

“Happy Animals are Tasty Animals”

Farm animal welfare policies are increasing in the EU, but
has the way we relate to animals changed?

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Abstract

Historically, animals have been excluded from the realms of political theory and political science. The underpinning disposition of this thesis is that animals belong in politics, considering it is the political processes and ideologies that determine our treatment of animals. The European Union started to legislate on the protection and welfare of farm animals during the 1970s. Over time, a slow but steady increase in the number and specificity of farm animal welfare policy can be observed. This thesis will analyse if our disposition towards animals has changed parallel to the policy increase. In order to measure this potential change, EU working documents relating to farm animal welfare were analysed to identify the underpinning logics and sentiments in the political discourse. Three time periods between 1974 and 2016 were selected for analysis based on their political activity regarding farm animal welfare. It was expected that parallel to the policy increase in farm animal welfare, the disposition towards animals would follow in the same direction. However, the research results demonstrated the opposite.

Key words: farm animal welfare, European Union, anthropocentrism, carnism, human-animal relationship

Words: 15 996

List of abbreviations

EU	European Union
TFEU	Treaty on the functioning of the European Union
EP	European Parliament
MEP	Member of European Parliament
Commission	European Commission
Council	The Council of the European Union
CAP	Common Agricultural Policy

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1 Introduction and Research Question

Studying political science for five years at two world-renowned institutions, I am surprised to report that the subject of “animals” has never been examined. Studying politics means analysing the polis; the society and the organisation, the structures of interaction and order, the power relations and very importantly those who inhabit it. It is peculiar that animals have not been introduced in my studies given animals constitute a significant portion of any society and each person either has direct or indirect relationship with them. For example, through having animals as pets, participating in equestrian sports, working with animals, going to the circus or simply eating or wearing them. Animals fill many functions in society; we eat them, love them, wear them and repeatedly exploit them. In addition, we use animals to protect and serve us such as guide dogs, assistant dogs, the mounted police, as well as bomb and drug-detecting dogs. Humans are highly dependent on animals. Is it not extraordinary then that we do not grant them a few pages in our textbooks?

Human – animal studies have gained attention in fields of study such as Sociology, Psychology, Criminology, Law, Anthropology and Gender Studies, but very little consideration has been extended to human animal studies in the political realm. This paper will bring animals into the political space, and in particular into European Union (EU) politics. The EU started to legislate on farm animal welfare in the mid-1970s, and ever since EU policies of farm animals have multiplied in number and specificity, moving from policies covering all food-producing animals to targeting explicit groups of farm animals to address particular needs (Commission 2016). The legal status of animals has changed from agricultural products to sentient beings and according to the Commission (2016), the past forty years of growing welfare policies for farm animals are the result of scientific research and knowledge, as well as meeting citizens and market demands. Can we assume that the way we relate to animals has changed parallel to the changes in farm animal welfare policy?

Developing a deeper understanding of the human-animal relationship is particularly interesting in the context of the EU. Animal farming, and trade in animal products constitutes significant portion of the internal market and economy of the EU. Further, analysing how we relate to the animals in our surroundings says something about our ethical evolvement. Aristotle thought of animals as completely outside the boundaries of the polis, Kant argued that humans have no moral obligations towards animals at all. Where are we positioned today?

This thesis is an attempt to contribute to the body of literature on animals and politics, and to continue Svärd's (2015) work on the problem representation of animal cruelty and animal welfare in Swedish high politics between 1844 and 1944. The main conclusion derived from Svärd's work was that animal welfare regimes are not only driven by a genuine care for animals, but reflect motivations of an anthropocentric nature. I will apply a similar approach in this research to find out if parallel to the progressive farm animal welfare policies in the EU, has there been a change in how we relate to animals?

1.1 Research question

There is an observable and confirmed trend in the EU of increasing and growing farm animal welfare policy. What is still unknown is if parallel to this policy development, can we also observe a change in our disposition towards animals? It would be natural, intuitive even, to assume that as policy progresses in favour of welfare for farm animals, the way we relate to animals would follow a similar path. This research aims to find out whether the disposition towards animals has changed over time.

Parallel to the increasing policy on farm animal welfare in the EU, has there been a change in our disposition towards animals?

1.2 Roadmap

The order of this thesis is as follows; after the introduction the position of animals in literature will be considered. The previous exclusion of animals from political studies will be recognised and the paper will build its case that animals should indeed be a part of political science. The research method used will then be explained, followed by the theoretical framework the thesis stands upon. Subsequently, the topic of farm animal welfare and the EU will be discussed, and the results from the research will be presented and analysed. Conclusion and the author's reflections, along with suggestions for future research will complete the thesis. The underpinning disposition of the thesis is that animals have a place in political science and theory.

2 Animals in Academic Literature

2.1 An under researched topic

The notion that animals and how we relate to them are a topic of political science may sound bizarre to many. Historically, the fields of political science and political theory have exhibited very limited interest in human-animal studies (Boyer, Scotton, Svård and Wayner 2015 : 1). According to Schlosberg and Wissenburg (2014 : 1), whilst a range of academic animal rights and ethics studies have been conducted, there is very little offered in the realm of politics. Other fields of study, such as Sociology, Anthropology, Philosophy, Criminology, Law, Gender and Cultural studies and History (Flynn 2008 and Taylor and Twine 2014 as cited in Boyer et al. 2015 : 1) have studied animals and their place and function within society more actively than Political Science. Boyer et al. (2015 : 2) have confirmed this, arguing that within academic circles, the task of mapping the Realpolitik of the relationship between humans and animals is more apparent in other disciplines than in political science. The connection between animal exploitation, human oppression and moral exclusion has been looked into by philosophers, anthropologists and scholars of critical sociology such as Nibert (2002 , 2013), Noske (1997) and Torres (2007). Other scholars have explored the human-animal relationship and its potential connection to sexism and speciesism (Adams 1990, Gålmark 2005 as cited in Boyer et al. 2015 : 2 ; Donovan and Adams 2007 ; Luke 2007).

2.2 The link between animal and human violence

In Psychology, Law and Criminology, a prevailing area of study is the association between animal and human violence, where a perpetrator initially commits acts of cruelty towards animals and subsequently towards other people. This correlation is well established (Feltouse and Kellert 1987 : 710-717), and animal abuse has become a predictor of human related violence. Significant evidence confirms in a very high percentage of crimes such as domestic violence, murders, torture, child abuse, school shootings or sex crimes, the perpetrator have a history of animal abuse and torture (American Human Association ; Daugherty

2005 ; The National Anti-Vivisection Society 2007 as cited in Hodges 2008 ; Ascione 2008 ; www.paws.org). This link between animal and human violence is widely accepted amongst the academic community, but this is not a recent discovery. For example, eighteenth century artist William Hogarth underscored this link in his paintings *The Four Stages of Cruelty*. He depicts a boy committing three acts of cruelty towards a dog, a horse and a donkey. The final image shows that when the boy is a grown man, he tortures a human. Hogarth wanted to show that cruelty generates more cruelty (DeMello 2012 : 245). Specifically, this direct correlation between animal and human cruelty has harnessed the attention of law enforcement officials, psychologists and social workers. Notably, research conducted on violent children demonstrate that a high percentage of children abusing animals are victims of abuse themselves (DeMello 2012 : 245).

A relatively new area of interest in the study of human-animal relationship is the complex dynamics of slaughterhouses and its workers. Specifically, studies in Law and Animal Science discuss the abusive treatment of animals by live stock handlers (Grandin 1988). In addition, they examine the correlation between sadistic characteristics in slaughterhouse workers and its subsequent spillover effect on the community (Dillard 2008 ; Fitzgerald 2009). Studies conducted in the United States of America show that counties with slaughterhouses have higher rates of violent crime than demographically similar counties without slaughterhouses. It is suggested that the link between the violent nature of the work in slaughterhouses and crime rates is due to the high daily quota of animal killings and the subsequent loss of empathy experiences by the workers (Fitzgerald, Kalof and Dietz 2009). Furthermore, slaughterhouse workers often have a certain social stigma attached to their professional roles. Throughout time, slaughterhouse workers have ranged from slaves to the underclasses, and although society craves meat, there is a collective reluctance to acknowledge the process of getting the meat and those people involved in the production. Vialles (1994) notes that slaughterhouses are often located outside of town to avoid citizens hearing the screams of distressed animals or smelling the blood.

2.3 Structures of oppression

Nibert (2002) investigated the long history of animal exploitation and through his work provided a sociological analysis of oppression. His work demonstrates how oppression has structural causes rooted in economics, ideology and practices of society and that the way we are conditioned to understand the world influences how we interact in it. Nibert (2002 as cited in Torres 2007 : 4) argues that conditioning and socialisation recreates the social and economic processes that keep animals in oppressed positions. Simply, if we grow up in a system where animals are continuously and systematically exploited for our own benefit, we are less likely to question this system. As Torres (2007 : 5) points out, maintaining

our understanding of the world, and not question the systems at work, is vital to the functioning of the power relations in capitalism.

The debate over the moral status of animals remained on the periphery in philosophical thinking until the 1970s when Singer (1995 : 35-36), a prominent thinker in the field brought up to discussion how we treat animals. Simultaneously, it started to gain traction in academic disciplines such as Sociology, History, Literature, Anthropology, Cultural Studies and Law (Svärd 2015 : 1). In agreement with both Nibert (2002) and Torres (2002), Singer concluded that animal oppression has structural components that are based in economic and ideological relations. Parallel to Singer's argument, Svärd (2015 : 19) references Wyckoff's work (2014) and contends that not enough effort has been put into the study of political processes and ideologies that regulate the usage and treatment of animals. Animal cruelty is often thought of in ethical terms, and secondary to political structures. Unfortunately, to frame the ill treatment of animals in ethical terms has diverted the political focus that animal suffering inflicted by humans is actually structural in nature.

