

Animals without Borders:
Farmed Animal Resistance in New York

Sarat Colling, Master of Arts

Submitted in partial fulfillment
of the requirements for the degree of

MA in Critical Sociology

Faculty of Social Sciences, Brock University
St. Catharines, Ontario

© 2013

Dedication

In memory of my father, Sidhu

Abstract

While billions of farmed animals are immobilized within agribusiness, every year some of these animals manage to break free. This thesis examines the stories of those who flee slaughterhouses and the public response to these individuals. My objective is to understand how animals resist and the role that their stories play in disrupting the ways that humans, particularly as consumers, are distanced from the violence of animal enterprises. Included are six vignettes that allow for an in-depth case study of those who have escaped within New York State. Located in the interdisciplinary field of critical animal studies, my inquiry draws upon new animal geographies, transnational feminisms, and critical discourse analysis. This contribution provides discussion of *farmed* animal resistance in particular and compares experiences and representations of their resistance from both the “view from below,” which is learned through the animals’ caretakers, and a “view from above,” which is gleaned from their representations in corporate-driven mainstream media.

Key Words

animal placemaking, animal standpoints, escape, resistance

Acknowledgments

I would like to thank my advisor John Sorenson for his ongoing support and encouragement to pursue this research. His work on critical animal studies and creating space to engage with such topics has been inspiring and invaluable. Many thanks go to Lauren Corman and Gale Coskan-Johnson for their support and serving on my committee. Lauren's radio show Animal Voices has long been a hub of knowledge, while Gale's directed studies course on transnational feminism was the root of much of this thesis' theoretical framework. Thanks also to David Nibert, whose work was an early influence for my academic pursuits, for serving as the external reviewer.

Much gratitude to Jenny Brown of Woodstock Farm Animal Sanctuary, Siobhan Poole of Cedar Row Farm Sanctuary, and Sophia Rivers of Farm Sanctuary for their participation in this project.

Many thanks to those who have supported my research and thesis in various ways including Anthony Nocella, Robert Alexander, Nancy Cook, Jason Del Gandio, Kevin Gosine, Julia Gottli, Milica Njegovan, Ebru Ustundag, Steve Romanin, Sherryl Vint, and all the wonderful faculty and staff in the Sociology Department at Brock University.

Thanks to Dylan Powell, John Margetts, Chris Wilbert, *Fifth Estate Magazine*, and The Talon Conspiracy Archives for helping me locate materials on animal resistance.

Thanks to my family for always encouraging me to study and write, and my three cats for keeping me company throughout the process.

I would also like to thank the Social Science and Humanities Council of Canada and the Province of Ontario for supporting this project.

TABLE OF CONTENTS

Introduction.....	2
Chapter Outline.....	9
Chapter I: Methodology.....	13
Introduction.....	13
Context: Animal Agribusiness in New York.....	14
Central Themes.....	15
Research Question.....	21
Data Collection.....	21
Self-Reflexivity and Trustworthiness.....	25
Chapter II: Animal Resistance Literature Review.....	30
Introduction.....	30
Animal Resistance in a History from Below.....	30
Animal Resistance in Animal Geography Literature.....	40
Animal Resistance in Cognitive Ethology Literature.....	43
Chapter III: Decolonial Animals: The Animals without Borders Approach.....	46
Introduction.....	46
Animals without Borders.....	47
Chapter IV: New York Slaughterhouse Escapees, 19th to 20th Century.....	59
Introduction.....	59
Animal Placemaking in New York.....	60
“Mad,” “Deviant,” and “On a Rampage”: Abnormal Animals.....	62
Cowboy-Police: Controlling and Corralling Bodies.....	67
Chapter V: Case Studies of New York Escapees, Early 21st Century.....	72
Introduction.....	72
Queenie’s Story.....	73
Lucky Lady’s Story.....	76
Molly’s Story.....	78
A Jamaica, Queens Bull’s Story.....	89
Mike Jr.’s Story.....	92
Harvey’s Story.....	96
The Vegan Farm.....	99
Chapter VI: “You Can’t Stay Neutral”: Summary and Future Directions.....	102
Summary.....	102
Species Solidarity, Beyond Borders.....	109
Future Research.....	116
Conclusion.....	117
Works Cited.....	118
Appendices.....	134
Appendix 1: Animal Antics.....	134
Appendix 2: Revolt of the Bats.....	135
Appendix 3: Shooting bull—Central Park.....	136
Appendix 4: Queenie.....	137
Appendix 5: Jay.....	138

Introduction

In 2000, in New York City, a speckled brown and white cow was being transported to a Brooklyn slaughterhouse when she dashed for her life. The escape paid off. Although Queenie, as she was later named, was scheduled to be taken back to the slaughterhouse after her escape, public outcry spared her this gruesome fate.

In 2007, a lamb held captive in a live market managed to flee onto the streets. Emergency Service Unit officers were called to the scene as she ran into a garage on East 133rd St. Lucky Lady was sent to a sanctuary.

In 2009, a small black calf made a break from a slaughterhouse. Molly was being unloaded for “meat” processing in Jamaica, Queens when she broke through a fence. She now lives at an organic vegetable farm on Long Island.

In 2011, a bull who escaped another slaughterhouse in Queens was denied mercy after being captured at York College Campus. Activists attempted to save the bull, but he had already been returned to the slaughterhouse and killed. The escape was filmed on a truck driver’s cell phone.

The following year, a steer captured media headlines after escaping from a Paterson New Jersey slaughterhouse, swimming across the Passaic River, and eluding police for hours. His breakout was filmed and elicited public support. Mike Jr., as he was later named, was trucked upstate to Woodstock Farm Animal Sanctuary.

Most recently, on a chilly November day in 2012, a speckled black and white rooster was found hiding in some bushes in Lower Manhattan amidst an anti-corporate

protest. Harvey was rescued by Occupy Goldman Sachs protestors after his mysterious escape.

This research examines the lived experience of farmed animals who have escaped from animal agribusiness and the public response to these individuals.¹ In particular, I analyze stories of those who escape through acts of resistance, fleeing their human captors.² Humans have long fantasized about the individual and collective resistance of other animals. From *The Birds* (1963) to *Day of the Animals* (1977), from *Jaws* (1975) to *The Rise of the Planet of the Apes* (2011),³ representations of animal resistance are recurring in popular and contemporary fiction. But animal resistance is no fictional phenomenon. It is a real response to the human exploitation of other creatures in the animal agribusiness, animal testing, animals as clothing, and animals as entertainment industries.

In an explicitly sociopolitical context, some of the first documentation of nonhuman resistance was produced by anarchist and left-wing publications such as

¹ Instead of the commonly used “farm animals,” I use the terms “farmed animals” or “formerly farmed animals” throughout this thesis. This terminology reflects how farming is not something inherent to the lives of those born into agribusiness but is forcibly imposed onto them (Gillespie, 2012, September 3). Katie Gillespie (2012) explains the distinction between these terms: “‘farm animals’ is a dominant phrase that is often used uncritically by many individuals and organizations in animal advocacy. ‘Farm animals’ implies that the inherent purpose of these animals is to be used on a farm. Choosing instead ‘farmed animals’ or ‘formerly farmed animals’ exposes the reality that farming is an external force being imposed on them; it is not fundamentally who they are.” Once formerly farmed animals arrive at an accredited and reputable sanctuary, I assume that they are no longer “farmed”; thus, they may be referred to as “formerly farmed” pigs, cows, chickens, and so on, or by their given names whenever possible. Once these individuals escape the grasp of their oppressor and remain out of the farming system, the “farmed” label no longer applies.

² All previously farmed animals, such as those who reside at farm sanctuaries, have in one way or another escaped from a fate of slaughter. In this thesis, “escape” generally refers to those who escaped by their own acts of resistance as opposed to being rescued by undercover investigations, the Animal Liberation Front (ALF), police raids, and so on.

³ Unfortunately, as with the former two, the “animals strike back” genre sometimes uses real animals for filmmaking. These films can instill an unreasonable fear of nonhuman animals, as with *Jaws* (1975), but as Grubbs (2012) writes, they can also bring awareness to animal liberation causes, such as in *The Rise of the Planet of the Apes* (2011).

“Revolt of the Bats” in *Fifth Estate* (1993) and “Animal Antics” in *Do or Die—Voices from Earth First!* (1995). Most recently, the observation that other animals resist human exploiters has been recognized by (critical) animal studies scholars (Bekoff, 2010; Best, 2011; Corman, 2012; Gillespie, 2012; Hribal, 2003; Hribal, 2007a; Hribal, 2007, April 17; Hribal, 2010; Jones, 2006; Jones, 2009; Masson, 2003; Nibert, 2002; Philo, 1998; Philo & Wilbert, 2000; Wilbert, 2000). In fictional works, animal escape, a rare and dramatic form of resistance, has proven a popular theme for audiences. In 1976 Patricia Highsmith (author of *The Talented Mr. Ripley*) published *The Animal-Lover’s Book of Beastly Murder*, a collection of short stories about animal abuse that culminate with the nonhuman protagonists fighting back. The following year, English animal rights activist and author Richard Adams (1977) published *The Plague Dogs*. This realistic tale is told from the perspective of two dogs who escape an animal testing laboratory. More recently, the popular film *The Rise of the Planet of the Apes* (2011) depicts chimpanzees escaping from animal testing laboratories, some of whom disappear into the forest. Animal escape has also been represented in political artwork such as punk music (Propagandhi, 2009), photography (McArther, 2010; see Appendix Five), and painting (Coe, see Appendix Four). These stories and representations have appeal because the protagonists are personalized, making it easier to elicit sympathy for their rebellions against injustice.

In the twenty-first century, real cases of animal resistance, particularly of animals in the entertainment and medical industries, are beginning to be documented and analyzed (Hribal, 2003; Hribal, 2007; Hribal, 2010). My research contributes to this documentation by focusing on *farmed* animal resistance which has yet to receive much academic analysis. However, several scholars have engaged with stories of farmed animal

resistors (Hribal, 2007; Gillespie, 2012; Masson, 2003; Nibert, 2002; Philo, 1998). For instance, Jeffrey Moussaieff Masson's (2003) *The Pig Who Sang to the Moon: The Emotional World of Farm Animals* cites several cases of resistance, such as when lambs in New Zealand flee from farms by unlatching gates, "evidently not an uncommon skill" (p. 103). Masson describes how some sheep farmers then worry that "the lamb might teach his less clever companions to do the same" (p. 103). In these cases, the farmers shoot the lambs, "so they can't pass on their knowledge" (Masson, p. 104). In contrast to the discourse that presents farmed animals as being dim-witted, these stories suggest that they are indeed thinking subjects who desire freedom (and highlights their status as commodities in the eyes of the farmers). Sociologist David Nibert (2002) describes cases of farmed animal resistance in his book *Animal Rights/Human Rights: Entanglements of Oppression and Liberation*. Like human resistors, Nibert explains how nonhuman animals embark on quests for liberation from human exploitation, yet their stories often go unheard:

Like many humans who strive to break free from confinement and deplorable maltreatment—including famous individuals such as Spartacus, Harriet Tubman, Denmark Vesey, Sitting Bull, and countless others—innumerable other animals...have attempted their own liberation. However, their efforts, whether successful or unsuccessful, are rarely recorded in history or even come to public attention. (p. 76)

Not only should these animals be recorded in history, but as Katie Gillespie (2012) has suggested, it should be acknowledged that they are "making history." In a critical animal studies conference presentation, Gillespie offered the case of Yvonne, a cow who fled a small farm and lived in the Bavarian woods for several months, as one of these world-making individuals.

To help fill the lacuna in academic studies of farmed animal resistance, and their roles as social and political actors, I examine six twenty-first century stories of farmed animals who fled from New York live markets and slaughterhouses, and who were documented in the media to various degrees. I offer a place-grounded analysis of how farmed animals resist and discuss how their actions disrupt the cognitive distance that exists between human consumers and animal agriculture. This approach is both rooted in the decolonial politics of transnational feminism and the interdisciplinary field of critical animal studies. Critical animal studies is an academic discipline that emphasizes theory and practice to understand and challenge the material and epistemic power relations and violence that affects human and nonhuman animals and the environment (Best, Nocella, Kahn, Gigliotti, & Kemmerer, 2007). Critical animal studies emerged in response to a lack of critical social perspectives on nonhuman animals and in response to academic “animal studies” which has either exploited other animals materially or epistemically by treating them as objects rather than subjects, i.e., “theoretical vivisection” (Nocella, 2012). To complement this intersectional approach, I draw on transnational feminism, which facilitates the recognition of race, culture, and the colonial legacy that, as Maneesha Deckha (2012) has suggested, needs to be more central in writings on “the animal question.” Thus, my reading is attentive to how animal resistance occurs across highly securitized or geographically exclusionary spaces and what the transgressions of animal subjects across borders— i.e., the metaphorical and literal walls, fences, boundaries, and barriers—inform us about animals’ societal exclusion/inclusion, resistance, and agency.

This project grew out of a paper that I presented at a critical animal studies conference at Brock University in 2011. The paper examines how migrant workers and nonhuman animals are located in the slaughterhouse system of imperial capitalist agribusiness. I invoke transnational feminist Sara Ahmed's (2000) work on what it means to recognize a "stranger" or "alien," a paradoxical process for in such recognition a *knowing* is entailed, and examine how "bodies that are marked as different from the human [white heteronormative male] body" create particular social spaces (Colling, 2011). The recognition and expelling of strangers is in fact often a racist process that serves to strengthen and maintain certain economic and social privileges. This recognition can also be viewed as a *speciesist* practice in which certain species are recognized as others or strangers. Nonhuman animals are expelled yet fetishized by the human community. To show how this fetishization of the nonhuman "stranger" occurs, I use the example of escaped farmed animals who, "Seen as, 'loose on the streets' ... are kept safely at bay from the 'purified space of community'" (Ahmed, 2000, as cited in Colling, 2011).

The "stranger fetishism" of farmed animal escapees is seen when they are distanced from the human community, in the slaughterhouses, factory farms, and live animal markets, yet simultaneously celebrated in newspaper articles and mainstream media stories as "unique" or "special" cases. This expelling and celebrating can occur on two levels. First, the freedom of an escapee may be championed in public discourse, but unless someone follows up on the "owner's" promise that this individual will be granted sanctuary, they may still end up being killed. Second, while an escaped animal may be granted freedom, those remaining in the food industry are viewed as less intelligent and

remain ignored. Thus, I am concerned with discovering the degree to which the public goes beyond viewing individual escapees as special cases, which is how they have often been viewed (Brown, personal correspondence, March 20, 2013; Coston, 2011), and instead questions the oppressive system that enslaves, marginalizes, and kills countless animals every year – a system that hides this killing “in plain sight” (Pachirat, 2011).

Jenny Brown (personal communication, March 20, 2013), founder of Woodstock Farm Animal Sanctuary (WFAS), explains this phenomenon of the public sympathizing with individual escapees, while ignoring the approximately ten *billion* animals being killed every year in the US alone. According to Brown (2013):

there is an interesting phenomenon that happens when there is one animal, a mammal, that gets away and it makes the news. And you see the animal running, or you see them back at animal care and control, or wherever they are being kept, and people will sympathize because all of a sudden that animal is an individual. When you think about the ten billion farmed animals that are killed every year for human consumption, those numbers are staggering. And it's hard to think of them as individuals, so when one animal escapes, and if a newscaster or somebody has nicknamed them something, that animal in the eyes of the public becomes more of a someone and not a something, an individual and not just a statistic.

Although animal agribusiness is the largest animal industry in North America (and the rest of the world), its apparatuses are conceptually and materially distanced from most of society despite their centrality in a culture that consumes ever increasing amounts of animal products, including bacon, hamburgers, chicken nuggets, milk, eggs, leather, and gelatin. Like the fictional stories that personalize animals, it is easier to elicit sympathy for farmed animals who escape than it is for the countless others who remain in animal enterprises. (Likewise, a news story about a specific child in need of operation may elicit sympathy while scores of children die each day from easily-preventable diseases, malnutrition, diseases, and so forth.) This phenomenon is maintained through distancing

strategies that ensure continued exploitation of those who become statistics, not subjects. Distancing occurs through the categorical hierarchies of labour, race, gender, and species; the material distancing of walls, fences, and borders; and the linguistic distancing of language barriers (Dunayer, 2001; Pachirat, 2011). Traditional western moral thought upholds these distancing strategies, from Aristotle who at the essence of his politics stated that humans are the only animals who possess speech, to the Cartesian insistence that animals are mere machines. Such distancing can also be understood as distancing: disengagement with the land represented by industrial agriculture removing American consumers from food production (Berry, 1996). Countering the dominant paradigm of human exceptionalism, this thesis is rooted in the recognition that “[e]very sentient creature is a world-maker” (Gray, 2013, p. 163). Those held captive in factory farms, live markets, and slaughterhouses possess agency that becomes visible when they resist through escape and, I argue, interrupts the distancing strategies of animal agribusiness.

Chapter Outline

This thesis includes a methodological overview, a literature review on animal resistance, a discussion of the “animals without borders” approach, a historicizing textual moment from the nineteenth century on escaped animals on the streets of New York City, and a case study analysis of animal escapes in New York during the early twenty-first century.

Chapter One describes the central themes of slaughterhouse distancing strategies and animal transgression and resistance. I explain my multi-method approach of collecting data from online news articles, comments on online news articles, and

interviews, blog postings, and books by farm sanctuary workers. I also explain why New York is a salient setting to explore farmed animal resistance.

Animal resistance is the central theme of this research. The second chapter assesses previous scholarship on animal resistance, particularly in the fields of history, new animal geographies, and critical animal studies. Animal resistance has been examined within frameworks of “history from below,” new animal geographies, and cognitive ethology literature. In this review, I draw on transnational feminist scholarship to suggest an explicit decolonial framework for discussing animal agency and the importance of solidarity building across species lines.

In Chapter Three, I describe my framework for studying nonhuman animals. Recognizing the global capitalist context in which these escapes occur, this framework is largely based in decolonial feminist pedagogy. A key concept I am developing throughout this work is a transnational feminist inspired “animals without borders” approach, which foregrounds nonhuman animals’ resistance towards human-created borders and challenges the human/animal dichotomy. This outlook dismantles ideologies of human exceptionalism that maintain distancing through real and imagined boundaries.

Chapter Four offers a textual moment from the nineteenth and early twentieth century in which slaughterhouse escapes, particularly of steers, are recorded by the *New York Times*. Histories of farmed animal escapes and the response they provoke add texture and context to this project. During the Victorian era, the discursive separation between human and nonhuman animals is connected with the construction of the “abnormal” and “deviant” figure. From the West to New York, bodies deemed wild and

difficult to control are contained and corralled by “cowboy-police,” a term which evokes the connection between the oppression of humans and other animals, and the way hyper-masculinity leads to domination and confinement.

In Chapter Five, I examine six twenty-first century cases of escaped farmed animals. To answer my central question, the degree in which slaughterhouse escapees disrupt the distancing of animal agribusiness, this chapter draws on mainstream media stories, responses to media stories, publications by farm sanctuary workers, and interviews with farm sanctuary workers.⁴ The mainstream texts demonstrate both reification and blurring of the human/animal dichotomy. Although a discursive shift demonstrating a change in attitudes towards farmed animals occurs between the nineteenth and twenty-first century texts, this has not translated into material changes for the vast majority of animals raised for food.

The final chapter summarizes my argument that the movements of escaped farmed animals challenge hegemony and control of the spaces, places, and borders they cross. When farmed animals resist—such as through escapes from slaughterhouses, factory farms, and live markets—they interrupt the ways that members of western society are disconnected from animal products. In this interruption, they bring awareness of oppressive borders: borders that are policed to uphold the hegemony of the “animal-industrial-complex” (Noske, 1997). Although the escapees challenge oppressive borders, the degree in which this occurs is ambiguous. Some of the responses to the escapes

⁴ Sanctuaries take in animals who have been removed from places of abuse and neglect. They may focus on housing a specific species, such as chickens, sloths, chimpanzees, or dolphins, or they may house several species at once. While sanctuaries for previously farmed animals are usually called “farm sanctuaries,” they do not actually farm the animals. The title refers to the fact that they take in those whom are widely considered farm animals. The first sanctuary for previously farmed animals was The Watkins Glen, NY, Farm Sanctuary.

reinforce the human-animal divide by framing these animals as unique and special, thus failing to transcend the lies and secrecy of animal agribusiness. Slaughterhouse escapees, then, occupy the centre of a discursive struggle in which power reasserts itself through humor, ridicule, gendering, racialization, and other material and discursive means.

Chapter I:

Methodology

Introduction

In the initial stage of this research, I visited sanctuaries and found films, news articles, music videos, and children's books on escaped farmed animals. Eventually I narrowed the project to include vignettes of six cases of escapees in New York from 2000-present day, five of whom have escaped from slaughterhouses and now reside at farm sanctuaries, and one of whom was sent back to the slaughterhouse and killed after his escape. This chapter outlines the methodology of this case study. I provide background and context for the cases, which includes the hegemony of animal agribusiness and the plight of escaped animals in the US financial capital. I explain the objective of this study, which is to understand how animals resist, through escape in particular, and how this resistance disrupts the distancing of human consumers from the "meat" industry. I review my procedures of data collection, which include interviews, blog postings, and books by farm sanctuary workers; online news articles; and comments on online news articles. Finally, I discuss the importance of self-reflexivity and trustworthiness (of myself and others) for qualitative research on the resistance and agency of nonhuman animals that is conducted from a human perspective. Theoretical concepts invoked in this research include distancing strategies of the slaughterhouse (Pachirat, 2011) and animal resistance (Philo, 1998; Philo & Wilbert, 2000; Hribal, 2007; Hribal, 2010). In this section, I define animal resistance.

Context: Animal Agribusiness in New York

Place-based spatial analyses on animal agency are rare. In New York, Day (2008) and Horowitz (2008) have written about the history of slaughterhouses, from their geographical location (Day) to the politics of “meat shopping” (Horowitz). These articles focus on human concerns with little mention of those whose bodies are used for the “meat.” For example, in his article, “Butchers, Tanners, and Tallow Chandlers,” Day (2008) writes about the geography of slaughterhouse business in Manhattan during the late-eighteenth– mid-nineteenth century and the effect of the city’s regulation and deregulation policies on meat workers (p. 179). On future research ideas, he suggests:

...historians should continue to explore the interactions of large and small-scale businesspeople (such as butchers and tanners) to examine the economic systems that shape their day-to-day lives and illuminate their long-term, often discrete roles as instigators of change in the shifting social and economic geography of the city itself. (Day, p. 197)

While Day is interested in the role of the butchers and other slaughterhouse related workers, as “instigators of change,” little mention is made of the slaughtered animals themselves as victims or agents of change. In the New York context, scholars have yet to acknowledge the resistance and agency of those who are sent to the butcher’s block.

In fact, since the nineteenth century, there have been numerous cases of animal resistance documented in New York, particularly in New York City. The history recorded in the archives of the city’s newspapers includes animal escapes, from elephants to wolves, and from bulls to bears (Fernandez, 2009). (As discussed below, the *New York Times* is a main source of my data for farmed animal escapees.) New York is a significant and particularly salient site of analysis for *farmed* animal escapees, their inclusion/exclusion and their resulting (im)mobilities in the urban environment. Various

factors have led New York City (and surrounding areas) to become a hotbed of animal resistance—or at least one where such resistance is recorded. Significantly, New York State is the home to the first farmed animal sanctuary in the US. This extensive history of escapees on the streets of New York is due to several factors: the numerous live animal markets operating throughout the city that have kept animals on the premises until they were killed and sold (Barnard, 2009), the docking of cattle ships on the city's shores carrying animals headed for slaughter (Plimsoll, 2007), and the presence of newspaper reporters in the city eager to record a public spectacle. In 2012 alone, over one-hundred animals were recorded as having escaped slaughterhouses and live markets in the city (“NY Sanctuaries”).

Central Themes

Distancing Strategies of Slaughterhouses

When encountered in the spaces outside the slaughterhouse, farmed animals highlight power relations of the borders they transgress—borders that keep animal industries “hidden in plain sight” through distancing techniques (Pachirat, 2011). Timothy Pachirat, who worked at a slaughterhouse for investigative research, argues that three forms of distancing occur in industrial slaughterhouses: physical, social, and linguistic. *Physical distancing* is most apparent with the segregation between the “dirty side” (the kill floor) and the “clean side” (everything that comes after the kill floor).⁵ This is a spatial division that works to “fragment sight, to fracture experience, and to

⁵ Pachirat discusses how divisions are designated visually by the colour of work hats worn in the slaughterhouse. There is an illusion by those on the so-called “clean side” (including those in office positions, inspectors, etc.) that they are not responsible for the killing as those on the “dirty” side are, an illusion maintained by the various distancing strategies.

neutralize the work of violence” (Pachirat, p. 159). From the outside, the industrialized slaughterhouse Pachirat worked at “blends seamlessly into the landscape...” (p. 23) but upon entering the building’s sterile office, this deceptiveness is betrayed by the

metal wall that severs it from the rest of the slaughterhouse, at once marking the southern boundary at the front office and towering above it. This wall both demarcates and enables the volatile combinations of citizenship, race, class, and education that separate the industrialized slaughterhouse’s zones of privilege from its zones of production. (p. 27)

Distancing through *hierarchical social categories* occurs through labour, race, class, citizenship, and species divisions. There are also *linguistic divisions* because many workers do not speak English, many workers fear the consequences of speaking out, and nonhuman animals’ voices are rarely heard.

In some respects, distancing strategies still occur with live markets, but in a different way than industrial factory farms and slaughterhouses. Unlike large commercial slaughterhouses, which employ highly securitized techniques of concealment, the approximately eighty live animal markets in New York City can be entered by anyone (Croghan & Lee, 2011). Although they uphold the dominant paradigm of western European society that naturalizes the exploitation of animals, live markets are different than factory farms because they encourage people to come face-to-face with their “meat.” “Live market” means that customers see the animals when they are still alive, and can choose who they want to have butchered. The primary difference between live animal markets and factory farms is that live markets are open to all before the slaughter process, while consumers of factory farming only see the animals’ dismembered body parts after the animals have been slaughtered. When animals escape from live market facilities,

because of their central locations in the city, these escapees come directly into the public sphere. I address the complexity of live markets and distancing strategies in Chapter Five.

Animal Resistance

The notion that other animals resist is central to this study. As Hribal (2003; 2010) argues, in transgressing boundaries, escaping confinement, and fighting back against oppressors, nonhuman animals demonstrate intentionality and resistance. They break out of laboratories and zoo enclosures, bash back against their trainers, and escape from transport trucks and slaughterhouses. In some cases, several hundred animals will escape together, whether a group of one-hundred rhesus monkeys who broke out of a laboratory (Hribal, 2010, p. 96), 5000 rabbits who escaped when a slaughterhouse truck rolled over (“5000 Bunnies Escape,” 2007), 1000 turtles who escaped an enclosure (“Turtles Escape,” 2012), or hundreds of buffalo who fled from a “meat” farm (Pfeiffer, 2012). It should come as little surprise that other animals have responded with force and cunning to the systematic violence they face daily. Animal escapees are “out of place” when they transgress the spatial regulations of captive places, but they are also “out of place” *within* these places where they are deprived of a natural environment.

