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## Articles Received

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### POWER, MONEY AND GENDER: STATUS HIERARCHIES AND THE ANIMAL PROTECTION MOVEMENT IN THE UNITED STATES

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On the whole, women are more concerned with the treatment of animals than men. Numerous studies have documented gender differences in public attitudes toward the use of animals (e.g., Ethridge & Gluck, 1996; Herzog, Betchart & Pittman, 1991; Kellert, 1996; Peek, Bell & Dunham, 1996), and these differences are fairly consistent across Western cultures and Japan (Pifer, Shimizu, & Pifer, 1994). Indeed, gender is one of the few variables that predicts a substantial degree of variation in attitudes toward animal welfare. Not surprisingly, the membership of animal protection organizations reflects gender differences in public attitudes. For example, nearly 80% of subscribers to *The Animals' Agenda*, the largest animal rights periodical in the United States, are women (Richards & Krannich, 1991). Similarly, women typically make up between 70% and 80% of protesters at animal rights demonstrations (Galvin & Herzog, 1998; Jamison & Lunch, 1992; Jasper & Poulsen 1995; Plous, 1998).

The preponderance of women in organizations devoted to animal issues is not a recent phenomenon; it was characteristic of the animal protection movement 100 years ago. Perhaps the most prominent turn-of-the-century British animal protection organization was the anti-vivisectionist Victoria Street Society. Over its history, women consistently made up between 70% and 75% of the members (Elston, 1987). Other Victorian animal protection groups showed the same trend. For example, three-fourths of activists attending the 1883

meeting of the International Association for the Suppression of Vivisection were women. In *Antivivisection and Medical Science in Victorian Society*, Richard French (1975) argued that Victorian women were attracted to animal protection in greater numbers than to any other social cause with the possible exception of the feminist movement. Thus, the 3:1 female to male ratio which is characteristic of contemporary grassroots animal protectionists is not appreciably different from that of their predecessors.

But, while most rank and file members of early animal protection groups were women, this was not true of the leadership. Even though the Victoria Street Society was founded by a woman, Francis Power Cobb, the first president and all the vice presidents were men (Elston, 1987). The same situation existed in the United States. Caroline White founded the American Antivivisection Society in 1883, but she was not allowed to serve on the board of the group that she was instrumental in organizing (Lederer, 1987).

#### **Leadership of the Modern Movement**

To what degree has this pattern changed? It is clear that women are much more visible among the leadership of contemporary animal protection groups than they were at the turn of the century. For example, in the United States, 57% of the 30 contact persons and regional co-coordinators of demonstrations associated with the 1999 World Week for Animals in Laboratories were women.

slightly over \$101,786 per year while their female counterparts averaged \$48,555.

(Note that IRS figures published in *Animal People* include only those amounts that the individuals earned from their work with the organization. They may have had additional sources of income, and some executives may have received fringe benefits such as housing, food, or transportation allowances that were not included on the Form 990s. While the salary data presented here are based on means, the trends do not change when medians are used in the analysis.)

What accounts for this difference between the two types of organizations? Part of the reason may be the age of the organizations coupled with seniority-based executive compensation packages. While there are exceptions, animal rights and antivivisection groups such as People for the Ethical Treatment of Animals and In Defense of Animals tend to have been formed more recently than the old line welfare groups such as the American Society for the Prevention of Cruelty to Animals, the Humane Society of the United States, and the Massachusetts Society for the Prevention of Cruelty to Animals. One reason that male executives may make higher salaries than women is they have been in senior positions for longer periods of time. In addition, some of the more established welfare-oriented groups have considerably deeper pockets than their more radical brethren. For example, the 1997 budget of the Humane Society of the United States was 40 million dollars - four times that of PETA, the largest rights group.

### Discussion

It is unclear why more women than men are drawn to the cause of animals. Several authors (e.g., Herzog, Betchart, & Pittman, 1991, Kellert, 1996), have suggested that the answer may lie in gender differences in factors such as nurturance and ethical orientation (e.g., caring versus justice). This view has been referred to as the “relational role” explanation of gender differences.

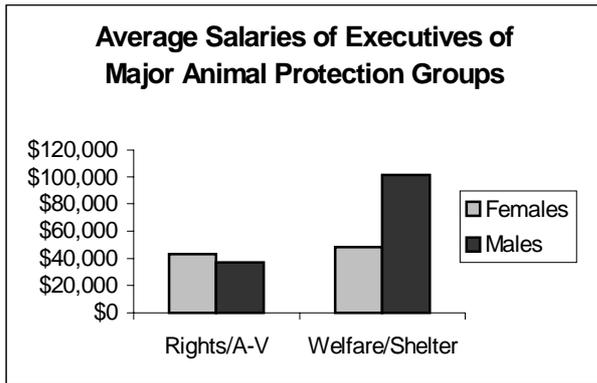
Peek, Bell, and Dunham (1996) recently dismissed relational role explanations when it comes to human/animal interactions. They prefer a structural model derived from feminist theory, arguing that women identify with animals because of their “structural locations” within society -- both women and animals are victims of oppression inherent in a patriarchal culture.

I think that Peek, et. al’s dismissal of gender difference in relationship styles as a possible explanation of gender differences in attitudes toward animal is premature in that their argument rests on an extremely limited data set (responses to several items on a national survey of attitudes toward a wide variety of social and political issues). They are correct, however, in pointing out that women and animals share a long history of exploitation in Western societies. Contemporary animal rights groups such as PETA are more likely to have their roots in 1960s radicalism than in Victorian animal protectionism. For example, Peter Singer began *Animal Liberation* by arguing that the animal rights movement was the logical consequence of the women’s liberation movement.

The data I have presented here suggest that animal protection organizations tend to show the sorts of gender inequities in status, power, and money characteristic of many social organizations. However, when push comes to shove, the radical groups are indeed more consistent with their roots in the movement for economic and political justice for women - particularly as compared to moderate welfare and shelter organizations.

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**UNLOCKING PANDORA'S BOX:****A PRACTITIONER'S VIEW OF GENDER EFFECTS IN CANINE AGGRESSION****Myrna Milani, B.S., D.V.M.**

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Among the many factors that contribute to the creation, diagnosis, and treatment of canine aggression, perhaps none plays a more critical role than gender. Unfortunately, any discussion of gender in traditional "problem-oriented" approach to canine aggression is almost exclusively limited to the dog.

(Beaver, 1993; Borchalt, 1983; Dodman and Schuster, 1994; Manteca, 1998; Overall, 1997). Further undermining the collection of more comprehensive data on this subject, real or imagined social constraints and "political correctness" may inhibit both owners and clinicians from discussing what role their own gender may play in the process.

Nonetheless, based on impressions gleaned from a behavioral referral practice that consists of a majority of canine aggression cases, coupled with extensive independent study of animal behavior and the human-animal bond, it would seem that an awareness of gender effects would benefit those who work with aggressive animals and those who use dogs in animal-assisted education or therapy programs. Not only does this knowledge increase one's ability to properly diagnose and treat canine aggression, it also aids in the selection and maintenance of behaviorally sound therapy animals.

## Behavioral Background

Evolution rewards those species and individuals whose behavioral and physical traits allow them to successfully reproduce with the least expenditure of energy, and much of the social behavior between members of the same and different species arises from the differences between males and females. Like females of many species, female dogs are born with a finite number of very energy-expensive eggs, compared to males who generate a renewable supply of energy-inexpensive sperm. This makes females a valuable, non-renewable resource for which the males, most of whom won't mate in the wild, compete.

Both male and female dogs use a basic repertoire of bite behaviors to signal their authority, with the most gentle being that used to move pups and the most energetic being that reserved to kill prey. Successful members of both sexes develop what some ethologists refer to as the "tender-macho" balance. Males whose genes wind up in the gene pool tend to be those macho/aggressive enough to drive off competitors, attract females, and kill enough prey to survive and help feed any young, but tender enough not to frighten or harm the female with which they hope to mate or the young which carry their genes. Evolution favors discriminating females tender enough not to attack their mates or young, but macho enough to repulse threats to themselves and their young and to kill enough prey to support themselves and their offspring. Evolution also favors those who can accomplish all this plus communicate their sex, reproductive and social status with the most subtle, energy-conserving behavioral and biochemical cues.

Establishing and protecting the territory is *the* strongest animal drive and that territory includes the animal's mental as well as physical space. In social animals such as dogs, a stable pack structure represents the mental territory. Not surprisingly then, dogs become part of a pack structure that begins

with teat selection shortly after birth and becomes more dynamic and complex as the animals mature. More physically and mentally responsive animals claim the most readily accessible teats with the most milk. This increased nourishment, in turn, leads to faster growth and development, which further cements these animals' edge over their litter mates. However, whereas owners and others often see such pack structures as both fixed and dominated by the physically largest, most aggressive animals, such is not necessarily the case. Both inter- and intraspecific pack structures may change over time; and because evolution rewards those who get the job done using the least amount of energy, those who accomplish this with the *least* show of aggression fare better than those who must use more.



## Canine Gender and Aggression

Domestic dogs automatically incorporate us into their pack structures according to their species rules, which deem that every pack must have a leader. Thus, if the owners don't accept this responsibility, even the most timid dog will feel forced to assume it. Clinical experience strongly suggests that aggressive dogs commonly respond in a manner that supports one of two basic human-canine pack structures, depending on the animal's personality, past experience, and any physiological and behavioral cues it receives from the owner(s). The first arrangement consists of reproductively capable boys and men at the top, the dog in the second position, any reproductively capable girls and women in third place, and children at the bottom, with boys moving up in position as they become sexually mature. In such situations, biting dogs of both sexes more readily obey their male than female owners, react more aggressively toward strange men than women, and more negatively toward adolescent boys than girls. Moreover, these animals may show minimal or no signs of aggression when any adult male owner is present, but they'll respond

aggressively to perceived threats toward other family/pack members in his absence.