2.4 Rethinking the Boundaries of the Political

2.4.1 Animal exclusion from the polis

As previously mentioned, animals and politics sounds like an unusual combo to many. This thesis requires to rethink the boundaries of the 'political'. Specifically, this thesis departs from the notion that animals have a place in political theory and political science. Scholars such as Donaldson and Kymlicka in their trailblazing book *Zoopolis: A Political Theory of Animal Rights* (2011) have questioned the attitude of animal exclusion from the polis. Importantly, they argue that nonhuman animals absolutely belong to the polis. Animals in the billions are raised and slaughtered, their bodies sold and consumed, and it is disappointing that they are usually considered in terms of how many can be sold, unit price and how profit from them can be maximised (Smith 2014). Smith (2015) discusses that the exclusion of animals from the polis have existed since the ancient Greek times. Mulgan (1974 : 439) contends that one of the most enduring ways of separating humans from every other living species is Aristotle's description of the human as being a political animal. Only humans live in the organised social unit of the polis, it is a human only institution (Mulgan 1974 : 439). Specifically, other species, living outside the internally organised and governed social units, are subsequently not political. The apolitical character

assigned to animals has functioned to exclude animals from moral consideration as beings with their own interests (Smith 2014). However, this school of thought is outdated as we have discovered and realised the complex social structures of animal groups. In particular, animals have established hierarchies, demonstrate division of labour amongst groups, they mourn and search for lost ones and show conflict resolution practices. These particular traits emulate humans in society who are considered highly political (Smith 2014). If we recognise these similarities between animals and humans, why do animals continue to be excluded from the polis? This exclusion helps to sustain the structural and systemic order in society which allows for mass raising and slaughtering of animals.

2.4.2 Understanding the exclusion of animals in political thinking

The exclusion of animals is deeply engrained in classic political and philosophical thought. Rowan (1993 : 65) argues that more work has been carried out in animal studies between the 1970s and 1990s than in the previous 2000 years combined. However, debates over the moral standing of animals trace back to ancient Greek and Roman societies, where thinkers examined animals' place in society. Four main positions that animals could hold were constructed; animism, mechanism, vitalism and anthropocentrism (Rowan 1993 : 64 ; Szűcs, Geers, Jezierski, Sossidou and Broom 2012 : 1500). Animism states that animals and people have souls of similar kind. Pythagoras (569-475 B.C.), the central figure of Animism stated that souls moved between humans and animals in succeeding incarnations (Szűcs, Jezierski, Kaleta, Abraham, Poikalainen, Sossidou and Praks 2006 : 71). Vitalism on the other hand recognised the difference between organic and inorganic objects. Vitalists such as Aristotle (382-322 B.C.) highlighted the interdependence of the soul and body (Ryder 1989 as cited in Szűcs et al. 2006 : 71). Mechanism believes that humans and animals are mere machines and as such they are basically the same without a soul differentiating them from inanimate matter (Szűcs et al. 2006 : 71). Anthropocentrism regards humankind as the centre of the universe, and everything is interpreted in terms of humans and their values (Szűcs et al. 2006 : 71). Animals were also understood through the lens of human gain

Renée Descartes (1596-1650), the father of modern philosophy, reinforced the separation of humans and animals, asserting that the body is a machine, and what separates animals from humans is the lack of speech or reason. Descartes thus suggested that animals were empty machines with no ability to feel pain, therefore they should be treated as dead objects (Descartes 1967 as cited in Szűcs et al. 2006 : 71 ; Descartes 1911 as cited in Pascalev 2006 : 210). Friend (1990 as cited in Szűcs et al. 2006 : 71) declared that followers of Descartes kicked their dogs just to 'hear the machine squeak'. The eighteenth century, an age of enlightenment, saw prolific thinkers such as Voltaire (1694-1778) , Hume (1711-1776) and Rousseau (1712-1778) questioning the popular idea that animals felt no pain and were ours to use (Singer 1990 as cited in Szűcs et al. 2006 : 72).

When considering human treatment and consideration for animals over time, it is vital to acknowledge the Judeo-Christian concept of animal domination by man. The biblical notion over God's domination over man and man's domination over animals is a central and prevailing influence over attitudes towards animals (Pasclev 2006 : 209 ; Gatward 2001 as cited in Szűcs et al. 2012 : 1500). The biblical human – animal domination structure offers two interpretations. The first one states that humans treat animals however they wish, and the second one that compassionate and responsible use of animals for the betterment of society is acceptable (Szűcs et al. 2012 : 1504). The cruelty proscription stems from a concern for God and human duties towards ourselves. It is not motivated by concern for animals themselves (Pasclev 2006 : 209-210).

The ideas of Kant (1724-1804) can be described secular equivalent to the Judeo-Christian teachings, as Kant did not extend moral consideration to animals (Pasclev 2006 : 210). Kant suggested that animals are beings without rationality, reason or autonomy, therefore human obligation towards animals does not include charitable acts. Thus, being kind towards animals would only be to train one's disposition for kindness towards humans. Kant's famous argument, that you can judge the heart of a man by his treatment of animals, can therefore be confusing. In fact, Kant did not believe that the act of cruelty towards the animal was an issue in itself. Kant's concern was that a brutalisation of man was possible through the cruel treatment of animals. Opposing with Kant's school of thought, Bentham was one of the first Christian philosophers to denounce the tyranny inflicted upon animals by humans (Szűcs, Geers, Jezierski, Sossidou and Broom 2012 : 1504). Bentham (1823 : XVII.6) once said; "The questions is not, Can they reason? Nor Can they talk? But Can they suffer?"

When considering this long history of animal exclusions from moral consideration, it becomes easier to understand the exclusion of animals from politics. These notions have been reiterated over and over again in political dialogue and it appears animals only get serious attention when an issue affects humans directly. The concept that animal cruelty raises the alarm for subsequent human abuse is still a prevalent attitude in contemporary western society. Sadly, this demonstrates that the act of cruelty towards an animal is not considered serious enough in itself. It is only when humans are directly affected that attention is warranted. To give a contemporary example, when the American Federal Bureau of Investigation (FBI) started tracking animal abuse and listing such acts alongside homicides and assault (Grenoble 2016), many animal rights advocates were delighted. Finally acts of cruelty towards animals were taken seriously. However, the FBI motivated this by stating that the overwhelming evidence of links between animal and human abuse demonstrate that by tracking animal abuse, law enforcement can take a bite out of human crime (Grenoble 2016). Hence, it was not for the act of cruelty towards animals that the FBI reacted, it was for the suspected subsequent human abuse. This view is not significantly different to that of Kant, as he did not see the point of animal welfare per se, but

denounced cruelty towards animals as “the man who is cruel to animals becomes hard in his dealings with men” (Kant 1963 : 239).

2.5 A Political Turn?

Boyer et al. (2015 : 2) refer to Milligan’s paper on the political turn in animal rights (2015), and argue that there are signs of a political turn in human-animal relation studies. The works and contributions of Donaldson and Kymlicka (2011) and O’Sullivan (2011) have promoted the idea that animals belong in political theory and political science. This outlook could entail a significant shift in human-animal studies from other disciplines, which have been conducting important research on the topic previously, towards political science and theory. Without taking away from the importance of the work conducted by other disciplines, a shift towards political science would benefit the area of study. Svärd (2015 : 19) argues that it is the political processes and ideologies that regulate how we treat and use animals. Boyer et al. (2015 :1) claim that the politicisation of food production, the rise of animal rights philosophy and the rising interest in ecological responsibilities have been instrumental in forming this development.

Another expression of the political turn in human-animal studies is the emerging acknowledgement of institutional violence towards animals. In 2012, DeMello (2012 : 237) suggested that institutional violence is often overlooked when discussing animal abuse. Significantly more attention is directed towards individual cases of cruelty, for example videos circulating the Internet containing footage of cruelty towards one or a few animals. These videos become high profile cases, causing international public outrage. Institutional violence such as intensive stock farming is not granted the same reaction. According to DeMello (2012 : 243), it is the visibility of brutality towards animals causing public outcry. For example, cultural animal sacrifices are public practices and thus usually upset and disturb people. On the other hand, slaughterhouse practices which are similar in nature but on a much larger scale, are kept hidden to the public eye. Therefore, there is less public outcry over institutional violence compared to the individual cases. This has subsequently contributed to cruelty towards animals being considered only in individual terms, and not on the systemic level. However, revealing reports from slaughterhouses, hatcheries, dairy farms and live transports are emerging and spreading fast, owing much of its public visibility to social media. Animal welfare organisations are intensifying their farm animal welfare programs and publishing distressing videos of immense animal cruelty in farms, abattoirs and during transportation (World Animal Protection 2016 ; People for the Ethical Treatment of Animals 2013). For instance, farm animal welfare organisation Compassion in World Farming has carried out several investigations and revealed shocking evidence of animals kept in abominable conditions, tethered all year around, suffering from lameness, severe mastitis, leg soreness and kept in

barren units, completely unable to express natural behaviour. Directing public attention towards the institutionalised practices of intense factory farming is a significant part of the political turn in the human-animal relationship. It provides a political context where it becomes clear that human exploitation of animals is very much a political issue.

1 Method

The ambition of this thesis is to find out whether there is a change in how we relate to animals over the time of the study. Has our disposition towards animals and their value changed parallel to the increasing farm animal welfare in the EU? When a policy change is proposed, it means that a problem has been recognised. This thesis will look at the logics and reasoning behind these suggested changes. When proposals, opinions or comments on farm animal welfare policy were delivered, what underpinned the discussion?

1.1 Aim and Purpose of the Study

I am indebted to Svärd (2015) for the inspiration and idea of this thesis. Svärd's doctoral dissertation (2015) analysed the development of animal welfare and animal cruelty discussions and problem representations in Swedish high politics from 1844 to 1944. Assessing the political discourse regarding animal cruelty and welfare during this time, the principal hypothesis derived from Svärd's work is that the emergence of modern animal welfare regimes are not only credited to an increasing concern for animal welfare. Svärd suggests (2015 : 311) that if attention is directed towards the discontinuities, power struggles, breaks and emotional dimensions in the debates on animal policy, another image appears. This image presents a case where "animal welfareism takes a place subordinate to, and functional in, the reproduction of speciesist power relations" (Svärd 2015 : 311). Simply put, the feeling of progress that derives from animal welfare improvements is not due to an increased care for animals. The care for animals comes second to human preference.