Farmed animal escapees exhibit a “particularly dramatic act of animal ‘out of placeness’” when they transgress the spatial regulations of agribusiness and the urban environment that regulates their movements (Philo & Wilbert, 2000, p. 22-23). Acts that are judged to be “out of place” by societal institutions such as the media and government are “transgressive acts” that “provide ‘potentials’ for resistance...” (Cresswell, 1996, p. 23). In their discussion of animals escaping from the zoo, Philo and Wilbert (2000) write, “moral panics” occur when nonhuman animal escapees become out of place. A

deep uneasiness occurs when animals, not only domesticated escapees but also urban wildlife, transgress human spatial orderings, and we see “a measure of (resistant) agency on the part of animals...” (Philo & Wilbert, 2000, p. 23). Farmed animals have long been transgressing the borders erected by humans. Hribal (2003) cites an eighteenth century botanist who believed that within every herd of cows, some would refuse to obey the rules: “there was no enclosure strong enough to resist them if they had a mind to break through it” (p. 448). Other cows would follow their lead. Hribal also cites observations of pigs and horses who refused to let fences confine their movements. As well as corporeal movements, nonhuman animals may also mobilize by *refusing* to move:

Donkeys have ignored commands. Mules have dragged their hooves. Oxen have refused to work...each of these acts of resistance has been fully recognized by the farmer, owner, driver, supervisor, or manager as just that: *acts of resistance*. (Hribal, 2007, p. 103)

Although often recognized as resistors by their captors, the question of whether other animals possess cognitive capacities associated with resistance, such as intentionality, or the ability to resist in a meaningful way, remains contested (Hribal, 2011; Philo, 1998; Thierman, 2011). In an interview with Animal Voices Radio, Hribal (2011) explains how he distinguishes resistance from instinctual response. Using the example of circus elephants, he argues that animals who repeatedly act against their own self-interest to remove themselves from oppressive situations demonstrate resistance:

Every captive animal knows, through years of direct experience and learned response, which actions will be rewarded and which actions will be punished. So elephants, for instance, most of them are trained with bullhooks, if they do something wrong they get hit repeatedly or stabbed with the barbed end to correct those actions so that they don't do them again. So really it's against their own self-interest to be disobedient in any way, because who wants to get hit...Yet, history is filled with cases of captive elephants doing just that: continuously refusing commands or purposefully injuring trainers even though they are going to get beaten, and then they do, and then they get back out again,

and then they do it again. That's why I say these are acts of resistance: because these animals are *struggling* against their captivity and against domination.

Thus, according to Hribal, resistance is apparent especially when an animal is subject to something terrible as a result of their struggle, a common occurrence in violent animal training procedures. I agree with Hribal that elephants and other animals who repeatedly fight back against their oppressors are engaging in intentional resistance. Circus elephants are conscious of the fact that they will be beaten if they dissent, but they repeatedly ignore the instincts that would lead them on the path of least resistance, which suggests a reflective intentionality. However, his definition seems to suggest that nonhuman animals must demonstrate mindful or reflective intentionality to be considered resisters. This view is compatible with a definition of resistance that implies “purposeful action directed against some disliked entity with the intention of changing it or lessening its effect...” (Cresswell, 1996, p. 22-23).

Before I offer my own definition of animal resistance, it may be helpful to examine a textbook definition. A popular definition can be found in *The Oxford Dictionary Online* (n.d.) which defines resistance as 1) “...the refusal to accept or comply with something.” This refusal may entail “the use of force or violence to oppose someone or something (e.g., “she put up no resistance to being led away”) and “a secret organization resisting authority”; 2) “the ability not to be affected by something, especially adversely”; and 3) the impeding or stopping effect exerted by one material thing on another.”⁶ Under this broad definition, the capacity to resist cannot be solely attributed to human beings. While nonhuman animals clearly do not actually form “a

⁶ Only relevant definitions are included here.

secret organization” as represented in George Orwell’s *Animal Farm*,⁷ they do exhibit the first definition of resistance which is “...the refusal to accept or comply with something” by using “force or violence to oppose someone or something.” Undoubtedly, the very notion of escape signifies resistance.

Considering the above definitions, I offer a narrowed definition of resistance that I believe applies to many nonhuman animals as well as human animals. Whether other animals can resist in the *political and social* sense is an important question (Philo, 1998). Given their position as oppressed subjects, nonhuman animals do resist in the political and social context. While I find Hribal’s definition of resistance, particularly of elephants, useful and enlightening, it should be emphasized that nonhuman animals do not require *self-conscious* intention or intentionality to be considered resisters. Resistance, in a political context, includes actions that oppose and challenge the dominant paradigm through the transgression of borders by defying the conceptual or material walls, fences, and other boundaries that keep human and/or nonhuman animals captive. Resistance *may or may not* include strategy or self-reflection on the intention, but resistance is an act that entails the desire to be free from captivity, violence, and suffering⁸ that occurs in systems of oppression and domination.⁹

⁷ *Animal Farm*, a book that depicts a rebellion of farmed animals against their owners, is largely understood as an allegory for communism, although, while observing a boy whipping a cart-horse, Orwell did acknowledge that “if only such animals became aware of their strength we should have no power over them, and that men exploit animals in much the same way as the rich exploit the proletariat” (cited in Perlo, 2002, p. 310).

⁸ Numerous cases of animals’ experiences of pleasure and pain are documented in the field of cognitive ethology. For instance, see Balcombe’s (2007) *Pleasurable Kingdom: Animals and the Nature of Feeling Good*.

⁹ Domination occurs on the individual level while oppression is systematic and may be constituted from many acts of domination. I use these terms in the context of the economic inequalities that lead to the violence and subjugation of living creatures.

Research Question

Applying this definition of resistance, my central question is the following: how do farmed animals in New York resist and what impacts does this resistance have on the distancing strategies of humans who consume animal products in industrial society? To answer this question I consider the view from the “margins” of society, akin to the “view from below,” and the view from the “centre” of society, akin to the “view from above” (Hribal, 2007). The view from below or the margins is concerned with how farmed animals escape, and how we can know the escapees and their intentions. It is concerned with the animals’ standpoints and recognizes other animals as agents of social change.

Relating to the media and “view from above” or “the centre,” I ask, to what degree and how does the public make connections between the escaped animals and animal products? Speaking to sanctuary workers and viewing patterns in the public’s comments on media articles aid in answering this question. Sanctuary workers observations and mainstream media articles offer insight into the escapees’ impacts on public consciousness, while the comments allow for a deeper understanding on the public response. These comments are only representative of those who read articles (or watch videos) online and are inclined to comment but they are some of the most relevant data available to understand the degree in which escaped animals’ stories transform public consciousness.

Data Collection

My objects of analysis are primarily online newspaper articles, farm sanctuary blogs (e.g. Farm Sanctuary and Woodstock Farm Animal Sanctuary), books that profile

animals who live at farm sanctuaries (Baur, 2008; Brown, 2012; Hart, 2012; No Voice Unheard, 2010), and interviews with farm sanctuary founders and volunteers (Brown, personal communication, March 18, 2013; Poole, personal communication, September 10, 2012; Rivers, personal communication, March 15, 2013).

Interviews

This research includes three interviews. I located interviewees through telephone and email. The first interview was held in September 2012 with Siobhan Poole who founded Cedar Row Farm Sanctuary in Southern Ontario thirteen years ago. This interview was conducted while I walked with Poole around her diverse and well-populated sanctuary on a small acreage with a variety of previously farmed animals, ranging from potbellied pigs to chickens rescued from battery cages. At the time of this interview I had not yet narrowed the research context to New York. The interview was beneficial as I was able to see close up how a farm sanctuary operates, and meet some of the residents at the farm. It was an inspiring entry point. Sanctuaries are a significant entry point for education on farmed animals and have provided a place for escapees to live their lives fully without harm. While Poole has several slaughterhouse escapees at the sanctuary, overall it was difficult to obtain data on farmed animals who had escaped through acts of resistance in the Southern Ontario region (and Canada) as a whole, and because of this I narrowed the site of analysis to New York, a location in which information was more readily available.

Next, in March 2013, I held telephone interviews with two people who work at sanctuaries that house escapees featured in this project. First, I spoke with Sophia Rivers, an Education Coordinator for Farm Sanctuary. Farm Sanctuary, where I've had the good

fortune to visit and meet many previously farmed animals, was the first sanctuary for rescued farmed animals. Founded in 1973, Farm Sanctuary is located on both the East and West Coasts of the US. Rivers works at the Northern California Sanctuary. Second, I spoke to Jenny Brown, the founder of Woodstock Farm Animal Sanctuary. Brown's book, called *The Lucky Ones: My Passionate Fight for Farm Animals*, chronicles her life, from being diagnosed with bone cancer at age ten, to the present day as a co-founder with her husband Doug of Woodstock Farm Animal Sanctuary. The interview subjects had some connection to farmed animal escapees. Poole's interview is important because she had several escapees plus the near proximity to where I was living at the time. Brown and Rivers add texture to the project because they work at sanctuaries that take in many escaped farmed animals from New York City. When I told interviewees that I was researching farmed animal escapees, they were all willing to discuss the topic.

Mainstream Media Publications

For the mainstream media articles, I searched the *New York Times* (complete), Chronicling America: The Library of Congress (1836-1922), and Google. Using words and phrases such as "escaped from abattoir," "slaughterhouse escape," "pig/cow/horse/chicken/bull/steer/sheep escape," and other variations, I found approximately one-hundred stories of escaped farmed animals from around the world from the early nineteenth century to the present day. Approximately one-half of these articles are from New York, the place with the highest concentration of data on escaped farmed animals. Articles that were relevant to the case studies of individual escapees and over a single sentence in length, or included a video, were the most fruitful for discussion. These articles were narrowed down to thirty mainstream media articles

published in the nineteenth and twentieth century and then studied for historical context (1877-1999), and fifteen mainstream media articles published in the twenty-first century that served as case study data (2000-2012). I was primarily interested in three themes when searching the comments: 1) the expressions of personal transformation such as becoming vegetarian or vegan after learning about the escape; 2) the moments of education such as discussions about factory farming, and 3) the cognitive dissonance often seen through a defense mechanism of joking about the escapee.

Animal Sanctuary Publications

I located approximately twenty-five stories in the form of blog postings or short vignettes written by farm sanctuary workers and volunteers. Results from Google searches using the same terms described above were narrowed to ten relevant publications: those on escapees who have either fled from or are currently residing in New York, and who are the subject of several (mainstream) media articles. Queenie, Molly, Mike Jr., and Lucky Lady are some of the most discussed escapees in media articles. Queenie is the first I can locate on record who was sent to a farm animal sanctuary. Although Harvey the rooster's story was not the subject of mainstream media articles, it is included because chickens are the most common species to escape on the streets of New York. I want my discussion to reflect this fact. The escapee from Jamaica, Queens who was sent back to slaughter in 2011 is included not only because of the media attention his story attracted, but also to show the bleak reality that still exists for many escapees today.

Critical Discourse Analysis

Using critical discourse analysis, I asked questions such as what pronouns are used to refer to escapees and whether they are represented as passive or active. The articles and responses may objectify the animal, discuss them as an individual, or occupy a grey area between these responses. I also examine what phrases are used that may suggest new ways of perceiving escaped farmed animals. Fairclough (2003) writes that social agents such as journalists will “texture texts” by setting up relations between their elements (p. 12). This texturing refers to how, in part, the meaning of discourses can be discovered by examining patterns of co-occurrence and proximity (the relation) of words in texts. This examination includes recognizing which words or statements are frequently found in close proximity with one another (Fairclough, 2003, p. 131).

Thus, the statements about slaughterhouses found next to descriptions of escaped animals can be significant. For instance, Barnard (2009) explains, “Complaints about slaughterhouses often fall among local, federal and state regulators, said City Councilman Peter F. Vallone Jr. of Astoria, Queens, where a fleeing cow made headlines in 2000.” Here, the “complaints about slaughterhouses” are discussed in the same sentence as a “fleeing cow.” That fleeing farmed animals are cited in association with these complaints suggests that they have captured the public eye and may even influence policy.

Self-Reflexivity and Trustworthiness

To develop trustworthiness and offer a holistic picture of the escapees’ lives, and the public response to them, I triangulate the results of the analysis of archival news stories (including public comments), interviews, and blogs from people who work with

escaped animals.¹⁰ The mainstream articles offer a sense of the popular representations of escapees, while stories from sanctuary workers, whether through interviews, books, or blogs, contribute to understanding escapes from what Wolch (1999) calls the “animal standpoints or ways of being in the world” (p. 124). Sanctuary workers (along with the nonhuman animals who abide at sanctuaries) are the closest to the escaped animals who reside at their farms. The writings and interviews of farm sanctuary workers show that these individuals exhibit a close connection to the residents at their sanctuaries and qualities such as a genuine interest in understanding, listening to, and caring for the animals. These stories serve to “fill in the gaps” as much as possible (while recognizing that this can never be fully possible) of those who are unable to narrate their stories to humans in the ways that those who escaped slavery, such as Harriet Jacobs or Frederick Douglass, were able to accomplish. For example, Jenny Brown of Woodstock Farm Animal Sanctuary attempts to understand animals’ perspectives in her book *The Lucky Ones* (2012). Discussing an escaped goat named Albie with whom she formed a close bond, Brown writes:

We try to imagine the moment of escape for the animals who manage it. Were they just arriving and darted off during unloading? Were they being led from their pens, moments from slaughter? Was someone taking them home alive to slaughter at a celebration or religious gathering? We usually don’t know for sure, but regardless, our primary concern is bringing them to safety. (p. 61)

Like the blogs and books written by farm sanctuary workers, the goal of the interviews is to offer a fuller understanding of escapees’ lives than what is found in mainstream news

¹⁰ Shenton (2004) emphasizes the role of triangulation in promoting *confirmability* to reduce the effect of investigator bias. Lincoln and Guba’s approach to trustworthiness seeks to satisfy four criteria: credibility, transferability, dependability, and confirmability (Shenton, 2004). To gain credibility I frame my findings within previous research and include member checking for interviewees by sending interviewees transcripts of the interview for their review and approval. Member checking in particular is the single most important provision that can be made to bolster a study’s *credibility* (Shenton, p. 33). The detailed description of research methodology in this chapter has been included for *dependability*.

articles, particularly if there was not a substantial amount of written information on them already.

The question of how to represent and write on behalf of marginalized communities and individuals is a central concern of decolonial research. Researchers are cautious of unequal power relations that may occur between the researcher and research subject, and engage in self-reflexive critique to mitigate the risk of reproducing colonial practices through research (Hales, 2006; Lawrence & Dua, 2005). This approach entails recognizing the centrality of colonialism and neocolonialism in oppressive social practices.¹¹ A decolonial method of critical animal studies, thus, reads documents from the perspective of the colonized nonhuman animals rather than the colonizer. Researchers avoid projecting their assumptions about truth onto their subjects, while also remembering that they are on some level also failing at this endeavor. It is never fully possible to “fill in the gaps” because nonhuman animals do not narrate their stories in a way that humans can easily comprehend. As a human being discussing the stories of other animals, I recognize the responsibility of studying those who have often been referred to as “voiceless,” problematic language that risks silencing other animals. In fact, other animals *do* speak many different languages (Balcombe, 2007; Bekoff, 2010; Corman, 2012; Masson, 2003; Smuts, 2006). As the political philosopher John Gray writes in *The Silence of Animals: On Progress and Other Modern Myths*, “It is not that

¹¹ Jennifer Hale’s (2006) anti-colonial critique of research methodology offers a broad definition of colonization as including “all forms of dominating and oppressive relationships that emerge from structures of power and privilege inherent and embedded in our contemporary social relations” (p. 244). Vandana Shiva (2000) suggests that today globalization and free trade, both assumed to be neutral phenomena, are the new words that define colonialism.

creatures lack language. The discourse of birds is more than a human metaphor. Cats and dogs stir in their sleep, and talk to themselves as they go about their business” (p. 163).

Thus, I do not claim to be purely objective in that, like all researchers, I have a social ideology that influences my research topic and process. In fact, I am always glad to hear that escapees have been rescued rather than being sent to the slaughterhouse. Such was the case of the first slaughterhouse escapee I ever met: a steer named Charlie. Charlie’s story is unique because, while many escapees are captured by the police, or concerned citizens, and then transported to farm sanctuaries, Charlie was actually noticed by Cedar Row Animal Sanctuary founder Siobhan Pool and rescued on the spot, taken to his new home. During my visit to the Southern Ontario sanctuary in September 2012, Poole explained how she found Charlie. One day, on her way to the grocery store, she spotted “this thing running down the road.” At first she thought it was a “big dog” but the dog turned out to be a calf. She pulled up to the large 80-90 lb. calf who had a tag in his ear. After eyeing her, he “started booking down the road again.” She describes what happened next:

I had to run and tackle him into the deep snow to get him to stop running. I tried to pick him up, and I couldn’t pick him up. Thankfully this girl came running quite a distance, and she was freaking out, she was like: “he’s gonna die, he’s gonna die” because it was -25 degrees. She picked up the back end and I picked up the front end and we threw him in the back of my van. So I’m driving like this...he’s trying to get in the front seat with me, and I’m trying to keep him in the back to drive home. All I could think of was how I’m going to tell Pete my husband that I have a cow in the back of the van... (Poole, personal communication, September 10, 2013)

When I noted that it was fortunate that the young woman was present to help, she agreed because indeed the calf was so heavy, but added that, either way “I would have got him in my van; it wouldn’t have been pretty, but he was going in my van.” It took several days

to be sure that the calf would survive as he was suffering from various ailments. Yet he did, and soon Charlie was joined by a cow, Chickpea. Today they live peacefully together at Cedar Row. Charlie was probably a veal calf who came from one of the two dairy farms nearby. If Charlie had not been rescued by Poole, then he may well have been found by someone who would return him to a dairy farm to become veal.¹²

Many of us can only imagine what life has been like for Charlie, what he thinks when he sees snow, cars, and sunshine for the first time. Telling and listening to these stories, while rejecting savior narratives, can lead to coalitions and partnerships with nonhuman animals. Other animals become understood as subjects, social actors, and resistors.

¹² Veal calves are considered a byproduct of the dairy industry. Cows are artificially inseminated every thirteen months to keep producing milk, a practice resulting in a surplus of babies. Being of the dairy cow breed, these calves don't make the same quality of beef, so they are taken away from their mother, used instead for the veal industry. They are kept isolated in tiny crates until death, immobilized and anemic. In this unnatural situation, the mother cows are prone to ailments such as a painful infection of the udder called mastitis. Once their milk production declines, dairy cows are slaughtered for "meat." Although they can live about twenty years, dairy cows are usually slaughtered after four.

Chapter II:

Animal Resistance Literature Review

Introduction

This chapter reviews the existing academic literature on animal resistance. Scholarship on animals who transgress borders and resist their oppression has emerged in the late twentieth and early twenty-first century in the fields of new animal geography (Philo, 1998; Philo & Wilbert, 2000; Wilbert, 2000), history (Hribal, 2003; Hribal, 2007; Hribal, 2010), critical animal studies (Best, 2011), and cognitive ethology (Bekoff, 2010). Research on animal transgression, agency, and resistance has been conducted through case studies of nonhuman animals (Hribal, 2010; Philo, 1998). It has also been addressed through a study of anarchist groups who celebrate nonhuman resistance (Wilbert, 2000), and through a critique and review of animal resistance from an intersectional critical animal studies perspective (Best, 2011). Concerned with the nonhuman animals' perspectives, this work explores questions of whether other animals can resist and experience intentionality, and whether this resistance is comparable to human resistance. In response, drawing on transnational feminism, I emphasize that although other animals indeed resist in various ways, we should exercise caution in claims of knowing across species lines. Our understanding of other animals is always filtered through human language. When the colonized individuals are nonhuman animals, perhaps the best that activists and scholars can do is make educated attempts to understand their viewpoints.

Animal Resistance in a History from Below

In “Animals Are Part of the Working Class”: A Challenge to Labor History,” Hribal (2003) argues that animals’ bodies and labour in the meat, wool, dairy, egg, manufacturing, transport, and lumber industries have been the very material for capitalist and industrial expansion. In fact, “horses, cows, or chickens have labored, and continue to labor, under the same capitalist system as humans” (Hribal, p. 436). By providing “an historical account of the roles animals have played in the development of the agricultural and industrial revolution,” as commodities, property, and labourers, but also resisters who “contested their expropriation and exploitation” the article challenges the notion that only humans can be considered workers (Hribal, p. 436). Hribal contends that “[t]he animals rights movement was part of the working class movement, for their formations had always been linked. Animals are part of the working class” (Hribal, p. 453). Animal liberationists have struggled for the recognition and rights of a rarely acknowledged sector of the working class: the nonhuman animals who labor alongside human beings in the fields and factories.

Hribal expands on the methodology for studying animals’ histories in “Animals, Agency, and Class: Writing the History of Animals from Below” (2007). The article places the agency of farmed animals in particular “into the process of historical writing” (Hribal, p.101). The history of animals must be conducted as a “history from below,” in which animals are valued not because of the perceived benefit of their exploitation for humans, but because each individual’s life has inherent worth and meaning to them (Hribal, p. 101). Hribal differentiates the history from below and the “perspective from above” which views the lives of nonhuman animals as having “little to no value outside of [their] service to humanity” (p. 101). According to this perspective, nonhuman animals

lack agency, language, and rights and are therefore distinct from human beings who are said to uniquely possess these characteristics.

Hribal (2007) critiques texts that he believes fail to differentiate between social history and history from below. Some may believe that “if a scholar is studying unrepresented or underrepresented historical figures [such as nonhuman animals]...then by default, this scholar is supposedly studying history through the perspective of these same figures” (Hribal, p. 102). According to Hribal this view is faulty. He cites Erica Fudge’s (2002) chapter “A Left-Handed Blow: Writing the History of Animals” as one of those that fails to differentiate between these historical approaches. Fudge (2002) argues that because our historical understandings of other animals are necessarily filtered through a human lens, “then we are never looking at the animals, only ever at the representation of the animals by humans” (p. 6). The question of how we can represent animals is an ethical one. She contends that,

The inevitable centrality of the human in the history of animals—the reliance upon documents created by humans—need not be regarded as a failing, because if a history of animals is to be distinctive it must offer us what we might call an “interspecies competence”: that is, a new way of thinking about and living with animals. Holistic history, in its redrawing of the human, offers us a way of achieving this. (Fudge, p. 11)

Fudge’s article is concerned with how to ethically conduct a history of animals, despite an “inevitable centrality of the human” in this history. Hribal critiques Fudge’s perspective as a “view from above” in which, “The agents (i.e. the animals themselves) dissipate into a vacant, theoretical category” (p. 102). Rather, he argues that history from below must be applied as a *method* in which agency and class are not only theorized but applied, meaning that the researcher must go beyond discussing animal agency, especially as a means to understand human history, and instead prove that this agency

exists by analyzing cases of animal resistance. According to Hribal, the researcher must demonstrate how animals shape their own lives as social agents who practice everyday acts of resistance, what James Scott (1995) calls “weapons of the weak.” These acts are seen, for example, when donkeys, mules, and oxen have refused human commands (Hribal, p. 103) or when horses have refused to labour for human transport, which led to their replacement by various technologies (p. 105).

Hribal places both the perspective that nonhuman animals’ lives “had little to no value outside of its service to humanity” (Hribal, 2007, p. 101) and Fudge’s (2002) work on social history of nonhuman animals into a category of the “view from above.” But this categorization is problematic because it conflates two different approaches. Specifically, Hribal describes and condemns the “view from above” *and* Fudge’s social history approach despite these approaches having nearly opposite intentions: the view from above facilitates the exploitation of animals while Fudge’s approach challenges that exploitation through “redrawing” our idea of what it means to be human and questioning how humans can ethically study other animals. Fudge’s work is self-aware of the dominant position of humans, an important recognition in developing ethical relations between human researchers and nonhuman research subjects. While there is a difference between “social history” and a “history from below,” and I agree that there ought to be more critical animal studies work from the latter perspective, the social history approach still holds value. As the social history approach suggests, our attempts to prove that animals’ resist is fraught because such recognition is always filtered through human languages and standpoints.

At best, we can document their stories and make educated guesses to understand other animals' perspectives. Hribal's most recent publication *Fear of Animal Planet: The Hidden History of Animal Resistance* (2010) provides the most in-depth case studies of animal resistance. The book is introduced by Jeffrey St. Clair who discusses animal trials in Europe, first recorded in Paris, 1266, in which the courts would try nonhuman animals who were presumed to act intentionally. Setting out to prove that animals resist, this book documents numerous cases within the entertainment and medical industries of animals breaking out of laboratories and zoo enclosures or fighting back against their trainers. For instance, Moe, a chimpanzee exploited by Hollywood and forced to live in a cage when he was not performing

made multiple escapes and fiercely resisted his recapture. He bit four people and punched at least one police officer. After his escape, he was sent off to a miserable confinement at a dreary place called Jungle Exotics. Moe escaped again, this time into the San Bernardino Mountains, where he's never been heard from since. (Hribal, 2010, p. 17)

Then there was Tatiana, a Siberian tiger caged in a San Francisco Zoo, who scaled the wall of her cage after two men had been harassing her. She managed to track down the men and, having "ripped one of them to pieces," was shot to death (Hribal, p. 21).

Adding depth to the discussions, Hribal (2010) makes connections between white privilege and systematic oppression towards humans and animals, such as when he recounts the case of "Murderous Mary," a circus elephant who fought back against, and killed, one of her trainers. Mary was lynched because, "This was the South and lynching was the common form of punishment for those who dared to resist the power and privilege of the white man" (Hribal, p. 42). These connections are significant for an "animals without borders" approach, which recognizes that the exploitation of nonhuman

animals—who produce, labour, and, in the US alone, are slaughtered by the billions every year—is continuous with human slavery (Harper, 2010; Spiegel, 1996).

Like the stories of animals who resist their captivity and exploitation de-center the human subject (Derrida, 1991), stories from black slaves who resisted challenge white supremacy. During the mid-1800s escaped slaves put their stories into print and dispelled the “plantation myth” which assumed that they submitted readily to their exploitation (e.g., as seen in Ulrich B. Phillips’ racist *American Negro Slavery*). In “Freedom and the Slave Landscape,” Rebecca Ginsburg (2007) writes that slaves who escaped plantations “were a constant irritant to the institution of slavery itself and one of the boldest acts of resistance to it” (p. 36). Runaway and rebel slaves “struck at the heart of American slavery; by challenging claims that slaves were content with their condition, they legitimized abolitionist efforts” (Ginsburg, p. 36). The narratives of slave rebellion and escape were a crucial element of this process. In the US, escaped Africans “transformed themselves from victims into agents of resistance just by telling their stories and protesting the vast injustice that was done to them” (Taylor & Johnson, 1999, p. xv). Thus, sharing their stories through writing was a form of revolt, used in conjunction with other forms of resistance (Davis, 1983, p. 22).

Because other animals do not narrate their experiences in ways that humans can easily understand, we have the task of trying to interpret and relate their stories in ways that avoid colonizing their voices. In this project, scholars and activists may include other animals in social or political categories traditionally thought only to apply to humans, as with Hribal’s suggestion that animals are part of the working class. This placement of nonhuman animals into the “working class” category has been critiqued, such as in

philosopher Steven Best's article "Animal Agency: Resistance, Rebellion, and the Struggle for Autonomy" (2011). He explains:

Hribal insists that animals are slaves in capitalist society (as earlier in history), and goes so far as to bring them into the categories of "working class" and "proletariat." He thereby transforms what is indeed the largest and most exploited group of slaves in history into an organized, politically self-aware (in the ideal Lukacsian sense) economic class, such as the terms "class" and "proletarian" imply, horse unions and donkey parties. While individual nonhuman animal slaves belong to distinct species, are oppressed and exploited, have complex emotions, social lives, and thought processes, and often rebel, resist, and seek vengeance against their oppressors, their faculties do not manifest in human language and political activity. (Best, 2011)

Best explores animal resistance, agreeing with Hribal's thesis that other animals resist.

"The animal world has its own Harriet Tubmans, Nat Turners, and John Browns," he writes (Best, 2011). But while he agrees with Hribal that other animals possess agency and resistance, he argues that resistance among nonhuman animals takes different forms than it does among human beings. Other animals do not act or organize under formal institutions and organizations such as unions, political parties, and social movements.

Best emphasizes that the struggles of nonhuman animals against human domination "cannot amount to a revolution without the organized radical politics of enlightened and militant sectors of humanity." While not the only means, these radical politics are seen as a necessary form of support to oppressed nonhumans. Even if a cow is occasionally able to strike back against those stealing her milk and calves, there needs to be people willing to burn down the slaughterhouse to which she would eventually be sent.

Tom Chisholm (2006) does not explicitly discuss animal resistance, but he has also suggested that Hribal's work on animals as part of the "working class" is

undertheorized and even “meaningless.”¹³ Unlike Best, Chisholm offers an anti-colonial argument that animals cannot be part of the working class because the human-centric discourse of “class” has been socially constructed by western “civilization.” According to Chisholm,

Animals are not workers; they are sentient beings that remind us of our own animality and sentience and evolutionary heritage, our organic connection to the cosmos or the spirit-world, our subsistence way of life rooted in the traditional commonages of the world.