In the second pack structure, the dog also views any adult males in the household as its subordinates/territory. In this situation, the dog will insinuate itself between embracing couples, try to sit in the man's lap or constantly badger him for attention while more or less ignoring any women or young children in the household. Because these animals take a proprietary view of all members of the family, they will respond aggressively to anyone that they consider a threat to their territory/owners.

Who a dog bites when is a function of the dog's level of confidence and any environmental cues. In general, though, we can say that any time a dog holds a position above the owner, that person is as apt to get bitten as any stranger, albeit for far different reasons. The stranger will be bitten because that person represents a threat to the dog's territory/owner. The owner will be bitten for interfering with the dog's attempts to fulfil its leadership functions, just as the dog would discipline a subordinate canine for getting in the way.

Because behavior drives physiology as much as physiology drives behavior, even the meekest spayed female may display characteristics, such as leg-lifting, more commonly associated with intact males. The same also holds true for neutered males. In fact, neutering an intact aggressive animal of either sex in a human-centered pack may make the aggression worse unless the pack is simultaneously restructured.

For many owners, it comes as a surprise that more naturally subordinate animals may display more aggression than more dominant ones. However, whereas the latter possess the confidence to give warning growls or other signals, dogs lacking the physical and/or behavioral traits to confidently lead may skip these preliminary ritualistic displays designed to head off aggression and immediately go into the attack mode. Consequently, a timid, aged, neutered, female Pomeranian in a dog-

centered pack will attack much more quickly and viciously than a young, confident, sexually intact male pit bull in a human-centered one.

### Gender and the client

In addition to routinely either coinciding with or violating what the aggressive dog perceives as the "right" pack structure, client gender influences may cause periodic flare-ups of canine aggression. Female owners of aggressive male dogs report that their pets appear more aggressive toward them during the period preceding their menses and during the menses itself, an effect that has been noticed with other species. Other women note that previously benign pets of both sexes become more "protective" when their owners became pregnant. Previously benign pets also may become more aggressive when a new baby enters the household, an infant begins walking, or an older child goes through puberty.

At the male end of the spectrum, the emergence of the kinder, gentler male owner who prefers to be his dog's best friend rather than leader in the human-canine pack can throw a major monkey wrench in the treatment of canine aggression because the dog *expects* the man to be leader. While educating all owners of aggressive dogs about the differences between dominance and leadership remains the keystone of treating all canine aggression, it becomes an absolutely crucial first step when dealing with these kinder, gentle men. Unfortunately, erroneously equating dominance (as in winning the fight) with leadership is rampant in western society and lies at the very heart of competitive sports and political philosophy. Consequently boys and men often more readily accept the leadership-equals-dominance concept as a basic reality, albeit one they themselves may have rejected - at least in their relationship with their dogs - because they see it as too brutal or heavy-handed. However, if any men in the household don't consistently communicate leadership to the aggressive dog, this will

undermine the most committed responses from any women or children.

On the other hand, men who want to believe that dominance equals leadership and take a heavy-handed approach to the treatment of canine aggression might be able to teach the dog not to bite in their presence, but the dog most likely will continue biting in that person's absence.

However, while strictly hormonal owner signals undoubtedly can trigger aggressive canine behavior toward the owners or others, more commonly aggression results when owners give the animal mixed signals. For example, when Silky's owner croons to the dog lying on her chest, "I wuv my widdle baby and I'll take care of you forever," she may truly believe that she's telling her dog she would die to protect him. However, her whimpering tone and feminine status combined with the placement of the animal above her communicates just the opposite: That body language tells Silky that he's responsible for *her* well-being. Because canine comprehension of sound, hormones, and body language exceeds their understanding of English, Silky takes the latter rather than the former message to heart. Depending on how stable he is, that might mean he only bites strangers, or only men, or anyone or anything he views as threat to his owner. However, under these circumstances, he could just as easily bite his owner if she tried to interfere with his protection of her.

If Silky receives such a subordinate mandate from a male owner, this blatant violation of natural law may cause the dog to become even more aggressive, and sometimes aberrantly so. One timid, small dog became so overwhelmed by his very large male owner's refusal to accept the leadership role that the frustrated animal bit the owner any time any one came to the door.

Going back to the fact that behavior can drive physiology as well as vice versa, it seems safe to say that owners who harbor strong beliefs about who their dogs will and won't bite most likely supply their pets with the

necessary biochemical cues to fulfil this belief. Thus female owners who sense their male dog's antagonism during their menses may inadvertently cringe or shrink back in the dog's presence or use baby-talk in an attempt to placate the animal. Because these human behaviors signal submission, they reaffirm the relationship as a dog-centered pack. On the other hand, were the woman to attempt to portray a leadership status, she would need to do it with sufficient presence that it would counteract the biochemical message her hormones are conveying. And while it would seem much easier to ask a man to "act like a man" relative to his dog, this may require that the owner make changes in his beliefs regarding love and leadership that will effect every level of his life.

### Gender and the clinician

Because aggressive dogs typically don't recognize human leadership, they'll respond differently to male and female clinicians, too. Dogs who completely ignore or even positively interact with a female clinician may act defensively toward a male one; dogs who act nervous with a female clinician may completely relax in the presence of a male. Because of this, techniques that work well for a behaviorist or trainer of one sex may fail miserably in the hands of another. Consequently, clinicians must guard against equating how the animal acts with them to how it acts with its owners. Similarly, if clients of only one sex or those representing only one age group bring the dog in, we must remember to ask how the dog acts with people of both sexes and all ages. Above all, we should not view any treatment regime as a fixed entity, but rather see it as a guide we can adapt to meet the specific needs of that particular dog and that particular owner in their particular environment.

Within the realm of service and therapy dogs, we must also use extreme caution when fostering a view of these animals as "protectors" of those



they're meant to serve. Subtle but critical differences may exist between the behaviors of those who view their therapy or service animals as valued assistants and those who view themselves as dependent on those animals. The former favors the creation of a human-centered pack and the latter a dog-centered one. Compromised owners who cede leadership of the human-canine pack with others' blessings may find that the resultant aggressive canine behavior undermines rather than enhances the quality of their lives.

### Conclusions

The reason no hard and fast male/female rules seem to apply to human-canine interactions most likely results because we're dealing with something far more subtle than sexual chemistry, most likely that involving pheromones. Observations of the pack structures formed by aggressive dogs and their homosexual owners strongly suggest that any male/female hormone correlations are probably grossly simplistic. For all our talk of gender, the fact remains that no good biochemical definition of either maleness or femaleness exists. Both males and females need male and female sex hormones: At what point does a male become a female or vice versa? Certainly observations of leader dogs and studies of successful men strongly suggest that testosterone or, more likely, some pheromonal component of it, communicates leadership.

Consequently, until we disengage "testosterone" from "male" and "oestrogen" from "female," political correctness will probably rule out studies that don't support a fixed gender stereotype. However, once

pheromone studies in humans begin to catch up with those in animals, these much more potent biochemicals could prove to be far greater behavioral mediators for canine and human alike.

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## THE EQUALITY OF BODIES: ANIMAL EXPLOITATION AND HUMAN WELFARE

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### **Humanitarianism: anti-cruelty and the institutionalisation of compassion**

In England, the eighteenth century saw the rise of the great humanitarian movement. Its primary objectives were to reduce suffering, abolish cruelty and to institutionalise compassion. The movement comprised many groupings that learned to co-operate for specific purposes without insisting upon ideological agreement. It included non-conformist Protestant sects and philosophical radicals. 'Organised moral indignation' became the principal driving force of the movement and the mobilisation of public opinion its method.

Although primarily pragmatic in approach humanitarianism had its intellectuals, one of whom was Jeremy Bentham (1748-1832). Bentham could arguably be regarded as one of the seldom acknowledged 'grandfathers' of the what came to be known as the modern academic discipline of social policy and administration. He saw himself as a critic of existing institutions, a legal reformer and promoter of legislation. His utilitarianism was a philosophy which assumed that social progress was possible and desirable. According to Bentham, this could be achieved through rational analysis, scrutiny of existing institutions and the development of practical policies.

Bentham espoused a sensationalist, psychological doctrine which asserted that the behaviour of bodies was governed by the twin masters of pain and pleasure. Morality and social policy, he believed, could best be judged in terms of the maximisation of pleasure (utility) and the minimisation of pain. This doctrine

was a way of intellectualising/theorising the profound belief of the humanitarians that suffering and cruelty should at the very least be diminished and where possible abolished. As a non-believer, Bentham rejected the idea of the immortal soul and of eternal life. For him, the mind and the body were one and could be understood in materialistic terms. Perfection must be sought in this world rather than in a non-existent next world. Since animals have bodies and are capable of suffering as are we humans, the idea of human uniqueness and the notion of the *insuperable line* separating man from 'beast' is undermined. A body is a body and because every body is capable of suffering all bodies - whether animal or human - are equal. Bentham's views are expressed in his famous phrase about animals: 'The question is not, Can they *reason*? nor Can they *talk*? but, Can they *suffer*?' (Burns and Hart 1970: 283).

