ROUTLEDGE ADVANCES IN SOCIOLOGY

The Rise of Critical Animal Studies

From the margins to the centre

Edited by
Nik Taylor and Richard Twine

ROUTLEDGE

The Rise of Critical Animal Studies

As the scholarly and interdisciplinary study of human–animal relations becomes crucial to the urgent questions of our time, notably in relation to environmental crisis, this collection explores the inner tensions within the relatively new and broad field of animal studies. This provides a platform for the latest critical thinking on the condition and experience of animals. The volume is structured around four sections:

- engaging theory
- doing critical animal studies
- critical animal studies and anti-capitalism
- contesting the human, liberating the animal: veganism and activism.

The Rise of Critical Animal Studies demonstrates the centrality of the contribution of critical animal studies to vitally important contemporary debates and considers future directions for the field. This edited collection will be useful for students and scholars of sociology, gender studies, psychology, geography, and social work.

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Richard Twine is a sociologist and has most recently held positions at the Universities of Glasgow and Lancaster.

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Problems and possibilities
Jeremy F. Lane

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The case of reviewing ethnic inequalities in education
Martyn Hammersley

24 **A General Theory of Emotions and Social Life**
Warren D. TenHouten

25 **Sociology, Religion and Grace**
Arpad Szakolczai

26 **Youth Cultures**
Scenes, subcultures and tribes
Edited by Paul Hodkinson and Wolfgang Deicke

27 **The Obituary as Collective Memory**
Bridget Fowler

28 **Tocqueville's Virus**
Utopia and dystopia in Western social and political thought
Mark Featherstone

29 **Jewish Eating and Identity Through the Ages**
David Kraemer

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Mikael Holmqvist

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Edited by Detlef Pollack and Daniel V. A. Olson

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Ross Morrow

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Martin O'Brien

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The international recasting of pension and care systems
Ingo Bode

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Tiziana Nazio

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A sociological interpretation
José Maurízio Domingues

38 Exploring the Networked Worlds of Popular Music
Milieu cultures
Peter Webb

39 The Cultural Significance of the Child Star
Jane O'Connor

40 European Integration as an Elite Process
The failure of a dream?
Max Haller

41 Queer Political Performance and Protest
Benjamin Shepard

42 Cosmopolitan Spaces
Europe, globalization, theory
Chris Rumford

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Social networks in communities, markets and organizations
Edited by Ray-May Hsung, Nan Lin and Ronald Breiger

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The hidden work regime in Europe
Edited by Birgit Pfau-Effinger, Lluis Flaquer and Per H. Jensen

47 Interpreting Human Rights
Social science perspectives
Edited by Rhiannon Morgan and Bryan S. Turner

48 Club Cultures
Boundaries, identities and otherness
Silvia Rief

49 Eastern European Immigrant Families
Mihaela Robila

50 People and Societies
Rom Harré and designing the social sciences
Luk van Langenhove

51 Legislating Creativity
The intersections of art and politics
Dustin Kidd

52 Youth in Contemporary Europe
Edited by Jeremy Leaman and Martha Wörsching

53 Globalization and Transformations of Social Inequality
Edited by Ulrike Schuerkens

54 Twentieth Century Music and the Question of Modernity
Eduardo De La Fuente

55 The American Surfer
Radical culture and capitalism
Kristin Lawler

56 Religion and Social Problems
Edited by Titus Hjelm

57 Play, Creativity, and Social Movements
If I can't dance, it's not my revolution
Benjamin Shepard

58 Undocumented Workers' Transitions
Legal status, migration, and work in Europe
Sonia McKay, Eugenia Markova and Anna Paraskevopoulou

59 The Marketing of War in the Age of Neo-Militarism
Edited by Kostas Gouliamos and Christos Kassimeris

60 Neoliberalism and the Global Restructuring of Knowledge and Education
Steven C. Ward

61 Social Theory in Contemporary Asia
Ann Brooks

62 Foundations of Critical Media and Information Studies
Christian Fuchs

63 A Companion to Life Course Studies
The social and historical context of the British birth cohort studies
Michael Wadsworth and John Bynner

64 Understanding Russianness
Risto Alapuro, Arto Mustajoki and Pekka Pesonen

65 Understanding Religious Ritual
Theoretical approaches and innovations
John Hoffmann

66 Online Gaming in Context
The social and cultural significance of online games
Garry Crawford, Victoria K. Gosling and Ben Light

67 Contested Citizenship in East Asia
Developmental politics, national unity, and globalization
Kyung-Sup Chang and Bryan S. Turner

