(Animal) Oppression: Responding to Questions of Efficacy and (Il)Legitimacy in Animal Advocacy with a New Collective Action/Master Frame

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Abstract: Across the animal activist/academic community, there is an ongoing dissatisfaction with the movement's achievements to date, or lack thereof – a sense that it has not achieved as much as expected, hoped for, and needed. While there have undoubtedly been positive changes, overall these efforts constitute a Sisyphean task given that nonhuman animals are entering the Animal-Industrial Complex (A-IC) in increasing numbers and faster than others are saved. Lack of unity, common goals, and related questions of (il)legitimacy are among some of the issues identified with 'the movement'. In response, this paper proposes a new frame for animal advocacy that can offer a legitimising context for critical animal perspectives and bring a sense of unity to the movement's fragmented and often inconsistent goals. First, questions of movement efficacy are examined with reference to a review of the websites of 21 advocacy organisations. Efficacy is then associated with (il)legitimacy, and (il)legitimacy with framing. An exploration of how frames are currently deployed in animal advocacy is then used to support the rationale for the proposed frame of '(animal) oppression'. Finally, this frame's key features are clarified with suggestions for its deployment. Critically, this new frame describes the problem to be addressed, where existing frames focus primarily on solutions and motivations. Approaching animal advocacy through oppression evokes and explains the interwoven mechanisms of the entire injustice complex, of which the A-IC is one part, opening the way to challenge not only speciesism but all institutions of discrimination.

Keywords: Animal advocacy, exclusions, efficacy, legitimacy, framing, collective action frame, oppression

Introduction

Across the animal activist/academic community, there is an ongoing dissatisfaction with the movement's achievements to date, or lack thereof (for example, Donaldson and Kymlicka; Marino and Mountain; Sanbonmatsu, Sorenson, 'Thinking'; Stallwood; Woodhall and da Trindade) – a sense of disappointment mixed with bewilderment that it has not achieved as much over the decades as expected or hoped for:

> the movement has largely failed. […] after 180 years of organized animal advocacy […] we have made no demonstrable progress towards dismantling the system of animal exploitation. (Donaldson and Kymlicka 1-2)

> the animal rights movement […] has failed to reduce the numbers of animals killed and consumed, failed to create meaningful legislation, and failed to change fundamental attitudes towards animals. (Sorenson, 'Thinking' xxx)

Even animal law reforms centred on the recognition of certain animals' sentience, dignity, or intrinsic value perpetuate an ideology of humane use and have done nothing to change the structure and functioning of the animal-industrial complex across Western democracies (Kymlicka).

There are, of course, arguments to be made that the advocacy movement is making progress. Dietary veganism is on the rise, more plant-based businesses are being established, vegan advocates are proliferating, animal sanctuaries are multiplying, welfare legislation has advanced, and there exists a more informed and sustained public discourse about animal suffering compared to previous decades.[i]

This may be true, and the future impact of these trends on the scale and extent of animal's oppression is impossible to determine. Yet, it is also true that none of this 'progress' – dietary, legal, or otherwise – has so far made a dent in the 'catastrophic' decline in populations of free-living animals (WWF) or the annually increasing numbers of animals killed for food (Ritchie and Roser). In fact, pigs and chickens, animals whose physical abuse and mistreatment has featured most prominently in years of advocacy campaigns, are being killed and consumed in ever-greater numbers (Whitton et al.). Industry strategies and government policies to encourage over production and boost consumption must be considered here.

The positive changes 'the movement'[ii] makes in the lives of thousands of animals every day are a constant affirmation of hope, for humanity as much as for animals. However, while these efforts remain a Sisyphean task – in that animals are entering the Animal-Industrial Complex (A-IC) in increasing numbers and faster than others are saved – the movement cannot be said to be progressing in any meaningful way.

It seems fair to conclude, therefore, that most advocacy efforts to date have not been as effective as they could/need to be, have missed their mark, or worse, have had perverse outcomes that actually hindered progress. Arriving at similar conclusions in an assessment of movement progress, World Animal Net (WAN), a global network of over 3000 animal protection societies, lists 15 'barriers to success' including 'lack of common sense of mission and purpose', 'lack of (agreed) focus' and a focus on service delivery as opposed to social change (np). WAN emphasises that the movement needs 'the glue of coherence and unity' (np).

In response, while acknowledging the diversity of the movement, I ask if there is a way to channel advocacy efforts to ensure they are, at minimum, not perpetuating oppressive ideologies and, at best, are explicitly working to dismantle them. I imagine this as a guiding framework capable of administering course corrections so that across the myriad of approaches, strategies, and combinations thereof, and allowing that their individual, collective, and ultimate effects may be unknowable, there are parameters in place, like guard rails, that encourage all efforts to pull in a similar direction,
optimising their value towards the task of ending the cycle of nonhuman
expropriation and eradication.

There are many forms this framework could take, and probably more than one is needed to effect functional coherence and unity. In this paper, I draw on traditional theorisations of social movement framing to propose a new collective action frame for animal advocacy that is productively aligned with an existing, though under-acknowledged, master frame for all institutions of discrimination, human and nonhuman. That master frame is 'oppression', and the collective action frame is 'animal oppression'.

Background and approach

The ideas presented in this paper respond to and extend previous work examining efficacy in on-screen and online animal advocacy and particularly work identifying critical exclusions in associated narratives (Arcari, 'The Covid Pandemic'; Arcari, '(More than) Food'). These exclusions reflect a dominant focus on food, 'farm' animals, farming, and (freedom from) physical suffering, and can be summarised as indicating a lack of critical animal perspectives, and the illegitimacy of these perspectives. Critical animal perspectives are defined as those that question, challenge, disrupt, or reject the human-animal binary, hierarchical orders of animal 'others', the naturalisation and normalisation of associated categories and uses, and the commodification of animals' lives and bodies. They also recognise the interconnectedness of animal uses across the A-IC, and the intersecting oppressions of which the A-IC is part (Arcari, 'The Covid Pandemic').

These analyses prompted a closer investigation of movement framing. Specifically, of whether a new collective action frame might provide a legitimising context for critical animal perspectives, respond to identified exclusions, and bring a sense of coherence and unity to the movement's fragmented and often inconsistent goals, visions, and strategies. Drawing on framing literature, which highlights the importance of identifying the problem or injustice that needs to be addressed, the proposed frame also builds on Nocella et al.'s assertion that Critical Animal Studies (CAS) 'can properly be seen as an anti-oppression movement' (xxvii).

The case for this new frame is developed over four sections. The first examines questions of movement efficacy with reference to a diversity of goals gathered from the websites of 21 advocacy organisations. Efficacy is then linked less to measurable outcomes and rather to perceptions of movement (il)legitimacy, an under-explored aspect of the influence and impact of animal advocacy. The subsequent section explains the relationship between legitimacy and framing, the role of collective action and master frames, and identifies key features of effective frames. An exploration of how frames have been deployed in animal advocacy is then used to further support the rationale for the proposed frame. The final section clarifies the frame's key features and offers suggestions for its deployment. In conclusion, the paper's main points are

rearticulated while emphasising that this new frame largely affirms existing advocacy efforts, but calls for a conceptual reformulation to ensure the movement for all animals proceeds to gain and not lose legitimacy.

An acknowledged limitation of this paper is that it does not consider the less static, more immediate, interactive, and fluid discourses unfolding on social media. The role of social media in the circulation and development of (new) frames would add an important dimension, recognising the interrelated framing processes occurring in these spaces.

Questions of efficacy

Measuring efficacy matters in animal advocacy not only in relation to quantifiable metrics, indicating whether and to what extent a given strategy 'works', but also for broader evaluations of where the movement is (or wants to be) heading and whether progress is being made. It is, however, equally important for identifying gaps or exclusions – elements of strategy that are foreclosed or diminished as others are prioritised. Not only can exclusions help explain shortfalls between reality and expectations, centralising and politicising them is 'vital in carving out space for intervention' (Giraud 3).