The anti-slavery movement was the first and certainly the most momentous of the movements which emerged under the umbrella of humanitarianism. It argued that institutionalised cruelty, namely the enslavement of people's bodies, should be abolished. This necessarily involved a process of rolling back and setting strict limits to commodification and the operation of market forces. The supporters of anti-slavery, however, were in disagreement about the methods of achieving their objective. Some argued for the abolition of the slave trade and the institution of slavery at one stroke, while others proposed a more incremental approach. In the end the abolition of slavery was a two stage process. The British Parliament abolished the slave trade in 1807 and the institution of slavery (freeing those



Jeremy Bentham

of the anti-slavery movement led to other agitations being consciously planned on the same model. This included the anti-cruelty to animals movement.

Not only were there similarities in the motivation and methods of anti-slavery and the anti-cruelty to animals movements, there were important differences. Theoretically and historically the issues are very complex and can only be touched on here. The anti-slavery movement was supported by humanists, who, like certain Christians, defended the doctrine of human uniqueness and human superiority. In contrast, the humanitarians had an inclusive attitude towards animals and accepted the idea of the indivisibility of compassion. It is important here to distinguish between humanism and humanitarianism. The former gives primary moral value to humans and as Ted Benton says 'humanism = anthropocentrism' (1988: 4-18). The term 'anthro-pocentrism' only appeared in *The Oxford English Dictionary* in 1863, though the underlying distinction was age-old. Anthropocentrism was coined during the period of fierce debate following the publication of Darwin's *On the Origin of Species*, in 1859.

Darwin may be best understood as the last great representative of a long tradition of British humanitarian liberal professionals - including priests, lawyers and many doctors - who played an influential role in the leadership of British science and society. The doctrines of common origins, natural selection and evolution undermined God's special act of creation and brought into being that simplified cartoon character - the ape as ancestor. Darwin assaulted the *insuperable line* by showing that we are all animals now. This was unacceptable and insulting to Christianity. Paradoxically, Darwin's humanitarian inclusiveness of the animals was rejected unwittingly by T.H. Huxley who was his greatest champion. Although Huxley, dubbed the high priest of science, admired Darwin to the point of hero worship and adopted him as his mentor, his own career marked a sharp break with

humanitarianism in general, and humanitarian science in particular, in favour of humanist anthropocentric science and vivisection.

### **The animal body**

Two pieces of legislation enacted in the nineteenth century illustrate the humanitarians concern with the suffering body: *the Act to Prevent Cruel and Improper Treatment of Cattle* (1822) and the *Anatomy Act* (1832). The 1822 Act was the first notable success of the anti-cruelty to animals lobby and the first national animal welfare legislation to be passed under a democratic system (1).

This led to the formation of the Society for the Prevention of Cruelty to Animals in 1824 and a private force of constables to enforce it. It marked the moment when the personalised and charismatic leadership of Richard Martin, who was responsible for the 1822 Act, was transformed into the beginnings of a permanent legal-rational organisation against animal cruelty. Many notable figures donated or subscribed to the society (including Bentham) on which Queen Victoria conferred the prefix 'Royal' in 1840.

### **The Anatomy Act and the regulation of human dissection**

As a law reformer it is not surprising to learn that Bentham was one of the leading figures in the movement which led to the Anatomy Act of 1832. In Britain, in his day, there was increasing public agitation about the trade in stolen corpses. This trade was principally associated with the acquisition of bodies for dissection in anatomy and art schools. Due to the shortage of bodies an illicit trade grew up. The body snatchers or 'resurrection men', as they were called, stole newly buried bodies

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<sup>1</sup> 'The earliest substantial 'attempt to secure some kind of protection for animals occurred in the USA when the Puritans of the Massachusetts Bay Colony passed their 'Body of Liberties' . This was the work of an Englishman, Nathaniel Ward, a barrister educated in Cambridge who emigrated to New England in 1634. Accepted by the General Court of Massachusetts in 1641, the Body of Liberties included a section on animals' (Brooman and Legge 1997: 39).

from the grave for sale to the anatomists. Ordinary people, however, were loathed to sell their bodies of their dead relatives to the anatomists. Christian beliefs about the resurrection of the body were carried into popular culture. It was thought necessary to keep the bones and dust of the individual together lest resurrection be prevented at the last trump. Surgeons argued that, if medicine were to progress, it would be necessary to find a balance between adverse popular sentiment, clinical detachment and commercialism. Bentham advocated a voluntaristic approach to the acquisition of bodies for dissection. He thought that intellectuals, professionals and enlightened members of the upper classes ought to take a lead by offering their own mortal remains for dissection. He requested in his Will that a public dissection of his own body be carried out by his personal doctor and close friend, Southwood Smith, who would also give a public lecture. Bentham saw himself as taking a lead in the voluntary supply of bodies for medical education.

Bentham died in the year of the passage of the Anatomy Act and the Act's harsh character is wrongly attributed to him. But this does Bentham an injustice. If guilty party there be, it is probably Edwin Chadwick - Bentham's former secretary who saw the Bill through Parliament - who is to blame. Bentham was opposed to compulsion. It was Chadwick, to whom Bentham acted as mentor, who was behind the conscription of cadavers from among the destitute poor. Chadwick understood that Bentham's 'voluntarism' was not yet practical politics. But if pain were to be minimised and utility maximised dissection should be practised on the insensible dead and never on the living.

Who then would provide subjects for anatomical inquiry: the living or the dead, the rich or the poor [and one might add the sick or the healthy]. A public choice must be made: *allow the dissection of the dead or accept that surgeons will otherwise be driven to obtain knowledge by practising on the living.* [JP. italics] (Richardson and Hurwitz 1987: 2).

Contrary to Bentham's hope members of the professional classes did not rush forward to

donate their bodies. Most of them undoubtedly held the view that dissection was a 'fate worse than death'. The phrase derived from the fact that hanged criminals could be condemned to the extra and exemplary punishment of dissection - the so-called double indemnity. Reform of the Poor Law provided exactly the opportunity to acquire corpses of the destitute from the workhouses by compulsion for dissection, where permission would not otherwise have been voluntarily given.

The 1832 Anatomy Act permitted those having lawful custody of dead bodies to donate them for dissection. The masters of poorhouses and hospitals could cut expenditure on pauper funerals by donating the bodies of patients too poor to provide for their own burial (ibid.: 3).

### **The discourses of dissection and vivisection**

The Anatomy Act had a significant impact on legal, medical and popular discourse. The word dissection, for example, had come into use in the late sixteenth and seventeenth centuries and its application was not restricted to the dead, but included the 'dissection' of living bodies : humans, animals and plants. As Samuel Johnson wrote in 1758:

Among the inferior professors of medical knowledge is a race of wretches, whose lives are only varied by varieties of cruelty.. I know not that by living *dissections* [italics JP] any discovery has been made by which a single malady is more easily cured...(quoted in French 1975: 16-17)

With the passing of the Anatomy Act the term dissection was narrowed and fixed so as to refer only to operations on the dead human cadaver. Any other meaning was marginalised and attention was drawn away from the fact that the Act in practice protected neither living humans or animals from vivisection. When Southwood Smith wrote that if access were not given to surgeons to practise dissection on the dead they would most assuredly practise on the living, he was fully aware that vivisection was already a common practice among medical men. Indeed, vivisection was part of

the age-old practice of surgery rather than an innovation that would otherwise be shortly introduced. The great humanitarian reformers who aimed to minimise or abolish cruelty, whether to humans or animals, soon realised that they rooted in systematic vivisection. The discovery of anaesthesia seemed to offer everything that humanitarianism could desire; it could not achieve their goals until vivisection had been dealt with. The Anatomy Act did not regulate animal dissection which was, in any case, carried on by butchers everyday.

The 1822 Act was extended several times so that its scope was thought to be very wide. The 'Norwich case' in 1874 proved that it was not wide enough. It brought many people to the conclusion that fresh legislation directed specifically at vivisection was needed. This case, together with other frightful incidents of cruel vivisection in France and Italy, led to organised anti-vivisection campaigns. The principal campaigner was Frances Power Cobbe. The *Cruelty to Animals Act 1876* was promoted specifically to abolish vivisection, but was turned round by the new science lobby and ended up institutionalising cruelty. Science and the state came to have a mutual interest in the product of the laboratory eliminated pain. On the other hand, operations could be conducted on living human and animal bodies not just for the immediate purpose to help the suffering individual but also for experimentation. It seemed now that experimentation could be justified. The 'dark face of science' was shortly to be revealed.

### **The rise of the anthropocentric state**

The Cruelty to Animals Act played a key role in the transition to a formalised anthropocentric state. Animal experiments and animal tests were for the first time institutionalised under statute. Likewise systems for managing animal health in agriculture were also being set up under the supervision of the emerging veterinary profession. Animal health was not the prime objective. In moral and political terms these

services were directed to the satisfaction of human requirements for meat, milk, hides, wool and other animal products. Under pressure of total war state subsidisation of animal production, on the one hand, and the regulation of animal health, on the other, became state key activities. During the Second World War the supply and distribution of food was regulated by the Ministry of Food under a national system of food rationing.

The birth of the laboratory - particularly the experimental laboratory - brought into the world a new transforming institution, but one which was tainted by cruelty. The forward march of humanitarian compassion was slowed. The lab became exceedingly influential as a new model of science during the mid and late nineteenth century. There were important leads and lags in the timing of the development of laboratory science as between Britain, the USA and continental countries. France and Germany were especially well ahead in the development of laboratory science in general, and vivisection in particular. This was in part because of their anthropocentric humanist rather than humanitarian stance. In the 1870s we may chart the growth of laboratory science in Britain by reference to the rise of state funding. Small at first, funding for science was to grow massively under the threat of war and war itself.

