformation of socio-natural relationships. For this purpose, this thesis applies Jürgen Habermas' 'system-lifeworld' framework as advanced in his work on NSMs based on *The Theory of Communicative Action*. The findings indicate that animal protection consciousness in Taiwan arose from a new area of conflicts in the socio-natural space due to economic industrialization. At the same time, the convergence of Buddhist Modernism and Animal Ethics has resulted in the emergence of distinctive identities based on animal protection, and more recently the spread of veganism in the country. Counter institutions established from these processes of communicative action play a central role in advancing new discourses to address human-nonhuman interests. Therefore, the Animal Protection Movement in Taiwan is an increasingly prominent element in the eco-political landscape of the country. Future inquiry should pay closer attention to such developments in the East Asian context. Here, insights from the case of Taiwan's animal advocacy provide a relevant starting point.

Key Terms: *Animal Protection, Animal Rights, Animal Welfare, Eco-politics, Speciesism, Veganism, System-Lifeworld.*

² Spivak, G.C. (1996 [1985]). *Subaltern Studies. Deconstructing Historiography*. In D. Landry and G. MacLean (Eds.), *The Spivak Reader*. London: Routledge.

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List of Abbreviations

APA: Animal Protection Association

APM: Animal Protection Movement

COA: Council of Agriculture

EAST: Environment and Animal Society of Taiwan

LCA: Life Conservationist Association

NSM: New Social Movement

PETA: People for the Ethical Treatment of Animals

TAEA: Taiwan Animal Equality Association

TNR: Trap Neuter Return

TSPCA: Taiwan Society for the Prevention

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1 Introduction

1.1 Political Animals

The relationship between human and non-human animals has been a key element in the makeup of socio-natural relationships across history. Over millennia and across various civilizations, animals have played different roles in human society: from worship icons and companions to sustenance sources. In the modern world, animals remain central to various aspects of human life as household pets, economic assets in food and entertainment, and research subjects in science (Serpell, 1989: 18-19; York and Mancus, 2013). At the same time, current socio-natural relationships, among which the most significant is pet keeping, are also informed by deeper cultural, social, and economic factors that are arguably characteristic of industrially developed societies (Serpell, 1989: 19). An increasingly discussed aspect in the relationships between humans and non-human animals refers to questions on the welfare and rights of animals, primarily arising from debates at the philosophical and legal fronts.

While early examples of social discussion and advocacy for the better treatment of animals can be traced back to the establishment of Humane Societies in Britain and the United States, and the passage of the first laws addressing animal protection in the 1800s, it was not until the 1970s when these ideas became more widely organized and integrated into social and political discourses (Guither, 1998: 4). During this period, modern animal rights theory emerged from the meeting of the “Oxford Vegetarians”, a group of philosophy students at Oxford University and their publication of the book *Animals, Men and Morals* in 1972 (Singer, 1982). This title along with the subsequent works of Singer’s (1975) *Animal Liberation*, and Tom Regan’s (1983) *The Case for Animal Rights* came to be the intellectual foundation of current ethical and moral considerations. This led to the creation of the philosophical underpinnings that have fueled the rise of modern

animal advocacy movements in many countries. In a nutshell, current animal advocacy movements aim to transform socio-natural relationships by advancing a discourse that focuses on the ethical and/or moral standing of animals with the aim to improve their lives and reduce their suffering. Animal advocates engage in a wide variety of actions, their groups' present different degrees of organization and mobilization, and have become increasingly effective in improving the status of animals. Consequently, they have successfully promoted their legal protections in many countries (Guither, 1998). In the context of Taiwan, while the idea of compassion for animals is not entirely novel due to the prevalence of Buddhist beliefs, awareness for animal welfare and animal rights issues is a relatively recent development. Nevertheless, the growing relevance of these discourses is noticeable in their expansion within socio-political spaces in the country as further discussed in the following section.

1.2 The Rise of Animal Protection Rationales in Taiwan

The Taiwanese eco-politics landscape experienced a new addition on August 8, 2016. On this date, hundreds of animal rights and welfare advocates gathered to found a political party dedicated to advancing animal interests in the country. The Taiwanese Animal Protection Party is not only the first of its kind in Taiwan and Asia, but also signals the drive toward converting the increasing concern over the need to improve the lives of animals into more effective political and social outcomes in the country (Chen, 2016; Willhoft, 2016). This development also illustrates the important transformation in socio-natural relations since the late 1980s when Taiwan, in the midst of its economic miracle and the emergence of a newly affluent and educated middle class, 'discovered' nature (Weller, 2006). It was during this period that ecological rationales entered the public consciousness with the emergence of the first wave of Taiwanese environmentalists. They ultimately resulted in the upgrade of the Environmental Protection Administration in 1987, and

the enactment of legislation such as the 1989 Wildlife Conservation Act. Since then, ecological rationales have greatly expanded in Taiwanese socio-political discourses, most significantly through the various incarnations of environmentalism in the country (Hsiao, 1999). Along these developments, growing awareness of issues related to the treatment of animals steadily increased giving rise to a variety of animal advocacy efforts. In particular, the formation of the Life Conservationist Association (LCA), Taiwan's first animal advocacy organization, and which was central to the spread of modern animal rights and animal welfare rationales in Taiwan. Subsequently leading to the passing of the Animal Protection Act in 1998 (Lin, 2015). Nevertheless, although animal protections laws and mechanisms have gradually been enacted, various problems affecting animals in Taiwan remain. From pet abandonment and stray animal populations, to animal abuse in entertainment and factories, advocacy groups are increasingly vocal in their efforts to represent the interests of animals in the country. At the same time, bringing attention to issues of lax enforcement, inadequate animal welfare standards, and insufficient public awareness of animal wellbeing. Consequently, these developments highlight the work of a growing sector of civil society actors engaged in transforming socio-natural relationships in Taiwan through the spread of concepts such as animal welfare and animal rights.

1.3 Research Purpose and Scope

In relation to the researchers' personal engagement with animal activism and interest in eco-politics, this thesis project came about through the observation that in spite of a considerably extensive amount of research in ecological affairs, less attention has been placed on the aspect of animal protection from a socio-political perspective in Taiwan. This led to the formulation of a very general yet puzzling initial thought: "Are 'animals' political?". This first question eventually shaped into a more specific problem: "How are socio-natural relationships political?". From this

point, further inquiry was directed back to the case of the animal protection movement comprised by animal advocacy actors, their distinctive eco-centric discourses, and non-traditional dynamics of engagement within socio-political spaces. Most notably, the increasingly vocal and visible role played by animal protection groups, in particular internationally active organizations such as PETA, Mercy for Animals, and the Humane Society in advancing the concepts of animal rights and animal welfare around the globe. As a result of the juxtaposition between the international developments surrounding animal advocacy and the case of Taiwan, a gap in the study of the country's ecologically oriented social movements was revealed. This observation in addition to the fact that the country is currently facing important animal policy imperatives in addition to the spread of veganism in the country opened an opportunity to further research these developments. Consequently, the main objective of this thesis is twofold. First, to bring attention to the Animal Protection Movement (APM) in Taiwan as a representative example of a New Social Movement (NSM). Second, to examine the implication of growing issue networks surrounding animal advocacy for the eco-political and democratic landscape of Taiwan. In particular, the latter aspect aims to highlight how individual activists and advocacy organizations mobilize to transform socio-natural relationships through the spread of animal rights and animal welfare discourses within socio-political spaces.

While this thesis seeks to present a comprehensive account of the developments surrounding the APM in Taiwan, its many advocacy areas, the different mobilization approaches, and levels of organization, the later part of this research places particular attention to the ongoing debates surrounding stray animal management efforts and shelter reform. These issues are currently a primary concern among most animal advocacy groups due to Taiwan's move to become a "no-kill" nation (White, 2016). Furthermore, they embody the overlapping and sometimes

conflicting discourses currently advanced by different animal protection groups and which have important implication for policy outcomes in regard to animals in the country.

1.3.1 Terminology.

It is important to note that there exist some significant differences between the concepts of animal welfare and animal rights. The former refers to the ‘humane’ treatment of animals and concern for their general health and wellbeing, the latter entails the recognition of animals as moral entities deserving of equal standing to humans. In practice, these views translate into different normative arguments and goals that are sometimes at odds (Guither, 1998; Sunstein and Nussbaum, 2004: 4). On the one hand, animal welfare advocacy does not necessarily question the morality of human-animal relationships beyond the prevention of cruel practices in the treatment of animals. Therefore, the use of animals as food or clothing is acceptable as long as certain standards are met. On the other hand, the argument for animal rights is based on the moral standing of animals as equal sentient beings where animal suffering should be understood on the same level as human suffering. As Regan (1986) states, Animal rights activism focuses on: (a) the total abolition of the use of animals in science; (b) the total dissolution of commercial animal agriculture; (c) the total elimination of commercial and sport hunting and trapping. Based on this perspective, the objectification and commodification of animals constitute an expression of “Speciesism”. On the lines of sexism or racism, this refers to the idea that different species deserve different value, rights, or consideration based on their membership to an animal group. In practice, this translates into our perception of animal lives and their suffering as morally less relevant to that of our own people, and the differential treatment we give animals based on their usefulness to us as companions or as economic animals (Singer, 2002; DeGrazia, 2006:49).

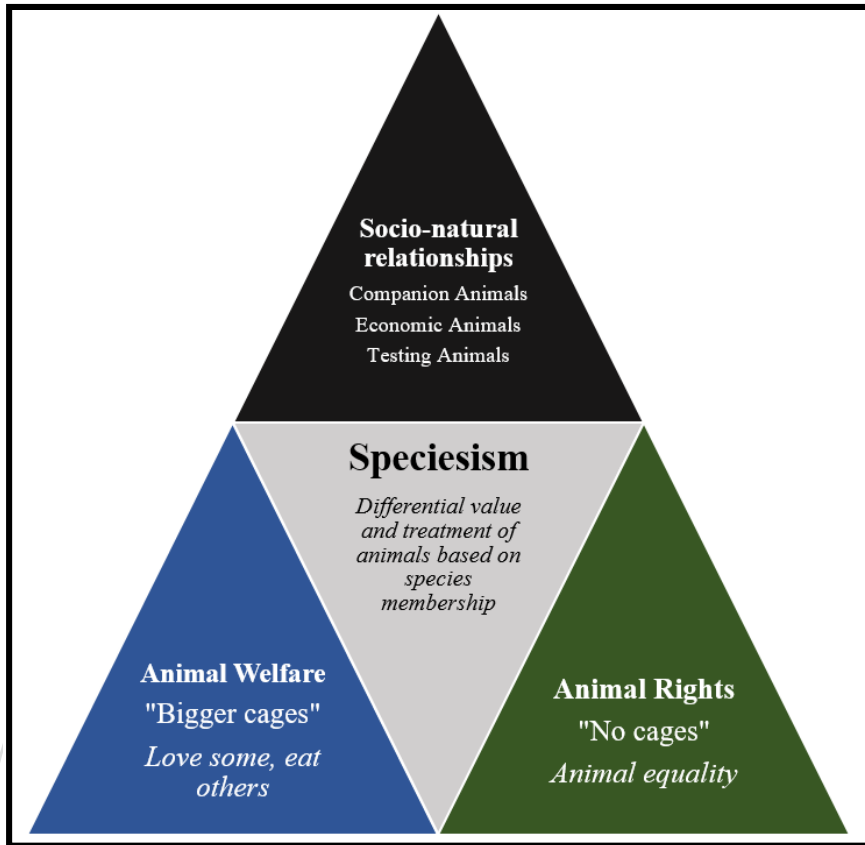


Figure 1 Normative differences underlying socio-natural relationships based on speciesism (Source: Author).

Consequently, the key difference between animal rights and animal welfare can be understood through the fact that “Animal rights advocates are campaigning for no cages, while animal welfarists are campaigning for bigger cages” (The Ethics Centre, 2016).

From here, despite the internal differences between animal rights and animal welfare groups, the terms ‘Animal Rights Movement’ and ‘Animal Protection Movement’ are often interchangeably used as an umbrella concept to refer to these various groups (Waldau, 2010: 4). Nevertheless, in the Taiwanese context, because of the relatively new development of animal advocacy rationales and the socio-cultural context in which these groups have emerged, this Thesis will refer to these groups under the term of ‘Animal Protection Movement’ (APM).

1.4 Research Questions

This thesis aimed to make sense of the emergence of the APM in Taiwan by addressing three main questions:

1. *Is the Animal Protection Movement representative as a 'New Social Movement' in the context of Taiwan?*
 - a. What are the characteristics, similarities, and differences of this movement with its more developed counterparts in the US or Europe?
2. *What are the key issues currently being addressed by this movement?*
 - a. How does social mobilization on animal protection issues take place in Taiwan?
 - b. How does animal advocacy translate into socio-political or institutional outcomes in Taiwan?
3. *How is the advancement of animal protection interests in Taiwan significant to the democratic development process of the country?*
 - a. Is the case of Taiwan's Animal Protection Movement relevant to democratic politics elsewhere?

With these questions in mind, the following section will introduce the theoretical and conceptual framework supporting the research undertaken throughout this project.

1.5 Analytical Framework

This thesis examined the emergence of the APM in Taiwan as an example of a New Social Movement (NSM). The following sections lay out the characteristics of NSM in relation to “traditional” social movements, and outline the analytical framework based on Habermas’ “lifeworld-system” concept that informed the conduct of this research project.

1.5.1 New Social Movements

Since the mid-1960s, the family of social movements has experienced an important expansion with the appearance of an increasingly diverse set of issues leading to social mobilization. Suitably, the rise of LGBT rights, women's rights, minority rights, ecology and animal rights, peace movements, student movements, religious movements, and others have represented an important break from social movements concerned with struggles around class, ideology, and economic structures. These 'new' social movements are distinctive from 'traditional' social movements in various accounts. In a nutshell, Table 1 shows a comparison of eight key points between New Social Movements (NSMs) and 'Tradition Social Movements'. As a result of this departure from 'traditional' movements, theories to analyze these 'new' social movements were developed. Among such, New Social Movement (NSM) Theory emerged in Europe in order to address the shortcomings of approaches mostly focused on ideologies, primarily Marxism to explain social mobilization beyond the basis of struggles for redistribution (Canel, 1997: 23; Buechler, 1995: 441; Pichardo, 1997: 412). Nevertheless, in spite of its widespread use, there is no agreement on the core tenets of what NSM Theory is. Mirroring the nature of the social movements it studies, Buechler (1995: 442) notes that NSM Theory is an umbrella term for approaches applying the general themes of: Symbolic action, empowerment, post-materialism, identity, constructivism, and latency (Table 2). At the same time, while different scholars apply these concepts to various different degrees, "all versions of NSM theory operate with some model of societal totality that provides the context for the emergence of collective action" (Buechler, 1995: 442). In summary "the NSM perspective emphasizes the cultural nature of the new movements and views them as struggles for control over the production of meaning and the constitution of new collective identities" (Canel, 1997: 22).

Table 1 Ideal-Type comparison between ‘Traditional’ and ‘New Social Movements’

Characteristics	Traditional Social Movements	New Social Movements
Membership	Tends to be based on class structures.	Transcend class structures. Better understood through social markers such as age groups, gender, sexual orientation, or profession.
Ideology	Mostly characterized in terms of overarching ideological divides. (ex. Right-Left, Conservative-Liberal).	Defined by the plurality of ideas and values. Entail the ‘democratization’ of everyday life.
Grievances	Focused on economic issues, systems of production, or national interests.	Connected to cultural or symbolic issues. Often pertain the expression of identity or belonging to a particular group.
Mobilization	Group Mobilization on the lines of class and economic/political structures.	The line between individual and collective action is usually blurred. Individual actions are a vehicle for expression and confirmation of identity.
Life	Differentiated public/private spheres of involvement	‘The personal is political’. May involve intimate aspects of human life, from sexual behavior and fashion, to diet and career choices.
Strategies*	Disruption and resistance based on struggle	Nonviolence and civil disobedience.
Participation Channels	Based on established channels for public participation.	Prefer alternative forms of participation and decision making to address collective interests.
Organization	Hierarchical, cadre-led, institutionalized (ex. Mass party structures, etc.).	Segmented, diffused, and decentralized.

Source: Author. (Based on Johnston, Laraña, and Gusfield, 1994: 6-8).

Table 2 Theme-issue focus under NSM theory approaches

NSM Theory Themes	
Symbolic Action	Particular interest in the symbolic action in civil society or the cultural sphere as major spaces for collective action.
Empowerment	Attention to the processes of “empowerment” based on autonomy or self-determination as opposed to strategies to obtain influence and power over society and the state.
Post-materialism	Post-materialist values are understood as key aspects for social mobilization, instead of conflict over resources.
Identity	Focuses on the problematization of the process of collective identity construction, and identification of group interests.
Constructivism	Grievances and ideology are socially constructed.
Latency	Social mobilization can arise from a variety of hidden, latent, and/or temporary networks, without the need of centralized organizational requisites.

Source: Author (Based on Buechler, 1995: 442).

Considering the diversity of the approaches to NSM theory, this thesis applies NSM theory as advanced by Jürgen Habermas in his key publication *The Theory of Communicative Action* (TCA) (1981), and later outlined in his article ‘New Social Movements’ in the journal *Telos* (1987). From here, this thesis focuses on the dynamics of NSM mobilization within the “seam between the system and the life-world” as a response to the colonizing effects of the media of money and power on daily life (Habermas, 1981; 1987). More specifically, the processes of juridification and commodification by which government and economic apparatuses regulate and reify everyday life, and where individual actors are reduced to the roles of employed/consumer and client/citizen. A process against which NSMs seek to emancipate from or resist by creating “sub-culturally protected communications groups which further the search for personal and

collective identity” (Habermas, 1981: 36). From here, it is important to recognize that the actual ‘newness’ of these movements has been contested in line with Picardo’s (1997) and Edwards’ (2004) assessments of NSMs.

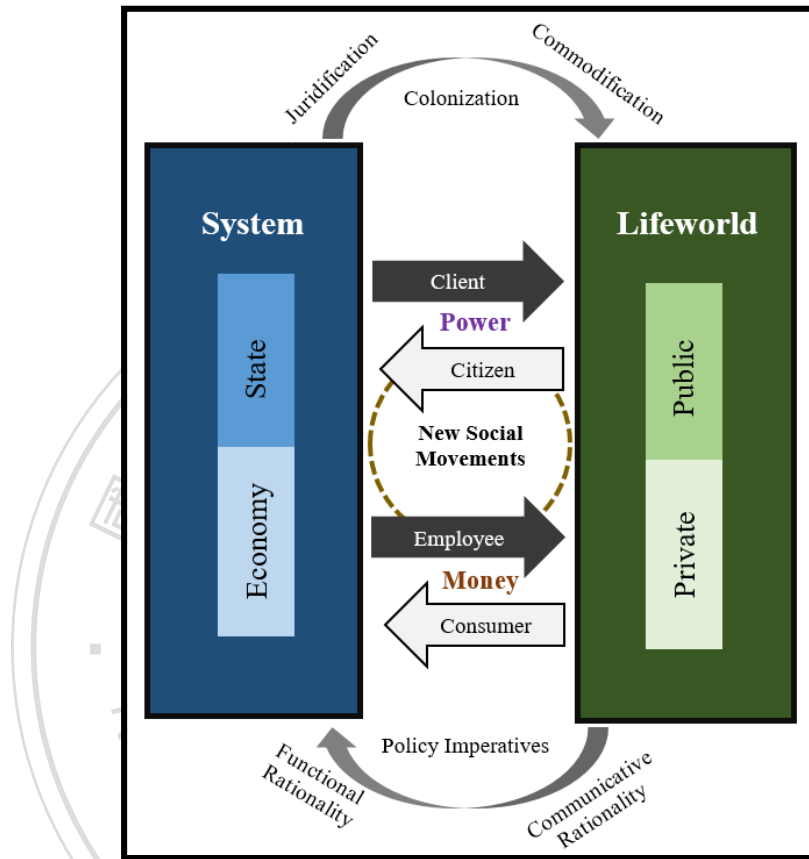


Figure 2 Sytem-lifeworld dynamic. Adapted from Wikimedia Commons, 2007. Retrieved February 15, 2017, from <https://commons.wikimedia.org/wiki/File:Habermas-system-lifeworld.jpg>. Copyright 2007 by Freetrader. Adapted with permission. Based on Habermas (1987) and Edwards (2004).

However, Edwards (2004) also recognizes that Habermas’ approach to the study of social movements is useful due to the fact that beyond the debate over new versus traditional movements, his framework highlights the conflict-shift in modern socio-political mobilization. Thus, offering insight into “The changing relationship between the state and the economy in the process of capitalist modernization” and the effects that this has at the level of social integration within the lifeworld (Edwards, 2004: 128). Consequently, the remaining of this thesis will apply an

Habermasian framework to examine the growing social mobilization around animal protection issues in Taiwan as a response to the transformation of socio-natural relationships under the advent of industrial development, and highlight the emergence of new identities and grievances based on these developments.

1.6 Chapter Organization

The remaining organization of this thesis will proceed as follow. Chapter two consists of the literature review, it consists of two section. The first section considers the current scholarship on human-animal relations from a multidisciplinary and international perspective, and discusses four main areas of academic interest in regard to this research project in the context of Taiwan: (1) Democratization and the rise of civil society as environmental movements became increasingly active, and animal protection rationales developed. (2) The institutionalization of nature through environmental governance mechanisms, permeated with discourses of environmental justice and democracy. (3) The history of Animal Ethics and Animal Law in Taiwan. And, (4) an overview of existing research on animal governance, particularly focused on stray animal populations management, a key issue under the APM. The second part of this section explores the relevance of filling existing gaps in the scholarship by including animal voices.