Animal advocacy organisations are constantly changing other animals' lives for the better, achieving countless 'victories' as a result of direct rescues, protests, disruption of businesses, investigations, documentaries, policy and legal campaigns, outreach, and many more activities. Impacts are measured in terms of lives saved/helped, successful prosecutions, legislative change, viewer/readership, public support, and participation. Numbers of new 'reducers' or vegans, and/or the number of animals not eaten are also used to gauge the success of dietary campaigns.

Which of these outcomes are (most) effective is a question Sebo and Singer say has vexed activists and academics for decades and with little progress. However, the question is largely moot as the answer depends on the aim or goal. Yet, as Woodhall and da Trindade highlight, echoing WAN, 'there is not one single goal aimed at for those who struggle for nonhuman animals. Rather there are many aims, some of which conflict' (23).

A review of the websites of 17 prominent advocacy organisations and four smaller, single-issue campaigns confirms these observations with goals ranging from 'to stop animal suffering', and 'a vegan world', to 'freedom for all animals', and 'the end of animal use' (Table 1). Some goals are explicit. Others are harder to discern, being part of broader mission or 'about us' statements, or buried within annual reports. In many cases, goals are related to a specific use of animals, primarily farming for food. Some larger organisations cover multiple uses.

Table 1. Goals, worldviews, and/or visions of a selection of animal advocacy organisations

Organisation	Scope (uses)	Stated goals, worldview, or vision
PETA	Multi-issue: wildlife, research, food, clothing.	• To stop animal suffering • To make the public aware of the issues
Humane Society International (HSI)	Multi-issue: research, food, clothing, entertainment.	• A humane and sustainable world for all animals • Ending animal suffering • A humane society
Vegan Society	Multi-issue	• A vegan world • Ending animal exploitation
VIVA!	Farmed animals (food and clothing)	• Creating a kinder, more sustainable world for humans and animals alike • End the shame of animal suffering • Protect the planet • Stop the killing
Freedom for Animals	Entertainment	• Freedom from exploitation, harm, and captivity • Freedom for all animals • End the use of animals in entertainment
Animals Australia	Multi-issue: food, entertainment, clothing, hunting, wildlife	• A world where animals are free from cruelty • Alleviate suffering on the widest possible scale. • Heal the human-animal relationship by addressing the causes of animal suffering
Faunalytics	Multi-issue: food, research, science, 'pets'	• Inspiring change for animals • To help as many animals as we can
Animal Aid	Multi-issue: food, research, racing, wildlife, hunting	• Ending animal cruelty • A world that is free from abuse and exploitation
The Humane League	Food	Ending abuse of animals used for food
Anonymous for the Voiceless	Food, clothing	• Liberation, truth, justice, edification • Supporting animal rights • Against all nonhuman animal oppression
Animal Save Movement	Food, farming	• Bear witness • End animal agriculture • Reforest the Earth • An equitable, eco-friendly vegan world
Animal Justice Project	Food, research	• Vegan world • End spcecieism • End use and exploitation of animals on farms and in laboratories
Animal Rebellion	Food, farming	• Truth, justice, and equality for all humans and non-human animals • Transition to a just and sustainable plant-based food system • Halt mass extinction • Ensure justice for animals
Compassion in World Farming (CIWF)	Food, farming	• To end factory farming • To improve welfare standards
Surge	Food, farming	• A world in which all animals are free from human-inflicted oppression and violence • A vegan world • The end of animal use
DXE	Food, research, clothing	• Animal liberation • To end oppressive institutions and ideologies that harm all animals
Voiceless	Food, farming	A world in which animals are treated with respect and compassion.
Single-issue campaigns **1. CAGED NW (greyhound racing)** **2. Grey2K (Greyhound racing)** **3. Coalition for the Protection of Racehorses** **4. Animal Equality (farmed animals)**	1. Racing 2. Racing 3. Racing 4. Farmed animals	1. Against greyhound exploitation and death 2. End dog racing cruelty. Prohibition of dog racing 3. To advocate for racehorses. Addressing serious animal welfare concerns. 4. Ending cruelty to farmed animals. A world in which all animals are respected and protected.

While representing a small sample of advocacy organisations, this table demonstrates the lack of common mission and purpose noted by WAN and others, and the primacy of 'food' animals, farming, and suffering/cruelty in the scope of identified issues.

Within animal rights and CAS literature, the movement's perceived goals are equally diverse, less concise, and even unstated, the assumptions being that 1. readers know what they are, and 2. are in agreement about them (Table 2).

Table 2. Examples of animal advocacy movement goals extracted from academic (mostly CAS) literature.

Academic literature	Stated goals, worldview, and/or visions
Alexis (2015) 'Beyond Suffering: Resisting Patriarchy and Reproductive Control.' *Anarchism and Animal Liberation: Essays on Complementary Elements of Total Liberation*, edited by Anthony J. Nocella II, Richard J. White, and Erika Cudworth, McFarland & Company, pp. 108-125	'If liberation is our principle concern, then it is essential to make room for issues beyond suffering' (116).
Calvert (2012) 'Academics and activists: responses and reflections.' *Proceedings of the Critical Perspectives on Animals in Society*, University of Exeter, 10 March, pp. 73-82	'...shared goal [between activism and academia] of liberating animals from injurious human-instituted systems' (77).
Cherry (2010) 'Shifting Symbolic Boundaries: Cultural Strategies of the Animal Rights Movement.' *Sociological Forum*, vol. 25, no. 3, pp. 450-475.	'I contend that a central goal of animal activists is to dismantle the human-animal boundary' (458).
Donaldson and Kymlicka (2013) *Zoopolis*. Oxford University Press.	'...Even amongst animal advocates who share the goal of eventual abolition of all animal exploitation...' (2).
Drew and Socha (2015) 'Anarchy for Educational Praxis in the Animal Liberation Movement in an Era of Capitalist Triumphalism.' *Anarchism and Animal Liberation: Essays on Complementary Elements of Total Liberation*, edited by Anthony J. Nocella II, Richard J. White, and Erika Cudworth, McFarland & Company, pp. 163-178.	'...veganism is a necessary step within the goal of animal liberation; however, on its own, it is hardly sufficient' (166). 'There is a presumption that merely buying products marked as 'vegan' is the end game of the AAM, as opposed to challenging the political and institutional structures that promote capitalism and other forms of oppression' (166-167). 'The goal of overcoming domination and hierarchy must remain in our sights at all times' (176).
Dunayer (2004) *Speciesism*. Ryce Publishing.	'The goal is an end to nonhumans' 'domestication' and other forced 'participation' in human society' (117).
Einwohner (2002) 'Motivational Framing and Efficacy Maintenance: Animal Rights Activists' Use of Four Fortifying Strategies.' *The Sociological Quarterly*, vol. 43, no. 4, pp. 509-526	'In some ways, the movement's goals have been accepted by the public' (509), relating to animal testing, animal cruelty, vegetarianism, animal experimentation, fur farming.
Payne (2001) 'Animal Welfare, Animal Rights, and the Path to Social Reform: One Movement's Struggle for Coherency in the Quest for Change.' *Vancouver Journal of Social Policy and Law*, vol. 9, no. 3, pp. 587-633.	'This [animal rights] movement...seeks to alter human conceptions of animals altogether' (597).
Regan (1983) *The Case for Animal Rights*. University of California Press.	'...the ultimate objective of the rights view is the total dissolution of the animal industry as we know it' (348).
Socha (2012) *Women, destruction, and the avant-garde: A paradigm for animal liberation*. Rodopi	'The radical ALM goal must be to end human use of animals, with all agreeing that nonhumans exist for their own purposes' (12).
Sorenson (2014) 'Thinking the Unthinkable.' *Critical Animal Studies: Thinking the Unthinkable*, edited by John Sorenson, Canadian Scholar's Press, pp. xi-xxxiv.	'The goal should be to work towards trans-species social justice' (xiv).
Stallwood (nd) 'What is the Mission of the Animal Rights Movement?' *Kim Stallwood*. Online. https://kimstallwood.com/animal-rights-challenge/1-what-is-the-mission-of-the-animal-rights-movement/	'What is the mission of the animal rights movement? Is it to intervene in abusive situations to save animals from suffering? Is it to bring public attention to the most egregious examples of animal cruelty? Is it to act provocatively to attract the media's attention? Is it to create a more humane world? Is it to challenge the institutional exploitation of animals? Is it to convince consumers to boycott animal-based products and adopt a cruelty-free vegetarian or vegan lifestyle? The movement's activities – past and present – demonstrate that all of the above – and more – are among its objectives' (np).