The new alliance between laboratory science and the state centred on the use of animals. From 1876 onwards the balance of power shifted decisively. Prior to this, the state seemed relatively indifferent as between humanitarian anti-vivisectionists' interests, on the one hand, and those of animal experimenters, on the other. Thereafter, the state saw its interests best served by an alliance with science. Traditional latent anthropocentric values inevitably became manifested and institutionalised in the workings of the state. Science became - and remained - the powerful insider, while the humanitarian anti-vivisection movement emerged from the struggles of 1876 as the

outsider. In consequence the conflict between the two protagonists was greatly intensified.

War entrenched vivisection because it was deemed to be vital to national survival and re-affirmed more deeply the anthropocentrism of the state. War and preparations for war, as Richard Titmuss pointed out, fostered the growth of the state in Britain. War brought suffering but also, paradoxically, a powerful sense of bonding and community. It also promoted the more intensive use of animals for food production and industrialised the scale of animal experimentation.

### The *welfare state*

From the 1920s onwards the discourse of welfare came to displace that of humanitarianism, both for humans and animals. The phrase 'animal welfare' was introduced at about the same time as welfare was applied to humans. Humanitarian discourse has continued to dominate to the present day in the sphere of international relations. In the domestic sphere it has flourished to a far greater extent in the USA than in Britain. This is exemplified by the name of the Humane Society of the United States.

It was in Britain in the 1930s that the terms 'welfare' and 'state' were linked as a way of promoting the democracies over against the fascist dictatorships and welfare began to be associated with the state rather than being a free-standing concept. Although William Beveridge preferred the term 'social service state' it was his wartime report (1942) that led to the title 'welfare state' being adopted and implemented in Labour's reforms after the end of the Second World War. In *The Gift Relationship*, Titmuss saw blood and blood transfusion on a non-commercial basis as representing the ideal of equality underlying the National Health Service, the flagship of the new welfare state in post-war Britain. From the point of view of anti-vivisectionists, however, the altruism of the gift relationship was tarnished because blood



transfusion depended upon animal experimentation and animal testing. Embedded in the discourse of blood transfusion is the term 'rhesus factor', which is testament both to the use of the rhesus monkey in animal experiments and - whether consciously or not - an indicator of anthropocentric values in medical science and social policy. Titmuss's altruistic principle so far as anti-vivisectionists were concerned, was flawed because its universalism was not universal enough; it did not extend to animals. The anthropocentrism of the blood transfusion service rested on the fact that the blood gift was only between humans. Humanist values (humans only) appeared to science to conform strictly to the facts of nature.

Bentham's hope that one day the *insuperable line* between humans and animals would be overcome seemed far from realisation. The struggle of the anti-cruelty to animals campaigners would have to wait until the 1960s and beyond for a new resurrection, and another attack upon the *insuperable line*.

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\* This article is based on the chapter written by the author (and her late partner Professor Noel Parry), which appears in Ellis, K. and Dean, H. (1999) *Social Policy and the Body: Transitions in Corporeal Discourse*. London: Macmillan. The USA co-edition will be available from St Martin's in November/December.

## Centres of Research

### THE CENTER FOR ANIMALS IN SOCIETY

*School of Veterinary Medicine, University of California, Davis CA 95616, USA*  
[http://www.vetmed.ucdavis.edu/animals\\_in\\_society/main.htm](http://www.vetmed.ucdavis.edu/animals_in_society/main.htm)

Formal planning for the Center for Animals in Society (CAS) began in 1984, and the CAS was formally established in 1985 (originally as the Human-Animal Program). A faculty committee from the School of Veterinary Medicine recommended that the CAS develop a strong research program within the area of human-animal interactions and contribute to the education of veterinary students and continuing education for veterinary professionals.

For its role in research, the CAS has focused especially on the socializing effects of animals for people, the grief and bereavement associated with pet loss and the changing role of pets in society. A pivotal keystone of the Center's work has been to better understand the social and health-related contributions of animals to people, and the basis of attachment to companion animals, since this knowledge can play a central role in people placing a greater value on animals and understanding their importance.

Recent and current studies concern the effects for at-risk children of structured experiences in training dogs, people's unique relationships with both cats and dogs, special relationships of people with assistance and other working dogs, and factors that prolong the quality of life of aging animals.

With the growing importance of companion animals, client relations has become a more crucial aspect of veterinary practice. The primary service role of the CAS has been in the area of pet loss, including guiding the establishment in 1985 of the first pet loss support group sponsored by a veterinary association (Sacramento Valley Veterinary Medical Association). This association continues to sponsor the bi-monthly pet loss support group. With growing demand from the public for assistance with pet loss, then-CAS staff member Bonnie Mader and veterinary student Kelly Palm developed the first Pet Loss Support Hotline in 1989, staffed by SVM students. The students can participate either as volunteers, or can sign up for instructional course credit. The support group and hotline became the models for similar activities in other parts of the United States.

Since 1995, the Pet Loss Support Hotline has been self-supporting, and located at the Veterinary Medical Teaching Hospital with Bonnie Mader as coordinator. A recent development at the SVM in pet loss is the new Rainbow Room at the Veterinary Medical Teaching Hospital, a comfortable environment especially for

individuals contemplating a possible euthanasia or grieving an animal's death.

Lynette Hart was founding director of the CAS; she served in this role until September 1999. With the growing importance of human-animal interactions in veterinary medicine, the School of Veterinary Medicine this year selected animals in society as one of its four priority areas. Donald Klingborg, Assistant Dean for Public Programs, is now acting director, and is spearheading a study of new opportunities for the CAS. Dr. Lee Zasloff joined the CAS in 1991, bringing a special expertise with psychological instruments. She has led various research studies and collaborations that reflect her particular interest in cats. Research productivity also benefitted from the efforts of Aline and Robert Kidd, pioneers in the field of human-animal interactions who joined the CAS in 1992. In one large collaborative project, Phil Kass as principal investigator conducted a major study on the causes of pet relinquishment in Sacramento, a study funded by the National Council on Pet Population Study and Policy and the California Council for Companion Animal Advocates. Another significant aspect was the development of bibliographic tools in human-animal interactions, a project that was headed by part-time health science librarian David Anderson. He also privately serves as editor of *Humans & Other Species*, a quarterly review of the field of human-animal interactions.

On the UC Davis campus the CAS is recognized as a resource on human-animal interactions that provides lectures in several courses. The director offers one or more courses each year that are open to veterinary, upper division, and graduate students. Since its inception, CAS has mentored undergraduates, graduate students, and veterinary students seeking to conduct research in human-animal interactions. Some funding is available to veterinary students for projects in human-animal interactions from campus and other sources.

A new arm of the CAS, the Companion Animal Behavior Program, was established in 1996 by Ben Hart to emphasize research and public outreach in clinical aspects of companion animal behavior. This Program emphasizes clinical research, including the behavior of aging dogs and cats that incorporates the animal's relationship with the human companion.

*Lynette Hart, Director*



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**THE CENTER FOR THE INTERACTIONS OF ANIMALS AND SOCIETY**  
*School of Veterinary Medicine, University of Pennsylvania, Philadelphia, PA 19104-6044*  
<http://www.vet.upenn.edu/cias/>

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The Center for the Interaction of Animals and Society (CIAS) was re-established in 1997 to provide an arena for addressing the many practical and moral issues arising from the interactions of animals and society. CIAS offers a multi-disciplinary and scholarly forum for research, education, and public service programs concerned with all aspects of the interactions of animals and society.

Its aims are: (1) to study the effects of relationships with animals on the health and quality of life of people at different stages of the life cycle, (2) to investigate the evolution and development of human attitudes to non-humans, (3) to explore the impact of our use of animals – for companionship, research, food, recreation, etc – on their behavior and welfare, and (4) to use the knowledge gained from this work both to enhance human well-being, and to promote the humane use and treatment of animals in society.

### Current Research at CIAS

#### *Behavioral development in dogs.*

Two major studies focus on the behavioral development of dogs. In collaboration with *The Seeing Eye Inc.* of Morristown, NJ, CIAS is conducting a study of guide dogs that aims: (a) to develop reliable, standardised methods for evaluating the temperament and behavior of dogs early in their development, and (b) to identify incipient behavior problems as early as possible and determine their genetic and/or environmental origins. In another parallel study we are investigating the effects of early aversive experience on the development of behavior problems in pet dogs. This study will follow up the results of previous work which demonstrated a relationship between certain distressing events and experiences in early development (6-16 weeks), such as routine veterinary procedures, and the prevalence of adult behavior problems. The specific aim will be to improve veterinary care and husbandry procedures for puppies at this vulnerable age and, by doing so, to reduce the prevalence of behavior problems in the pet dog population. The work is ongoing, and has been supported by two separate private foundations.

#### *Animals and religion.*

This project focuses on the historical importance of animals in the evolution of religious ideologies, with

particular emphasis on the extraordinary role of animals in medieval and early modern witchcraft beliefs and prosecutions; a topic that has been ignored by historians despite the vast scholarly literature pertaining to other aspects of the European witch hunts. Some of this work was supported by a visiting fellowship award to Dr. James Serpell from the Shelby Cullom Davis Center for Historical Studies, Princeton University.

#### *Cultural influences on the treatment of companion animals.*

CIAS recently embarked on a study of cultural influences on the treatment of stray dogs in Taiwan. In many developing countries, the population of unowned and free-roaming companion animals has reached overwhelming proportions. The welfare of these animals is severely at risk, and, generally speaking, little or no established infrastructure exists *in situ* to tackle the problem in a rational and humane way. As part of a larger program of research into the causes of, and possible solutions to, the welfare problems of companion animals in developing countries,

this project represents a pilot investigation of a particularly urgent ‘test case’ scenario in South East Asia (Taiwan), that may serve as a model for future studies and programs in other areas of the world. The research is funded by a grant from the Humane Society of the United States.