68 Agency without Actors?
New approaches to collective action
Edited by Jan-Hendrik Passoth, Birgit Peuker and Michael Schillmeier

69 The Neighborhood in the Internet
Design research projects in community informatics
John M. Carroll

70 Managing Overflow in Affluent Societies
Edited by Barbara Czarniawska and Orvar Löfgren

71 Refugee Women
Beyond gender versus culture
Leah Bassel

72 Socioeconomic Outcomes of the Global Financial Crisis
Theoretical discussion and empirical case studies
Edited by Ulrike Schuerkens

73 Migration in the 21st Century
Political economy and ethnography
Edited by Pauline Gardiner Barber and Winnie Lem

74 Ulrich Beck
An introduction to the theory of second modernity and the risk society
Mads P. Sørensen and Allan Christiansen

75 The International Recording Industries
Edited by Lee Marshall

76 Ethnographic Research in the Construction Industry
Edited by Sarah Pink, Dylan Tutt and Andrew Dainty

77 Routledge Companion to Contemporary Japanese Social Theory
From individualization to globalization in Japan today
Edited by Anthony Elliott, Masataka Katagiri and Atsushi Sawai

78 Immigrant Adaptation in Multi-Ethnic Societies
Canada, Taiwan, and the United States
Edited by Eric Fong, Lan-Hung Nora Chiang and Nancy Denton

79 Cultural Capital, Identity, and Social Mobility
The life course of working-class university graduates
Mick Matthys

80 Speaking for Animals
Animal autobiographical writing
Edited by Margo DeMello

81 Healthy Aging in Sociocultural Context
Edited by Andrew E. Scharlach and Kazumi Hoshino

82 Touring Poverty
Bianca Freire-Medeiros

83 Life Course Perspectives on Military Service
Edited by Janet M. Wilmoth and Andrew S. London

84 Innovation in Socio-Cultural Context
Edited by Frane Adam and Hans Westlund

85 Youth, Arts and Education
Reassembling subjectivity through affect
Anna Hickey-Moody

86 The Capitalist Personality
Face-to-face sociality and economic change in the post-Communist world
Christopher S. Swader

87 The Culture of Enterprise in Neoliberalism
Specters of entrepreneurship
Tomas Marttila

88 Islamophobia in the West
Measuring and explaining individual attitudes
Marc Helbling

89 The Challenges of Being a Rural Gay Man
Coping with stigma
Deborah Bray Preston and Anthony R. D'Augelli

90 Global Justice Activism and Policy Reform in Europe
Understanding when change happens
Edited by Peter Utting, Mario Pianta and Anne Ellersiek

91 Sociology of the Visual Sphere
Edited by Regev Nathansohn and Dennis Zuev

92 Solidarity in Individualized Societies
Recognition, justice and good judgement
Søren Juul

93 Heritage in the Digital Era
Cinematic tourism and the activist cause
Rodanthi Tzanelli

94 Generation, Discourse, and Social Change
Karen Foster

95 Sustainable Practices
Social theory and climate change
Elizabeth Shove and Nicola Spurling

96 The Transformative Capacity of New Technologies
A theory of sociotechnical change
Ulrich Dolata

97 Consuming Families
Buying, making, producing family life in the 21st century
Jo Lindsay and JaneMaree Maher

98 Migrant Marginality
A transnational perspective
Edited by Philip Kretsedemas, Glenn Jacobs and Jorge Capetillo-Ponce

99 Changing Gay Male Identities
Andrew Cooper

100 Perspectives on Genetic Discrimination
Thomas Lemke

101 Social Sustainability
A multilevel approach to social inclusion
Edited by Veronica Dujon, Jesse Dillard and Eileen M. Brennan

102 Capitalism
A companion to Marx's economy critique
Johan Fornäs

103 Understanding European Movements
New social movements, global justice struggles, anti-austerity protest
Edited by Cristina Flesher Fominaya and Laurence Cox

104 Applying Ibn Khaldūn
The recovery of a lost tradition in sociology
Syed Farid Alatas

105 Children in Crisis
Ethnographic studies in international contexts
Edited by Manata Hashemi and Martín Sánchez-Jankowski

106 The Digital Divide
The internet and social inequality in international perspective
Edited by Massimo Ragnedda and Glenn W. Muschert

107 Emotion and Social Structures
The affective foundations of social order
Christian von Scheve

108 Social Capital and Its Institutional Contingency
A study of the United States, China and Taiwan
Edited by Nan Lin, Yang-chih Fu and Chih-jou Jay Chen