This diversity and lack of clear consensus is not necessarily a problem. However, it shows why comparing the effectiveness of different activities holds little value except for discrete, short-term goals, such as: Save X number of lives; Reduce the suffering of X number of animals; Attain X number of viewers/readers/participants/supporters.

Moreover, the impact of any single activity is impossible to determine, its emergence and enactment being a function of historically, geographically, and culturally contingent social practices. Effects will be co-dependent, co-constitutive, cumulative, and emerge in unexpected ways over different timescales and places. Assessments of efficacy are therefore valid only in a localised or speculative sense and unlikely to be generalisable. Hence, each section of the Sentience Institute's summary of effective animal advocacy presents arguments for and against each strategy and concludes with a number of 'unclear directions'.

What can be stated with certainty is that the gap between the numbers of animals entering the A-IC and the numbers saved continues to widen. Across several industries, available data indicates the numbers of animals being bred, caught, used, abandoned and killed each year is either increasing or remains fairly constant (Table 3).

Table 3. Estimated changes over time in the numbers of animals being used in selected parts of the A-IC.

Animals/use	Available figures	Sources
Annual numbers of terrestrial 'food' animals (Global)	From 7.5 billion in 1961 to 69 billion in 2016 (820% increase)	Faunalytics: https://faunalytics.org/global-chicken-slaughter-statistics-and-charts/ Statista: www.statista.com/chart/16888/number-of-animals-slaughtered-for-meat-each-year/
Annual per capita consumption of fish and other sea life (Global)	From 13.5kg in 1990 to 20.5kg in 2018 (estimated at 2 trillion fish) (52% increase)	Our World in Data: https://ourworldindata.org/seafood-production FAO: www.fao.org/state-of-fisheries-aquaculture Ecohustler: https://ecohustler.com/nature/the-number-of-fish-killed-in-2018-will-shock-you
Horses in racing (UK)	From 18,000 in 2008 to 13,350 in 2015 and 14,468 in 2018	Racing Post: www.racingpost.com/bloodstock/final-figures-show-fifth-year-of-growth-in-foal-numbers-in-britain-and-ireland/316691 www.racingpost.com/bloodstock/final-figures-show-fifth-year-of-growth-in-foal-numbers-in-britain-and-ireland/316691 Thoroughbred Daily News: www.thoroughbreddailynews.com/slight-dip-in-british-and-irish-foal-crop/
Racing greyhounds (UK)	From 8,552 registered greyhounds in 2010 to 7,691 in 2015, 8,094 in 2017 and 7,392 in 2018.	Greyhound Star http://greyhoundstar.co.uk/registrations-and-litters-both-down/
Research (Global)	From 115.3 million in 2005 to 192.1 million in 2015 (66% increase)	Speaking of Research: https://speakingofresearch.com/facts/statistics/ Lush Prize: https://lushprize.org/many-animals-used-experiments-around-world/ Cruelty Free International: www.crueltyfreeinternational.org/why-we-do-it/facts-and-figures-animal-testing
Wildlife trade (Global)	500% increase in value since 2005 and 2000% since the 1980s	IPBES: https://ipbes.net/sites/default/files/2020-12/IPBES%20Workshop%20on%20Biodiversity%20and%20Pandemics%20Report_0.pdf
Pet dogs (US & UK))	From 68 million to 90 million in the US between 2000 and 2019 (32% increase) From 7.6 million to 9 million in the UK between 2010/11 and 2019/20 (18% increase) (12.5 million for 2020/21 – 39% increase in 1 year)	Petpedia: https://petpedia.co/pet-ownership-statistics/ Statista: www.statista.com/statistics/515379/dogs-population-in-the-united-kingdom-uk/
Animals in shelters (US dogs & cats)	From 7.2 million in 2011 to 6.5 million in 2018	ASPCA: www.aspca.org/animal-homelessness/shelter-intake-and-surrender/pet-statistics
Exotic pet ownership (US & UK)	From 2.4 million to 5.6 million in the US between 1994 and 2012 (130% increase) From 2500 to 4000 in the UK between 2000 and 2020 (60% increase)	Pawsome Advice: https://pawsomeadvice.com/pets/exotic-pet-statistics/ Born Free Foundation: www.bornfree.org.uk/news/reform-exotic-pet-keeping

Again, it is true that vegan or plant-based diets are becoming more popular and, notwithstanding questions of self-reported vs observed changes, dietary definitions, and/or duration of change, their followers are ostensibly increasing. However, they still comprise a tiny proportion of the wider population – around 2% of US adults, 1.2% of Britons, 1% of Australians, 2.7% of Japan's population, and less than 1% globally (Meyer). While recent growth is reportedly significant, Meyer highlights that to 'take over the world' that growth 'will have to continue for at least three decades' (np). That is a long time in which to maintain faith in a predominantly individualistic, lifestyle-oriented, and corporatized construct of vegan eating that Jallinoja et al.

describe as 'fad-like' and likely to fade (174). Moreover, as White, Stallwood, and Wrenn ('Trump Veganism') (among others) emphasise, this depoliticised focus on dietary veganism does little, if anything, to advance the cause of animal justice or draw attention to the scope and nature of humankind's oppression of animals.

These observations raise a question regarding how the animal advocacy (as distinct from 'vegan') movement is perceived, assuming it is perceived at all, not just by those aligned with or sympathetic to (some of) its calls, but by the broader public – omnivores, plant-based, and vegans alike. This could provide insight into how legitimate the movement for animals is understood to be, whether some of its claims/appeals are accorded greater legitimacy than others, and how this (il)legitimacy might be shaping/limiting the nature and extent of its victories for animals.

Questions of (il)legitimacy

Many scholars have commented on the longstanding struggle for legitimacy in the animal movement (Cazaux; Woodhall and da Trindade; Wrenn, 'Applying Social Movement Theory'). Problems stem from internal tensions, as a result of factionalism, shifting emphases, and differences in goals and strategies, and external forces, whereby concern for animals is conflated with violence, and terrorism. These processes of (de)legitimisation are discussed in a separate paper (Arcari, 'The Covid Pandemic'). Here, I am concerned with public perceptions of movement legitimacy.

To date, there have been no investigations of how animal advocacy is perceived in the UK and few elsewhere. Yet, there are indications that negative perceptions of the movement, and/or of certain organisations, campaigns, actions, or events, can delegitimise advocacy efforts, limiting their reach and potential impact (Badano, et al.; Ellefsen; Mika; Rodrigues). For one, Sorenson comments that concern for animals has become associated with a propensity for criminal activity ('Constructing Terrorists').

In their exploration of effective messages for vegan transition, Claire Parkinson and Richard Twine found that advocacy messages were regarded as the least credible and lacking in evidence or scientific proof (62). Participants were familiar with the connection between health

and veganism but showed little awareness of organisations that might endorse this message (65). Dietary exclusions were associated with historically high-profile campaigns – against veal crates (1980s-1990s) and more recently live export and battery cages – that advocate welfare reforms. Depending on the goal, these could be interpreted as a victory or problem for animal advocacy. An analysis of Australian meat consumers' reactions to online farm animal welfare activism similarly found that participants did not engage with or dismissed information from PETA and Animals Australia 'because they did not view animal welfare organisations as credible sources of information' (Buddle et al. 251).

Taking a broader perspective, in 2005, the Humane Research Council (HRC) (now Faunalytics) examined 'US Public Opinion About the Animal Protection Movement' (n=3000). Findings include:

1. The public overall is not very aware or does not have well-formed beliefs about the animal protection (AP) movement.
2. Half the adult population thinks the AP movement is 'extreme.'
3. Half of surveyed adults are 'not at all knowledgeable' or not sure about the efforts of AP groups.
4. A quarter of adults could not name any AP organisation. Of the 50% that could, most named PETA.
5. One in 4-5 people could not provide any terms to describe the AP movement.
6. Respect for AP organisations and activists is somewhat lacking.
7. AP's 'brand' or overall identity is weak.