### Other activities

CIAS is currently organizing and hosting a three-year seminar on “Human Relations with Animals and the Natural World”. The uniquely interdisciplinary nature of the field of human-animal interactions provides unusual opportunities for productive cross-fertilization both within and between a wide range of different applied and basic research domains, and the Seminar is designed to promote this sort of exchange. Five conferences have already been held as part of the Seminar, and three more are scheduled for the coming year. Details of past and future conferences are available on the CIAS website.

*James A. Serpell, Director*



**Books etc.****Book Reviews****The Political Animal: The Conquest of Speciesism**

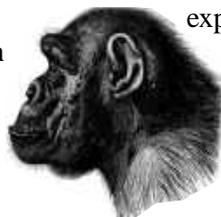
Richard D. Ryder, 1998. McFarland & Co., Inc., Publishers, 147 pages.

This short and easy-to-read book certainly isn't short on conveying information on numerous important and timely issues. Essentially, *The Political Animal* is a review of the notion of *speciesism* (a term coined by Ryder in 1970; see Ryder 1998) discussed in the contexts of the history and science of the animal welfare movement and Ryder's notion of *painism*. Painism is basically "the concern for the pain and distress of others . . . which is extended to any painient thing (sic) regardless of its sex, class, race, nationality or species." (p. 45). According to Ryder, "Pain is pain regardless of who or what (sic) experiences it." I think Ryder would be better off using words other than "thing" or "what" to refer to painient individuals (or organisms or animals), unless he wants to consider the possibility of painism in inanimate objects such as computers (which he does, personal communication, 1 July 1999).

In *The Political Animal*, Ryder's goal (as it has been for a long time) is to overcome resistance to speciesism. He has worked tirelessly to achieve this easily justified goal. In the context of animal use, speciesists make decisions about how humans are permitted to treat other animals based on an individual's species membership (for example, all and only humans or all and only mammals might constitute protected groups) rather than on that animal's individual characteristics (Bekoff 1998). Nonspeciesists, in contrast to speciesists, use individual characteristics to make moral decisions about animal use and are concerned with how individual animals are viewed and treated. Rachels' (1990) notion of *moral individualism* is based on the following argument (pp. 173-174): "If

A is to be treated differently from B, the justification must be in terms of A's individual characteristics and B's individual characteristics. Treating them differently cannot be justified by pointing out that one or the other is a member of some preferred group, not even the 'group' of human beings." On this account careful attention must be paid to individual variations in behavior within species.

Speciesists also often use such words as "higher" and "lower" to refer to different groups of animals, but the use of such words and activities such as ranking species by drawing lines to place different groups of animals "above" and "below" others are extremely misleading because they fail to take into account the lives and worlds of the animals themselves. Speciesism also can ignore evolutionary continuity. Furthermore, deciding which among the criteria that are used to place species in some hierarchical order are morally relevant, and how evaluation of these criteria are to be made, present serious problems even if one were able to argue convincingly for the use of a single scale. Usually, when deciding about the types of treatment to which animals can be exposed, speciesism is narrowly used to mean "primatocentrism" or "humanism", and human superiority is often implied in speciesist arguments. However, individuals representing many other species experience pain and suffering (physically and psychologically), even if these are not the same sorts of pain and suffering that is experienced by humans, or even other animals, including members of the same species.



There are many gems in this book. Let me offer two to whet your appetite for what awaits when you pick up this book.

Considering why some people do the horrible things that they do to other animals, Ryder writes (p. 51): "The simple truth is that we exploit the other animals and cause them suffering because we are more powerful than they are. Does that mean that if aliens land on Earth and turn out to be far more powerful than us we would let them, without argument, chase and kill us for sport, experiment on us or breed us in factory farms and turn us into tasty humanburgers? Would we accept their explanation that it is perfectly moral for them to do all these things because we are not members of their species?" These are good questions that aren't going to go away by flippant hand-waving.

Ryder also lists animal exploiter's excuses (p. 62). These include: 1. The animal does not feel (much) pain. 2. Huge benefits to humans will certainly ensue. 3. Animals are different from humans. 4. This is my job; I just do what others tell me to do. 5. If I did not do it then someone else would do it, perhaps more cruelly. 6. There are much greater evils in the world than this. 7. The animal welfarist does not understand the subtleties of what is being done. 8. Animal rights campaigners are terrorists. 9. It is right to exploit other species because it is natural to do so. 10. Animals kill and exploit each other, so humans are entitled to do likewise. Ryder concludes that "None of these excuses stand (sic) up to rational analysis." Once again, each of these points raises numerous issues that could be discussed in undergraduate and graduate classes and among practicing professionals. Indeed, each has been the topic of lengthy essays and books, and there still isn't universal consensus about their

resolution.

To sum up, I highly recommend this book to all people interested in how humans use and abuse other animals in a wide variety of activities (e.g. for food, amusement, entertainment, research, and teaching). Clearly, "we" versus "them" dualisms don't work. The dualism doesn't work in speciesistic views of "animals" versus "humans" and also is counterproductive when opponents in debates about animal use portray one another in this manner. It is the similarities rather than the differences between humans and other animals that drives much animal use in which animals' lives are compromised. If "they" who are used are so much like "us", then much more work needs to be done to justify certain practices. We need to appreciate our common moral status and enter into intimate and reciprocal relationships with all beings in this more-than-human world (Abram 1996).

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**Marc Bekoff**

### **Animal Geographies:**

#### **Place, Politics and Identity in the Nature-Culture Borderlands.**

Eds. Jennifer Wolch and Jody Emel, 1998. Verso: London/New York. 240 Pages.

This is an interesting collection of thirteen chapters by different authors exploring human-animal interactions from a geographic perspective. The editors open the volume with a jointly-authored chapter entitled "Witnessing the animal movement" that looks at such issues as food animal economies, habitat loss, the trade in wild animals, biotechnology, and the attention paid to animals by modernist and post-modernist schools of thought.

The authors have an interesting take on the topic that is well worth reading although there are a

few errors (the one citation to my work refers to the wrong book altogether) and sweeping generalizations. The other chapters were all interesting and well worth reading. I particularly enjoyed Jody Emel's analysis of wolf-hunting and the masculine image, Robbins' analysis of the place of meat in Indian culture and Ufkes' analysis of the changing face of pork production. The volume is definitely worth a place on the bookshelf of any reader of this newsletter.

**Andrew Rowan**

Senior Vice President, Humane Society of the U.S

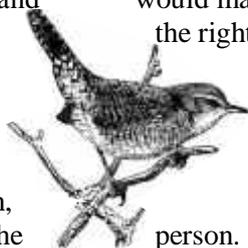
## Hunting the Wren: Transformation of Bird into Symbol

Elizabeth Atwood Lawrence, 1997. Knoxville, University of Tennessee Press. 234 Pages.

When it comes to folklore and related subjects, the sort of mental distance expected in other fields becomes very problematic. We now think of the Brothers Grimm less as folklorists than folk, since they extensively altered their fairy tales from the oral tradition. Many eminent authors from Bachofen to Joseph Campbell have written eloquently about myth, yet it is hard to say whether they were elucidating or creating it. No matter how conscientious scholars may be, writing about archaic ceremonies and beliefs is a way or reliving them. There is a largely unrecognized genre of writings, which center on particular animals, from spiders to elephants. Totemism is, to a large extent, both the subject and inspiration of these books.

This lovely volume is a welcome addition to the genre. The wren, subject of this book, is a tiny bird with a remarkably loud and melodious song. Since ancient times, it has been known as "the king of the fence" or even "king of birds." It is one of the relatively few animals that seem to constantly attract the attention of storytellers, and it plays a role in mythologies from Greece to pre-Columbian America. *Hunting the Wren* brings together a vast amount of lore from many eras and cultures. The primary focus of the study, however, is on the British Isles. There, among rural people, the wren is traditionally protected for most of the year but hunted and brutally killed during the Christmas season. Then the wren is often impaled and paraded through town in a colorful pageant, accompanied by song and dance.

The author describes the ceremonies in detail. They go back to at least the time of the druids. They were Christianized by associating the wren with St. Stephen, the first martyr of Christianity. Today, the



ceremony is often continued in a relatively secular context. The killing is replaced by feeding the wren or else using an effigy. The celebration seems to constantly accumulate new meanings over the centuries without ever fully dispensing with the older ones.

One problem is how to explain the discontinuity between the veneration of the wren during other seasons and the barbaric killing and display of the wren in winter. A few explanations are offered. It is part of a reversal of relationships that accompanies festival like the Roman Saturnalia, where masters wait on slaves and a fool is made king. It is a sacrifice, intended to restore life to the dying land. The ceremonies are varied and complex as they are colorful. No explanation resonates easily with contemporary people, so this is finally left a mystery. It leads us, however, into the challenging task of imagining different, and perhaps more harmonious, relationships between humanity and the natural world.

While the descriptions and analysis are reasonably dispassionate, this book is clearly inspired by a love of both the wren and the British countryside. Reviews generally take the design of a book for granted, but this one is attractive enough to merit special comment. The jacket shows an elegantly simple picture of a wren perched on a sprig of holly. The pages contain many lively illustrations of folk ceremonies, birds and landscapes. This book would make a wonderful Christmas present for the right

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person.

### ***Urgent Request!***

In recent years, ISAZ has struggled to assemble a database of members' e-mail addresses and research interests. However, we can only do this with **your** help!

You are, therefore, kindly requested to send **Debbie Wells**, our new *Membership Secretary*, a brief e-mail message, summarising your current research activities and interests, key publications, institutional affiliation, current e-mail address and, if applicable, URL.