Research is about identifying patterns. Discovering patterns that are consistent over different periods of time and different geographical locations are particularly fascinating as they can strengthen conclusions about certain phenomena. Svärd suggests that future research could employ a similar approach to the development of animal welfare policy in other countries and at different points in time. This thesis will attempt to continue Svärd's research by analysing farm animal welfare policy at EU, to determine if there has been a change over time in how we relate to animals. Is our disposition towards animals fuelled by authentic concern for

their wellbeing, or are we motivated by anthropocentric values? It is the ambition of this thesis to contribute to the knowledge and the body of literature concerning animals and politics, and to continue Svärd's interesting research on human's disposition towards animals and their welfare.

1.2 Material

The material in this study consists of policy working documents such as motions, proposals, official reports, conclusions, Commission communication, opinions, written and oral questions from members of the European Parliament (MEPs) to the Commission, Commission responses to questions, conventions and Directives relating to farm animal welfare. Bacchi (2012 : 22) argues that by looking at policy, critical attention can be directed towards the conceptual logics underpinning a certain issue. Svärd's (2015) dissertation uses Bacchi's (1999, 2009, 2012) framework on problem representation in his analysis of problem representations regarding animal cruelty and animal. Bacchi (1999, 2009, 2012 : 21-23) developed a tool, the "What's the problem represented to be" approach, intended to facilitate a critical consideration of public policies. Departing from the premise that what one suggests to do about an issue, reveals what one thinks is problematic and needs to change about that very issue. Policy proposals inherit implicit representations of what is considered to be the problem at hand (Bacchi 2012 : 21).. Bacchi argues that analytical attention should be directed to "practical texts" like policy documents as here we are able to trace the implicit structures of meaning that problematise the world to us. The general idea is to start at the policy recommendation or political solution and work backwards to map out the causal discursive belief systems (Svärd 2015 : 40).

Thus, the concrete outcome (policy) is not the focus of the thesis. Deliberations, preparatory work, proposals, debates and questions regarding the topic make up the units of analysis. Applying the logic constructed by Bacchi, the manner in which farm animals are discussed is of interests as this demonstrates the reasoning and logic behind the policy formation. The intention is to illustrate the political debate around farm animal welfare, and by using Bacchi's approach, the research can hopefully obtain an understanding of the logic and belief systems underpinning the policy process in farm animal welfare.

1.2.1 Case Selection and Delimitations

The material selected for analysis in this research consist of policy working documents from the Commission, the Council of the European Union (hereinafter referred to as the Council), the European Parliament (EP), the Economic and Social Committee, as well as reports and questions by individual members of one of these institutions. The motivation behind choosing different types of documents from different actors in the EU is part of the aim to obtain a broad, and non-biased case selection. During the preparatory work of the research, it became clear that certain actors tended to present more of a certain type of sentiments and logics compared to others. Therefore, it was deemed important to cover different actors and different types of documents.

The material has been collected by searching for specific key words and dates in the Eur-Lex search engine, the various institutions' search engines and archives, the historical archives of the European Union, as well as the archive of European integration. Furthermore, e-mail exchange between two employees at the Commission and the author for access to specific documents also took place. All the material in this thesis consists of written documentation, even the oral questions from MEP's are in written form. Translations are my own unless otherwise stated. Some of this material may be considered primary in the sense that they represent the very own words of the EU official, for instance in the written and oral questions. Other materials such as committee opinions or debates are to an extent secondary as someone else or several participants transcribed them. One limitation important to acknowledge in this method is that analysing documents in this manner overlooks the human factor and the emotion in the proceedings. What can be read in the documents might not be exactly how to the issues was discussed or perceived. Written documentation does not reflect body language, emotions, level of tension and the potential nods in agreement or rolling of the eyes in disagreement. The major features of our disposition towards farm animal welfare are hopefully captured, but only consulting written documentation loses certain sentiments and human reactions.

1.2.2 Execution

The research demanded an interactive part on my behalf collecting selections of fragments and statements and subsequently placing these selections into one of two groups. The documents selected for analysis were scrutinised one by one. Each time an anthropocentric, or non-anthropocentric statement was encountered, it was placed in the respective column in the Excel document that was used for data collection. The data harvest was relatively simple, counting the amount of statements from each column. Subsequently a percentage was calculated to avoid

a potential bias in the number of documents analysed for each time period. If one sentence contained more than one statement, it was broken down into separate pieces and counted accordingly. It was not the sentences that were of interests, but the statements reflecting anthropocentric or non-anthropocentric dispositions in the sentences. The documents in the analysis were selected based on their clarity of expression to enable sound and accurate analysis. Several documents were found during the data collection and appeared to fit the brief but were omitted due to unclear expressions or for not reflecting any disposition towards animals at all.

Table 1.

Group	What statements	Examples
Anthropocentric	Statements and underpinning logics of anthropocentric nature and reflecting anthropocentric sentiments and disposition	-Financial incentives -Internal market / trade -Human Health -Quality of animal produce
Non-anthropocentric	Statements and underpinning logics of non-anthropocentric nature reflecting non-anthropocentric sentiments and disposition	-Animal suffering -Animal quality of life -Animals as sentient beings -Moral obligations towards animals

In order to determine whether a document reflects anthropocentric or non-anthropocentric logics and sentiments, wording and phrases have been identified as displayed in table 1. To illustrate, I will provide three short examples, one from each grouping to explain how this selection process has been carried out.

1.2.3 Anthropocentric statements and logics

Anthropocentric statements display a favouring of human centred reasoning and logic behind the decisions. Decisions made in terms of farm animal welfare are based on what is advantageous for human health, financial gain, the functioning of the internal market and trade and the quality of the animal products. The policy outcome for farm animals is therefore not reflecting a sense of care for the wellbeing and welfare of the animals themselves, but how the gain can be maximised for humans and the market. The improved welfare of farm animals is an indirect consequence of the anthropocentric logic that guide the decision making process. One example of this is when in January 2013 legislation ruled out the use of individual, barren cages for pregnant sows in which they spent

their entire lives in. The reasoning expressed from the Commission was that respecting the need for animal welfare leads to better quality of pig meat, an area where the EU is a major exporter (Commission 2015 : 1). Two anthropocentric sentiments and logics can be identified, one reflecting the quality of meat and the other the export market.

1.2.4 Non-anthropocentric statements and logic

Non-anthropocentric sentiments demonstrate that moral and ethical consideration has been extended to farm animals. In non-anthropocentric types of reasoning, the welfare of animals is something important in itself, whether humans or the market benefit directly from it or not. For example, in 1975 when the Economic and Social Committee provided its opinion for a Council decision authorising the Commission to open negotiations with the Council of Europe on the accession of the European Convention for the protection of animals during international transport. In this document, the Economic and Social Committee explicitly expressed that preventing animal suffering during international transport of vital importance, and trade should not impede on the provision of animal welfare (Economic and Social Committee 1975 : 22). The logic here is that the importance trade should not exceed the importance of preventing animal suffering. Two non-anthropocentric statements can be identified here, one arguing for limiting animal suffering during transport, the other stating the trade should not be valued above animal welfare.

1.2.5 Mixed statements and logics

Many of the documents reflect both anthropocentric and non-anthropocentric sentiments and logics, sometimes even in the same sentence. In these statements the reasoning of improving animal welfare is displaying consideration towards the welfare of the farm animals, but also for the human and trade benefits that come with it. For instance, the Directorate General for Health and Consumer Protection (2007 : 1) produced communication stating that animals as sentient beings and should be treated in such a way that they to not endure unnecessary suffering as well as stating that promoting high farm animal welfare is a business opportunity and can potentially give farmers who maintain high welfare for farm animals a competitive advantage. This statement displays a mix of anthropocentric and non-anthropocentric dispositions. One non-anthropocentric logic vouching for the prevention of animal suffering, and one anthropocentric disposition highlighting the great business opportunity high farm animal welfare is for farmers.

1.2.6 Duration of study

Three time periods were selected for analysis based on noteworthy political activity relating to farm animal welfare. The starting point of the thesis is 1957, but due to the inactivity in the farm animal welfare realm, the analysis starts properly in 1974 when the first Directive on the protection of animals at slaughter entered into force. The time periods were identified and subsequently named.

Time Period	Duration in Years
The Awakening	1974-1988
The Enlightenment	1991-2002
Modernity	2005-2016

1.2.7 Why choose the EU as unit of analysis?

The agricultural and farm animal sector in the EU is colossal. It provides employment, a way of life and business and trade opportunities on a large scale. There is very limited research on farm animal welfare on EU level. Legal summaries and reports on the current state of farm animal welfare exist, but approaches from the perspective of this thesis are missing. The documents analysed are all EU level documents, no documents from member states have been considered. It can be assumed that EU policy is the result of hard work by citizens, lobby groups, member states, non-governmental organisations and other actors. One might go as far as saying that what is encountered in EU level policy documents is suggestive of what is respected and accepted levels of farm animal welfare consideration. As some member states have supplementary framework in place, the EU level is indicative of the absolute minimum level of farm animal welfare in the EU. Analysing EU policy therefore provides the absolute minimum requirement all member states must abide by, therefore avoiding incorrect and thwarted assessments of farm animal welfare consideration.

1.2.8 Selection of animals

For the purpose of this thesis, farm animal welfare is considered. This entails all animals aimed for food production; cattle, pigs, sheep, hens, chickens, broilers and horses (European Commission 2013 :2). These animals are sometimes

referred to as food-producing animals, or animals kept for farming purposes. For clarity and consistency, the thesis will use the definition of farm animals. This also includes the transportation and slaughter of these animals, and not just their lives in the holding facility. Subsequently all dialogue on animals such as pets, animals for scientific experimentation, animals used for shows and competitions, zoo animals, and animals involved in hunting were omitted from the analysis. Furthermore, companion animals, pets, show and competition animals and strays are completely excluded from the treaties, making debates relatively short lived as it is up to each member state to legislate individually. Farm animal welfare was selected due to the sheer quantity of it and the enormous industrialisation of husbandry. In 2007, the EU had one million animals (sheep, horses, cows and pigs) slaughtered per day, equating to 83 333 animals per hour and 1389 animals per minute, (European Commission 2007 : 1-2). Poultry is slaughtered in the billions every year, and hatcheries kill around 330 million day-old chicks yearly (Commission 2009). Food producing animals make up a significant part of the Common Agricultural Policy (CAP), engage many European citizens in terms of employment, and provide food for EU citizens. Yet, it is a topic under-researched and relatively unexplored.

