Chapter 10:
Social and Ethical Movements

From the 19th century into the 21st, a variety of social and ethical movements have greatly influenced political developments in the United States, Europe, and around the world. Different movements have demanded equal rights for women, freedom and equal rights for people of African origin, an end to war, gay rights, and rights for animals. With their concern for individual rights and social justice, these movements share many of the tenets of modern liberalism.

WOMEN'S RIGHTS

The movement for women's rights, also known as the feminist movement, is based on the belief in the social, economic, and political equality of the sexes. Throughout most of Western history, however, women have not been viewed as men's equals. Women were long confined to the domestic sphere, while public life was reserved for men. In medieval Europe, women were denied the right to own property, to study, or to participate in public life. At the end of the 19th century in France, they were still compelled to cover their heads in public, and, in parts of Germany, a husband still had the right to sell his wife. Even as late as the early 20th century, women could neither vote nor hold elective office in Europe and in most of the United States (where several territories and states granted woman suffrage long before the federal government did so). Women were prevented from conducting business without a male representative, be it father, brother, husband, legal agent, or even son. Married women could not

exercise control over their own children without the per-mission of their husbands. Moreover, women had little or no access to education and were barred from most profes-sions. In some parts of the world, such restrictions on women continue today.

THE SUFFRAGE MOVEMENT AND AFTERMATH

The first women's rights convention in the United States was held in July 1848 in the small town of Seneca Falls, New York. Although Seneca Falls was followed by wom-en's rights conventions in other states, the interest spurred by those first moments of organizing quickly faded. Concern in the United States turned to the pending Civil War, while, in Europe, the reformism of the 1840s gave way to the repression of the late 1850s. When the feminist movement rebounded, it became focused on a single issue, woman suffrage, a goal that would dominate international feminism for almost 70 years.

After the U.S. Civil War, American feminists assumed that woman suffrage would be included in the 15th Amendment to the U.S. Constitution, which prohibited disfranchisement on the basis of race. Yet leading aboli-tionists refused to support such inclusion, which prompted Elizabeth Cady Stanton, a leader of the Seneca Falls Convention, and Susan B. Anthony, a temperance activist, to form the National Woman Suffrage Association in 1869. At first, they based their demand for the vote on the Enlightenment principle of natural law, regularly invoking the concept of inalienable rights granted to all Americans by the Declaration of Independence. By 1900, however, the American passion for such principles as equality had been dampened by a flood of Eastern European immigrants and the growth of urban slums. Suffragist leaders, reflect-ing that shift in attitude, began appealing for the vote not

At the fore of the women's rights movement was the formidable team of Elizabeth Cady Stanton (left) *and Susan B. Anthony. The two waged battle to earn women the right to vote.* Kean Collection/Hulton Archive/ Getty Images

on the principle of justice or on the common humanity of men and women but on racist and nativist grounds. As early as 1894, in a speech, Carrie Chapman Catt declared that the votes of literate, American-born, middle-class women would balance the votes of foreigners.

This elitist inclination widened the divide between feminist organizers and the masses of American women who lived in those slums or spoke with foreign accents. As a result, working-class women—already more concerned with wages, hours, and protective legislation than with either the vote or issues such as women's property rights—threw themselves into the trade union movement rather than the feminists' ranks. Anthony, however, ceded no ground. In the 1890s, she asked for labour's support for woman suffrage but insisted that she and her movement would do nothing about the demands made by working women until her own battle had been won. Similarly, when asked to support the fight against Jim Crow segregation on the nation's railroads, she refused.

Alice Paul reignited the woman suffrage movement in the United States by copying English activists. Like the Americans, British suffragists, led by the National Union of Woman Suffrage Societies, had initially approached their struggle politely, with ladylike lobbying. But in 1903, a dissident faction led by Emmeline Pankhurst began a series of boycotts, bombings, and pickets. Their tactics ignited the nation, and, in 1918, the British Parliament extended the vote to women householders, householders' wives, and female university graduates over the age of 30.

Following the British lead, Paul's forces, the "shock troops" of the American suffrage crusade, organized mass demonstrations, parades, and confrontations with the police. In 1920, American feminism claimed its first major triumph with the passage of the Nineteenth Amendment to the Constitution, which gave women the right to vote.

Once the crucial goal of suffrage had been achieved, the feminist movement virtually collapsed in both Europe and the United States. Lacking an ideology beyond the achievement of the vote, feminism fractured into a dozen splinter groups. Each of these groups offered some civic contribution, but none was specifically feminist in nature. Filling the vacuum, the National Woman's Party, led by Paul, proposed a new initiative meant to remove discrimination from American laws and move women closer to equality through an Equal Rights Amendment (ERA) that would ban any government-sanctioned discrimination based on sex. Infighting began because many feminists were not looking for strict equality; they were fighting for laws that would directly benefit women. Paul, however, argued that protective legislation—such as laws mandating maximum eight-hour shifts for female factory workers—actually closed the door of opportunity on women by imposing costly rules on employers, who would then be inclined to hire fewer women.