So... what are you waiting for? Turn on your PC and get tapping away at your keyboard now! You can drop her an electronic message at **d.wells@qub.ac.uk**. For her full postal address, see the list of new Council members and Officers at the back of this newsletter.

## Companion Animal Death

### A practical and comprehensive guide for veterinary practice

Mary F. Stewart, 1999. Oxford, Butterworth-Heinemann. 188 pages.

Mary Stewart's book is a much needed and long-awaited guide, which I consider an essential addition to any practice library. It will help veterinary practices to deal skilfully with everyday issues associated with animal death.

Mary Stewart is a veterinary surgeon and founder member of the Society for Companion Animal Studies. She begins by explaining why this book is needed. She acknowledges the potential problems caused by the selection process and education of vets in the UK, pointing out the scarcity of time allowed or available for teaching communication skills, exploration of ideas, and the wider contexts of life and ourselves.

Stewart sets the scene by exploring aspects of the human-animal bond; in particular, what makes certain pets special. This may be by virtue of their longevity, shared experiences or by their representing a link with a lost loved one. She discusses aspects of communication that are vitally important in general practice, such as listening skills, how to impart information and how to show respect towards children and adults. She reminds the reader that the euthanasia of a child's pet may be the first encounter with death for its owner, so it is important to handle the situation with care, honesty and sensitivity.

I like many of Stewart's practical ideas. These include allowing extra time for euthanasia consultations, conducting these in a quiet room with a large mat on the floor (pet and owner may feel more relaxed at floor level than on a table) and ways in which various practice members can help make the euthanasia process as smooth and stress-free as possible for all concerned. The author explains the grieving process in full and suggests ways in which practice members can support their clients when an animal dies. She also explains why and how a client's grief may be too complex or difficult for practice members to deal with, and where to find help for such clients.

The next section discusses the emotional and practical implications of euthanasia. The reader

learns how to provide guidance to clients trying to make difficult decisions, without pressurising them. A checklist covers the practical aspects of euthanasia: what will happen, where, when, who will be present and so on. The pros and cons of home visits are discussed. Attention is paid to details such as owner involvement and the respectful handling of bodies afterwards. The value of condolence cards, client literature and pet loss support groups are discussed. A short section deals with the euthanasia of horses, which many vets will find useful.

The author then talks about the role of the veterinary team in "validating" the client's experience, giving them permission to grieve and empathising without becoming over-emotional. Special mention is made of disabled owners, assistance animals and people with language difficulties or pertinent religious and cultural beliefs.



A whole section is devoted to the subject of children and pet loss, giving the reader more understanding of how children of various ages grieve, and explaining how adults can help.

Lastly, the author acknowledges the stresses of veterinary practice. She gives practical advice on how to minimise them, with particular reference to difficult situations, anxious clients, and staff and management problems.

The appendices give a useful list of expected animal lifespans, addresses and further reading. My only criticism of this book is that the list could be more comprehensive, and does not give details of some work referred to in the text. However, as the well-known and respected psychiatrist Colin Murray Parkes states in his foreword endorsing the book, Mary Stewart's down-to-earth approach and sound advice make it an indispensable guide for any veterinary team, veterinary undergraduates and other professionals involved with human-animal interactions.

*Caroline Bower BVM&S MRCVS Dip  
CABC*

## Hot Off the Presses

### **Understanding Dogs: Living and Working with Canine Companions**

*Clinton R. Sanders (1999)*

Philadelphia: Temple University Press. ISBN 1-56639-690-5

*What does your dog mean to you, and what do you mean to your dog?*

In *Understanding Dogs*, Clinton R. Sanders explores the day-to-day experience of living and working with canine companions. Based on a decade of research in obedience classes, veterinary offices, and guide dog training schools, Sanders examines how dog owners come to understand their animals as thinking, emotional individuals - and explains how dogs serve as social facilitators as well as adornments to personal identity. Sanders shows dog owners how - while *we* try to teach and shape our dog's behaviour - *they* often teach *us* how to more thoughtfully enjoy physical warmth, a nourishing meal, a walk in the woods, or the simple joys of the immediate moment. The book is part of the series *Animals, Culture and Society*, edited by Clinton R. Sanders and Arnold Arluke, and is available in both paper and hardback editions.



### **Child Abuse, Domestic Violence and Animal Abuse: Linking the Circles of Compassion for Prevention and Intervention**

*Edited by Frank Ascione & Phil Arkow (1999)*

West Lafayette, IN: Purdue University Press. ISBN: 1-55753-143-9

Evidence is mounting that animal abuse, frequently embedded in families scarred by domestic violence and child abuse and neglect, often predicts the potential for other violent acts. As early intervention is critical in the prevention and reduction of aggression, this book encourages researchers and professionals to recognize animal abuse as a significant problem and a human public-health issue that should be included as a curriculum topic in training.

The book is an interdisciplinary sourcebook of original essays that examines the relations between animal maltreatment and human interpersonal violence, expands the scope of research in this growing area, and provides practical assessment and documentation strategies to help professionals confronting violence do their jobs better by attending to these connections. This book brings together, for the first time, all of the leaders in this emerging field. They examine contemporary research and programmatic issues, encourage cross-disciplinary interactions, and describe innovative programs in the field today. The book also includes vivid first-person accounts from "survivors" whose experiences included animal maltreatment among other forms of family violence.

As an outgrowth of the Latham Foundation's 1995 training manual, *Breaking the Cycles of Violence*, this book is a historic step in helping professionals from these disciplines, as well as the general public, recognize the cyclical and insidious nature of family violence. It provides training in recognizing peripheral forms of family violence outside a families immediate purview. It encourages cross-disciplinary prevention and intervention strategies with an ultimate goal of reducing the levels of violence which is of such great societal and cultural concern today.



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## Animals on the Agenda

Questions about Animals for Theology and Ethics

*Edited by Andrew Linzey and Dorothy Yamamoto (1998)*

Champaign, IL: University of Illinois Press. ISBN 0-252-06761-4

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This encyclopedic volume is the most comprehensive collection of original studies on animals and theology ever published. Contributors from both sides of the Atlantic tackle fundamental questions about theology and how it is put into practice. Do animals have immortal souls? Does Christ's reconciling work include animals? Contributors address these issues and more in the context of scriptural perspectives, the Christian tradition, historical disputes, and obligations to animals. As

Andrew Linzey points out in his introduction, it cannot be right for theological practitioners to carry on as though the world of animals were invisible. Mainstream Christianity still propagates a range of ideas about animals that are hugely detrimental to their status and that it is time for a change. This important volume argues



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## News from the Net

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### The *Animals-Society* List

<http://www.onelist.com/community/animals-society>

This recently established list is intended for discussion of the psychological and sociological study of the relationship between humans and other animals. Unlike existing lists, it is not intended for the discussion of ethical or political implications of humans' relationship to other animals, although occasional messages of that sort might be appropriate. The list is instead a tool for discussion of the scholarly issues concerning the relationship between humans and other animals.

Possible topics might include, but certainly are not limited to: attitudes toward animals, violence against animals, relationships with companion animals, psychological and sociological issues involved in human use of other animals, the psychology of animal protection activists, etc. The list is also helpful for informing subscribers of relevant conferences, meeting, or new publications.

Given that the *Animals-Society* list is not an animal protection list, the moderator has requested that people refrain from sending messages encouraging list members to become active in animal protection issues. It is also

requested that participants be respectful of all political views expressed on the list. To subscribe to the list, simply follow the URL below and follow the instructions.

<http://www.onelist.com/subscribe/animals-society>

Alternatively, you can send a blank email to: [animals-society-subscribe@onelist.com](mailto:animals-society-subscribe@onelist.com)

If you have any other questions concerning the list, please email Michael Schmitt, the list moderator, at: [mschmitt@ukans.edu](mailto:mschmitt@ukans.edu)

### The *Latham Foundation* On-line

<http://www.latham.org/>

ISAZ members may well be familiar with the Latham Foundation, an American nonprofit organisation that has for the past 80 years promoted respect for all life through education. The Latham Letter, for example, regularly publishes on issues relating to the human-animal relationship.

The Latham Foundation, however, also acts as a clearinghouse for information on the human-companion animal bond, animal-assisted therapy, and also the connections between child and animal abuse and other forms of violence.

It offers a wide selection of reprinted (hardcopy)

### Request for Help!

*Suhendan Karauz* writes: "I am a field biologist, studying ornithology (bird science) in Turkey's wildlife. Nowadays, I am researching the subject of 'How nature sounds affect human psychology'".

## In Memoriam

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### Remembering Aline Kidd

November 28, 1922- July 30, 1999

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Pioneering in the field of human-animal interactions and collaborating with her husband Robert Kidd, Aline Kidd built her work around her love for children and animals. Her seminal research demonstrated the significant role of pets in the human life cycle. Her work clearly demonstrated that many people of all ages have a strong interest in a wide range of species of animals. Her work revealed the significance of the family context and the person's past experience in affecting current involvement with animals, including in volunteering to help with wildlife or in zoos. She explored the responses of children to live and toy animals, the role of pets in mental and physical health throughout the lifespan, and the effects of childhood pet ownership on adult attitudes toward animals. Also concerned about people's failed relationships with companion animals, she completed two early studies revealing some risk factors associated with relinquishment of animals.

