

〈論文〉

# Rights for All Species? Any Learning from Global Advocacies for Animal Rights? Implication for Human Rights Movement towards Sustainable Future<sup>1</sup>

## 「すべての種に権利はあるか？」

### —動物の権利に対するグローバルな権利擁護（アドボカシー）から 学ぶことはあるか。持続可能な未来に向けた人権運動にとっての意義—

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#### Abstract

The key question of this essay is: is there any learning from animal rights campaign, for human rights movements, for now and future? It draws on animal rights advocacies by non-governmental organizations (NGOs) at local and global levels, highlighting their communicative and action strategies in transnational advocacies, in and through which to reshape global as well as local (glocal) norms and actions for sustainable development; and attempting to compare the campaigns' logics, strategies, messages, ideologies-meanings and representations of animal rights campaigns with the human rights ones.

After discussing the context-contours of globalization, Part 2 examines and discusses mobilizations for animal rights: NGOs and social activists in defining, shaping and articulating their calls for (the differentiated forms and ethics of) ecological modernization, on the one hand; and the maximization of the leverage for their call through the advanced offerings and utilization of information and communication technologies (ICT), on the other. The paper ends with discussion on any learning from animal rights movements, for human rights promotion in coming decade, on the way to a new modernity.

#### 概要

現在及び将来の人権運動にとって、動物の権利擁護運動からなにか学ぶべきものはあるのだろうか。これが本論文の中心的な問いである。本論文は、非政府組織（NGOs）が、ローカルレベルとグローバルレベルで行っている動物の権利擁護（アドボカシー）に手がかりを求め、国際的（トランスナショナル）な権利擁護の広報活動戦略に注目する。そこで、非政府組織は、持続可能な発展のためのローカル（グローバル）でかつグローバルな規範と行動をつくり直そうとしている。そして、動物の権利擁護運動の論理、戦略、メッセージ、イデオロギー的な意味と人権のそれとの比較を試みる。

次にグローバリゼーションの状況の概略を議論した後、第二部では、動物の権利をめぐる動向を検討する。ひとつは、動物の権利のエコロジカルな近代化（の異なった形式と倫理）をもとめる要求を定義し、形成し、表明する際に、NGOや社会活動家が果たしている役割であり、もうひとつは、情報通信技術（ICT）の先進的な提供と利用によって拡大する彼らの要求がもつ影響力である。

最後に新たな近代性への途上で、人権促進運動が、これから10年の間に動物の人権擁護運動から学ぶべきことは何か、を考えてみたい。

Keywords : Eco-Bioethics, Ecological Modernization, Globalization, Human Rights, Information Society, NGOs, PeTA.  
キーワード : エコ・バイオエシックス、エコロジカルな近代化、グローバリゼーション、人権、情報社会、NGO、PeTA

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## 1. New Direction of Glocal Advocacies- Learning from Animal Rights Movement?

Globalization processes are problematic and tend to polarize socio-economic life chance of people- this has been confirmed by the *Report of the World Commission on the Social Dimension of Globalization* (Milanovic 2003, WCDG 2004). Against this trend, non-governmental organizations (NGOs) have been championing the alternative way of modernization, sometimes raising the fundamentals of bio-ecological ethics, in terms of animal rights and others.

On the other hand, the offerings of information and communication technologies (ICT) redefine the way(s) and mode(s) of glocal advocacies not just for human (economic, social and cultural) rights, but also the calling for strategies to stop the climate change in general, animal rights within the realm of sustainable development in particular. At this historical conjuncture, we are entering a new era of digital economy, polity and society, thanks to modern ICTs. Participatory politics at a global scale seems more and more possible, allowing most forms of communication: one-to-one, one-to-many, many-to-one and many-to-many. The maximum utilization of ICTs enables electronic mobilization (Lai 2004a, Schuler & Day 2004). Take the Association of Progressive Communications and its Asian partner, South Korean Jinbo.net, for example: they are international networks of civil organizations for social justice and development, active in mobilising progressive forces for regional and global activism in labor, human (animal) rights and environmental movements alike, in both cyber and real spaces (Hick *et al.* 2000; Hick & McNutt Eds.

2002; <http://www.apc.org/>; <http://www.jinbo.net>).

The key issues here are the opening up of potential for transnational activism as far as interactivity, timeliness, active participation, and the progressive agenda setting are concerned, both in virtual and real political communities. Saskia Sassen rightly points out that globalization and the new ICTs have enabled a variety of local political actors to enter international arenas once exclusive to national states. Multiple types of claim-making and oppositional politics articulate the global agenda. Going global has been partly facilitated and conditioned by the infrastructure of the global economy, even as the latter is often the object of those oppositional politics (Sassen 2004: 649).