1.2.9 Expectations

Considering the great increase of farm animal welfare policies in the EU, it would be natural, intuitive even, to assume that this increase means that we have extended our moral circle of inclusion to comprise farm animals, and that their moral positioning in society is on the rise. It could be expected that in our disposition towards animals we have become less anthropocentric, and more focused on the welfare of animals. The probable, expected results from this research was to discover a gradual increase of non-anthropocentric dispositions towards animals over the time of the study. The confirmed trend and development of increasing farm animal welfare should likely be accompanied by a changing disposition in humans towards animals. Simply put, it was expected that we would have become less anthropocentric over time.

2 Theoretical Framework

The theories employed in this thesis are anthropocentrism and carnism. These theories were selected as they provide context and structure, enabling an understanding of the development of farm animal welfare policy. Without anthropocentrism and carnism it is difficult to achieve a level of understanding solid and clear enough to analyse the logics and sentiments underpinning the development of farm animal welfare. Despite not belonging to the classic stockpile of political theory, they provide an excellent lens to study society through, and enable a fresh understanding of human motivations, behaviour and choices. One might argue that they are limited in their scope due to their affiliation to food choices and animal treatment, however, I see them as an excellent addition to the collection of political theory. Anthropocentrism, akin to concepts such as racism, feminism, speciesism and sexism (Pascarev 2006 : 212), can provide a framework in which human behaviour and choices can be understood and analysed through. Carnism is a great tool to understand how human food consumption choices and preferences work. When discussing food security and food safety, definitely a contemporary topic, carnism can shine light on the invisible and unquestioned system of meat consumption. In my research, these theories have proved invaluable to provide context and structure. A small section of this chapter will be dedicated to speciesism. In this research, speciesism plays more of a supporting role, to enable a deeper understanding of the topic.

2.1 Anthropocentrism

Anthropocentrism is a concept and ideological framework that places humans at the centre of all meaning and significance. Anthropocentrism is not an innate disposition, but a historical outcome in which the freedom of humans is established upon the lack of freedom animal others. It is akin to other concepts considering hierarchies such as racism, speciesism¹, feminism, and sexism. Warkentin (2010 : 107) contends that anthropocentrism assumes that humans have

¹ Speciesism, as defined by Horta (2010 : 244), can be understood as the unjust and disadvantageous treatment and consideration of those not classified as belonging to one or more privileged species. Discriminatory treatment of those who do not belong to the species of preference, for that very reason, is speciesism.

a right to extend moral consideration to others, indicating that humans have the ability and the authority to determine who counts and who does not count morally. As humans are positioned at the centre of all meaning, moral consideration is only granted properly to humans (Weizenfield and Joy 2014 : 3-6).

Anthropocentrism is used in this thesis as a framework to provide an understanding of the human disposition towards animals. Employing anthropocentrism as an analytical tool, we can begin to understand the hierarchical structures that sanction for the reproduction of the animal–human hierarchy and binary (Weizenfield and Joy 2014 : 3). In turn, these hierarchical structures sustain the idea that a system of intense factory farming and slaughter is fully acceptable. Further, anthropocentrism proves useful as an instrument to dismantle the structures of the speciesism at the political-economic and sociological-cultural levels of existence. It can help to re-evaluate and debunk the animal–human relationship and provide an understanding of the hegemony of speciesist institutions and anthropocentrist ideology (Weizenfield and Joy 2014 : 2). The core idea of anthropocentrism can be summarized by this statement by Nietzsche;

“...Humans regard their intellect so solemnly – as though the world’s axis turned within it...”

(Nietzsche 2000 : 53)

Weizenfield and Joy (2014 : 21) argue that a key position in anthropocentrism is the consideration that beings with anything less than full autonomy require less of one’s rational self-interest, considering they lack the power to fully reciprocate and self-actualise. As animals cannot reciprocate in the material ways, or in emotional ways according to some, they are not deserving of our full attention. Further, caring about the exploitation and suffering of those institutionally or intrinsically less capable of reciprocity or self-actualisation, such as animals, is considered sentimental and irrational according to anthropocentric values. This logic supposes that caring for animals is childish, feminine and primitive. Such personality traits are found in undesirable persons that the modern and rational human is defined against (Weizenfield and Joy 2014 : 21).

Critiquing the anthropocentric assumptions, Donovan and Adams (2007 : 4) imply that caring, which is a fundamental feature of being human, is a skill which requires effort, discipline and courage. To care about another is to care about the conditions of their existence, as well as caring about the structures of their oppression and subjugation. It also means opposing and challenging the very structures that exploit and marginalise their existence (Weizenfield and Joy 2014 : 22). Luke (2007 : 135) maintains that the notion of contractual reciprocity of self-interest considers caring about non-reciprocating and dependent others as “the unreliable quirk of a few” versus “the normal state of humans generally”. Basically, the anthropocentric opinion would argue that it is not in your best self-

interest to care about those unable to reciprocate in a suitable manner. Luke (2007 : 135) proposes that the lacking demonstration of sympathy and consideration towards animals is not thwarted by the instinctive selfishness of humans, nor is it due to a lacking compassion for animals. Instead Luke (2007 : 135) suggests that the overwhelming amount of social energy that goes into undermining sympathies for animals obstruct human kindness towards animals.

2.1.1 "Why we Love Dogs, Eat Pigs and Wear Cows" – Dr. Melanie Joy

Imagine attending a dinner party at a friend's house, and after consuming the most delicious soup you have ever had, the host states that the secret behind this delightful dish is to use extra lean Golden Retriever meat. Most people would instantly feel awful after hearing this. The differentiation of animals is a remarkable expression of anthropocentrism and speciesism. Joy's book (2010) provides an interesting account of the way we value animals differently when she discusses the psychology of eating meat. Some animals have become edible while others are considered inedible. For instance, there is public outcry over the brutal capture and slaughtering and skinning of dogs in South East Asia, yet the practice is not much different than how veal, foie gras, milk and bacon are produced. But because it is dogs, and not agricultural animals, a stronger reaction is generated. Dogs are after all, man's best friend.

According to Torres (2007 : 2), we have created a false dichotomy between the behaviours of animals we chose as pets, and the behaviours of other animals. This is ultimately blinding us to the inherent and equal worth of all animals. There is significant research on the cognition, emotion and personality of pigs. The findings demonstrate that pigs have several similar traits to chimpanzees and dogs, and possess complex personalities that overlap with other animals as well as humans (Marino and Colvin 2015 : 15). Yet, pig farming is one of the most brutal and unnatural kinds of husbandry. The constructed dichotomies make little sense in terms on animal's cognitive abilities. It appears that they are created to suit the needs and comforts of the human. To truly understand the ways in which we justify the exploitation of animals, it is important to consider this constructed system of what meat is accepted to eat and what is not.

Similarly to Torres (2007 : 2), DeMello (2012 : 383) discusses the dichotomy of pets and farm animals. As humans learn more about the range of emotions and abilities of animals, the border between humans and animals becomes progressively more porous. Companion animals are drawn further into human life, providing love, a sense of support and joy. For instance, consider all the working animals into which humans place an enormous amount of faith; assistant dogs, police dogs and horses, military employed dogs, guide dogs, diabetes dogs, bomb, narcotics and even cancer detecting dogs and mine detecting rats. Simultaneously, farm animals are becoming progressively distant from humans and their lives,

shut away in intense factory farming facilities with no public access or insight (DeMello 2012 : 383). Further, farm animals are increasingly defined on the basis of their biology in production terms. The social and political fates of farm animals are decided based on the biology (Birke as cited in DeMello 2012 : 327).

It is easy to raise questions how people can condone such a system where we literally love dogs, eat pigs and wear cows. Joy (2010 : 133) addresses this in her work, and she suggests that those who consume meat products do not necessarily wish suffering inflicted upon the animals. Instead, the societal way of treating the masses of animals slaughtered for human consumption as objects without identity or names, animals can more easily be dichotomised into edible and inedible. According to Joy (2010 : 133), this demonstrates the inconsistencies in the codes of ethics. Franklin (1999 : 155) addressed and commented on this a decade earlier when he noted the changes in how meat is packaged and sold. Carcasses are less frequently hung on display, we see more neat and clean packing where any trace of the slaughter process is erased. No blood, no body parts reminding the buyer that they are in fact purchasing the dead body of a previously living animal. The consumer is distanced from all connections to the actual origin of the animal. Meat is subsequently reduced into a mere clean protein (Walsh 1989 as cited in Gilbert 2010 : 5). This is why some people, despite regularly consuming meat, shrug at the sight of body parts like pig trotters, (Joy 2010 as cited in Gilbert 2010 : 4) lamb hearts, or horse livers, or a sheep's head. Sightings like these remind us too much of the anguish the animal endured during its short life. Therefore, continuing down the path of ignorance is more convenient (Joy 2010 : 28) than confronting the uncomfortable truth behind the meat trade.

2.2 Speciesism

Anthropocentrism, and how it relates to animals can be further understood by considering at speciesism. The term was coined by Ryder in 1973 (Ryder 1998 : 320) but as Horta (2010 : 244) defines it, speciesism is the unjustified disadvantageous consideration of those not classified as belonging to one or more species. A common misconception of speciesism is that it incorporates all humans in the sphere of moral consideration and excludes all those non-human. However, speciesism discriminates within the human segment as well as other species (Dunayer 2004 : 2-4 ; Horta 2010 : 263). Despite being very similar in the structure of its discriminations, anthropocentrism is distinguishable from speciesism. Anthropocentrism involves the disadvantageous treatment of those not considered members of the human species. So whereas speciesism discriminates amongst and within all groups of species, anthropocentrism points its discriminatory practices to non-human species. Favouring human comforts and

interests, anthropocentrism departs from the perspective that human interests are valued higher than all other.

2.3 Carnism

As one dives deeper into the topic of animal welfare and anthropocentrism, many questions start taking shape. How is it that this systematic exploitation of animals is widely acceptable? How come we all seem in on it, despite shrugging at the sight of animals' heads and limbs in the butcher's window? How come we often say, "I do not want to hear it", as soon as someone tells a gruesome story from some slaughterhouse? The answer is carnism.