109 The Longings and Limits of Global Citizenship Education
The moral pedagogy of schooling in a cosmopolitan age
Jeffrey S. Dill

110 Irish Insanity 1800–2000
Damien Brennan

111 Cities of Culture
A global perspective
Deborah Stevenson

112 Racism, Governance, and Public Policy
beyond human rights
Katy Sian, Ian Law and S. Sayyid

113 Understanding Aging and Diversity
Theories and concepts
Patricia Kolb

114 Hybrid Media Culture
Sensing place in a world of flows
Edited by Simon Lindgren

115 Centers and Peripheries in Knowledge Production
Leandro Rodriguez Medina

116 Revisiting Institutionalism in Sociology
Putting the "institution" back in institutional analysis
Seth Abrutyn

117 National Policy-Making
Domestication of global trends
Pertti Alasuutari and Ali Qadir

118 The Meanings of Europe
Changes and exchanges of a contested concept
Edited by Claudia Wiesner and Meike Schmidt-Gleim

119 Between Islam and the American Dream
An immigrant Muslim community in post-9/11 America
Yuting Wang

120 Call Centers and the Global Division of Labor
A political economy of post-industrial employment and union organizing
Andrew J. R. Stevens

121 Academic Capitalism
Universities in the global struggle for excellence
Richard Münch

122 Deconstructing Flexicurity and Developing Alternative Approaches
Towards new concepts and approaches for employment and social policy
Edited by Maarten Keune and Amparo Serrano

123 From Corporate to Social Media
Critical perspectives on corporate social responsibility in media and communication Industries
Marisol Sandoval

124 Vision and Society
Towards a sociology and anthropology from art
John Clammer

125 The Rise of Critical Animal Studies
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Nik Taylor and Richard Twine

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Contents

Illustrations

Figures

Table

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Foundation. This last June, Stanescu was one of sixteen international speakers to present at the "Zoo3OOO (Occupy species)" conference in Hamburg, Germany on the topic of Critical Animal Studies and direct action. He is currently working on a chapter for *The Year's Work in Critical and Cultural Theory* (published by Oxford University Press) on the topic of Animal Studies.

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Introduction

Locating the 'critical' in critical animal studies

Nik Taylor and Richard Twine

Introduction

We decided to compile this collection for several reasons, the main one being that we both consider critical animal studies (CAS) to be our intellectual home. However, we currently see signs of change within – and without – CAS and it is in response to these changes that the idea for this collection emerged. CAS can trace its institutional roots to 2001 and the launching of the Centre for Animal Liberation Affairs, which later became the Institute for Critical Animal Studies (ICAS) in 2007.[1] Since then, both CAS as a field of study, and ICAS as an institution, have grown considerably; the latter now has North American, Latin American, African, European and Oceanic arms, which cater to a broad range of scholars and activists. This parallels growth in human–animal studies (HAS) over the last few decades, reflected in other organisations such as the US-based Animals and Society Institute, the Australian Animal Studies Group and the global Minding Animals organisation. Nomenclature is complex in this growing field. The terms animal studies (AS), human–animal studies (HAS), and Anthrozoology, are used frequently and may mean slightly different things according to context and user. Critical Animal Studies can be added to this list, but this should not be taken to mean that CAS is another term for AS. As many authors in the current collection make clear, CAS delineates itself from the others on several key points, and for a range of good reasons. For example, AS tends to be truly interdisciplinary and while this leads to rich and burgeoning debates within the field it can also lead to tensions and boundary maintenance across the disciplines, with CAS arguably being one such tension. CAS seeks to differentiate itself from the broader AS field by having a direct focus on the circumstances and treatment of animals, or as Stanescu and Pedersen have previously put it, CAS is not only concerned with the 'question of the animal' but also with the *condition* of the animal (in Socha 2012). For example, tensions between CAS and AS often manifest themselves at conferences and may specifically focus on catering. For CAS researchers, catering practices are highly political and directly connected to the maintenance of appalling material conditions for animals. Thus, the consumption of animal products at events where 'the question of the animal' is the organising theme is seen as contradictory, unnecessary, disengaged and

oppressive (see Jenkins and Twine, this volume). To a certain extent, the distinctions we are making here are partial as many who consider themselves AS scholars often dip into, or are motivated by, the political issues that CAS solely concentrates on, and attempts to point to the purity and/or presumed superior moral sentiment of one piece of work/oeuvre over another can be futile and divisive. Be that as it may, there are voices within both camps that draw pretty clear distinctions and this needs addressing here if for nothing else than to make sense of the way in which this book has been put together – we have chosen to organise the book around sections that represent some of the concerns central to CAS scholarship.