The synergy of global bio-ecological movements and ICTs can be understood, analytically, from three distinct yet inter-related debates on the governance of, and participatory politics in, the global system (Lai 2004a). They are: the 'Globalized Space' thesis of James N. Rosenau (1997, 1998), the *Cosmopolitan Democracy* concept developed by David Held (1995, 1998, 1999), and the *Transnational Advocacy Networks* (TAN) thesis of Margaret E. Keck and Kathryn Sikkink (1998, 1999). Confronting globalization and the problematic of global governance, Rosenau (1997,1998) rightly identifies the nascent social agencies, networks and actions: NGOs, the internet and social movements respectively. As it is widely agreed upon that current existing global governance is largely undemocratic, possibilities for democratizing these structures need to be discussed' – and that deliberation or communication is the central feature of transnational

democracy (Dryzek 1999: 43).

Despite regional differences regarding the interconnectedness of the internet, the creation of *Cyberspace* through the integration of ICTs locally and globally has been extending the way, mode and form of communications, doing-business and policy-making, with emerging new and distinct (cyber)culture, (virtual) community and (virtual) reality. In the *Globalized Space*, local, regional and global ICTs are referred to by James N. Rosenau (1997, 1998: 46-7) as one of the functional equivalents of democratic governance where transnational issues are beyond the control of nation-state nor the state-sponsored institutionalised regime, like the UN. Hence, the notion of 'electronic mobilization' (i.e. democracy aided by ICTs) is in line with the theory of 'Cosmopolitan Democracy' of David Held (1998, 1999; cf. Brecher et al. 2000), in which he argues that, in a world of overlapping communities of fate, *Cosmopolitan Democracy* is the creation of new political institutions and a diversity of NGOs in global civil society, with the democratic praxis of broad access to avenues of civic participation at national, regional and international levels.

## 2. New Advocacies' Contours: Articulating Animal Rights by PeTA

Global movement and local protests undertaken by global and local NGOs are phenomenal these days: questioning stem-cell research, against animal rights abuse, against GM foods, the bioethics of

transnational corporations (TNCs)... All these are integral to issues for human sustainability, the risk society and the search for ecological modernization (Beck 1992, 1998; Mol & Sonnenfeld, 2000).

The 'Battle in Seattle' (demonstrations against the 1999 WTO ministerial meeting) marks the beginning of new epoch of global activism, aided by ICT in general and mobile communication in particular. Since then, the global activism has shaped the location decision for international finance institutions (IFI) meetings, like the World Bank and IMF, attempting to move away from cities and transportation hub (Bennett 2003; Brecher, et al. 2000; Held & McGrew 2002).<sup>2</sup>

Below is the specific contextual discussion revolving around bio-ecological issues issues, as articulated by transnational advocacies networks (TANs), presenting the case of PeTA (People for the Ethical Treatment of Animals, <http://www.peta.org/>) and the related advocacies.

### 2.1 PeTA's Movement Strategies in Perspective

PeTA, People for the Ethical Treatment of Animals, represents such endeavours, in challenging the predominant pro-growth, unsustainable development. PeTA, a single issue (animal rights) international nongovernmental organization (iNGO) found in 1961, is a worldwide movement of people who campaign for animal rights. PETA believes that animals have rights and deserve to have their best interests taken into consideration, regardless of

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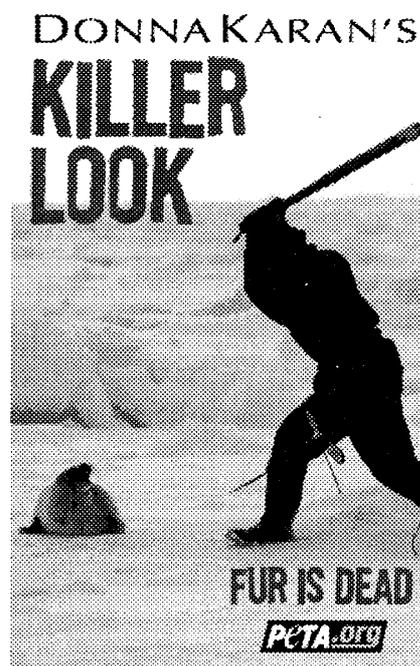
2) Details of the anti-globalization protest networking, see: [www.indymedia.org](http://www.indymedia.org), and [www.wtohistory.org](http://www.wtohistory.org).

whether they are useful to humans. Like you, they are capable of suffering and have an interest in leading their own lives; therefore, they are not ours to use—for food, clothing, entertainment, experimentation, or any other reason. (<http://www.peta.org>)

PeTA's work is based on careful research and on the standards agreed by the international community. It is independent of any government, political ideology, economic interest or religion. The main work of PeTA is carried out by volunteer activists, members and supporters. PeTA mobilizes volunteer activists—people who give freely of their time and energy in solidarity with animals which the rights have been abused. In 2007, there are more than 1.6 million members, supporters and subscribers in over 150 countries and territories in every region of the world. Despite of cultural and geographical diversity of PeTA's activists, with widely different political and religious views, they are united by the determination to work for a world where animals enjoy their rights, parity to human being, too.