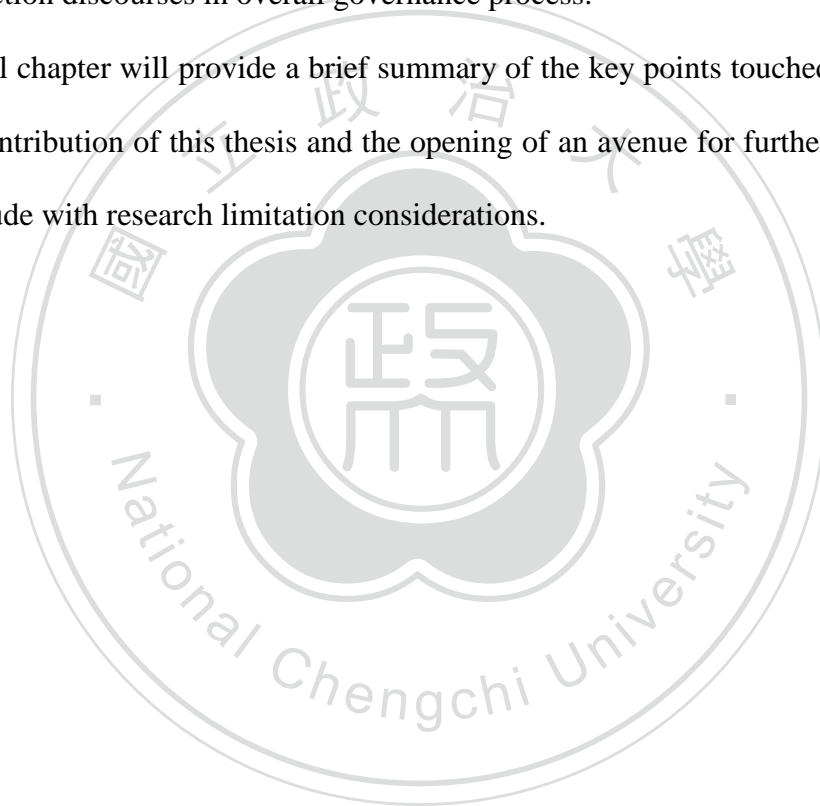
Chapter three pertains to the methodology that informed the conduct of this Thesis. This section will introduce the methodological considerations in adapting a Habermasian approach to the study of the APM in Taiwan. It will then account for data collection in the course of this research based on methods of Participant-Observation, Interviews, and Social Media Analysis.

Chapter four will present the findings. It will provide an overview of the development of Taiwan's APM, its origins, discourses, and current developments. Here, the emergence of new lines of conflict and approaches to animal protection will be outlined, making the case for the

emerge of animal welfare and animal rights interests as a representative a New Social Movement in the country.

Chapter five will outline the major areas of animal advocacy mobilization, and zoom into the problem of stray animals in Taiwan. It will focus on the factors underlying the problem of stray populations across the island, the role of NGOs in animal governance, and the further contribution of the APM in transforming socio-natural relationships in Taiwan through the effective advance of animal protection discourses in overall governance process.

The final chapter will provide a brief summary of the key points touched upon the thesis, highlight the contribution of this thesis and the opening of an avenue for further research on this area, and conclude with research limitation considerations.



2 Literature Review and Integration

2.1 Humans, animals, and spaces

Mirroring the expansion of animal protection efforts around the globe, the study of animal advocacy interests within social and political science research has been largely focused on aspects such as animal activism from the perspective of social movements, the profiles of animal advocacy supporters, the role of norms and emotions in animal protection discourses, and strategies for mobilization (Herzog, 1993; Jerolmack, 2003; Munro, 2005). However, beyond these areas, the further dynamics informing human-nonhuman animal relations has been for the most part surprisingly ignored under scholarly discussions of environmental or ecological democratic deliberation beyond issues based on conservation rationales. In part, this reflects on a common critique towards animal advocacy actors. As noted by Humhrey and Stears, (2006) animal advocates are involved in a particularly contentious line of politics, not only because they advance a starkly different view on an ‘ideal’ democratic order that includes the representation of non-human interests, but also because of the employment of non-traditional tactics such as cost-levying and shock based campaigns. Hence, placing the movement in the fringes of the political terrain. At the same time, research on the politics of human-animal relationships is also subject to the “problematic nature of nature” in social science due to the marked dichotomy between the natural and the social that has dominated the development of the two major strands of scientific inquiry (Asdal, 2003). Nonetheless, in recent decades the study of socio-natural relationships and the normative elements underlying animal protection discourses have come to constitute a very specific area of research in philosophical, political, legal, economic, geographic, and socio-anthropological inquiry (Emel and Wolch, 1998). This has resulted in the establishment of fields such as Animal Studies, Anthrozoology, and Critical Animal Studies (Taylor and Twine, 2014).

However, these new areas of research have been predominantly undertaken in the North America and Europe, with lesser input from the Asia-Pacific region (Salter, 2015). Furthermore, interest on animal protection movements under this field has also been considerably limited (Munro, 2012). On the other hand, in the context of East Asia, inquiry on these various fronts is extremely limited. Here, Li (2006) has provided a comprehensive account the recent expansion of animal rights and animal welfare rationales in China's socio-political space. Along these lines, Dobson's (2007) research on Hong Kong based NGO Animals Asia Foundation efforts to end the poaching of Moon bears to supply the bear bile market in the region has laid out the need to expand political geographies and include animals in further discussions of socio-political spaces. From the perspective of Taiwan, there is considerable unexplored potential to engage in these dialogues. However, the little amount research relevant to the politics of socio-natural and human-nonhuman relationships has mostly derived from scholarship covering the development of the eco-political and environmental legal landscape in Taiwan since political liberalization. Consequently, the key aim in this section is to outline the aforementioned landscape, identify the key openings in the scholarships that have facilitated the buildup of this thesis research project, and to highlight the gap that this project has sought to address.

2.1.2 Democracy, civil society & new actors.

The transformation of Taiwan's socio-political landscape from authoritarianism to democracy has been subject to an important amount of academic inquiry in relation to the so called 'Third Wave' of democratization (Hsiao and Koo, 1997; Rigger, 1999; Whitehead, 2007; Fell, 2012). Civil society actors have been of particular interest in the study of Taiwan's democratic development process (Hsiao, 1992; Wong, 2003; Pillion, 2010). In this context, the connection between the emergence of Taiwanese social movements and a 'demanding civil society' has been

extensively covered by the work of Hsiao (1990, 1992) and Ho (2010). Among his research pieces, Hsiao (1990) has provided an account of the history of social mobilization in the country based on three analytical concepts that reflect the main forces that characterized Taiwanese power-relations between 1947 to 1990: political forces, economic forces, and social forces. In addition, he also provides a wide issue area covering list of 17 Taiwanese social movements that emerged during this period, demonstrating the rise of participatory culture in Taiwan's political affairs (Hsiao, 1990). Hsiao (2010) later revisited and expanded the list of social movements in Taiwan to a total of 20, and organized them into two typologies in order to facilitate a comparison of their characteristics and impact in the Taiwanese polity. The first one derived from the 'Resource Mobilization' model, and the later build from public perceptions and attitudes toward social movements. Further looking into the history of social mobilization in Taiwan, Ho's (2010) application of the concept of 'Political Opportunity Structure' to the case of Taiwan's social movements illustrates the trajectory of civil society in the country. In a nutshell, he divides the history of social movements in Taiwan into five main stages: fermentation, popular upsurge, institutionalization, incorporation, and resurgence (Ho 2011).

From here, a portion of the aforementioned work has also paid closer attention to the appearance of civil society actors engaged with the 'green' or ecological issue area in Taiwan. This refers to the 'Three Streams of Environmental Movements' identified by Hsiao (1999), and which consist of: the anti-pollution protest movement, the nature conservation movement, and anti-nuclear movement. These three movements have been subject to a considerable amount of academic inquiry, in particular the anti-nuclear groups in recent years (Hsu 2005). While this demonstrates the existence of a considerably developed 'green' or ecological camp for socio-political mobilization in Taiwan, there is still a considerable academic gap in the research of an

increasingly visible group of civil society actors engaged with a different, yet sometimes overlapping area of socio-natural relationships. That is, Taiwan's Animal Protection movement which is comprised by a variety of activist engaged in advancing animal rights and welfare in the country. Partly due its comparatively recent formation, this 'new social movement' has received considerably limited amount of academic attention, mostly in the Chinese language. Most relevantly, Wu (2010) provides an initial historical account of the transformation of socio-natural relationships in Taiwan since the 1950s through the changing treatment of pets like cats and dogs. The author notes that while the issue of stray dogs has received important public attention and government address, stray cats have only recently become a subject of interest. Applying the concepts of NSM theory she explains the rise of a 'Stray Cat Protection Movement. In relation to this, the first comprehensive account of the origins of the APM as a whole refers to the establishment of the Life Conservationist Association (LCA) and its advocacy work between 1992 and 1999 (Wang, 2012). The role of this organization advancing introducing modern animal ethics concepts to the Taiwanese context has also been further explored by Ho in her account of the organization's ideological and activist origins (2016). From here, the further importance of the rise of these interest groups in the political process is discussed below.

2.1.3 Institutionalizing nature.

Social mobilization based on emerging ecological consciousness lead to the rise of a Taiwanese Eco-political camp. A considerable amount of research has been conducted on how these 'green' issue areas translate into political and institutional change. Tang & Tang's (1997) analysis of the dynamics of environmental mobilizations under the process of authoritarian retreat established the main linkage between environmental affairs and Taiwanese democratic development. Their piece shed light not only on the relationship between environmental interests

and democratic affairs, it also illustrated how democratization might translate into cleavages and the need for better institutions to address these. Taking from there, Tang & Tang's (1999) work then zoomed into the politicization of the environment under democratic liberalization to see how new areas of interest representation perform within the context of political competition, further empathizing on the need to develop proper channels for public participation. Addressing this, the authors later engaged in a more explicit analysis of this issue by looking at the democratization of environmental governance mechanisms in the country, namely, the Environmental Impact Assessment (EIA) and pollution control fees (Tang & Tang, 2000). Subsequent work by Fan (2008, 2010) further makes the case of improving environmental citizenship by expanding participation into the policy process and designing better institutions. At the same time, Huang (2009, 2010) illustrates on the politics underlying the different environmental justice perspectives in Taiwan, and shows that environmental narratives have become widely used in national political affairs where there are various competing conceptions of justice. This latter point is particularly relevant to the further discussion of the extension of rights and legal protection to nonhuman animals which are increasingly relevant in Taiwan's policy debates, and where 'issue networks' comprised by animal protection advocates and other stakeholders have come to have important influence in institutional outcomes (Lin, 2015). Finally, the ethical and legal considerations informing these mechanisms are presented.

2.1.3 Animal ethics & law.

A main body of literature on animal rights and welfare rationales in Taiwan has been produced from the perspective of Law and Ethics, predominantly in the Chinese language. Among these pieces, an initial discussion of extension of rights to animals from a constitutional protection context is advanced by Xu (2008). Following the logic of legal protection, Cai (2009) has looked

at the case of amendment of Animal Protection Law and the criminalization of animal mistreatment in Taiwan. Her research notes that enforcement of these laws remains ineffective, and that “criminalizing the misconduct of abusing animal in the Animal Protection Law is feasible but not fundamental”. Along these lines, the theory informing Animal Protection Law originating in the West and its practice in the Taiwanese legal context has also been examined (Wu, 2010). Xu (2010) further discusses this aspect through the application of Animal Ethics Theory in other countries like Germany and Japan in comparison to Taiwan. Expanding on this, Yang (2011) provides a historical account of the origins, development, and evolution of Law in Taiwan since the Ching Dynasty and how the various historical periods have addressed Animal Law differently, explaining the cultural underpinnings of the application of Animal Protection Law under the R.O.C regime. Continuing the discussion of legal culture and traditional practices in the country, legal protection to farm animals has been researched from a comparative perspective to Europe and the United States by Lin (2013). Finally, Lin (2015) presents an important analysis how the Life Conservationist Association (LCA) synthesized Western concepts of Animal Rights such as advanced by the Oxford Group and Buddhist values of mercy and compassion in order to advance a Taiwanese Animal Rights discourse. This last piece is particularly relevant to make sense of the philosophical underpinnings that inform Taiwan’s APM and their current mobilization dynamics.

2.1.4 Animal governance.

Mechanisms pertaining the wider governance apparatus in respect to animal subjects in Taiwan has received little attention in relation to the more developed environmental governance and policy area. Nevertheless, one area of overlap here refers to biodiversity and wildlife conservation governance. Most relevantly, Tang and Tang (2004) have discussed local governance and politics surrounding the conservation of land and the protection of the Fairy Pitta bird in

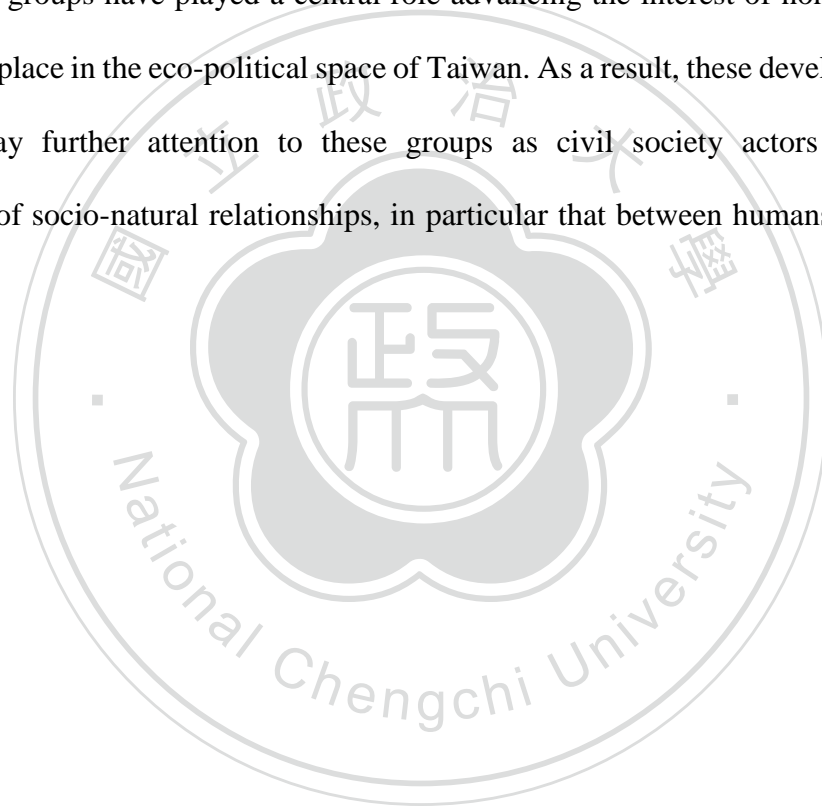
Yunlin, Taiwan. In addition, the governance of biodiversity conservation in Taiwan and China has been discussed drawing on the institutional frameworks for conservation and stakeholder involvement under the challenges of urban expansion and industrial development in both countries (McBeath and Leng, 2006). From here, the main area of animal governance related research in Taiwan has been focused on the public administration level. Reflecting on policy imperatives the persistence of problems surrounding stray animal populations and pet abandonment practices in Taiwan has drawn a discreet amount of research. Starting with dog populations in the country, Tung et al. (2010) provide a survey of domestic and stray dog numbers from 1999 to 2009. Among their findings, it is indicated that the population of stray dogs dramatically decreased in the last decade partially as a result of increased captures and food waste management. On a similar note, a study on cat ownership and associated factors by Chang et al. (2013) which analyzed data collected from 2001 to 2009, suggests an association between a change in lifestyles in recent years and an increase in cat keeping. From here, research on the public's knowledge about the Animal Protection Act and public shelters has concluded that while the Taiwanese population is generally aware of the existence of legislation and shelters, there is a lack of adequate knowledge on pet ownership requirements, and low usage of shelter services (Weng et al. 2006a). A closer attention has also been paid to animal shelter management and population trends. Peng et al. (2012) analysis of stray animal inflows and outflows in 40 public shelters between 2000 and 2005 suggest a positive relationship between the country's rise in GDP and pet acquisitions, subsequent animal abandonment, and their fate on the streets or shelters. They note some slow progress toward higher adoptions and lower euthanasia cases, and argue for stronger public education efforts. Consequently, studies focusing on pet ownership and abandonment practices by Weng et al. (2006b) and Hsu et al. (2003) have drawn attention to factors such as family pet ownership

histories, pet behavior problems, misguided ownership expectations, and failure to neuter animals among other issues contributing to animal abandonment and stray populations. On the other end of stray animal management, further enquiry into the conditions surrounding shelter adoptions has considered the demographics and motives behind the rise of online animal adoptions, highlighting the benefits of such platforms and the need to improve their visibility (Lam & Wu, 2011). Lastly, although the aforementioned studies provide a considerable coverage of the various aspects surrounding stray animal population management, they are mostly focused on public effort outcomes and do not consider the role of civil society actors in addressing this issue. Furthermore, the focus on companion animals is problematic as it raises questions as to where do other animals fall in the policy process, and what are the factors determining which animals enter the political discourse in Taiwan.

2.2 The Eco-Political Landscape: So where are the animals?

As Taiwan's established democratic system becomes increasingly plural, questions surrounding 'conflictive pluralism' require further attention. This phenomenon is characteristic in democracies where the cleavages and sub-ideologies within groups often produce different position strands and intersections on a variety of issues (Dahl, 1978: 192-193). While 'eco-political' or 'green' actors tend to be on the 'same side' of the political spectrum, there are considerable differences within these groups which is usually defined by their position in relation to nonhuman animals (Mason, 1999: 24). From the eco-politics perspective, this issue not only translates into debates such as 'growth versus conservation' between environmentalists and industry groups, it also leads to 'animal welfare versus animal rights' positions between environmentalists and animal rights advocates. Such differences are important when making sense of the dynamics underlying democratic governance processes. As Held (1996: 203) notes, in a

plural democracy: “Political outcomes are the result of government and, ultimately, the executive trying to mediate and adjudicate between competing demands of groups”. It follows that environmentalists led the opening of an eco-political space in Taiwan’s democratic landscape by mobilizing society and “politicizing nature” (Mattlin, 2011: 129). At the same time, democratic development, cultural and economic globalization, and increased socio-natural consciousness has facilitated the spread of animal welfare and animal rights discourses within Taiwanese society. Here, advocacy groups have played a central role advancing the interest of non-human animals, thus claiming a place in the eco-political space of Taiwan. As a result, these developments indicate the need to pay further attention to these groups as civil society actors engaged in the transformation of socio-natural relationships, in particular that between humans and non-human animals.



3 Methodology

3.1 A Habermasian Immaterial Eco-Centric Cultural Approach

Having laid out the analytical framework and literature supporting the inquiry into the APM in Taiwan, it is now pertinent to look at the methodology that informed the research conducted for this thesis. The first task on this front was to construct an empirical model based on the cultural and social context of Taiwan from a Habermasian perspective sensitive to ecological discourses. For this purpose, an “immaterial eco-centric cultural approach” as suggested by Skollerhorn (1998) was developed to suit the timeframe and resources available for the completion of this thesis. This approach was deemed appropriate in the context of an engaged research dynamic as it “focus[es] on the participant’s definition of the social situation where a political problem is discussed” (Skollerhorn, 1998: 561). In order to make sense of the relationship between the empirical and theoretical components of this thesis in line with eco-centric rationales, the further interpretation and analysis of the data drew from environmental hermeneutics. More specifically, the circular relationship between the empirical material [the parts] and theoretical assumptions [the whole] as an ‘hermeneutic circle’ (Schleiermacher, 1999, cited in Mantzavinos, 2016; Drenthen, 2017). At the same time, keeping in mind Van Buren’s (1995: 261) paired distinction between shallow/deep ecology and deep/surface hermeneutics this research project bridges such divides as it focuses on both with the changing socio-natural paradigms and its translation into political outcomes by animal advocacy actors, and their role in advancing discourses of animal rights and animal welfare into policy mechanisms. Finally, in line with the outlined methodological considerations, the research conducted for this thesis drew from primary and secondary qualitative sources. Primary sources were obtained through three methods of data

collection: Participant-Observation, Interviews, and Social Media Analysis. Complementary secondary data from various sources further supported the completion of the analysis in this thesis.