From a CAS perspective, the twenty-first century represents a pivotal period in which ecology and animal life face unprecedented threats. In this sense 'critical' expresses the urgency of our times in the context of ecological crisis. More specifically still, CAS is concerned with the nexus of activism, academia and animal suffering and maltreatment. This makes CAS more overtly political than the often wholly academic AS. CAS takes a normative stance against animal exploitation and so 'critical' also denotes a stance against an anthropocentric status quo in human–animal relations, as demonstrated in current mainstream practices and social norms. This also means that CAS is in conflict with those areas of the academy, such as animal production sciences and biomedicine, which take for granted an instrumental relationship with specific nonhuman animals. Of course, as with any field, and particularly an emergent one, mixing occurs. This can often be a good thing, leading to boundaries being pushed and ideas being stretched; the hallmark of good knowledge acquisition. However, while there are many who work across the CAS–AS divide (and calling it this may be over-stating things) the relationship between the two is increasingly fractious, with both 'sides' often locking horns over the overt political/activist, and thereby assumed ideological, stance of CAS. However, such pure boundaries are often difficult to maintain and police and we are increasingly seeing those who do not associate with ICAS as an institution as well as those who locate themselves within AS, working with the critical concepts central to CAS. This is due to, and also encourages, the legitimation of CAS as an emergent counter focus. However, this cross pollination of ideas further muddies the distinction between CAS and AS and important questions regarding how CAS scholars position themselves in terms of both AS specifically, and the academy more generally, become of paramount importance. Finally, some of the concepts that underpin CAS are increasingly on the mainstream agenda – for both the general public and those within the academy – in part due to global changes and the urgency of climate change that threatens life broadly conceived (see Warren *et al.* 2013). This means that CAS is slowly gaining ground in terms of the numbers of scholars who claim affiliation with it, but also within the walls of the academy (and elsewhere) where it is being, if not wholeheartedly accepted, at least tolerated and is now increasingly visible due to workshops and conferences; this latter in large part due to the passion and energy brought to the field by those researching in it.

It is this increasing acceptance that sparked the idea for this current collection, as it raises crucial questions. For example, is CAS becoming institutionalised and if so, is this occurring in parallel with the institutionalised acceptance of AS?[2] What do the consequences of such institutional acceptance look like? Are the messages from CAS scholars diluted – or perhaps strengthened – when they become part of the mainstream academy? How does – and should – CAS differentiate itself from AS and at what cost, what benefit? Are there concrete consequences for those who call CAS their intellectual home, for example, is it more difficult for CAS scholars – who hold minority views, research controversial topics and engage in counter-hegemonic practices such as veganism – to gain academic tenure? Are fractures between CAS and AS becoming more cemented in the field and what might the consequences of this be? Can we learn anything from the intellectual roots of CAS about this, and here we are thinking of the parallel divisions between feminism and women's studies in the late 1970s, early 1980s. To our mind, with the growth of CAS scholarship (in both output and influence), we are at a critical juncture to address these questions. Thus, the rationale for this book; we wanted to bring together established and emerging scholars in CAS to contemplate these issues, and, in doing so, begin a debate about both the content, and the positioning, of CAS. At the same time our aim is to exhibit some of the diversity of CAS and its intersection with various urgent contemporary policy debates and theoretical developments.

In doing this we do not claim to offer a comprehensive overview of CAS, nor do we claim to exhaustively cover all its distinctions from AS (this is done admirably elsewhere, see, e.g. Best *et al*. 2007; Best 2009, Gigliotti 2009; McCance 2013, Sanbonmatsu 2011; Socha 2012; Taylor 2013 and Twine 2010). What we do claim, however, is to have achieved a volume that pulls CAS scholars together across various disciplines to reflect upon the main themes integral to CAS, with a view to prompting a consideration of the *relationship* between CAS and AS, CAS and the academy, and the *future directions* of CAS. We have to note here, however, that there is a strong social science bias in this collection. This reflects both of the editor's intellectual roots in Sociology (we are both products of Sociology PhDs taken at Manchester Metropolitan University in the UK in the late 1990s) and is not to be taken as a suggestion that we favour a disciplinary hierarchy within the CAS field, although it may be instructive to think about why certain disciplines may be more likely to approach the field with an attentiveness to issues of power.