Critically, while participants were asked whether they agreed or disagreed with the goals of the AP movement, these goals were not stated (by HRC) and neither were participants asked what they understood those goals to be. Hence, the report states that a third of respondents neither agreed nor disagreed with AP goals, 'suggesting that they do not understand APs goals or else are truly ambivalent regarding support' (23). More recently, an analysis of 300 US residents' perceptions of seven prominent animal welfare organisations, including PETA, found that for each group, between 61% and 85% of respondents either had not heard of them or had heard of them but did not support them (Widmar et al.).

While this evidence is not substantial (further UK research is forthcoming), it suggests that however carefully conceived and well-crafted outreach advocacy efforts might be, there is a more fundamental issue of legitimacy. However, this also means there is room to improve the reach and tractability of these efforts without necessarily changing the content or variety of approaches used, but by increasing the legitimacy of the movement and its claims. Being attentive to how movement (il)legitimacy might be affecting the achievement of more meaningful changes for animals brings a different perspective to assessments of effectiveness. To that end, the next section examines the link between legitimacy and framing.

Framing for legitimacy

Based on the above evidence, it is not a stretch to suggest that only a minority of people in the US, UK, Australia and probably elsewhere regard the animal advocacy movement in principle as entirely legitimate. Significant numbers might periodically support the legitimacy of campaigns or actions (for example, veal crates) but accord less legitimacy to others. However, according to Suchman:

> Legitimacy is generalized in that it represents an umbrella evaluation that, to some extent, transcends specific adverse acts or occurrences; thus, legitimacy is resilient to particular events, yet it is dependent on a history of events. (574)

It is precisely this 'transcendent' legitimacy, resilient to passing trends and episodic events, that the animal advocacy movement currently lacks, but it also lacks the subject of the umbrella evaluation that might lend it this more stable brand of legitimacy. In other words, on what basis should the movement be evaluated if not specific campaigns and actions? The validity of animal rights[iii] or animal liberation[iv] as goals? Are these equally mobilised and/or well understood? The ethical (and potentially welfarist) basis of reducing suffering? The benefits of dietary veganism (ethically, environmentally and/or in relation to health)? Have these frames increased the salience of animal issues in public discourse?

The literature on organisational legitimacy identifies frames among the strategies for legitimation (in addition to forms of action and claims-making) (Haunss; Vira). In relation to social movements, Pellow and Brehm argue that collective action frames 'provide an intellectual

grounding and moral compass for movement communities, guide their actions, and offer a way of constructing ideas, values, and social significance for activists' (186). Looking beyond movement communities, framing (whether intentional or not) also establishes connections between the movement and the broader public, guiding thoughts and practices in certain directions. As Caraway notes, collective action frames comprise 'sets of beliefs and meanings that motivate people to act while [ideally] giving legitimacy to social movement activities' (12).

Snow and Benford ('Ideology') identify three key elements of collective action framing; ones that Hunt, Snow and Benford later argue movements 'must accomplish in order to affect consensus and action mobilization' (191, emphasis added). These are diagnostic framing (identification of the problem, i.e., who/what is to blame), prognostic framing (outline of solutions), and motivational framing (reasons for acting). Diagnostic and prognostic framing are particularly directed at mobilising consensus (Snow and Benford, 'Ideology' 199).

Animal rights, animal liberation, reducing animal suffering, and veganism can be considered prognostic or solution frames. Solution and motivational framing (for example, appeals to concerns regarding health, the environment, or animal cruelty) are both prominent in animal advocacy. However, beyond problems associated with specific industries or practices (such as factory farming), diagnostic or problem framing is employed less, and less visibly. Highlighting the central role of problem-framing in relation to solution and motivational framing, Jasper explains that 'political programs and demands for change must ultimately be formulated in cognitive claims about how the world works, not just how it should work or how we feel about its workings' (154).

Furthermore, while it is important for their interpretation (and thus legitimacy) that frames align with the interests, values and beliefs of their target audience (Hunt et al.), internal alignment between the three framing processes is equally important. A coherent and consistent problem frame can provide the 'interpretative schemata' (Snow and Benford, 'Master Frames' 137) on which to build this internal alignment and thereby help contextualise, and make sense of, a range of solution framings and motivational appeals. Snow and Benford refer to this internal alignment as follows:

> collective action frames enable activists to articulate and align a vast array of events and experiences so that they hang together in a relatively unified and meaningful fashion. […] The punctuated and encoded threads of information may be diverse and even incongruous, but they are woven together in such a way that what was previously inconceivable, or at least not clearly articulated, is now meaningfully interconnected. Thus, what gives a collective action frame its novelty is not so much its innovative ideational elements as the manner in which activists articulate or tie them together. ('Master Frames' 137-138)

I suggest that animal oppression, the new diagnostic/problem frame proposed here, offers this potential. It derives directly from a larger conception of 'the problem' – that of oppression – which can be understood as a master frame.[v] For Haunss, master frames are especially important to social movement success. They constitute 'the overarching frames of reference that are shared by multiple SMOs [social movement organisations] … and, in the best cases, large proportions of the population outside the movement' (11-12, emphasis added). In this regard, an effective master frame resonates at a deeper and broader level, beyond the remit of any associated movement or campaign, being 'sufficiently elastic, flexible, and inclusive enough so that any number of other social movements can successfully adopt and deploy it in their campaigns' (Benford 1). Like collective action frames, master frames should diagnose the problem, attribute blame, and offer a solution (Haunss; Jasper).

The following examination of existing frames in animal advocacy interweaves the value of 'oppression' as both a master and collective action (problem) frame for the movement, underscoring the utility and importance of diagnostic framing in addition to, and as foundational to, prognostic and motivational framing.

Problem framing in animal advocacy: Activism and scholarship

In addition to goals (Table 1), the websites of the same advocacy organisations were examined for representations of the 'problematic situation or issue they define as in need of change' (Benford and Snow, 'Framing Processes' 615). Often even less explicitly foregrounded, these

'problems' must be discerned from broader passages of text in subpages or reports. While still diverse, there is more coherence across the organisations with confluence around the problems of animal suffering and cruelty, and animal agriculture (Table 4).

Table 4. Diagnostic representations of 'the problem' by selected animal advocacy organisations.

Organisation	Founded	Problem
PETA	1980	Speciesism
Humane Society International (HSI)	1991	Cruelty to animals
Vegan Society	1944	Exploitation of, and cruelty to, animals
VIVA!	1994	• Factory farming • Farming animals • Animal exploitation
Freedom for Animals	1957	Animal exploitation and suffering
Animals Australia	1980	Animal suffering
Faunalytics	2000	Animal suffering
Animal Aid	1977	• Animal abuse and exploitation • Perception of animals as objects
The Humane League	2005	Abuse of animals raised for food
Anonymous for the Voiceless	2016	• Animal exploitation • Animal oppression
Animal Save Movement	2010	• Oppressive animal agriculture industry • Speciesism
Animal Justice Project	2014	• Speciesism • Animal exploitation
Animal Rebellion	2019	• Speciesism • Toxic system • Animal agriculture
Compassion in World Farming (CIWF)	1967	Factory farming
Surge	2016	Human inflicted oppression and violence
DXE	2013	• Speciesism • Systems of oppression • Ideologies that harm animals
Voiceless	2004	• Animal suffering • Cruel industries • Lack of legal protection
Single-issue campaigns		
1. CAGED NW (greyhound racing)	1. 2012	1. Greyhound racing
2. Grey2K (Greyhound racing)	2. 2001	2. Greyhound racing
3. Coalition for the Protection of Racehorses	3. 2008	3. Racing industry
4. Animal Equality (farmed animals)	4. 2006	4. Cruelty to farmed animals

Speciesism, as a more overarching problem frame, is cited by five organisations. Four of these are also the youngest, founded since 2010. PETA is the only long-standing organisation to deploy such a clear problem frame, and the only one of the five to make it the centre of a coordinated campaign. Their current website features a prominent banner with the headline

'End Speciesism' and the tag, 'Bigotry begins when categories such as race, age, gender, disability, sexual orientation, or species are used to justify discrimination'. A 'Join the Movement' link leads to a dedicated page with a more detailed account of speciesism including two short videos. The first, titled 'We're Not That Different in Any Important Way' is narrated by Wu-Tang Clan's RZA, and the second, titled 'How Bigotry Begins' by PETA 'torchbearer' Hanh Nguyen. Speciesism is further explained on the site's FAQ page. The entire campaign includes a student campaign, hashtags, billboards (featuring Joaquin Phoenix), and adverts, many of which have attracted criticism (for racism and other issues).