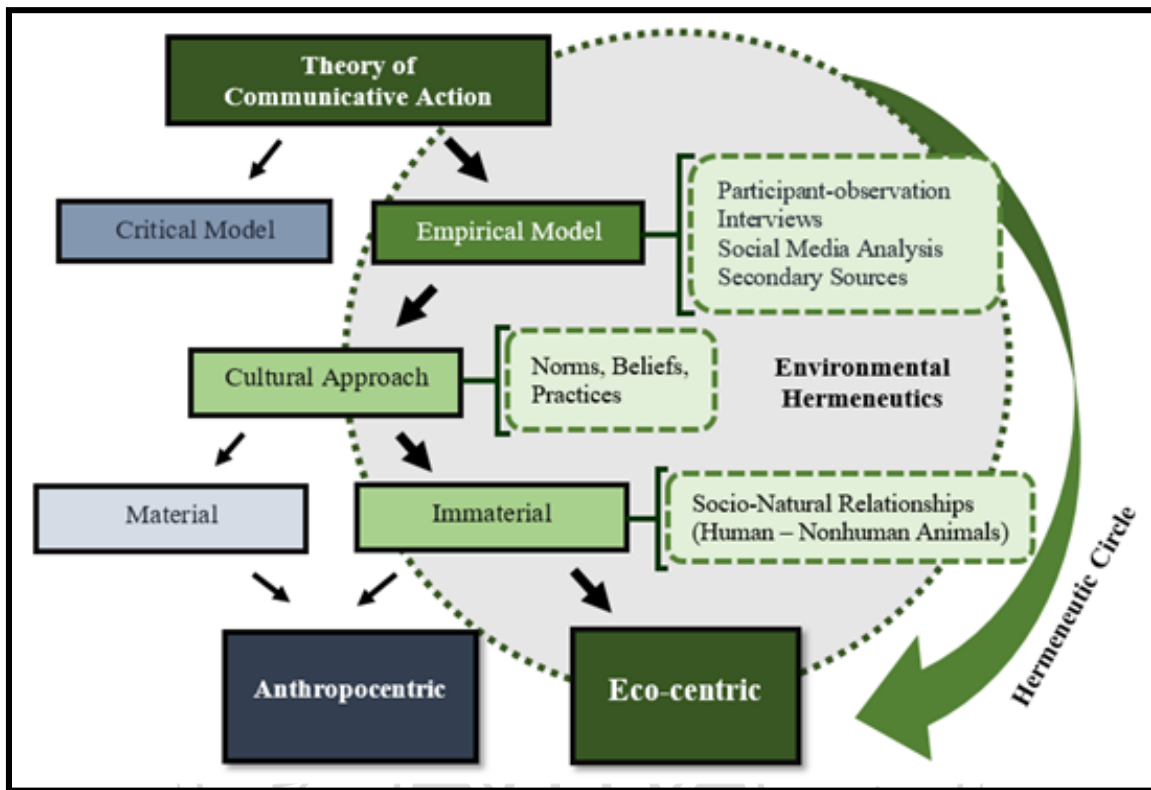


Figure 3 Immaterial eco-centric cultural approach and hermeneutic circle
 (Source: Author. Based on Skollerhorn, 1998; van Buren, 1995).

3.2 Primary Sources

3.2.1 Participant-observation.

In order to obtain access to the animal protection activist community in Taiwan, the researcher identified currently active activist groups primarily through social media. Initial contact was established through a member of the Group “Vegan 30 Days” (Appendix: C1). The researcher was subsequently invited to participate in the activities organized by this group, and referred to upcoming events related to the promotion of animal rights and related lifestyles. A total of seven events were attended in the course of one month, between November 19th and December 19th, 2016.

Table 3 List of events attended.

No.	Event Type	Date
1	Movie Screening “Cowspiracy”	2016/11/20
2	Public Demonstration/Awareness Raising Campaign	2016/11/26 2016/12/03
3	Vegan ‘Youth’ Convention	2016/11/28
4	University Animal Rights Week	2016/12/01
5	Animal Rights Presentation	2016/12/01
6	Animal Ethics Discussion Meeting	2016/12/08
7	4 th Taipei Vegan Frenzy	2016/12/17

(Source: Author, Appendix A)

Attendance to these various events provided valuable opportunities to meet activists, discuss animal rights and animal welfare issues in Taiwan, and mobilization dynamics of the actors currently advancing the concepts of animal rights, animal welfare, and ‘veganism’ in the country. As a result, it facilitated an in-depth observation of civil society interaction within various areas of the public sphere.

3.2.2 Interviews.

There is currently a wide range of organizations engaged in addressing various animal advocacy areas in Taiwan. The objectives, issue focus, and mobilization activities of these organizations cover aspects such as animal rescue, raising awareness, social education, lobbying, and government consultation. Organizations focusing on the latter three issues were identified for the purpose of this thesis. A total of six organizations were contacted with an interview request, four positive responses were obtained. The interviews were conducted in a semi-structured format and covered questions on four main aspects: Perceived Social Movement membership, Animal

advocacy work, the politics of animal advocacy, and relationship with the government and other animal advocacy groups.

Table 4 List of Interviews.

No.	Organization	Position	Date
1	Environment and Animal Society of Taiwan (EAST)	Director	2016/12/22
2	Taiwan Animal Equality Association (TAEA)	Director Member	2016/12/26
3	Taiwan Society for the Prevention of Cruelty to Animals (TSPCA)	Director	2017/01/19
4	People for the Ethical Treatment of Animals (PETA) – Asia Pacific	Corporate Liaison Vice-President	2017/01/09

(Source: Author, Appendix B).

3.2.3 Social Media Analysis.

Social media has become a focus point when studying how the age of the internet has transformed the “public sphere” by providing new mediums for civil society and social movements to arise, organize, and mobilize (Shirky 2011; Castells, 2015). The advent of online network platforms has also been linked to the emergence of NSMs by providing them with a suitable medium to engage in “communicative rationality” by allowing groups to communicate, share information, and engage in public discourses in an open and non-hierarchical platform (Salter, 2003: 129-130). In particular, Facebook has become a primary tool for social networking, public discussion, and other forms of collective action by global organizations such as People for the Ethical Treatment of Animals (PETA) (Obar, Zube, and Lampe, 2012). Consequently, a number of Taiwan based animal advocacy groups and pages were identified, joined and followed on this platform. In addition, the researcher was also introduced to LINE groups, a popular social media and messaging app in Taiwan serving the same purpose of connecting fellow activists and sympathizers of animal advocacy.

Table 5 List of Social Media Groups.

Social media			
Platform Type	Facebook	Membership	Date
<i>Group</i>			
1.	Vegan30 Days	1,911	2017/02/16
2.	Vegan Volunteer	12,832	2017/02/16
3.	Animal Rights Society 動權社	1,754	2017/02/16
<i>Page</i>			
4.	Go Vegan	28,828	2017/02/16
5.	Animal Front 動物陣線	869	2017/02/16
6.	People, Animals, Times 人, 動物, 時代誌	1,866	2017/02/16
7.	The Voice of Animals 動保正義 全民發聲	9,842	2017/02/16
Platform Type	Line	Membership	Date
<i>Group</i>			
8.	Vegan Taipei	54	2017/02/16
9.	Mercy is the Biggest Force 慈悲是最大的力量	255	2017/02/16
10.	Vegan 30 Days Experience 純素 30 天體驗	217	2017/02/16

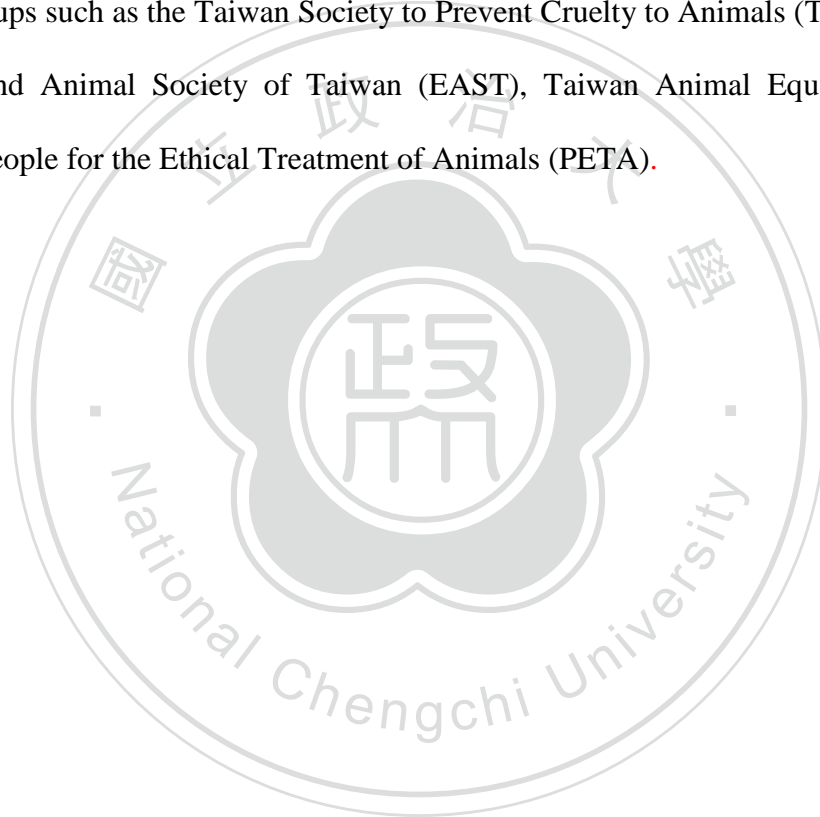
(Source: Author, Appendix C).

These groups were selected on the basis of high level of user activity and activism oriented content. Posting on these platforms focused on promoting ideas of animal rights or animal welfare, animal advocacy related news, campaigns or events information, and “cruelty free” lifestyle advice.

3.3 Secondary Sources

Secondary data was collected from newspaper articles, in particular those published by English media outlets in the region: Taipei Times, The News Lens, China Post, South China Morning Post, etc.

Additional consulted sources consisted of academic theses, conference papers, and material provided by animal advocacy groups on their websites. The latter aspect placed a greater focus on the work of groups such as the Taiwan Society to Prevent Cruelty to Animals (TSPCA) –Taiwan, Environment and Animal Society of Taiwan (EAST), Taiwan Animal Equality Association (TAEA), and People for the Ethical Treatment of Animals (PETA).



4 Findings

4.1 About Animals: Representing the non-human

“To give a voice to the voiceless” has been an imperative for civil society actors engaged in bringing attention to the issues affecting the vulnerable and disfranchised across history. In modern times, the scope of this phrase has come to not only apply to advocacy on behalf of those members of society that remain marginalized. A growing number of groups around the world are now seeking to raise the plea of animals, and mobilize for their welfare and/or rights. Taiwan’s own experience with animal advocacy has undergone important developments in the past decades. As Weller (2006) notes, since the 1980s, a fundamental transformation has occurred in regards to human-nature relationship. The advent of economic development as a result of Taiwan’s industrial miracle not only led to the rise of a newly affluent middle class, but it also brought about increased awareness of its ensuing ecological problems, leading to the emergence of a variety of environmental movements. Among them, the Conservation movement was strongly linked to the lifestyle changes resulting from economic prosperity and changing labor practices. In particular, greater mobility and leisure time produced a renewed interest in the wilderness and “escaping the city”. Thus fostering the mobilization of actors focused on advancing the protection of natural areas and its animal residents (Weller, 2006: 90; Ho, 2016). On the other hand, changing living conditions and urban spaces also had an important effect on the concepts surrounding companion animals. In particular, animals formerly kept for mostly functional reasons such as guard dogs or cats for pest control, now acquired a new status as family pets. Demonstrating the pattern toward expanding pet consumption culture in affluent economies (Dotson and Hyatt, 2008: 458; Serpell, 2015: 19; Bradley and King, 2012; Peng et al., 2012: 355; Chang et al., 2013). As a result of these developments and alongside changing socio-natural relationships, animal protection ideals in

Taiwan have experienced an important expansion and transformation within public discourses, an area where civil society actors, particularly NGOs, have played a crucial role.

4.2 Welfare, Kindness, and Rights

An earlier example of socio-political organization around ideas of animal protection in Taiwan can be traced back to the 1960s with the foundation of the “Livestock Protection Association of the Republic of China” (*Zhōnghuá mínguó bǎohù shēngchù xiéhuì* - 中華民國保護牲畜協會) in order to address the welfare and management of farm animals. Mirroring the expansion of conservation consciousness in the island, the association was later renamed “Animal Protection Association of the Republic of China” (APA) (*Zhōnghuá mínguó bǎohù dòngwù xiéhuì* - 中華民國保護動物協會) in 1992, and expanded the scope of its work to stray animal welfare issues in Taiwan in 1988 (APA, 2007; Chung, 2014). Since then, animal protection rationales in Taiwan have come to incorporate concepts arising from the animal ethics and legal philosophical arguments that have been advanced in the West since the 1970s. Although values such as mercy and kindness to animals are not entirely new to societies that share Confucian and Buddhist traditions, it was not until the introduction of modern animal ethics that the idea of animal rights entered the discourse of animal advocacy groups (Ho, 2015: 61). As a result, the translation of Animal Rights literature such as *Animal Liberation* (Singer, 1975) and *The Case for Animal Rights* (Regan, 1983) to Chinese by organizations such as the Life Conservationist Association (LCA) has been pivotal to the spread of current animal advocacy rationales and the drive toward expanding efforts to address animal abuse in other areas such as sport, food industry, and entertainment (Ho, 2016: 65-66). Furthermore, the LCA’s incorporation of the concepts of animal rights and animal welfare into its discourse is of particular relevance to understand the cultural dimensions in the development of Taiwan’s APM. This is because while the LCA is not a religious

organization per-se, its supporters are mainly constituted by religious practitioners of a predominantly Buddhist background and academic experts (Ho, 2016: 70). Its founder Cho Wei's is a Buddhist nun who first began her animal activism efforts with a campaign to stop the practice of hook fishing as a past time activity in 1992. She argued that killing fish for fun was disrespectful to the lives of fishes. Her approach combining Buddhist teachings of compassion and kindness with western ethics and a skillful use of legal mechanisms lead to the LCAs success in providing a voice to animals in Taiwan. A highlight of which was the organizations effective campaigning for an Animal Protection Law, which ultimately passed in 1998 (Wang, 2012). From here, the convergence of Buddhist beliefs and animal ethics in Taiwan is also significant for two reasons: First, because it has provided a distinctive normative context in which animal advocacy has emerged. This is illustrated by the topics discussed during the 2014 International Conference on "Animal Liberation, Animal Rights, and Equal Ecological Rights: Dialogues between Eastern and Western Philosophies and Religions", organized through the collaboration between academia, the LCA, and religious groups. Similarly, the founding of the Taiwan Animal Protection Party demonstrated a wide membership base among which Buddhist organizations provided important support (Chen, 2016; Willhoft, 2016). Consequently, according to a PETA Asia-Pacific Corporate Liaison: "It's actually easier to promote Animal Rights in Asia, because of the religious (Buddhism) influence" (Appendix: B4). Second, a central aspect of Taiwan's current animal protection debates is based on the difference between the concepts of kindness to animals and the welfare of animals. While certain religious and cultural norms might facilitate the spread of animal advocacy rationales, in other instances they can also hinder efforts to address less desirable aspects of human-natural relations. The conflict that arises from such conceptual disagreements in the treatment of animals is perhaps best demonstrated by the controversy surrounding practices such

as “mercy releases” (*fàngshēng* - 放生). The ritual freeing of animals back into the wild has been a considerably widespread activity in Taiwan and across Asia in line with the predominantly Buddhist tenets of doing “good deeds” and cultivating compassion (Liu-Severinhaus and Chi, 1999: 301; Agoramoorthy and Hsu, 2007). However, in recent years these activities have come under increased criticism due to its various negative effects. In particular, the impact of releasing non-native species into a new ecosystem, the mishandling of animals, and the vicious circle that arises from capturing animals for the purpose of re-release (Ettoday, 2013; Ho, 2015). On this front, major changes have developed through the efforts of animal advocacy groups and the advent of Buddhism Modernism. In a nutshell, this approach to Buddhism is characterized by demythologization, that is, the modernization of cosmology and the move away from the emphasis on belief and dogma usually associated to religious practice. Furthermore, it is also distinctive due to an element of activism that stresses social service, democracy, and equality. (Bechert, 1994, cited in McMahan, 2009: 7-8). According to Cheng (2013: 10) it is in this context the LCA has played a key role as a modern environmentalist response to the issues arising from traditional practices such as “mercy releases” (*fàngshēng* - 放生) and in shaping modern animal welfare advocacy in Taiwan. The transformation of norms concerning the treatment of animals in this sense is better described by the words of Chu Tseng-hung Director of the Environment and Animal Society of Taiwan (EAST), and former Secretary General of the LCA:

“The ideas of animal welfare or even animal rights I think it definitely comes from the west. We did have animal protection groups before, but when they talk about animal protection I think their idea is to be kind to animals or to love animals, but kindness or love for animals doesn’t really mean the welfare or animal rights.” (Appendix: B1).

Beyond simple conceptual differences, the introduction of animal ethics has had deeper implications for animal advocacy rationales advanced by civil society actors.

Table 6 Comparison between Western and East Asian Animal Advocacy

	Western Animal Advocacy (US, Europe, Australia)	East Asian Animal Advocacy (Taiwan)
Values	Welfare vs. Rights	Kindness vs. Welfare vs. Rights
Eco-Cultural Context	Christianism (Natural Right/ Anthropocentrism/Nature Stewardship). Animal Ethics	Buddhism, Confucianism, Daoism. Buddhist Modernism/Animal Ethics
History	Humane societies 1800s (welfare). Modern Animal Rights Movement since 1970s.	APA (1960): Livestock, conservation, stray animals, animal welfare. LCA (19902): “Anti-hook fishing” campaign, animal rights.
Current Issue Focus	Economic animals (farm, fur, entertainment), testing, conservation (hunting).	Companion animals dog and cat protection, conservation. Emerging sector focus on economic animals (farm).
Social Movement Status	Relatively mainstream and developed. Major international NGOs.	Emerging, local. Some major national level NGOs.

Source: Author. (Based on Weller, 2006; Ho, 2016. APA, 2007; Appendix: B1)

The rise of new lifestyles surrounding these principles not only indicates the important shift in socio-natural values, but also demonstrates the changing dynamics of social mobilization in Taiwan.

4.3 “Going Vegan”

Keeping the above mentioned aspects in mind, there is more recent element arising from the processes of cultural globalization currently shaping the further development of Taiwan’s APM that requires further attention. This refers to the growing trend of people who are identifying as ‘vegan’. According to the Vegan Society (2017), veganism is defined as:

"A philosophy and way of living which seeks to exclude—as far as is possible and practicable—all forms of exploitation of, and cruelty to, animals for food, clothing

or any other purpose; and by extension, promotes the development and use of animal-free alternatives for the benefit of humans, animals and the environment. In dietary terms it denotes the practice of dispensing with all products derived wholly or partly from animals."

Therefore, veganism can be understood as the intersection between a Lifestyle Movement and a Social Movement as it embodies both a key tactic and a goal of many modern animal advocates. In particular, those who are engaged in promoting the idea of 'animal equality' as a move toward 'post-citizenship' based on a new moral perspective to human-animal relations (Lowe and Ginsberg, 2002; Cherry, 2006; Haenfler, Johnson, and Jones, 2012). This approach to animal advocacy is one of the most radical and characterized by nontraditional forms of activism. It entails the adoption of a variety of individual and collective behaviors, most prominently the active promotion of a plant-based diet without dairy, eggs, and other animal derived products including honey (Cherry, 2006; Sneijder and Molder, 2009). The dietary aspect here is of particular relevance because from the perspective of more radical animal rights activists, the consumption of animal flesh is "is the most extensive and institutionalized form of violence against animals" (Adams, 1990, cited in Munro, 2005). From here, while there are various degrees of veganism, the most engaged vegan animal rights advocates will also avoid products tested on animals or that contain animal ingredients, opt for synthetic alternatives to fur and leather, and participate in the boycott of activities that involve animal exploitation in various industries from cosmetics to animal performances in circuses or zoos. In other words, they seek to resist *speciesism* and transform the system through their consumption choices (Giraud, 2015). As a result, the practice of veganism as an individual and collective approach to animal activism has been characteristic of committed animal activists in the United States, the UK, and Australia (Munro, 2005). What is more, international organizations like PETA (2016), Mercy for Animals (2016), and The Humane Society (2016) promote "going vegan" as a way to save animals. Similarly, some conservation

groups like Sea Shepherds, which focuses on Marine life conservation and prominent for its radical tactics to disrupt Japanese whale hunting boats is also known for its vegan crew (Shapiro, 2010).

Albeit a relatively new development, veganism in Taiwan has expanded rapidly. On one hand, the emergence of this lifestyle movement is illustrated by the increasing number of vegan restaurants, bakeries, and shops that have opened in recent years (Chang, 2016; Ter, 2017). This development has attracted some international recognition. Most notably, the Taiwanese emerging vegan scene was awarded with Asia's first two titles of "outstanding restaurants" featured in Australian-based website *Vegans Are Cool* list in 2015. In addition, Taipei was selected "Most Vegan-Friendly City in Asia" by PETA in 2016 (Cheung, 2015; Lee, 2016). On the other hand, vegan discourses now also feature in the Taiwanese animal advocacy landscape. This is demonstrated by the spread of activities and events around the promotion of veganism and animal rights. Among such, university clubs, vegan conventions, lifestyle fairs, public lectures, demonstrations, and movie screenings to raise awareness of the impact of meat based diets on millions of lives and the planet are currently being held on a regular basis (Appendix: A). Furthermore, such developments are the result of the efforts of a variety of civil society groups at different levels of organization, from NGOs such as the Taiwan Animal Equality Association (TAEA), to grassroots networks such as Vegan 30 Days, comprised of students, professionals, mothers, and other volunteers taking to both social media and the streets to actively promote veganism (Appendix: A1, A2, B2, C1; TAEA 2016). Furthermore, as TAEA Director notes:

"If we learn that animals should not be used... It's related to diets, being vegan or vegetarian for example. Which also touches upon concern for the earth, the environment, and care for the suffering animals. If we want to go have fun, choosing not to go to the Zoo or to so called Nature Farms, these actions demonstrate that we want these animals to live free in the wild. All of this, whether you want to have fun, consume, ride an elephant, go to the circus with performances with horse or bears." (Appendix: B2).