The rise of CAS signals the start of a long overdue change in contemporary academia that better reflects the importance of other animals as social beings in their own right. This entails a focus on the significance of their enmeshment with both the meanings of what it is to be 'human' as well as their presence in our everyday material lives. We do not wish to suggest that the importance of animals lies only in their contrast to humans. On the contrary, this is a legacy of humanist thinking that we, and others in CAS, strongly resist. Rather, what we mean is that animal lives are – for better or worse (usually worse) – affected by humans and as such there is a pressing need to examine how and why. As an

interdisciplinary field that spans and questions the humanities, and the social and natural sciences, CAS calls for conceptual renewal, methodological innovation, theory that is relevant and engaged and, in line with many cognate influences on the academy such as feminism and environmentalism, a further softening of disciplinary boundaries.

However, CAS attempts to rupture normative understandings of academia itself, as well as having specific disciplinary critiques and, in common with much critical social science (and also with mainstream calls for academic engagement with publics and communities), wishes to stoke civil society into working toward progressive social change. The closest analogy, and one that will repeatedly surface throughout this book, is between CAS and the emergence of feminism(s) in academia, with its similarly strong links with extra-academic political activism. Both animal and feminist politics are similarly targeted against dispassionate, institutionalised scholarship based on a rationalist, liberal interpretation of (hegemonic) masculinity, and both seek to expose and overthrow the routinised and naturalised forms of practice based on oppression and abuses of power, which flow from this. It is this which makes them both explicitly *critical*. In addressing the intellectual antecedents and contexts of CAS, there is a strong affinity and intersection between feminism and animal advocacy.

Although an explicit statement of self-consciously *critical* animal studies did not emerge until the beginning of this century, reflexivity toward the human exploitation of other animals, and an emergent politicisation of the violence this entailed, began to appear alongside second wave feminism in the 1960s and 1970s. Prior to this, there were close links between the women's suffrage and anti-vivisection movements (Kean 1995). However, a significant catalyst for debate on animal ethics came from ecofeminist writings during the 1970s, 1980s and 1990s alongside, and often in tension with, the influential work of well-known animal philosophers such as Tom Regan and Peter Singer. Any contextualisation of CAS must confront the fact that, in an intellectual sense, it existed before the term was coined, and that it has since become an umbrella term for bringing together scholars who do critical research on human–animal relations. However, those who explicitly coined CAS (Best *et al.* 2007) did so with a specific sense of purpose and definition. One such vital element is the foregrounding of intersectional analysis and politics, which makes a further link with feminism and critical race studies (see e.g. Deckha 2012; Harper 2010a, 2010b; Kim 2007). This move toward intersectionality, originally pursued by ecofeminists (e.g. Adams 1994; Plumwood 1993; Merchant 2003), makes clear how the material and symbolic exploitation of animals intersects with and helps maintain dominant categories of gender, 'race' and class. In turn, this troubles the humanist premise of many extant feminist, anti-capitalist and anti-racist politics by pointing out that dominant identities and practices of gender, 'race' and class help maintain the human exploitation of animals. Essentially, CAS subverts the humanist assumptions of intersectionality theory by bringing animals and animality into these areas and also into other potentially kindred fields, such as

disability studies (Nocella *et al.* 2012) and queer theory (Parry 2012; Simonsen 2012).

The affinity of CAS with feminism, expressed in attempts to understand intersections between different power relationships, becomes clearer when one appreciates the essential relationship between, on the one hand, a radical social movement and, on the other, the emergence and academic objectification of knowledge related to that movement. Both feminism and animal advocacy share a healthy scepticism of what might result in that process of objectification, formalisation and professionalization, given the collision of radical knowledge with potentially conservative disciplines and institutions. Moreover both confront an academy that has historically taken for granted naturalised readings of gender and species, necessitating confrontations with the production of scientific knowledge and the marginalisation of women and animals in interconnected *and* specific ways (e.g. Birke 1994). The CAS engagement with scientific knowledge spans, for example, animal agricultural science, biomedicine, nutrition and sustainability discourse, all of which are critiqued as sites that produce the animal as property, animal use as necessity and also produce the 'human' in various assumed and naturalised ways. We also glimpse here how CAS can be liberatory for human animals, as we contest rather fixed assumptions of human *being*, just as feminism is (counter-intuitively for some) also liberatory for men and all of us living with gender.