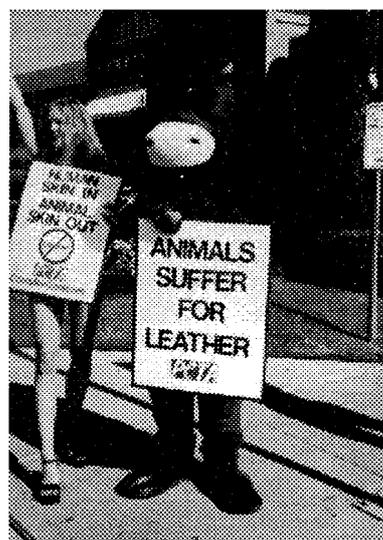
PeTA focuses its attention on the four areas in which the largest numbers of animals suffer the most intensely for the longest periods of time: on factory farms, in laboratories, in the clothing trade, and in the entertainment industry. It also works on a variety of other issues, including the cruel killing of beavers, birds and other “pests,” and the abuse of backyard dogs. It works through public education, cruelty investigations, research, animal rescue, legislation, special events, celebrity involvement, and protest campaigns.

Fig.1: PeTA Publicity. “Killer Look”



(Source: <http://www.peta.org/>)

Fig.2: PeTA Protest Action: *Human Skin in Animal Skin Out*



(Source: <http://www.peta.org/>)

PeTA is one of the few main international NGOs which works as a de facto monitor for global animal rights conditions and perhaps, the only people movement for animal rights advocacy and promotion, following PeTA's principle (-though which is

debatable and contestable) of bioethics. Recognizing the achievements of the extensive work in the field of animal rights protection, PeTA has been endorsed by international communities of intellectuals and progressive people, as they have been supportive in campaigns like “Fur is Dead”, “Vegetarianism”, “Anti-Animal Testings”, “Cruelty to Accompany Animals”, “Animals used for Entertainment”.... (<http://www.peta.org/mc/photos.asp>).

Over the last decade, PeTA international campaigns for animal rights, questing the conscience of people regarding biodiversity and animal rights, ranging from “Fur is Dead” to “Vegetarianism”; challenging animal testing of scientific communities. Unlike other NGOs which focus solely on welfare of people, it has been people movement agency for animal rights, therefore it puts animal first.

Hence, communicative works are main battle field for PeTA: information gathering, checking and exchanges, disseminating action oriented information for global mobilization, informing the global mass media, exerting pressure for political leadership / international organizations with morally grounded animal rights appeals.... This is particularly true as PeTA has developed its credibility for its reportages: PeTA reports carry a ring of authority, because the information is correct, true and timely, with no discrimination on grounds of race, religion, or ideological belief. More importantly, PeTA’s deliberate strategy for the investigation of animal rights abuse and the related campaigns by ‘outsiders’ – the strategy of global campaign and local action is the modus operandi of PeTA

Whenever there is animal rights abuse, as informed

and/or discovered by its global network, PeTA searches out the facts. PeTA mobilizes local informant, or sends experts (in some cases, as converted investigators) to conduct field investigation, observe and record the abuses. It also monitors thousands of media outlets and maintains contact with reliable sources of information all over the world. The research is carried out by expert staff, supported by specialists in a range of fields such as international law, media and technology. After detailed yet timely fact-checking, whenever PeTA establishes that immediate action is needed to protect individual / people whose rights have been abused, it mobilizes its membership, through its communication networks

- With an established case of animal rights abuse that requires immediate ‘saving’ action, PeTA initiates the global network to challenge the abuse, with various forms of mobilization, ranging from community actions to the 5 minutes individual action like
- Buy animal rights books to donate to local library. Visit [PETACatalog.org](http://PETACatalog.org) to purchase select books for the library at a 20 percent discount.
- Wearing clothes and buttons with pro-animal statements is a great way to be an advocate for animals who are exploited on factory farms. Our “Ask Me Why I’m Vegan” button is a great conversation starter.
- Post PETA literature on bulletin boards (it’s free).
- Offer to show videos, sponsor speakers, and host seminars.
- Take vegan meals (and the recipes!) to functions.
- Get on food committees.
- Speak up! When people ask you why you don’t eat animals, don’t just call it a “personal choice.”