The adoption of vegan identities in the country is also significant due to the syncretization and overlap of veganism and Buddhist modernism in Taiwan. As mentioned in the previous section, ideas of animal welfare and animal rights resonate with Buddhist teachings on kindness and compassion to animals. Given that committed Buddhists usually practice strict vegetarianism (*quán sù* - 全素), the introduction of veganism has given rise to terms such as *chún sù* (純素) or *wéi gēn* (維根) to differentiate the rationale behind dietary and consumption choices. Along these lines, while the former might retain a religious connotation, the latter is usually used to emphasize non-religious veganism. Nevertheless, regardless of the ideological or theological differences between these various groups, they have come to share the goals of reducing animal suffering and helping the environment as ethical vegans (*Shū shí zhǔyì zhě* - 蔬食主義者). The convergence of these approaches can be observed in the collaboration between sectors. For example, the Vegan Youth Convention that took place in November 28th, 2016, featured a variety of young activists and entrepreneurs with vastly different backgrounds, from representatives of religious youth organizations, to a fashion designer and a Vegan YouTube Channel host (Appendix: A3, C1). Similarly, Taiwanese online vegan networks such as Vegan 30 days and Vegan Volunteer on Facebook, and Line groups “Mercy is the Biggest Force” (*Cíbēi shì zuìdà de lìliàng* - 慈悲是最大的力量) and “Vegan 30 Days Experience Group” (*Sùshí 30 tiān de jīngyàn* - 純素 30 天體驗) demonstrate a diverse membership, from practitioners of Buddhist Humanism to trendy vegan youth (Appendix: C1 and C3). As TSPCA Director observed:

“I think people go vegan or vegetarian for a variety of reasons, whether as part of a religion or to protect the environment or to better one’s health. I think some people stop eating meat to help animals as well. So the expansion [of veganism] I believe is due to the increase in information that people are getting, the more we know, the better or informed choices we can make”.

From here, considering the trajectory of animal advocacy rationales in Taiwan so far, it is now pertinent to examine how these developments are related to the rise of a NSM in the country.

4.4 A New Social Movement

Taiwan boasts an impressive history of social movement in relation to its relatively young democracy. To be more precise, a list of 20 Taiwanese social movements has so far been documented by Hsiao (2010). Among these, the ‘Three Streams of Environmental Movements’ consisting of: the anti-pollution protest movement, the nature conservation movement, and anti-nuclear movement, have played key roles in the eco-political landscape of the country (Ho, 2011; Hsiao, 1999; Hsu, 2005). While these movements belong to the “new” category in the context of western societies, in Taiwan they came about as a result of the democratization process, rather than due to capitalist development (Ho, 2004). Nevertheless, since 2008, Taiwan has experienced a revival of social mobilization, further strengthened with the 2011 post-Fukushima anti-nuclear stance, and the 2014 Sunflower Movement (Ho, 2010: 16-17; Grano, 2014). While these movements belong to the “new” category in the context of western societies, in Taiwan they came about as a result of the democratization process, rather than due to capitalist development (Ho, 2004). Nevertheless, since 2008, Taiwan has experienced a revival of social mobilization, further strengthened with the 2011 post-Fukushima anti-nuclear stance, and the 2014 Sunflower Movement (Ho, 2010: 16-17; Grano, 2014). Although this resurgence has been in part a response to unpopular government policies, there are parallel developments that have received less attention due to the subtler dynamics that characterize this NSM approaches to mobilization. This is the case of Taiwan’s animal advocacy groups, whose status as part of a social movement is sometimes perhaps downplayed by other actors (Appendix: B1).

Table 7 The Animal Protection Movement in Taiwan as a New Social Movement

NSM Characteristics	Animal Protection Movement (Taiwan)
<p>Membership <i>Transcends class structures</i></p>	<p>Students, academics, teachers, parents, “new middle class”, health professionals, Buddhist Modernism practitioners, etc. Shared marker: Interest in Animal advocacy, environmental protection, Animal lovers.</p>
<p>Ideology <i>Defined by the plurality of ideas and values</i></p>	<p>Animal Welfare, Animal Rights, Conservation, Environmentalism, Veganism, Dog/Cat Protection, Kindness, Compassion, Buddhist Modernism.</p>
<p>Grievances <i>Connected to cultural or symbolic issues</i></p>	<p>Animal exploitation, abuse, cruelty etc. Specism, the unequal moral status of animals based on their species membership. The “objectification” of animals.</p>
<p>Mobilization <i>Blurred line between individual and collective action</i></p>	<p>Individual actions are a vehicle for expression and confirmation of identity.</p>
<p>Life <i>“The personal is political”</i></p>	<p>Adoption of “cruelty free” diets, clothing, toiletries, cosmetics, leisure activities, etc. Partner/friendship preferences, career choices,</p>
<p>Strategies <i>Radical/Nonviolence*</i></p>	<p>Petitions, public demonstrations/stunts, education/awareness raising campaign, research, lobbying, celebrity involvement.</p>
<p>Participation Channels <i>Alternative forms of participation</i></p>	<p>Online/street activism, consumption choices (purchase = vote), fairs, social media group membership.</p>
<p>Organization <i>Segmented, diffused, and decentralized.</i></p>	<p>NGOs, grassroots organizations, university clubs, volunteer groups, animal rescue/shelters, social media groups, trans-national networks, etc.</p>

Source: Author. (Based on Johnston, Laraña, and Gusfield, 1994: 6-8; Appendix).

This is because, the APM follows a starkly different dynamic of formation and mobilization when compared to “traditional movements” (Table 7). As TAEA Director notes:

“There are more and more young people that care about different types of animals, and they use different methods, like parties and other different approaches from traditional movements. For example, the environmental movement, they have protests, laws promotion, awareness raising, demonstrations, or the recent marriage equality movement. Maybe these approaches are considered more akin what a social movement is. Activities like Vegan Fairs are more related to youth culture. University clubs, they are about sharing and doing something together like taking care of stray dogs. If you want to use a very broad definition, this is also part of an Animal Protection Movement. Not in the traditional sense of social movements, but it is a development. So I think that the Animal Protection Movement in Taiwan is not like the other social movements that address politics or social issues, but I feel that you can count it as social movement.” (Appendix: B2).

From here, the question of how is the APM in Taiwan a representative NSM, and what are the dynamics of mobilization under this approach comes forth.

4.4.1 New conflicts.

According to Habermas (1981) since the later quarter of the 20th Century, new areas of social conflict have arisen that differ from the traditional issues of resource distribution:

“These new conflicts no longer arise in areas of material reproduction; they are no longer channeled through parties and organizations; and they can no longer be alleviated by compensations that conform to the system. Rather, the new conflicts arise in areas of cultural reproduction, social integration, and socialization” (Habermas, 1981: 33).

These aspects lead to the question of how to preserve or restore endangered life styles, or how to put new life styles into practice. As a result, a key line of conflict arises between the productive core interested on maintaining capital growth, and the peripheral groups most affected by the existing paradigm. Furthermore, while these groups are diverse, they are all unified in their critique of growth (Habermas 1981: 34).

From this perspective, the APM is in essence a critical response to the paradigm of exploitative socio-natural relationships under the current capital driven system. Animals are used,

killed, and abused for the purpose of human economic gain in many areas, from puppy mills to breed trendy pets and wild animals trained to perform for entertainment, to the loss of biodiversity due to expanding farm lands and the inhumane living conditions of animals raised to supply an ever increasing global dairy and meat market demand (Singer, 2002; Regan, 1983; Pendergrast, 2015). In line with emerging post-material values and critiques of modernity, Taiwan animal advocacy dynamics have also come to increasingly address the problematic growth oriented paradigm of current socio-natural relationships. This is most visible in the discourses of Buddhist Modernist and Vegan advocates. During the opening speech at the Vegan Youth Convention in Taipei, activist and book author Dr. Will Tuttle (2016) stressed on a key issue addressed by environmentalists, animal rights activists, conservationists, and climate change advocates alike:

“Nearly a hectare every second right now is being destroyed in the amazon for animal agriculture, to grow soybeans, to feed the imprisoned pigs, cows, and fishes. These are the lungs of the earth, and we're destroying them. We will not have a healthy climate or atmosphere if we continue doing this, and the same thing with the oceans which are being overfished. Not just to catch fish for people, but to catch fish to feed to imprisoned cows and pigs and other fishes. This is completely unsustainable.”

These discourses not only reflect an eco-centric view of the costs of human animal farming activities on the planet, it is backed by an increasing amount of scientific evidence that demonstrates the inherent connections between ecologically damaging consumption and production patterns and the role of animals and animal products in it (Steinfeld et al., 2006; Hertwich et al., 2010). Consequently, the discernible negative effects of the current socio-economic paradigm, and the threat of environmental catastrophe by the hand of uncontrolled growth has prompted the reaction of concerned citizens where individual and collective actions become economic, social, and political statements: “You can call it [animal rights/animal welfare] ethical and political. In this modern society, every individual decision, individual actions can be political and ethical too” (EAST Director, Appendix: B1). Therefore, the APM is among the new

category of movements seeking to address the damaging effects of current socio-natural practices through the creation of alternative spaces or spheres of communication.

4.4.2 Emancipation and resistance.

Following that, Habermas (1981: 34) makes an important distinction between the emancipatory potential and the potential for resistance and retreat of NSMs. Under this light, the APM is also distinctive because it contains elements of both. On the one hand, animal rights activists seek to “liberate” animals from human exploitation by recognizing their moral equal status. In practice, the application of this concept varies, from the provision of protection against cruelty, to the recognition of animals as living sentient beings, and the granting of personhood status to some species (Francione, 2009). The later aspect refers the transformation of a nonhuman animal from “legal thing” to “legal person” under common law, therefore entitled to their physical integrity and freedom (Nonhuman Rights Project, 2017). The concept of animal personhood usually applies to animals such as cetaceans, great apes, and elephants in relation to their demonstrated intelligence and display of more complex social behavior (DeGrazia, 2006). Along these arguments, while many countries possess some degree of legislation to protect animals from cruel practices, fewer countries such as Switzerland, Germany, Austria, and New Zealand have granted legal protection to animals based on their status as sentient beings, de-objectifying them under the law (Connolly, 2002; Animals and Society Institute, 2017). Furthermore, New Zealand, India, the Netherlands, and Spain have also recognized some basic rights and degree of personhood to apes and primates thus protecting them from being used in entertainment or experimentation. (Glendinning, 2008; Coelho, 2013; McIntyre, 2015; EARA, 2016). Perhaps one of the most relevant developments on animal emancipation efforts in recent years refers to the *Nonhuman Rights Project*, a civil rights organization dedicated to extend said entitlements to animals. Under

the guidance of Lawyer and Law Professor Steven Wise, the organization has filed numerous lawsuits on behalf of animals, most recently, demanding personhood status and freedom for captive chimpanzees in New York State (Siebert, 2014; Hegedus and Pennebaker, 2014; Greenwood, 2015).

Taiwan is among the group of countries that have enacted basic protection to animals in the form of an Animal Protection Law as a result of the successful mobilization of animal protection advocates (Ho, 2016). Nevertheless, the legal mechanisms in place are still considerably limited, mostly focused on the treatment of companion animals, and to a minor extent that of animals in farms and laboratory testing (Appendix: B1, B3). In spite of these aspects, promising indications of the improving status of animals in the public consciousness can be found in two developments. First, the public attention gained by the trials in connection to the death of a hippopotamus due to negligence, and the torture and killing of cats by a disturbed graduate student from National Taiwan University. Although the legal outcomes of these incidents were considered nonsufficient as penalties were placed in the form of fines and psychological counselling, they drew about important debate on the need to improve the law to make individuals accountable for acts of animal cruelty and mistreatment (Hsu, 2014; Wei, 2014; Focus Taiwan, 2016). Second, the TSPCA's successful campaigning to ban cosmetic testing on animals. Starting in 2014, the organization worked for two-years to obtain support from legislators, the media, celebrities, and the public through an online petition. As a result, in 2016 Taiwan joined the list of countries that prohibit the testing of cosmetic products on animals starting in 2019. Although this success only applies to the domestic industry and still allows the import of such products, these results have opened the opportunity to further push for extending the ban to imported products as next step (Hsieh and Pan, 2014; TSPCA, 2016: Appendix: B3). Furthermore, this development is also

significant because Taylor and Signal (2008: 327) have estimated that Taiwan is among the countries with the highest number of animal experiments. Therefore, even though animals in Taiwan are still considerably far from obtaining the legal status of “sentient beings” and even more so to become entitled to concepts of personhood, there is a visible shift in social and political attitudes toward animals, making a positive step toward the expansion of animal rights rationales by the hand of advocates under the APM.

On the other hand, the potential for resistance and retreat of NSMs “can at first be grasped as reactions to specific problem situations perceived with great sensitivity: “green” problems. The large industrial intervention in ecological balances, the scarcity of non-renewable natural resources, and the demographic development present industrially developed societies with serious problems.” (Habermas, 1981, 35). At the same time, while these issues are large in scale and highly abstract, their effects on the lifeworld are noticeable in the form of environmental degradation, pollution, and urban explosions that are seen as “attacks to the organic foundations of the life-world”. In other words, NSMs are a response to the colonization of the life-world by the dominant system of money and power (Habermas, 1981). Consequently, individuals perceive these threats to the lifeworld and assume a sense of moral responsibility in relation to their personal, technical, and political role as agents within these new areas of conflict. Hence, resistance and retreat mechanisms arise from the tendency of NSMs to blur lines between individual and collective action, facilitating ideological diversity, and the expression of alternative identity (Johnston, Laraña, and Gusfield, 1994: 6-8). As a result, the sum of these aspects leads to the adoption of particular lifestyles connected to NSMs. From the standpoint of the APM, the convergence of environmental, conservation, and animal advocacy rationales usually translates into the adoption of vegan or “cruelty free” consumption practices and the modification of behavioral patterns.

These might cover a wide range of areas, from simple dietary choices, to changes in interpersonal relationships (Herzog, 1993; Guither, 1998; Gillespie and Collard, 2015). Consequently, from the perspective of NSMs, “resistance is directed toward abstractions that are forced upon the life-world, they must be addressed within the life-world” (Habermas, 1981: 35).

This later point is perhaps more relevant to the current state of Taiwan’s APM, where the relationship between consumption, identity, and behavior are increasingly understood in the words of TAEA Director:

“Personal consumption and social protection of animals, it’s all very connected. It starts with our diets, with care for stray animals and social education, and education in relation to other issues. It’s all related. Food, entertainment, environmental degradation, habitat destruction, fur industry, all connected.” (Appendix: B2).

This development in addition to the convergence of Buddhist Modernism practices and Vegan lifestyles have created a distinctive space for mobilization in Taiwan. One in which the plethora of animal advocacy groups can strive to live ethically and with kindness, and to resist against the system of money and power backing the exploitation of animals and the environment within various industries (Appendix: A1, A3, A7, D2). What is more, this space in question facilitates the emergence of a community, the creation of a subcultural ‘communications group’ seeking to define a personal and collective identity (Habermas, 1981: 36). This dynamic is highlighted by the spread of socio-political spaces and markets for animal advocates and animal lovers to define their identity. More specifically, “cruelty free”, ethical, or vegan restaurants, stores, fashion, cosmetic, fairs, online and physical networks and so on (Appendix: A3, A7, C). Therefore, resulting a community characterized by local, small social spaces, decentralized, de-specialized, simple interaction and non-differentiated public sphere. Consequently, they resist integration into the wider economic, social, and political apparatus, and as a result “the new conflicts thus arise at the seam between the system and the life-world” (Habermas, 1981:36).

4.4.3 Between the system and the life-world.

A central aspect in this new area of conflict refers to the institutionalized dichotomy between the roles of employee/consumer and client/citizen that comes about through the media of money and power shaping socio-political and economic realities. NSMs represent a negation of these dichotomies because their target of protest is the reification or colonization of the life-world brought about by the capitalist machinery where individuals are part of a labor force and an electorate to be governed. At the same time, it is from this conflict that counter institutions arise from the organized spheres of action that originates from the collective expression of “politics of the first person”, and which is inherently linked to a democratic base (Habermas, 1981: 36-37).

The APM in Taiwan features this dynamic by opening a sphere of communicative action in the form of demonstrations, fairs, university clubs, and conventions, thus consolidating into networks and markets both in the physical and online realms. In other words, the rise of a community of animal advocates whose identity is no longer differentiated as employees, consumers, clients, or citizen, but that of actors engaged in shaping policy through their collective and individual mobilization. Furthermore, these counter institutions take on a variety of forms and levels of organizations. On a basic level, they are expressed through community grassroots networks focused on shared lifestyles and advocacy such Vegan 30 Days, Vegan Frenzy, or Vegan Volunteer. Here, activism is focused on the ‘street level’, promoting ‘cruelty free’ living, such as vegetarian or vegan diets, and raising awareness on the abuse of animals on industries like clothing and entertainment. Interestingly, members of such communities appear to be not interested in the politics of their activities, and are rather focused on spreading the message of animal rights and welfare based on normative imperatives to stop the suffering of animals (Appendix: A2, A4, A5). For example, in December 2016 the group Vegan 30 Days organized anti-fur events in

collaboration with the Japan based *Fur Free Asia Campaign* (2016). The purpose of this mobilization was to encourage people to use their conscience and avoid fur products by bringing attention to the suffering of foxes and other animals tortured and killed in the fur industry. The group conducted this campaign through the use of the public spaces both online and physical. Setting up a Facebook photo sharing event, and demonstrating in popular commercial areas in Taipei such as Ximen and Taipei Main Station (Appendix: A2).

From here, the spread of ethical consumption discourses by activist groups is also significant for the creation of alternative markets based on local entrepreneurship. This is an observable phenomenon during events such as Vegan Frenzy where activists, sellers, and consumers come together to advocate for animals through their consumption choices. The success and expansion of the Taiwanese Vegan community can further be appreciated through the fact that this event now runs on its fourth installment in Taipei, the fifth currently being planned to be in the city of Taichung in March, 2017 (Appendix: A7). At the same time, the increasing mobilization of ethical consumers is further illustrated by the formal submission of a petition to ask the government to require convenience stores to provide more vegetarian and vegan options in September 2016. The petition obtained 5800 signatures, and as result the National Development Committee (NDC) held a consultative session on "Creating a Friendly Vegetarian/Vegan Environment" on January 19, 2017. During the consultation, industry stakeholders and government bodies discussed the prospects of introducing more vegetarian or vegan products into the market (NDC, 2017). Although the conclusion of the meeting emphasized the possibility of these prospects to depend on market demand, this development demonstrates the growing effectiveness and influence of committed animal advocates in addressing lifestyle moral imperatives through different channels. This phenomenon has even led to a special issue cover claiming that "Vegan is

the New Black” by lifestyle and trends magazine “Weeknight” (Zhōujiān yèwǎn – 週間夜晚) (2016).

The next level of organization refers to the provision of services and governance mechanisms by animal protection organizations in order to address perceived gaps in public services. In Taiwan there are currently over a 100 registered animal protection groups, among which many manage animal shelters, sanctuaries, monitor local stray animal populations, and conduct education programs on conservation and pet ownership (Appendix: B3, D1). Here, the most established and professionalized groups such as NGOs may translate these socio-natural discourses into political action through lobbying, campaigns, research, and so forth. However, the emergence of these counter institutions is far from the end for the processes of emancipation or resistance in which NSM engage. This is because by becoming institutions on their own right, they are subject to the colonizing effects of the system through the processes of juridification and commodification. More specifically, counter institutions and alternative markets become integrated into the system through bureaucracy, regulation, political socialization, and economic privatization. Thus transforming NSMs’ potential of communicative rationality into elements of functional rationality (Edwards, 2004: 115; Habermas, 1987). From this perspective, Taiwan’s APM is subject the colonization through the media of money and power by virtue of its expansion within economic and political structures. On the economic aspect, this brings back attention to the clear emergence of a Vegan industry to cater to ethically-based consumption and the spread of “cruelty free” commercial spaces in Taiwan (Chang, 2016; Ter, 2017). On the political aspect, this is illustrated by the incorporation of NGOs into government policy consultation roles, and ultimately the recent founding of the Taiwan Animal Protection Party (Chen, 2016; Willhoft, 2016).

Table 8 Power, Money, and Spheres of Rationality

		Spheres of Rationality	
		Communicative Rationality	Functional Rationality
Animal Protection Movement	Money	Ethical consumption, local, small-scale, alternative markets. Ex: Vegan Frenzy.	Commodification of “cruelty free” labels/brands. Ex: Vegan Industry.
	Power	Direct action grassroots groups, physical/online networks, NGO (services). Ex: Protest, education, animal shelters.	Party formation, NGO (lobby, stakeholders). Ex: Animal Protection Party. Animal protection lobby.

(Source: Author. Based on Habermas, 1981, 1987; Edwards, 2004).

The consequently juridification or functionalization these counter-institutions addressing power rationales is of main interest for the purpose of understanding the role of NSMs in shaping and being shaped by political mechanisms.

As Meyer and Tarrow (1998: 4) note, this is because following the pattern of most consolidated social movements, contention eventually becomes institutionalized and absorbed into conventional politics. Therefore, once NSM movement actors join the ranks of professionalized advocates through lobbying, consultation, or as members of a pressure group, their further action translates into policy imperatives (Meyer and Tarrow, 1998: 4; Edwards, 2004: 115-116). This can be both beneficial or detrimental to the goals of NSMs. Under this light, the further implications of the APM for the democratic development of Taiwan shall be discussed in relation the influence of its actors and counter-institutions in governance outcomes.

5 The Case of Taiwan’s Animal Protection Movement

5.1 Advocating for Animals: “Some we love, some we hate, some we eat”

The quotation in the title above is a reference to Herzog’s and Foster’s (2010) homonymous book in which he discusses the complexities that characterize the relationship between humans and other animals. Using insights from anthrozoology, he explores the question of why humans feel outraged about the mistreatment of cats and dogs, but have no issues feeding their beloved pets the meat of cows, fish, or chickens. Similarly, why we care about the preservation of some species, while we enjoy the products that come from the exploitation of others, and which most likely entail some damage to the ecosystems that support the ones we wish to protect. In a nutshell, the answer is: It’s complicated (Herzog, 2011).