The debate was not limited to the United States. Some proponents of women's rights, such as Aletta Jacobs of The Netherlands or Beatrice Webb of England, agreed with Paul's demand for equality and opposed protective legislation for women. Women members of trade unions, however, defended the need for laws that would help them. But this philosophical dispute was confined to relatively rarefied circles. Throughout the United States, as across Europe, Americans believed that women had achieved their liberation. Women were voting, although in small numbers and almost exactly like their male counterparts.

The Great Depression and World War II (1939–45) largely obliterated feminist activism on any continent. The war did open employment opportunities for women—from working in factories ("Rosie the Riveter" became an

American icon) to playing professional baseball—but
these doors of opportunity were largely closed after the
war, when women routinely lost their jobs to men dis-
charged from military service. This turn of events angered
many women, but few were willing to mount any organ-
ized protest. In the United States, women began marrying
younger and having more children than they had in the
1920s. By 1960, the percentage of employed female pro-
fessionals was down compared with figures for 1930.

THE SECOND WAVE OF FEMINISM

In 1961 Pres. John F. Kennedy created the President's
Commission on the Status of Women and appointed
Eleanor Roosevelt to lead it. Its report, issued in 1963,
firmly supported the nuclear family and preparing women
for motherhood. But it also documented a national pat-
tern of employment discrimination, unequal pay, legal
inequality, and meagre support services for working
women that needed to be corrected through legislative
guarantees of equal pay for equal work, equal job opportu-
nities, and expanded child-care services. The Equal Pay
Act of 1963 offered the first guarantee, and the Civil Rights
Act of 1964 was amended to bar employers from discrimi-
nating on the basis of sex.

Some deemed these measures insufficient in a country
where classified advertisements still segregated job open-
ings by sex, where state laws restricted women's access to
contraception, and where incidences of rape and domes-
tic violence remained undisclosed. In the late 1960s, then,
the notion of a women's rights movement—the so-called
"second wave" of feminism—took root at the same time
as the civil rights movement, and women of all ages and
circumstances were swept up in debates about gender, dis-
crimination, and the nature of equality.

Mainstream groups such as the National Organization for Women (NOW) launched a campaign for legal equity, while ad hoc groups staged sit-ins and marches for any number of reasons, from assailing college curricula that lacked female authors to promoting the use of the word *Ms.* as a neutral form of address—that is, one that did not refer to marital status. Health collectives and rape crisis centres were established. Children's books were rewritten to obviate sexual stereotypes. Women's studies departments were founded at colleges and universities. Protective labour laws were overturned. Employers found to have discriminated against female workers were required to compensate with back pay. Excluded from male-dominated occupations for decades, women began finding jobs as pilots, construction workers, soldiers, bankers, and bus drivers. Unlike the first wave, second-wave feminism also provoked extensive theoretical discussion about the origins of women's oppression, the nature of gender, and the role of the family.

By the end of the 20th century, European and American feminists had begun to interact with the nascent feminist movements of Asia, Africa, and Latin America. As this happened, women in developed countries, especially intellectuals, were horrified to discover that women in some countries were required to wear veils in public or to endure forced marriage, female infanticide, widow burning, or female genital cutting (FGC). Many Western feminists soon perceived themselves as saviours of Third World women, little realizing that their perceptions of and solutions to social problems were often at odds with the real lives and concerns of women in other regions. In many parts of Africa, for example, the status of women had begun to erode significantly only with the arrival of European colonialism. In those regions, then, the notion

that patriarchy was the chief problem—rather than European imperialism—seemed absurd.

The conflicts between women in developed and developing nations played out most vividly at international conferences. After the 1980 World Conference of the United Nations Decade for Women: Equality, Development and Peace in Copenhagen, women from less-developed nations complained that the veil and FGC had been chosen as conference priorities without consulting the women most concerned. During the 1994 International Conference on Population and Development in Cairo, women from the Third World protested outside because they believed Europeans and Americans had hijacked the agenda. The protesters had expected to talk about ways that underdevelopment was holding women back. Instead, conference organizers chose to focus on contraception and abortion. In Beijing, at the Fourth World Conference on Women in 1995, Third World women again criticized the priority American and European women put on reproductive rights language and issues of discrimination on the basis of sexual orientation, and their disinterest in the platform proposal that was most important to less-developed nations—that of restructuring international debt.

Still, the close of the 20th century saw women around the world advancing their interests, although often in fits and starts. Feminism was derailed in countries such as Afghanistan, where the staunchly reactionary and antifeminist Taliban banned even the education of girls. Elsewhere, however, feminism achieved significant gains for women, as seen in the eradication of FGC in many African countries or government efforts to end widow burning in India. More generally, and especially in the West, feminism had influenced every aspect of contemporary life, communication, and debate, from the heightened concern over

sexist language to the rise of academic fields such as women's studies and ecofeminism. Sports, divorce laws, sexual mores, organized religion—all had been affected, in many parts of the world, by feminism.

ABOLITIONISM

In Western Europe and the Americas, *c.* 1783–1888, the abolition movement was responsible for creating the emotional climate necessary for ending the transatlantic slave trade and slavery. Portuguese exploration of the west coast of Africa beginning in 1420 had created an interest in slavery in the recently formed colonies of North America, South America, and the West Indies, where the need for plantation labour generated an immense market for slaves. Between the 16th and 19th centuries, an estimated total of 12 million Africans were forcibly transported to the Americas.