The theory carnism is used in this thesis to provide context and understanding of the system that reinforces the exploitation of animals for human use. Coined by psychologist and professor Dr. Melanie Joy, carnism is a sub-ideology of speciesism, dichotomising animals into edible and inedible groups (Weizenfield and Joy 2014 : 28). Carnism enables the oppression of animals exploited for human use and consumption. Furthermore, it facilitates the perpetual act of eating animals, which to a great extent defines the animal – human relationship. Carnism conditions people into eating certain animals (Joy 2001, 2010). Carnism has such a profound impact on the way humans live, what we eat and the structures of the relationship between animals and humans. Most people do not even notice, carnism is deeply indoctrinated within society. Humans are so conditioned to live by this system, that questioning it would radical.

Carnism is wholly opposed to primary human values and motivations such as compassion, justice and reciprocity. Joy (2001, 2010) contends that carnistic defenses enable the emotional and cognitive distortions necessary in order for human consumers to support this system. The empathic response to witnessing suffering of others has been demonstrated to be a normal biological reaction through the discovery of mirror neurons in the brain. Joy, Blakeslee and Ramachandran (Blakeslee 2006 and Ramachandran 2006 as cited in Weizenfield and Joy 2014 : 29) talk about mirror neurons which are activated when a subject witnesses an experience of another, and the subject feels with the other. Studies on mirror neurons have been carried out on human experiences, but according to Joy (Weizenfield and Joy 2014 : 29) there is no reason mirror neurons should not be activated when subjects witness the experience of animals. The carnistic narrative seems constructed to restrict the authentic human empathy and compassion that would otherwise disable the system. Systems like Carnism use a set of discursive and institutional mechanisms which allows otherwise empathic people to participate in exploitative practices without fully realising it (Weizenfield and Joy 2014 : 30). This is one of the main traits of carnism's dominant nature, to remain invisible and unquestioned.

According to Joy (Weizenfield and Joy 2014 : 30), carnistic defenses operate to construct fabricated narratives that validate carnism while at the same time invalidate veganism (the antithesis of carnism). These narratives tell a story, that eating animals is the right thing to do, something we have always done. Carnistic advertising campaigns promote the “happy to be eaten” farmed animals, for instance the pig slicing his own leg with a knife or the laughing cow. The narrative works to sustain the misleading discourse of animal consumption. Opposing this and not eating animals is subsequently the wrong thing to do (Weizenfield and Joy 2014 : 30). Denying that there is a problem is a primary defence of carnism. Denying that there is a problem also eradicates any need or responsibility for addressing it. Through denial the system’s invisibility remains intact. Carnism is unnamed and can therefore not be conceptualized, questioned or challenged. It is this very invisibility that makes eating animals appear to be a given, rather than a choice. How often do meat eaters have to justify their choice compared to vegetarians or vegans? Carnism strips human consumers of their freedom of choice because without awareness, there is no free choice according to Joy (Weizenfield and Joy 2014 : 30). Referring back to Vialles (1994) and his claims that slaughterhouses are kept well out of sight to avoid the gaze of citizen is an excellent example of carnism. Invisibility is further sustained in carnism by keeping its victims well out of sight, out of public awareness. With just under 1400 animals slaughtered in the EU per minute (Commission 2007 : 1-2), how much of this can the average EU citizen observe?

Carnism rests on the three logics of justification. Consuming animals is normal, natural and necessary (Joy 2010), subsequently rendering any opposing practice abnormal, unnatural and unnecessary. Claiming that eating animals is natural is one of the most compelling carnistic justifications. As mentioned previously, dominant ideologies such as carnism, use a set of social and psychological defense mechanisms to enable humane people to participate in inhumane practices without fully realising it. To eat another sentient being we have to block out our awareness and discard our empathy. The denial is reinforced though repeated declarations such as “we have always eaten meat.” Arguing that only vegetarians and vegans have a belief system, the system of carnism works to remain without a name.

2.4 When Anthropocentrism and Carnism “meat”

Anthropocentrism and carnism compliment each other perfectly for the purpose of this thesis. Anthropocentrism explains the human centred point of departure most humans employ, and carnism enables an understanding of the invisible structures that the entire meat industry rests on. The complexities of anthropocentrism and carnism become evident when one acknowledges how indoctrinated humans are in terms of animal consumption. The exploitative

practices towards animals are engrained and unquestioned. If one challenges the carnistic norms, prejudice and judgement often follows.

Additionally, there is a sense of discomfort associated with the opposing of institutionalised practices. When it comes to meat consumption, ignorance truly is bliss. In a commercial produced by People for the Ethical Treatment of Animals Foundation, Paul McCartney said that if slaughterhouses had glass walls, we would all be vegetarian (PETA 2013). A simple statement perhaps, but it speaks volumes. Often people do not want to hear about it, they do not want to see the videos from the slaughterhouses or live animal transports. It is simply too hard, too confronting. This is consistent with the idea that Horta (2010 : 251-252) presents, that animals are routinely harmed by humans not because those who pay for the final product particularly want the animals to suffer, but because the production of the products or services require it. The death and suffering of the animals could then be defined as a by-product of the process. The consumers enjoy wearing and eating animals but with some exceptions they do not enjoy harming animals. There is simply not enough consideration there to change a behaviour one was conditioned to exist in.

Furthermore, anthropocentrism and carnism are reinforced through discourse. As Mason (1998 : 163, 145) writes, humans have a tendency to describe humans of disagreeable character as animals, or beasts, or even as dogs. When describing egoism, sexuality or greed, words like “animal” are not uncommon. Discourse like, “we were transported like cattle”, or “I would not feed that to a dog”, “we were treated like animals” all reinforce the reproduction of anthropocentrism through discourse.

In sum, the anthropocentric worldview comes with implications that affect the way humans see and understand their relationship with other species. The basic assumption is that humans hold a superior intrinsic position compared to other species. Any species that could be of use to humans are seen as exploitable resources. Treatment that would be morally unacceptable if it was done to a human is acceptable when it is directed towards an animal (The Gale Encyclopedia of Science 2008).

3 The EU and farm animal welfare

The agricultural sector in the EU is large. In 2013, there were 10.8 million agricultural holdings within the EU-28. The total farm labour force consisted of 9.5 million fulltime employees, and there were 130 million livestock units² in the EU (Eurostat 2015). Livestock farming has experienced considerable structural changes in the EU since the 1980s. Intense factory farming holdings with specialised livestock has taken over small mixed animal farms (Eurostat 2015). Meat production³ in the EU has developed into a vast business for internal use and for export. For instance, in 2013 the EU-28 produced 29.3 million tonnes of pig, veal and beef meat. In the 2015 Eurostat, the Commission reflected upon the important role agriculture plays in the EU. The agricultural products contribute to the cultural identity of Europe's region as and people. Further, meat production constitutes a significant part of European agriculture (Eurostat 2015), rendering practices of husbandry an important question for the EU.

It is common that the protection of farm animals is declared as complementary to other objectives such as food quality, food security, environmental protection and sustainability. At its inception, farm animal welfare policy was primarily developed to prioritise the principles of the internal market and the need for harmonisation (Gavinelli and Lakestani 2010 : 1). However, as stated by Gavinelli and Lakestani (2010 : 1) from the animal welfare unit of the Health and Consumer Protection Directorate General,⁴ today farm animal welfare policy reflects sophisticated objectives such as economic concerns, social interests, as well as public and animal health. This evolution appears to reflect the changes of the approach to food safety policy in the union (Gavinelli and Lakestani 2010 : 1). It is assumed that welfare consideration for farm animals sits within the "social interests" category. The legislative process in the EU is always based on the treaty articles relevant to the case Gavinelli and Lakestani (2010 : 2). Specifically, Gavinelli and Lakestani (2010 : 2) underline the importance of realising that these articles refer to general issues regarding the Union and not specifically for the protection of animals. Most legislation on farm animal welfare refers to internal market harmonisation, CAP and internal policies. Farm animals often become the

² One livestock unit is the grazing equivalent of once adult dairy cow producing 3000 kg milk annually, so for instance one sheep makes up 0.1 livestock unit

³ Meat production refers to the mass slaughter, in slaughterhouses and farms, of animals whose carcass weight is declared fit for human consumption.

⁴ DG SANCO became DG Santé in 2015

victim of legislation concerning other areas. For example, Camm and Bowles (2000 : 199) acknowledge this when they discuss certain regulations that form parts of CAP. Particularly, Regulation 805/68 (1968 : 24) on the common organisation of the market in veal and beef had serious effects on animal welfare issues. By encouraging overproduction and intensification of farming, this regulation threatened the welfare of farm animals with little or no acknowledgement that the welfare of farm animals was an important issue to consider.

Up until the mid 1970s, policies involving farm animal welfare mainly incorporated the Council of Europe conventions on the protection of animals into the legal framework of the Union. However, this had a very limited effect. The Council of Europe had more sophisticated policies in place than the EU in terms of farm animal protection, with a convention produced as early as 1968. Prior to 1997, farm animals were classified as goods or agricultural products. There was only one reference made to animals in the Treaty of Rome (1957) in Article 36. It gave power to the member states to introduce restrictions on imports and exports on the grounds of protecting life and health of animals. This was only applicable provided the member states restrictions were not disguised trade restriction or a means of arbitrary discrimination (Camm and Bowles 2000 : 197-198 ; Treaty establishing the European Economic Community 1957). However, Article 36 proved to be limited in its application. Case law established that restrictions under Article 36 could not be applied if they related to matters already subject to harmonisation of EU legislation. The European Court of Justice ruled in 1998 (Case C-1/96 1998) that the United Kingdom (UK) could not rely on their right under Article 36 to impose export restrictions of veal calves either on public morality grounds, or to protect the health and life of animals. The UK wanted to restrict the veal export to other countries from an animal welfare perspective as veal crates were banned in the UK in 1990. However, it was illegal for the UK to restrict the export of live calves in highly contested veal crates to countries that had already implemented the relevant EU harmonising Directive on the minimum protection of calves (Directive 91/629/EEC). This example of case law demonstrated that Article 36 did not support animal welfare initiatives that were motivated by a will to restrict unnecessary suffering to individual animals.

3.1 Results

The results from this study will be presented per time period. Three periods have been selected including the initial founding of the EU in 1957 until our current year, 2016. Each time period was selected based on the significant changes and development of farm animal welfare policies that took place during the time. I will present each time period and explain my motivation behind the specific time period selected. The names given to each time period are my own,

and were chosen to reflect the sentiment and mood of that time. Subsequently, the research results will be presented.