Nevertheless, this differential treatment certainly has important influence on the types of animal people choose to advocate for, and which animal causes they donate to. Perhaps more significantly, which animals enter the political agenda and become subjects to policy debates. From the perspective of the Animal Rights Movement, this is a clear sign of speciesism under animal rights discourses, and a pragmatic issue for welfare and legal protection advocates. In Taiwan, this aspect is reflected by the prominence of mobilization around companion animal as opposed to economic animals. Although the APM is comprised by a diversity of animal causes, in reality, the sector dedicated to advocate for cats, and most predominantly dogs, is far more visible and influential than other groups (Table 9). As aforementioned, the reasons for this are complex, but more importantly, they lead to equally intricate human-animal governance issues.

To begin with, as TSPCA Director (Appendix: B3) notes:

“Most people still feel the most compassion for companion animals, as they are part of people’s everyday lives. Experimental animals, wild animals, and farm animals are not ‘seen’ by the public on a daily basis, leading people to be oblivious to their

treatment and welfare. Therefore, when advocating for these animals' we must first educate people on related issues, which are often completely new ideas to the public.”

At the same time, as TAEA Director (Appendix: B2) points out, companion animals also receive more attention due to considerably widespread problem of stray animal population in Taiwan. Therefore, social mobilization to address this usually originates first, such as in the case of university clubs to take care of stray dogs, or with the organization of private feeders and shelters (Appendix: B2, B3). There are two relevant outcomes related to this development. Here, a positive result refers to the fact that:

“they might start caring about other animals too. So it starts with animals in the city, by keeping pets like cats and dogs. It's more likely that people that care about pets will be more receptive toward other animal issues from here”.

On the other hand, as EAST Director (Appendix: B1) highlights, mobilization around animals is not always particularly effective because the public's love for animals such as cats or dogs does not necessarily translate into concern for the welfare or fate of animals in general. As a result, following the institutionalization patterns of social movements, the task of the APM in addressing animal rights or welfare through policy channels is particularly problematic. This is because while the introduction of animal advocacy rationales into the politico-legislative sphere represents an advance for the goals of the movement, it also entails the functionalization of these. Therefore, animal advocates at this level need to balance their efforts between those species that can generate mass public and legislative support while at the same time opening a space for animal ethics considerations within animal governance mechanisms as originally intended (Appendix: B3). Consequently, keeping the above mentioned aspects in mind, the protection of stray cats and dogs is currently the key area of animal advocacy efforts in Taiwan. While a majority of advocacy groups under the APM are engaged at various levels in addressing this problem, this particular issue area represents a major challenge on various fronts.

Table 9 Animal Advocacy Issues in the Animal Protection Movement

Advocacy Issues in the Animal Protection Movement						
Social Group/Discourse	Companion Animals	Animals in Entertainment	Animal Testing [^]	Animals for Clothing	Farm Animals*	Species Conservation*
General Public	Dog/Cat Protection Movement Main issue focus. Support rescue efforts, shelters, engage in feeding, etc.	Usually not an issue of concern beyond some welfare standards. Awareness might produce some behavioral change.	Degree of concern depends on awareness or personal views. Might choose "cruelty free" labels.	Usually not an issue. Widespread consumption of leather/wool items.	Not a major issue beyond food safety aspects. Environmental/ethical concerns might lead to choice of Free Range, Vegetarian, Vegan, or "Meatless Monday" diet.	Tacit support of conservation. Lack of awareness/disregard of issues likely: Shark Finning, Mercy Releases, etc.
	Organization of shelters, promotion of adoptions, TNR, education.	Likely to address issue to some degree. Might engage in social education activities in Zoos, etc.	Likely to address issue to some degree. Depends on degree of awareness and commitment to ideals.	Likely to address issue to some degree. Depends on degree of awareness and commitment to ideals.	Meatless diet encouraged. Dietary choice might be vegetarian (incl. eggs and dairy), <i>quán sù</i> (全素) or <i>chún sù</i> (純素).	Against Mercy Releases. Likely to engage more actively in conservation efforts.
Buddhist Modernism	Supports boycott of pet breeding industry.	Animals used in entertainment seen as a form of exploitation. Protest/Boycott against zoos, circuses, aquariums, etc.	Promotes "cruelty free" products. Boycott of animal tested products.	Promote the use of alternative/synthetic materials to wool, leather, fur, and other animal derived clothing.	Full plant based diet central to the movement's identity. Also referred to as <i>chún sù</i> (純素) or <i>wéi gēn</i> (維根) diet.	Strong support of conservation efforts. Activism against practices such as hunting or whaling.
Veganism						

*Animal Protection-Environment connection.
--- Shared approaches.

[^] Mainly refers to testing of cosmetic products.
... Overlapping practices/views.

Source: Author.

From the competing discourses surrounding animal population management rationales, to administrative and implementation obstacles, and pressing welfare concerns due to Taiwan's recent implementation of a "no-kill" policy in shelters. These dynamics are examined in the following section.

5.2 On Cats and Dogs

The problem of stray animal populations in Taiwan has been in the public agenda for many years without major solution. The theatrical release of the movie "12 Nights" in 2013 renewed the debate on the treatment of domestic animals in Taiwan. The film documents the fate of dogs in shelters that do not get adopted, and ultimately having to be euthanized due to the lack of space and resources. The public pressure that followed gave momentum to stray animal advocacy efforts resulting into the adoption of a "no-kill" policy in the country (Clifton, 2015). Nevertheless, far from solving the issue of stray animals, this decision is highly problematic and raises further questions on the welfare and health of cats and dogs in already overcrowded shelters (White, 2016). Furthermore, it indicates the urgent need for system reforms at various levels: individual practices, pet industry regulations, and more effective public management and legislation. These are areas where the APM plays a leading role in advocating for improvement of standards, raising public awareness, and acting as representatives of animal interests.

5.2.1 Love/kindness versus welfare/rights.

The advent of pet keeping practices in Taiwan came about through the transformation of socio-natural relationships as a result of economic affluence under the country's industrial miracle (Weller, 2006; Dotson and Hyatt, 2008: 458; Serpell, 2015: 19; Bradley and King, 2012; Peng et al., 2012: 355; Chang et al., 2013). However, the emergence of pet consumption patterns in the island led to a variety of issues. The relative newness of raising pets translated into the lack of

responsible ownership culture, leading to pet behavior problems, unmet expectations, and failure to neuter animals (Weng et al. 2006b; Hsu et al., 2003). These aspects in conjunction with the reasoning of giving their pets a second chance to live, and a degree of cultural views against the neutering of male dogs, contributed to the endemic abandonment of cats and dogs on the streets, and the expansion of stray animal populations across the island (Hsu, Severinhaus and Serpell, 2003: 18; Weng et al. 2006b, 205).

From here, government efforts to address this problem have been in place since the 1980s, gradually incorporating animal welfare conditions, creating dedicated agencies, and designing mechanisms to manage this issue. At the national level, recent developments refer to the creation of the Animal Protection Division under the Council of Agriculture (COA) in 2010. As the central animal control and welfare agency, it maintains two national information platforms for shelters, adoptions, animal industries, and pet care information (Chung, 2014; COA, 2008a; COA, 2013; COA, 2016a). At the local level, animal protection offices in major cities currently provide a wide variety of services. Among these, registration documents, pet care resources, sheltering and adoption, subsidies for de-sexing of animals, cremation services, and pet industry business information (TCAPO, 2015; KCAPO, 2015; TCAPHIO, 2015).

In regards to legislation, current provisions stipulate owner's responsibilities, industry controls, and stray animal management (Weng et al., 2006a: 316; APA, 2015). The most recent 2015 amendment to the Animal Protection Law "included more detailed definitions on what the improper rearing of pet means and also put in a licensing requirement for exhibitions involving animals" (Appendix: B3). More relevantly, new regulations address pet's bodily integrity. Owners cannot subject their pets to unnecessary surgery other than mandated neutering. Furthermore, it stops aesthetic oriented practices such as ear cropping, vocal cords modification, and tail cutting

(Ho, 2015). At the same, the law extends the mandate on pet registration, which has been in place since 1999, requiring microchip implantation (COA, 2016a). However, in spite of improvements across the government's animal management apparatus, stray cats and dogs remain a key issue in the public agenda.

One aspect of the problem remains the lack of adequate knowledge of regulations and their poor enforcement. Although there is public awareness of the existence of the Animal Protection Act and of public shelters, there is still little proper understanding of pet ownership requirements, and low usage of shelter services (Weng et al. 2006a). For example, spite of registration requirements being in place for over a decade, only between 60 to 70 percent of pets are being registered (Chen, 2015, p. 3). Similarly, a significant amount of owners still neglect neutering their pets, which conversely add to the population problem (Appendix: B1).

5.2.2 The costs of being cute.

There are a number of reasons for the prevalence of these issues. To begin with, a closer look at the existing services and regulation mechanisms as listed by different Animal Protection Agencies suggests that public approaches are primarily market oriented, directed toward fostering pet consumption, and assumes a reasonable degree of responsible ownership which do not reflect reality (TCAPO, 2015; KCAPO, 2015; TCAPHIO, 2015). This is problematic on three accounts. First, current pet consumption trends respond to marketable breeds. In spite of industry regulations, the profitability of pets and lacking enforcement of welfare standards usually lead to the existence of puppy mills where dogs are kept in confinement, in questionable conditions, and subject to constant breeding to meet market demand (TANews, 2014; TSPCA, 2015; Chen, 2015). Second, another less discussed but increasingly controversial aspect refers to the health and physical problems that arise from pedigree breeding practices. This is because although humans have bred

animals to meet various purposes across history, current breeding patterns are centered on aesthetic value. Modern cute animal breeds come at the cost of genetic issues from inbreeding, leading to disease proneness and physical problems. In the worst cases, exaggerated features interfere with the animal's normal functioning, suffering from breathing complications, poor sight, or limited movement throughout the length of the animal's life (Madarelli, 2014). Last, according to Hsu, Severinhaus and Serpell (2003) a factor in the number of pets that remain unneutered can be related to the reluctance of veterinarians to offer or push for this service, in part because many "believe that the resulting reduction in the dog population will be bad for business" (Hsu, Severinhaus and Serpell (2003: 15). As a result, the failure to address pet consumption trends and the lack of proper government regulation not only leads to animal welfare and rights violations. On the one hand, unaware prospective owners purchase puppies that might bring them important financial and emotional burdens. On the other, stray animals remain roaming the streets or un-adopted in shelters.

The next reason refers to ineffective communication. As noted before, In spite of the existence of a considerably developed apparatus for domestic and stray animal management, the public remains significantly ignorant of the regulations and proper pet keeping practices. A major issue consists on the delivery of animal welfare and pet keeping information to the public. This was one of the points discussed during the Government Consultation Meeting held by the Taipei City Government with NGO representatives in December, 2016 (Appendix: D1). Among the issues brought up on this topic were the loopholes that exist in the communication channels between the public and government agencies. For example, calls through the 1999 service to report stray animal sightings or animal injury would not be forwarded to the right department, or operators were unsure of the procedures. In relation to this, the need to improve Public Service

Announcements (PSAs) and other approaches for the dissemination of information was also stressed (Appendix: D1). Particularly, the effective delivery of education material of regulations, pet keeping, the handling of rescued animals, and how to deal with animal corpses in order to find out the causes and ensure law enforcement. Another aspect of the need to improve the communication and information platforms under the current government refers to the public distrust around official policy. One NGO representative indicated that in some occasions, the organization had encountered individuals who after rescuing animals would refuse to contact the authorities due to fear of the animal being put down. Revealing that in spite of the implementation of “no-kill” in shelters and efforts to improve shelter standards, members of the public do not believe these changes have actually taken place, and the urgent need to address the image of government institutions (Appendix: D1). Overall, the tone of the meeting was positive, with officials showing willingness to address issues and further cooperate with NGOs. However, the major obstacle that emerged throughout the session and in particular on proposed projects by NGOs consisted on budget considerations. On this front, while government representatives expressed willingness to consider all proposals, they constantly stressed the need for obtaining exact budgets, as well as considering constrains that limited resources pose for the implementation of current policies (Appendix: D1). Finally, this later point brings attention to the role of NGOs in current animal protection governance.

5.2.3 Counter-institutions.

The institutions that arise from the APM take on a wide range of forms. Some organizations provide public services such as TNR, shelters, and adoptions. Others specialize in lobbying, pressuring for better welfare standards and rights for animals. More relevantly, those engaged in

consultation aspects may also act as mediums between the public and the government, keeping checks on the ongoing developments, providing feedback, and representing animal interests.

Hence, NGOs have led legislative changes toward animal welfare, since as early as 1960, with the foundation of the Animal Protection Association (APA, 2013; Chung, 2014). Currently, “there are over 100 registered animal organizations within Taiwan and there are also many private stray animal feeders and shelters around the country.” (Appendix: B3). Furthermore, bigger organizations such as APA and the TSPCA have an extensive platform, engaging in lobbying, social education, rescuing, and rehoming of domestic animals (APA, 2016, TSPCA, 2016). Similarly, organizations such as the TAEA engage in local level consultation, and focus on social education aspects that are often ignored. For example, their campaign “Happy Dogs, Happy People” focuses on public and stray animal safety by educating people on how to approach and handle stray animals when encountered on the street (Appendix: B2, D1).

Most recently, in relation to the Zero Euthanasia policy coming into effect since February 2017, the TSPCA conducted a nationwide survey of public shelters during the course of five months in order to assess their readiness to carry out this new mandate. Their investigation revealed the disparity between shelter in regard to animal welfare standards with Pingtung County and Penghu Island not meeting the minimum shelter standard regulations set in place by the government (Appendix: B3). As a result, during the press conference unveiling their findings, the TSPCA along four legislators called for the Council of Agriculture to ensure the compliance of these shelters with required standards. Consequently, as TSPCA Director emphasizes:

“In regards to the no-kill policy, our main focus is to push for better welfare standards within shelters, requesting shelters to STOP taking in animals once a maximum capacity is reached, to implement fees for pet relinquishment at shelters, and to implement better strategies and educational programs to increase adoption rates” (Appendix: B3).

From here, increased and more effective efforts to address the root causes of stray animal populations takes further precedence in the public agenda. In particular, the implementation of better source management, bringing about its share own of challenges.

5.2.4. From communicative action to policy imperatives.

In light of the ever pressing need to address the source of stray animal populations, present policy debates pertain to two issues the implementation of TNR programs, and the establishment of a linked household and pet registration system.

The first item brings attention to the outcomes of the 2014 ‘Stray Dog Management Policy Consensus Conference’ held by the COA. Here, a key development has been government implementation of pilot TNR programs on stray populations at the local level (Lin, 2014). As previously noted, NGOs have been promoting and carrying out this practice as a population management mechanism for some time now. For example, the National Taiwan University (NTU) based group, “The Eviction” (*Táiwān huái shēng xiàng xìn dòngwù xiéhuì* - 台灣懷生相信動物協會) is a key advocacy actor of TNR in Taiwan (Yang, 2016; Appendix: D1). Active since 2007, it focuses on managing stray animal populations around greater Taipei, targeting populations in remote areas (Li, 2016). It also participates in government consultation activities, providing account of its experiences and further advice on good TNR practices (Appendix: D1). Accordingly, the government’s incorporation of the TNR approach into its management efforts can be understood as an example of successful advocacy by civil society actors.

However, the institutionalization of TNR is also a matter of important debate. This is because this approach entails a resource and time consuming effort, requiring a considerable amount of manpower to be implemented successfully. This translates into budget considerations, and above all, brings attention to the questions of whose responsibility it should be to carry out

these programs. Some groups such as EAST do not agree with the implementation of TNR programs by the government, resulting in some contention between groups (Appendix: B1).

Furthermore, EAST Director argues:

“We suggest that for TNR, people can do it, that dogs or cats can be neutered or spayed, that is good to help. The government should spend its resources, its attention to the very origin, the root of the problems. The pet owners, the pet industry. To promote responsible pet ownership. However, if stray dogs become the burden of the government, then there is no real responsible ownership. So that’s why we don’t support that” (Appendix: B1).

Consequently, the issue of making owners accountable for their pets directs attention to the second item in current policy debates. As previously noted, one of the requirements for domestic animals under the law consists on having pets registered and microchipped. Nevertheless, there is an important gap in the compliance to this law. A proposed solution here refers to the establishment of a system linking pet registration to the household registration database. This would facilitate better domestic and stray animal management by providing more exact pet population numbers, their location, mobility, and their vaccinations and neutering status. As the precursor of this concept, the Taipei City Government is currently conducting trials for its implementation. If successful, this system would greatly improve animal welfare and pet ownership accountability on various levels (Li, 2016; Appendix: B1). Nevertheless, although such certainly has the support of various animal advocacy groups, the prospects are challenging. On one hand, as demonstrated by the failure of a more recent pet survey effort in Nantou, owners do not understand the importance of accurate domestic animal statistics; they find cooperation with government efforts troublesome, resulting in underreporting. On the other hand, the public also worries about negative repercussions, such as increased fines, or taxes based on animal breeds if such a system takes off. In addition, the implementation of such mechanisms will also require considerable resources, inter-departmental cooperation, and nationwide coverage to be effective (Li, 2016). Therefore, in

addition to the given budget constraints, the overall challenges to put this system in place are extensive. As a result, based on the brief discussion on this issue at Taipei City Government Consultation Meeting in December, 2016, there is still a long way before this plan can become a reality. In the meantime, public education, the formulation of better welfare guidelines, and their effective communication to all stakeholders becomes imperative as the best next step to coordinate the overall animal management apparatus (Appendix: D1).

5.3 Animal Welfare Indicators

Considering the developments discussed so far, a common denominator across all aspect of policy discussion is the urgent need to address education. However, beyond increasing efforts in the sole area of social education, this actually entails a major project to inform all involved parties at the various levels of animal governance. This is because, as previously noted, the idea of animal welfare, and even more so, that of animal rights, is relatively recent. As a result, there is still important knowledge and practice gaps as to what defines effective animal protection. Certainly, the APM has led on this front since its first mobilization campaigns incorporating the arguments advanced in modern animal ethics. The results of this process of communicative action and their juridification as policy imperatives under the political system are illustrated in the many policy approaches that have been discusses throughout this thesis, from the first enactment of the Animal Protection Law to the household-pet registration scheme. Nevertheless, the central task of translating and further embedding the normative ideas surrounding animal protection into working concepts within the governance process remain. At this juncture, animal advocacy actors who are engaged at the consultative level of government play a pivotal role by introducing animal protection discourses into the governance process and educating stakeholders. As EAST Director (Appendix: B1) elaborates:

“I think at the very beginning they [the government officials] might have mixed the idea of animal rights and animal welfare. But right now, I think they do understand that they are different. They are trying to distinguish these two ethical ideas right now. Even the scholars, for example this morning we had a meeting with the government, and the academics, the jurists said: Ok we should have an ‘Animal Welfare Act’. I think that the concept of animal welfare is becoming more familiar with academics and government officials, but I don’t think they will say it’s animal rights.”

The successful work of animal advocacy actors on this level is further demonstrated by an important effort that is currently underway. This refers to the development of Animal Welfare Indicators and their formulation into a Government Whitepaper (Appendix: B1, B3). According to Chapter 2, Article 4.1 of the current Animal Protection Act:

“The central competent authority shall form a panel of experts, scholars, officials from relevant agencies and representatives from legitimate animal welfare civic groups to develop animal protection policies, as well as indicators and white paper for animal welfare, also to review the policy outcome every three months.”

The introduction of the two latter items is of considerable significance. This is because while as a member of the World Organization for Animal Health (OIE) Taiwan currently does recognize international animal welfare principles, adherence is tacit and at its best remedial (OIE, 2007; Appendix: B2). More specifically, these principles refer to the right to welfare of animals contained in the so called “5 Freedoms”:

- [1]**freedom from hunger, malnutrition and thirst;
- [2]**freedom from fear and distress;
- [3]**freedom from physical and thermal discomfort;
- [4]**freedom from pain, injury and disease; and
- [5]**freedom to express normal patterns of behavior (OIE, 2017).

Nevertheless, as TAEA representative argues, the application of these freedoms usually is relegated to when violations of welfare have already taken place and animals have been hurt (Appendix: B2). Therefore, mechanisms to prevent the violation of these principles rather than punishing offenders should be a priority. The development of indicators along these lines could

help fostering better practices from stakeholders such as animal keepers, industry actors, and government officials.

On the other hand, they could also help in addressing important gaps in the law. This is because in spite of amendments, the Animal Protection Act remains ‘pet-centric’, protecting animals that have an ‘owner’. Similarly, the Wildlife Conservation Act “only really protects endangered species, therefore wild animals that are not endangered or have an owner fall in between the cracks and have no laws to really protect them from harm” (Appendix: B3). Consequently, the benefits of developing clearly defined animal welfare indicators and the publication of a government whitepaper is a first step toward establishing a baseline onto which further animal welfare mechanisms can be built upon. More significantly, the expansion of these standards to more species of animals, and the possibility of enacting a more encompassing Animal Welfare Law in the future (Appendix: B1, B3).

Undoubtedly, the APM and key actors within the movement such as EAST and the TSPCA perform a crucial role, engaging in government consultation, and ensuring the better integration of animal welfare and animal rights discourses into the public agenda. Similarly, ongoing individual and collective mobilization is gradually transforming socio-natural relations toward a more eco-centric paradigm. Although the expansion of animal advocacy spaces of emancipation and resistance are subsequently subject to the process of colonization under the system, the above points discussed also lend to a contrasting observation. That is, that this process of juridification and commodification does not necessarily have to entail a negative outcome. As long as civil society actors are involved in the political process, the transformation of communicative action into policy imperatives can in effect help in the expansion of the democratic project, ensuring the representation of the increasing diversity of human and nonhuman interests. Furthermore, and in

order to conclude, it can be argued that the cases touched upon throughout this thesis might suggest the possibility of an important retort to Habermas's system-liferworld colonization argument. This is because as far as the system colonizes the lifeworld through the process of commodification and juridification, effective NSM actors can in effect strategically advance their process of communicative action into the system. Therefore, does the center expand into the fringes? Or do the fringes sip into the center?