Despite its brutality and inhumanity, the slave system aroused little protest until the 18th century, when rationalist thinkers of the Enlightenment began to criticize it for its violation of the rights of man, and Quaker and other evangelical religious groups condemned it for its un-Christian qualities. By the late 18th century, moral disapproval of slavery was widespread, and antislavery reformers won a number of deceptively easy victories during this period. In Britain, Granville Sharp secured a legal decision in 1772 that West Indian planters could not hold slaves in Britain, since slavery was contrary to English law. In the United States, all of the states north of Maryland abolished slavery between 1777 and 1804.

But antislavery sentiments had little effect on the centres of slavery themselves: the great plantations of the Deep South, the West Indies, and South America. Turning their attention to these areas, British and American

Soldiers stand guard in Washington, D.C., during the riots that occurred after the assassination of Martin Luther King, Jr., April 1968. Library of Congress, Washington, D.C. (digital file no. 04301u)

programs that compensated for past discrimination in job hiring and college admissions. Although the civil rights movement was less militant, it was still persevering.

PACIFISM

Pacifism renounces war and violence as a means of settling disputes, and pacifists believe that the waging of war by a state and the participation in war by an individual are absolutely wrong, under any circumstances. Since the Renaissance, concepts of pacifism have been developed with varying degrees of political influence. A great deal of pacifist thought in the 17th and 18th centuries was based on the idea that a transfer of political power from the sovereigns to the public was a crucial step toward world peace,

since wars were thought of as arising from the dynastic ambitions and power politics of kings and princes. Thus was propagated the illusion that monarchies tended toward wars because the sovereigns regarded their states as their personal property and that compared to this, a republic would be peaceful. The offshoot of these theories was the creation of pacifist organizations in 19th-century Europe in which such ideas as general disarmament and the instigation of special courts to hear international conflicts were entertained. The theme of pacifism thereby caught the public interest and inspired an extensive literature.

Some of these ideas were later realized in the Court of Arbitration in The Hague, the League of Nations, the UN, and temporary disarmament conferences, but their overall effect was limited. In the 19th century, for instance, the real maintenance of a relative peace resulted from the statesmanlike political establishment of a balance of power among the great European states. The succeeding century, with its two world wars, its nuclear stalemate, and its unending succession of conflicts among developed and developing nations, has been notable chiefly for the utter irrelevance of pacifist principles and practices.

There are two general approaches or varieties of pacifist behaviour and aspirations. The one rests on the advocacy of pacifism and the complete renunciation of war as a policy to be adopted by a nation; the other stems from the conviction of an individual that his personal conscience forbids him to participate in any act of war and perhaps in any act of violence whatsoever.

The arguments for pacifism as a possible national policy run on familiar lines. The obvious and admitted evils of war are stressed—the human suffering and loss of life, the economic damage, and perhaps above all, the moral and spiritual degradation war brings. Since World War II

(1939–45) increasing emphasis has also been laid on the terrible powers of destruction latent in nuclear weapons. Pacifist advocates often assume that the abandonment of war as an instrument of national policy will not be possible until the world community has become so organized that it can enforce justice among its members. Nonpacifists would, in general, accept what pacifists say about the evils of war and the need for international organization. But they would claim that the pacifists have not faced squarely the possible evils that would result from the alternative policy of a nation's nonresistance in the face of external aggression: the possible mass deportations and even mass exterminations and the subjection of conquered peoples to totalitarian regimes that would suppress just those values which the pacifist stands for.

Personal pacifism is a relatively common phenomenon compared to national pacifism. Members of several small Christian sects who try to literally follow the precepts of Jesus Christ have refused to participate in military service in many nations and have been willing to suffer the criminal or civil penalties that followed. Not all of these and other conscientious objectors are pacifists, but the great majority of conscientious objectors base their refusal to serve on their pacifist convictions. There are, moreover, wide differences of opinion among pacifists themselves about their attitude toward a community at war, ranging from the very small minority who would refuse to do anything that could help the national effort to those prepared to offer any kind of service short of actual fighting.

An examination of two organizations in the United States, the Women's International League for Peace and Freedom (WILPF) and Students for a Democratic Society (SDS), demonstrates two vastly different approaches to antiwar activism. The WILPF has tended to employ moderate techniques, such as raising public awareness of the

perils of war; SDS, on the other hand, used radical and sometimes illegal tactics.

The WILPF is the oldest continuously active peace organization in the United States. It encompasses some 100 branches in the United States and has other branches in approximately 50 countries. Philadelphia is the site of the U.S. headquarters, and Geneva is the home of the international headquarters. Officially, the WILPF came into being in 1919 at the end of World War I (1914–18), but it evolved from the Women's Peace Party, a pacifist organization founded by Jane Addams and others who attended the International Congress of Women at The Hague in April 1915. At the time, speaking out against the war was considered radical and unpatriotic, and some members of the Women's Peace Party paid a high price for their sentiments. The economist Emily Greene Balch lost her professorship at Wellesley College, and Addams was declared "the most dangerous woman in America." Eventually, the pacifist work of Addams and Balch was recognized—both won Nobel Peace Prizes (in 1931 and 1946, respectively). Throughout the 20th century, the WILPF persisted in its mission of opposing war and striving for political, economic, social, and psychological freedoms for all and remained firm in the belief that such freedoms are always severely compromised by the threat of war. Currently, the WILPF has identified as its main priorities disarmament, racial justice, and women's rights. The organization formed alliances with such other activist organizations as the Nuclear Weapons Freeze Campaign and the Women's Speaking Tour on Central America to increase support and publicity for its objectives.