Animal Rebellion, Animal Save Movement, DXE, and Animal Justice Project describe themselves as anti-speciesist or declare rejecting/ending speciesism as their aim/mission on their 'Our principles and values' or 'About Us' pages. However, speciesism is not explained, and these are the only places the term appears. There are online resources that site visitors could explore themselves to gain clarity on this and other terms. However, given the risk of disengagement, and the opportunity for consolidation, organisations could provide succinct explanations and links within their own websites.

In this regard, notwithstanding rigorous critiques levelled at PETA for reinforcing racist and sexist tropes (Pendergast, 'PETA'; Rodrigues), this campaign, on face value, can be considered a promising development, especially given it also addresses intersectionality. The negative attention it generated highlights the importance of articulating potentially controversial frames carefully and with sensitivity while still being productively disruptive. Resistance is to be expected when seeking to challenge and reshape dominant power structures. However, it is perhaps heightened by the apparent reluctance of more (especially older) organisations to make speciesism part of their diagnostic narrative (though Calarco argues that anthropocentrism is preferable). In an analysis of opinion pieces by US advocacy organisations, Dunayer found that none mentioned the term speciesism and most reinforced speciesist discourse. 'Imagine', she remarks, 'if feminists never used the word sexism or civil-rights activists never mentioned "racism"' (102).

Animal Rebellion, DXE, Surge, and Animal Aid also allude to more systemic problems relating to oppression, violence, and how animals are perceived. However, again these are not identified explicitly as problems, being rather buried in broader statements relating to their aims

(Animal Aid), mission (DXE and Surge), and principles and/or values (DXE and Animal Rebellion). Animal Save Movement provides a more extensive account of their anti-oppression stance, located at the bottom of a 'Diversity and Inclusion' subpage of their 'About Us' tab. Anonymous for the Voiceless stands apart as the only organisation to clearly identify the problem as 'all non-human animal oppression' and declare itself 'an anti-oppression organisation'. Again, this appears on their 'About Us' page, although their landing page boldly features a call to 'End Human Supremacy'.

For the remaining ten organisations and four single-issue campaigns, the scope of the problem is largely limited to animal suffering and cruelty, and to specific industries, particularly farming. When a wider frame is employed, it is typically a solution frame such as animal justice, freedom or liberation (from suffering) (Table 1).

This is not a critique of these organisations, the work they do, or their achievements. It is an observation on how they formally frame their work from the perspective of what the literature identifies as key components of effective collective action framing, especially for achieving consensus. These are: 1. Constitutes a worldview, 2. Diagnoses the problem, 3. Attributes blame, 4. Identifies a solution, 5. Resonates beyond the movement, and 6. Is elastic, flexible and inclusive.

Increasing mobilisation of the 'speciesism' frame (see also Collectively Free, founded in 2014, and Animal Think Tank, founded in 2018), and to a lesser extent oppression, suggests a shift is underway from the traditional focus on solution frames, or at least growing recognition that 'the problem' has so far not been adequately explained. Speciesism certainly provides a clear diagnosis of the problem – the social condition that is 'unjust, intolerable, and deserving of corrective action' (Snow and Benford, 'Master Frames' 137).

Indeed, according to Cazaux, speciesism 'aptly captures the content and purpose of animal defense ideology' (370). While not utilising 'framing' language, Cazaux describes how speciesism identifies both the victims and the threat, or object of blame. She also highlights how speciesism operates similarly to sexism and racism, and how it permits a 'liaison' between these movements in terms of their 'intersecting lines of oppression and domination' (371).

In fact, some argue that speciesism is central to all other oppressions, constituting 'the basic form of oppression that provides a structure for the oppression of other humans' (Sorenson, 'Thinking' xv). However, Ko argues that opposing speciesism is inadequate for achieving broader movement mobilisation, implying that the concept is neither flexible nor inclusive and fails to resonate beyond the animal movement. Ko's analysis instead centres oppression as a multi-dimensional system comprising intersecting and compounding assignments of 'subhuman' of which speciesism constitutes just one.

Oppression functions as a more explicit frame in the work of other vegan scholars of colour, including Breeze Harper and Christopher Sebastian, and of intersectional advocacy groups, including the Food Empowerment Project, Black Vegans Rock, Vegan Feminist Network, Vegan Voices of Colour, Vine Sanctuary, Project Intersect, and no doubt others. Author and activist Julia Feliz Brueck's account of 'consistent anti-oppression' is particularly noteworthy ('Veganism in an Oppressive World'; 'Veganism of Color'). In 2018, together with Carol J. Adams, Meneka Repka, and Carolyn Bailey, Brueck extended this to a 'Vegan Bill of Consistent Anti-Oppression' directed at the animal liberation movement.[vi] The bill stresses that to be effective and successful, the movement needs to 'get on the same page' (np), recognising that the fight for animal liberation is also a 'fight against human oppression' ('Veganism in an Oppressive World' 7).

Oppression is emerging as an explicit problem frame in animal advocacy – as per Anonymous for the Voiceless – as opposed to more implicitly informing behind-the-scenes strategy. Another noteworthy organisation in this respect is the US-based Vegan Justice League (VJL), founded in 2018. Their landing page prominently states their 'anti-oppression stance' and links to a set of 'VJL Anti-Oppression Principles', complete with logo (Figure 1):

Figure 1. Vegan Justice League's Anti-oppression logo.

Reflecting Brueck's terminology, these principles are 'offered to organizations and individuals to adopt and thereby proclaim a consistent anti-oppression stance'. VJL lists 12 vegan and ethical organisations in their alliance, including Animal Save Movement. However, none of these organisations acknowledge this on their own websites, use the logo, or link to the principles.

Oppression is therefore not (yet) prominent as an explicit problem-frame in animal advocacy. However, related blogs/articles reflect a discursive shift, for example Mercy for Animals' June 2020 commitment to anti-racism,[vii] and several resources from Faunalytics post-2008.

In broader academic literature on animal advocacy framing, little attention has been given to the question of collective action or master framing, and even less to problem-framing. When frames are discussed, they tend to be solution frames.

Wrenn ('Resonance') contends that 'animal rights' constitutes the master frame under which both welfarists and abolitionists operate, although it is not clear on what this assumption is based. Animal rights is used explicitly by just six of the reviewed organisations (PETA, Surge, Animal Aid, Animal Rebellion, DXE, and Anonymous for the Voiceless). Many organisations prefer the depoliticised 'animal protection' (Animals Australia, Humane Society International, Voiceless, Grey 2K, Animal Equality, CPR, and Voiceless) while CAGED NW explicitly distances itself from animal rights. This may reflect the increasing debate surrounding the value of a rights approach.

While logically founded on promoting the inherent, rather than use, value of animals, animal rights is inextricably tied to conceptions of, and struggles for, legal rights. Scholars seeking to move beyond anthropocentric conceptions of animals thus view animal rights as conforming to anthropocentric understandings of equality and identity, whereby it is membership in, and acceptance by, the dominant group that is the goal and measure of success. Accordingly, Cazaux notes the term animal rights 'masks the divergent tendencies lurking behind it' (369), while for Donaldson and Kymlicka, it is 'a political non-starter' (5). Other transformational concepts, besides oppression, are emerging to supplant notions of rights and liberation.

Drawing on his research into radical environmental and animal rights movements in the US, Pellow identifies the emergence of the 'total liberation' discourse (see Best et al.) as a common framing of socioecological inequalities around which these groups converge. Building on this, Pellow and Brehm conceive 'total liberation' as a new master frame (or 'paradigm') that responds to perceived failings in existing movement approaches. Acknowledging that 'total liberation' may not be the only frame being mobilised, Pellow and Brehm contend that it is notable for its vision for radical social change, and potential to challenge and transform existing frames. None of the reviewed organisations refer to total liberation, although it features more prominently on social media. Only DXE promotes animal liberation.