There is also a shared belief between feminist and CAS scholars that professionalisation should not presume a detachment from the rich diversity of civil society and protest. Critical researchers then can (and in fact, must) study such social movements, advise them and critically analyse those obdurate social institutions and practices that serve to curtail progressive social change. This process includes self-reflexive knowledge to try and guard against, for example, the re-emergence or perpetuation of oppressive theories and practices within both animal advocacy and CAS. Just as feminism has had to be attentive to the possibility of, for example, class and 'race' privilege within its theory and practice, the same reflexivity, from a CAS perspective, is similarly important within the animal advocacy movement – especially for its coalitionary bridge- building practices with other movements. While intersectionality is possibly the most important concept for analysing human–animal entanglements, it is one that underpins much of the work in the current volume and thus was too broad to use as an organising principle for the book.

Instead, we have organised this book around four themes, which simultaneously are heuristic for outlining current CAS research and for generally demarcating a difference in focus and emphasis between CAS and AS. We hope that they serve as a useful introduction for those new to the field and as points of further research and debate amongst the various overlapping communities of CAS, AS, HAS and anthrozoology.

Part I: engaging theory

CAS draws from its ecofeminist roots to articulate a stance that is explicit in its normative commitment to the removal of all forms of animal abuse, as well as an analysis of how human prerogative and exceptionalism might work through societies and cultures to reify the human being at the expense of all other beings (and this includes 'nature' broadly conceived). At the same time, however, CAS scholars are committed to *engaged* theory as opposed to 'theory for theory's sake', which some see as the hallmark of AS:

> The recipe for the 'success' of animal studies – immersion in abstraction, indulgent use of existing and new modes of jargon, pursuit of theory-for-theory's sake, avoidance of social controversy (however intellectually controversial it may often be), eschewing political involvement, and keeping a very safe distance from 'extremists' and 'radicals' agitating for animal rights – is also the formula for its failure, upon being co-opted, tamed, and neutralized by academia.
>
> (Best 2009)

While we accept that some AS work may fall into this category, we also recognise that many scholars work across both fields and suggest that the difference is not so much in the use of abstract theory but turns on the idea of *engagement*. Engaged theory is 'theory intended to support social change directly or indirectly' (Garry 2008: 99), and it is crucial to the CAS endeavour. In the CAS context, theory must be relevant to understanding and changing the material conditions of animals, and to historicising the still normative concepts that have been largely successful in shielding human–animal relations from critical scrutiny. Thus theorising will often be linked to empirical cases and events as found in media and cultural analysis. We do not think the focus on engaged theory amongst CAS scholars means eschewing *complex* theory. Complexity should not be conflated with abstraction or theory for theory's sake. Theorizing about human–animal relations has traditionally been complex, be it classic deliberations on sentience or those within feminist work on care ethics. A particularly rich vein in animal studies has emerged over the last decade from within continental philosophy (e.g. Atterton and Calarco 2004; Acampora 2006; Calarco 2008; Pick 2011; Tyler 2012; Wolfe 2003a, 2003b, 2013).

Much of this is highly cognate to CAS and the concurrent radical critique of anthropocentrism. Arguably most striking in this vein is the work of the late philosopher Jacques Derrida (2008), which constitutes both an underlining of the importance of animals to Western philosophy and a condemnation of the linguistic, symbolic and material violence that humans have enacted upon other animal species. Such work may indeed be complex, but it is also very much engaged with the lived condition of other animals as well as the destabilisation of normative constructions of the human. It thus contributes not only to our understanding of the cultural roots of animal oppressions, but gives us the theoretical and heuristic tools

to begin countering it. Whilst we recognise the dangers of simplistic turns to figures like Derrida for field credibility and authorization (Fraiman 2012), and the dangers of excluding the centrality of the influence of feminism by such turns (Gaard 2011), neither do we wish to exclude this body of work from the reflections of CAS.

In common with much critical work in the humanities and social sciences, engaged theory takes an intersectional approach to power, practice and experience. However, in recognising that conceptual objects such as 'culture', the 'social' and the 'human' are anything but ontologically pure, CAS rejects a humanist frame, favouring instead an intersectional approach that includes the more-than-human. This is far from alien to other developments in the academy. For example, environmental social science has long critiqued an anthropocentric notion of society and theoretical turns towards materiality and practice have similarly placed importance on critiquing humanist ontology. CAS builds on, and borrows from, this work to focus on the impact on other-than-human-animals. Out of necessity, this involves engagement with critical work on 'nature' and 'the environment', but the linking of theory with action on behalf of other animals remains specific to CAS.