SDS flourished in the United States in the mid- to late 1960s; while not strictly a pacifist group, it was known for its activism against the Vietnam War. SDS, founded in 1959, had its origins in the student branch of the League

for Industrial Democracy, a social-democratic educational organization. An organizational meeting was held in Ann Arbor, Mich., in 1960, and Robert Alan Haber was elected president of SDS. Initially SDS chapters throughout the nation were involved in the civil rights movement. Operating under the principles of the "Port Huron Statement," a manifesto written by Tom Hayden and Haber and issued in 1962, the organization grew slowly until the escalation of U.S. involvement in Vietnam (1965). SDS organized a national march on Washington, D.C., in April 1965, and, from about that period, SDS grew increasingly militant, especially about issues relating to the war, such as the drafting of students. Tactics included the occupation of university and college administration buildings on campuses across the country. By 1969 the organization had split into several factions, the most notorious of which was the "Weathermen," or "Weather Underground," which employed terrorist tactics in its activities. Other factions turned their attention to the Third World or to the efforts of black revolutionaries. Increasing factionalism within the ranks of SDS and the winding down of the Vietnam War were but two of the reasons for the dissolution of SDS. By the mid-1970s the organization was defunct.

GAY RIGHTS

Before the end of the 19th century there were scarcely any "movements" for the rights of gay, lesbian, bisexual, or transgendered individuals, collectively known as gay rights. Homosexual men and women were given voice in 1897 with the founding of the Scientific-Humanitarian Committee in Berlin. The committee published emancipation literature, sponsored rallies, and campaigned for legal reform throughout Germany, as well as in The Netherlands and Austria, developing some 25 local

chapters by 1922. Its founder was Magnus Hirschfeld, who in 1919 opened the Institute for Sexual Science (Institut für Sexualwissenschaft), which anticipated by decades other scientific centres (such as the Kinsey Institute for Research in Sex, Gender, and Reproduction, in the United States) that specialized in sex research. He also helped sponsor the World League of Sexual Reform, which was established in 1928 at a conference in Copenhagen.

Outside Germany, other organizations were also created. For example, in 1914 Edward Carpenter and Havelock Ellis founded the British Society for the Study of Sex Psychology for both promotional and educational purposes, and in the United States in 1924 Henry Gerber, an immigrant from Germany, founded the Society for Human Rights, which was chartered by the state of Illinois.

Despite the formation of such groups, political activity by homosexuals was generally not very visible. Gays were often harassed by the police wherever they congregated. World War II and its aftermath began to change that. The war brought many young people to cities and brought visibility to the gay community.

Beginning in the mid-20th century, an increasing number of organizations were formed. The Cultuur en Ontspannings Centrum ("Culture and Recreation Centre"), or COC, was founded in 1946 in Amsterdam. In the United States the first major male organization, founded in 1950–51 by Harry Hay, was the Mattachine Society, while the Daughters of Bilitis, founded in 1955 by Phyllis Lyon and Del Martin in San Francisco, was a leading group for women. In addition, the United States saw the publication of a national gay periodical, *One*, which in 1958 won a U.S. Supreme Court ruling that enabled it to mail the magazine through the postal service. In Britain a commission chaired by Sir John Wolfenden issued a groundbreaking report in 1957, which recommended that

private homosexual liaisons between consenting adults be removed from the domain of criminal law; a decade later the recommendation was implemented by Parliament in the Sexual Offences Act, effectively decriminalizing homosexual relations for men age 21 or older (further legislation lowered the age of consent first to 18 [1994] and then to 16 [2001]).

The gay rights movement was beginning to win victories for legal reform, particularly in Western Europe, but perhaps the single defining event of gay activism occurred in the United States. In the early morning hours of June 28, 1969, police raided the Stonewall Inn, a gay bar located in New York City's Greenwich Village. Nearly 400 people joined a riot that lasted 45 minutes and resumed on succeeding nights. "Stonewall" came to be commemorated annually in June by Gay and Lesbian Pride Week, not only in U.S. cities but also in several other countries.

In the 1970s and '80s gay political organizations proliferated, particularly in the United States and Europe, and spread to other parts of the globe, though their relative size, strength, and success—and toleration by authorities—varied significantly. Groups such as the Human Rights Campaign, the National Gay and Lesbian Task Force, and Act-Up in the United States and Stonewall and Outrage! in the United Kingdom—and dozens and dozens of similar organizations in Europe and elsewhere—began agitating for legal and social reforms. In addition, the transnational International Lesbian and Gay Association was founded in Coventry, Eng., in 1978; now headquartered in Brussels, it plays a significant role in coordinating international efforts to promote human rights and fight discrimination against lesbian, gay, bisexual, and transgendered persons.