Instead, paint a vivid picture of cruelty and explain how easy it is to go vegetarian!

- Lend animal rights books to friends and place them in the library of retirement home, town, school, church, or synagogue.

For 5-minutes individual action (<http://www.peta.org/actioncenter/getactive-5min.asp>):

- Write to the producer of any program in which characters abuse or ridicule animals, and dash off a letter to the TV network that airs the show as well.
- Pen a brief letter “with a point” to the editor of a newspaper that runs an ad for a fur sale.
- Call the sponsors of upcoming entertainment events that use animals, such as circuses and rodeos (look for ads in your local paper).
- Include a PeTA leaflet with every bill paid, and place an animal rights sticker on the outside of the envelope.
- Ask the child’s teacher to stop keeping animals in the classroom or requiring the students to dissect.
- Show others some of the many great beauty products that aren’t tested on animals.
- Ask for more vegan options at local restaurants and grocery stores.

Include animal-rights quote or – better – Web link to a video in the e-mail custom signature.

Or alternatively, with more time for individuals (<http://www.peta.org/actioncenter/getactive-15min.asp>):

- Keep eyes and ears peeled for animal-related issues and write a letter in support of animal rights to the editor of every magazine or newspaper that
- Thank publishers and producers for animal-friendly messages on TV and in print.
- Write letters to companies that conduct cruel experiments on animals, such as Iams and its

parent company, Procter & Gamble.

- Call or write to politicians, asking them to support animal-friendly legislation and thanking them for any similar past support.
- Peruse the local paper for “free to a good home” ads and call the people who place them, warning them that their animal might end up in a lab. Order PETA’s “free to a good home” ad pack, full of info that you can provide. We’ll send it for free!
- Give others a message when they leave one for you! Record an animal rights message on your voice mail or answering machine, such as, “Millions of animals die every hour in the United States for their flesh.

For urgent issues, online activism is obvious (<http://www.peta.org/actioncenter/online-activism.asp>), members and netizens are to be mobilized, to initiate global action to writing letters and faxes and to firing these appeals to the relevant authorities (political leadership, government agencies in and outside one nation state, international organization), demanding for immediate reaction for protecting the animals. This sort of mobilization is paralleling to other international NGOs’ mobilization, like the Amnesty International (2004, Lebert 2002). Yet, what distinguishes PeTA from other international NGOs’ e-mobilization strategy is it soft, down-to-daily-life activities of do-it-yourself.

## 2.2 Championing for New Ethics: Animal Rights as Mirror Image of Human Rights

The above PeTA example highlights the communicative aspects, identity and praxis, of *Cyber-*

*Animal-Rights-Warriors* in action. For the transformation of everyday life by/with the cyber-dynamics, within and beyond the e-mobilization for bio-ecological justice, four major processes have transpired as critical. First and foremost is the new self-identity formation (with and through individual actions), within a wider context of global/regional green-animal-rights political lobbying (the otherness). Cyberspace, for novices as well as veteran activists, is a learning-by-doing, action-oriented media at both individual and collective levels. They act with just a few clicks, sending support and appeal letters or animated e-cards to the targets. Hence, the bioethics (green) charged, finger-tipped, motor-skilled actions onto the keyboard and clicking the mouse of the individual constitute a new green identity of, as well as praxis for, involving in global bio-ecological movements and hence becoming cyber-animal rights warrior.

Second, the multiple linkages of cyber-networking and the offering of alternative lifestyles of PeTA, as representative for NGOs globally and locally, say, vegetarianism and no-fur clothing, in and beyond the cyberspace stretch geog-cultural localities, and they also extend to numerous individuals who used to be passive observers (of the mass media) and call upon their participation in a less militant, yet supportive, role for the sympathetic alternative lifestyle movement. Here, individuals can make a difference in the global sustainability, for animals in particular; especially on those issues (animal and human rights) normally neglected by the present state system: the everyday life green-and-for biodiversity praxis (of a few mouse-clicks) is not just transforming the greenness of one's identity (its relationship with the

natural world) but also reshaping the relationship between oneself and the otherness (animal world at large).