The first part of this book reflects the importance of this idea, as contributors reflect on what engaged theory – by humans in the academy, for nonhuman animals – might mean, how it might come to help the material condition of animals and how it underpins CAS as a field. Chapter 1, by sociologist Erika Cudworth, focuses on the mutual benefit inherent to an engagement between CAS and Sociology, pointing out that a focus on nonhuman species acts as a corrective to a sociological worldview which has hitherto ignored multi-species lifeworlds. As Cudworth demonstrates, a Sociology that includes species, and a CAS that draws on some of the conceptual tools of (critical) Sociology, allows an interrogation of the human domination of other species situated in an understanding of the – geographical and historical – context of human practices. Furthermore, Sociology's focus on the workings of power in society, along with its pre-occupation with how structure and agency interact to encourage, discourage, alter or confirm particular sets of practices, allows for an accounting of the discursive, symbolic *and* material position of other animals. Importantly, Cudworth points out that the historical, central, interests of Sociology – race, gender and class – give a solid grounding for intersectional approaches toward human–animal relations. In particular, Cudworth argues that given Sociology's rich history of studying the manifestation and operation of power, it is particularly well placed to study the human relations of dominance over other animals, or as she names it, 'anthroparchy'.

In Chapter 2, Kay Peggs notes that intersectionality approaches in feminism allowed a nuanced understanding of the interplay of the complexity of oppressive relationships and considers the impact this may (should) have on CAS. Like Cudworth, Peggs is a Sociologist and points out that one particularly useful aspect of critical Sociology for CAS scholars is its focus on transformation alongside its willingness to tackle tricky questions of morality and ideology in

the production of knowledge. This makes it ideally placed to address several crucial issues in CAS: for example, the consequences of the hegemony of the scientific paradigm in knowledge production; how societal transformation might take place in such a way that animal interests are considered; and, in return, how including animal interests in our ontological frameworks might challenge us both in terms of being a call to activism and a fundamental challenge to the humanism that underpins the majority of (Western) knowledge systems.

In Chapter 3, Sara Salih asks why it is that for some 'knowledge is a moral burden and an ethical impetus for change, while for others it isn't'? Taking eating practices as an example, she thoughtfully considers what it might take to adopt a more ethical orientation to the world. What is the relationship between knowledge and personal and social change? She explores this within a wide-ranging paper that draws upon literary, ethological and philosophical sources. As she ponders the limits of abstract knowledge in leveraging change, Salih stresses the role of habit and desire in shaping our food practices. The themes of this chapter express well the CAS suspicion toward an over-rationalisation of the human, both generally and specifically, in the context of our relations with other animals. As an alternative means of conceptualising practices that have begun to counter the norm of everyday animal consumption, Salih turns to a notion of the 'break', or indeed break*down*, in order to explore and understand affective disruptions and turns toward vegan practice.

Part II: doing critical animal studies

In this section we bring together three scholars who consider particular methods for CAS. Again, the debt owed by CAS scholars to (some) feminist considerations regarding knowledge production becomes clear. Feminists have made it apparent that notions of objectivity in research are an impossibility, which rests upon an idealised version of the research process, itself situated within a rationalised, masculinist, liberal humanism (see, e.g. Smith 1987; Stanley and Wise 1993). This produces – academically and culturally – a hierarchy of knowledge that favours white, Western, masculine, human-centred ways of knowing the world. Appeals to scientific neutrality and objectivity effectively silence the voice of those 'researched'. In animal studies, this is particularly problematic given that our 'subjects' of research do not have a voice that is recognised as legitimate. In essence, this makes questions about the research procedure even more important and forces us to re-think not only taken for granted ways of seeing the world, but the very methods we use to investigate it. It is fitting then, that we start this section with a personal reflection from Lynda Birke (Chapter 4) regarding her own research work with horses. In a frank discussion of the challenges faced when CAS-oriented research depends on the involvement of live animals (here, horses), Birke considers the possibility of using a framework that prioritises 'interrelating', as opposed to one that focuses on the symbolic constructions of animals by humans. Seeking to discover whether research focused on relating can incorporate animal agency and the contribution that animals offer

to meaning-making, Birke draws on one of her own projects, which aims to investigate 'detailed mutual engagements of horses and people'. Cautioning that research involving other animals might simply further entrench human superiority and power by noting it is produced by humans, about other animals, she calls for an ongoing reflexivity and discussion concerning the methods used by CAS scholars.