Thus, the Marxist concepts of “workers” and “class” are socially constructed and imposed on nonhuman animals. Chisholm argues that because animals cannot organize with humans, form political organizations, be vanguard leaders, vote, or run anarchist communes, the class label becomes meaningless.

Chisholm (2006) addresses the challenge of knowing others as an obstacle to forming class relationships with other animals:

Indeed how can we ever forge class solidarity with animals when we are cognitively incapable of knowing with any meaningful precision what animals’ own, in Dr. Hribal’s words, “wants, needs, concerns” are? Human beings are simply not equipped with the capacity to read the minds of animals...the most we can do is to observe them and approximately judge if we are causing them pleasure or pain, lessening their suffering and exploitation in the limited human way we know how.

He then compares Hribal’s speaking on behalf of a guide dog named Jesse to the rhetoric of “vanguard intellectuals speaking on behalf of workers or anthropologists speaking on behalf of natives and subalterns,” but argues that (nonhuman) animals, unlike indigenous peoples and subalterns, do require human mediation that, as noted above, is based on observation and approximate judgments of whether we are helping or hindering them.

¹³ Hribal indirectly touches on this critique on Animal Voices radio: “Animals Are Part of the Working Class: Interview with Jason Hribal” (2006).

Despite its dismissive tone, Chisholm's argument that we should not project class terminology onto other animals brings an important decolonial perspective into the conversation about animal resistance and speaking about other animals. I liken his concern with enclosing animals in the "a political and discursive cage of "civilization" (i.e., language of class)..." with Chandra Talpade Mohanty's (2003) argument about the "discursive colonization" of third-world women. Mohanty describes how discursive colonization occurs when white western women use their own experiences and feminist interests as a referent to analyze and write about non-western women, and as a result appropriate these women's knowledge and experience (Mohanty, p. 17). Transnational feminists such as Mohanty challenge epistemic and material violence propagated by western European scholars, media, and government that has assumed an ahistorical, universal unity among so-called "third-world" people. The homogenous representations of third-world women as victims in need of saving by the West are constructed by a "masculine-imperialist ideological formation" (Spivak, 2010, p. 2122). In fact, the savior narratives by neoliberal feminists are about self-representation: a modern and progressive identity that is constructed in opposition to those who are supposedly voiceless, chaste, repressed, and backwards.

This critique of how non-western women are represented as silenced and needing a western savior helps us consider animals' subjectivities. As Chisholm notes, some human language must be used to interpret nonhuman animals' experience as laborers and slaves. But, while this claim may be true, it is fraught by the same problematic logic as third-world women requiring mediation in the eyes of western feminists. As I discuss in the following chapter, some animal rights discourse and scholarship has replicated the

savior narrative through assumptions and language that suggests nonhuman animals are voiceless and powerless.

Hribal's emphasis on reading animals as resisters who transform history offers a significant shift in the way we think about other animals. His work provides the first detailed, systematic analysis on the resistance of animals in captivity and the entertainment industries. The connections Hribal makes between human and nonhuman slavery at the hands of colonizers or capitalists provides context and awareness of how oppressions are connected. But while I would not deny that other animals labour under capitalism in a position that is similar to slavery, it seems unnecessary to argue that they are part of the "working class." The concept of class is generally understood by leftist academics in the Marxist sense to include "the development of collective consciousness in a class – arising from the material basis of having in common relations to the labour process and the means of production" ("Class [Def.]"). Nonhuman animals may be enslaved, exploited, and forced to work, but because class combines economic relations with a subjective element, i.e., class consciousness, they cannot constitute a "working class" under the Marxist definition because it is unlikely any other species have awareness of themselves as a class, at least in the human sense, even if they work together to escape or challenge an oppressor. In fact, people with severe cognitive disabilities who are still able to work, and child slaves who work for pennies, are also excluded from the working class definition.

What is most useful about Hribal's suggestion that animals as part of the working class is that it asks us to consider how other animals have, alongside slaves and workers (who are also subject to wage slavery), labour under capitalism. Perhaps what Hribal

means by the working class is simply a group of labourers who have shared interests and can build solidarity through means other than class consciousness. Best (2011) and Chisholm (2006) are correct to point out the potential problems with projecting human political activity onto nonhuman animals, but is Hribal really engaging in such a projection? Although they cannot unionize or engage in collective bargaining, we should be cautious to not dismiss the possibility that nonhuman animals can participate, collaborate in, and influence social and political spheres. Furthermore, I question Chisholm's remark that humans cannot know other animals' thoughts with any "meaningful precision": we can observe that they want to live, to get out of the cage, that they need food, and that they can be frightened by unfamiliar humans. These are meaningful observations because they counter the common Cartesian view of animals as biological machines, and recognize how other animal beings are both affected by and affect their environments.

Animal Resistance in Animal Geography Literature

A decolonial perspective of animal resistance is an approach that emphasizes space and place: how animals both occupy and are excluded from certain locations. Work on animal resistance and critical animal studies would be well enriched by spatial analyses. Despite time and space both being central dimensions of life experience, spatial analyses have been subordinate to historical analysis in critical theory (Soja, 2011, p. 15). New animal geography fills the gap in spatially-oriented research by showing how animals transgress, influence, and transform place and space (Emel, Wilbert, & Wolch, 2002; Urbanik, 2012; Philo & Wilbert, 2000; Wolch & Emel, 1998; Wolch, 1999). It

invokes “broader concerns about non-human agency, about the agency of animals, and the extent to which we can say that animals destabilize, transgress or even resist our [human] orderings, including spatial ones” (Philo & Wilbert, 2000, p. 5). This approach differs significantly from traditional animal geographies that study animals through, for instance, tracking their movements, mapping their locations, or studying their evolution.

Chris Wilbert (2000) has researched eco-anarchist representations of animal resistance and discussed the projection of political activity onto nonhuman animals in anarchist publications. In an article published in the geographic anthology *Entanglements of Power: Geographies of Domination/resistance*, Wilbert (2000) asks whether nonhuman animals can resist in the ways ascribed to them by anarchists who sometimes use animal resistance as “symbols of the good” (p. 245). The articles he critiques are “Animal Antics,” a single page of animal resistance stories collected from press reports published in *Do or Die – Voices from Earth First!* (1995, no. 5), and “Revolt of the Bats,” stories in the magazine *Fifth Estate* which include celebration of “...hundreds of bats disrupting court sessions in Texas, and cows escaping from slaughterhouses and other perceived places of domination” (v. 28, no. 3, 1993, as cited in Wilbert, p. 247) (See Appendix One and Two). He argues that these depictions are “selective and unequivocally anthropomorphic” yet recognizes that the argument itself is “transgressive of most modern ways of discussing animal behaviour” (Wilbert, p. 247). In terms of alliances posited between humans and nonhumans, he views such alliance as “asymmetrical” because nonhuman animals do not practice collective resistance (p. 252). Despite the hesitancy to ascribe the notion of collective resistance, Wilbert concludes that

“the world is an interrelated field of agency”; and that everyday resistance of nonhumans occur and should be studied empirically (Wilbert, p. 252).

In another relevant geographical analysis, Philo (1998) studies the inclusion and exclusion of farmed animals such as cows, pigs, and sheep from the city. The streets of nineteenth century London, where animals were herded from place to place, are his site of analysis. The “changing spatial structure” of the “meat” industry brought the slaughterhouses, live markets, and related industries and activities into the urban areas during this time (Philo, 1998, p. 60), leading some to contest the limited city spaces (Philo, p. 65). The herding of animals through city streets, the perceived danger they posed by breaking through shop windows and other transgressive acts, and the cruelty directed towards these animals was seen as an affront to Victorian morality and economic stability. Eventually, spatial solutions were sought to remove farmed animals from the city “which was increasingly identified as a place for people rather than for beasts” and place them in the countryside “which were deemed appropriate for beasts who proved so difficult to manage in congested marketplaces and urban streets” (Philo, p. 65).

According to Philo (1998), other animals have potential for transgression “or even ‘resistance’ when wriggling out of the cages, fields, and wildernesses allotted to them by their human neighbors” (p. 52). Thus, by refusing to stay contained and taking control on the streets, these animals influenced the geography of the city. Philo’s place-based study of the banishment of animals from the London streets demonstrates how power relations of inclusion/exclusion cannot be separated from space and place. In recent years the field of animal geography has increasingly adopted this critical approach but there is still a

lacuna in literature that explores animal resistance and agency from the animals' standpoints.

Animal Resistance in Cognitive Ethology Literature

Animal resistance has rarely been addressed in cognitive ethology, the study of nonhuman animals' cognitive capacities, emotions, and social behavior; however, by laying out a foundation that disproves the strands of Enlightenment thought that argue that nonhuman animals lack consciousness, the field contributes to understanding human and nonhuman resistance (e.g., Balcombe, 2007; Bekoff, 1995; Bekoff, 2007; Bekoff, 2010; Bekoff & Pierce, 2009). The only discussion on animal resistance in this body of literature is found in Marc Bekoff's *The Animal Manifesto* (2010). Here, Bekoff briefly considers the arguments put forth that animals engage in acts of revolt against human oppressors. He agrees that animals resist, explaining from his observations that "... it's quite possible that individual animals can and will respond to violence with violence of their own" (p. 72). Anecdotal evidence suggests that "some animals can and do take revenge" which requires "a complex cognitive reaction, involving memory, self-awareness, logic, hurt, justice, blame, and more" (Bekoff, p. 70). While an in-depth discussion of animal resistance is beyond his scope, Bekoff's work offers numerous cases that show how other animals have complex social and emotional lives. This understanding of animal cognition is fundamentally connected with the question of animal resistance and intentionality.

The question of whether animals who transgress borders are doing so *intentionally*, in a way that is accompanied by particular inner experiences, is a central

concern of animal resistance studies. Scholars have raised the question of whether nonhuman animals act with intentionality (Bekoff, 2010; Best, 2011; Hribal, 2010; Hribal, 2012; Philo, 1998; Wilbert, 2000). The research on other animals' cognition is important because Cartesian influenced western society has long denied that other animals have social and emotional lives. This fallacy is perpetuated by language that homogenizes the numerous nonhuman species who inhabit this earth under the umbrella term "animals" in opposition to the singular "human" (Derrida, 2008). When discussing other animals' intentionality or resistance, we should avoid this universalizing tendency. While some other animals may indeed be capable of resistance in the sense implied by some anarchists and others such as Hribal, there is variation in the cognitive capacities and intention possessed, for instance, by a cow, chicken, dolphin, mosquito, or chimpanzee. (This variation is not pointed out to suggest that some animals have higher value than others, e.g., the more cognitive complexity the more we should respect them, but to disrupt the homogenizing discourse.) Discussing specific individuals or species in specific circumstances is an antidote to this problem, such as when Hribal (2012) argues that the repeated resistance of elephants to their captors shows that elephants resist intentionally. There are many potential contexts and locations to study animal resistance.

As Bekoff (2007, 2010) and Wilbert (2000) point out, the same critics who deny that other animals resist or have complex cognition often charge that the notion of animal resistance is anthropomorphic. Wilbert suggests that celebrations of animal resistance found in eco-anarchist texts may constitute anthropomorphism, but unlike more dismissive charges, he recognizes that these representations are themselves transgressive. They go beyond the norm because the tendency in western European society is to

“consistently underestimate what animals know, do, think, and feel” (Bekoff, 2010, p. 54). Thus, while we can only know nonhuman animals to a limited degree (and to varying degrees—it’s harder to know a snake or a bat in the wild than a dog who we live with) just as we cannot entirely know other humans or speak for them, it is crucial for educators to respond to the literature that fails to recognize other animals as complex and multifarious beings. We do this through making knowledgeable attempts to recognize other animals’ standpoints, what we might call “careful anthropomorphism.” In *Wild Justice: The Moral Lives of Animals*, Bekoff and Pierce (2009) explain that “careful anthropomorphism” requires caution when discussing other animals’ lives, a suggestion that is compatible with the call for self-reflexivity that postcolonial feminist authors require when discussing “others.” As Bekoff and Pierce (2009) contend, “Anthropomorphism endures because it is a necessity, but it also must be done carefully, consciously, empathetically, and from the point of view of the animal, always asking, ‘What is it like to be that individual?’” (p. 42). This attempt to understand the animals’ experiences in the context of animal escapes is precisely what Brown (2012) alludes to when she notes, “We try to imagine the moment of escape for the animals who manage it” (p. 61). Bekoff and Brown thus engage in this imagining: how do we speak for and with those who have been oppressed and whose language and ways of being differ from our own? In transnational feminist thought, the question of how to speak for others, to ask who is speaking and what the social implications of this speaking entail, is a central concern. This problem in relation to other animals will be taken up in the following chapter.

Chapter III:

Decolonial Animals: The Animals without Borders Approach

Introduction

In this thesis, I am developing an “animals without borders” approach to the experiences and representations of nonhuman animals who cross human-produced borders: the literal and metaphorical walls, barriers, and fences that enclose animals as “tools,” “food,” “clothing,” or “entertainment.” In this chapter, I explain this approach to animal resistance that builds on previous work—the case studies and “history from below” of Hribal, the place-based analysis of Philo, and the cognitive ethology of Bekoff and Pierce—and lay out a decolonial framework that is rooted in transnational feminist thought. This research will synthesize the animal standpoints and analysis of human representations of animals. Like Hribal (2007), I am interested in telling the story from the animals’ perspectives, yet like Fudge (2002) I am attentive to the fact that the story is filtered through human documentation and lenses.

There are two primary approaches that I see for conducting analysis on animal resistance. These approaches complement one another. First, there is the approach that interrogates the core of oppression, e.g., mainstream media, judicial branches, government, speciesism, neoliberalism, and whiteness: ideologies of human exceptionalism that serve confer privilege and to oppress human and nonhuman life.¹⁴ Second, there is the approach that attempts to write from the animals’ viewpoints. I

¹⁴ Whiteness is included as an ideology of human exceptionalism because what Derrida (2008) calls the “fantasy figure” of the “human” has been defined by white European males, with people of colour historically represented as “subhuman” and closer to “animals” (Derrida, 2008; Shiva, 1997).

suggest that both are aided by centralizing decolonial and feminist methodology to study how animals have transformed their surroundings by resisting and to interrogate their representations in neoliberal society. Both of these perspectives must be understood and the contrast between the two will be discussed. Media analysis is important for understanding to what degree escaped animals disrupt the dominant paradigm of human exceptionalism, while the animals' standpoints are necessary to understand why this paradigm must be disrupted. In fact, it may be through beginning to see the animals' standpoints – by considering these individual escapees and why they would make the effort to escape in the first place – that the chasm between consumers and animal industries begins to close.

Animals without Borders

Dismantling literal and metaphorical borders

The animals without borders approach helps us to understand the ways that both human and nonhuman animals resist the borders of the slaughterhouses, farms, markets, and transport vehicles intended to confine them. The phrase carries figurative and literal meaning in the imagined and real lives of “animals,” in all the complexity and contradiction the term entails, and is inspired and influenced by transnational feminist Chandra Talpade Mohanty's (2003) call for “feminism without borders.”¹⁵ The approach supports the resistance of many nonhuman animals towards human-produced borders and it challenges the ideologically constructed divide of the “human” in opposition to all that

¹⁵ Feminism without borders recognizes that although visions and practice of social justice must transgress, resist, and decolonize borders, scholarship and activism must be attentive towards the very real epistemic and material differences within our society (Mohanty, 2003).

is “animal.” This approach builds on Mohanty’s (2003) argument that given that the many lines and divisions (and their associated tensions, exclusions, and pluralities) in society are real, “our most expansive and inclusive visions of feminism need to be attentive to borders while learning to transcend them” (p. 2). We can recognize the real differences between human beings across borders, and additionally between humans and other animals, yet move beyond these borders in a way that builds bridges and solidarity.

Thus, an animals without borders framework has both material and conceptual significance. First, concerning material, human-made borders, it recognizes that nonhuman animals rarely concern themselves with such barriers. patrice jones (2009) calls this “natural anarchism in action” in which, “Birds and other outlaws routinely disregard the authorities and boundaries established by people while working cooperatively with one another to pursue their own purposes...” (p. 236). These crossings of boundaries, particularly when they entail daily acts such as biting and kicking, dragging ones feet, escape, and so forth, can also be understood as everyday acts of resistance that influence society yet often go unnoticed (Scott, 1985). Many humans, too, reject the imposition of borders on their lives and their crossings can be directly connected with those of animals. For instance, ranchers living along the Mexico-US border report frequent occurrences of “illegal” border crossers cutting holes in the fences on their property and consequently making way for cows to “wander through the holes, get lost, even disappear into Mexico” (“Arivaca”). Here, the overlapping transgression of borders—the private property, the Mexico-US crossing, and the fences that keep animals captive—brings attention to how multiple types of arbitrarily defined borders are often rejected by those they intend to contain.

Second, “animals without borders” refers to the conceptual undoing of the human/animal binary rooted in dualistic Cartesian thought and the speciesist violence this justifies. Nonhuman animals have long been misrepresented under the umbrella term “the animal” which forms in radical opposition to the “human” (Derrida, 2008). This homogenizing of many nonhuman animals into a single category is similar to the universalizing representation of “third-world” women and the East challenged by transnational feminists and postcolonial thinkers. The discursive placement of millions of different species into one category, despite the “infinite space” that separates them, is an act of epistemic violence that contributes to the wide-scale confinement, slaughter and consumption of other animals (Derrida, p. 34).

The arbitrary divide between humans and all other animals is a form of *speciesism*: the assumption of superiority of one species, particularly the human species, over all others. Richard Ryder (2012) defines speciesism as the “widely held belief that the human species is inherently superior to other species and so has rights or privileges that are denied to other sentient animals.” The divide targets *humans* as well as *nonhumans*, for the privileging of those seen as closer to the “human” has been a justification for colonization, genocide, and slavery (Derrida, 2008; Spiegel, 1996). For instance, in her poem “Eyes of the Dead,” Mary Spears (2010) brings attention to how labeling someone as “just an animal” has been a form of oppression towards African Americans and nonhuman animals. Spears recalls coming “face to face” with a dead pig someone was carrying over his shoulder: “The pig’s eyes were wide open / As if he were shocked to death” (p. 80). She asks, “How many of my ancestors / Were treated like today’s farm animals?...when I looked into those stunned eyes today, / No one could

have said to me, / “What’s the big deal?” “It’s just an animal” (Spears, p. 81). Undeterred by the derogatory meaning the comparison carried in the past, Spears makes a connection between African-American slavery and the treatment of farmed animals, specifically dairy cows who are forced to “breastfeed the human race,” and whose own children are deprived as a result having been taken away by the “slave master” (p. 81). (Many calves are tethered and isolated in crates for “veal” production). The oppressions “share the same essence,” as Marjorie Spiegel (1996) argues in *The Dreaded Comparison*” (p. 28). Indeed, as Kelly Oliver (2009) writes, the figurative and metaphorical proximity between many marginalized peoples and nonhuman animals has been central to “Western conceptions of *man*, *human*, and *animal*” (p. 26). The seemingly separate categories of race, gender, class, species, and others come into being through historical relation as articulated categories that “emerge only in dynamic, shifting and intimate interdependence” (McClintock, 1995, p. 9). We cannot understand the social category of “human” as associated with western Europeans without understanding what it means to be characterized as “animal.”

By no longer privileging a (socially constructed) human identity, we can begin to dismantle the continued speciesist violence towards those perceived as “lesser beings.” The crossing of borders also means breaking down of labels, such as the constructed binaries of human and animal, male and female, white and black. These formative dichotomies operate to divide and conquer, such as pitting poor white and black slaves in Southern slave culture against each other, or dividing factory farm workers not only from each other on race lines, but also from the nonhuman animals who are forced down the

assembly lines. These borders ensure the CEO and others in positions of privilege maintain their physical and cognitive distance from the bloody killing floors.

The borders imposed through globalization contribute to this distancing: they lead to increased mobility for some, while creating stasis for others. Globalization, made possible through colonial conquests, and aided at times by neoliberal feminism as a smokescreen for western imperialism, depends on an ideology which sees diversity as “a threat, a perversion, a source of disorder” (Shiva, 1997, p. 101). This ideology is rooted in a western European scientific worldview that relies on the domination of nature through a speciesist and patriarchal “objectivity.” It can be traced to philosophers such as Francis Bacon, the contemporary of Descartes who encouraged genetic modification and control of nature. His worldview, “Symbolized, allegorized, and characterized Nature as female, virgin, mother and witch. The Earth too was female having deep recesses, cavities, and wombs in which grew the seeds of living things...” (Merchant, 2008, p. 155). A feminism that challenges the “monocultures of mind” (Shiva, 1997)¹⁶ that occur in continuity with this anthropocentric ideology must also recognize the borders imposed on nonhuman animal life, for although “we are less likely to perceive the barriers that keep rabbits or dandelions from going where they want to go...they may be just as destructive” (Jones, 2009, p. 237).

Beyond Intentionality

¹⁶ Monoculture is the practice of dismantling biodiversity in the interest of replacing less easily commodifiable life with a more lucrative crop over a broad area. It arises from an acceptance or belief that the earth's resources should be utilized by making them as uniform as possible: the commodities, urban areas, and agricultural practices. Imposed on so-called “developing” countries, this model is convenient for corporations that want everything to operate quickly and efficiently without considering the well-being of local economies and cultures, or the future of the earth and its inhabitants. Neocolonial projects such as the “green revolution” operate under the fallacy that human biotechnology is superior to, and must control, nonhuman nature.

The inherent value of animals has nothing to do with whether or not they experience intentionality. At the same time, we must avoid denying the likelihood that many other animals act with intention that is accompanied with reflective inner experiences. Such line drawing follows the same Cartesian logic that failed to recognize what now is accepted by critical thinkers: that nonhuman animals are sensitive, feeling beings. In this section, I further the discussion of animals without borders by emphasizing a need for solidarity beyond borders. My focus here is to move beyond the need to prove that nonhuman animals resist, to a need to build solidarity with them. Mohanty's (2003) argument that we must replace savior narratives with the concept of solidarity in the building of relationships across differences offers an antidote to the savior mentality present in some animal advocacy discourse. Thinking about speaking in relation to other animals is the point of departure in this discussion.

In building solidarity, how can we challenge the notion of speaking *for* other animals rather than speaking *with* them or listening to their voices? Through a human lens the accuracy of nonhuman animal representations is always questionable, partial, and contingent. But to stay silent about the stories of those whose speech is ignored in human society would be to remain complicit with a culture of extreme violence and hypocrisy. As Saraswati Raju (2002) writes on the need to speak out against injustice, "Do the privileged remain silent even if their speaking, however tinted and biased their voices might be (assuming that they would be), makes a difference?" (as cited in Corman, 2012, p. 194). As long as scholarship includes caution in speaking for and with nonhuman animals, such analysis is desirable. These insights need to be applied to problematic representations of nonhuman animals as silenced beings who, as a result, are viewed as

ahistorical, monolithic, and unable to affect their surroundings. In most cases the oppression of human and nonhumans have been interconnected, thus the liberation of humans can aid in the liberation of nonhuman animals, and vice versa (Nibert, 2002).

Nonhuman animals have rich and meaningful social and emotional lives and a sense of “wild justice” which recognizes that qualities typically thought to be possessed by human animals alone, such as cooperation and a sense of empathy, are common amongst other animals (Bekoff & Pierce, 2009). For instance, cows at farm sanctuaries will gather to welcome animals who are new to the farm (Coston, 2011) and chickens have empathy and the ability to “feel another’s pain” (“Chickens Are Capable of Feeling Empathy,” 2011). Chickens also experience close friendships and dialogue with humans or other chickens (Davis, 1995). Close bonding among ducks is observed in a case of two ducks thought to have escaped from a poultry operation, Mickey and Jo (Brown, 2010). The pair of Muscovy ducks were found suffering from illness and maltreatment in the frigid waters of a park in New York City. Rescued at different times, they never lost their deep connection. Jenny Brown (2010) describes the joyous reunion at her sanctuary, “They ran toward one another making excited but gentle noises and lay their necks around each other as if embracing. To this day, they remain inseparable” (p. 80). From an animal standpoint, Mickey and Jo are experiencing emotions of love, empathy, and attachment.

Nonhuman animals have agency, multiplicity, and subjectivity. The notion that they are acted upon, but are not social actors, is objectifying and assumes that they are powerless and voiceless, as Lauren Corman explains in *The Ventriloquist’s Burden? Animals, Voice, and Politics*. Corman (2012) discusses the pervasive discourse of

“voicelessness” in the animal advocacy movement (p. 187). Activists and academics often portray themselves as the necessary “voice” for silenced animals and to express this position will often quote Ella Wheeler Wilcox’s poem, “Voice of the Voiceless” (p. 187). Advocates feel a need to represent the animals’ perspectives because other animals have been exploited and are indeed often helpless. Nonhuman animals have also been considered speechless and voiceless, “mute” and “dumb,” in western thought (p. 187). Corman applies the postcolonial feminist approach to the “other” which critiques speaking for those assumed silenced and voiceless, and argues that animal activists must also exercise such caution (p. 193). In these feminist debates, “voice is unmistakably about power as much as subjectivity” (Corman, p. 193). Voice is equated with resistance, self-assertion, and being heard. Similar to how Fudge (2002) explains that we are always reading animal histories through a human lens, Corman explains that “[i]t is through human speech and language that animals’ experiences of suffering are made meaningful to humans who otherwise ignore or simply fail to recognize these experiences” (p. 193).

Corman (2012) identifies Marc Bekoff, patrice jones, Linda Birke, and Luciana Parisi as scholars who disrupt the paradigm of “speaking for” other animals. There cannot be a clear line drawn between political and embodied voice because the denial of nonhuman animals’ political voice(s) “forecloses the possibility that they do participate or influence political realms” (Corman, p. 198).¹⁷ Does this denial, she asks, deprive nonhuman animals of “subjectivity, experiential knowledge, capacity for relationships/dialogue, and *the ability to actively resist?*” (Corman, emphasis added, p.

¹⁷ Political voice which includes “subjectivity, relationality, experiential knowledge, and resistance” is traditionally considered belonging solely to human beings, while embodied voice is material voice (Corman, 2012, p. ii).

198). The assumptions that other animals cannot speak for themselves or engage in political spheres may actually reduce space for our support of their resistance and for building genuine relationships and communication with them. This process of recognizing nonhuman animals in political and social realms involves recognizing that humans are not the only species capable of dialogue (Corman, 2012).

Feminist writer and sanctuary founder Karen Davis explores nonhuman animals' voices in a way that encourages rather than forecloses the possibility of their political participation and dialogue. Davis is the founder of United Poultry Concerns (UPC), a sanctuary for abused and neglected chickens. In her article "Thinking Like a Chicken: Farm Animals and the Feminine Connection – Whose Voice Counts?" she critiques the deep ecologist J. Baird Callicott's 1980 essay "Animal Liberation: A Triangular Affair" which argues that wild animals have greater moral status than "docile farm animals" who have been "bred to docility, tractability, stupidity, and dependency" (Davis, 1995).

Davis introduces the reader to a chicken named Viva with whom she formed a deep bond at her sanctuary. She found Viva in a shed, crippled and left behind after the other chickens had been taken to slaughter. She explains that Viva would always speak with her "with her frail 'peep'..." or, less commonly "a little trill." Viva suffered from ailments and sometimes "her legs would get caught in her wings causing her terrible confusion and distress." When this happened, Davis explains, "I would sit talking to her, stroking her beautiful back and her feet that were so soft between the toes and on the bottoms, and she would carry on the dialogue with me, her tail feathers twitching in a kind of unison with each of her utterances."

Positioning herself as someone who has spent time with chickens and wishes to share her knowledge from this experience, Davis tells Viva's story, putting Viva's voice up to the microphone. Indeed, Davis becomes the microphone for Viva. In a poignant and educational passage about egg-farming, she writes from Viva's imagined perspective:

Megaphone please.

I am a battery hen. I live in a cage so small I cannot stretch my wings. I am forced to stand night and day on a sloping wire mesh floor that painfully cuts into my feet. The cage walls tear my feathers, forming blood blisters that never heal. The air is so full of ammonia that my lungs hurt and my eyes burn and I think I am going blind. As soon as I was born, a man grabbed me and sheared off part of my beak with a hot iron, and my little brothers were thrown into trash bags as useless alive.