Last but not least and in relation to environmental politics that is used to be characterized by local, regional and national political processes, focusing on the right or wrong of the binary code of bioethics and eco-justices, the ICT enhanced cyber-cum-social mobilization extends the territorial (ir)relevance and enables "outsiders" to have an influence in and beyond the locally and regionally specific, territorially defined, environmental struggles. Within and beyond the transformative cyberspace, the "outsiders" are inherently bound and structurally anchored onto/into the ecological movements and therefore acquiring the identity of "insiders" or at the very least, an empathetic actor/supporter for victims of environmental disasters. Hence, the bio-eco-ethics movement articulates and reinforces the bondage between human agencies and animal world, juxtaposing the higher level of global concern into national/regional/local sustainable spaces.

Like other TANs, timeliness, responsiveness and interactivity for animal rights protective actions and mobilizations (against animal abuse) become the signature tactic for PeTA, this has been much attributed by the formation of TANs, and more recently aided by ICTs which keeps the animal rights issues 'hot'.

Paralleling the development in e-commerce, e-government, animal rights movement takes a cyber-turn too.

For PeTA, its international website (<http://www.PeTA.org>) provides animal rights resources on the Internet, enabling people to take action to prevent the abuses. Its website contains contact details for different offices and languages sites worldwide, linking to other animal rights-related websites – a good learning portal. More resources are available as PeTA movement goes on, and a beneficiary for the formation of social capital (Huysman & Wulf 2004). Undoubtedly, all these will serve a new (cyber-)space for animal rights advocacy, campaign and promotion at various geo-social scale, in different countries and cultures. Hence, following the up-trend of e-mobilization, the future of transnational activism for animal rights looks good as shown in the development in cyber and real worlds (Calhoun 2004, Lai 2004a).

### **3. Synergy of Animal-Human Rights Advocacy: Actions towards Sustainable Development**

The Internet, cyber-space, and new (mobile) media have been reshaping the landscape of global and local communications. The most dramatic illustration is that, in the world of new media, individual can make a difference in broadcasting his/her video footages, as shown in the MySpace and YouTube platforms. For Human rights and bio-ethics advocacy towards a new modernity, four distinct yet inter-related issues can be discerned.

First and foremost, there is much similarity between human rights and animal rights movements, historically speaking: both movements have been started when the rights for human beings and

animals were abused at extensive scale: the holocaust in the between World Wars period, and the industrialization-driven exploitation of animals, respectively. Despite their timely moral and ethical calls for rights promotion, they have not been fully taken by society at large fully, therefore they have (and still have) to take strategic, and sometimes, confrontation approaches to make their case known to society.

Second, the globalization processes have been challenging the livelihood of the people, attributing to human rights abuse (WCSDG 2004), as well as against the animal and ecological ones. The challenges in many way address to the sustainability issue of mankind and biodiversity, here bio-ecological justices is the contesting arena for global-local (glocal) struggles. There is the recognition that global economic change reinforces the existing socio-economic-cultural fault-lines, but it also creates new and different kinds of alignments of non-state actors around core issues and across borders. Their collective impacts are rarely addressed to by research nor responded by the state policy (cf. Stone 2004). The contribution of transnational advocacies by Amnesty International, Human Rights Watch, etc., from human rights groups and the NGOs, like PeTA and Greenpeace International, should redress this missing link, towards a fair and sustainable future.

Third, thanks to ICTs, cyberspace becomes the domain whereby individuals can articulate non-mainstream politics, ranging from human rights to animal rights, ethical and justices on biodiversity at large. Here, non-state actors and non-traditional political themes can enter, and be represented, not

just in the cyberspace, but also gain visibility in international politics beyond one's nation state territory (Sassen 2004). Indeed, the diffusion of animal rights information, ranging from the 'abuse' to 'good practices', from individuals and among NGOs, and social movements can be instrumental in defining the global and local animal-cum-human rights agenda (Hamm & Smandych 2004, Lai 2004b, Reifer 2004). In addition, Amnesty International, PeTA and Greenpeace International have dedicated multi-lingual websites for the struggle of bio-ecological justices.

Last but not least are the networking logics and dynamics of human rights movements, on the one hand, and the very essence of bio-eco-ethnics and bio-diversity, on the other. For the latter one, bioethical questions revolving around or against corporate and state agencies in shaping sustainable development, ranging from the nano-scale of genetically modifying processes, to the giga-scale of the climate change and global warming, against human beings and animal worlds, contesting views on the normative aspects (values and norms) of super-scientific knowledge, are obviously articulated in all forms of new (and old) media encounters – this is in short a progressive capacity building process for social agencies, for both animal and human rights movements at large. To recapitulate, the call for biodiversity (human beings' rights for survival with dignity), its ramification for bio-ecological advocacy, are not just talk and communication in cyberspace, but action in real world as well: therefore direct actions at local (individuals and community) level are still the basics - it is relevant for both animal and human rights movement, for social change for a

better world.

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