Taking a similarly multi-movement approach in a web discourse analysis of 16 social movements (including five animal protection organisations), Freeman identifies four universal values aimed at fostering an inclusive 'human animal earthling' identity ('The Human'). These are: supporting life, fairness, social and ecological responsibility, and unification. These values, Freeman argues, should be used to frame the campaigns of human rights, animal protection, and environmental organisations to build a sense of solidarity around shared goals.

While certainly transformational, Pellow's total liberation and Freeman's universal values simultaneously represent solutions, demands, and visions of a future ideal world. Like animal rights, animal liberation, and animal justice, they constitute prognostic frames that offer solutions to a problem that remains less clearly articulated. This is not to say such frames are not

an indispensable component of advocacy. Rather, as Jasper argues, these appeals for how the world should be must be contextualised with reference to credible accounts of how the world currently works – the fundamental problem that defines, justifies, and necessitates these solutions.

In that regard, the first pillar of Pellow's total liberation frame is an ethic of anti-oppression and justice for ecosystems, people, and nonhuman animals (5). The remaining three pillars – anarchism, anticapitalism, and an embrace of direct action – could be reformulated as strategies in the service of this guiding ethic, especially given that Pellow later argues it is this ethic (of anti-oppression) that holds the key to unlocking the potential for radical change. 'When all oppression is linked', he says, 'total liberation becomes thinkable' (60). Similarly, Freeman draws on eco-feminist and other scholars to emphasise the foundational importance of oppression as the 'matrix of domination' that connects all types of exploitation, and the need to 'knock out' its foundations ('The Human' 19-30).

Oppression, therefore, is central to both Pellow's and Freemans' accounts, and its value as a diagnostic frame could perhaps be leveraged more explicitly to provide a stronger way of framing, and setting critical parameters around, their respective vision/values. Indeed, Freeman acknowledges the need for 'a more collective, integrated communication effort across all social movements', while Pellow emphasises the importance of addressing the constructs that support inequality:

I find that the ideas that legitimate and support inequality are just as consequential, if not more so, as material inequality itself. Those ideas are ultimately what these social movements are combating. (10)

Both authors, then, recognise that oppression, as a matrix of ideas and practices on which all inequalities are founded, constitutes the central problem for a diverse range of social movements.

Besides these more overarching conceptions, scholars have explored animal organisations' framings of specific campaigns and messages. Identified frames (both problem and solution) include 'environmental', 'cruelty and suffering', 'the commodification of animals', 'harmfulness of animal products', 'veganism', and 'rights' vs 'welfare' (Almiron; Freeman

'Framing Animal Rights'; Pendergast 'Live Animal Export'). Another line of enquiry is activists' framing of their own involvement in animal advocacy (Einwohner). Despite the breadth of this work, little has been said about the possibility of a consistent and recognisable collective action or master frame capable of lending the movement a sense of unity.

Regarding the key features of effective framing, none of the supposed master frames or paradigms described so far meets these criteria. 'Speciesism', the only diagnostic frame, comes close. However, most accounts of speciesism tend to conceive it as an individual prejudice, neglecting its structural dimensions (Wyckoff). Relatedly, what speciesism particularly lacks is the ability to clearly resonate with other movements. As Wyckoff contends, 'we need an account of speciesism that is part of a more general theory of oppression' (530). Taking a step back, therefore, and leveraging the language frequently used to explain speciesism and other frames, oppression arguably provides a more tractable way of contextualising 'the problem' in animal advocacy.

Although some organisations do centre oppression in their communications, the point – made by WAN, Brueck, and others – is that there is yet no movement unity. Goals and visions may necessarily remain diverse, but given the importance of diagnostic framing, especially for building consensus, it is primarily 'the problem' around which the movement needs to build this unity. Extending this, a clear explanation of the nature of the problem is also warranted, i.e. how it manifests, including the techniques by which it is mobilised, and the scope of practices involving animals these techniques encompass and connect through the A-IC (Table 5) (Arcari, '(More than) Food').

Table 5. A non-exhaustive list of practices involving typically three or more techniques of oppression

Practice	Techniques of oppression
Farming (animal protein)	Capture Containment Training Control & Coercion Separation & isolation Trafficking & trading Breeding Physical harm Killing
Farming (leather, fur, wool, silk, down)	
Hunting, poaching, culling and/or 'pest' control	
Fishing (commercial, sport & leisure)	
Horse riding, horse racing, harness racing, dressage, show jumping, carriage rides	
Greyhound racing, hare coursing	
Rodeos	
Bullfighting	
Falconry	
Fighting, baiting	
Zoos & aquaria, mobile animal exhibits, animal rides, swims, other 'encounters'	
Circuses	
Street events (eg. Pamplona, Siena)	
Cultural & religious festivals, e.g. Christmas	
Endurance races (eg. Iditarod, Mongol Derby)	
Animal testing	
Pharmaceuticals & medicines	
Pet ownership	

To comprehensively disrupt oppressive ideologies, their every permutation needs to be acknowledged, even while accepting that thinking through their just resolution in non-anthropocentric ways – precluding our assumed entitlement to include and to exclude – may challenge notions of total liberation and animal agency.[viii] Making repeated and consistent reference to what constitutes oppression is therefore vital for extending the discourse beyond 'food' animals and farming, laying the groundwork for a transformational change in thinking about all animals, and remaining vigilant in the development of alternate models of human-animal relations such as interspecies justice or solidarity.

The (Animal) Oppression frame

Unlike existing problem frames (Table 4), oppression provides a dynamic and comprehensive diagnosis of the larger-scale problem. It describes the state of being that is an effect of, and a set of practices (social, political, economic, legal) that assists in operationalising and maintaining, interconnected systems or institutions of discrimination characterised by supremacist ideologies and practices (Figure 2) (Wycoff; Krieger). It is through practices of oppression that these institutions make their physical, emotional, and psychological mark on living bodies. This is achieved through a set of shared techniques (Table 5) that are integral to oppression, moulding bodies in distinct but related ways (Arcari, '(More than) Food'). Oppression is thus a concept that chimes with intersectional or interdimensional thinking, recognising the 'multiple social factors and actors [that] are buttressing structural oppression' and the multiple entrances that exist for activist efforts through mutual avowal (Kim; Ko).

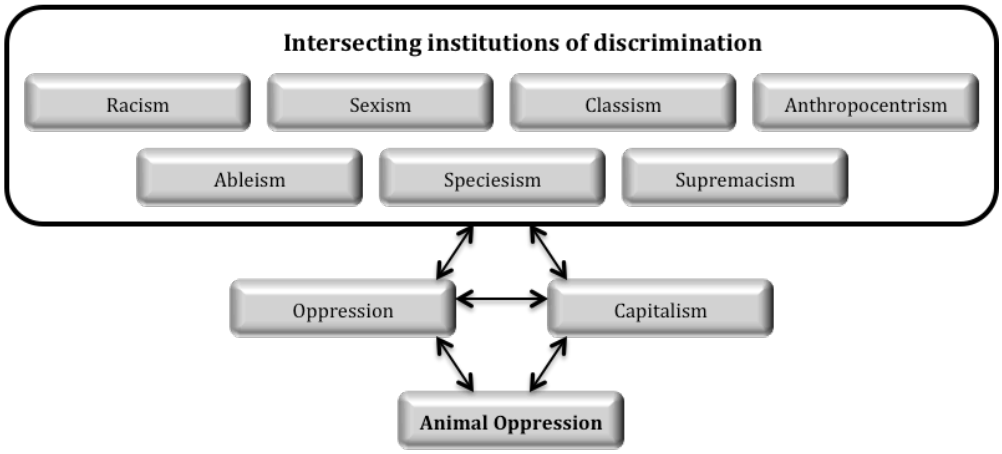

Figure 2. Oppression in relation to (some) social institutions of discrimination and capitalism

Capitalism is conceived as leveraging the inequalities shaped by forms of discrimination to maximise profits and minimise costs. As Marjorie Spiegel explains, 'before the possibility of any profitability can be conceived of, the minds of those who will stand to profit must be ready to accept all that the oppressor/oppressed relationship will entail' (85). In turn, under the constant

imperative to expropriate free/cheap(er) 'resources', capitalism exacerbates oppression's forces and effects. Capitalism therefore aligns perfectly with but does not directly cause oppression and its associated institutions. Nor is it a necessary precondition because, as Cochrane explains, 'it is obviously true that other modes of production did, have and could exploit and alienate animals' (Cochrane, 'An Introduction' 107).