My mind is alert and my body is sensitive and I should have been richly feathered. In nature or even a farmyard I would have had sociable, cleansing dust baths with my flock mates, a need so strong that I perform "vacuum" dust bathing on the wire floor of my cage. Free, I would have ranged my ancestral jungles and fields with my mates devouring plants, earthworms and insects from sunrise to dusk. I would have exercised my body and expressed my nature, and I would have given, and received, pleasure as a whole being. I am only a year old, but I am already a "spent hen." Humans, I wish I were dead, and soon I will be dead. Look for pieces of my wounded flesh wherever chicken pies and soups are sold.

Chickens are highly devalued creatures (so much so that, as I discuss in Chapter Five, despite being some of the most common slaughterhouse escapees, their escapes are rarely treated as remarkable). In contrast to the terrible conditions of egg-laying hens and their discarded brothers, Davis has made her home a haven for rescued chickens. Her kitchen includes a chicken enclosure and access to three-acres outside. As she explains, "I am glad that I have been able to see and identify with a chicken..." Corman (2012) suggests that Davis' description of dialogue with Viva is significant considering bell hooks' statement that dialogue is "necessarily a liberatory expression" (p. 204). Indeed, Viva is capable of liberatory action. It is imperative that we "pay attention to the

specificities...and different histories” of non-western women as “subjects of theory and struggle” (Mohanty, 2003, p. 168), and the same logic should apply to studying nonhuman animals. These descriptions of Viva have elements of decolonial feminist approach: Davis pays attention to the specific history and subjectivity of Viva, and demonstrates that Viva has her own voice, however quiet that voice may be.

When considering how we speak for or with other animals, the question arises whether we can ever really know another across species lines. If we claim to do so, are we at risk for recreating discursive colonization towards other animals? It is imperative that activists and academics speak up for the oppressed but also be cautious of the danger of falling into a savior role. Acknowledging and reflecting on how humans have limits in the degree we can understand other animals can help avoid this pitfall. Moreover, instead of responding to rhetoric that depicts nonhuman animals as “crazy,” “angry,” or “unintelligent” with assertions that they are actually “kind,” “gentle,” or “highly intelligent,” we can recognize how these assertions might actually re-colonize those being defined. For instance, activists might label bulls with a characteristic such as “gentle” to counter the mainstream discourse of bulls as violent, but this categorization producing a colonizing counter-discourse: one that freezes nonhuman animals as objects of knowledge production, excluding those who don’t fit the representation. The nature of “difference” between human and nonhuman species is far less important than the question of who defines the difference, how different beings are represented, and who benefits or suffers as a result of these representations. Instead of repeating the colonial move of analyzing those on the margins, we turn our gaze to the centre of society: the place that confers privilege to its occupants.

Thus, a decolonial approach to studying animal resistance is less concerned with whether humans can fully understand nonhuman animal intentions, and more with the social circumstances that make solidarity against discursive and material violence possible. In the following chapters, I apply this framework to cases of escaped farmed animals on the streets of New York. In Chapter Five, I draw on those who like Karen Davis work closely with and in various ways dialogue with escaped animals to understand their standpoints and impacts on public consciousness. But first, Chapter Four will discuss historical context and representations of New York slaughterhouse escapees since the early 1800s. This historical context allows us to see a discursive shift in the representations of other animals from the nineteenth century to the (post-farm sanctuary emergence) twenty-first century.

Chapter IV:

New York Slaughterhouse Escapees, 19th to 20th Century

Introduction

Farmed animals—cows, pigs, sheep, horses, and birds—have long been occupying the streets of New York. These individuals were not content with their exploitative circumstances and would often escape and fight back against their human oppressors. Since its conception, the *New York Times* has published dozens of stories about slaughterhouse escapees, particularly cows and steers. These animals would flee while being herded from place to place, break through gates and fences, and jump from moving vehicles. For reporters eager to record a spectacle, these escapes are often described fantastically and in great detail—as an “exciting pursuit” (e.g., “Wild Steers At Large: A Number Escape from a Drove Exciting Pursuit,” 1877; “A Wild Steer’s Long Race: Exciting Pursuit By the Police,” 1878). But these pursuits are far more terrifying than exciting.

In this chapter, I historicize farmed animal escapes in New York. I begin with describing early industrial animal agribusiness in New York City, the conditions being fled, and how the escapees affected their surroundings. Next, I analyze selections from news articles on slaughterhouse self-liberators. The power of normalization is a strong theme in these nineteenth and early twentieth century texts. The escapees are often described in terms of deviance, oddity, and abnormality. They are describes as beasts “on a rampage” (e.g., “A Wild Steer’s Long Race,” 1878; “A Wild Steer at Large,” 1881; “After a Runaway Steer,” 1895; “Steer on a Rampage,” 1928), discourses that justify the

control of these individuals. The Victorian theme of containment is followed by a discussion on the means of control. Here, I discuss police and everyday citizenry violence towards slaughterhouse escapees, and how this violence is connected with imperialist cowboy culture. Although narrated from the “center” of society, pockets of resistance are visible within these texts.

Animal Placemaking in New York

The presence of farmed animals on the streets of New York has long been contested. Butchers and city authorities have debated where animal industry should be located. It is interesting to consider to what degree opposition to the presence of animals on the streets had to do with the animals’ own transgressive behaviors, as is illustrated through Philo’s (1998) argument about the exclusion of farmed animals on the streets of London (discussed in Chapter Two). Engaged in animal placemaking, these individuals shape their environments. Indeed, escaped farmed animals have occasionally been cited in slaughterhouse histories as (at least part of) the reason that slaughterhouses and live animals are excluded from New York (e.g., Burrows and Wallace, 1999, p. 475; “New York City,” 1939, p. 211). For instance, a guide to New York City published in 1939 explains how

[w]ith the development of modern sanitation, many of the most objectionable aspects of the slaughterhouse neighborhood [in Manhattan] disappeared. To the past belong such features as dilapidated shacks, runaway livestock, and strong, unpleasant odors. (“New York City,” p. 211)

Here modern sanitation is noted as the cause of slaughterhouse removal from the neighborhood, but the “runaway livestock” leading people to come face to face with their “meat” is another likely reason for this removal. In another example, discussing the

shifting urban slaughterhouse landscape, Burrows and Wallace (1999) cite “the occasional steer running amok and goring passers-by” (i.e., escape and injury to people) as part of the reason that the Bull’s Head Tavern, a famous bar that served cattlemen, drovers, and butchers, was driven from one Manhattan neighborhood in the early nineteenth century:

Bowery Village remained notorious for the stomach-turning slaughterhouses and tanyards. As late as 1825, upstate drovers like Daniel Drew were herding an estimated two hundred thousand head of cattle across King’s Bridge each year and making their way, accompanied by hordes of pigs, horses, and bleating spring lambs, down Manhattan to Henry Astor’s Bull’s Head Tavern and adjacent abattoirs.... [Some customers] wanted to transform the Bowery into a more genteel neighborhood. Taking aim at the stink, the endless whinnying, lowing, and grunting, and the occasional steer running amok and goring passers-by, they set about driving the Bull’s Head from the area. (p. 475)

During the early 1800s, cows arrived in New York City “by ferry from New Jersey, by foot from Westchester and Dutchess Counties...and via sloops sailing down the Hudson River from further upstate” (Horowitz, 2008, p. 169). Animals were docked at and herded from Corlears Hook and west of Rutgers Street, “driven mercilessly through the streets all day” (Day, 2008, p. 181). Cows were driven from the West after 1820 while pigs and chickens were raised on Long Island in the late 1820’s (Horowitz, p. 169). By the mid-nineteenth century, 206 slaughterhouses were found throughout the city (Horowitz, 2008, p. 170). Slaughterhouses were concentrated in areas such as Abattoir Center that ran from 42nd to 46th St., along First Avenue (“New York City,” 1939, p. 210). They were notorious for noxious odors and in 1869 a ban on “livestock” from lower city avenues below 40th was enacted (Horowitz, p. 170). During this time live animals were still brought to Manhattan via cattle ships and killed in New York slaughterhouses. The central stockyards, located near the Bull’s Head Tavern, were an end point for cows,

pigs, and sheep driven through the city during these years—it was also a point from which they would escape.

“Mad,” “Deviant,” and “On a Rampage”: Abnormal Animals

A discourse of disorderly and abnormal animals emerges in these nineteenth and early twentieth century texts. Those who are uncontrollable, subhuman, or abnormal, threaten the “safe” space of the community and must be controlled and banished. Farmed animals who resisted were often described in terms of abnormality, oddity, deviance, and beastliness: all opposite to the “normal,” i.e., the “civilized” (white, European) human. For instance, the escapees are described in terms such as “mad” or “maddened” (e.g., “A Wild Steer’s Long Race,” 1878; “A Wild Steer at Large,” 1881; “A Wild Steer Running Loose,” 1869; “After a Runaway Steer,” 1895) and making “devious routes” while “on a rampage” (e.g., “Steer on a Rampage”). A steer fleeing from a crowd of boys who are “shouting wildly” and pelting him with stones is “wild” and a “maddened beast” (“A Wild Steer at Large,” 1881). In contrast, police officers are considered orderly figures who subdue the wild beasts. In one case, a “courageous bluecoat ended his [a steer’s] mad career with several ounces of cold lead” (“A Wild Steer Running Loose,” 1869).

In the face of such repression, farmed animals not only flee captivity, they engage in acts of resistance such as kicking, biting, or stampeding. One steer charges “at every obstacle in his path” (“A Wild Steer’s Long Race,” 1878) while another responds to being pelted with stones by administering “a vicious kick to a boy” (“A Wild Steer at Large,” 1881). In another case of resistance, in 1895, a steer escaped from the Isaac Stelfel Beef Company’s slaughterhouse at First Avenue and 44th St. The *Times* describes how he first “started down the tracks” to the loading section of Grand Central Station:

There was a large number of women among the passengers. They screamed at sight of the maddened animal tearing along...The animal went westward though Forty-second Street, until near Vanderbilt Avenue, when he stopped suddenly, and faced his pursuers. The latter also came to a standstill. The steer moved toward them. They turned quickly and ran. The steer charged after them. The pursued became the pursuer. ("After a Runaway Steer," 1895)

The steer's resistance is apparent when, followed by a "yelling mob," the "the pursued" steer becomes "the pursuer." What is also striking about this story is the description of a "large number of women among the passengers" who "screamed at the sight of the maddened animal tearing along." The description of those who are "mad" threatening safe places depends on a discourse of women and children's victimization. The text mobilizes a gendered rhetorics that produces endangered women or children who require saving by a male hero. Thus, we see intersections between sexism and speciesism: the steer is sent back to the stockyard from which he escaped, and the streets have become an unsafe space for women and children. The discourse limits the places where they can safely inhabit. The projection of danger onto those marked as different and "out of place" legitimizes violence towards those individuals. This projection is referred to as stranger danger (Ahmed, 2000).

The outsider, in this case the strange animal, must figure in opposition to those who protect the community. In these cases, it is the police officers who shoot and kill the animals. This dynamic is apparent in the story of two steers who escaped from a transport truck after being transported from the West. They dashed along the Pennsylvania Railroad, across the ferry tracks, and through Little Italy. The *Times* describes how during the escape

[t]he usual crowd of idlers and children was in pursuit, and they showered the animals with missiles of every description. A nine-year-old girl named Jennie

Cassidy stood in the middle of First Street as the frightened animal turned into that thoroughfare. (“They Had the Right of Way,” 1894, p. 8)

The cow is portrayed as both sentient, i.e., “frightened,” but also a threat who must be exterminated for the safety of the community, apparent from the positioning of the young girl standing in the street as he flees through the same street. After the escaped steer jumps into a river, a police sergeant kills him with a shot in the head (“They Had the Right of Way,” p. 8).

Children may be objects of a savior discourse, but they can also be deviants on the streets, a discourse that parallels and intersects with representations of animal deviance. This blurring of the human/animal divide is apparent in a (rare for the time) pro-animal welfare letter published in the *Times*. The letter responds to the treatment of a steer who was run over by a truck after escaping a slaughterhouse owned by the New York Butchers Dressed Meat Company at 11th Avenue and 39th Street. On February 17, 1954, Katherine A. Park writes:

TO THE EDITOR OF THE NEW YORK TIMES:

If I had not read it in The New York Times I should not have believed the story of the steer which escaped from the abattoir, and in being recaptured was deliberately run down by a truck so that its [sic] leg was broken, and then was tied to the truck and dragged moaning through the streets for five blocks. I should have said that an act of such sadistic cruelty could not have taken place today in a city like New York. That the performance should have been cheered on by small boys makes one realize why they turn into delinquents. That the act should have been carried out by grown men in responsible positions is a disgrace to the city. (“Cruelty to Steer Protested,” p. 30)

Park shows concern for the steer, but also for the implications of animal cruelty on human society. Her opposition to the treatment of the steer who escaped turns the tables by calling those who torture other animals “delinquents” or on the path to becoming delinquents, as opposed to the steer being described as the troublemaker. The figure of

the delinquent which emerged in nineteenth century socially stratified society is identified with the lower classes and defined as “abnormal” (Foucault, 1995). As such, he is excluded from society, to be set apart, controlled, and analyzed. Positioning of both other animals and young boys in the city as delinquents suggests blurring lines of the human/animal dichotomy. At the same moment Park voices sympathy for a farmed animal, her own bourgeois identity is revealed through classism. In describing the “small boys” as “delinquents” she arguably buys into an established discourse about poor kids in the city.

Following the letter’s publication, a livestock supervisor and driver for the New York Butchers Dressed Meat Company, from which the steer escaped, was put on trial. His truck had run over the steer several times. Those who took the stand included two eyewitnesses, an investigator, and an ASPCA photographer. One witness testified that before he was run over the steer’s back left leg was “flapping about” (“Abattoir Driver Held for Cruelty,” 1954). Despite the cruelty involved, the supervisor was released without charges (“Abattoir Driver Held for Cruelty,” 1954). Seemingly, when animals are out of place they can be subject to incredible cruelties without consequence to the perpetrators, even when those cruelties are witnessed. It is unlikely that during this time inductions for cruelty to farmed animals could succeed because they are defined as property. Their property status is inscribed on their backs, such as with the “large black Texan steer” who escaped from a slaughterhouse near North River and was found branded with the number “70” (“A Wild Steer’s Long Race,” 1878). The mark reminds us that as a commodity he has little recourse under the law, an exclusion only amplified by the discourse of disorder these escapees invoke.

Historically, when those branded as property revolt, they pose a threat to the established societal order. Those whose grasps for freedom threaten civilized society, those deemed *mad* as the escapees discussed in this section, must be corralled so that the illusion of normalcy is regained. Normalcy is “the political-juridical institutional state that relies on the control and normalization of bodies” (Davis, 2002). Significantly, “mad” was once a term used to describe blacks who were no longer slaves during the Reconstruction period. In *The Dreaded Comparison: Human and Animal Slavery*, Marjorie Spiegel (1996) cites an analysis by Sterling Brown of the literary response to emancipated slaves during the antebellum period and reconstruction. During the time, when some slaves were becoming free, those still considered slaves were called a “docile mastiff,” while those who were no longer enslaved were described as a “mad dog” (Spiegel, p. 36). The docile slave became “the wild animal” (Spiegel, p. 35). Likewise, the escaped farmed animals on the streets of New York become independent and uncontrollable having transgressed the borders of their oppression. The dehumanization of slaves through animal terminology serves to justify their exploitation: it affirms the “humanity” of the oppressor in opposition to the “nonhuman.” The reference to escaped slaves as wild, mad, and animalistic echoes the portrayals of nonhuman escapees as deviants, and suggests continuity in the enslavement and oppression of human beings and nonhuman animals.

As I have suggested, normalcy was achieved by shooting escaped animals, which was justified by their representations as abnormal and less-than-human. Sometimes it resulted in even more chaos, as was the case one-hundred years ago when a watchman was killed by police fire that was directed towards eight escaped cows (“Man is Shot

Dead in Chase for Steer,” 1913). (See Appendix Three for a press photo of the shooting). In the following section, I argue that another trope emerges in these texts and intermingles with New York policing: a police-cowboy culture that serves to uphold the good (American) citizen and expel so-called lesser beings from the citizenry.

Cowboy-Police: Controlling and Corralling Bodies

The violent treatment of slaughterhouse escapees is entwined with American cowboy culture, imperialism, masculinity, and civilizing mission. A culture of “cops and cowboys” is prominent in these texts. In the words of one report, escapees are captured by “cowboy police” (“Calves In Midtown Start Rodeo Chase,” 1935). Like the case of a calf who ran into city shops to escape, the spectacle of escaped animals savors of “the wild and woolly West” (“Calf At Large Raids Fifth Avenue Crowd,” 1909). Both police acting as cowboys, and cowboys (or wannabe cowboys) partake in the “wild” (i.e., romanticized or dangerous) chase—such as when cows are shot with numerous bullets, like a steer pursued by “[a] number of policemen [who] mounted the wagons and began firing at the animal with their small revolvers. Their aim was wretched, and the firing only served to annoy the steer...” (“A Steer on the Rampage,” 1883). Or when a dozen policeman.... [a]ssisted by every man in the vicinity who owned a pistol...began firing” at an escaped steer (“The Fate of a Texas Steer,” 1885).

The cowboy is a quintessential American archetype. At the core, cowboys represent not only rugged individualism and freedom, but American imperialism, “manifest destiny,” and whiteness. Colonial settlers murdered Indigenous Peoples, buffalos, and other wild animals. In *Animal Rights/Human Rights: Entanglements of*

Oppression and Liberation (2002), David Nibert explains that the oppression of humans and nonhumans under capitalism and colonialism are fundamentally interconnected. For instance, the Indigenous land appropriated by colonialists was used to raise large numbers of cows for “beef” production, an enterprise that was “increasingly profitable” and brought destruction of wildlife and wilderness (Nibert, p. 45). Likewise, Howard Lyman (1998), once a cattle rancher himself, argues that people must seriously consider the environmental (among other) impacts of cattle culture (p. 137).

Faced with the economically motivated process of colonizers “opening up” the West, farmed animals were among those who resisted their attempts of control and destruction. One rebel was a steer named Whitey, notorious for frequent escapes, who fought captivity until the end (Nibert, 2002). The night before Whitey and other cows were to be sent off for slaughter, they were carefully secured in a shipping pen. But the following morning the persistent steer was glimpsed fleeing towards the Diablo Mountains. Instead of allowing Whitey’s freedom, the cattle rancher tracked down and shot the steer (Dobie, p. 284-85, as cited in Nibert, p. 46). Stories such as Whitey’s demonstrate that colonialism was often as unkind to nonhuman animals as it was to humans. Little mercy was shown to even the most admired creatures—those whose drive for freedom was respected as “fierce, hardy, persistence, resourceful, [and] daring...” (Dobie, p. 283, as cited in Nibert, 2002, p. 45).

In his 1941 book, *The Longhorns*, J. Frank Dobie wrote of this drive for freedom. Escaped cows “followed the law of the wild, the stark give-me-liberty-or-give-me-death law against tyranny. They were not outlaw anymore than a deer or wild cat in evading man is an outlaw” (Dobie, p. 283, as cited in Nibert, 2002, p. 45). These escaped animals

appear to reverse the narrative of domestication, becoming valued for their solitary and wild traits. Dobie's romantic description of the escapees foregrounds the deep ecology perspective that has valorized animals in their "wild" state, and distained those who are tame and domesticated: those "whose lives appear too slavishly, too boringly, too stupidly female, too 'cowlike'" (Davis, 1995). Karen Davis (1995) explains this bias:

Animals summoning forth images of things that are "natural, wild, and free" accord with the "masculine" spirit of adventure and conquest idolized by our culture. Animals summoning forth images of things that are "unnatural, tame, and confined" represent a way of life that western culture looks down upon.

To quell resistant tendencies of rebellious cows, some ranchers would sew their eyelids together, tie their heads to their front feet, or chop off their horns (Dobie, p. 310, as cited in Nibert, p. 46). Becoming wild and revered did not translate into an animal's freedom.

Based on the need to capture escaped farmed animals, rodeo culture was born. On Western cattle ranches, it was difficult to find workers who could capture cows who escaped to forest or mountain areas (Nibert, 2002, p. 49). Those who showed skill at retrieving escapees were celebrated. Thus, rodeo culture was built on emulating the techniques of cowboys who would "identify, intimidate, and control" cows and prevent their escapes prior to slaughter (Nibert, p. 49). People enjoyed the spectacle of rodeos, and they soon became a capitalist enterprise, with the romanticized cowboy as the hero who battles the wild beasts.

In continuity with this cowboy culture, the twentieth century stories in New York often make references to cowboy archetypes (e.g., "Police Race Steers in Brooklyn 'Rodeo': Use Trucks and Flivvers as Mounts to Chase 19 Animals Fleeing Slaughterhouse," 1927; "Old-Time Round-Up Staged in Times Square," 1927; "Steer On A Rampage Tosses Two In Street: Crowds in Turmoil on West Side – Police Lasso

Animal After Pursuit in Taxis,” 1928; “Calves In Midtown Start Rodeo Chase: Three Break Loose In Grand Central Zone, but Cowboy Police Corral Them,” 1935). In one case, a “Brooklyn ‘Rodeo’” was held when nineteen steers broke loose of a Lehman Brothers Slaughterhouse together. A steer described as the leader led the group through a door of the slaughterhouse, from the fenced enclosure into traffic. Three were shot by police. Two hours later, the remaining sixteen escapees were captured and sent back to the slaughterhouse to become “beefsteaks” (“Police Race Steers In Brooklyn ‘Rodeo,’” 1927, p. 10). Just a month later, another mass escape described as an “Old-Time Round-Up” occurred when several calves fled from a west side stockyard. The horse-drawn wagon transporting them to an east side slaughterhouse stopped, and “Suddenly, in some unexplained manner, the wagon’s tailboard dropped, and all five animals leaped to the street” (Old-Time Round-Up Staged in Times Square,” 1927, p. 29). The chase “provided amusement for hundreds of onlookers” (Old-Time Round-Up Staged in Times Square,” p. 29). The unfortunate escapees were captured and sent back to the slaughterhouse. Just one year later, a black steer was lassoed by police in a “rodeo chase,” but these cowboys were in motor vehicles rather than on horseback. The steer had arrived from the Western plains and was set to be killed at an east side slaughterhouse.

Many escaped animals in these stories had been shipped from the West to New York City stockyards and slaughterhouses (among other US cities). They were among the millions who endured the terror of cattle transportation in which animals were “driven mercilessly for miles in railroad yards and, crammed into railway cars, would then suffer intense crowding, discomfort, fear, and pain” (Nibert, 2002, p. 47). Upon arrival in New York, this particular steer fled for his life before being transferred onto another horrific

form of transportation, a cattle boat. After running through the city for about half-an-hour, from 12th Avenue at 41st St. to Ninth Avenue and 53rd St., the steer was captured and butchered (“Steer On A Rampage Tosses Two In Street,” 1928). Although he is assumed a commodity, the article touches on the animal’s standpoint noting that the steer had either a “longing for its [sic] accustomed liberty” or an “inkling of the fate” that was the abattoir (“Steer On A Rampage Tosses Two In Street,” 1928). The cowboy-police continuum carries into the twenty-first century. A group of 115 cows who broke free of a rodeo exhibition holding pen in Franklin County Ohio “eluded the police (and local *cowboys*) for weeks—some for months” (Nibert, 2002, p. 77).

As the textual moment examined in this chapter suggests, these animals are viewed first as property and commodities, and second as spectacle, entertainment, and abnormality. In these texts, there is a collusion between the enjoyment of spectacle of the rodeo, the need for revenge when nonhumans refuse to remain in spaces of slaughter, and constructions of the abnormal others who must be exterminated (as with the cows), or surveyed (as with the young boys), on the city’s streets. While cowboys have typically been the ones who control the bodies of cows and other farmed animals, once animal industries moved into the cities, the police also took up this role. What we see from examining the cowboy-police connection is that chases of escaped farmed animals are to be understood in the context of the environmental destruction and white masculinity of western imperialism, with the pursuers echoing rodeo culture, and the resisters acting in continuum with those who have resisted the cruelties of imperial conquest.

Chapter V:

Case Studies of New York Escapees, Early 21st Century

Introduction

In the earlier texts, we see an extreme lack of support and place of refuge for slaughterhouse escapees. This tragic predicament shifted with the emergence of the Watkins Glen New York Farm Sanctuary in the 1970s. Farm Sanctuary began to rescue farmed animals who previously had no refuge, including those who had escaped captivity through acts of resistance. This chapter examines the lives of several escaped farmed animals, most of whom today reside at farm sanctuaries. I narrow in on six case studies of farmed animal escapes: those of Queenie and Molly, both calves; Mike Jr., a steer; an unnamed bull; Lucky Lady, a sheep; and Harvey, a rooster. I am interested in the degree to which the escaped animals' stories disrupt the distancing between animal industries and consumers. To understand how such interruption may occur, I address both the experiences of the fleeing individual and their impact on public consciousness. These two perspectives are closely connected, for in order to understand how public consciousness may be affected by escapees, we must also understand the animals' standpoints and recognize them as subjects.

In the past, when animals resisted through escape, they had nowhere to go. Like so many animals who are dominated in human society, escaped animals' "avenues for resistance and response" are foreclosed (Thierman, 2010, p. 98). Even humane societies have historically reinforced the property status of escapees by either killing them or leading them back to a grisly death. For instance, an ASPCA officer is cited nearly a century ago in New York City as having fired three of the shots that killed a cow who had

escaped while being transferred from a cattle boat to a New York Meat Company (“Steer Runs Wild in Broadway and Herald Sq.,” 1930). Today, the ASPCA and humane societies such as Animal Care and Control of New York will work with sanctuaries to find the animals a home; however, they do not oppose killing other animals for food,¹⁸ and their own facilities offer limited support for these individuals. Thus, places fully dedicated to the well-being of farmed animals are unique and invaluable. The first positive outcome that I could locate on record for a farmed animal escapee in New York is in the case of Queenie (2000) who was rescued by Farm Sanctuary.

Queenie’s Story

In 2000, a speckled brown and white cow being raised in a Jamaica, Queens slaughterhouse made a dash for her life. Attempting to get away from the Astoria Live Poultry meat market at 109th Avenue, Queenie (as she was later named) sprinted along 94th Avenue, turned at 150th St., and ran onto Liberty Avenue. Once caught, she was scheduled to be returned to the killing floor, but after media attention the owner of the slaughterhouse agreed to release her to the Watkins Glen Farm Sanctuary. Queenie appears to be the first escapee, having escaped through her own act of resistance, who was relocated to Farm Sanctuary.

Susie Coston, a long-time employee at Farm Sanctuary, describes Queenie as “the first slaughterhouse freedom fighter I worked with” (Coston, 2009). In a blog post titled “Queenie,” she recounts the calf’s fortuitous escape in New York:

¹⁸ The ASPCA website includes an anti-factory farming stance, but also advocates for “distress-free lives for the many animals raised for food” (“Farm Animal Cruelty”). Although this recognition of farmed animals deserving “distress-free lives” could be viewed as progress, it fails to challenge the inherent ethical problems of raising animals for food.

Driven by the fear of the canes, sticks and electric prods, which are commonplace in live markets and stockyards, Queenie made the choice any animal would if given the chance...she sprinted for blocks, attracting the attention of surprised and jeering onlookers as she dodged traffic, pedestrians and eventually police cars on the busy New York streets. Her flight to freedom was finally brought to a halt when police shot her with a tranquilizer gun. (Coston, 2011)

Queenie, marked for slaughter, was recaptured by the authorities. But her actions attracted national attention and many people called for her freedom. Queenie's brave attempt led her to reside in a place where she could live out her life in peace. According to Sophia Rivers, an education coordinator for Farm Sanctuary, the media picked up on the public sentiment that recognized Queenie's "will to live" (Rivers, personal correspondence, 2013). At first, upon her arrival at Farm Sanctuary, Queenie was kept in a separate pasture with other shy cows. She was "a free spirit" and preferred keeping a distance from humans (Rivers, 2013). Queenie now lives with her fellow bovine New York escapees: Annie Dodge, who, like the famous 2011 German escapee Yvonne, lived in the woods for several months after her escape, and Maxine, who escaped a live market in 2007 (Coston, 2009).