In the United States, gay activists won support from the Democratic Party in 1980, when the party added to its

platform nondiscrimination clause a plank including sexual orientation. This support, along with campaigns by gay activists urging gay men and women to "come out of the closet" (indeed, in the late 1980s, National Coming Out Day was established and is now celebrated on October 11 in most countries), encouraged gay men and women to enter the political arena as candidates. The first openly gay government officials in the United States were Jerry DeGrieck and Nancy Wechsler, in Ann Arbor, Mich. DeGrieck and Wechsler both were elected in 1972 and came out while serving on the city council. In 1977 American gay rights activist Harvey Milk was elected to the San Francisco Board of Supervisors; Milk was assassinated the following year. In 1983 Gerry Studds, a sitting representative from Massachusetts, became the first member of the United States Congress to announce his homosexuality. In 1998 Tammy Baldwin, from Wisconsin, became the first openly gay politician to be elected to the U.S. House of Representatives.

Outside the United States, openly gay politicians also scored successes. In Canada in 1998 Glen Murray became the mayor of Winnipeg, Man.—the first openly gay politician to lead a large city. Large cities in Europe also were fertile grounds for success for openly gay politicians—for example, Bertrand Delanoë in Paris and Klaus Wowereit in Berlin, both elected mayor in 2001. At the local and national levels, the number of openly gay politicians increased dramatically during the 1990s and 2000s, and in 2009 Jóhanna Sigurðardóttir became prime minister of Iceland—the world's first openly gay head of government.

The issues that gay rights groups emphasized have varied since the 1970s by time and place, with different national organizations promoting policies specifically tailored to their country's milieu. In the United States, with

its strong federal tradition, the battle for the repeal of sodomy laws initially was fought at the state level. In 1986 the U.S. Supreme Court upheld Georgia's antisodomy law in *Bowers* v. *Hardwick*; 17 years later, however, in *Lawrence* v. *Texas*, the Supreme Court reversed itself, effectively overturning the antisodomy law in Texas and in 12 other states. Other issues of primary importance for the gay rights movement since the 1970s include combating the HIV/AIDS epidemic and promoting disease prevention and funding for research; lobbying government for non-discriminatory policies in employment, housing, and other aspects of civil society; ending bans on military service for gay individuals; and expanding hate crimes legislation to include protection for gay, lesbian, and transgendered individuals.

At the turn of the 21st century, one of the movement's most prominent causes was the fight to secure marriage rights for gay and lesbian couples. The acceptance of same-sex partnerships was particularly apparent in northern Europe and in countries with cultural ties to that region. In 1989 Denmark became the first country to establish registered partnerships—an attenuated version of marriage—for same-sex couples. Soon thereafter Norway (1993), Sweden (1994), Greenland (1994), Iceland (1996), The Netherlands (1997), and Finland (2001) established similar laws, generally using specific vocabulary (e.g., civil union, civil partnership, domestic partnership, registered partnership) to differentiate same-sex unions from heterosexual marriages. By the early 21st century other European countries with such legislation included Croatia, France, Germany, Great Britain, Hungary, Luxembourg, Portugal, and Switzerland. Outside Europe, some jurisdictions also adopted some form of same-sex partnership rights; Israel recognized common-law same-sex marriage in the mid-1990s, while same-sex civil unions were legalized in New

Zealand in 2004, in the Brazilian state of Rio Grande do Sul also in 2004, and in Mexico City in 2006. In 2007 Uruguay became the first Latin American country to legalize same-sex civil unions.

Some jurisdictions opted to specifically apply the honorific of "marriage" to same-sex as well as heterosexual unions. In 2001 The Netherlands revised its same-sex partnership law and became the first country to replace civil unions with marriages. Countries that subsequently legalized gay marriage included Belgium (2003), Spain (2005), Canada (2005), South Africa (2006), Norway (2009), and Sweden (2009). In 2003 the European Union mandated that all of its members pass laws recognizing the same-sex marriages of fellow EU countries.

In the United States the question of whether couples of the same sex should be allowed to marry has roiled politics since the 1990s. In 1996 the U.S. Congress enacted the Defense of Marriage Act. This legislation declared that same-sex marriages would not be recognized for federal purposes, such as the award of Social Security benefits normally afforded to a surviving spouse or employment-based benefits for the partners of federal employees. The act also restated existing law by providing that no U.S. state or territory was required to recognize marriages from elsewhere when it had strong policies to the contrary.

Nonetheless, some states moved toward the legal recognition of same-sex partnerships. In 1999 the Vermont Supreme Court declared that same-sex couples were entitled under the state constitution to the same legal rights as married heterosexual couples; shortly thereafter the state legislature enacted a law creating "civil unions," which conferred all the rights and responsibilities of marriage but not the name. Several other states, including New Jersey, later established same-sex civil unions, while other states adopted policies that

accorded some spousal rights to same-sex couples. In 2003 California enacted a similar statute, calling the relationships "domestic partnerships."

A handful of states—Massachusetts (2004), Connecticut (2008), Iowa, Vermont, Maine, and New Hampshire (all 2009)—allow same-sex marriage.

ANIMAL RIGHTS

The fundamental principle of the modern animal rights movement is that many nonhuman animals have basic interests that deserve recognition, consideration, and protection. In the view of animal rights advocates, these basic interests give the animals that have them both moral and legal rights.