Indeed, the number of topics she addressed in her studies is so large that it can seem that she has published the first paper dealing with most aspects of human-animal interactions, and could easily justify her being termed the mother of the field, along with a few outstanding fathers, such as Leo Bustad, the McCulloch brothers, Aaron Katcher, and Alan Beck. Aline Kidd completed a Masters in Clinical Psychology at the University of Michigan in 1945. Following an interruption to care for three children, she completed a PhD in 1960 at the University of Arizona. Throughout her career she interspersed professorial teaching and research with clinical practice as a psychologist. Her primary academic home was Mills College, from 1967 until her retirement as Professor in 1992. Although she began publishing scientific work in 1962, she discovered her unique niche in 1980 with a paper, "Personality Characteristics and Preferences in Pet Ownership," jointly authored with her husband, Reverend Robert Kidd. Subsequently, the pioneering Kidds jointly published at least two refereed papers each year in the area of human-

animal interactions for twenty years, right up through 1999. In addition to a large number of research papers, the Drs. Kidd in 1987 challenged the field to develop a theoretical framework by suggesting a variety of models that might provide a unified theory. Their paper, "Seeking a Theory of the Human/Companion Animal Bond," was used as a target manuscript for commentary from several other writers.

Aline Kidd mentored numerous students from a variety of institutions and was always willing to provide assistance. She believed in the importance of making her work available to a wider audience. To accomplish this, she established a special relationship with the Latham Foundation and throughout her career prepared a popular version of each study for publication in *The Latham Letter*. She willingly shared her enthusiasm for the field in making presentations to various groups and conferences.

Following her retirement from Mills College, Aline Kidd affiliated with the Center for Animals in Society at the University of California, Davis. There she was an active collaborator and participated each year in the course, *Human-Animal Interactions: Benefits and Issues*. During these years her research focused on birds and fish as companion animals, the role of pets in the lives of homeless people, the past experience with animals of volunteers in facilities for wild animals, and (with Lee Zasloff) the protective role of pets against loneliness for women living alone.

She regularly presented papers at conferences of the International Society of Anthrozoology and served on advisory panels for three national organizations. In recognition of her pioneering work in the field of human-animal interactions, she received the Boris Levinson Memorial Research Award in 1989, and with her husband was presented an International Society for Anthrozoology award in 1995. Dr. Kidd will be remembered for her extraordinary vitality and enthusiasm for the field of human-animal

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## Greetings from Meetings

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ISAZ 99, CIAS, University of Pennsylvania, Philadelphia, USA, 4th-5th June 1999

The annual meeting this year was hosted by the Center for the Interaction of Animals and Society. The theme, *Men, Women, and Animals: The Influence of Gender on Our Relations with Animals and Nature* allowed for a wide-ranging group of presentations. In the first session, chaired by Andrew Rowan (HSUS), several speakers talked about the conflicting views of animals in late 19<sup>th</sup> and early 20<sup>th</sup> century America. Kacie Grier (University of South Carolina) provided important context to the current discussions of how society views animals by presenting information about how Victorian views shaped ideas of gender identity and the relationship between humans and animals in the 19<sup>th</sup> century. Bernard Unti (American University, Washington, D.C.) followed this with a discussion of the conflict between the masculine "strenuous life", advocated by Theodore Roosevelt in the early 20<sup>th</sup> century, and the extension of "humane sympathy" from domestic animals to animals in the wild at that time, a more "feminine" approach. Although Roosevelt was an important advocate for land preservation, his intent was more to preserve hunting refuges than to simply preserve homes for animals. Monique Bourque (University of Pennsylvania) highlighted the "nature movement" in American children's literature in the early 20<sup>th</sup> century, a movement that sought to avoid the dry, technical writing of "scientists" and instead involve children in a "sympathetic attitude toward nature". However, many of the books sought to utilize insects, particularly social insects, as a model for behavior in the human, middle-class family of the time.

Two more speakers dealt with the role of animals in culture and literature. Both Brandy Bourne (University of North Carolina) and Maureen Adams (University of San Francisco) provided unusual perspectives. Brandy examined the conflict among the Shakers over vegetarianism vs meat-eating. Rather than simply being a debate about healthy diet, the discussion threatened to split the group and caused examination of such basic questions as "what it means to be human", and "what and *who* is an animal". Maureen discussed the role of dogs in Emily Bronte's life and writings. She painted a vivid picture of the important role of Keeper, a beloved mastiff, in Bronte's life, and the insights this gave Bronte into the valuable role of animals as companions and guardians. Many of us had tears in our eyes as she described the close bond and its important effects, and the response of Keeper to Bronte's early death.

The afternoon session, chaired by Lynette Hart (UC, Davis), focused more directly on gender issues. Hal Herzog (W. Carolina University) asked "Why are so many animal activists women?" Women tend to be in grassroots groups rather than more established

societies, he noted, and hold positions of power in these groups. However, men seem to be given more influence (profiled more, included more often in encyclopedia articles) and get paid more, especially in older, more established animal welfare groups. In the end, it is difficult to answer the question at this point – are women more caring and nurturing? Are they interested because they feel oppressed too? Are women more likely to express moral shock? We await Hal's next study for answers!

Corwin Kruse (University of Minnesota) followed this with a discussion of data from the General Social Survey of 1994, which showed clear differences in male and female beliefs about nature and the role of animals. Jane Harris (Edinburgh University) then examined the predominance of women in the successful animal rights movement in England, and the fact that over 2/3 of these women are vegetarians. Through interviews, she gathered data that suggest women in the movement seek a vegetarian diet as "both a political action in defense of animals and a political statement by and about the lived experience of women". Lynda Birke (University of Lancaster, UK) followed with an examination of modern feminism and its negative relationship to non-human animals. She argued that by rejecting "biological determinism", feminists have found themselves in the position of trying to distance themselves from animals, leaving animals in a negative light – "they represent what we don't like in ourselves" – our biological nature. She argued that feminists must move beyond this construct, which views animals as "merely biological", to one in which both women and animals are viewed as more complete and valuable, and "biology" is seen as a good word, not a negative one. Little research has examined animal attitudes in eastern religions, such as Hinduism. Susanne Abromaitis (Cedar Crest College) compared attitudes of practicing Hindus and Protestants in local churches. She found differences by religion, gender, and diet (vegetarian vs meat-eating). Female Hindus showed the most positive attitudes toward animals, followed by female Protestants, male Hindus, and male Protestants. Hindu teachings of reverence for animals, coupled with positive female responses to animals, affected attitudes.

Consuelo Fuentes finished up this session with an examination of "hybridity", the blending of human and animal, masculine and feminine, good and evil, in various Latin American writings. This literature explores the complex relationships between gender, culture, and animals. It allows us to examine the ancient human fear of human-animal hybrids (e.g. Satan as half-goat/half-man) that has been reawakened by recent developments in biomedicine (e.g.

xenotransplantation and cloning).

Saturday's morning session, chaired by Kacie Grier, began with an examination of gender differences in animal cruelty by Randy Lockwood (HSUS). As usual, this discussion was somewhat distressing, as we learned about gender influences on the range of animal suffering, from hoarding of animals (e.g. 100 in a house) to simple neglect, to "organized" abuse (e.g. blood sports such as dog-fighting), to intentional harm and torture. Men seem to be more likely to engage in intentional cruelty, while women tend to hoard animals, among other findings. Susan Phillips Cohen (The Animal Medical Center) examined gender and the role of pets in urban families by surveying clients who came to this large veterinary hospital. Her questionnaire showed important differences between men and women in attitudes toward pets as "part of the family". However, follow-up interviews in the home demonstrated that witnessing the actual behavior in context can often reveal much more about relationships than can answers on paper (e.g. men who say they are not very attached to an animal, but clearly demonstrate attachment when they are observed interacting with the pet naturally in the home).

Ron Baenninger and colleagues (Temple University, Philadelphia, PA), and Cindy Somers and colleagues (Ohio State University) examined how people think about animals in different contexts. Ron and his group looked at the connotative meanings of animal names. For example, what sets of terms (beautiful/ugly, ferocious/peaceful) people assigned to "canaries" vs "crocodiles". Cindy's group explored zoo educators' beliefs in animal mind. Elizabeth Lawrence (Tufts University) brought her unique perspective to bear in an examination of the historical role of women in veterinary medicine and the affect an increase in women veterinarians may have on the profession. The last session, chaired by Anthony Podberscek

(Cambridge University), examined gender effects in social situations and in health-care settings. Myrna Milani (DVM) looked at gender issues involved in canine aggression, with particular focus on the importance of pheromones. She emphasized the need for studies of pheromonal chemistry, rather than simply looking at "male/female sexual chemistry". Matthew Chin and colleagues (Central Florida), examined the way men and women undergraduates addressed and interacted with a "stranger" cat in a "test" room. They found gender differences in attitudes toward animals, but no strong gender differences in speech directed toward the stranger cat. The verbal and nonverbal signals used by the participants, and the responses of the cat, will form the basis for future studies.

Cindy Wilson (Uniformed Services University of Health Sciences) and Erika Friedmann (Brooklyn College) each examined gender, animals, and health. Cindy reported on one part of a large study of major factors affecting the health, quality of life, and work performance of military and civilian caregivers (mostly involved in elderly care). Erika revisited the health-benefit literature, noting that there are often differences in the health benefits gained by men vs women with respect to pets. These differences suggest that future research should include gender as an important part of the design. Penny Bernstein finished the conference with an examination of how animals used in pet therapy affect social behavior in long-term care facilities. She found that animals in this setting can increase overall rates of social behavior, may provide longer, more meaningful contacts, and increase initiation of social behavior by patients, both alert and semi-alert. A final discussion session and reception finished out an interesting two days. As always, the range of papers and disciplines stimulated new thoughts about the human-animal relationship.