Drawing on Jasper's cognitive framework for recruiting animal protectors, foregrounding animal oppression in Figure 1 and positioning it as the collective action frame for animal advocacy allows the arrangement of existing solution frames, problem sub-frames, and goals and strategies depicted in Figure 3.

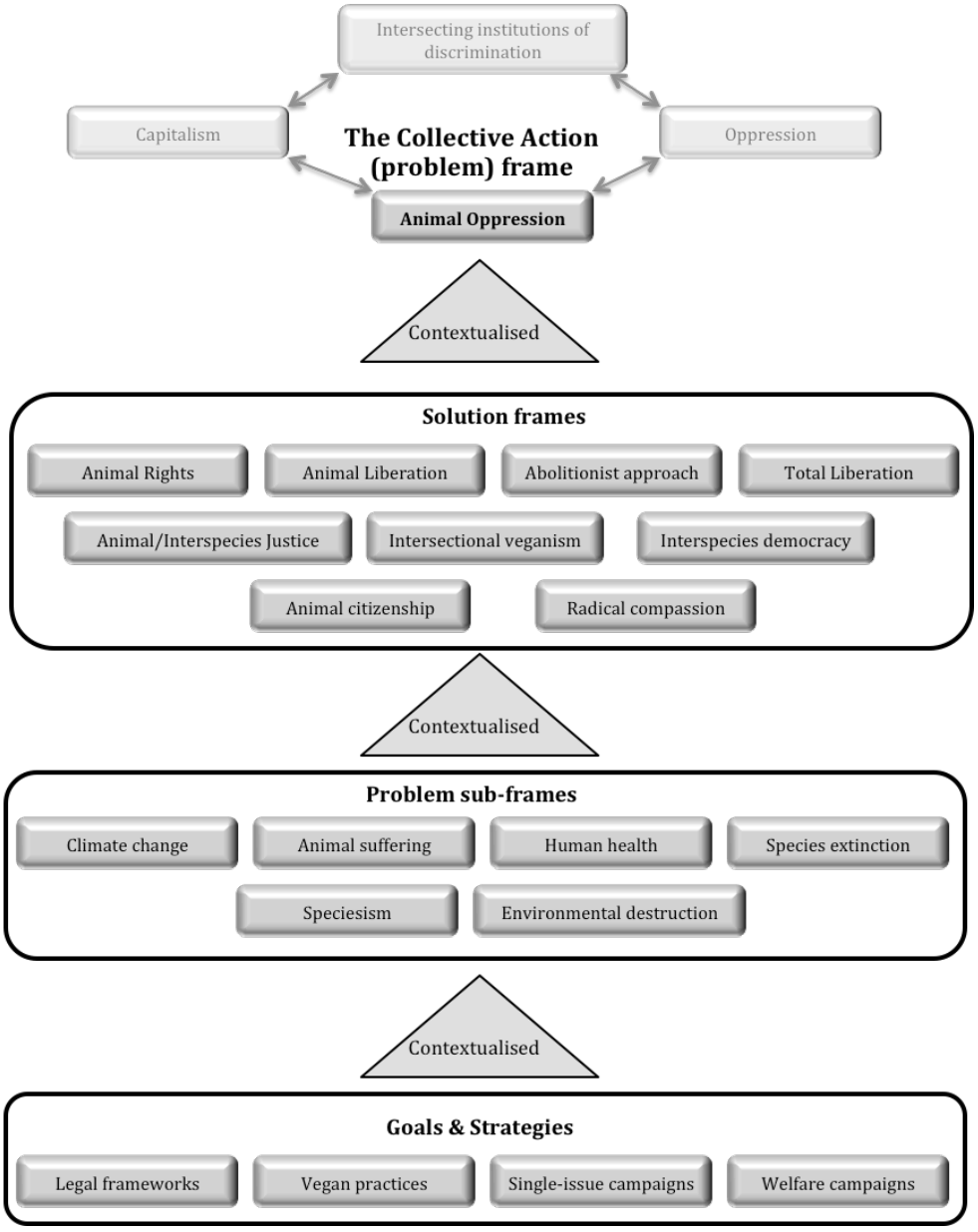

Figure 3. Approaches to animal advocacy organised under the Animal Oppression frame.

This is not intended as an exhaustive representation but indicates how these components differ and how connections between them can be conceived. The point is that each level needs to be contextualised. Currently, the advocacy movement has been somewhat successful in

raising awareness of sub- or first-level problems associated with certain animal issues. These frames – including climate change, human health, and animal suffering – are used to contextualise different goals and strategies encompassing legal efforts, vegan practices, single-issue campaigns, and welfare measures. However, it is from this point that these efforts start to lose coherence.

Beyond visions for a 'kinder world' free from animal suffering, abuse and/or exploitation – visions that do not clearly preclude the 'humane' use of animals – a solution to the first level sub-problems is rarely articulated (Arcari, 'The Covid Pandemic'). More overarching solution frames that might come to mind, such as animal rights or interspecies justice, appear infrequently or not at all. The same applies with more recent frames advancing total liberation and intersectional veganism, which have more traction outside the mainstream movement and on social media. Future visions and solutions that are mobilised are not contextualised with reference to the problem that should define them and help them 'make sense' as solutions. Without this, they float in mid-air, tethered at one end to the sub-problems they answer to, but with nothing securing them at a higher level that addresses the questions: Why should animals have rights or be liberated? Why do they deserve justice? Or referencing the reviewed organisations: Why do we need a kinder or more humane world? What is unkind or inhumane about this world? Is ending animal suffering sufficient? As Jasper argues, the collective action or master frame should provide the justification.

(Animal) oppression may not constitute the best or only collective action/master frame for animal advocacy. However, as indicated, there are several reasons why it is considered to offer significant advantages over previously mentioned frames. These are outlined below, organised according to four of the criteria identified for effective framing, omitting 'Constitutes a worldview', and 'Identifies a solution' (already addressed).

1. Diagnosis of problem

- Fosters a critical understanding of the problem to be addressed instead of assuming tacit agreement with proposed solutions.

- Offers a stable, legitimate, resilient, and unifying explanatory framework for the whole movement, even while goals, strategies, and solutions may necessarily remain wide-ranging and changeable. The contextualisation of approaches targeting individual behaviour change and welfare reform is especially important to avoid the reconstitution of practices to be more 'ethical' and 'humane'.
- Recognises techniques of oppression (not limited to physical violence and shared across industries of the A-IC) as part of the problem. These commonalities can feature more explicitly in advocacy narratives to emphasise the nature and scope of animal oppression and counteract/contextualise conservative, welfarist, and/or single-issue framings.

2. Attribution of blame

- Reduces the 'responsibilisation' of individuals for social change by implicating a dominant group (humans) as the oppressors and the multiple systems and practices by which this and other oppressions are normalised.
- Offers a reference point and corrective for a movement whose representative organisations, campaigns and/or individuals are often criticised for being sexist, racist, ableist and otherwise insensitive to the ideological foundations of oppression.

3. Wider resonance

- Advances a critical way of thinking about animal use and exploitation that transcends the movement and its constituent organisations, individuals, and campaigns, thereby averting negative connotations.
- Is gaining global currency, being increasingly understood as the foundation of human injustices and the exploitation of nature, making it a particularly pertinent/plausible frame for this time.
- Leverages Snow et al.'s four strategies for frame alignment: 1. Bridging (connects with other socially and ecologically oriented articulations of human supremacy, anthropocentrism, and anticapitalism), 2. Amplification (clarifies and reinvigorates existing values associated with animal rights, liberation, etc.), 3. Extension (expands the significance of animal oppression to encompass all forms of oppression), and 4.