Chapter 5, by Jessica Gröling, draws deeply on the feminist roots of CAS to consider some of the challenges faced by CAS scholars who aim to study the perpetration of 'socially-sanctioned speciesist violence'. Locating the discussion around ethnographic research in slaughterhouses and laboratories, Gröling considers the role that ethnography can play in overcoming the methodological and ethical issues attached to research with those who have the ability to perpetuate dominant forms of meaning vis-à-vis human–animal relations. Crucially, she argues that traditional claims to neutrality are not only problematic inasmuch as they can never exist, but also because the preferred method for ethnographers in dealing with this is to acknowledge their own bias in their work. This, however, as she makes clear, serves only to further conceal mainstream biases. As a result, she concludes, CAS needs to move beyond reflexivity so that 'validity is no longer determined by the purported absence, or indeed the apologetically acknowledged presence, of the researcher, but rather by their committed presence and their informed and consistent attitude towards injustices' (p. 106, this volume).

In Chapter 6, Nathan Stephens Griffin considers the benefit to CAS of various 'alternative' methods – visual, reflexive and auto-ethnography/biographic. Locating his discussion within the tensions between CAS and the mainstream academy, he points out that visual (and other alternative) methods may well be a better fit with participatory action research than traditional methods, which tend to valorise the position of the researcher over that of the researched. Like others in the current collection, Stephens Griffin is clear that reflexivity must be a hallmark of CAS scholarship and that, furthermore, alternative methodological approaches allow 'a level of insight and empathy that other methods may scarcely be able to achieve' (p. 131, this volume).

Part III: critical animal studies and anti-capitalism

One of the initial points of difference stressed by those who first outlined CAS (Best *et al.* 2007) was that animal studies paid insufficient attention to the role of (capitalist) political economy in shaping human–animal relations and the exploitation of other animals. As the financial crisis in neoliberal capitalism of the last six years has made clear to more people, our current dominant economic system is intrinsically productive of social inequality. From a CAS perspective, the exploitation of human workers takes place alongside that of animals and partly through a symbolics of animalisation, wherein an implicit culture/nature dualism positions the low paid and the unpaid as 'closer to animals'. At the same time the corporate globalisation of profit-making practices (at least profitable in

the short term), especially in agriculture, has played an unmistakable role in radically extending the scale of animal exploiting practices *beyond* even what might have been expected for human population increases. In 2011 for example, over 72 billion land animals[3] were killed for human consumption, a figure that rises year on year. This staggering scale of violence (and here we refer to both the ways in which these animals are forced to live, as well as their ultimate death) is bound up in the exploitation of human workers involved in slaughtering animals and processing them into 'animal products' (see Cudworth 2008; LeDuff 2003; Nibert, 2002: 109–113; Pachirat 2011). The current rise in the consumption of animals in many 'developing' countries, significantly facilitated by the exportation of a factory farm model,[4] is important for understanding this overall upward trajectory in animal consumption, as well as being a public health and climate change time bomb. This focus, for CAS, reminds animal studies scholars of the urgent political context of their work. It also underlines the inadequacy of narrowly conceived philosophical approaches to the question of the animal that valorise ethics without acknowledging the ways in which exploitative practices against animals are systemic and deeply embedded in our dominant economies, institutions, social routines and daily habits, and so are not simply amenable to better clarified ethics. This is not meant to imply either that an alternative economic system would be less exploitative of animals in any simple way, or that we should adopt a reductive understanding of human–animal relations over-focused on the economic sphere, or that ethics are unimportant. However it does mean that we favour theoretical and case study research that engages with specific human–animal relations in their economic context, work that not only can improve our understanding of these relations but more generally question critical, yet anthropocentric, analyses of contemporary capitalism. For example, what would global capitalism look like minus the exploitation of animal reproductive labour? How does that abuse intersect, in specific contexts, with that of human labour? And how can the disavowal of violence against animals illuminate, generally, theories of commodity fetishism?

Chapter 7, by Jonathan Clark, focuses on the case of lab animals (and mice and rats in particular) to take up the question of how best to think about the role of animals in the capitalist labour process. Intrigued by the discursive practice of 'human guinea-pigging' and especially its recent pharmaceutical global expansion, Clark uses this chapter to contest the humanist, Marxist conception of the labour process through an exploration of clinical labour. Clark devotes significant space to a close critical reading of Marx's faithfulness to human–animal dualism in theorising labour. Drawing upon cognitive ethology and other relevant work in CAS and AS, Clark troubles the presumptuous overly- polarised distinction in Marx's work. He then brings this discussion back to a consideration of labouring humans and animals in the context of clinical labour. The chapter concludes with a discussion of what actual benefits for animals, if any, might follow from such reconceptualisation as well as suggesting future directions in debates on labour and agency.

Chapter 8, co-authored by Amy Fitzgerald and Nik Taylor, explores the everyday naturalisation of the acceptability and assumed necessity of animal