Queenie's actions affected others. After her story made headlines, the Astoria Live Poultry facility was temporarily closed and the 150 chickens who remained inside were sent to Farm Sanctuary (Coston, 2011). Neighbors took the opportunity to complain about the facility. Queenie's escape impacted public consciousness in such a way that led to the removal of the chickens, gave people an incentive to speak out against animal cruelty, and caused people to consider Queenie's own perspective.

Those who consider animals' standpoints often work to illuminate the cruelty of "meat" production. For instance, artist Sue Coe's paintings are deeply poignant,

illustrating horrific scenes at animal exploitation facilities. In the illustrated book *Dead Meat* (1996), Coe describes crossing paths with a pig who had just escaped a slaughterhouse as a life changing event, an image that she later paints. She also captures Queenie's escape in a painting that traces different stages of Queenie's route from the live market to her forever home at Farm Sanctuary (See Appendix Four). Painted in the bottom left corner is a newspaper with the headline "Rogue Cow," reflecting the media stir invoked by slaughterhouse border transgressors. Coe was with the crew who rescued the chickens who remained at the meat market after it was closed. She painted and captioned the rescue, "They stayed alive in a closed slaughterhouse for one week with no water or food, they waited for us to rescue them."

Coston (2011) also describes in vivid detail the live markets that Queenie, and others in this chapter, flee. In the following paragraph, she paints a picture of the "nightmarish" conditions in which farmed animals are slaughtered in public, and where chickens are "kept without food and water..." She writes:

Inside, the scene was truly nightmarish: Shoppers at the "live market" selected the individual animals who they wanted butchered. In such markets, animals may be slaughtered in full view of one another, with little concern for humane treatment or sanitary practice...Live chickens were kept without food and water and were made to sit in excrement-covered cages among the bodies of their dead friends... Many animals knew their last, torturous moments in this hellish place. But one fortuitous day in August, a cow we later came to know as Queenie would not go the way of countless others before her...Strong, powerful, and rightly distrusting of humans, she shook her oppressor's grasp and ran for her life. (Coston, 2011)

These stories depict Queenie not only as an individual, but also as someone born into a system where so many like her remain subject to daily domination. While the emotive passage is educating about the conditions of live markets (no worse than other places of slaughter), it also personalizes the animals and elicits public sympathy by describing how

animals are slaughtered “in full view of one another” and forced to sit “among the bodies of their dead friends.” Only when viewing life through the animals’ lenses can we make such associations as a cow shaking the grasp of her “oppressor.”

Lucky Lady’s Story

Just down the hill from the cow pasture at Farm Sanctuary live the sheep, including another New York escapee, Lucky Lady. On the morning of June 13, 2007, a lamb was seen running through Brooklyn streets. The Emergency Service Unit (ESU) was sent on the chase. They corralled the lamb in a garage on East 133rd Street, and then handed her over to the city’s Animal Care and Control branch. The ACC gave her a name, Lucky Lady, and contacted Farm Sanctuary.

Lucky Lady is one of the previously farmed animals featured in a book called *Ninety-five: Meeting America’s Farmed Animals in Stories and Photographs* (No Voice Unheard, 2010). *Ninety-five* (the title of which refers to the number of lives estimated to be saved by a vegan every year) features various individuals rescued from animal agribusiness, from Justice, a steer escapee who compassionately greets each new resident of his sanctuary home, to Libby and Louie, two chickens with an inseparable bond. In her article “Lucky Lady: Lessons Learned,” Coston explains how the lamb managed to avoid slaughter:

First, this timid ewe backed into corners or took refuge among flockmates to get away from people, even those who were bringing her feed. She had been torn from her mother’s side; hauled off to the city where she was yelled at, poked, prodded, and stuck in a pen with other terrorized animals then pursued through the Bronx after she narrowly escaped slaughter. Who could blame her for being scared? (No Voice Unheard, p. 97)

This reference to Lucky Lady being “terrorized” invokes the animal’s standpoint. As in the previous passage about live markets, Coston emphasizes the social bonds formed between other animals: Lucky Lady seeks refuge with her flockmates after she is “torn from her mother’s side.” Unlike in Chapter Four where cows are thought to “terrorize” passerby during their escape (e.g., “About a Runaway Red Cow,” 1896), this view empathizes with the farmed animals whose lives are filled with terror. Despite her traumatic background, Lucky Lady has persevered. She is “not quite so shy anymore,” writes Coston (*No Voice Unheard*, p. 97). She is known to pursue her caregivers as they make their rounds at the sanctuary, and steal “a quick nose-to-nose nuzzle with her pals” (*No Voice Unheard*, p. 97). Coston suggests that humans can learn about forgiveness from Lucky Lady who appears to understand “that she is loved and has nothing more to fear” (p. 97). As with Queenie, Coston’s description of Lucky Lady offers a perspective that is concerned with understanding her world from her perspective.

In some mainstream media articles on escaped animals, “meat” becomes a focal point. Kim Severson’s *New York Times* piece, “Where the City’s Runaways Roam Free,” provides some insight into the lives of animals on the margins. Severson (2007) describes Lucky Lady’s escape and how she will be joining other animals at Farm Sanctuary “who at one time or another were destined to become dinner.” They include “dozens of chickens that survived Hurricane Katrina, a couple of ducks whose livers were going to become foie gras and 40 pigs, some of whom were headed for the slaughterhouse...” (Severson, 2007). The connection is made between “dinner” and various animals, and in response, the comments section remains on the theme of food. For instance, one commenter exclaims, “Lambie! :) Can’t eat this...” (Eugenie, 2007). The personalization

of Lucky Lady no longer allows the writer to perceive her as food. Another begins by stating, “Almost makes me want to become a vegetarian,” but then changes the subject, adding, “[b]ut while it’s nice what happens to a lamb on the lamb [sic] in the city, what becomes of a dog who’s running loose? Without an adopter, the gas chamber, right?” (spike the dog, 2007). The point being made is that while this lamb will be saved, stray dogs also deserve media attention. The individual is celebrated and saved, yet the many (in this case the dogs) are not. But the argument that both dogs and lambs should be rescued does not detract from a case for vegetarianism.

“Meat” is a focal point in other articles about Lucky Lady, such as “Lucky Lamb That Escaped Slaughter Headed for Greener Pastures” (2007). This piece quotes Joe Pastore from the Mayor’s Alliance for NYC Animals who said, “Those of us who do not eat meat are very gratified with this rescue” (“Lucky Lamb,” 2007). Another article that refers to Lucky Lady as an “actor” cites Mr. Rosario, caretaker and worker at ACC, who remarked, “She’s not going to be put to sleep for any food. She’s going to go to a farm in upstate New York” (Baker, 2007).

Like Queenie, she still resides there to this day.

Molly’s Story

During the spring of 2009, a small black calf made a break from a New York City slaughterhouse. Molly was at the Musa Halal slaughterhouse in Jamaica, Queens when she managed to break through a fence enclosing the passage between a truck and some pens where she was being led. A witness of the pursuit, Dwain Abrams, described the escape. “It was running, it was running, it was running...It was crazy,” he told *Times*

reporters (Baker & Farmer, 2009). During the chase, Molly “passed other slaughterhouses – for goats, lambs, chickens and turkeys” (Baker & Farmer, 2009). She was eventually trapped behind a house where, like Queenie, she was tranquilized. Molly was sent to Brooklyn Animal Care and Control. As in the case of Lucky Lady, it was the ACC staff who gave Molly her name.

At the ACC, if an escaped animal goes unclaimed by an “owner,” a farm sanctuary is called. Molly found permanent shelter at a Long Island organic farm called The Farm. The sixty-acre vegetable farm is owned by Rex and Connie Farr who take in rescued animals. There, Molly lives a peaceful life and spends time with her bovine companion, Wexler (New York News Group). Molly’s actions have been described as courageous and inspiring people to respect the lives of nonhuman animals (New York News Group). Indeed, the courage and determination witnessed in animal escapes can deeply resonate with people. For instance, Molly’s story inspired the news host Barbara Walters to stop eating animals (“Barbara Walters Comments”).

Other articles turn animal escape stories into oddity. The following article jokingly celebrates Molly’s escape and rescue:

YES. Move aside, Susan Boyle. The cow that escaped from a slaughterhouse in Jamaica, Queens today is the new feel good heroine of 2009! Though little is known about the cow, or her motivations (Was she taking a stand against industrial production? Trying to get a little fresh air? Or simply trying to avoid her gruesome fate?), her bravery in the face of adverse circumstances can only be admired. And so we are *extremely* happy to report that we just spoke to an officer at Police Precinct 103, who informed us that although the cow has been corralled and captured by an elite team of officers, she is currently being delivered to the SPCA and *not* back to the slaughterhouse! “We always think that once they’ve escaped, they’ve earned the right to go free,” a police spokeswoman, who wished to remain nameless, told us. You hear that, cows? You shall overcome! Viva la revolution! This fills us with warmth, and we’re not even vegetarian.” (Pressler, 2009)

First, the joke rests on calling singer Susan Boyle a cow, suggesting intersections between speciesism and sexism. There are similarities between the ways that women and cows are degraded in patriarchal society (Davis, 1995). Like the parallel between delinquent boys and escaped animals on the New York streets, these comparisons both reify and blur the human/nonhuman animal dichotomy. Aiming to entertain rather than elicit serious reflection, the insensitive and condescending commentary upholds speciesist norms. Although the above paragraph points out the “gruesome fate” Molly has avoided, the light tone downplays the urgency of her situation. The humor masks the cognitive dissonance that arises when people feel sympathy for individual animals but wish to continue consuming other animal’s bodies.

Second, the statement that “[t]his fills us with warmth, and we’re not even vegetarian” exemplifies a common dissociative response to escaped farmed animals. When farmed animals escape they are often celebrated as special cases, as having somehow earned their freedom by finding a weak link in the food system. Molly is described in several articles as having “earned” her liberty, such as when the police spokesperson says, “We always think that once they’ve escaped, they’ve earned the right to go free” (Pressler, 2009). Others note that Molly’s escape earned her “a free pass” (“The Great Escape,” 2009) or suggest that Molly “might have earned herself reprieve from the slaughterhouse” (Baker & Farmer, 2009). The notion that particular animals deserve freedom is prevalent around the world. In 2012, a cow in Germany jumped into an icy river to escape a slaughterhouse. To convince the abattoir owner to spare her life, an animal sanctuary director emphasized that the cow deserved freedom. They did so by noting that “since the cow had been able to survive such an ordeal, she certainly had the

right to live” (Chew, 2012). The irony of these cases is that those who celebrate the animal resisters’ freedom (whether as spectacle or profit) may simultaneously consume these animal’s kindred.

The cognitive dissonance that occurs when farmed animals escape can amount to the anxiety of what Sara Ahmed (2000) calls “stranger fetishism,” a concept that extends Marxist commodity fetishism, the theory that commodities in capitalist society are cut off from the means of their production, to suggest that people figured as strange are simultaneously consumed and distanced. Neoliberal narratives construct a story about “strange” individuals while forgetting the means, in this case the farms, live markets, and slaughterhouses that allow that individual to appear in the present moment. For example, when a pig named Francis escaped a slaughterhouse in Alberta and lived in parklands for several months, the city of Red Deer built a statue in his honour. Neglecting the cruelty of commodifying pigs as “meat,” the city still used “the freedom loving pig” to promote tourism and even as a reminder of “the importance of hog production and processing to the economy of Red Deer” (“City of Red Deer”).

Jo-Anne McArther (2010), whose photography emphasizes the subjectivity of other animals, describes the phenomenon of celebrating some animals’ lives while ignoring others as “subjective compassion.” During a presentation by McArther that I attended at Wishing Well Farm Animal Sanctuary in 2012, she described this phenomenon as a type of cognitive dissonance in which people feel emotional attachments to individual animals, yet continue consuming others even if they make the connection. Likewise, Brown (personal correspondence, March 18, 2013) explains that there is nothing particularly special about escaped farmed animals: “It’s very

problematic, but it's part of this weird phenomenon. When people don't realize they all want to live, they all love life, they all fear death, they would all escape if they could." It would be wrong to assume that the many animals who remain in captivity are content with, or unaware of, their surroundings.

Although they often reinforce the problematic notion that escaped animals are particularly special, the mainstream accounts also personalize the individuals, drawing attention to animals' standpoints. For instance, Baker and Farmer's (2009) article mentions a response from Adam Khan, a 47-year-old truck driver who after witnessing the event commented that the escape "tells you something...[Molly] didn't want to get killed" (Baker & Farmer, 2009). In "New York City's Underground Railroad for Escaped Farm Animals," the animals' standpoints also come through. For instance, in quoting Susie Coston about how "The [animals] are so scared. They panic and take off," or acknowledging that escaped animals "avoid the dinner plate" (Trapasso, 2011). Like with Lucky Lady, food is a central focus of the comments, again illustrating the dissonance caused by the disruption. "Erin Michelle" (2011) writes:

Glad that these animals are safe and the pictures are adorable. I am often in a rock and a hard place as I am a meat eater yet I love hearing about animals escaping (moo eyes) and not being tortured. I will keep my eyes open when I am in NYC.

In response, "Jessica" offers advice that directly connects "stories of animals escaping" with a source of their plight – the human consumption of animal products such as "bacon, eggs, and butter":

I too love hearing about stories of animals escaping. If you are unwilling or unable to go fully vegan right away, try starting with just one meal a day (for example: have oatmeal and a fruit smoothie instead of bacon, eggs, and butter). I am not fully vegan but am working on it. Every meal makes a difference and I'm amazed how easy it has been to cut out certain animal products.

This advice goes against what most people in western European society have been taught. Many people learn at an early age that it is acceptable to exploit other animals.¹⁹

Reporters may also help the public personalize other animals by giving them a “cute” name. Brown (personal communication, March 18, 2013) explains how “if a newscaster or somebody has nicknamed them something, that animal in the eyes of the public becomes more of a someone and not a something, an individual and not just a statistic.” Similarly, Gene Baur (2008), co-founder of Farm Sanctuary, writes of the importance of the naming process and using personal pronouns to refer to animals: “At Farm Sanctuary, the animals would be a ‘who’ and not a ‘that,’ a ‘he’ or ‘she’ and not an ‘it.’ To this day, every animal who comes to live at Farm Sanctuary or whom we place in another home is given a name” (p. 55). Once the animals have been named, including in the mainstream articles I examine, they are always referred to in gendered pronouns, “her,” “she,” “his,” and “he”; rarely as “it.”

Furthermore, other animals are often described (by media and the public) with a chorus of “awe’s” or as “adorable,” as with Erin Michelle’s comment or *Time* magazine’s article on “adorable fugitives” (Sanburn, 2013). While other animals are systematically killed for food, they are also cultural symbols used in advertising and teaching, and

¹⁹ For instance, industry propaganda is often found in children’s stories. One example is a picture book about two goats, Hazel and Clover, who frequently escape from their enclosure on a small farm (Dow, 1993). In this story, a young boy on the farm named Angus cares for the goats and his mother teaches him that he helps “to keep them happy, and that was why they gave so much milk.” Teaching children that goats produce milk because they are “happy” ignores the growing goat dairy industry in which kids are removed from their mothers, just as calves are removed from cows (“Ontario Dairy Goat Co-Operative”). Hazel and Clover “learn to undo latches and manage to cause havoc around the farm, including letting the sheep out.” Because of their resistance, Angus’ dad Mr. Finlay remarks, “They’re making my life a misery. I don’t know why we bother to keep them.” In response, Mrs. Finlay hands him a meal made of goat products saying, “Here’s why.” The ultimate message of this story is that these animals may resist their captivity but they are of utility to humans, and thus are worth putting up with. The goats are valuable insofar as they can be utilized by humans. There is no mention that if the family did decide to send them away, they would probably go to a slaughterhouse.

become subjects of affection and caring. They are the subjects of children's picture books, songs, and toys. Indeed, there is a highly profitable industry constructing and responding to children's love of "farm animals," while simultaneously naturalizing a "farm" status and location (e.g., "Old MacDonald's Farm"). Labeling escapees as cute or adorable both reflects a societal phenomenon of using animals aesthetically to promote products such as cars, cell phones, or clothing (Shukin, 2009), but also a strategy of appealing to the public to individualize other animals.

In an article called "Farm Living is the Life for Molly" by Christine Hauser of the *Times* (May 7, 2009), several comments suggest that the story has invoked deep contemplation. One commenter called "arminius von" (2009) thanks Molly and says they wrote a haiku in her honour: "nothing so bright as / the sharpened knife in the sun / except the new sun." Another commenter brings attention to "the others being unloaded" from the same truck as Molly, "If only they had been so lucky" ("pigeon," 2009). A similar sentiment is expressed by another who writes, "Good for Molly. Too bad for all the other animals in slaughterhouses, who die terrible deaths after living lives of terrible suffering on factor [sic] farms" (dee dee, 2009). "Animal Lover" (2009) takes the opportunity to offer Molly's non-vegetarian supporters a suggestion: "If this story makes you feel good, please refrain from eating any more meat!" Finally, a comment by "Bob Vee" reflected both the "view from above" (Molly as "livestock") and the "view from below" (Molly as "personal property"). He writes:

No one mentioned Molly is livestock from the point of view of the former owner. She is also personal property. How can a City confiscate personal property without compensation. If this seems so cold perhaps any and all cute calves [sic] should be removed from their owners and sent to a pleasant pasteur [sic]. Or maybe if we want better lives for the Molly's of the world just stop eating meat. (Bob Vee, 2009)

That Bob Vee includes himself in the final sentence using the plural personal pronoun “we” when suggesting that stopping “meat” consumption is necessary for the well-being of calves such as Molly suggests that he is experiencing the cognitive dissonance of wanting well-being for farmed animals while simultaneously consuming them.

Molly’s story has also been a starting point to discuss what one article calls “New York City’s Underground Railroad for Escaped Farm Animals” (Trapasso, 2011), referring to the rescue route for farmed animals from New York City to the Watkins Glenn Farm Sanctuary.²⁰ Molly’s image is featured in the article, which is found in the paper’s culinary section, an interesting placement as it does not shy away from the fact that Molly, who is identified as a “daring bovine,” narrowly escaped becoming food.

The safe route from New York City to Farm Sanctuary among other sanctuaries is described in the following passage:

Every year, dozens of country-raised animals escape as they’re unloaded from trucks into city slaughterhouses, popular with immigrants. Those runaway creatures, along with pet chickens that [sic] have wandered off and roosters rescued from illegal cockfighting rings, often avoid the dinner plate by passing through an underground railroad of sorts that delivers them to farm sanctuaries throughout the country. (Trapasso, 2011)

The reference to the chickens avoiding the dinner plate with aid from an “underground railroad” is powerful, but also interesting in juxtaposition with the positioning of the city’s slaughterhouses as “popular with immigrants.” The reference to immigrants in this paragraph is nearly invisible,²¹ but significant. As Glen Elder, Jennifer Wolch, and Jody

²⁰ Gene Baur (2008), the co-founder of Farm Sanctuary, also makes this connection.

²¹ Although, further down in the article, Trapasso does note that, “The busiest times [of live markets] are around Kapparot, a Jewish tradition where a chicken is killed before Yom Kippur, and when Santeria animal sacrifices occur.

Emel (1998) have suggested, “Animals and their bodies appear to be one site of struggle over the protection of national identity and the production of cultural difference” (p. 72). New immigrants are subtly opposed to those Americans who feel discomfort in such places.²²

The video “New York City Meets Live Animal Markets” (Cochran, 2008) demonstrates the way that some immigrants are associated with these markets. It compares “new New Yorkers” with those who purchase their “meat” at the grocery store and juxtaposes the proliferation of immigrants with the proliferation of live animal markets. Cochran (2008) explains that for a growing number of immigrants in New York live animal markets are reminders of a home country, while “for other New Yorkers live animal markets are simply in bad taste” (Cochran, 2008). Who these “other New Yorkers” are goes unexplained, as their animal practices are normalized and without scrutiny. The video notes that “Muslim immigrants” regularly shop from live markets, and includes a quote from someone stating that Islam is a religion “born of Satan,” a xenophobic prejudice that remains unacknowledged in the film.

In the past racial difference was primarily defined by describing certain humans as closer to nonhuman animals. Today, it often involves racializing and vilifying subordinate immigrants on their “animal practices” (Elder, Wolch & Emel, 1998, p. 73).²³

²² The response to these live markets run by immigrants would be interesting to contrast with the response to an increasing phenomenon of white urban hipsters who want to get their meat “fresh” and practice their own killing and butchering.

²³ While immigrants in live markets appear to be racialized primarily due to animal practices, their killing or patronizing highly visible spaces of animal slaughter in the city, in larger scale agribusiness portraying immigrants *as* animals still translates into exclusionary practices towards human s. For instance, undocumented border crossers, many of whom come to work in slaughterhouses and factory farms for low wages (Eisnitz, 2007) are often represented in animalistic terms. As Shahram Khosravi (2007) writes, “The vulnerability of border transgressors is best demonstrated by their animalization” (p. 324). They are identified by animal names “to designate human smugglers and their clients; *coyote* for the human

“Animal-linked racialization” sustains social hierarchy in which immigrants are subordinate (Elder, Wolch & Emel, 1998, p. 72). Animal-linked racialization functions to build an identity for dominant US groups as humane and civilized, while immigrants who work in live markets fail to adhere to codes of the nation space. The recognition and expelling of those viewed as strange is a racialized process that serves to strengthen and maintain certain economic and social privileges (Ahmed, 2000). The differentiation between citizens (white, human, Americans) and aliens (immigrants and nonhuman animals) is necessary for the labour hierarchy, but also for defining the success of “the human” against those strange bodies that “threaten to traverse the border that establishes the ‘clean body’ of the white subject” (Ahmed, 2000, p. 52).

So far we have seen several distancing strategies of animal agribusiness operating in this case study: the categorical hierarchies of species and gender (e.g., gender based ridicule of women and nonhuman animals which distracts from the severe consequences of animal agribusiness), the material distancing of walls and fences (through which animals occasionally escape), and the emphasis on some individuals as intelligent or

smuggler and *pollos* (chickens) for Mexican border crossers” (p. 324). Khosravi also notes here that “*shetou* (snakehead)” is the term used for Chinese human smugglers and “*renshe* (human snakes)” is used for those being smuggled, while Iranians may refer to undocumented border transgressors as “*gosfand* (sheep)” or “*dar poste gosfand* (in the skin of sheep)” (p. 324). The animalization naturalizes their exclusion as “aliens” because “Spread of disease and the use of animal imagery are transparently metaphors for talking about something else: the undesirability of the alien. [Thorough] animal categories, the antipathy to the alien is naturalized...a justificatory mechanism of exclusion and closure” (Donnan & Wilson, 1999, p. 136). Because nonhuman animals are themselves excluded from citizenry, this animalization of Mexican border crossers serves to justify their treatment as non-citizens.

Inside the slaughterhouse, too, the exploitation of human workers is tied ubiquitously tied with animalistic categorizations. Stephen Thierman (2010) discusses how the hierarchy of labour in one slaughterhouse reinforces “hierarchies of a racial nature” (p. 105). He explains: “Blacks and Mexicans get the dirty’ jobs; American Indians tend to get the, clean jobs in the warehouse; and the few whites on the payroll, tend to be mechanics or supervisors...[while the pigs are the] absolutely commoditized bodies that create the base that keeps this whole pyramid standing”(Thierman, p. 105). One black employee seems to believe that, as Thierman writes, “Mexicans are positioned on a lower rung in the hierarchy” while another employee equates Mexicans with animals and “the white American with the human” (p. 105).

special in contrast to the billions of other animals who remain in the food industry. In addition, I suggest that the targeting of live markets (as places where “immigrants” shop), while failing to acknowledge the vastly larger system of factory farming is another distancing strategy that allows the lies of animal agribusiness to remain intact.

While big agriculture fights to pass “ag-gag” laws—bills introduced in over ten US state legislatures aim to outlaw undercover investigations of factory farms and slaughterhouses (Mitra, 2013)—live markets have come under their own scrutiny. In 2012, a bill was passed to extend a four-year moratorium that forbids the licensing of new live animal markets that are within 1,500 ft. of people’s homes in New York City. The Humane Society of the United States (HSUS), which partners with industry and government, stated in a press release, “The last thing New Yorkers need is more of these bloody, dirty and inhumane storefront slaughterhouses, especially where we live, eat and sleep” (“New York Stops Proliferation of Live Animal Slaughter Markets,” 2012). The press release explains that the facilities have “spurred global concerns about inhumane slaughter, avian flu and decreased quality of life for nearby residents.” Targeting live markets appeals to the self-interest of New Yorkers who don’t want these “bloody, dirty and inhumane” places in their neighborhoods, but there’s no indication that they will stop purchasing factory farm products. When law enforcement, government, and even animal advocates, point to live markets as dirty, awful hubs (where immigrants get their food) *without mentioning where the vast majority of Americans get their food*, their critiques can actually facilitate another form of distancing consumers from the significantly larger enterprise of US agribusiness.

A Jamaica, Queens Bull's Story

In 2011, an escaped bull made headlines when his run from a Queens slaughterhouse was captured on a truck drivers' cell phone ("Cow Runs Loose in Queens," 2011; "Cow Escapes from Jamaica Queens Slaughterhouse, Runs Down Liberty Avenue (VIDEO)," 2011). The bull, described as "on a mission" (Honan, 2011), ran down Tuckerton and Liberty Avenue before he was captured at York College Campus. He was quickly returned to the killing line. Members of Farm Sanctuary attempted to rescue him, but it was too late ("Escaped Cow's Slaughter Disappoints Activists," 2011).

The bull caused discomfort for some on the streets. Disturbing video footage recorded young men laughing at him. Someone else who witnessed the escape explained, "This thing was charging, spit flying out of its mouth...It was crazy" and "we were all screaming" (Honan, 2011). The concept of stranger danger aids in understanding how the abject animal, whose supposed *lack* of culture rather than exoticized culture is a source of difference, is already recognized as something fearful to be scorned or expelled from the community (Ahmed, 2000). How disorderly or frightening slaughterhouse escapees appear depends on the extent they are recognized as a threat to "safe" places.²⁴ Like the subordinate immigrant who is vilified through their "animal practices" (Elder, Wolch & Emel, 1998, p. 73) and who "does not belong to the nation's space, and is already defined

²⁴ Ahmed (2000) argues that "bodies that are marked as different from the human body" create particular social spaces (p. 46). She gives the examples of "Anonymous black youths," "homeless people," and "immigrants" as those who are figured as "strangers" (Ahmed, 2000). While these marginalized humans tend to be valued for their utility, they can be easily exploited and paid less, farmed animals are valued solely for their utility. When farmed animals escape, they are no longer considered useful, which aids in their repression. But a similar case could be said, for instance, of the homeless or black youths whose presence on the streets comes with a stigma that they are not contributing economically to society.

as such by Law” (Ahmed, p. 27), the *animal* stranger is also excluded from the nation’s space. Other animals are excluded from the nation’s moral community. As outsiders, they are recognized as a threat. In this case, the driver’s reference to the bull as a charging “thing” with “spit flying” suggests that the nonhuman body is foreign, strange, and to be contained. The laughter of the men videotaping suggest a societal tendency to accept (and in some cases even take pleasure in) violence towards those who are out of place.

The comments about the bull show that people have been affected by his story. Under a *Huffington Post* article that includes a video about the escape, 94 people made 148 comments (“Cow Escapes from Jamaica,” 2011). Various views are expressed on eating “meat,” from people advocating eating animals with so-called “humane” methods, to those who oppose all forms of animal consumption. With many hoping for the bull’s freedom, several comments mentioned the fate of other animals in the area and made the connection with “dinner.” As one commenter explains:

I hate to break the news folks: but he’s already somebody's dinner...
The elevated tracks for the LIRR [Long Island Rail Road] run by this section of Jamaica. On the way to work each morning you see the trucks transporting hundreds of animals for slaughter. None of them have a happy ending...
 (“Montcalms Revenge,” “Cow Escaped from Jamaica”)

“Montcalms Revenge” brings attention to a moment where commuters on the Long Island Rail Road cross paths with animals being transported to slaughter. Transport is a point where the cruelties of animal agriculture become visible, if only for a brief moment. In transport to slaughterhouses, animals often must endure long hours without food or water and extreme temperatures and crowding. Those unable to walk off the transport trucks due to injury from falling, sickness, or dehydration, are beaten or stabbed to make

them move. As “downers,” they are either dragged to slaughter with chains or left to die (“Cow Transport and Slaughter”).