Transformation (challenges and redefines/reconstitutes existing movement activities and strategies).

- Enhances the potential for a collective shift in thinking that is so evidently feared by animal-based industries.
- Offers another route for animal justice to gain wider political legitimacy, aligning with existing work on animal law, citizenship, and democracy.

4. Elastic, flexible and inclusive

- Provides a common framework that can conceptually, if not always literally, unite different approaches and increase their legitimacy and traction. In turn, linking advocacy issues and expanding their conceptual boundaries increases opportunities for people sympathetic to a single issue to critically reflect on all animal uses.
- Invites engagement through/with other social movements by applying Ko's conception of 'multiple entrances' to understanding oppression's multidimensionality.
- Has cross-cultural relevance and can be articulated in different ways. For example: through a social, cultural, legal, or religious lens; from a political economy perspective; with reference to the human/nature binary, or some combination of these and other interpretations.
- Is not associated with a particular organisation, with extremist views, or with particular kinds of activism. (Animal) oppression can therefore potentially repackage perspectives, issues, and ways of thinking about animals that may be considered illegitimate.

Above all, a key advantage of animal oppression as an advocacy frame is its capacity to foster critical thinking that challenges normalised categories of animals and all the practices that directly and indirectly consume their lives and bodies. This constitutes the critical animal perspective that is missing from the movement. 'Animal oppression' could thus serve as a vehicle for critical animal perspectives, helping them gain a firmer foothold in mainstream discourse.

It is not assumed that the provision of better information, or its repackaging, will lead to the desired attitudes, behaviours, and choices (Shove). Rather, and speaking to movement failings noted by numerous scholars, the proposed frame promotes a fundamentally different,

critical way of thinking about and making sense of animals that initiates and/or extends a disruption of their existing meanings and the social practices of which they are part. Practices are also suffused with emotions (Reckwitz) and Lockwood illustrates the capacity of the visual presentation of 'crisis information' to be deeply affective and even transformational. Hence, a final and potentially powerful advantage of the oppression frame is that it can be represented graphically, drawing on articulations of the A-IC that foreground the interconnections and inter-dependencies between animal-based industries and their techniques of oppression, contesting their conception as isolated operations (Arcari, '(More than) Food'; Twine, 'Revealing'). Harnessing what Lockwood describes as the 'pivotal role of emotions within environmental communication', such 'graphs of grief', may help 'puncture [...] our anthroponormative boundaries' (12).

There are many potential critiques of this proposal. One is that advocacy organisations may be reluctant to divert time and resources to considering academic proposals for strategic modifications. However, such limitations might be mitigated, if not entirely overcome, through collective branding and the development of a standardised account of animal oppression they can endorse and use to frame their activities. The Vegan Justice League's anti-oppression principles offer a solid foundation on which the broader movement could usefully build, with additional clarification of the nature and scope of animals' oppression. Organisations, campaigns, and individuals could adopt these principles and display a logo (VJL's or another) along with a (standardised) graphic of the A-IC that contextualises their own work.

More proactive deployment could entail explicitly framing their efforts in terms of animal oppression and its associated techniques as much as possible. Larger, better-funded, multi-issue organisations could do the work of conceptually linking the efforts of smaller organisations under the anti-oppression umbrella – or at least the range of issues they tackle, recognising that some organisations may not wish to be affiliated.

Another critique is that the oppression narrative may be interpreted as blaming individuals for oppressing animals. I would argue that an individualisation of blame and responsibility has dominated advocacy work since theories of behaviour change were popularised in the 1970s. The oppression frame deliberately shifts the representation of the problem toward systemic practices that constitute the A-IC, shaped by institutions of domination of which

speciesism and anthropocentrism are just two. Hence, in the same way that the oppression of marginalised humans is understood as structural, permitting a critical problematisation of sexism, racism, ableism etc. that extends beyond (but still includes) inter-personal relations, the conception of animal oppression similarly extends the problem beyond individual actions and choices.

Likely many other objections will be levelled at this proposal. However, my hope is that it bears some resonance and others might build on and improve my response to questions of movement efficacy and legitimacy.

Conclusion

After decades of campaigning, the animal movement is expected, and increasingly needs, to do more to stem the flow of animals into every dimension of the A-IC. Activists, scholars, and scholar/activists alike dedicate significant resources to the question of how, and I do not purport to offer a better answer. What I do offer is a different way of approaching questions of efficacy, from the perspective of movement (il)legitimacy. This encourages a shift in focus toward broader trends and patterns and, more particularly, towards identifying exclusions in public-facing advocacy. Giraud's 'ethics of exclusion' has animated the analyses on which this paper draws and constitutes the formative rationale for the proposed frame.

Animal advocacy traditionally prioritises non-confrontational strategies designed to gently and incrementally steer people towards less harmful practices. While important and valid, these strategies have diminished more critical representations of animal use. A certain stasis has taken hold characterised by piecemeal approaches aimed primarily at 'food' animals, farming, and (freedom from) suffering, resulting in small gains (largely amounting to better welfare) but with no discernible change in the status or perception of animals.

This dilemma is summed up in Richard White's articulation of a 'critical 'Yes, but!'' position in relation to lifestyle veganism. White acknowledges that making veganism more accessible is a welcome development. But – and he emphasises the 'fierce objection' of this 'but' – it comes at a significant cost, detaching it from 'all the radical inter-species claims for justice and nonviolence' (np). A similar defanging has become normalised across the broader

movement, warranting the same 'Yes, but!' position. Essentially, as it currently stands, the movement is at risk of losing rather than gaining legitimacy and thereby remaining limited in its effectiveness for animals.

The explicit (public-facing) deployment of an oppression frame could help instigate a more purposefully transformational change. It offers a credible, narratively consistent, and non-partisan conception of animal use that provides a worldview, diagnoses the problem, attributes blame, resonates beyond the movement, and is flexible and inclusive. It has the potential to unite and transcend the heterogeneous advocacy landscape, foster consensus, and be more resilient to shifting trends and concerns. Paraphrasing Snow and Benford ('Master Frames' 137), an (animal) oppression frame could help loosen the foundations of our existing relations with animals by underscoring and embellishing the seriousness and injustice of the problem and redefining as unjust and immoral what is currently (and persistently) seen as unfortunate but tolerable.

Without this, progress may certainly continue in some areas, but too many doors are left open for perverse outcomes. A more coordinated and powerful narrative is needed to weaken the industries of the A-IC at their roots, stop ongoing expansions, and address legitimacy issues that are preventing the movement from making substantive progress. Approaching animal advocacy through oppression evokes and explains the interwoven mechanisms of the entire injustice complex, of which the A-IC is just one part, thereby challenging not only speciesism and anthropocentrism but all institutions of discrimination. In the words of Lori Gruen:

> Framing the discussion of animal liberation as one that is understood in terms of oppression provides for an importantly different, and arguably deeper, analysis of not only our current practices toward nonhuman animals but the ways such practices support unjust and harmful social and political structures, particularly structures of power. (292-293)

Notes

[i] For the remainder of this paper, 'animals' is used in place of other (than human) animals or nonhuman animals.

[ii] Acknowledging that it is also understood as not one but several movements (Woodhall and da Trindade).

[iii] The notion of 'liberation' has been critiqued especially in relation to domesticated animals and the conservation of 'wild' animals (Twine, 'Is Biotechnology').

[iv] As Cochrane (*Animal Rights*) illustrates, animal rights and liberation are not mutually inclusive. Animals can be allocated rights within systems of use.

[v] I acknowledge the problematic connotations of the term 'master' frame and the fuzzy definitional boundaries that surround a range of related terms in framing literature. However, these debates are beyond the scope of this paper.

[vi] See www.consistentantioppression.com/?page_id=218

[vii] See https://mercyforanimals.org/blog/why-mercy-for-animals-must-mean-mercy-for/

[viii] Thanks to Will Kymlicka for alerting me to the anthropocentrism that could be argued to lurk in calls to abolish or withdraw from all relations with animals.

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