6 Conclusion

This thesis sought to make the case for the Animal Protection Movement in Taiwan as a representative New Social Movement (NSM), and to demonstrate the growing influence of animal advocacy rationales in the eco-political landscape. In order to do this, this research project set to answer three main questions.

The first question addressed the dynamics informing the emergence of the Animal Protection Movement under a new category of social movements. The findings reveal that in line with the development of post-materialist values in industrially advanced societies, Taiwan's animal advocacy rationales originated as a response to the transformation of socio-natural relationships under economic growth. More significantly, the rise of concerns over wildlife conservation and the spread of pet keeping practices. Nevertheless, the Taiwanese case presents some distinctive features in comparison to the Animal Protection groups elsewhere. This is because in the Taiwanese context, the convergence of Buddhist Modernist values and Animal Ethics gave rise to a characteristically diverse community of animal advocates who have opened and expanded the space for "cruelty free" lifestyles. Along these lines, the spread of Vegan identities in Taiwan has facilitated the further blurring of the divides between public/private and individual/collective mobilization, one of the key characteristics of NSMs. As a result, new conflicts have arisen from the expansion of the movement's econ-centric discourses primarily based on the concepts of animal welfare and animal rights against the current socio-natural paradigm that treat animals as objects or property.

Question number two sought to shed light on the key issues addressed by this movement and how these new areas of conflict translate into social mobilization. In a nutshell, Taiwanese animal advocacy encompasses a wide range of animal causes, from the welfare of domestic

animals to the exploitation of animals in entertainment, and the role of animals as food. Mobilization around these issues occurs at various levels of organization and within a variety of channels. They include individual actions based on ethical consumption and the expression of animal advocacy oriented identities, and collective group efforts arising from physical and online activist networks coordinating public demonstrations and awareness raising events. These developments have led to the formation of counter institutions, most notably the establishment of alternative markets and the provision of public services to address perceived gaps. NGOS play a key role in animal governance through efforts with stray animal population control, maintenance of animal shelters, and opening adoption networks. Furthermore, NGOs engage in lobbying which plays a key role in the integration of animal welfare and animal rights into policy making process. Starting with the successful enactment of the Animal Protection Law under the Life Conservationist Association, Taiwan's animal advocacy groups have continued to press for better welfare standards, now leading the discussion on stray animal population management, setting examples of good practice, and educating officials and the public on animal welfare and animal rights.

The last question brings attention to the importance of these developments for the eco-political and democratic process in Taiwan. This thesis suggests that the professionalization of the aforementioned counter institutions has led to increased cooperation and lobbying with the government. In particular, NGOs act as key intermediaries between public demands and the government, ensuring accountability, and representation. This later point illustrates one of the key aspects of a working democracy. As result, the Animal Protection Movement is becoming a relevant actor in the eco-political landscape of the country, thus ensuring the representation of new areas of human and non-human interests. From here, a final item of consideration in relation to the

relevance of these findings outside the context of Taiwan comes forth. This shall be addressed in the section below.

6.1 Contributions, Reflections, and Future Research

Revisiting the initial problem of the political relevance of animals as subjects in socio-political spaces, the nonhuman has come to claim a particular place in modern philosophical, ethical, and political debates in a variety of countries. Some societies have begun engaging in discussions for the provision of legal entitlements or better protection of non-human animals based on their status as sentient beings, in some cases, extending recognition to some species as non-human persons. Furthermore, the establishment of specific areas of inquiry in the form of Animal Studies and Anthrozoology demonstrates the timid yet growing influence of eco-centric paradigms in making sense of socio-natural relations. Nevertheless, as previously pointed out, these developments have been mostly dominated by scholarship in the United States and Europe. Here, in spite of the expansion of animal advocacy efforts in East Asia, research has remained considerably limited. In the case of Taiwan, such area of inquiry has been minimal or derivative from developments in the environmental movement front. As a result, an initial objective of this thesis project has been to bring attention to the rise of the Animal Protection Movement (APM) in Taiwan as a representative example of a New Social Movement (NSM). In doing so, this thesis has also addressed a gap, and a disagreement, in the social science dialogue of Taiwan. That is, the applicability of imported models into the local context. Here, authors such as Chang (1997) and Ho (2004) have been critical of the applicability of NSM theory to Taiwanese cases, arguing that further attention should be placed on national factors to explain emerging social movements. Based on her assessment of Taiwan's Shell-less Snail movement and the Bunnun New Religious Movement applying Touraine's focus on *historicity*, and Castell's dialectical approach to

community, space, and autonomy, Chang (1997) advises that the further study of New Social Movements should pay attention to the moral and political dimensions in which mobilization takes place. Similarly, Ho (2004) in his examination of NSM theory through the case of Taiwan's Anti-Nuclear Movement concludes that the usefulness of such perspective is limited due to the fact that this movement is a "byproduct of political democratization, rather than late capitalism", thus arguing that indigenous factors should receive more attention in the study of social movements (Ho, 2004). Nevertheless, Chang (1997) does recognize the potential of employing such models in order to broaden research perspectives (Chang, 1997). On this note, such research potential was fulfilled in this thesis by balancing between a contextually sensitive methodological and theoretical framework based on Habermas' focus on the conflict-shift in which NSM emerge, and the hermeneutical interpretation of data. Therefore, the case of Taiwan's APM demonstrate the existence of a New Social Movement within the now consolidated Taiwanese democratic system. Not only this suggests the opportunity to reopen the dialogue on this area of scholarship in relation to other movements, but also to engage in the conversation informing the transformation of socio-natural relationships through the spread of animal rights and animal welfare discourses within socio-political spaces in East Asia and the world. This is because as highlighted throughout this thesis, the APM in Taiwan is distinctive due to the syncretization of Buddhist Modernism and Animal Ethics ideas coming from the West. Along these lines, Taiwan has been sometimes referred to as a place where 'East meets West'. This assertion is perhaps now ringing truer in the context of important paradigm shifts taking place around the world and where Taiwan could play a greater role.

On the one hand, pressing ecological imperatives currently translate into the need to design better policy and governance mechanisms and most certainly indicate the need to rethink socio-

nature relationships as a whole. Because of the important yet often ignored role that animals play in human life by providing sustenance, wealth, and knowledge in the case of animal testing, this first line in human-nature relationships should be a starting point of reflection. This brings attention to the next initial question at the beginning of this research project: “How are socio-natural relationships political?”. In the geo-cultural setting of this thesis, this aspect was explored through the outlined second objective of examining the implication of growing issue networks surrounding animal advocacy for the eco-political and democratic landscape of Taiwan. In a nutshell, socio-natural relationships are political because the nonhuman, that is nature and animals, are intertwined into various areas of human life, which conversely transform them into subjects within the political process. This includes animal welfare regulation within the various animal industries, our decision to adopt a stray animal, or donate to the conservation of endangered species. Under a democratic and fair process, these various aspects then become matters of transparency, public participation, and accountability. In Taiwan, this is an ongoing development and reflects positively on future prospects for animal governance. Furthermore, it opens a space for further inquiry within the East Asian context.

On the other hand, this last point brings attention to the overall relevance of the Taiwan case from an international perspective. In other words, how is Taiwan’s APM and its role in eco-politics significant elsewhere? Perhaps the relevance of these developments in the country can be better understood by positioning Taiwan in relation to other powers in the changing international (eco)political landscape. Most notably, the country has recently ranked its highest score in the *Freedom in the World Report* released by Freedom House, ahead of countries like France and the United States (US) (Chung, 2017).

From the perspective of the US, the politics of socio-natural relations is currently illustrated by a recent proposal presented at the US Congress to overturn important protections under the national wildlife refuges system in Alaska, leaving Grizzly Bears and Wolves vulnerable to cruel hunting practices (Pacelle, 2017). All the while, the US Department of Agriculture has drastically reduced the availability of animal welfare data from its website (Kaplan, 2017). Aspects that have drawn the outcry of animal advocacy groups and prompted increased social mobilization.

At the same time, important developments are taking place in East Asia. Most notably, China is not only looking to emerge as a Climate leader, Chinese eco-politics and environmental actors are taking off, and animal advocacy rationales have begun to draw notice (Larson, 2008; Chen, 2010; Hilton, 2016; Knott, 2016). It is at this juncture where the importance of studying Taiwan comes forth. As a key democracy in the region and in relation to its place in the geopolitical space with China, Taiwan has been a focal point of interest for political, social, and economic inquiry since its emergence an economic miracle in the 1980s, and later as a participant in the global third wave of democratization. Furthermore, because of the particular relationship between China and Taiwan, the process of political liberalization in the island drew considerable attention as a model for the future prospects in the Mainland. From here, the findings of this thesis can contribute to the expansion of an avenue for comparison between Taiwanese and Chinese eco-politics from the perspective of changing socio-natural relationships. In addition, due to the linkages (and disagreements) between the two countries, it would be interesting to explore how the introduction of animal ethics in the island could have led to the development of a Chinese take on the topic (Lu, Bayne, and Wang, 2013). In regards to a wider perspective on East Asian eco-politics, the role of smaller and grassroots networks of transnational actors such as highlighted in the case of the Fur Free Asia Campaign deserves a closer look. In particular, a regional and local

perspective based on cultural, political, and economic contexts for comparison could be helpful in the development of further ecologically informed critical approaches. Finally, this need for a diversity of voices, human and nonhuman is imperative in the context of green democratic project. This is an area that has come under increasing interests due to the pressing ecological and environmental issues of our times.

6.2 Limitations

Some concluding remarks pertain to the acknowledgement of two limitations encountered during the research for this thesis and one additional consideration.

First, schedule limitations. Due to time constraints and the qualitative nature of this research project, the amount of observed groups and activists interviewed was subject to the ability of the researcher to attend the many different events being organized by animal advocacy groups, and to the availability or willingness of activists to engage in conversation or accept interviews. The greater obstacle on this later aspect was the busy schedule of some animal advocacy groups who could not provide an earlier interview date, or did not reply to e-mail requests.

Second, language limitations. Although the researcher has a decent command of Mandarin Chinese, the interaction with activists was at times difficult due to language differences and the researcher's lack of more specialized vocabulary in the context of legal or philosophical discussions. Conversely, while the majority of people encountered throughout this research presented some degree of English proficiency, the factor of miscommunication or misunderstanding could not be entirely avoided. Such aspects might affect the accuracy of observations, translation, and notes taken during field work or interviews.

Last, an additional consideration refers to research bias. Depending on the epistemological inclinations of the reader, this might or might not constitute an actual limitation. Nevertheless, due

to the engaged nature of the employed framework and particular topic of this thesis, it is important to acknowledge that the researcher has been a committed vegetarian due to environmental and animal ethics reasons for over a decade. It was this original interest in animals and casual participation in the movement that led to the central theme this project: “*Can the nonhuman speak?*”

I have argued that yes it can, we are learning to listen.



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Appendix

A Field Notes

A.1 Movie Screening: “Cowspiracy”.

Date: 2016/11/20 - Sunday.

Location: Luzhou Jixian – New Taipei City Library.

Facebook Event page: <https://www.facebook.com/events/1799074190334620/>

Observations

Group discussion

- Movie screening followed by group discussion. Attendees divided into groups of 5-6 people, requested to pick a card from stack scattered around first row of theater and use it to discuss/share thoughts on movie. Cards contained various images.
- I was placed into a group consisting of a family (2 parents and 2 children, ages 7 and 13), and event volunteer/organizer.
- Discussion very positive, 7-year-old encouraged to start the discussion, picked a card with a dog because it reminded him of cute pigs portrayed in movie, elder kid chose a picture with ‘soccer’ theme, related to movie focus on deforestation in terms of ‘football fields’ area.
- Mother in group expressed interest in dietary changes, concerned about dietary needs of kids. Volunteer provided extra information/suggestions.
- Overall very positive discussion indicated willingness to change dietary/lifestyle choices.

Group representative commentary:

- One person requested to provide discussion outcomes/thoughts to audience.
- All groups very positive towards movie’s message.
- One attendee questioned the issue of implication of lifestyle/dietary changes for local egg sellers. (Attendee expressed very strong local identity - “I am from Luzhou” - followed by local socio-politics commentary, north-south area funding/budgets?. Moved away from original discussion but event volunteer managed to redirect discussion).
- Mention of local market/egg sellers provided platform for event volunteer to argue for effect of consumer choices on market mechanisms (supply-demand). Reduction of demand for meat/dairy will translate into market change toward more vegetarian/vegan products, opening new business opportunities and saving future animal fates. Crowd applauded.

Event presenter:

- Young Taiwanese man as MC of event, told story about vegetarian experience. Active event speaker/activist. Provided business card.

After event:

- Attendee approached organizer and suggested the need to incorporate anti-plastic/disposables use message in future social education efforts (due to Taiwan's take-away/disposable culture, which also occurs vegetarian/vegan restaurants).
- Met organization members. Was referred to upcoming events.

Other:

Similar event organized in Kaohsiung 2017/12/11

Facebook Event Page: <https://www.facebook.com/events/1012202115574290/>

A.2 Demonstration/Awareness Raising Campaign (Weekly activity).

Date: 2016/11/26 – Saturday

Location: Ximending, Ximen MRT exit 6.

Attendees: 5 volunteers (including researcher)

Facebook Event Page: <https://www.facebook.com/events/572037702979886/>

Observations

Set up:

- TV screen with power generator displaying documentary on situation of animals in factory farms.
- Banners, posters, masks. Most material contains English.
- Event focus on promoting participation in online campaign #FURRFREEASIA.
- Originally located at Ximen MRT exit 6, next to some Marriage Equality awareness/support raising group. Then moved to H&M, undercover due rain.
- Volunteer attendance varies, core group about 4 people, others join according to availability. (Many usual volunteers busy organizing upcoming Will Tuttle speech event. See: Event no. 3).

Public reception:

- Passerby attention noted. Many people slowed down or stopped to read signs. Some asked questions and agreed to take picture to upload in #FURRFREEASIA event page.
- One tourist from Mainland China requested material to help promote issue back home.

Conversation with volunteers:

- Talked about thesis project with younger volunteer. She expressed little interest in politics, only interested in animal rights.
- Met Jannifer, activist mother with child and 2 dogs at site. After personal introduction mentioned that her thesis was on women in higher education. Studied in the US. Quit job to dedicate to children and animal rights activism. Fourth generation vegetarian (religious family background?) and first vegan. Child and dogs follow vegan diet as well.

- Mentioned connection to Animal Rights Party foundation and other contacts.
- Commented on how media/market promotes meat based diet too much and its negative impact for Earth.
- Worried about Earth's future and her child.
- Researcher asked religious aspect of animal rights/vegan diet. Volunteer Mother recognized that most animal rights/vegetarian/vegan groups have formerly been connected to religion but increasingly non-religious (like this group).

#FURRFREEASIA

- Taiwan representative Mr. Wu. Campaign started in Japan. Founder of [純素 30 天]
- Small/local transnational network of Animal Rights activists. Japan, Taiwan, Korea, Hong Kong, China.

Follow Up:

Date: 2016/12/03 – Saturday

Type: Demonstration/Awareness Raising Campaign

Location: Taipei Main Station/Shin Kong Mitsukoshi .

Attendees: 7-10 volunteers

Facebook Event Page: <https://www.facebook.com/events/1692648381064510/>

Observations:

- [Brief drop-by]: 30 mins.
- More volunteers on site, similar set up with banners, masks, TV- video set display.
- Focus again on #FREEFUURASIA campaign, photographer and microphone/speaker equipment used.
- Location change/better weather = better exposure to message-public.
- Passerby responsive, slowed down, stopped or approached to participate/ask questions
- Predominantly female volunteers.

A.3 Vegan 'Youth' Convention (Featuring: Dr. Will Tuttle - Vegan speaker).

Date: 2016/11/28 - Monday

Location: Chang Yung Fa Foundation

Organizers: Meatless Monday R.O.C Association, Heart Awakening Culture and Education Foundation

Co-organizers: FLOURISHYouth / Yuen Wo cafeteria, Vegan 30

Event Facebook page: https://www.facebook.com/events/1860322860867444/?active_tab=about

Observations:

Before event:

- Met Jannifer and Mr. Wu.
- Was introduced to various activists/relevant people briefly by Jannifer.

During event:

- Venue appeared to be fully seated, very few late comers standing.
- English speech simultaneously translated to audience.
- Event focus on “Vegan youth”, various young Taiwanese activist and entrepreneurs invited to speak about their work. (University clubs/other ngos: Bliss & Wisdom Youth, Tzu Chi, blogger/restaurant owner “Bluesomeone”, Fashion designer “Vunicorn”, ect).
- “Vunicorn” Brand owner also organizer of “Taipei Vegan Frenzy” (See: Field Note no. 7).
- Obtained full opening and closing speech by Dr. Tuttle (see: Miscellaneous - Transcript).

After event:

- Mingled with other “young vegans” (mid 20s-early 30s, fashionable, laid back). One Parson (Vegan hairdresser, Hailey translator at event, formerly worked at PETA Asia).
- Vegan food/ lunch boxes distributed to remaining/lingering public.

A.4 Animal Rights Week - National Taiwan University.

Date: 2016/12/01 - Thursday

Location: NTU

Facebook Event Page: https://www.facebook.com/events/1612101192148980/?active_tab=about

Observations.

- Fourth day of event, focus on Animal testing in products.
- Site had some banners/posters with animal testing basic info. Usual University stall on busy corner of campus.
- 2 examples of animal testing free products (hand cream, shampoo).
- Organized by Animal Ethics club of NTU but in collaboration with Animal Rights club of Shida (also members of Vegan 30: Mr. Dai, and Ms. Chang).
- Talk about identification as a ‘social movement’ with Mr. Dai, unsure of label as mostly associate concept with political and social issues. Not interested in politics.

A.5 Shida Animal Rights Club Talk.

Date: 2016/12/01 - Thursday

Location: Shida University, Bu building room 404.

Facebook Event Page: <https://www.facebook.com/events/1694698680816004/>

Observations:

- Organized by Mr. Dai and Ms. Chang, students of Shida and members of the Animal Rights club.
- Mr. Dai as speaker of event.
- Event focus on:
 - o Animals in Aquariums: Issue of dolphins as entertainment.
 - o Animals in Zoos
 - Showed video of interviews with public attending the Zoo: (1) Do you like the Zoo? (2) Are animals happy in the Zoo happy?
 - Farm animals.
 - o Presented some tips and alternatives to consider.
 - Hiking trips with conservation societies to observe animals
 - Vegan lifestyle

Attendance: Mixed group, some students but predominantly adults. Mother-child, and people dropping by after work. Buddhist practitioners noted (asked about vegan-vegetarian status of provided snacks – no onion/garlic).

After-event:

- Chatted with Mr. Wu (Vegan 30 days), Mr Dai and Ms. Chang active members of the group. Discussed possible interview and introduced concept of research. Not engaged in the politics of animal rights/welfare. Only interested in activism to protect animals (Buddhist background noted).

A.6 Animal Ethics Discussion.

Date: 2016/12/08 - Thursday

Location: Shida University, Bu building room 404.

Organizer: Effective Altruism - Taipei.

Facebook Event Page: <https://www.facebook.com/events/349559655436420/>

Observations:

Before event:

- Arrived earlier to meet organizers of talk: Tom and Shin.
- Discussed ‘social movement’ identification and politics of animal rights. Recognize animal advocacy as a nontraditional issue in context of ‘traditional social movements’.

During event:

- Divided attendees into groups and provided material for a drawing/concept exercise.
- Placed into “Chicken” group.

- Discussion centered around ethics of animal treatment.
- Bentham “Can they Suffer?”
- One attendee challenged the concept of animal rights based on his personal views on “private property” on animals.

After event:

- Discussed with Xin about existence of various animal advocacy groups, he mentioned overlapping membership and cooperation between groups as the ‘scene is still very small’.

A.7 Fourth “Taiwan Vegan Frenzy” (Fair).

Date: 2016/12/17 - Saturday (December 16th – 18th).

Location: Butterfly Square, Taipei Flora Expo Park.

Facebook Event Page: https://www.facebook.com/events/374350026249016/?active_tab=about

Observations:

Fair:

- Food, beauty, ‘environmentally friendly’ products. Vegan Lifestyle focus.
- Attendees mostly Vegan population but due to location (Flora expo park), some exposure to general public.
- 2 NGOS present.

NGOS:

Vegan 30 Days:

- Stall with all main members and various volunteers.
- Discussed aspect of “politics of Animal Rights” and whether animal advocacy/veganism is ‘political’.
- Asked about funding, organization is non-profit and ‘self-funded’.
- Little relationship with bigger organizations/lobbying groups, focused on promoting veganism at the ‘street level’.
- Met NTU Animal Rights Club member, volunteer. Master’s thesis on legal discussion of Speciesism, obtained copy.

PETA

- **Currently recruiting personnel in Taiwan. Trying to expand base.**
- Recognized that many NGOs are doing good work but would like to also start their own membership and expand operations. SEE: leaflet
- Agreed that the situation of animals in OK but a lot of room for improvement.
- Discussed about PETA activities in China: “PETA in China is not PETA”.

Other:

Fifth Taiwan Vegan Frenzy: March 11-12, 2017 (Taichung).

Facebook event page: <https://www.facebook.com/events/624979947699666/>

B Interviews

B.1 Environment and Animal Society of Taiwan (EAST).