3.2 Three periods of farm animal welfare

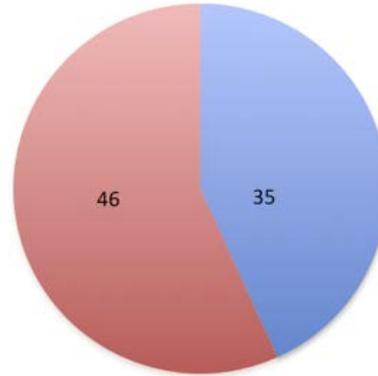
3.2.1 The Awakening 1974-1988

The first period is called the Awakening. It was during this time that the EU produced its very first Council Directive on farm animal welfare. Despite the implementation of the Council of Europe conventions in the EU, there was no specific legal basis in the treaties the regulation farm animal welfare in the member states' internal production. Animal protection did not explicitly feature among the objectives in the Treaty of Rome because animals were defined as agricultural products such as cucumbers or leeks (Goodard Svendsen 1997 : 143 ; Caparale, Alessandrini, Dalla Villa and Del Papa 2005 : 569 ; Camm and Bowles 2000 : 197). The period between 1957 and 1974 was unproductive with no development in the policy area. The first Directive in 1974 on the stunning of animals before slaughter demanded that unnecessary suffering and all forms of cruelty must be avoided (Vapnek and Chapman 2010 : 23 ; Council Directive 74/577/EEC). This marked the beginning of a more open debate and communication on the issue. Fortunately, changes into the protection of animals kept for farming purposes and protection for animals at slaughter came into force through the Council of Europe's conventions in 1978 and 1988. However, these were general provisions and not targeted to a specific group of farm animal. Although an improvement in welfare policy from the commencement of the EU, animals were still considered agricultural products and property. Therefore their protection during rearing, transport and slaughter helps to achieve the objectives set out to increase agricultural productivity and ensuring rational development of agricultural production (Commission 1993 : 4).

3.2.2 Results from the Awakening

A total number of 29 documents were analysed during the Awakening. In these 29 documents, a total number of 81 statements were recorded as expressing either anthropocentric or non-anthropocentric logics and sentiments. The sentiments and logics of anthropocentric nature were 35, and those of non-anthropocentric nature amounted to 46.

Red: non-anthropocentric
Blue: anthropocentric



The awakening	Anthropocentric	Non-anthropocentric
29 documents analysed, 81 statements recorded	43%	57%

The Awakening is an interesting time period to evaluate because questions surrounding animal welfare surfaced for the first time in the EU, from a perspective to just animal health. Analysing the documents it is clear that some EU official felt strongly about the cause of farm animal welfare. In particular some EU officials tried to promote changes to benefit farm animal welfare by writing questions and providing their opinions. In 1978, the Council decided to make the EU a cosignatory of the Convention for the protection of animals kept for farming. Then in 1988 they agreed on the EU becoming a cosignatory on the Convention for the protection of animals at slaughter. Subsequent to this decision was an interesting combination of arguments and logic, For instance, this was evident during the parliamentary proceedings in June 1973. Specifically, the Commission was asked to recognise the deep and widespread disgust of the majority of people in the United Kingdom over the suffering cased cattle, sheep and horses destined for slaughter during transport by sea and road (European Parliament 1973 : 140) The Commission was sympathetic to this statement and fortunately a consensus was reached that the torture endured during transport must be minimised.

Another example surrounds a discussion regarding a grant to upgrade a struggling Belgian slaughterhouse. This abattoir had been running at a loss for a decade and one particular MEP wanted to know on what grounds the grant was promised. The Commission responded that the loss of profit was not due to a lack of animals coming through for slaughter, but to obsolete, antiquated equipment. The level of hygiene was so dismal that the slaughterhouse could not be approved for the purposes of the 1964 Council Directive on the health problems affecting intra community fresh meat trade. The funding was simply allowing the slaughterhouse to be modernised and to increase slaughtering capacity. However,

neither animal welfare, or the modernisation to comply better with welfare standards were mentioned. These research results were not surprising, considering this period signified a time when animal cruelty and suffering were prevalent discussion topics.

In 1967, the EP questioned the Commission whether the harmonisation of the protection of animals was possible when it was motivated by the uneven treatment of songbirds in the member states (European Parliament 1967 : 4). Killed by the thousands in one member state, and protected in another, the question was posed if harmonisation could be expected in the foreseeable future. The Commission responded that although recognising the differences, as well as acknowledging the public and pan-European interests on the issue, addressing these differences was outside the competences of the community. A similar question and response was posed in 1971 (European Parliament 1971 : 3) on the scandalous destruction of migratory birds in Belgium and Italy. The Commission also made their priorities clear when the discussion on cutting ears and tails on certain dogs breeds was initiated (European Parliament 1972 : 8). The question related to the prohibition of ear and tail docking in some member states, resulting in dog owners traveling to other member states to perform this debated and controversial procedure. Harmonisation in this area would be beneficial as it would limit any opportunities for fraud. The Commission acknowledged the discrepancies in national legislation but argued priority should be given to harmonisation of national provisions having direct and significant impact on the conditions of completion in trade. It would have been difficult for animal welfare advocates to get their points across, as it was such a new and under researched topic. At this point, the animal farming industry was significantly smaller and intense stock farming did not exist to the extent that it does today. Financial incentives to improve farm animal welfare were not prevalent during this period. Ultimately, there was less awareness on an animal's ability to feel and suffer. Hence, it is not overly surprising that the non-anthropocentric sentiments and logics were more prominent than the anthropocentric dispositions.

3.2.3 The Enlightenment 1991-2002

The second time period selected for analysis is the Enlightenment period. This phase of great enlightenment was particularly eventful in farm animal welfare and the developments in policy were strong. It was during this time that farm animal welfare policy became more focused and specialised in the EU, targeting specific groups of animals. This indicates an increased interest and knowledge in specific animals' needs to reach a state welfare. For instance, in 1991 a Council Directive entered into force especially for the welfare of pigs, stipulating the minimum requirements for the protection of pigs (Council Directive 91/630/EEC 1991). This was one of the first of several specific Council Directives targeting explicit groups of farm animals to suit their particular needs.

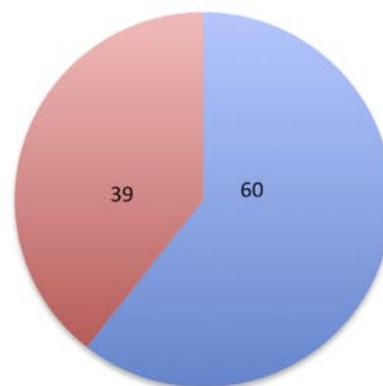
Additional progress was made with the adoption of the Declaration on the Welfare of Animals annexed to the Maastricht treaty approved in 1992 where the EP, the Council and the Commission were called upon to pay full regard to the welfare requirement of animals when drafting and implementing Community legislation on the internal market, research, transport and CAP (Vapnek and Chapman 2010 : 23). However, the declaration, having no direct effect and little indirect legal effect, was deemed a mere political gesture with no tangible influence (Camm and Bowles 2000 : 198).

1999 was a momentous year for farm animal welfare in the EU. The Treaty of Amsterdam introduced the Protocol on Animal Welfare, introducing legal obligations to regard animal welfare in areas of European law and policy (Camm and Bowles 2000 : 197). For the first time, animals were recognised as sentient beings (Vapnek and Chapman 2010 : 24). This distinguished animals from property or agricultural products, a status all animals previously held in the EU. However, allowing exceptions for religious or cultural practices in husbandry and slaughtering, many animal welfare advocates felt the provision left too large of a loophole for the member states (Vapnek and Chapman 2010 : 24).

3.2.4 Results from the Enlightenment

A total number of 24 documents were analysed during the enlightenment. In these documents, a total number 99 of statements were recorded as expressing either anthropocentric or non-anthropocentric logics and sentiments. The sentiments and logics of anthropocentric nature were 60, and those of non-anthropocentric nature amounted to 39.

Red: non-anthropocentric
Blue: anthropocentric



The Enlightenment 24 documents analysed, 99 statements recorded	Anthropocentric	Non- anthropocentric
	61 %	39 %

The Enlightenment was a significant period for farm animal welfare. Without a doubt, the most noteworthy policy change was of course the recognition of animals as sentient beings, meaning they have the ability to feel pain. One might take a moment and reflect over this substantial achievement, as it illustrates a new way of relating to animals in the EU. This change reaffirms that previously animals were considered agricultural products and property, with no ability to feel pain, echoing zeitgeist from the times of Descartes when animals were considered machines with no ability to experience pain.

In one of the documents analysed from the Commission in 1993, the first reference to the political importance of animals was discovered. The Commission (1993 : 2-6) stated that it is of political importance to protect animals. This was a major discovery as in all other previous documents analysed, the Commission has been reserved in expressing opinions regarding welfare of farm animals.

In 1999 alongside the Directive on laying hens, it was also announced that barren battery cages, one of the most controversial and provoking methods of husbandry, were to be phased out by 1 Jan 2012. In the Commission communication to the Council and EP in 1998, Commission (1998 : 6-7) stated that battery cages have severe disadvantages for the welfare of hens, as no natural behaviours such as wing stretching and flapping, preening, turning around and perching can be carried out. Subsequent bone weakness and fractures were common, and rough handling of the birds were also a contributing factor. The Commission (1998 : 20) acknowledged that the housing system needs to be changed, but this will negatively influence the position of European egg-sector internationally. In 1996, 93% of the 270 million laying hens in the EU were kept in cages, making the phasing out of battery cages an important change in the EU's farm animal welfare policy, considering the widespread affect of the policy change.