The bull’s visibility elicited sympathy. The comments on the article are rated, with the two top rated comments both expressing concern for him. “MichelleO” writes,

It's very sad. People don't realize that these animals are not stupid. They sense and smell the death going on around them and feel terrible fear. You may not feel that a Bull is your equal in most ways but I know that they are our equal in the ability to feel pain. (“Cow Escaped from Jamaica”)

Another person brings attention to the pain of other animals:

Does anyone have any empathy for the fear these animals must feel? While they may not be capable of complex logic, they can see and hear and smell the death in those horrid places - as they are shoved along, often with bucket loaders. This is absolutely heartbreaking. (“Villigord,” “Cow Escaped from Jamaica”)

As well as showing empathy and considering the bull’s standpoint, both the comments above invoke some form of ranking. The first commenter defends the bull as being intelligent and, at least, “equal in our ability to feel pain.” The second commenter places bulls in a category of sentient beings who feel fear, while suggesting that they are incapable of complex logic. Thus, they still engage in some form of ranking even when attempting to challenge the effects of ranking on a larger scale.

The Jamaica, Queens bull was forced back to the slaughterhouse. This is the story that is missing from the mainstream news articles on escaped animals. The slaughterhouse is a highly stressful (to say the least) environment for the animals and workers. The killing lines move at immense speeds (Eisnitz, 2007; Pachirat, 2011). Animals are hung upside down in preparation to proceed through the (dis)assembly line, and are often skinned or thrown into boiling vats of water while still alive (Eisnitz, 2007). If they struggle, they are abused so the line will not slow down (Eisnitz, 2007; Pachirat,

2011). The killing also occurs through “gassing, electrocution, beating to death, bulldozing live animals to pits” (Sorenson, 2010, p. 43). Farmed animals are 98 percent of the animals we interact with (as food, clothing, etc.) and they are excluded from the federal Animal Welfare Act (Baur, 2008, p. 187).

The bull lacked the good fortune of finding refuge at a farm sanctuary, and his unfortunate ending is not an isolated event in the twenty-first century. For example, the *Huffington Post* article (“Cow Escapes from Jamaica”) references two other instances of escapees who were killed: a bull who was chased by police for fourteen hours and died soon after being caught, one could presume from exhaustion and dehydration although this goes unmentioned in the article, and “Narco” who escaped from an illegal rodeo while being forced up a cattle truck ramp. Police officers shot Narco to death, while the media defended their actions suggesting it “had” to be done (“Cow escapes from Jamaica,” 2011). Yet, in another story sympathy is shown for Narco in the voice of a boy named David Diaz who, upon hearing Narco “was dead and would be thrown in a big hole,” responded, “That ain’t right” (Breen, Claffey, & Egbert, 1999). The tragic endings of these escape attempts are closer to those of the nineteenth and twentieth century texts.

Mike Jr.’s Story

In 2012, a steer named Mike Jr. captured headlines after breaking out of a slaughterhouse. It was evening when Mike Jr. ran down River Street in Paterson, New Jersey, and swam across the Passaic River, eluding police for hours. While his escape was outside the state of New York, his story is included here because he ended up at a New York sanctuary, Woodstock Farm Animal Sanctuary. After being tranquilized by

police, he was brought back to the slaughterhouse, but the owner agreed to spare him. However, Mike Stura, a volunteer, was concerned that the steer might not be sent to a farm sanctuary as promised and took matters into his own hands. His suspicions were correct. Upon arriving to retrieve Mike Jr., Stura learned that he had already been sent to another slaughterhouse. Fortunately, Stura was able to locate him and soon they were on the way to the sanctuary.

Footage of Mike Jr.'s escape was played across US news networks. NBC aired footage of police attempting to corral the calf, which included someone backing into Mike Jr. with a truck ("Cow Breaks Free from NJ Slaughterhouse," 2012). Having his escape on camera meant that Mike Jr.'s story reached a large audience. Brown (personal communication, March 18, 2013) noted that people have come to meet Mike Jr. after seeing the footage:

A lot of people heard about it because they played that footage over and over and over on TV... So people saw this and were so just so happy that we were able to take him in. People will come and they might have wanted to visit the sanctuary anyway, but meeting him up close and personal, realizing the good fate that has come to this animal, in terms of he escaped and now he gets to live forever and free at the sanctuary, it does get people to think, he's an individual.

On their website, Woodstock Farm Animal Sanctuary explains that upon his arrival, "Mike Jr. is enjoying his first days of freedom and roaming the pasture with other rescued cows and steer. Rest assured he will *never* end up at the end of a fork!" ("Mike Jr."). It took time for Mike Jr. to feel comfortable around humans, but now he likes to have his head scratched, and will even use your nails as a scratching post "like a cat" (Brown, personal communication, March 18, 2013).

The stories of nonhuman animals who escape are increasingly reaching a global audience at the click of a button. With so many people carrying cell phones and other electronic filming devices, there has been a rise in footage of animal escapes. In this paradoxical climate, while techno-capitalists exploit nonhuman animals for increased “productivity” through various biotechnologies, the technologies of capitalist society are used to share and gain sympathy for individuals such as Mike Jr. Today, the widespread sharing of social media and ability to videotape or photograph and share these stories globally makes them accessible and illuminates the plight of farmed animals.

This heightened sympathy occurs in other places. In 2011, a police shooting was caught on video in Gatineau, Quebec, Canada and made international headlines. Two steers escaped a slaughterhouse and were shot to death by police. The Gatineau police stated that they had “no choice but to shoot them dead” (Mauro, 2011). People around the world expressed outrage after seeing a video taken from a witnesses’ porch. The twenty-first century street shootings and the public outcry that ensue resemble the story of an elephant named Tyke. Having lived her entire life in captivity, in 1994 Tyke escaped the circus, only to be shot in the streets. Several hours passed before she died. After hearing her story and seeing the images of Tyke trapped at an intersection, with nowhere to flee from the hail of bullets, “Many people, who had never before thought about the plight of circus elephants, now voiced their concerns” (Hribal, 2010, p. 59). As Hribal states, “She was part of a larger struggle against oppression and exploitation” (p. 60).

People also voiced their concerns for Mike Jr., some making the connection between the steer and animal products. The footage of his escape is followed by an article that has over 400 comments (Leitsinger, 2012), and another article about Mike Jr. at his

new home in New York (Colletti, 2012). One article quotes Jenny Brown explaining that rather than becoming “steak,” Mike Jr. will be given a “comfy straw bed” where he will be “loved and respected” (Leitsinger, 2012). Several people mention they are inspired to stop eating animal products. For instance, JerseyKat (2012) writes, “Hooray for the cow!!!! I’m so happy for him. Now I think I’ll become a vegetarian...” Denveright303 (2012) has taken the diet a step further, saying that they are glad for the cow and “have actually just started a vegan program...I love to eat meat but for Petes’ sake I know it is unhealthy and I feel bad for the animals...Might as well eat your dog or cat if you think about it.”

The stories about animal escapes elicit two different reactions: they can either lead people to question ingrained assumptions about our relationships with other species, as in the examples above, or they can reinforce the property status of animals by avoiding the question of ownership and focusing instead on the “special” individual who broke free. The latter argument was made by *Fox News*, which aired footage of Mike Jr.’s escape with a caption “‘Fast food’ now living at animal sanctuary.” One newscaster joked, “Most people are saying that this cow has an independent spirit; other cows might not be aware they are in a slaughterhouse ready to meet their demise; this cow seemed to be on to something different; maybe a movie deal eventually” (“Cow Escapes Slaughterhouse,” 2012). Presenting Mike Jr. as an “independent spirit,” a special case, serves to justify the continued consumption of those who, in opposition, “might not be aware” of their slaughterhouse fate. To counter the notion that some animals are more deserving or intelligent, Brown works to ensure that everyone who visits the sanctuary will realize that all the animals living there are individuals. She explains:

There's nothing any different about the ones that didn't escape because if they would have seen the opportunity, they would have done it too. There's nothing special about these animals that escape. The only thing special is that there was an opportunity to escape. But I think that a lot of people will impose on these escapees, "They must be more intelligent, they must have had a stronger will to live, there's something special about them." And I try to tell people, "No, that's not the case." (Brown, personal communication, March 18, 2013)

Brown's comment that "There's nothing special about these animals that escape" offers a counter discourse to the rhetoric of having earned ones freedom. Mike Jr. is no more special than any farmed or previously farmed animal. He had a lucky break that most other farmed animals would take if given the chance.

Harvey's Story

Another individual who had the good fortune to escape captivity is Harvey. When I asked Brown whether her sanctuary housed an escaped chicken who I might write about she mentioned Harvey, a rooster who was recently found by Occupy Goldman Sachs protestors. Harvey, a speckled black and white rooster, was hiding in some bushes on a chilly November day when protestors spotted him. One of the protestors called Woodstock Farm Animal Sanctuary who organized a volunteer team that quickly swept in to pick up Harvey. Dehydrated and tired, Harvey spent the first night wrapped in blankets with the volunteers. One of them told of the overnight experience, "I would coo to him and he would coo back, it was super sweet" ("Harvey the Rooster").

The sanctuary points out that Harvey, found in a "*corporate hellhole*," is not alone: between the "backyard chicken projects discarding unwanted roosters and escapees from local 'live kill markets' the sanctuary receives more calls for urban chickens than any other farmed animal." Chickens such as Harvey make up the most

common reports of animal escapes in New York City. Mike Pastore from ACC estimates that each year they receive calls for 30-50 birds while only receiving 2-3 calls for larger escapees (Trapasso, 2011). As one Farm Sanctuary press release notes, “Given the high volume of animals coming and going from the businesses, escapes are common and birds can be found wandering nearby streets” (“Rescued Chickens Shed Light On Horrors,” 2007).

Although chickens are the most common species to escape, their stories generate less buzz and excitement in the media. There are few mainstream media stories about chicken escapees. This is probably because their size makes it easier to stay hidden (for some time), and chickens generally aren’t considered significant or intelligent enough to deserve serious attention. In western society, they are devalued even more than cows. We tend to “regard conscious logical reasoning as the only valid sort of ‘mind,’” and only those with evidence of possessing this mind are granted rights (Davis, 1995). Some species are elevated at the expense of others, such as when chimpanzees are seen as deserving rights because they are biologically closer to humans (Davis, 1995). The human/animal distinction is therefore a rhetorical construction by the human animal to elevate some groups, human or nonhuman, over others.

Although there are few mainstream news stories on escaped chickens depicted as individuals, there are often side-references to chicken escapees in these stories. Upon witnessing a cow escape from a Jamaica, Queens slaughterhouse in 2011, a bystander “Moe” said, “We’ve seen a few chickens roaming around, but no cow” (Honan, 2011). In an article describing the conflict between new condominium owners in Brooklyn and a nearby slaughterhouse, another bystander identified as Ms. Coats recalls seeing workers

chasing escaped birds, “And one morning after a snowfall, as Ms. Coats was walking her dog, she saw “little chicken tracks in the snow” (Angelos, 2009).

New York City has over eighty markets containing over 200,000 birds, the most live bird markets than any other US city (“New York Stops Proliferation of Live Animal Slaughter Markets,” 2012). This statistic reflects the fact that chickens are the species killed in the greatest numbers by animal agribusiness. The vast majority of whom are raised in factory farms where, as with live markets, they are crammed together and stacked in tiny wire cages. An article describing a chicken rescue explains how many had “bald, raw patches on their bodies where the feathers had rubbed off after years in a battery cage, while others had been debeaked, a common and cruel industrialized egg farm practice where part of the bird’s beak is chopped off” (“Rescued Chickens Shed Light On Horrors”, 2007). Woodstock Farm Animal Sanctuary explains on their website that the vast majority of chickens killed on commercial farms are slaughtered at 45 days old, while their natural lifespan is 7-15 years (“Chickens for Meat”). Just one commercial farm can hold between 150,000 and 300,000 birds (“Chickens for Meat”). A common practice is to electrocute birds in a water bath that sends a current through their body prior to slaughter. This electrocuting is not intended to reduce their pain but to paralyze them for easier handling. In order for their hearts to pump out blood, birds are kept alive for several minutes while they bleed out. Among birds farmed for eggs, male chicks are simply thrown in the garbage or sent through a garborator-type machine while still alive. They are of no use to the industry (Sorenson, 2010, p. 43).

Harvey and other chickens who end up at farm sanctuaries have escaped these gruesome endings. The WFAS website explains that “[t]he good news is Harvey has

acclimated well, and is living with a few ducks at the moment due to an overabundance of roosters at the Sanctuary” (“Harvey the Rooster”). Today Harvey lives in a unique situation at the sanctuary:

His situation is unusual as he lives with one other chicken Ruby who is quite bossy and eight ducks from a long and ongoing rescue. He was initially quite shy and timid but has blossomed and seems very happy in his new home. He enjoys the daily “mash” (special food mash made of bananas, apple sauce, vegan canned dog food, vitamins) everyone gets and is very sweet, letting the ladies eat first. There can sometimes be friction between ducks and chickens hence why they are usually separate but Harvey has taken to this (hopefully temporary) living arrangement. We think and hope he will be very popular with the visitors over the season. (Brown, personal communication, March 18, 2013)

The website also provides information on how people can sponsor Harvey or another individual, which helps keep them fed and sheltered.

The Vegan Farm

As educational hubs, farm sanctuaries disrupt the distancing strategies of animal agribusiness. Sanctuaries have the unique ability to introduce people to animals such as Harvey or Queenie who were once destined to become someone’s meal. If the US and “big ag” were unable to hide animal exploitation from the public, “there would be a lot more outrage” (Brown, personal communication, March 18, 2013). But the consumers are also implicated in strategic or willful ignorance. As Brown explains, “we’re a society that doesn’t look at how these animals live and die before they make their way onto our plates. We prefer to keep the system invisible.” Yet, she adds that people do visit the sanctuary because they want to see, for instance, “the steer that escaped” (Brown, 2013). Often these people love animals and may already be vegan for ethical reasons, but “sometimes someone just really sympathized with that one animal” (Brown, 2013).

Brown is objecting not only to how animals “live and die” for food, but the entire system of animal exploitation, which is why she and others at the sanctuary are vegan.

Sophia Rivers of Farm Sanctuary also spoke of the powerful way that people are impacted by meeting escaped animals in person. Farm Sanctuary emphasizes that animals are sentient, and that every individual should be understood as “someone.” By focusing on their subjectivity, “what appears most transformative for people is seeing the animals as someone not something” (Rivers, personal communication, March 15, 2013). In fact, she explains, “Numerous guests have reduced their animal consumption, some have gone vegetarian, and many have reported going vegan after meeting and looking into the eyes of the animals” (Rivers, 2013). This transformation occurs because people begin to recognize the “arbitrary distinction” between the cats and dogs we call “pets” and those animals we call “food,” as with Denveright303 (2012) who comments when considering veganism, “Might as well eat your dog or cat if you think about it.” When I asked whether the stories of escapees in particular disrupt the ways we are distanced from food, Rivers (2013) responded that, “One thing that we’ve noticed is that the stories of escaped animals really click with people. They do so in a way that other stories may not because people see that each animal is unequivocally expressing his or her will to live.” Of Queenie in particular, Rivers (2013) describes how “visitors to the sanctuary were...deeply moved seeing her in pasture, running around free and with friends.”

This examination of news reports, sanctuary workers’ voices via interview, blogs, and books, and public online comments, suggests that animals who escape slaughterhouses do interrupt the common disconnect between consumers and animal products. Sometimes cognitive dissonance occurs as a result, but occasionally personal

transformation will occur. The farm sanctuaries engage in a form of strategic anthropomorphism to elicit sympathy while the mainstream media often use humor to mask the cognitive dissonance that escapees evoke. Some media stories perpetuate myths that these individuals are more cognitively advanced than other farmed animals, and are thus “special” or “unique.” The sanctuary publications attempt to dispel these myths. While a few escaped animals today find lifesaving care and sanctuary, others are treated by law enforcement and the public as unlawful intruders when they refuse to be contained in those spaces they are relegated.

Chapter VI:

“You Can’t Stay Neutral”: Summary and Future Directions

Summary

The borders of animal agribusiness delineate which bodies can move freely, and which bodies are trapped in spaces of slaughter. While billions of nonhuman animals are immobilized within this system, some of these animals manage to escape: breaking through gates, jumping over fences, leaping from trailers, swimming across rivers, and running through the streets, fields, and forests. Farmed animal escapees in the twenty-first century have moved people in various ways: they have inspired paintings (see Appendix Four), punk songs (Propagandhi, 2009), and haikus (“arminius von,” 2009). Some even have their own Facebook pages (e.g., “Unsinkable Molly Brown Heifer/Cow”). This project has examined stories of those who resist borders that construct them as “out of place” in New York and has detailed how such stories bring awareness to the power relations of these borders. In this concluding chapter, I summarize my argument, discuss three strategies for moving beyond borders and towards solidarity between species, and suggest several directions for future research on slaughterhouse escapees.

When they escape, farmed animals transgress several borders: they transgress the material walls, fences, and gates of animal agribusiness, they transgress their placement of “domestic” versus “wild” by human society, and they transgress the conceptual borders of “in place” and “out of place.” These transgressions occur in a political and social context in which other animals are oppressed subjects whose exploitation often intersects with that of human beings. Their very acts of escape signify resistance towards

and illuminate these borders. Escape produces a subjectivity and discourse that counters the normalizing work of power. The slaughterhouse is a “disciplinary institution,” where human and nonhuman bodies are “subjected, used and transformed in problematic ways” (Theirman, 2010, p. 96). Despite the self-regulation and subjugation of human and nonhuman bodies in the slaughterhouse there is subversive and resistant power, for power is not only restrictive but it is also productive (Foucault, 2006). Power produces new forms of life through normalization. If the prison system produces the “prisoner” as a new form of life, a new type of subjectivity through discipline and panoptic surveillance opens up a space for resistance. Likewise, if factory farming produces a new form of life (i.e., the factory farmed animal, the biological machine, the walking “meat”) through tactics of normalization, then this leads to the possibility of counter discourse when that so-called meat escapes and the animal’s will to live is foregrounded.

By interrupting the normalization of animals as objectified “meat,” escaped animals alter their own destinies and affect places around them. They may not intend to influence policy, similar to a young child who brings an abusive situation to light, and their freedom usually depends on humans who respond ethically and emotionally to their situation and formulate critiques—thus speaking *with* or *for* the nonhuman animals. Nonetheless, escape leads to transformation in a social and political context. This influence is seen in Queenie’s flight for freedom, which included dodging “traffic, pedestrians and eventually police cars on the busy New York streets” and caused subsequent investigations of the market in which chickens were removed (Coston, 2011). Not only did Queenie’s escape mean that humans came face to face with someone who could have become their meal, disrupting the way people are distanced from the violence

of animal exploitation, but her actions led to the freedom of 150 chickens. The chickens' freedom may not have been Queenie's intention, but her actions, whether *self-consciously* intentional or not, challenge the dominant paradigm of human exceptionalism through the transgressing of borders by defying the conceptual and material walls, fences, and other boundaries that kept her captive. As an oppressed subject belonging to a community of those traditionally assumed voiceless, her very act of resistance challenges this paradigm. Given the political and social context, the question is not whether Queenie intended to free the chickens but how she impacts the environment around her through resistant actions.

Crossing the boundaries of wilderness and civilization, escapees who transgress their allotted spaces may be considered "wild" and causing "chaos." As Hribal notes, the term *cimarrones* – Spanish for "wild ones" – once referred to "*escaped* cattle, pigs, and horses" (Hribal, 2003, p. 34). This association contradicts the way that urban western society has viewed domesticated farmed animals as docile and distinctly removed from their wild roots. Escaped domestic animals reverse the progress narrative. Indeed, the use of "wild" can reflect the fact that nonhuman animals have a way of being that once was, and should be again, free from domestication, but it can also invoke a discourse of disorder and chaos that serves to control farmed animals and exclude them from a moral community. Many of the earlier texts call on a trope of "cops and cowboys," in this case pursuing and rounding up the wild escapees. These texts illustrate the blurring lines between "wild animals" and "wild Indians" in North American public discourses, both of whom suffered greatly under the American imperialist project. Likewise, alongside depictions of Susan Boyle as a "cow," young boys as becoming "delinquent," or "Muslim

immigrants” as the ones who use live markets, the representations of these escapees are ubiquitously bound up with what it means to be normal, i.e. a “real” American as opposed to being an abnormal outsider.

Some look nostalgically to animal escapees as symbolizing “a lost era of the city” (Fernandez, 2009), but I would suggest that these animals tell us much more about what they are resisting: the global capitalist economy and speciesist paradigm. The stories of escape aid in articulating a more inclusive political struggle against the neoliberal social and economic system. Harvey’s connection to the Occupy movement is interesting given that both Harvey, other slaughterhouse escapees, and the human “99%” are oppressed by the same corporate system that keeps humans and nonhumans caged. Farmed animals and protestors share an interest in the end of neoliberal economics, even if the former have no conception of such systems. Given urban sprawl and industrialization, the profit mantra of global capitalism, and a society in which speciesist attitudes are the norm, farmed animals are subject to an economy in which they are valued only as property, a status upheld by law enforcement. They are victims of a violent system in which the slaughtering of other animals is a normalized practice and “animal control” has been the primary contact for animals loose on the streets.

Farm Sanctuaries reach out to animal agencies that have sometimes failed to work in the best interest of animals.²⁵ Despite their lack of challenge to animal agribusiness, there are new relations between words found in the mainstream articles that animal advocates may find promising. Social agents will “texture texts” by setting up relations

²⁵ No Kill Shelter initiatives, in which stray animals are guaranteed a home rather than euthanasia, are another significant change by a limited number of humane societies. These types of initiatives challenge the treatment and belief of other animals as disposable.

between their elements (Fairclough, 2003, p. 12). For instance, news reporters are now discussing “rescued animals,” in relation to the “food industry” (Colletti, 2012) or how animals will be living out their lives on a “vegan farm” (Severson, 2007). These once unlikely phrases/words found together shows that some members of western European society are beginning to question the property status of farmed animals and acknowledge them as persons.

The increasing video footage of escapees can have significant consequences for their outcome. In today’s surveillance culture, escape becomes spectacle. The mainstream news articles that included videos have a significantly higher percentage of comments than those without videos. Both the cases of Mike Jr. and the unnamed bull from Jamaica, Queens elicited sympathetic comments because of the dramatic footage. While people used to attend guided slaughterhouse tours,²⁶ in New York the spectacle is also found on the streets. This spectacle is different than the industrial killing of animals. It relies on the decontextualization and “out of placeness” of those who have been relegated to spaces of slaughter, and who become visible through escape. Now the mass killing is concealed, and the pleasure obtained is primarily gastronomic, although some may enjoy watching police shooting “wild” cows or other animals loose on the streets.

Spectacle can also be a positive occurrence that “make[s] people see differently” and in which we find meaning (Socha, 2011, p. 9). The footage of animal escapes brings

²⁶ In his muckraking novel *The Jungle*, first published in 1906, Upton Sinclair takes the reader inside a Packingtown, Chicago slaughterhouse. Here the slaughtering of pigs became a public spectacle from which to profit: people would be sent through the slaughterhouse on tours and so much of the animal was used that even the “squeal” brought in profit. This early twentieth century slaughterhouse became a “moving picture” in which both nonhuman animals and human laborers became a spectacle for capitalists to profit (Shukin, 2009, p. 92). Guided slaughterhouse tours were part of the process of “animal capital” (Shukin, 2009).

awareness to exploitative industries and encourages people to research compassionate lifestyles. Seeds may be planted that encourage people to think twice next time they consider purchasing a hamburger or milkshake. In fact, veganism does seem to be capturing public attention. As shown in Google Search statistics, the number of people searching for “veganism” online has increased dramatically in the US since 2007 (Conner, 2013). Escapees have a role in this education: as the analysis of responses to news stories and observations by farm sanctuary workers shows some people will consider vegetarianism or veganism after identifying with an escaped animal. In the comments, we find people who are already vegetarian or vegan, but we also find those who are now considering these lifestyles. JerseyKat and Jessica, for instance, conclude that vegetarianism and veganism are the effective and morally consistent choices to address animal exploitation. Veganism is a logical extension of vegetarianism as dairy cows and egg laying hens experience equally and sometimes worse conditions than animals farmed solely for their flesh, and both are eventually sent to slaughter for “meat” that is considered lower quality. Some comments, such as by “Animal Lover” (2009) (“If this story makes you feel good, please refrain from eating any more meat!”) offer solutions, thus bridging the dissonance between animals we love and animals we eat. They may challenge what McArthur calls “subjective compassion,” asking, “When are we going to start showing some compassion to animals?” While many of the comments are by people emoting or defending the norm of animal consumption, the comments that question animal consumption show that escape stories do interrupt the distancing of animal agribusiness.

However, it would be a mistake to argue for a progress narrative between the nineteenth and twenty-first century texts. The relationship between the two discursive moments I have examined is complex. Throughout much of the early nineteenth and twentieth century escapees were described in terms of the abnormal, their escapes simply prolonging the hours to their death by bullets or slaughter. Today, as seen in the cases of Queenie, Molly, Lucky Lady, Mike Jr., and Harvey, many people understand them as worthy of saving. Due to the pervasive distancing techniques and ever expanding agribusiness operations, today more animals are systematically killed than ever before. This industrial use has significant ethical, environmental, and social consequences (Best et al., 2007; Nibert, 2002; Regan, 2004, Shiva, 1997; Sorenson, 2010). Many people who claim to care about other animals don't want to, or feel unable to, change their consumption patterns. And while there is a shift in how escaped animals are represented in mainstream public discourse, and how they are treated by police, for instance in the cases of Molly, Queenie, and Mike Jr. being tranquilized instead of killed, animals are still considered property, with all the ominous implications this status carries.

Thus, although escapees disrupt a hidden system, it is uncertain whether the concern people feel for an escaped animal, and perhaps all farmed animals, will translate into compassionate actions. Journalism tends to focus on human interest stories, and the emphasis that the individual is special may be used to justify consuming those who are supposedly less intelligent, willful, and so on. The celebration of escaped animals as special in comparison to other less fortunate individuals is highly problematic because it ignores the immense suffering caused by animal agribusiness. This rhetoric holds similarities with international refugee discourse in which only select few are granted

entrance into the receiving country, while the suffering of many others goes unacknowledged. It also suggests that the strong (presumably those who escape, although this isn't necessarily the case) are more deserving than the weak or injured, those presumably less likely to escape.

Species Solidarity, Beyond Borders

A transnational feminist influenced “animals without borders” framework is concerned with who has the power to create and dismantle borders—whether the dividing lines between nation-states or the walls of a slaughterhouse—and who has the power to cross them at will. The regulation of places and emerging technologies has resulted in heightened mobility for some, while creating stasis or immobility for others. Borders constructed to keep farmed animals in their allotted spaces are perpetuated by the discourse of normality so that order and the social/species hierarchy can be maintained. From global revolutions, to the escapes of nonhuman animals, any sign of uprising or activity that threatens nation-state hegemony becomes a target for the public discourse of mass media that serves to extinguish such uprisings. But just as the highly visible women of the Arab world, present and leading the marches, rallies, and revolts during the 2012 Arab Spring challenged common western assumptions of non-western women as caged in, voiceless, and passive, the stories of animal resistance challenge representations of other animals as silenced and lacking agency.

Recognizing solidarity across species lines, “across borders of difference,” is a significant step in challenging oppressive power structures. We must go beyond assuming the right to become their rescuers and ask how to build solidarity with other animals.

Solidarity is collective resistance that can be enacted in people's everyday lives. Below I suggest three strategic methods for building solidarity between humans and farmed (as well as other) nonhuman animals. These are resistance narratives, decolonial diet and daily practice (Harper, 2010), and political protest based on recognition of shared oppression and liberation (Nibert, 2002).