It has been said that the modern animal rights movement is the first social reform movement initiated by philosophers. The Australian philosopher Peter Singer and the American philosopher Tom Regan deserve special mention, not just because their work has been influential but because they represent two major currents of philosophical thought regarding the moral rights of animals. Singer, whose book *Animal Liberation* (1972) is considered one of the movement's foundational documents, argues that the interests of humans and the interests of animals should be given equal consideration. A utilitarian, Singer holds that actions are morally right to the extent that they maximize pleasure or minimize pain; the key consideration is whether an animal is sentient and can therefore suffer pain or experience pleasure. This point was emphasized by the founder of modern utilitarianism, Jeremy Bentham, who wrote of animals, "The question is not, Can they *reason*?, nor, Can they *talk*? but, Can they *suffer*?" Given that animals can suffer, Singer argues that humans have a moral obligation to

minimize or avoid causing such suffering, just as they have an obligation to minimize or avoid causing the suffering of other humans. Regan, who is not a utilitarian, argues that at least some animals have basic moral rights because they possess the same advanced cognitive abilities that justify the attribution of basic moral rights to humans. By virtue of these abilities, these animals have not just instrumental but inherent value. In Regan's words, they are "the subject of a life."

Regan, Singer, and other philosophical proponents of animal rights have encountered resistance. Some religious authors argue that animals are not as deserving of moral consideration as humans are because only humans possess an immortal soul. Others claim, as did the Stoics, that because animals are irrational, humans have no duties toward them. Still others locate the morally relevant difference between humans and animals in the ability to talk, the possession of free will, or membership in a moral community (a community whose members are capable of acting morally or immorally). The problem with these counterarguments is that, with the exception of the theological argument—which cannot be demonstrated—none differentiates all humans from all animals.

While philosophers catalyzed the modern animal rights movement, physicians, writers, scientists, academics, lawyers, theologians, psychologists, nurses, veterinarians, and other professionals worked within their own fields to promote animal rights. Many professional organizations were established to educate colleagues and the general public regarding the exploitation of animals.

At the beginning of the 21st century, lawsuits in the interests of nonhuman animals, sometimes with nonhuman animals named as plaintiffs, became common. Given the key positions that lawyers hold in the creation of

public policy and the protection of rights, their increasing interest in animal rights and animal-protection issues was significant. Dozens of law schools in Europe, the United States, and elsewhere offered courses in animal law and animal rights; the Animal Legal Defense Fund had created an even greater number of law-student chapters in the United States; and at least three legal journals—*Animal Law*, *Journal of Animal Law*, and *Journal of Animal Law and Ethics*—had been established. Legal scholars were devising and evaluating theories by which nonhuman animals would possess basic legal rights, often for the same reasons as humans do and on the basis of the same legal principles and values. These arguments were powerfully assisted by increasingly sophisticated scientific investigations into the cognitive, emotional, and social capacities of animals and by advances in genetics, neuroscience, physiology, linguistics, psychology, evolution, and ethology, many of which have demonstrated that humans and animals share a broad range of behaviours, capacities, and genetic material.

Meanwhile, the increasingly systemic and brutal abuses of animals in modern society—by the billions on factory farms and by the tens of millions in biomedical-research laboratories—spawned thousands of animal rights groups. Some consisted of a mere handful of people interested in local, and more traditional, animal-protection issues, such as animal shelters that care for stray dogs and cats. Others became large national and international organizations, such as PETA (People for the Ethical Treatment of Animals) and the Humane Society of the United States, which in the early 21st century had millions of members and a multimillion-dollar annual budget. In all their manifestations, animal rights groups began to inundate legislatures with demands for regulation and reform.

ENVIRONMENTALISM

Environmentalism is a political and ethical movement that seeks to improve and protect the quality of the natural environment through changes to environmentally harmful human activities; through the adoption of forms of political, economic, and social organization that are thought to be necessary for, or at least conducive to, the benign treatment of the environment by humans; and through a reassessment of humanity's relationship with nature. In various ways, environmentalism claims that living things other than humans, and the natural environment as a whole, are deserving of consideration in reasoning about the morality of political, economic, and social policies.

The contemporary environmental movement arose primarily from concerns in the late 19th century about the protection of the countryside in Europe and the wilderness in the United States and the health consequences of pollution during the Industrial Revolution. In opposition to the dominant political philosophy of the time, liberalism—which held that all social problems, including environmental ones, could and should be solved through the free market—most early environmentalists believed that government rather than the market should be charged with protecting the environment and ensuring the conservation of resources. An early philosophy of resource conservation was developed by Gifford Pinchot (1865–1946), the first chief of the U.S. Forest Service, for whom conservation represented the wise and efficient use of resources. Also in the United States at about the same time, a more strongly biocentric approach arose in the preservationist philosophy of John Muir (1838–1914), founder of the Sierra Club, and Aldo Leopold (1887–1948), a professor of wildlife management who was pivotal in

the designation of Gila National Forest in New Mexico in 1924 as America's first national wilderness area. Leopold introduced the concept of a land ethic, arguing that humans should transform themselves from conquerors of nature into citizens of it; his essays, compiled posthumously in *A Sand County Almanac* (1949), had a significant influence on later biocentric environmentalists.

Environmental organizations established from the late 19th to the mid-20th century were primarily middle-class lobbying groups concerned with nature conservation, wildlife protection, and the pollution that arose from industrial development and urbanization. There were also scientific organizations concerned with natural history and with biological aspects of conservation efforts.