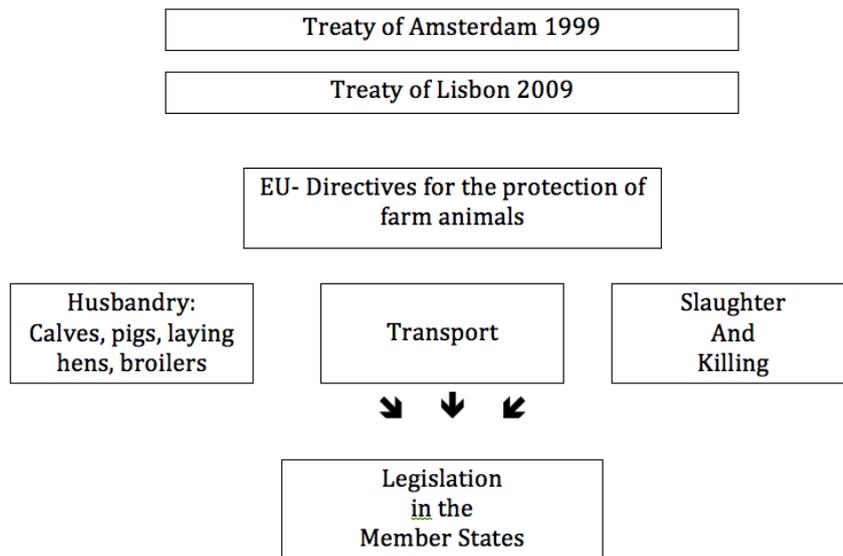
Another noteworthy change during the Enlightenment is the concept of “farm-to-table” approach. Holistic in nature, the farm-to-table idea is that every step of the food production matters to the end product. Food safety and consumer protection is the focus this approach. In the resolution on the 1997 Commission Green Paper on food law (Commission 1997), the EP (1997 : 65) states that it believes animal welfare makes an important contribution to the safety and quality of animal food products. Subsequently, animal welfare legislation, including transport and slaughterhouses, cannot be considered separate from food law. Further, the EP (1997 : 61) states that the Green Paper was submitted at a time

when organisational restructuring was carried out in the areas of food safety and consumer protection. This can be interpreted as the emergence of the holistic approach that sees farm animal welfare and human health as interlinked. Very anthropocentric in nature, this attitude towards animals deducts from the moral aspect of granting animals the right to welfare. Additionally, in the Green Paper from the Commission, there is also mentioning of the external dimension, in particular the importance to extend the EU policy framework on animal welfare to trading partners from who the EU imports meat products. The EP (1997 : 98) argues that when the import checks on food and live animals from third countries take place, the checks must encompass animal welfare consideration.

3.2.5 Modernity 2005-2016

The third and final time period selected for analysis is called Modernity. The EU now engages in very modern methods to approach and relate to the farm animal welfare issues. To assess and consider farm animal welfare, scientific evidence and proof of welfare indicators are used in both research and reports. One of the most important events in farm animal welfare took place during Modernity. The Treaty of Lisbon, which came into effect in 2009, reiterated the language of the Protocol for the protection and welfare of animals, and for the first time providing a clear constitutional basis for animal welfare in the EU. Animal welfare protection became a stand-alone article; Article 13, title II of the Treaty on the Functioning of the European Union (TFEU). The EU came to recognise animals as sentient beings, and require that full regard be given to the welfare requirement of animals while formulating and enforcing EU policies. The legal structure of farm animal welfare in the EU is displayed below in Table 2. The Commission states that this places animal welfare on equal footing with other key principles mentioned in the same title such as gender equality, social protection, consumer and personal data protection (Commission as cited in Stevenson 2012 : 5). During Modernity, the EU also prohibited some of the most controversial aspects of industrial farming such as veal crates (2007), barren battery cages for hens (2012) and gestation crates for sows (2013) (Stevenson 2012 : 2).

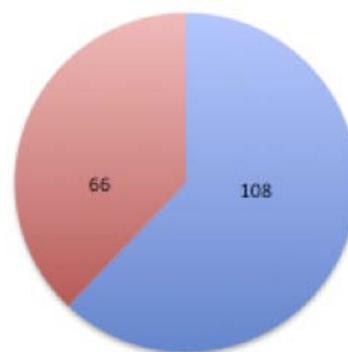
Table 2.



3.2.6 Results from Modernity

A total number of 26 documents were analysed during Modernity. In these documents, a total number 174 of statements were recorded as expressing either anthropocentric or non-anthropocentric logics and sentiments. The sentiments and logics of anthropocentric nature were 108, and those of non-anthropocentric nature amounted to 66.

Red: non-anthropocentric
Blue: anthropocentric



Modernity 26 documents analysed, 174 statements recorded	Anthropocentric	Non- anthropocentric
	62 %	38 %

The period of Modernity was as mentioned very significant as the requirement to respect and consider animal welfare became a stand-alone article in TFEU. Further progress was made when some of the most abominable aspects of intensive farming systems were prohibited. On the other hand, Modernity is also a period of great contradiction. One example of this contradictory nature of the farm animal welfare policy framework in the EU is the treatment of dairy cows. These animals appear to have fallen between the cracks of farm animal welfare policy considering they are still unprotected by specific policy. The protection of dairy cows fall under the general protection of farm animals Directive (Directive 98/58 on the Protection of Farm Animals), without species-specific provisions. Dairy cows are under constant pressure to produce more milk, and through selective breeding programs, the milk yield per cow has more than doubled in recent years (Kikou 2015). Despite the recognition in TFEU that animals are sentient beings, and that their welfare must be taken into consideration when drafting and implementing EU policy, dairy cows are often overlooked. In many instances that cow is impregnated before the age of two, and once the cow gives birth the calf is usually taken away quickly from the mother, which is a highly traumatic experience for both. The cow keeps producing milk and is once again impregnated after a few months to sustain milk production. This cycle is repeated for approximately four years, when the cow is physically worn out. The cow is then sent to slaughter and the meat is sold at a lower price than beef cattle. The average life span of a dairy sector cow is around five to six years (Kikou 2015).

One representative characteristics of Modernity is the use of science in farm animal welfare questions. Based on a request from the Commission, The European Food Safety Authority (EFSA) (2012), commenced on a cooperation program with scientific institutes to produce scientifically measurable animal welfare indicators as a base for future conclusions and recommendations. In 2012, a standardised methodology for the risk assessment of animal welfare was developed, providing guidance to scientists, veterinarians and those with an interest in animal welfare. This was the first of its kind, providing a harmonised methodology to assess the risks associated with the welfare of animals. The risks that are mostly reviewed include tail biting and the consequences of castration of pigs and the housing and flooring of pregnant sows. For cows the risks include leg and locomotion problems, udder infection and exhaustion. Animal welfare based measures involve analysing the animal's response to environmental factors such as bedding, space, handling practises and feeding. The motivation behind animal based measures was to directly determine the actual welfare status of animals, and to reinforce the scientific basis of EU regulation in this field (EFSA 2012). In

addition, another motivation for animal based measures was to respond to the citizen expectations that animal welfare is a “public good”, with more transparency and efficiency (Commission Directorate General for Health and Consumers 2012 : 4).

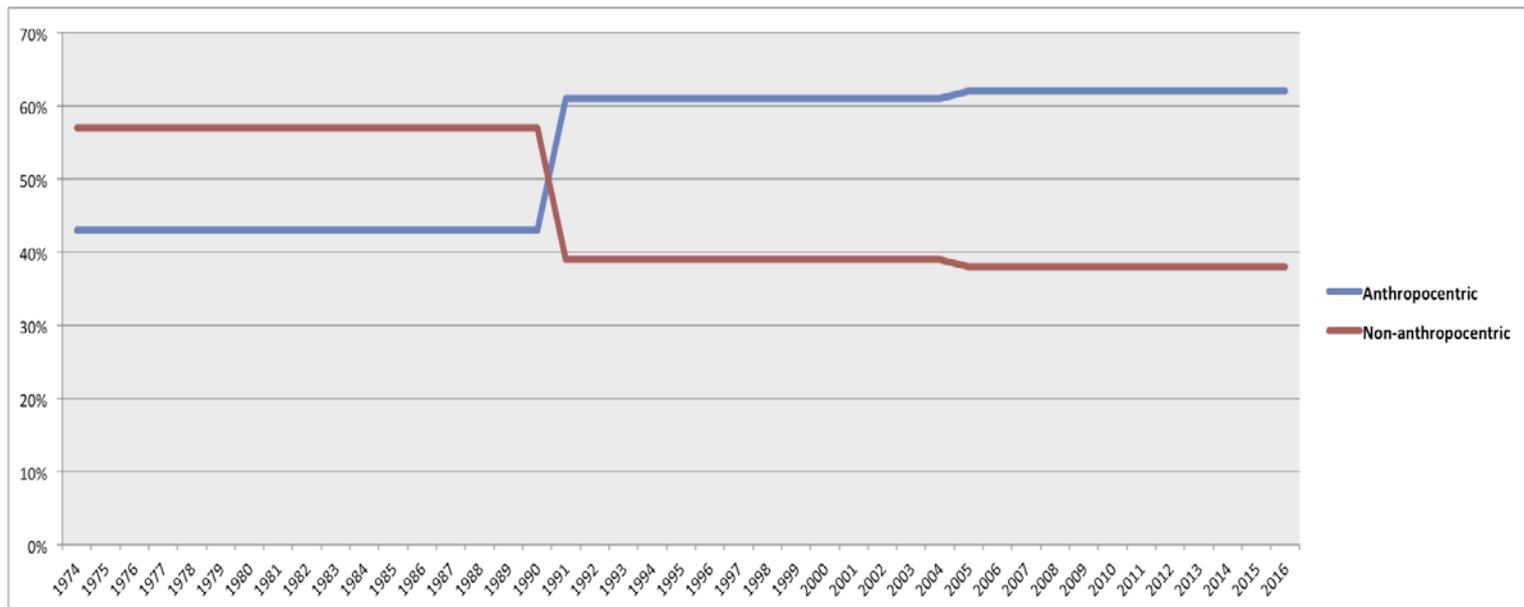
Another distinctive characteristic of the time of Modernity is the increasing intensity and technological development of the farming sector. Intensive stock farming systems are a widespread practice in the EU and these systems use hardware and automation instead of human labour to perform routine tasks. The animals are often kept in specialised indoor environments built for increased efficiency and productivity (Fraser, Mench and Millman 2001 as cited in Fraser : 181). However, the prohibition of gestation crates (a confining steel cage where the sow is unable to move or turn around) after the fourth week of pregnancy was a big step in the direction of improved welfare of sows.