Escape Narratives as Resistance

Intersecting narratives between human and nonhuman oppression are a strategic form of solidarity building. Feminist pedagogy that departs from fixing objects of knowledge has potential to build solidarity and “active citizenship in such struggles for justice” (Mohanty, 2003, p. 243). The assumption of a human ability to know intentions across species lines risks echoing the way that western feminists have claimed to know third-world women by replacing mainstream discursive violence with another brand, e.g., the “animal rights activist as savior.” The danger of savior narratives lies in their implications in another form of silencing of “others”: instead of making room for the voices of the oppressed to be heard, they may discourage the notion that these individuals have agency and voices of their own. Instead, we can acknowledge when representing the animals' standpoints that these stories are always being filtered through a human lens. Perhaps our narratives and conversation with nonhuman animals can be based on a shared corporeality that transcends species barriers. “Creaturely rhetoric” is a shared language between all animals, human and nonhuman based on general corporality and the “exposedness of corporeal existence” (Davis, 2009). Bekoff and Pierce (2007) try to understand language that transcends species lines, and use narrative to interpret and raise questions about animals' inner lives. Storytelling has long been used in such fieldwork:

Narrative is an act of interpretation. Seasoned ethologists often find that numbers and graphs don't do justice to the nuances and beauty of animal behavior. Instead, they often find themselves telling stories from the field to make a point or raise a question. (Bekoff & Pierce, p. 37)

In this case, stories of slaughterhouse escape may be shared to invoke moral questioning of the oppressive system from which animals flee.

Like the narratives of black slaves who escaped from US plantations, and today those who escape from contemporary institutions of slavery, the prison-industrial-complex,²⁷ or other forms of slavery such as child slavery in the cocoa industry, the stories of nonhuman animals' escapes also challenge injustice and the taken-for-granted systems of domination and supremacy (human over nonhuman, white over black, etc.). Today, a contemporary institution of slavery, the prison system, holds similarities with the global imprisonment of animals. Like humans, other animals are institutionally confined for economic purposes.²⁸ In a special "Prison and Animals" issue of the *Journal for Critical Animal Studies*, the editors explain that these connections "developed out of noticing the eerily similar trajectories of the prison industrial complex and factory farms" (Shields & Thomas, 2012, p. 4). Both speciesism, which factory farming relies on, and racism, which the prison system relies on, are manifestations of oppression that serve to uphold social and economic hierarchies. As Anthony Nocella (2012) suggests, "One easy

²⁷ For instance, Assata Shakur, who is today listed as a top "terrorist" threat by the FBI, describes herself as a "20th century escaped slave" who has escaped the chains of the prison-industrial-complex ("Open letter from Assata: March, 1998").

²⁸ In at least one case in New York City prison bars intended for humans were used as a form of containment for an escaped animal, a pig found outside a tavern in the Bronx. Chased by police for two hours, the pig was sent to a police cell (Fernandez, 2009). Their incarceration is like that of a human animal. Born into life for the sole purpose of profit gain (and pleasing someone's taste buds), they face another form of death row. The early accounts of shooting escaped animals often carry an element of revenge that is also present in the system of death row.

way for animal advocates to challenge racism is to support prison abolition and engage in true total liberation and justice for all” (p. 114).²⁹

Decolonizing Diet and Daily Practice

Likewise, those who support human struggles for justice can challenge speciesism and oppression with a decolonizing plant-based diet (Harper, 2010). Challenging the capitalist system and the social norm of speciesism and refusing to eat other animal species is part of a revolutionary perspective. When asked what she thought about including nonhuman animals in social justice movements, speaking particularly about chickens, the scholar, activist, and revolutionary Angela Davis responded that there is an important connection between the way that humans and other animals are oppressed:

...the food we eat masks so much cruelty. The fact that we can sit down and eat a piece of chicken without thinking about the horrendous conditions under which chickens are industrially bred in this country is a sign of the dangers of capitalism—how capitalism has colonized our minds. (Davis, as cited in Harper, 2012)

Both chickens and human beings are oppressed under the capitalist system in which commodities are the primary form of understanding the world. We don’t go beyond the object to see the means of production because our minds and bodies have been “colonized”—something we fail to recognize. In a 2012 interview Davis notes that now is

the right moment to talk about [her being vegan] because it is part of a revolutionary perspective...Most people don’t think about the fact they’re eating animals...[it] would really be revolutionary to develop a habit of imagining the human relations and non human relations behind all of the objects that constitute our environment.

²⁹ Total liberation is a political struggle that “grasps the need for, and the inseparability of, human, nonhuman animal, and Earth liberation and freedom for all in one comprehensive, though diverse, struggle; to quote Martin Luther King Jr.: “*Injustice anywhere is a threat to justice everywhere*” (Best, Nocella, Kahn, Gigliotti, & Kemmerer, 2007, p. 2).

That Davis is vegan suggests that she objects to more than just the conditions when it comes to killing chickens, and her reasons are largely founded in Marxist understandings of commodity fetishism (Davis, 2012).

Promoting and practicing veganism is of central importance for the farm sanctuary owners and workers I spoke with. As discussed, a strong disconnect is apparent when some escapees are championed while the billions of other animals suffering and dying in factory farms and slaughterhouses remain willfully ignored. Even if the media pick up on stories about escaped animals, as Brown explains, the same viewers “wishing this animal the best” are also “sitting home that evening and probably eating steak or hamburger.” The irony of these cases is that those who celebrate the escaped animal’s freedom may well end up consuming their kindred. One antidote to this disconnect is to stop consuming the bodies of other animals. Once people have witnessed the impacts of meat, dairy, and egg production on farmed animals, they are more likely to make choices that have a positive effect on animals’ lives. As well as avoiding animal products, veganism can be extended to avoid other environmentally and socially devastating products such as palm oil, non-fair trade products (i.e., coffee or cacao), heavily packaged products, and so on. This decolonial diet is thus a daily practice that complements other revolutionary practices of strategic organization against global capitalist destruction, practices that can include and consider both human and nonhuman animals.

Protest: Unity of Oppression and Liberation

Animals have been excluded from political participation, but this need not be the case. The labour division in the slaughterhouse is also a place where such solidarity can

emerge. For instance, the materiality of human trafficking could land a person in a factory farm as a worker who then might identify and build solidarity with nonhuman animals. Often those who work within animal agribusiness are themselves oppressed, struggling to support themselves and their families, and would take other work if it was available. Slaughterhouse workers occasionally blur the human/animal dichotomy, such as when they compared police shooting of an escaped cow outside a slaughterhouse to police shooting an unarmed man from Mexico (Pachirat, 2011, p. 2). In this case, the workers expressed sympathy for both. Some of them did not work on the actual kill floor, and thus were distanced from the direct killing. One woman recalled the moment the cow was killed: “They shot it, like ten times,” she said. She then recounted a police shooting of an unarmed man from Mexico, suggesting that due to being Mexican (and not a Caucasian), “They shot him just like they shot the cow” (Pachirat, p. 2).

When those who identify as members of the working class identify other animals as also belonging to this class, it suggests that solidarity can emerge in opposition to a shared position of oppression. In fact, throughout recent history, many of those who extended their compassion to other animals were members of the working class or their supporters. The early nineteenth century labor-activist Samuel Bamford supported the rights of “the dog, the steer, and the horse,” as did the Chartist Thomas Cooper (Hribal, 2003, p. 453). Members of the lower working class strongly opposed vivisection because they identified with the terrible fate of nonhuman animals (Kalof, 2007, p. 139). Old Brown Dog Riots in early twenty-first century England were led by workers who understood their connection to other animals, a recognition that drove the capitalist class to work harder in promoting speciesist ideology (Nibert, 2002, p. 242). The anarchist

Pierre-Joseph Proudhon (2011) also included other species in his formulation on working class politics. Proudhon observed that oxen and horses labour for humans but receive nothing in return (p. 129). Considering that particularly within nineteenth century discourses the working class has been represented as bestial and closer to animals, these connections are significant. The bourgeoisie have not hesitated to portray the proletariat as “animals,” just as whites have had no problem with portraying Africans (and Mexicans) as animals. Sometimes the two intertwine, as in the case of working class African woman, Saartjie Baartman, who was portrayed as animalistic both during her life in performances and after death when she became an object of study for eugenicists. When African Americans and members of the working class counter that they are *not* animals, this may be read as a form of self-defense against epistemic violence (Harper, 2010).

Slaughterhouse workers mobilize against their working or environmental conditions through wildcat strikes, or other revolutionary activities, and may include the needs of other animals in this protest. Recognition that much animal oppression is continuous with the western colonial project is a required step to challenge the domination of those (im)mobilized by the slaughterhouse and the colonial legacy that flourishes through spaces of slaughter. Border transgressions enable us to “realize that a boundary even existed” (Cresswell, 1996, p. 22). Through witnessing or experiencing the transgression of borders, the control and hegemony of the slaughterhouse system is illuminated.

Future Research

Future research could examine a wider time frame of animal escapes in the US and beyond. Because of the city's significant place in slaughterhouse history, Chicago would be a salient site to investigate animal resistance. Future research might consider how the artistic and literary representations of escaped animals contribute to a holistic picture of their lives, such as by imagining their lives prior to escape. The iconic Charging Bull stock market symbol located near Wall Street is an interesting artifact of study given how "livestock" was initially used as a form of capital, and the history of escaped bulls on the streets of New York City. As described by one historian, "The *Bull's* head is lowered, its [sic] nostrils flare, and its [sic] wickedly long, sharp horns are ready to gore; it's [sic] an angry, dangerous beast. The muscular body twists to one side, and the tail is curved like a lash: the *Bull* is also energetic and in motion" (Durante, 2009). The statue has been a symbol of wealth and power, yet farmed animals such as bulls are actually exploited on a large scale for economic gain. While this study has focused on the resistance of other animals, future intersectional work might explore the interconnections of both human and nonhuman escape and resistance. Overall, scholarship on animal rights and liberation usually focuses on human roles in liberating animals or gives descriptions of cruel animal industry practices (e.g., Best & Nocella, 2004; Regan, 2004; Singer, 2002). While it has occasionally been pointed out that the animals themselves are rebelling against their oppressors, critical animal studies would benefit from further research that focuses on the agency, multiplicity, and subjectivity of other animals.

Conclusion

The narratives of individuals affected by and who resist atrocities have long illuminated the violence of society. Living at the utmost margins, farmed animals are subjects whose agency and histories are denied. When they enter the public sphere, they become visible again. I have argued that these moments of resistance illuminate the agency of nonhuman animals and interrupt the normalcy of animal enterprises. This analysis has taken an animals without borders approach to understanding the subjective lives and representations of farmed animals. Through their resistance, slaughterhouse escapees draw attention to the power relations that compose borders: they illuminate spaces and places from their perspectives and challenge the hegemony and control of the spaces they transgress. Their distinctive presence can evoke anxiety and feelings of discomfort when they make the secrets of animal enterprises visible. When the distance between the public sphere and animal agribusiness collapses, space is created for conscious transformation. Refusing to stay in their allotted places, escapees confirm the urgency to include other animals in struggles for total liberation. For, when it is understood that these individuals are not particularly special, we turn our gaze to those farmed animals who remain nameless except a number, locked up and sent to slaughter every year. Taking responsibility for the spaces we occupy and acknowledging the need for solidarity between all species moves us in this direction. For, as the late Howard Zinn (2002) understood, “you can’t be neutral on a moving train” ...nor can we be neutral on the ships, transport trucks, border crossings, and other places of suffering where humans and other animals at times take transgressive actions, from wildcat strikes to wild runs along the tracks.

Works Cited

- 5,000 Bunnies Escape in Truck Rollover. (2007, April 17). *Edmonton Journal*. Retrieved from <http://search.proquest.com/docview/253439367?accountid=9744>
- A Steer On The Rampage: Escaped From East Side Slaughterhouse. (1883, April 25). *New York Times*. p. 2.
- A Wild Steer at Large: Pranks Through The Streets of Jersey City—Two Persons Injured. (1881, August 4). *New York Times*. p. 8.
- A Wild Steer's Long Race: Exciting Pursuit By the Police. (1878, August 17). *New York Times*. p. 8.
- A Wild Steer Running Loose. (1869, August 31). *The Sun*.
- Abattoir Driver Held for Cruelty: One of Two Men Accused of Mistreating Escaped Steer in Parking Lot is Freed." (1954, March 24). *New York Times*. P. 28.
- About A Runaway Red Cow: Got the Best of a Policeman, Who Had Tried to Stop It. (1896, April 21). *New York Times*.
- Adams, R. (1977). *The plague dogs*. United Kingdom: Allen Lane.
- After A Runaway Steer: He Makes Things Lively About the Grand Central Station. (1895, November 2). *New York Times*. p. 15.
- Ahmed, S. (2000). *Strange encounters: Embodied others in post-coloniality*. New York: Routledge.
- Angelos, J. (2009, February 15). When the feathers really fly. *New York Times*. CBCA Complete p. CY6.
- Animal Lover. (2009). Comment on C. Hauser (2009, May 7). Farm living is the life for Molly. *New York Times*. Retrieved from <http://cityroom.blogs.nytimes.com/2009/05/07/farm-living-is-the-life-for-molly-the-calf/>
- arminius von. (2009). Comment on C. Hauser (2009, May 7). Farm living is the life for Molly. *New York Times*. Retrieved from <http://cityroom.blogs.nytimes.com/2009/05/07/farm-living-is-the-life-for-molly-the-calf/>
- Arivaca: Broken Fences. Border stories: A mosaic documentary, U.S.-Mexico.

- Retrieved from <http://borderstories.org/arivaca-broken-fences>
- Baker, A. (2007, June 14). Day of Police Chases, Some Woolly, Some Winged, All Wild. *New York Times*. Retrieved from http://www.nytimes.com/2007/06/14/nyregion/14sheep.html?_r=0
- Baker, A., & Farmer, A. (2009, May 6). Heifer Runs for Her Life, and It's Working So Far. *New York Times*. Retrieved from http://www.nytimes.com/2009/05/07/nyregion/07cow.html?_r=0
- Balcombe, J. (2007). *Pleasurable kingdom: Animals and the nature of feeling good*. New York: Macmillan.
- Barbara Walters Comments on NY Times Cow Escape Story and Plans to go Veggie! (2009, May 7). *Dawnwatch.com*. Retrieved from <http://www.dawnwatch.com/cgi-bin/dada/mail.cgi/archive/dw1000000dawnwat/20090507212047/>
- Barker, C., & Murray, S. (2010). Disabling postcolonialism: Global disability cultures and democratic criticism. *Journal of Literary & Cultural Disability Studies*, 4 (3), 219-236. Liverpool University Press.
- Barnard, A. (2009, May 24). Meeting, then eating, the goat. *New York Times*. Retrieved from http://www.nytimes.com/2009/05/25/nyregion/25slaughter.html?_r=0
- Baur, G. (2008). *Farm Sanctuary: Changing hearts and minds about animals and food*. New York: Simon & Schuster.
- Bekoff, M. (1995). Cognitive Ethology and the explanation of nonhuman animal Behavior. In J. A. Meyer and H.L. Roitblat (Eds.), *Comparative Approaches to Cognitive Science* (pp. 119–150). Massachusetts Institute of Technology.
- Bekoff, M. (2007). *The emotional lives of animals: A leading scientist explores animal joy, sorrow, and empathy – and why they matter*. Novato, CA: New World Library.
- Bekoff, M. (2010). *The animal manifesto: Six reasons for expanding our compassion footprint*. Novato, CA: New World Library.
- Bekoff, M., & Pierce, J. (2009). *Wild justice. The moral lives of animals*. Chicago: University of Chicago Press.
- Berry, W. (1996). *The unsettling of America: Culture & agriculture*. San Francisco, CA: Sierra Club Books.

- Best, S. (2011, January 25). Animal agency: Resistance, rebellion, and the struggle for Autonomy. Retrieved from <http://drstevebest.wordpress.com/2011/01/25/animal-agency-resistance-rebellion-and-the-struggle-for-autonomy/>
- Best, S., & Nocella, A. J. (2004). *Terrorists or freedom fighters? Reflections on the liberation of animals*. Brooklyn, NY: Lantern Books.
- Best, S., Nocella, A. J., Kahn, R., Gigliotti, C., & Kemmerer, L. (2007). Introducing Critical animal studies. *Journal for Critical animal studies* 5(1), pp. 1-2.
- Bob Vee. (2009). Comment on C. Hauser (2009, May 7). Farm living is the life for Molly. *New York Times*. Retrieved from <http://cityroom.blogs.nytimes.com/2009/05/07/farm-living-is-the-life-for-molly-the-calf/>
- Breen, V., Claffey, M., & Egbert, B. (1999, June 21). Raging bull on loose in Queens 10-block stampede ends in hail of police bullets. *New York Daily News*. Retrieved from <http://www.nydailynews.com/archives/news/raging-bull-loose-queens-10-block-stampede-ends-hail-police-bullets-article-1.838523#ixzz2gJo5DBx7>
- Brown, J. (2010). Mickey and Jo. In S. Hart (Ed.) *Sanctuary: Portraits of rescued farm animals*, (p. 80). Milana: Edizioni Charta.
- Brown, J. (2012). *The lucky ones: My passionate fight for farm animals*. New York, NY: Avery.
- Burrows, E. G., & Wallace, M. (1999). *Gotham: A history of New York City to 1898*. New York: Oxford University Press.
- Calf at Large Raids Fifth Avenue Crowd: Bumps Into a Policeman and Charges at the Waldorf and Neighboring Shops. (1909, December 23). *New York Times*. p. 9.
- Calf Fleeing Brooklyn is Lassoed in Creek. (1957, July 26). *New York Times*. p. 21.
- Calves in Midtown Start Rodeo Chase: Three Break Loose In Grand Central Zone, but Cowboy Police Corral Them. (1935, September 4). *New York Times*. p. 21
- Cernin P., et. al. (2011). *The Rise of the planet of the apes*. Los Angeles: Twentieth Century Fox.
- Chew, K. (2012, December 14). Cow escapes slaughterhouse by diving into icy pool. *Care2.com*. Retrieved from <http://www.care2.com/causes/cow-plunges-into-icy-pool-saved-from-slaughterhouse.html>
- Chickens are capable of feeling empathy, scientists believe. (2011, March 9). *The*

- Telegraph*. Retrieved from <http://www.telegraph.co.uk/science/science-news/8370301/Chickens-are-capable-of-feeling-empathy-scientists-believe.html>
- Chickens for meat. Woodstock Farm Animal Sanctuary. Retrieved from <http://woodstocksanctuary.org/learn/factory-farm-animals/chickens-for-meat/>
- Chisholm, T. (2006, December 9). Enclosure of animals as “Workers”: A reply to Dr. Jason Hribal. *Infoshop News*. Retrieved from <http://news.infoshop.org/article.php?story=20061209111333909>
- City of Red Deer, Alberta. Big Things in Alberta. Retrieved from <http://www.bighthings.ca/alberta/reddeer.html>
- Class [Def.]. Encyclopedia of Marxism: Glossary of Terms. Retrieved from <http://www.marxists.org/glossary/terms/c/l.htm>
- Cochran, A. (2008, April 28). Live animal markets nyc. NYU Pavement Pieces. Retrieved from <http://www.youtube.com/watch?v=h8MMd0P1NZg>
- Coe, S. (1996). *Dead meat*. Running Press.
- Colletti, R. (2012, April 12). Cow that broke free from slaughterhouse finds new home at animal sanctuary. *NBC New York*. Retrieved from <http://www.nbcnewyork.com/news/local/Cow-Paterson-NJ-Chase-Rescued-Transported-Woodstock-Animal-Sanctuary-147066645.html>
- Colling, S. (2011). Distancing the stranger, disregarding life: A Transnational feminist critique of the US Slaughterhouse. Paper presented at the 10th Annual North American Conference for Critical animal studiesCritical animal studies, “Thinking About Animals”. St. Catharines, ON.
- Conner, S. (2013, March 13). Google Confirms: Veganism on the Rise. Compassion Over Killing. Retrieved from <http://www.cok.net/blog/2013/03/google-confirms-veganism-on-rise/>
- Corman, L. (2012). The ventriloquist’s burden? Animals, voice, and politics. *PhD Dissertation*. Toronto: York University.
- Coston, S. (2009, May 15). Sanctuary tails. Farm Sanctuary. Retrieved from http://farmsanctuary.typepad.com/sanctuary_tails/susie-coston/
- Coston, S. (2011, August 22). Queenie. Farm Sanctuary. Retrieved from http://farmsanctuary.typepad.com/sanctuary_tails/2011/08/queenie.html
- Cow Breaks Free From NJ Slaughterhouse (Video). (2012, April 11). *NBC New York*.

- Retrieved from <http://www.nbcnewyork.com/news/local/Cow-Loose-Chase-Video-Paterson-New-Jersey-Slaughterhouse-River-Street-146925125.html>
- Cow Escapes from Jamaica, Queens's Slaughterhouse, Runs Down Liberty Avenue (Video). (2011, October 12). *Huffington Post*. Retrieved from http://www.huffingtonpost.com/2011/08/12/bull-escapes-from-jamaica_n_925363.html
- Cow Escapes Slaughterhouse, Gets Second Lease On Life (Video). (2012, April 14). *Fox News*. Retrieved from http://www.foxnews.com/on-air/fox-friends-weekend/index.html#/v/1561448559001/cow-escapes-slaughterhouse-gets-second-lease-on-life/?playlist_id=163197
- Cow Transport and Slaughter. (n.d.). People for the Ethical Treatment of Animals. Retrieved from <http://www.peta.org/issues/animals-used-for-food/factory-farming/cows/cow-transport-slaughter/>
- Cresswell, T. (1996). *In place/out of place: Geography, ideology, and transgression*. Minneapolis: University of Minnesota Press.
- Cresswell, T. (2000). Falling down: Resistance as diagnostic. In J. P. Sharp, P. Routledge, C. Philo, & R. Paddison (Eds.), *Entanglements of power: Geographies of domination/resistance* (pp. 256–268). New York: Routledge.
- Croghan, L., & Lee, P. (2011, June 26). New York's live markets sell chickens, goats and rabbits to customers who want only the freshest. *Daily News*. Retrieved from http://articles.nydailynews.com/2011-06-26/entertainment/29719479_1_kosher-slaughter-ducks-and-chickens-muscovy
- Davis, A. (1983). *Women, race, and class*. New York: Vintage Books.
- Davis, A. (2012, February 20). Grace Lee Boggs in Conversation with Angela Davis Retrieved from <http://www.radioproject.org/2012/02/grace-lee-boggs-berkeley/>
- Davis, D. (2011). Creaturely rhetorics. *Philosophy and Rhetoric* 44(1), pp. 88-94.
- Davis, K. (1995). Thinking like a chicken: Farm animals and the feminine connection. United Poultry Concerns. Retrieved from http://www.upc-online.org/thinking_like_a_chicken.html
- Davis, L. J. (2002). *Bending over backwards: Disability, dismodernism & other difficult positions*. New York, NY: New York University Press.
- Day, J. N. (2008). Butchers, tanners, and tallow chandlers: The geography of slaughtering

- in early-nineteenth-century New York City. (178-197). In P. L. Young (Ed.), *Meat, modernity, and the rise of the slaughterhouse*. Lebanon, NH: University Press of New England.
- Deckha, M. (2012). Toward a postcolonial, posthumanist feminist theory: Centralizing race and culture in feminist work on nonhuman animals." *Hypatia* 27(3), pp. 527-545.
- dee dee. (2009). Comment on C. Hauser (2009, May 7). Farm living is the life for Molly. *New York Times*. Retrieved from <http://cityroom.blogs.nytimes.com/2009/05/07/farm-living-is-the-life-for-molly-the-calf/>
- Denveright303. (2012). Comment on M. Leitsinger (2012, April 11). Moo-dini: Steer's life spared after slaughterhouse escape. *NBC News*. Retrieved from http://usnews.nbcnews.com/_news/2012/04/11/11140688-moo-dini-steers-life-spared-after-slaughterhouse-escape#comments
- Derrida, J. (1991). 'Eating Well,' or the calculation of the subject. In Ed. Cadava, P. Connor, & J. Nancy (Eds.), *Who comes after the subject?* (pp. 96-119). New York: Routledge.
- Derrida, J. (2008). *The animal that therefore I am*. New York: Fordham University Press.
- Dobie, J. F. (1941). *The Longhorns*. New York: Grosset & Dunlap.
- Donnan, H., & Wilson, T. M. (1999). *Borders: Frontiers of identity, nation and state*. New York: Berg.
- Dow, J. (1993). *Hazel & Clover's great escape*. London: Frances Lincoln.
- Dunayer, J. (2001). *Animal equality: Language and liberation*. Derwood, MD: Ryce.
- Durante, D. L. (2007). *Outdoor monuments of Manhattan: A historical guide*. New York: New York University Press.
- Elder, G., Wolch, J., & Emel, J. (1998). Le Pratique Sauvage: Race, place, and the human-animal divide. In J. Wolch & J. Emel (Eds.), *Animal geographies: Place, politics, and identity in the nature-culture borderlands* (pp. 72-90). New York: Verso.
- Eisnitz, G. A. (2007). *Slaughterhouse: The shocking story of greed, neglect, and the inhumane treatment inside the U.S. meat industry*. Amherst, NY: Prometheus Books.

- Emel, J., Wilbert, C., & Wolch, J. (2002). Animal geographies. *Society & Animals* 10(4), pp. 407-412.
- Erin Michelle. (2009). Comment on C. Trapasso (2009, June 21). "New York City's Underground Railroad for escaped farm animals." *City Spoonful*. Retrieved from <http://www.cityspoonful.com/farmanimals/>
- Escaped cow's slaughter disappoints activists. (2011, August 12). *NY1 News*. Retrieved from http://origin.ny1.com/content/top_stories/mobile_news/144907/escaped-cow-s-slaughter-disappoints-activists
- Eugenie. (2007). Comment on K. Severson (2007, July 6). Where the city's runaways roam free. *New York Times*. Retrieved from <http://cityroom.blogs.nytimes.com/2007/07/06/where-the-citys-runaways-roam-free/>
- Farm Animal Cruelty. (n.d.). ASPCA. Retrieved from <http://www.asPCA.org/fight-cruelty/farm-animal-cruelty>
- The Fate Of A Texas Steer: After Making Things Lively on the East Side He is Killed. (1885, July 30). *New York Times*. p. 2.
- Fairclough, N. (2003). *Analyzing discourse: Textual analysis for social research*. London: Routledge.
- Fernandez, M. (2009, May 10). Cow loose in Queens? Among animal escapes in city, not so strange. *New York Times*. p. 27.
- Five Runaway Steers: A Great Wild West Show in New-York Streets. (1892, August 17). *New York Times*. p. 8.
- Foucault, M. (2006). *The history of sexuality: The will to knowledge v. 1*. Penguin Books.
- Foucault, M. (1995). *Discipline and punish: The birth of the prison*. New York: Vintage Books.
- Fudge, E. (2002). A left-handed blow: Writing the history of animals. In N. Rothfels (Ed.), *Representing animals* (pp. 3-18). Bloomington, IN: Indiana University Press.
- Gillespie, K. (2012). Joining the resistance: Farmed animals making history. Paper presented at the 11th Annual North American Conference for Critical animal studies, "From Greece to Wall Street, Global Economic Revolutions and Critical animal studies." Buffalo, NY.