Beginning in the 1960s the various philosophical strands of environmentalism were given political expression through the establishment of "green" political movements in the form of activist nongovernmental organizations and environmentalist political parties. Despite the diversity of the environmental movement, four pillars provided a unifying theme to the broad goals of political ecology: protection of the environment, grassroots democracy, social justice, and nonviolence. However, for a small number of environmental groups and individual activists who engaged in ecoterrorism, violence was viewed as a justified response to what they considered the violent treatment of nature by some interests, particularly the logging and mining industries. The political goals of the contemporary green movement in the industrialized West focused on changing government policy and promoting environmental social values. In the less-industrialized or developing world, environmentalism has been more closely involved in "emancipatory" politics and grassroots activism on issues such as poverty, democratization, and

ECOTERRORISM

The sometimes violent activities of some groups of environmental activists have been described as ecoterrorism. They include criminal trespass on the property of logging companies and other firms and obstruction of their operations, sometimes through the sabotage of company equipment or the environmentally harmless modification of natural resources in order to make them inaccessible or unsuitable for commercial use. Examples of this practice, known as "monkey-wrenching," are the plugging of factory waste outlets and driving spikes into trees so that they cannot be logged and milled. Other activities described as ecoterrorist include protest actions by animal rights groups, which have included the destruction of property in stores that sell products made of fur and the bombing of laboratories that perform experiments on animals.

political and human rights, including the rights of women and indigenous peoples. Examples of such movements include the Chipko movement in India, which linked forest protection with the rights of women, and the Assembly of the Poor in Thailand, a coalition of movements fighting for the right to participate in environmental and development policies.

The early strategies of the contemporary environmental movement were self-consciously activist and unconventional, involving direct-protest actions designed to obstruct and to draw attention to environmentally harmful policies and projects. Other strategies included public-education and media campaigns, community-directed activities, and conventional lobbying of policy

makers and political representatives. The movement also attempted to set public examples in order to increase awareness of and sensitivity to environmental issues. Such projects included recycling, green consumerism (also known as "buying green"), and the establishment of alternative communities, including self-sufficient farms, workers' cooperatives, and cooperative-housing projects.

The electoral strategies of the environmental movement included the nomination of environmental candidates and the registration of green political parties. These parties were conceived of as a new kind of political organization that would bring the influence of the grassroots environmental movement directly to bear on the machinery of government, make the environment a central concern of public policy, and render the institutions of the state more democratic, transparent, and accountable. The world's first green parties—the Values Party, a nationally based party in New Zealand, and the United Tasmania Group, organized in the Australian state of Tasmania—were founded in the early 1970s. The first explicitly green member of a national legislature was elected in Switzerland in 1979; later, in 1981, four greens won legislative seats in Belgium. Green parties also have been formed in the former Soviet bloc, where they were instrumental in the collapse of some communist regimes, and in some developing countries in Asia, South America, and Africa, though they have achieved little electoral success there.

The most successful environmental party has been the German Green Party (die Grünen), which entered the Bundestag (parliament) in 1983. In 1998 it formed a governing coalition with the Social Democratic Party, and the party's leader, Joschka Fischer, was appointed as the country's foreign minister. Throughout the last two decades of

THE GREENS

The Greens are any of various environmentalist or eco-logical-oriented political parties formed in European countries and various countries elsewhere beginning in 1979. An umbrella organization known as the European Greens was founded in Brussels, Belg., in January 1984 to coordinate the activities of the various European parties, and Green representatives in the European Parliament sit in the Greens/European Free Alliance group.

The first and most successful party known as the Greens (die Grünen) was founded in West Germany by Herbert Gruhl, Petra Kelly, and others in 1979 and arose out of the merger of about 250 ecological and environ-mentalist groups. The party sought to organize public support for the control of nuclear energy and of air and water pollution. The Greens became a national party in 1980. The program that they adopted called for the dis-mantling of both the Warsaw Pact and NATO, the demilitarization of Europe, and the breaking up of large economic enterprises into smaller units, among other proposals. This program attracted many members of the left wing of the Social Democratic Party into the Greens' ranks. The Greens won a sprinkling of seats in various Land (state) elections from 1979 on, and in 1983 they won a 5.6 percent share of the vote in national elections to the Bundestag (Federal Diet), thereby achieving their first representation in that legislative chamber.

By the end of the 1980s almost every country in western and northern Europe had a party known as the Greens or by some similar name (e.g., Green List in Italy, Green Alliance in Ireland and Finland, Green Alternatives in Austria, Green Ecology Party in Sweden, Ecologist Party in Belgium). Green parties developed

also overseas in such countries as Canada, Australia, New Zealand, Argentina, and Chile. After the revolutions of 1989, Green parties or groups also began to emerge in Eastern Europe.

the 20th century, green parties won national representation in a number of countries and even claimed the office of mayor in European capital cities such as Dublin and Rome in the mid-1990s.

By this time green parties had become broad political vehicles, though they continued to focus on the environment. In developing party policy, they attempted to apply the values of environmental philosophy to all issues facing their countries, including foreign policy, defense, and social and economic policies.