The end of milk quotas in the EU means that farmers can produce as much milk as they like, subsequently distorting the delicate balance of supply and demand. Subsequently, milk prices dropped significantly. Despite the price drop and distortion of the market, it appears that the intensification of dairy farms in the EU is on the rise. Across the EU, mega-dairy projects are popping up, and milk production is expected to increase. These mega-dairy facilities are large indoor facilities referred to as “zero grazing” or “mega dairies” where animals are never allowed outside. For example, Ireland plans to add 300,000 cows by 2020, mainly for export purposes (Kikou 2015). Despite all the initiatives on increased farm animal welfare, Kikou (2015) argues that the EU institutions fail repeatedly to address the declining welfare of dairy cows.

Fortunately, this time period also presents several action plans for the protection and welfare of farm animals. The Community Action Plan on the Protection and Welfare of Animals 2006-2010 gave five key actions for the member states to undertake (Vapnek and Chapman 2010 : 25). The Animal Health Strategy for the European Union 2007-2013 promoted farming practices and animal welfare preventing animal health related threats and minimise environmental impact (Vapnek and Chapman 2010 : 25). The EU animal welfare strategy 2012-2015 used the guiding principle of “everyone is responsible”, (Commission 2012 : 1). Contradictory, in a presentation given by the Directorate General for Health and Consumers in 2012, animal welfare was discussed as something of a niche, a demand by a small group of people. Products with “better animal welfare” should be marketed with more transparency to assist consumer choice (Commission Directorate General for Health and Consumers 2012 : 7, 13). The consumer behaviour that ultimately rewards the farmers was considered one of the most important incentives and drives for animal welfare investments.

4 Analysis of the results

Table 3.



The results of this study were not consistent with the expectations, in fact they were completely contradictory. Table 3. displays the result of the completed study and the general trends over time in anthropocentric, versus non-anthropocentric ways of relating to animals. In the first period analysed, the Awakening, the non-anthropocentric statements trumped the anthropocentric. In the documents studied, the discussion around farm animal welfare were more centred around reducing the suffering and pain farm animals experience during their lives in farming. There was less focus on maximising human interests and gain in animal farming. It is surprising that it was during the beginning of farm animal welfare policy we were the least anthropocentric in our disposition towards animals.

During the time of the Awakening, there were not as many intense factory farms across Europe, there were also fewer member states, which must be taken into account when analysing the results. The whole debate was on a smaller scale compared to the other two time periods, and animal welfare was generally an under discussed topic. Specifically, in the mid-1970s, the concept of farm animal welfare was new and relatively unheard of in the political realm. Talking about the suffering and pain of the farm animals might have been a way for the farm animal welfare advocates to get the attention they desired, as financial and public

health incentives would not have resonated as well as it does in the other two time periods. The results from the Awakening were

The research results from the Enlightenment are very interesting. The Enlightenment was a time of breakthrough and consideration was extended towards farm animals and their wellbeing. The research results were anticipated to show an increase in non-anthropocentric dispositions. Instead, the research showed the opposite. At this time, the scale of farming in the EU had increased significantly. The general public awareness was also starting to take shape. To draw on a personal example, when Sweden joined the EU in 1995, a big topic that was covered by the news was the new meat trade. Finally, Swedes could purchase meat from the continent at a much lower price. Soon images and videos started to emerge on the gruesome treatment of live animals during transport and slaughter. The public was suddenly enlightened on the suffering endured by food producing animals, and it was clear that the member states related to farm animal welfare very differently. However, the recognition of animals as sentient beings was the biggest reason that the research results were expected to reflect more non-anthropocentric dispositions. Was recognising the sentience of animals not underpinned by a genuine care for the welfare of animals?

The third and final period, Modernity, certainly presents the biggest surprise in this research. Animal welfare has a stand-alone article in TFEU, there are numerous strategies and initiatives on the improving of farm animal welfare, a greater public awareness and care has been identified, and the EU currently has the most extensive policy framework on the protection of farm animals in history. Therefore it was anticipated that our disposition towards animals would be highly non-anthropocentric in nature. The anthropocentric disposition found in the research material directly contradicts the findings of the 2015 Eurobarometer survey. The survey found that 94% of Europeans think that it is important to protect the welfare of farmed animals, and more than half of the respondents considered it to be very important (Eurobarometer 2015 : 8).

In sum, judging by the research results, it appears that we have become more anthropocentric in the way we related to animals. The study showed an increase in anthropocentric dispositions towards farm animals over the time. Motivations such as human health, food safety and financial incentives are prominent in animal welfare discussion. Thus, we cannot claim with great confidence that our consideration for farm animals has evolved considerably. The EU currently has a sophisticated arsenal of policy and regulation on farm animal welfare, however it does not seem to be for the sake of the animals. The main conclusion derived from this research is that the increased farm animal welfare is driven by a nuance of anthropocentrism. However, it is hidden behind a sophisticated, scientific language and although it might appear as we have changed the way we relate to animals, we still put our own interests first.

To go back to where I started, the result from my research is consistent with Svärd's (2015) findings. The principal hypothesis derived from Svärd's work is that the emergence of animal welfare regimes is not only attributed to an increasing concern for animal welfare. The findings in this research display similar result. This is interesting considering Svärd's research involved the high politics in Sweden between 1844 and 1944. To find similar results on EU level between 1974 and 2016 is fascinating. This strengthens the notion that human beings are motivated and guided by anthropocentrism.

It is beyond the scope of this thesis to speculate on the reasons why anthropocentrism is increasingly dominant in the motivations behind farm animal welfare in the EU. Additionally, a justified question would be "does it matter"? As long as farm animal welfare keeps growing and developing, we should be happy. However, this line of thought plays right into the hands of carnism. Farm animal welfare can improve significantly without anyone really questioning the system. Some animal rights focusing on the integrity and autonomy of animals oppose the animal welfare regime (Weizenfield and Joy 2014 : 23). Critics of animal welfareism argue that that fixing the symptoms of structural violence towards animals is of little help, as the root of the problem is not addressed. This is a valid point to consider, because as long as we still operate within the structures of carnism, our disposition towards animals will never really change.

5 Conclusion

This thesis has assessed the way we relate to animals over time in the EU. Farm animal welfare policy has increased at a steady pace in the EU since the mid 1970s. The aim of the research was to analyse whether our disposition towards animals has changed parallel to this policy increase. It was expected that as farm animal welfare policy progressed and expanded in the EU to cover more animals in several different situations, a change in how we relate to animals would be visible. However, the finding in the researched showed the exact opposite.

The limited interest of the human-animal relationship in political theory and political science was addressed at the beginning of the thesis. Significant work on the relationship between humans and animals has been carried out in other disciplines such as Sociology, Anthropology, Law, Criminology, History and Psychology. The research conducted in these fields include the strong relationship between human and animal violence, where cruelty towards animals raises the alarm for subsequent abuse towards humans. Sadly, cruelty towards animals is not considered a serious enough crime in itself, but is taken very seriously as an indicator for coming human abuse.

Despite extensive research on the human-animal relationship in other academic fields, animals and political science is not something often coupled together. A historical briefing on the exclusion of animals was given to provide a context of the long standing tradition of animal exclusion from the polis. The underpinning disposition of this thesis has been that animals ought to have a solid place on the political agenda. It is in fact the political processes and ideologies that regulate the societal usage and treatment of animals.

Further, the aim and purpose of this research was to continue Svärd's research (2015) on the problem representations of animal cruelty and welfare in Swedish high politics between 1844 and 1944. Svärd's conclusion was that the modern welfare regime is not only accredited to a genuine care for animals and their wellbeing. Taking a similar approach to Svärd, the thesis focused on the EU between 1974 and 2016. Although the results from the research were inconsistent with my expectations, they were consistent with the findings of Svärd's work.

Three time periods were selected for analysis in the EU: the Awakening (1974-1988), the Enlightenment (1991-2002) and Modernity (2005-2016). The periods were selected based on the political activity in the EU regarding farm animal welfare. The data was collected by looking at policy working documents

from the European Parliament, the Commission, the Council of the European Union as well as the Economic and Social Committee. The research omitted the actual policy itself, but focused on the working documents. The thesis used Bacchi's approach (2012 : 22) which argues that by looking at policy, critical attention can be directed towards the conceptual logics underpinning a certain issue. The operationalisation was simple and included counting the anthropocentric and non-anthropocentric statements in each document and placing them in the respective column in the Excel document used for data collection. Finally, a percentage was calculated which indicated the dominant disposition underpinning the policy working documents during each time period.

The trend observed in the research was that we are becoming more anthropocentric in how we relate to animals in the EU. The time scale of the research showed a trend in the direction of more anthropocentric dispositions towards farm animals. During Modernity, the most anthropocentric dispositions were identified in the policy working documents. It appears that what motivates farm animal welfare is not mainly a consideration of the animals and their welfare, but human factors such as public health and the product quality.

The theories used in the thesis were anthropocentrism and carnism. Anthropocentrism is the belief system that places humans at the centre of all significance. This logic reproduces the anthropocentric structures of society which allows for the exploitation of animals for human use. Carnism was used to provide the context in which we can understand the systematic abuse of animals. Carnism protects itself by remaining unseen and unquestioned. Society is conditioned to eat meat, it is only when you deviate from this norm that you have a belief system. Carnism is just the invisible system that constantly feeds us with a constructed narrative that eating meat is natural and good for us.

The findings in the research are interesting as they are incompatible with popular expectations that animal welfare regimes are progressive and have the animals' best interest at heart. Although this is true in some cases, on EU level we are still guided by what is beneficial for humans. This is disappointing as the EU prides itself as an ethical representative of responsible and humane treatment of farm animals. The EU encourages all international trading partners to adopt EU standards when it comes to husbandry, transport and slaughter of farm animals (Commission 2006 : 3-5).

It is beyond the scope of this thesis to speculate on why the anthropocentric disposition is so dominant in animal welfare policy. Potential future research could look into the reason. Future research could look at the surrounding factors and how they influence the way we relate to animals. Other potential approaches might be whether it is more efficient to address animal welfare in financial or public health terms to gain traction? What this research has confirmed is that we should be under no illusion that farm animal welfare is developed based

exclusively on love for animals. In fact, it appears that we have not progressed to far from the notion that 'Happy Animals are Tasty Animals'.

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