Date: 2016/12/22

Location: EAST Office, No. 18, Lane 84, Hexing Rd, Wenshan District, Taipei

Time: 4.30 PM

Interviewee: Chu Tseng-hung, Director.

- 1) Your organization is very active in advancing the concept of animal rights and welfare in Taiwan, at the same time, public attention and engagement with animal activism appears to be increasing (ex. University clubs, Vegan fairs, etc). Would you consider these developments and your organization to be part of a wider social movement dedicated to advance the interests of animals in Taiwan?

I think so, but maybe some other social movement groups do not consider animal concern as part of a social moment. Myself I do think we are part of that, and addition to the animal welfare concern, we are also involved with the environment protection movement and other social justice movements too.

- 2) Actually on that point. How would you describe the relationship between Taiwan's Animal Protection Movement and the Environmental Movement?

Myself and other groups, some maybe 20 years ago were also involved with other environment issues. For example, the wetland protection, the nature forest reserve, and for example the Hushan Dam project, we protested against it and some other issues. So we do involve with other environment groups, so there are links between the 2 groups, and individual links.

- 3) So would you place this in the eco-politics landscape of Taiwan?

Yes. We are also much involved with Wildlife conservation, that's the link between animals and the environment too.

- 4) There is a growing population of people adhering to a 'vegan' lifestyle based on consumption. How are the Animal Protection Movement and the Environmental Movement connected to this?

Well, we do not promote vegetarianism or veganism ourselves. But some of our campaign materials, for example videos, footage of the inhumane slaughter of animals would become very

strong tools for the vegetarian people to promote vegetarian ideas. Even Buddhist groups like Chinghai... she promotes vegetarianism and she uses the material we have made. And now because of climate change, people would like to encourage to environmentally concerned people to eat less meat. Not even to become vegetarian but to at least eat less meat. So that's the link between all these movements.

5) One of the reasons how animal ethics, and part of what vegan people promote come from Peter Singer's and Tom Regan's ideas... and as you used to be involved with the LCA...

Yes, I was the Secretary General for the first 6 years.

6) So those texts were translated by that organization, do you feel that in Taiwan there is a special or particular approach to animal rights that infuses Buddhism with western animal rights ideas?

The ideas of animal welfare or even animal rights I think it definitely comes from the west. We did have animal protection groups before, but when they talk about animal protection, I think their idea is to be kind to animals or to love animals... but kindness or love for animals doesn't really mean the welfare or animal rights.

7) So now that's also why we have the big issue of shelter no-kill policy, because people think that they don't want to kill animals but don't consider the welfare.

Yes, that's right.

8) On this issue, why are people more receptive toward the issue of stray cats or dogs but don't consider other animals?

Yeah, of course around the world people love pets, dogs and cats' lovers are much much more than other animal welfare advocates. But the difference between western dogs and cat lovers (in Taiwan), is more so, I think... people concerned about cats and dogs in the west are more accepting of the concept of the welfare of farm animals or laboratory animals. But here, people maybe just love dogs or cats but they are not concerned about the welfare or the fate of other species... so kindness doesn't mean the welfare or the rights of animals.

9) Because Taiwan has a big Stray animal protection movement when it comes to cats and dogs... Is the Stray Animal Protection Movement the same as the Animal Protection Movement?

No, I do think that there is a big gap.

10) But would they fall under the umbrella of Animal Protection Movement?

I don't think they really consider themselves as animal protection, only as dog or cat protection.

11) What is EAST's main issue focus at the moment?

For our group? Actually we don't really say that we are focusing on which kind of animals. Of course we have our major work, key issues. For example, farm animals, laboratory animals. However, if when we... come across issues, such as the stray dog issues, we will also spare our time and resources to deal with those issues. So we don't really say we focusing only on farm animals or laboratory animals, we are just focusing on what we should do from time to time. Depends on the opportunity and chances. For example, the stray dog issue is coming because they want to promote the so called TNR to be institutionalized, that the government should spend a budget to support TNR, that is something we are against. So we do in Congress say that this not the way to go.

12) So you don't support TNR? Why?

No. Of course we are not against TNR, but we do not support the idea that TNR should be carried out by the government.

13) So what is your suggested approach?

We suggest that for TNR, people can do it, that dogs or cats can be neutered or spayed, that is good to help. The government should spend its resources, its attention to the very origin, the root of the problems. The pet owners, the pet industry. To promote responsible pet ownership. However, if stray dogs become the burden of the government, then there is no real responsible ownership. So that's why we don't support that.

14) On these terms, do you agree with the other organizations?

No we don't agree.

15) So this is a point of contention between animal groups?

Yes, we have big debates. We are one of the very few groups, on this issue, that stands on the government's side because we don't think that is the way to go.

16) Is there a lot of opposition from the pet industry on this case?

The pet industry... they don't really have a big voice on this. For example, we passed the law to have pet owners neuter their pets, only the dogs neutered. The pet industry doesn't like that. However, they don't have much lobby power, and that law now is passed. So every dog owner should have their dogs neutered, unless they apply for a registration from the government.

17) How about compliance?

Not very strong. However, the government in Taipei, the Taipei Municipal government, is trying to link the pet registration scheme with the household registration. If that link can be successfully managed, it would become viable for the government to understand how many households now own how many dogs, where are the pet owners, if they move, go to other city or go abroad. If

there is a databank, then we can see how many pet owners have their dogs and cats neutered or spayed. I think there is a trial in Taipei city now. Even now, a percentage of pet owners, not small, but I think 20-30 percent of pet owners do not have their dogs neutered or spayed. But that is very high already, you know, 20-30 percent can make big trouble.

18) When it comes to cooperation with the government, do you feel that the government is receptive to cooperate with you and other groups, and at what level do you usually have exchange?

Our relationship with the government... I think it's very healthy. It doesn't mean that they can only accept, or they would refuse. But the dialog between our group and the government is very healthy. As long as we are appealing with good reasons, with good evidence, often we can be effective. We are members of consulting committees in the Council of Agriculture, other groups too as it couldn't be only one group there... However, our voice can often be very persuasive and effective.

19) So based on your experience, which methods have you found to be more effective for your advocacy?

Research. We spend most of our time and resources researching or investigating animal issues, looking into the problems. So every time we launch a campaign, whether it is on farm animals, lab animals or companion animals, we will bring attention to the media, after that we go to the politicians, we try to lobby the government, in Congress or local governments. Often, it will be acceptable to them.

20) And is the public also receptive towards these messages?

It depends. For example, if we launched a campaign related to wildlife, in the zoo or aquarium... that message can get across quite fast and quite broad. But in terms of farm animals, or laboratory animal issues... that could be difficult. But dogs and cats can be very very fast.

21) Do you feel that the concept of animal rights, and animal activism is political?

Probably, I think. You can call it ethical and political. In this modern society, every individual decision, individual actions can be political... and ethical too.

22) So to finish, how can the government address or trying to promote more consciousness toward animal rights or animal welfare?

I think at the very beginning they may mix the idea of animal rights and animal welfare. But right now, I think they do understand that they are different. They try to distinguish these two ethics ideas right now. So... Even the scholars, for example this morning we had a meeting with the government, and the academics, the jurists said: Ok we should have an "Animal Welfare Act". I think that the [concept of] animal welfare is becoming more familiar with academics and government officials. I don't think they will say it's animal rights.

23) So is that a suggested amendment to the current Animal Protection Act or a different bill?

We would like to promote an Animal Welfare Act. I think that animal welfare should be a base line. Once you have the base line for all kinds of animals, then you can tell society that animal welfare is not enough. Then we should press for animal rights more, get more protection for them. But right now if you say protection, the idea just applies to dogs and cats.

24) The Animal Protection Act right now is mostly concerned with economic use right?

The Animal Protection we have, maybe 95% is for pets. Maybe 3% for farm animals, maybe 2% for laboratory animals.

25) Do you think that there is hope in advancing these concepts?

I think so, yes, because even with the latest amendment on the APA. It says that the government should have a “whitepaper” for animal protection. “Animal Welfare whitepaper”, this word is now in our law. And “animal welfare indicators”. So these two words are now used by the government, in the law. So the government now is trying to have its people to try to write these whitepapers and indicators.

26) What about the aspect of resources to conduct these projects?

I don't know in the future, but for the current official in charge of these whitepapers and indicators, he does think that whitepaper should not be just put into a shelf once its finished. It should be a practical guide.

[End]

B.2 Taiwan Animal Equality Association (TAEA).

Date: 2016/12/26

Location: 永樂座 (Yong Le Zuo – Secondhand Bookstore and Coffee Shop). No. 6, Alley 21, Lane 283, Section 3, Roosevelt Rd, Daan District, Taipei

Time: 6 PM

Interviewees: Yi-shan Lin, Director and NGO Representative [female].

1) Your organization is very active in advancing the concept of animal rights and welfare in Taiwan, at the same time, public attention and engagement with animal activism appears to be increasing (ex. University clubs, Vegan fairs, etc). Would you consider these developments and your organization to be part of a wider social movement dedicated to advance the interests of animals in Taiwan?

“There are more and more young people that care about different types of animals, and they use different methods, like parties and other different approaches from traditional movements. For example, the environmental movement, they have protests, laws promotion, awareness raising, demonstrations. Or the recent marriage equality movement. Maybe these approaches are

considered more akin what a social movement is. Activities like Vegan Fairs are more related to youth culture. University clubs, they are about sharing and doing something together like taking care of stray dogs. If you want to use a very broad definition, this is also part of an animal protection movement. Not in the traditional sense of social movements, but it is a development. So I think that the Animal Protection Movement in Taiwan is not like the other social movements that address politics or social issues, but I feel that you can count it as social movement.”

- 2) In regards to this point. Can animal rights/welfare issues be political? In relation to the concept of ‘the personal is political’, and how more and more people now choose to change their food and consumption choices?

Oh, the relationship is very strong. If we learn that animals should not be used... It’s related to diets, being vegan or vegetarian for example. Which also touches upon concern for the earth, the environment, and care for the suffering animals. If we want to go have fun, choosing not to go to the Zoo or to so called Nature Farms, these actions demonstrate that we want these animals to live free in the wild. All of this, whether you want to have fun, consume, ride an elephant, go to the circus with performances with horse or bears.

So personal consumption and social protection of animals, it’s all very connected. It starts with our diets, with care for stray animals and social education, and education in relation to other issues. It’s all related. Food, entertainment, environmental degradation, habitat destruction, fur industry, all connected.

- 3) What is the relationship between Taiwan’s Animal Protection Movement and the Environmental Movement?

Actually, there could be an important relationship between both movements but as of now it seems that they are both focusing on their issues separately. But actually there is an important relationship, like vegetarianism and the connections between global warming and animal meat industry. Also the issue of habitat destruction and its impact on the lives of animals.

In the past, there was a “vegetarians against global warming” (蔬食抗暖化) Alliance that combined both animal protection and environmentalism. They promoted these ideas, with campaigns like ‘Meatless Monday’. Back then there was such cooperation but not so now.

- 4) What is TAEA main issue focus at the moment?

We do Public talks, social education, awareness raising... Lately we are focusing on educating the public on the topic “Animals are not entertainment” and raising awareness on the issue of keeping dogs chained all the time.

We are also having the “Happy Dogs, Happy people” on the aspect of how to handle stray dogs when encountered on the street, we are trying to promote public safety and the safety of stray dogs.

- 5) The issue of stray animals is probably the most salient animal welfare issue in Taiwan at the moment, why is there a divide between the advocacy for companion animals and other animals?

Well, first because we have so many stray animals. So it gets more public attention. And many groups start by organizing around the issue of stray animals... so perhaps people care more about these animals first. But from this, they might start caring about other animals too. So it starts with animals in the city, by keeping pets like cats and dogs. It's more likely that people that care about pets will be more receptive toward other animal issues from here.

- 6) What are your thoughts on the recent amendment to the Animal Protection Act? What about the idea of an Animal Welfare Act?

Well, there is been a lot of progress which is good, but it is still very focused on companion animals.

I think in terms of the Animal Protection Act, there should be some details that need to be highlighted. For instance, in Western countries, Animal Welfare Laws address "Five Freedoms" [of animals]. However, in Taiwan's Animal Protection Act, these Freedoms are mentioned, but without real penalty for the violation of these laws. It is difficult to do strict regulation on keepers. We only do something when animals have been abuse and it is too late and the law is not properly enforced. In addition, there is no proper cooperation or involvement with the police force, they could help in the implementation of these laws.

On the aspect of an Animal Welfare Act, I think this is actually the basis of legislation in other countries. I think the difference is that adopting this Act would make the concept of "welfare" more clear.

- 7) What about the concept of Animal Welfare Indicators? Do you have consultation activities with the government?

Yes, we do engage with consultation, in particular the Taipei City Animal Protection Office, we are having an end of year meeting soon to discuss policies for next year.

As for the indicators, the government officials usually mention the idea of these indicators on their meetings, but without actual regulation or enforcement we are not sure they can be any effective. It's always mentioned, indicators for the animal welfare in farms, shelters, and so on. But we haven't seen much more progress than that so far. There is also the issue of actual government capacity and resources to do this.

Is this because of the lack of manpower? Research?

I think it's just the environment in Taiwan... on the lines of Taiwan's approach to regulation, it's just about mentioning animal welfare indicators.

- 8) Do you think that there a connection between animal rights/welfare advocacy and democracy?

Oh yes, if the public cares about something, they will put pressure on the government, and the government will usually respond. For example, the new “no-kill” policy was implemented because of public pressure. After the release the Movie Twelve Nights, the issue of stray animals finally came into the political agenda. So yes, there is a connection between democracy and animal advocacy. However, whether the public cares about other animals... right now they mostly care about companion animals.

Member: I would like to add some remarks on the question about the Animal Welfare Act.

I think right now our group trying to push the concept of animal rights into animal protection policy. This is a bit of a topic of debate within animal advocacy groups. Many people argue that if we still cannot achieve proper animal welfare standards, how can we start talking about animal rights? So there is the thinking that we should first focus on welfare and later consider rights. However, we [TAEA] think that welfare and right should go together.

[End]

B.3 Taiwan Society for the Prevention of Cruelty to Animals (TSPCA)

Date: 2017/01/19

Location: Online exchange

Time: 4PM

Interviewee: Connie Chiang, Executive Director / Co-Founder

- 1) Your organization is very active in advancing the concept of animal rights and welfare in Taiwan, at the same time, public attention and engagement with animal activism appears to be increasing (ex. University clubs, Vegan fairs, etc). Would you consider these developments and your organization to be part of a wider social movement dedicated to advance the interests of animals in Taiwan?

Yes, I believe that more and more Taiwanese people, especially young people, are concerned with the welfare of animals, especially that of pet animals. There are over 100 registered animal organizations within Taiwan and there are also many private stray animal feeders and shelters around the country. More and more legislators are also willing to advance the welfare of animals by working with animal organizations and pushing through better animal related legislation.

- 2) The issue of stray animals is probably the most salient animal welfare problem in Taiwan at the moment.

- a. Is the Stray Animal Protection Movement the same as Animal Protection Movement?

The stray animal protection movement definitely has the most public and media attention. It is part of the wider animal protection movement, however, other animal protection

issues such as ones related to experimental animals, wild animals, and farm animals are often harder to generate mass public and legislative support.

- b. Why is there a divide between the advocacy for companion animals and other animals?

Most people still feel the most compassion for companion animals, as they are part of people's everyday lives. Experimental animals, wild animals, and farm animals are not 'seen' by the public on a daily basis, leading people to be oblivious to their treatment and welfare. Therefore, when advocating for these animals' we must first educate people on related issues, which are often completely new ideas to the public.

- 3) Based on your experience, which activism methods have you found to be more effective?

We find the most effective way is to convince/show the government that we have the public on our side. By educating the public and asking people to join petitions or join protests shows the government that people want change and that people care about the welfare of animals. If we can prove that Taiwanese people are highly interested with an issue, it is easier for change to happen. Using the media effectively also helps with any campaign.

- 4) With the implementation of the no-kill policy there are increased concerns over the welfare of animals in shelters. What are TSPCA's efforts to address these issues at the moment?

We recently held a press conference with 4 legislators, revealing findings from over 5 months of shelter investigations around the country. Our researcher visited every public shelter in Taiwan and some were found to be worst than others in terms of animal welfare standards.

Shelters such as Pingtung County and Penghu Island were not even in compliance with the minimum shelter standard regulations set in place by the government. Along with legislators, we requested the Council of Agriculture (governing body of shelters and animal protection) to immediately demand these shelters to make necessary changes.

In regards to the no-kill policy, our main focus is to push for better welfare standards within shelters, requesting shelters to STOP taking in animals once a maximum capacity is reached, to implement fees for pet relinquishment at shelters, and to implement better strategies and educational programs to increase adoption rates.

The issues of 源頭管理 is very important as well (such as TNR, preventing pet abandonment, more effective and stringent laws...), however because with the short time period we have before the no-kill policy is enacted, we are currently focusing more on shelter welfare.

- 5) The TSPCA recently managed to successfully help passing the Animal Testing Ban. What were the main challenges encountered during this campaign? What challenges do you see ahead (ex. Implementation, compliance, public consumption choices, etc)?

The main challenges were first of all, getting a very good understanding of the cosmetics animal testing issue/legislations around the world and within Taiwan. It is a very complex topic involving not only science and regulations, but also consumer safety and business interests of cosmetic companies around the world. Second, although it was not too difficult to generate support from legislators (surprisingly!), we had to spend a lot of time visiting legislators from the Social Welfare and Environmental Hygiene Committee in order to explain our bill and to get their support. From the start of the campaign to the passing of the Taiwan testing ban, it took us 2 years to get where we are now. Within these 2 years, the challenge was to keep the media interested and to keep reporting on the issue, and to convince legislators that this was an urgent bill that needed to be discussed right away. Oftentimes one of the hard parts in passing through a new legislation is to get it to be scheduled for discussion during the committee meetings. The more ‘popular’ or ‘urgent’ an issue is, the faster the process.

6) What are your thoughts on the recent amendment to the Animal Protection Act?

The recent amendment included more detailed definitions on what the improper rearing of pet means and also put in a licensing requirement for exhibitions involving animals, however there are still many loopholes that we see, so there are still much more changes that we need within the Act.

7) According to Article 4 of the Animal Protection Act, animal welfare indicators and the production of ‘whitepapers’ among other measures are to be developed in cooperation with experts and civic groups. Is the TSPCA involved in this process? What progress is there on this front?

Yes, the government is in talks of developing whitepapers at the moment, we are part of the panel of advisors.

8) It appears that some groups are advancing the idea of an Animal Welfare Act to encompass all animals in contrast to the Animal Protection Act which is more “pet-centric”, what is the TSPCA’s position on this?

The current animal protection act is indeed more ‘pet-centric’ as it only protects animals that have an ‘owner’. The wildlife act only really protects endangered species, therefore wild animals that are not endangered or have an owner fall in between the cracks and have no laws to really protect them from harm. Therefore, laws to encompass all animals are definitely needed.

9) Is there a connection between animal rights/welfare advocacy and democracy?

10) Can animal rights/welfare issues be political? Can animal rights activists be considered ‘eco-political’ actors?

As with any bill that needs to be passed, it can become political when legislators go through negotiations with other parties. The political atmosphere also affects the success of animal related bills being passed through, as we have to reach out to the 'right' legislators and 'right' political party at any given time.

11) How would you describe the relationship between Taiwan's Animal Protection Movement and the Environmental Movement?

Of course animal protection really goes hand in hand with environmental protection, both can affect each other. However, the animal protection movement seems to have grown quite large quite quickly, compared to the environmental movement, perhaps due to more 'outspoken' and aggressive animal activists. I believe it would be worthwhile and much more efficient if we can tie the two together when campaigning.

12) There is a growing population of people adhering to a 'vegan' lifestyle, is the expansion of veganism a signal of the transformation of human-animal relations in society, or is it a signal of expanding global "lifestyle trends" ?

I think people go vegan or vegetarian for a variety of reasons, whether as part of a religion or to protect the environment or to better ones health. I think some people stop eating meat to help animals as well. So the expansion I believe is due to the increase in information that people are getting, the more we know, the better or informed choices we can make.

13) What are the main differences between Taiwan's Animal Protection Movement and 'Western' Animal Protection Movements?

Taiwan is still more focused on pet related issues, other animal related issues are growing but albeit very slowly. In countries like the UK farm animal protection and wildlife protection are much more developed. But Taiwan is doing well as we've only had the animal protection act starting in 1998.

14) How would you describe the TSPCA's relationship with the government and with other Animal Advocacy NGOs?

We've only started lobbying the government starting about 2 years ago, within this time frame, we've managed to work with many legislators and I think the relationship has gotten to a point where the legislators trust our opinion and advice. We also worked with the Council of Agriculture on two campaigns last year (another one planned for this year) educating the public on animal welfare issues. So I believe we are on the right path, as only by working along side the government can we make effective changes. We also work with a few other NGOs when lobbying, which I think is a plus.

[End]

B4 People for the Ethical Treatment of Animals (PETA) Asia-Pacific

Date: 2017/01/09

Location: (Online exchange).

Time: 10AM

Interviewee: Szuching Chi, Corporate Liaison / Jason Baker, Regional Vice-President

1) What is PETA's main issue focus in China at the moment?

We don't really focus on only one or two issues as PETA is an animal rights group, so we focus the attention on areas in which the largest numbers of animals suffer the most intensely for the longest periods of time: in factory farms, laboratories, the clothing trade, and the entertainment industry. We also work on a variety of other issues, including spaying and neutering, and adoption.

2) Considering the political context in China, which activism methods have you found to be more effective?