- Gillespie, K. (2012, September 3). [Review of the book *Sanctuary: Portraits of rescued farm animals*]. Our Hen House. Retrieved from <http://www.ourhenhouse.org/2012/09/book-review-sanctuary-portraits-of-rescued-farm-animals-by-sharon-lee-hart/>
- Ginsburg, R. (2007). Freedom and the slave landscape. *Landscape Journal* 26(1), pp. 36-44.
- Girdler, W. (1977). *Day of the animals*. United States: Film Ventures International
- Gray, J. (2013). *The silence of animals: On progress and other modern myths*. New York: Farrar, Straus and Giroux.
- The Great Escape. (2009, May 11). *The Province*.
- Grubbs, J. (2012). The rise of the planet of the apes (2011) [film review]. *Journal for Critical animal studies* 10(3), pp. 128-132.
- Hales, J. (2006). An anti-colonial critique of research methodology. In G. J. Sefa Dei & A. Kempf (Eds.), *Anti-colonialism and education: The politics of resistance* (pp. 243-256). Rotterdam, Netherlands: Sense Publishers.
- Harper, A. B. (2010). Social justice beliefs and addiction to uncompassionate consumption. In *Sistah vegan: Black female vegan's speak on food, identity, health and society*. Brooklyn, NY: Lantern Books.
- Harper, A. B. (2012, February 23). Angela Davis on eating chickens, Occupy, and including animals in social justice initiative of the 99%. *The Sistah Vegan Project*. Retrieved from <http://sistahvegan.com/2012/02/23/angela-davis-on-eating-chickens-occupy-and-including-animals-in-social-justice-initiative-of-the-99/>
- Hart, S. L. (2012). *Sanctuary: Portraits of rescued farm animals*. Milana: Edizioni Charta.
- Hauser, C. (2009, May 7). Farm living is the life for Molly. *New York Times*. Retrieved from <http://cityroom.blogs.nytimes.com/2009/05/07/farm-living-is-the-life-for-molly-the-calf/>
- Harvey the Rooster: From Columbus Circle to Sanctuary. (2013, March 18). Woodstock Farm Animal Sanctuary. Retrieved from <http://woodstocksanctuary.org/2013/01/harvey-the-rooster/>
- Highsmith, P. (1976). *The animal-lover's book of beastly murder*. New York: The Mysterious Press.
- Hitchcock, A. (1963). *The birds*. United States: Universal Pictures.

- Honan, K. (August 12, 2011). "Cow Runs Loose in Queens," *NBC News*. Retrieved from <http://www.nbcnewyork.com/news/Cow-Gets-Loose-in-Queens-127550298.html>
- Horowitz, R. (2008). The politics of meat shopping in antebellum New York City. In Young, P. L. (Ed.), *Meat, modernity, and the rise of the slaughterhouse* (167-177). Lebanon, NH: University Press of New England.
- Hribal, J. (2003). "Animals Are Part of the Working Class": A challenge to labor history. *Labor History* 44(4), pp. 443–444.
- Hribal, J. (2006, November 28). Animals Are Part of the Working Class: Interview with Jason Hribal [Interview]. Animal Voices Radio. CIUT. Retrieved from <http://animalvoices.ca/2006/11/28/animals-are-part-of-the-working-class-interview-with-jason-hribal/>
- Hirbal, J. (2007). Animals, agency, and class: Writing the history of animals from below. *Human Ecology Review* 14(1), pp. 101-113.
- Hribal, J. (2007, April 17). Resistance is never futile. *Counterpunch*. Retrieved from <http://www.counterpunch.org/2007/04/17/resistance-is-never-futile/>
- Hribal, J. (2010). *Fear of the animal planet: The hidden history of animal resistance*. Petrolia and Oakland, CA: CounterPunch and AK Press.
- Hribal, J. (2011, January 18). *Fear of the animal planet: The hidden history of animal resistance* [Interview]. Animal Voices Radio. CIUT. Retrieved from <http://animalvoices.ca/2011/01/18/fear-of-the-animal-planet/>
- JerseyKat. (2012). Comment on M. Leitsinger (2012, April 11). Moo-dini: Steer's life spared after slaughterhouse escape. *NBC News*. Retrieved from http://usnews.nbcnews.com/_news/2012/04/11/11140688-moo-dini-steers-life-spared-after-slaughterhouse-escape#comments
- Jessica. (2009). Comment on C. Trapasso (2009, June 21). "New York City's Underground Railroad for escaped farm animals." *City Spoonful*. Retrieved from <http://www.cityspoonful.com/farmanimals/>
- jones, p. (2006). Stomping with the elephants: Feminist principles for radical solidarity. In S. Best & A.J. Nocella, II (Eds.), *Igniting a revolution: Voices in defense of the Earth* (pp. 319-334). Oakland, CA: AK Press.
- jones, p. (2009). "Free as a bird: Natural anarchism in action." In R. Amster, A. DeLeon, L.A. Fernandez, A. J. Nocella, II, & D. Shannon (Eds.), *Contemporary anarchist studies: An introductory anthology of anarchy in the academy* (236-246). New York: Routledge.

- Kalof, L. (2007). *Looking at animals in human history*. London: Reaktion Books.
- Kidokun. (2009). Comment on J. Pressler (2009, June 5). Run, Bessie, run! *NYMag.com*. Retrieved from http://nymag.com/daily/intelligencer/2009/05/run_bessie_run.html
- Khosravi, S. (2007). The 'Illegal' traveller: An auto-ethnography of borders. *Social Anthropology* 5(3), pp. 321-334.
- Lawrence, B., & Dua, E. (2006). Decolonizing antiracism. *Social Justice* 32(4), pp. 120-143.
- Leitsinger, M. (2012, April 11). Moo-dini: Steer's life spared after slaughterhouse escape. *NBC News*. Retrieved from http://usnews.nbcnews.com/_news/2012/04/11/11140688-moo-dini-steers-life-spared-after-slaughterhouse-escape#comments
- Lucky lamb that escaped slaughter headed for greener pastures. (2007, June 15). *NY1.com*.
- Lyman, H. F. (1998). *Mad cowboy: Plain truth from the cattle rancher who won't eat meat*. New York: Scribner.
- Man is Shot Dead in Chase for Steer: Frenzied Animal Tears Down Fifth Avenue, Police Shooting from Taxicabs. (1913, November 4). *New York Times*. p. 18
- Masson, J. M. (2003). *The pig who sang to the moon: The emotional world of farm animals*. New York: Ballantine Books.
- Mauro, E. (2011, October 28). Gatineau police defend shooting escaped cows. *CTV Ottawa*. Retrieved from http://ottawa.ctv.ca/servlet/an/local/CTVNews/20111028/OTT_cow_shooting_111028/20111028/
- Maxine: Daring Dash Around Queens Lands Renegade Cow at New York Shelter. Farm Sanctuary. Retrieved from <http://www.farmsanctuary.org/the-sanctuaries/rescued-animals/featured-past-rescues/daring-dash-around-queens-lands-renegade-cow-at-new-york-shelter/>
- McArther, J. (2010, September 10). Subjective compassion [Web log message]. *We Animals*. Retrieved from <http://www.weanimals.org/blog.php?entry=111>
- McClintock, A. (1995). *Imperial leather: Race gender and sexuality in the colonial contest*. New York: Routledge.

- Merchant, C. (2008). Secrets of nature: The Bacon debates revisited. *Journal of the History of Ideas*, 69(1), pp.147-162.
- MichelleO. (2011). Comment on Cow Escapes from Jamaica, Queens's Slaughterhouse, Runs Down Liberty Avenue (Video). (2011, October 12). *Huffington Post*. Retrieved from http://www.huffingtonpost.com/2011/08/12/bull-escapes-from-jamaica_n_925363.html
- Mickey and Jo. Woodstock Farm Animal Sanctuary. Retrieved from <http://woodstocksanctuary.org/meet-the-animals/ducks-2/mickey-and-jo/>
- "Mike Jr." the Escaped Calf Arrives at WFAS! Woodstock Farm Animal Sanctuary. Retrieved from <http://woodstocksanctuary.org/2012/04/breaking-news-mike-the-escaped-cow-arrives-at-wfas/>
- Mitra, M. N. (2013, March 25). The return of ag-gag laws. *Earth Island Journal*. Retrieved from http://www.earthisland.org/journal/index.php/elist/eListRead/the_return_of_ag-gag_laws
- Mohanty, C. T. (2003). *Feminism without borders: Decolonizing theory, practicing solidarity*. Durham: Duke University Press.
- Molly: The Great Escape. ASPCA. Retrieved from <http://www.asPCA.org/Adoption/asPCA-happy-tails/molly.aspx>
- Montcalms Revenge. (2011). Comment on Cow Escapes from Jamaica, Queens's Slaughterhouse, Runs Down Liberty Avenue (Video). (2011, October 12). *Huffington Post*. Retrieved from http://www.huffingtonpost.com/2011/08/12/bull-escapes-from-jamaica_n_925363.html
- New York City: Vol 1, New York City guide. (1939). Guilds' Committee for Federal Writers' Publications.
- New York News Group. Molly the cow finds new home. Retrieved from http://www.godsdirectcontact.org.tw/eng/news/205/love_153.htm
- New York Stops Proliferation of Live Animal Slaughter Markets. (2012, April 30). Humane Society of the United States. Retrieved from http://www.humanesociety.org/news/press_releases/2012/04/new_york_stops_live_markets_043012.html
- Nibert, D. A. (2002). *Animal rights/human rights: Entanglements of oppression and liberation*. Lanham: Rowman and Littlefield.
- No Voice Unheard (2010). *Ninety-five: Meeting America's farmed animals in stories and photographs*. Santa Cruz, CA: No Voice Unheard.

- Nocella, A. J., II. (2012). Animal advocates for prison and slave abolition: A Transformative justice approach to movement politics for an end to racism. *Journal for Critical animal studies*, 10(2), pp. 112-199.
- Nocella, A. J., II. (2012, January 3). *Journal for Critical Animal Studies* mentioned in the *New York Times*. *Lib Now!* Retrieved from <http://libnow.org/2012/01/journal-for-critical-animal-studies-mentioned-in-the-new-york-times/>
- Noske, B. (1997). *Beyond boundaries: Humans and animals*. New York: Black Rose Books.
- NY Sanctuaries Take in Animals Escaping Slaughter. (2013, August 23). *Mail.com*. Retrieved from <http://www.mail.com/business/economy/2289990-ny-sanctuaries-take-animals-escaping-slaughter.html>
- Old-Time Round-Up Staged in Times Square; Police Lasso Escaped Calves in Hour's Chase. (1927, October 12). *New York Times*. p. 29.
- Oliver, K. (2009). *Animal lessons: How they teach us to be human*. New York: Columbia University Press.
- Ontario Dairy Goat Co-Operative. Retrieved from <http://www.ontariodairygoat.com/goat-farming.htm>
- Pachirat, T. (2011). *Every twelve seconds: Industrialized slaughter and the politics of sight*. New Haven, CT: Yale University Press.
- Park, K. (1954, February 17). Cruelty to Steer Protested. Letter to the Editor. *New York Times*.
- Perlo, K. (2002). Marxism and the underdog. *Society and Animals*, 10(3), pp. 303-318.
- Pfeiffer, E. (2012, May 17). 200 buffalo escape Iowa farm, spotted across five counties in Two states. *Yahoo News*. Retrieved from <http://news.yahoo.com/blogs/sideshow/200-buffalo-escape-iowa-farm-spotted-across-five-211235677.html>
- Philo, C. (1998). Animals, geography, and the city: Notes on inclusions and exclusions. In J. Wolch & J. Emel (Eds.), *Animal geographies: Place, politics, and identity in the nature-culture borderlands* (51-71). New York: Verso.
- Philo, C., & Wilbert, C. (2000). Introduction to *Animal spaces, beastly places: New geographies of human-animal relations* (1-34). New York: Routledge.
- pigeon. (2009). Comment on C. Hauser (2009, May 7). Farm living is the life for Molly.

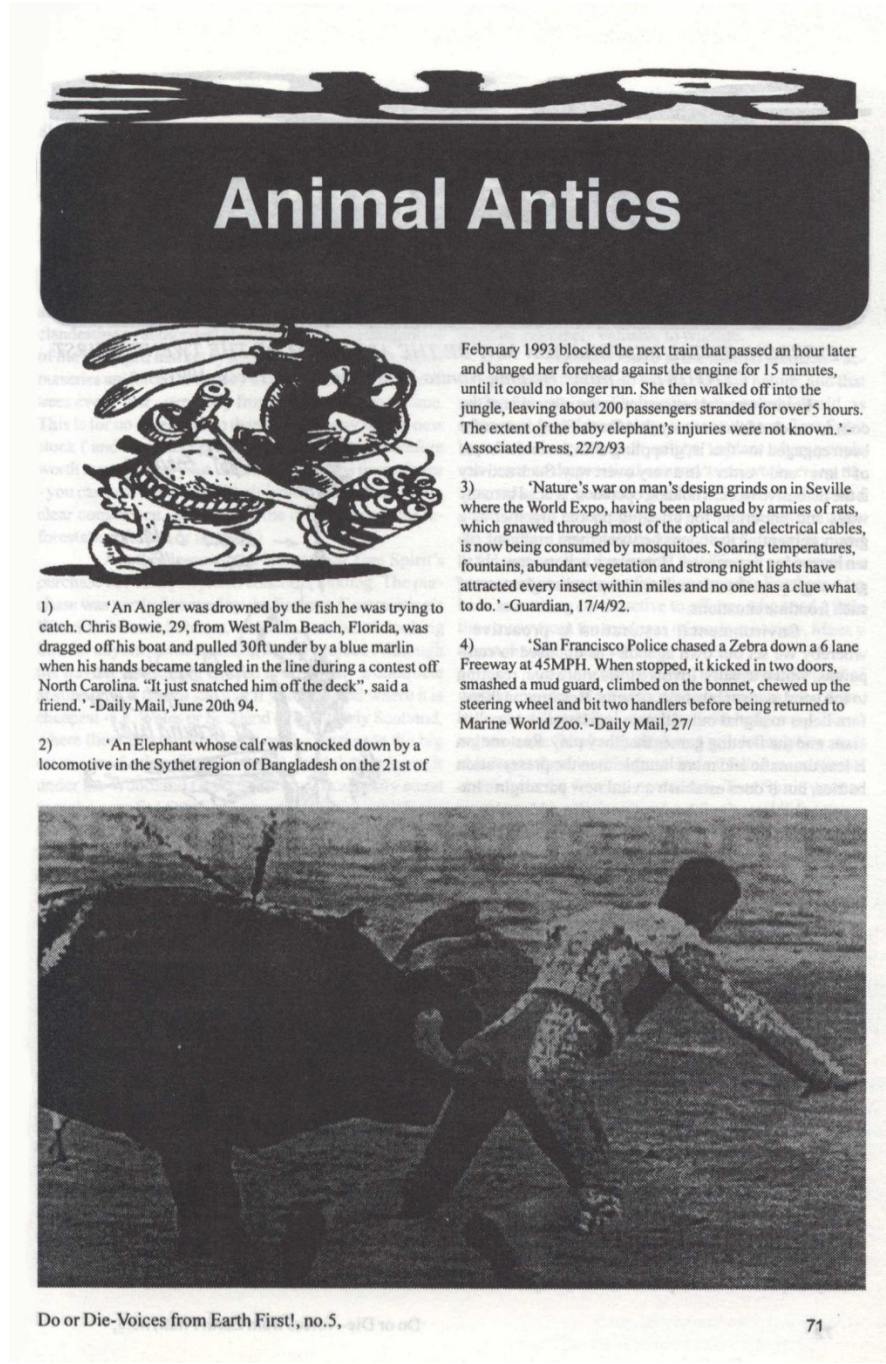
- New York Times*. Retrieved from <http://cityroom.blogs.nytimes.com/2009/05/07/farm-living-is-the-life-for-molly-the-calf/>
- Plimsoll, S. (2007). *Cattle ships: Being the fifth chapter of Mr. Plimsoll's second appeal for our seaman*. Whitefish, MT: Kessinger Publishing.
- Pressler, J. (2009, June 5). Run, Bessie, run! *NYMag.com*. Retrieved from http://nymag.com/daily/intelligencer/2009/05/run_bessie_run.html
- Propagandhi. (2009). Potemkin city limits. On *Supporting Caste* [CD]. Winnipeg: Smallman Records.
- Proudhon, P. J. (2011). *Property is theft! A Pierre-Joseph Proudhon anthology*. I. McKay (Ed.) Oakland, CA: AK Press.
- Police Race Steers In Brooklyn 'Rodeo': Use Trucks and Flivvers as Mounts to Chase 19 Animal Fleeing Slaughter House. (1927, September 8). *New York Times*. p. 10.
- Raab, A. K. (1993). Revolt of the bats. *Fifth Estate* 28(3).
- Regan, T. (2004). *Empty cages: Facing the challenge of animal rights*. Lanham, MD: Rowman & Littlefield.
- Rescued Chickens Shed Light On Horrors of NYC's Live Markets. (2007, August 31). Farm Sanctuary Press Release. Retrieved from <http://www.commondreams.org/cgi-bin/print.cgi?file=/news2007/0831-02.htm>
- Resistance [Def. 1-4]. (n.d.). In Oxford English Dictionary Online. Retrieved from <http://oxforddictionaries.com/definition/english/resistance>
- Ryder, R. D. (2012). Speciesism. Dr. Richard D. Ryder. Retrieved from <http://www.richardryder.co.uk/speciesism.html>.
- Sanburn, J. (2013, June 24). Top 11 zoo escapes. *Time*. Retrieved from http://www.time.com/time/specials/packages/article/0,28804,2041628_2041646_2041654,00.html
- Scott, J. C. (1985). *Weapons of the weak: Everyday forms of peasant resistance*. New Haven, CT: Yale University Press.
- Severson, K. (July 6, 2007). Where the city's runaways roam free. *New York Times*. Retrieved from <http://cityroom.blogs.nytimes.com/2007/07/06/where-the-citys-runaways-roam-free/>
- Shakur, A. (March, 1998). Open letter from Assata. AfroCubaWeb. Retrieved from

- <http://www.afrocubaweb.com/assata2.htm>
- Shields, L., & Thomas, S. (2012). Prison studies and Critical animal studies: Understanding interconnectedness beyond institutional comparisons. *Journal for Critical animal studies*, 10(2), pp. 4-11.
- Shukin, N. (2009). *Animal capital: Rendering life in biopolitical times*. Minneapolis, University of Minnesota Press.
- Sinclair, U. (2006). *The jungle*. New York: Penguin Books.
- Shenton, A. K. (2004). Strategies for ensuring trustworthiness in qualitative research projects. *Education for Information* 22, 63-75.
- Shields, L. & Thomas, S. (2012). Prison studies and Critical animal studies: Understanding interconnectedness beyond institutional comparisons. *Journal for Critical animal studies*, 10 (2), pp. 4-11.
- Shiva, V. (1997). *Biopiracy: The plunder of nature and knowledge*. Toronto, ON: Between the Lines.
- Shiva, V. (2000, Sept 6). Vandana Shiva: The new colonialism. *ColorLines*. Interview by Rebecca Gordon and Bob Wing. Retrieved from <http://www.greenleft.org.au/node/21513>
- Singer, P. (2002). *Animal liberation*. New York: Harper Collins.
- Smuts, B. (2006). Between species: Science and subjectivity. *Configurations* 14(1-2), pp. 115-126. DOI: 10.1353/con.0.0004
- Socha, K. (2011). *Women, destruction, and the Avant-Garde: A paradigm for animal liberation.* New York: Routledge.
- Soja, E. (2010). *Seeking spatial justice*. Minneapolis, MN: University of Minnesota Press.
- Sorenson, J. (2010). *About Canada: Animal rights*. Black Point, Nova Scotia: Fernwood Publishing.
- Spears, M. (2010). Eyes of the dead. In B. Harper (Ed.), *Sistah vegan: Black female vegan's speak on food, identity, health and society* (80-81). Brooklyn, NY: Lantern Books.
- Spiegel, M. (1996). *The dreaded comparison: Human and animal slavery*. New York: Mirror Books.

- Spielberg, S. (1975). *Jaws*. United States: Universal Pictures.
- spike the dog. (2007). Comment on K. Severson (2007, July 6). Where the city's runaways roam free. *New York Times*. Retrieved from <http://cityroom.blogs.nytimes.com/2007/07/06/where-the-citys-runaways-roam-free/>
- Spivak, G. C. (2010). A critique of postcolonial reason. In V.B. Leitch (Ed.), *The Norton anthology of theory and criticism* (pp. 2114-2126). New York: Norton & Company.
- St. Clair, J. (2010). Let us now praise infamous animals. Introduction to J. Hribal, *Fear of the animal planet: The hidden history of animal resistance* (pp. 1-20). Petrolia, CA: Counterpunch.
- Steer on a Rampage Tosses Two in Street: Crowds in Turmoil on West Side – Police Lasso Animal After Pursuit in Taxis. *New York Times*. (1928, February 17). *New York Times*. p. 55.
- Steer Runs Wild in Broadway and Herald Sq.; Fells Pedestrians, Enters Tailor Shop, Is Shot. (1930, May 7). *New York Times*. p. 29.
- Taylor, Y., & Johnson, C. (1999). *I was born a slave. An anthology of classic slave narratives*. Chicago, IL: Lawrence Hill Books.
- They Had the Right of Way: Wild Steers from the West Amuck in Jersey City (1894, September 20). *New York Times*. p. 8.
- Thierman, S. (2010). Apparatuses of animality: Foucault goes to a slaughterhouse. *Foucault Studies*, 9, pp. 89-110.
- Trapasso, C. (2009, June 21). "New York City's Underground Railroad for escaped farm animals." *City Spoonful*. Retrieved from <http://www.cityspoonful.com/farmanimals/>
- Turtles Escape Captivity, Make A Beeline For Nearby Ponds. (2012, July 19). *Huffington Post*. Retrieved from http://www.huffingtonpost.com/2012/07/19/summerville-georgia-turtle-escape-_n_1685898.html
- Unsinkable Molly Brown heifer/cow. (n.d.). In *Facebook* [News Personality]. Retrieved from <https://www.facebook.com/pages/Unsinkable-Molly-Brown-heifercow/137823992980440>
- Urbanik, J. (2012). *Placing animals: An introduction to the geography of human-animal relations*. New York: Rowman & Littlefield.
- Venezia, T., & Doyle, J. (2009, May 8). Moo-ving day: Molly finds a safe home – and a

- mate. *New York Post*. Retrieved from http://www.nypost.com/p/news/regional/item_qwZkpEAds0lQp3nKlQuBNP
- Villigord. (2011). Comment on Cow Escapes from Jamaica, Queens's Slaughterhouse, Runs Down Liberty Avenue (Video). (2011, October 12). *Huffington Post*. Retrieved from http://www.huffingtonpost.com/2011/08/12/bull-escapes-from-jamaica_n_925363.html
- Wilbert, C. (2000). Anti-this—Against-that: Resistances along a human—non-human axis. In J. P. Sharp, P. Routledge, C. Philo, & R. Paddison (Eds.), *Entanglements of power: Geographies of domination/resistance* (238-255). New York: Routledge.
- Wild Steers At Large: A Number Escape from a Drove Exciting Pursuit (1877, August 26). *New York Times*. p. 7.
- Wolch, J. (1999). Zoopolis. In J. Wolch & J. Emel (Eds.), *Animal geographies: Place, politics, and identity in the nature-culture borderlands* (pp. 119-138). New York: Verso.
- Wolch, J., & Emel, J. (1998). *Animal geographies: Place, politics, and identity in the nature-culture borderlands*. New York: Verso.
- Zinn, H. (2002), *You can't be neutral on a moving train: A personal history of our times*. Boston: Beacon Press.

Appendices




Appendix 1: "Animal Antics." Early representation of animal resistance published in *Do or Die-Voices from Earth First!*, 1995 no. 5.

fifth estate

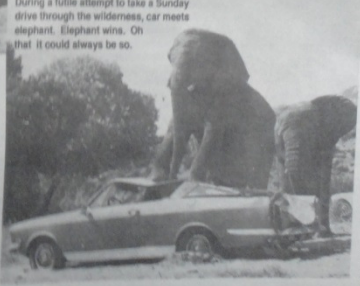
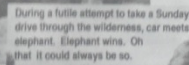
most of the animals above were recaptured and returned to their pens, but the one who was last seen crossing the road

There are animals who carry the burden



The destruction of the world is not out there, and not our own sorrow. It proceeds at an ever-maddening pace. Let us hasten that acts of self-defense and resistance by animals, fish, birds and the human brothers and sisters will increase. Let these actions multiply and in-to-take until human tyranny is thrown off and replaced by a community of free living beings, assisting each other in this magical journey, and reforming the ancient woods of beauty and camaraderie.

-Alon K. Raza

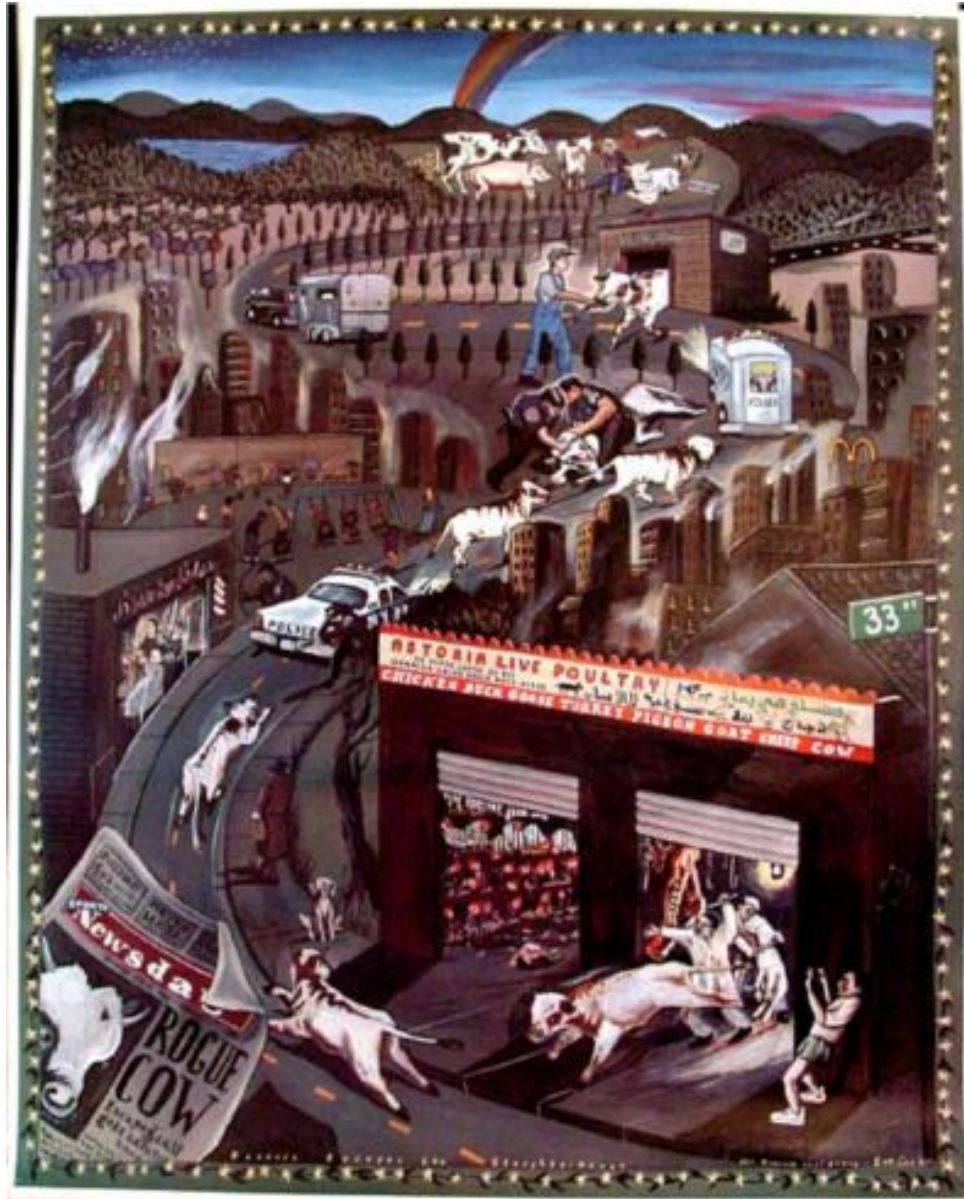


When animals band together they are able to unleash a mighty power. Several years ago, in the depths of the suburban woodlands of Columbus, Ohio, ring-billed

tions with hu-mans) were presented in myriad ways. A common theme was their ability to fend off hostile human attacks, through trickery, playfulness and wisdom. Coyote and Raven of the Northwest coast of Turtle Island, Keen Keeng of Australian dream time, and the Sacred Bee of Rhodes, are but some of the many magical beings who presented themselves.



Appendix 3: "Shooting bull – Central Park." *New York Times* press photo of a cow who escaped from the New York Stock Company Yards and was shot and killed by police in Central Park one-hundred years ago.



Appendix 4: "Queenie." Sue Coe's painting of Queenie's escape from the Astoria Live Poultry Market to Farm Sanctuary.



Appendix 5: “Jay.” Jo-Anne McArthur’s photography of Jay, a bull who escaped a slaughterhouse truck that caught fire.