Despite the success of some environmental parties, environmentalists remained divided over the ultimate value of electoral politics. For some, participation in elections is essential because it increases the public's awareness of environmental issues and encourages traditional political parties to address them. Others, however, have argued that the compromises necessary for electoral success invariably undermine the ethos of grassroots democracy and direct action. This tension was perhaps most pronounced in the German Green Party. The party's Realos (realists) accepted the need for coalitions and compromise with other political parties, including traditional parties with views sometimes contrary to that of the Green Party. By contrast, the Fundis (fundamentalists) maintained that direct action should remain the major form of political action and that no pacts or alliances should be formed

with other parties. Likewise, in Britain, where the Green
Party achieved success in some local elections but failed to
win representation at the national level (though it did win
15 percent of the vote in the 1989 European Parliament
elections), this tension was evidenced in disputes between
so-called "electoralists" and "radicals."

By the late 1980s environmentalism had become a glo-
bal as well as a national political force. Some environmental
nongovernmental organizations (e.g., Greenpeace, Friends
of the Earth, and the World Wildlife Fund) established a
significant international presence, with offices through-
out the world and centralized international headquarters
to coordinate lobbying campaigns and to serve as cam-
paign centres and information clearinghouses for their
national affiliate organizations. Transnational coalition
building was and remains another important strategy for
environmental organizations and for grassroots move-
ments in developing countries, primarily because it
facilitates the exchange of information and expertise but
also because it strengthens lobbying and direct-action
campaigns at the international level.

Through its international activism, the environmental
movement has influenced the agenda of international pol-
itics. Although a small number of bilateral and multilateral
international environmental agreements were in force
before the 1960s, since the 1972 United Nations Conference
on the Human Environment in Stockholm, the variety of
multilateral environmental agreements has increased to
cover most aspects of environmental protection as well as
many practices with environmental consequences, such as
the trade in endangered species, the management of haz-
ardous waste, especially nuclear waste, and armed conflict.
The changing nature of public debate on the environment
was reflected also in the organization of the 1992 United

GREENPEACE

Greenpeace is an international organization dedicated to preserving endangered species of animals, preventing environmental abuses, and heightening environmental awareness through direct confrontations with polluting corporations and governmental authorities. Greenpeace was founded in 1971 in British Columbia to oppose U.S. nuclear testing at Amchitka Island in Alaska. The loose-knit organization quickly attracted support from ecologically minded individuals and began undertaking campaigns seeking, among other goals, the protection of endangered whales and seals from hunting, the cessation of the dumping of toxic chemical and radioactive wastes at sea, and the end of nuclear-weapons testing. The primary tactic of Greenpeace has been such "direct, nonviolent actions" as steering small inflatable craft between the harpoon guns of whalers and their cetacean
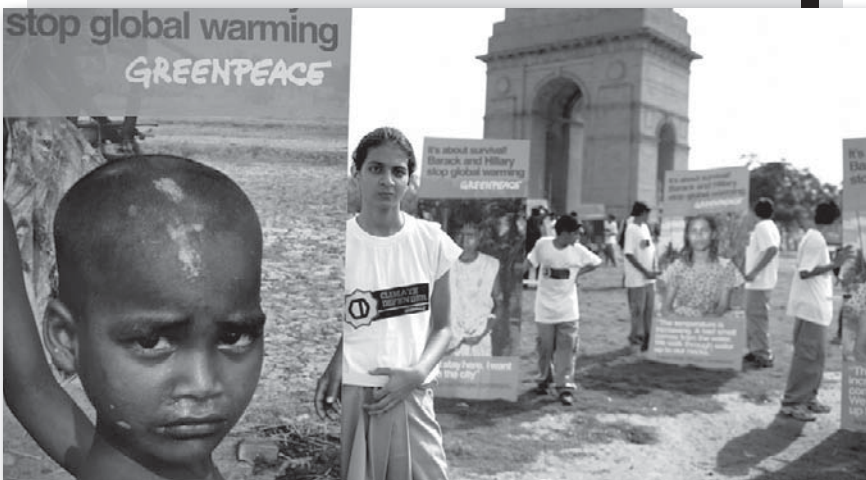
Members of Greenpeace let their concerns be known in India, 2009. The organization has a history of taking nonviolent but direct action against environmental threats. Prakash Singh/AFP/Getty Images

prey and the plugging of industrial pipes discharging toxic wastes into the oceans and the atmosphere. Such dangerous and dramatic actions brought Greenpeace wide media exposure and helped mobilize public opinion against environmentally destructive practices. Greenpeace also actively sought favourable rulings from national and international regulatory bodies on the control of environmental abuses, sometimes with considerable success. The organization has a small staff and relies largely on voluntary staffing and funding.

Nations Conference on Environment and Development (the Earth Summit) in Rio de Janeiro, Brazil, which was attended by some 180 countries and various business groups, nongovernmental organizations, and the media. In the 21st century, the environmental movement has combined the traditional concerns of conservation, preservation, and pollution with more contemporary concerns with the environmental consequences of economic practices as diverse as tourism, trade, financial investment, and the conduct of war. Environmentalists are likely to intensify the trends of the late 20th century, during which some environmental groups increasingly worked in coalition not just with other emancipatory organizations, such as human rights and indigenous-peoples groups, but also with corporations and other businesses.