Besides from demonstrations, protest, we work through social media, celebrity involvement, investigation, and research. We've also worked with other groups and companies – Discovery Channel, Gree Electronics, Casio, etc. for example, to make our work the most effective.

3) How would you describe your relationship with the government?

We don't have much relationship with the Chinese government. We do our best to follow all the rules and regulations.

4) What are the main similarities and differences between Taiwan's Animal Protection movement and China's Animal Protection movement?

Taiwan is so much more advanced in comparison to China in regards of animal protection or animal rights. The way that activists can approach to the public is of course easier and more freely. The similarity is people are changing, and you can find, both Taiwan and China, devoted and great young activists working on their way to raise people's awareness.

5) Is there a connection between animal rights/welfare advocacy and democracy?

We believe a nation with great compassion and inclusion will encourage a more loving and caring people, but whatever the political situation is in one's country, human beings are born to love and to be loved, and nothing will stop it.

6) Is there a significant difference in the approach to animal rights between Asia (China/Taiwan/etc) and the West?

I've not worked in the West personally, so I'm not able to answer this one. As far as I know, it's actually easier to promote AR in Asia, coz the religion (Buddhism) influence.

VP: Every country is different of course but on a whole it's the same. We do things to drive people to watch our videos or do to our website and learn why they should not wear fur or go vegan.

7) How long has PETA been active in China?

PETA Asia is registered in 2004 in Hong Kong.

8) What are the main challenges, operations wise, that PETA has encountered in China?

I would say it's not so easy for us to find suitable staffers (knowledge of veganism, complete advocate of AR, and fluent Chinese and English, plus the knowledge for the position, etc.), but as you know, my position is not at the executive level, it might not be so accurate.

VP: We're new so we don't have a huge pool to pull from, but at the same time being new also means that much of what we are saying and doing is exciting to the public.

9) Please provide some information as for PETA's prospects for expanding to Taiwan.

VP: TW is one of the veggie capitals of the world. We have been campaigning and shooting at here for over a decade. We will continue.

[End]

C Social Media

C.1 Facebook Group.

純素 30 天 [Vegan 30 Days]
Membership: 1,911 Date: 2017/02/16 Link: https://www.facebook.com/groups/Vegan30/
Observations
Group focused on promoting animal rights through the spread of 'veganism' at the street level. Organizes various activities such as: Movie screenings, talks, appearance in variety of public events (ex. Vegan Frenzy). Conducts weekly demonstrations for animal rights awareness at different commercial/popular spots around Taipei and occasionally other cities. Main campaign consists on encouraging people to sign up on "vegan challenge" by adhering to a vegan diet for 30 days. Facebook Group page is very active, constant posts of animal rights/stories/campaign material. Members also engaged in various other organizations, Shida/NTU Animal Rights Student Clubs, Go Vegan, Vegan Volunteer, etc.

素食志願者 Vegan Volunteer
Membership: 12,832 Date: 2017/02/16 Link: https://www.facebook.com/groups/145089835661292/
Observations
Group focused on sharing Vegan lifestyle information, events. Comprised by volunteers, helpers, sympathizers.

動權社
Membership: 1,754 Date: 2017/02/16 Link: https://www.facebook.com/groups/134128922442/
Observations
National Taiwan University Animal Rights Club Organizes activities such as “Animal Rights Week” (See: A4), and lectures, etc. Members also collaborate with Shida Animal Rights Club and Vegan 30 Days.

C.2 Facebook Pages.

夠維根 Go Vegan
Followers: 28,828 Date: 2017/02/16 Link: https://www.facebook.com/GoVeganTW/?fref=ts
Observations
Mostly self-produced content. Promotes veganism through ‘vlogs’. Commentary on different aspects of said lifestyle. Tips/advice, review of products. Promotion of campaigns such as FURRFREEASIA, “Petition to expand vegan options in convenience stores”, etc. Collaboration with other Vegan groups and feature of other Vegan activists (from Taiwan’s Vegan scene). YouTube Channel : https://www.youtube.com/channel/UCMc9r8S7EXLa5tvmfP4uFNQ

動物陣線
<p>Followers: 869 Date: 2017/02/16 Link: https://www.facebook.com/%E5%8B%95%E7%89%A9%E9%99%A3%E7%B7%9A-1542268722666206/</p>
Observations
<p>Organizes talks/discussion on animal rights, connected to Shida student club. Membership overlap with other groups (ex. Vegan 30 days).</p>

People, Animals, Times - 人, 動物, 時代誌
<p>Followers: 1,866 Date: 2017/02/16 Link: https://www.facebook.com/touchedbytheirhands/?fref=ts</p>
Observations
<p>Shares content such as animal stories, philosophy, education, general commentary. Blog/Web Page: http://touchedbytheirhands520.blogspot.tw/</p>

The voice of Animals 動保正義 全民發聲
<p>Followers: 9, 842 Date: 2017/02/16 Link: https://www.facebook.com/taoyuanpower/?hc_ref=PAGES_TIMELINE&fref=nf</p>
Observations
<p>Shares content on animal related news. Focus on companion animals</p>

C.3 LINE Groups.

Mercy is the Biggest Force 慈悲是最大的力量
Members: 255 Date: 2017/02/16
Observations
Diverse membership. Buddhists, Secular vegetarians, vegans, animal rights/welfare activists. Mostly share information about restaurants or animal related news.

Vegan 30 Days Experience 純素 30 天體驗
Members: 217 Date: 2017/02/16
Observations
Group comprised by supporters/members of Vegan 30 Days. Also diverse background. Some discussion on definition of “vegan”, religious vs. non-religious views. Group leaders stress on non-religious nature of group. Also share food/lifestyle tips and animal related news.

Vegan Taipei
Members: 54 Date: 2017/02/16
Observations
Group mostly comprised by vegan foreigners, some Taiwanese (ABCs) Very active on food/tips discussion, community news, organizing outings (dinner/lunch during weekends/weekdays).

D Miscellaneous

D.1 NGO - Government Consultation Meeting.

Date:	2016/12/28
Location:	Department of Economic Development and Animal Protection Office, Taipei City Government
Time:	8.30 AM
Topic:	End of Year Consultation, 2017 planning: Feedback, advice, suggestions, etc.
Attending:	Chung-chieh Lin, Commissioner of Department of Economic Development, Yi-feng Yan, Director of the Animal Protection Office, Taiwan Animal Equality Association (TAEA), 社團法人亞洲環境生態護育交流協會, 台灣愛貓協會, 社團法人台灣懷生相信動物協會, 流浪天使護佑生命協會, Other.
Absent:	Pet Industry Association.
Key Points:	Education, Pet Ownership education/culture, policy enforcement, Animal Welfare/Care quality, budget, APO reputation, “Knowledge gaps”, Pet registration.
Meeting procedure:	Each NGO was allotted a speaking opportunity to introduce their main suggestions and comments on current developments. Each group had sent their key discussion points beforehand. Compiled in one document projected at meeting.
Observations:	<p>NGOs played an important role in delivering feedback on current services and other issues were the public ‘does not trust’ the government, or where issues might remain at the bottom of command chain.</p> <p>Problem of ‘knowledge gaps’ on various areas, from statistics to governance/policy experiences also discussed. Therefore, highlighting the importance and urgent need for more research on issues of animal welfare, changing socio-natural relationships, and public-private/governance experiences.</p> <p>Issue of pet registration and pet-household registration link briefly discussed. Concept remains controversial.</p> <p>Attention brought to need of more effective information dissemination.</p> <p>Animal protection rationales in this context referred to companion animals, main focus on dogs, and some effort to bring cats into the discussion.</p>

	<p>Problem of prevalence of treatment of animals as objects noted. NGO efforts demonstrate drive to change this relationship by improving human-animal understanding.</p> <p>Formulation of ‘guidelines’ for animal care, improvement of public education, and NGO-Government cooperation discussed.</p> <p>Also related to aspect of animal care quality raised throughout meeting.</p>
Discussion points:	
TAEA	<p>Requested a more ‘permanent’ space for NGOs so the public know where to find them (such as the weekly flower market). Possibility of establishing an ‘adoption fair’.</p> <p>Introduced current campaign “Happy dogs, happy people” addressing fear of stray dogs on the street through public education.</p> <p>Has engaged in education activities at schools.</p>
Animal Industry:	Absent, no comments submitted.
亞洲環境生態 護育交流協會:	<p>Need for better enforcement of animal cruelty/abuse complaints.</p> <p>Indicated the need to provide PSA on how to deal with instances of animal corpse findings (report to police/obtain necropsy to determine cause of death, etc).</p>
台灣懷生相信 動物協會	<p>Talked about TNR experiences. Activities focused on remote/country areas to check stray populations, visit to pet owners to check on neuter/spaying status, offer services.</p> <p>Indicated need to improve 1999 service on cases related to animals. Calls not forwarded properly or untrained operators.</p>
台灣愛貓協會	<p>Issue of too much focus on dogs. Need to bring more attention to stray cats. Questions on handling/catching by animal control personnel as stray cats are different from dogs.</p> <p>Also indicated need to educate the public on how to properly rescue kittens as many die to poor handling.</p> <p>Stressed on aspect of animal care quality.</p>
流浪天使護佑 生命協會	<p>APO reputation, experience of public distrust on government handling of strays. Some people rather still ‘free’ dogs to the streets or keep private shelters.</p> <p>Some activities similar to TAEA, education/training on pets.</p>
Other	Intern consulting some aspect of law
Officials’ Feedback	
<p>Discussion was orderly and government officials were receptive. However, issue of budget for activities or suggested projects was recurrent and <u>stressed by officials</u>. Problem of space also discussed for some activities, such as a more permanent ‘animal expo’ or pet training campaign/services.</p>	

Expressed willingness to further consult with NGOs on various issues through relevant agencies, and better inter-agency/department coordination (ex. Education, APO, etc). Officials also conscious of need to improve APO's image/reputation, and formulate better PSA campaigns. "Short attention span" of public noted in regards to too long PSA material.

Post-Meeting Comments

Although overall meeting appeared to have a positive/motivated tone by members involved, issue of actual delivery/follow up on discussion points noted.
"Sometimes delivery not comprehensive enough or address minor/other issues"

D.2 Speech Transcript.

Vegan Youth Convention - Dr. Will Tuttle Speech

Source: Event Organizers – Transcription Team.

Opening Speech:

Alright. Xie xie, xie xie, da jia hao.

So I am really delighted that we're able to come together for this meeting this evening, and I am delighted also that we have simultaneous translation, so that I can speak without stopping after every sentence or two.

Welcome everyone, thank you for your caring hearts... And I'll like to also give a special welcome to another VIP who is my wonderful spouse Madeleine, she's sitting in the front here, let's have a hand for Madeleine [and Switzerland] Her paintings are out here and we have been traveling now together for many years... Bringing the best we can the vegan awakening, the message of the vegan awakening to our world... And that if we fail to... To understand the consequences of our food choices and the consequences of our routine violence and abuse of other living beings, we will not have a viable future for our children.

So it's very appropriate that our young people are here, because young people have a lot at stake in what we're doing, how we're living, in the conversations that determine the future and the wellbeing not only of ourselves but of all living beings.

As all of you know if you're here... The focus of our efforts is to help all of us make the connections between our abuse of animals and our own disease, our own social problems, the environmental devastation that is happening, and also the enormous suffering that these other beings endure.

And animals are like us, they essentially have interests that are as important to them as my interests are to me. Their suffering is as significant to them as my suffering is to me. And yet all of us are born into a culture where from the time we're little infants, we're compelled to participate in meals which are essentially reducing our natural capacities, our natural wisdom, empathy, and sensitivity... And many times I think, actually is children that help remind parents that "is it really right to be killing and abusing chickens, and pigs, and cows, and fishes?"

And modern science tells us that these beings have central nervous systems, basically like ours, capable of suffering and feeling pain. That they have complex social relations. That they're capable of psychological suffering as well. And it's well understood that, these animals are driven into extremes of suffering by animal agriculture. They're very often, they're driven into insanity by being terribly confined... so they're banging their heads against the bars, chewing on the bars, pecking each other's eyes out. But we don't see any of that if we just order...some bacon, or ham, or chicken, somewhere.

So we are living, all of us, I think in a society where we're encouraged to just stay shallow, to stay numb, to desensitize ourselves of the suffering we're causing other beings. And the same thing goes really I think for the web of life here, the ecosystems that we depend on. It's well understood now that animal agriculture is the primary driving force behind... Most really, most of the environmental devastation like the cutting down of rainforest for example. Nearly a hectare every second right now is being destroyed in the amazon for animal agriculture, to grow soybeans, to feed the imprisoned pigs, cows, and fishes. These are the lungs of the earth, and we're destroying them. We will not have a healthy climate or atmosphere if we continue doing this. And the same thing with the oceans which are being overfished. Not just to catch fish for people, but to catch fish to feed to imprisoned cows and pigs and other fishes. This is completely unsustainable.

So we have the suffering of ecosystems, of wildlife also who're being driven to extinction because their habitat is destroyed, because we take our wallets and pay for meat, dairy products, and eggs. In fact, I remember when we were here in Taiwan, that was just about three years ago, and I was talking about meat and dairy products and so forth, and then we went to New Zealand...

Australia, New Zealand, and in New Zealand... for quite a few years Madeleine had said" "Will, we gotta go to New Zealand, it's the most beautiful country in the world, gotta go there see this green, pure, beautiful country" ... and so we went there and gave lectures, and we travelled around New Zealand, and it was not that way.

They now have massive dairy operations... 10,000 cows in one operation... The hill sides, all the trees are cut down... the streams are all brown and polluted... and I remember it was so ironic because I was asking the people in Taiwan...I said, "so you seem to eat a lot of dairy products here in Taiwan, where do you get your dairy products?". People said: "oh we get them from New Zealand". And then I saw the terrible devastation that this causes to the environment in New Zealand... and, so this is the price that is being paid but we are taught to ignore it... and the price that is also paid by hungry people.

We are growing enough food every year to feed everyone, more than everyone, enough to feed 10 billion people. We have about 7.5 billion people, but we have roughly 1 billion people starving... because over half the grain we grow, instead of feeding it to the hungry people, we feed it to animals. And then that's very wasteful, we eat their flesh, we eat dairy products and eggs... we're wasting those resources. It's well understood that it's food shortages that are the primary cause behind conflict and war... refugees. So again, it goes back to animal agriculture. We can, such good news implicit in all of this... that we can become not only more aware ourselves, and much healthier ourselves. Last time I was here, it was 39 years since I've been to a hospital, so now it's

I guess close to 42, 3 years later... but we can not only be healthier, and we can clean up, and allow the oceans, and the rivers, and the forests to heal. We can allow our society to heal, we can feed everyone.

We can stop forcing people to stab animals all day, and to abuse them, and to pay for that, and eat that and feed that to our children, and cause illness, and destruction. Which essentially only enriches a tiny wealthy elite, actually. So, to understand that... If we are serious about making positive changes, each one of us can make an effort to understand the consequences of animal agriculture. Which very often we don't read about in the newspapers, or hear about on television, unless we're watching Da Ai TV or some of the more progressive media outlets. We can find out or we can gather like this, and talk about this, and learn from each other.... And I'll like to close here, I don't wanna go on too long. We'll have plenty of time during the evening to go more deeply into these issues.

But... essentially, the good news... I think we have to remember that we have a lot of reason to know that we can positively transform our experience on this earth as human beings and we can stop violently killing and abusing literally millions of animals every day. Actually, scientist now realized... when we talk about marine animals, we are talking about human beings torturing and killing billions of animals every day. We are... human beings have become a force of utter destruction on this Earth, and it's unnecessary, eating animal food is utterly unnecessary. It's the most glorious realization, that all of us have been given this precious gift of a human body that does not require any animal to suffer to get all the nutrients that we need, to celebrate our lives here. Remember that! This is totally established, by the research that's been done... All human beings, at all stages of life, can be adequately and wonderfully nourished by a plant based diet, infants, children, teenagers, adults, old people, pregnant women, nursing women, athletes.

So that's the great good news, all the nutrients that we need come from plants, we don't have to murder and abuse animals to get any nutrients... and when we move to a plant based way of living, we shrink our environmental footprint, we allow the climate to heal, we allow our Earth to heal, we allow our bodies to heal. Science, we realize it... even people that are only 9 years old. If they die, and autopsy is done, they already have the beginnings of heart disease from eating animal foods. We can clean all that up, we can be healthy, and energetic. And we can share these ideas with love and respect. It's not about judging or blaming anyone. It's about just understanding the beautiful possibilities we have in the future if we make an effort to understand these ideas and live our lives in alignment with them. So thank you all so much for coming this afternoon, I think we should go ahead and get started. So bless you all, much love to you all, and as we've said, go vegan! Live vegan! That's the message of the world peace diet, and I think... the message... if we are going to have a future, it will be a vegan future, and it will be beautiful. Much love to you, thank you, thank you.

Closing Speech:

I just really want to honor all of the people who are dedicating their lives and all of you actually, all of you who are here, I know you are making efforts to help make a positive difference in our world and as I said earlier, I think it's very important to embody what veganism actually is, which is a heart of kindness and caring and to bring that element to our life, as vegans or even if we're

pre-vegans, as we move in that direction. I say there are two kinds of people in the world, there's vegans and then there's pre-vegans. If you're not there yet, you'll be there, in this life or the next.

But I think as we live our lives in this way with kindness, that we become much more effective and remember that ultimately the only one we can actually change is ourselves. We can change ourselves. We can't actually change another person, but we can change ourselves, and as we embody the vegan value as respect and kindness more deeply, as we make an effort to understand the issues so that we are grounded in the understanding then we can plant seeds more effectively.

It's really about planting seeds, every time you show a video or write a blog or create a meal or do a class; you're planting seeds. And these seeds – I think the deeper our understanding is, the deeper and more effectively we can plant these seeds, and these seeds will grow. I think one of the underlying ideas is to remember that the most effective advocacy in many ways is sharing ourselves – listening, being willing to listen to others, because people will listen to us I think in many ways to the degree they feel that we are listening to them. So if we refuse to listen to other people, they probably won't listen to us. So to be a good listener and to not only that but to share our own story. I think in a sense people sometimes ask me, "If you only had one sentence, what would you say?" And I think the basic sentence is something that reflects the idea of our own understanding.

It's something like this: "I'm so grateful that I discovered that the only reason I was eating animal foods was because I was just following orders. I was just doing what I was told to do from the time I was a little kid. And now I don't do it anymore and it's great." And then let go, just don't try, in a sense, don't try to change the person because if the person feels you are trying to change them, they will probably resist. Just plant the seed of our own understanding, the awakening that we were only eating animal foods because we were following orders, and we realize those orders are not in our best interest. They're not in the best interest of anyone. And no one wants to just be a robot following orders that are not in their best interests that are harming them and harming the world. So they may not know it was you that made them go vegan because you just let go but you plant those seeds of our own understanding and that is I think what really is very effective to do it with love and respect.

The other thing I want to underline is that dairy products have just as much violence in them as meat in many ways. I mean they really . . . from the very beginning I think it's important to understand that as we move along the path that moving towards a completely plant-based diet and letting go of dairy products is enormously liberating. First of all because the milk of a cow is absolutely not something that we as human beings need to be healthy. The basic protein in dairy, in cow's milk is casein and we do not have rennin, which is the hormone that's needed to break that down, the enzyme needed to break down casein, so dairy products not only cause us a lot of problems but they are extremely abusive to mothers and to babies.

The whole animal industry is abusive to mothers and babies but it's epitomized really in dairy products, and so as we get the dairy out of our system, if we're vegetarians and move to becoming vegans, we'll find our health really improves a lot and the sense of joy and harmony that we're capable of feeling also improves and we can also understand that the dairy industry is one of the worst things in terms of global climate destabilization, cows eat a huge amount of grain. It's very

wasteful of water and resources to be eating dairy products. And also just remember that we still have in place subsidies for the animal industries and if people really had to pay what it actually costs for these things, it would be much more expensive than eating plant-based foods.

So as our society begins to awaken, and we see progress happening on all fronts. I think the most important thing is for each one of us to find what is our unique piece of the puzzle that we can contribute. What is my unique passion my interest? Is it music? Is it speaking? Is it writing? Is it education? Is it organizing? Is it just talking? Is it being an entrepreneur of some kind? We need people to work with government, people to work with education, people to work with religion, people to work on the internet with blogging, people to work in restaurants, creation and meals and every possible thing and to have an actual life that in some way contributing to bringing about this change which goes to the root of all of our problems, to help move our society in the direction of respect and kindness for animals and other people and ecosystems, is a life that I think is joyful and something we can work on together and Madeline and I, as we've been travelling especially for the last five, six years maybe – a lot internationally, and going to places like Africa and Western Asia and South America and to places like Eastern Europe and seeing the veganism booming and blooming everywhere.

New vegan restaurants cropping up everywhere and meetup groups and vegetarian veg fests. I love this Vegan Frenzy idea! These are all... It's happening everywhere. It's actually not being covered by the mass media but it's actually happening and we're all part of this movement and it depends on us. Our future depends on us. It doesn't depend on corporations and financial institutions and governments. It really depends on us getting together like this at the grassroots level and sharing our ideas, and our thoughts and cultivating a heart of caring. So I'm gonna stop here. I think the movement is in really wonderfully good hands.

I'm so inspired by the beautiful people we've seen here on the stage this evening and again I've said this yesterday or the day before that people sometimes ask me, "What is the country that seems to be leading the way on planet Earth, what is the place?" And Taiwan I think is such a light in our world of bringing compassion and health, not just from a religious point of view which is important but from a point of view of consciousness and awareness, and environmental sensitivity and caring and health and freedom and a positive future for everyone. So I look forward to continue working together with all of you. Thanks again so much for the efforts you're making. Bless you all, thank you very much!