## Meetings of Distinction

**ISAZ 2000**  
**Amsterdam, The Netherlands**  
*25th April 2000*

### "Issues in Companion Animal Welfare"

The International Society for Anthrozoology (ISAZ) invites the submission of abstracts for its 2000 Annual Conference in Amsterdam, the Netherlands. This will be a satellite meeting to the World Small Animal Veterinary Association (WSAVA) Congress. The conference theme - "Issues in Companion Animal Welfare" - is intended to be broad, and will allow discussion of behaviour problems, dog/cat population management, animal abuse, training issues etc. The keynote speaker will be *Bernard Rollin*. The WSAVA Congress will also hold a one-day symposium on the 26th April on human-animal interactions.

Although preference will be given to abstracts related to the main conference theme, abstracts dealing with any aspect of human-animal relationships are also welcome.

Abstracts must arrive by December 1st, 1999. For further details and guidelines for the submission of abstracts, send fax or e-mail inquiry to dr.Nienke Endenburg: fax (0)30-2518126; e-mail: n.endenburg@pobox.ruu.nl

### Thresholds of Identity in Human and Animal Relationships

*10th - 11th March 2000*

At the University of California, Santa Barbara, a small group of scholars from several different academic disciplines has formed a discussion group, which focuses on the cultural, philosophical and scientific

aspects of the relationships between human and non-human animals. Its goals are 1) to encourage research on relevant topics, 2) to foster dialogue among group members, and 3) to extend opportunities for learning and dialogue to the campus community. In February 1999, a successful interdisciplinary colloquium was organized, which attracted participants from throughout the US. A second colloquium is planned for March 10 and 11, 2000. It will provide a friendly forum for the presentation of research on the topic of "Thresholds of Identity in Human-Animal Relationships". The purpose of the colloquium is to bring people together to share ideas and knowledge. Work in any relevant field or discipline is welcome. Each participant will be given 20 minutes for a presentation. Interested scholars are invited to submit a 300 word abstract by November 15, 1999, to Professor Jo-Ann Shelton, Environmental Studies Program, University of California, Santa Barbara 93106. E-mail:

**Animals, Vets and Vermin  
in Medical History**  
*28th - 30th April 2000*

This is the first of a series of proposed conferences at the Wellcome Unit, UEA, on the theme of the interactions between animals and humans in health and disease. One of its objects is to explore the shifting boundaries between animals and humans as told through changing cultural perceptions and scientific understandings of animal diseases. How in different cultural contexts from antiquity to the present have the lines been drawn between animals benign and lethal, pet or pest, edible and awful, or between those to be consumed or not at the dinner table or in the research lab, or between those permissible or impermissible in the home or on the farm? Thus the object of the conference is not only to contextualize fears of animal disease over time, but also, to lay out the different ways in which animals have been seen as beneficial sources of disease prevention, as for example, as suppliers of calf lymph, hormones, or emotional therapy. The conference will also be looking at how the professional interests of doctors and veterinarians have been shaped and, in turn perhaps, shaped public understandings of animals and animal products in relation to health and disease. Among other questions we hope to take up are how theories of disease have altered the human/animal relationship and attitudes to the consumption of animal products? Have animal rights and anti-vivisection lobbies exploited fears of disease transmission? What have been the roles of different religious, theological, and philosophical constituencies? From whom have politicians taken advice or been advised? How and why have their policy responses differed? What have been the relations between science, medicine, government and industry over animal production and consumption? Finally, the conference hopes



to explore the questions about the nature of the designation 'animal', and how humans have been conceived physiologically and psychologically in relation to them?

For further details, please contact Ms. Becky Fitt, at the Wellcome Unit for the History of Medicine, University of East Anglia, Norwich, NR4 7TJ. Email:

**Representing Animals  
at the End of the Century**

*April 13th -15th, 2000*

By tracing how animals have been represented in different contexts, in different practices, and by different disciplines over the course of the last hundred years, this conference will explore the connections between our understandings of animals and the historical and cultural conditions in which those understandings have been formed. The conference will move from discussions of the material presence of animals - studies, for example, of the changing place of animals in urban spaces and modern sensibilities - to explorations of how contemporary media culture is shaping our fundamental cultural expectations of animals, of ourselves, and of our environments.

*Special Guest Speaker: Jane Goodall*

For more information, please contact: Nigel Rothfels and Andrew Isenberg (Conference Organizers), Center for Twentieth Century Studies, University of Wisconsin-Milwaukee, P.O. Box 413, Milwaukee, WI 53201 USA; tel: 414-229-4141; fax: 414-229-5964; email: ctr20cs@uwm.edu.

**ASAB Winter Meeting**

*2nd - 3rd December 1999*

Entitled *Evolution of Mind*, this ASAB meeting will be held at the Zoological Society of London Meeting Rooms, London Zoo, Regent's Park, London, UK. The aim of the meeting is to bring together scientists from the fields of animal behaviour, psychology and philosophy, working on a variety of animal species, to discuss the 'Evolution of Mind'. Oral presentations will explore issues such as whether animals engage in forward planning and social learning, whether they can label objects and social relationships and whether they possess a 'Theory of Mind'. Species as diverse as jumping spiders, ravens, dolphins and chimpanzees will be considered. Theory of Mind abilities in autistic humans and young children will also be discussed, as well as comparative issues relating to the Evolution of Mind. For further details, please contact:

Dr Karen McComb, Experimental Psychology, School of Biological Sciences, University of Sussex, Falmer, Brighton BN1 9QG, UK; fax: +44 (0)1273-678611; email: karenm@biols.susx.ac.uk, or Stuart Semple, Institute of Zoology, Regent's Park, London NW1 4RY, UK; fax: +44-(0)171-483-2237; e-mail: stuart.semple@ucl.ac.uk.

**Animal Behaviour Society**

**Annual Meeting**  
5th - 9th August 2000

The ABS annual meeting will be held in Atlanta, GA, co-hosted by Morehouse College and ZooAtlanta. Along with contributed talks and posters, the meetings will include special symposia on 'Dispersal Behavior' and invited papers on 'Comparisons between Primates and Cetaceans'. Plenary speakers include conservation biologist, Dee Boersma, applied behaviorists, and others. For further information, please visit their web-site: <http://www.animalbehavior.org/ABS/Program/>

**XVIIIth International Congress of Zoology**  
28th August - 2nd September 2000.

The XVIIIth (New) International Congress of Zoology will be held in Athens, Greece on the theme of *The New Panorama of Animal Evolution*.

ISAZ members may particularly be interested in the

following general symposium entitled *Archaeozoology: Human-Animal Interactions as a Tool for Present and Future Action*. For further information on - or to register for - this event, visit the following web site:

[http://www.ims.usm.edu/~musweb/icz\\_xviii/icz\\_home.html](http://www.ims.usm.edu/~musweb/icz_xviii/icz_home.html)

**ISAZ 2001**

The ISAZ conference in 2001 will be scheduled consecutively on the UC Davis campus with ISAE (International Society for Applied Ethology). The ISAZ program will focus on human-animal conflict, while ISAE will include companion animal welfare as one of its themes. A joint social function is anticipated as ISAE is concluding and ISAZ begins. Although the dates are not yet set with the campus, an effort will be made to schedule the meetings in July, but not during July 14-18 when two other major meetings will occur.

## Official ISAZ Business

### Guidelines for ISAZ Conference and Symposium Organisers

- 1 Council approval for the topic of the conference should be obtained via the Secretary. Please contact the Secretary prior to organising the conference, outlining the topic, expected costs, registration fees, etc. Council approval (as well as confirmation) is needed for underwriting finances. Council reserves the right to co-opt one of its members on to the conference organising committee.
- 2 Keep full accounts: Expenses/out-goings (inc. hire of hall, publicity abstract book production, etc.). In-comings (sponsorship, registration fees).
- 3 When the conference is over, please send a copy of the accounts, documented by receipts wherever possible, to the ISAZ Treasurer. All profits must go to ISAZ; shortfalls will be underwritten by ISAZ. However, every attempt should be made to at least break even. Final accounts should be received by the Treasurer not later than 2 months after the end of the conference. A list of attendees should be forwarded to the Membership Secretary.
- 4 ISAZ members should be able to attend ISAZ conferences for between one half and two-thirds the registration fee for non-ISAZ members.
- 5 *Conference participants should be invited to complete a conference evaluation form before leaving the conference. A summary of the results of these evaluations should be sent to the Council no later than three months after the end of the conference. Specific comments on individual speakers should be sent only to the speakers themselves.*
- 6 *Outside sponsorship for a conference, or for specific speakers at a conference, should be sought whenever possible. This, however, is the responsibility of the conference organisers, and not the Society's Treasurer. Details of all donations and sponsorship offers should be sent to the Secretary of ISAZ, and reviewed by Council, prior to formal acceptance.*

**NB:** Examples of Conference Evaluation Forms can be obtained from the ISAZ Secretary.

### Special Notice

During the last council meeting, the subject of where the *ISAZ 2002* conference should be held came under discussion. At present, no firm decisions have been made as to exactly where this meeting should take place. However, it was determined that ISAZ 2002 should be held somewhere in Europe.

If any of you ISAZ members out there have any ideas or suggestions with regard to where this meeting could convene (possibly as a satellite symposium of a larger international congress), please contact **James Serpell**. E-mail: [serpell@vet.upenn.edu](mailto:serpell@vet.upenn.edu) (see overleaf for his full postal address).

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(Elected at the ISAZ Annual General Meeting, Philadelphia, 4th June 1999)

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#### COPY DEADLINE

The *ISAZ Newsletter* is published twice a year: May & November. The deadline for the acceptance of material for inclusion in the May 2000 issue will be **15th April 2000**. All material should be sent, preferably in electronic form, to Dr. Jo Swabe. *E-mail*: jo@caliban.org (see above for her full postal address).

*The ISAZ Newsletter is printed on 100% recycled paper*