



Universiteit
Leiden
The Netherlands

The open society and its animals

Vink, J.

Citation

Vink, J. (2019, October 10). *The open society and its animals*. Retrieved from <https://hdl.handle.net/1887/79193>

Version: Publisher's Version

License: [Licence agreement concerning inclusion of doctoral thesis in the Institutional Repository of the University of Leiden](#)

Downloaded from: <https://hdl.handle.net/1887/79193>

Note: To cite this publication please use the final published version (if applicable).

Cover Page



Universiteit Leiden



The following handle holds various files of this Leiden University dissertation:
<http://hdl.handle.net/1887/79193>

Author: Vink, J.

Title: The open society and its animals

Issue Date: 2019-10-10

Acknowledgement of sources

Some of the ideas in this book have been published before. The thoughts on liberal democracy as an interest-weighting mechanism and the importance of James Mill's depiction of democracy to this idea were first published in a chapter that I wrote for an edited volume on environmental rights.⁵⁶⁴ Parts of section 2.2, which concerned transparency as a democratic principle, have been published before as a blog article on the Leiden Law Blog, a legal blog platform for popular science of Leiden University.⁵⁶⁵ Parts of section 4.1, which concerned the constitutional state objective, were also part of two previous works: expert advice for the Belgian Senate on a proposal of law to add a state objective on animal welfare to the Belgian Constitution and a scholarly paper in which I investigate the desirability of implementing a similar provision in the Dutch Constitution as well.⁵⁶⁶ The differences between common law and civil law systems in attaining legal animal rights as addressed in section 5.1 were also shortly addressed in a chapter that I wrote for an edited volume on the most pressing questions in contemporary science.⁵⁶⁷ In that chapter, I also first suggested that current legal systems are based on an outdated scientific worldview.⁵⁶⁸ Finally, some ideas expressed in section 5.3, regarding how current legal systems undermine the equality principle, were published in a chapter co-authored with my promotor Paul Cliteur for an edited volume on equality and freedom.⁵⁶⁹

⁵⁶⁴ Vink, "De Democratische Rechtsstaat als Belangenweegschaal," 43–56.

⁵⁶⁵ Vink, "If Slaughterhouses had Glass Walls...."

⁵⁶⁶ Vink, "Het Constitutionaliseren van de Zorg voor Dieren als Wezens met Gevoel"; Vink, "Dierenwelzijn," 1862–1869.

⁵⁶⁷ Vink, "Hoe Zijn de Rechten van Andere Dieren dan Mensen te Waarborgen," 314–317.

⁵⁶⁸ Vink, "Hoe Zijn de Rechten van Andere Dieren dan Mensen te Waarborgen," 314–317.

⁵⁶⁹ Cliteur and Vink, "De Gelijkheid en Vrijheid van Mensen en Andere Dieren," 87–105.

Bibliography

- Agius, Emmanuel, and Salvino Busuttil, eds. *Future Generations & International Law*. London: Earthscan Publications, 1998.
- Amendment XIV to The Constitution of the United States of America*. Official version provided by The National Archives and Records Administration. <https://www.archives.gov/founding-docs/amendments-11-27>.
- Animal Legal Defense Fund. "Challenging Idaho's Ag-Gag Law." January 4, 2018. <https://aldf.org/case/challenging-idahos-ag-gag-law/>.
- Animal Legal Defense Fund. "Challenging Iowa's Ag-Gag Law." January 9, 2019. <https://aldf.org/case/challenging-iowas-ag-gag-law/>.
- Animal Legal Defense Fund. "Challenging Utah's Ag-Gag Law." September 7, 2017. <https://aldf.org/case/challenging-utahs-ag-gag-law/>.
- Animal Legal Defense Fund. "Coalition Defends District Court Victory Striking Down Unconstitutional Idaho Ag-Gag Law." June 20, 2016. <https://aldf.org/article/coalition-defends-district-court-victory-striking-down-unconstitutional-idaho-ag-gag-law/>.
- Animal Legal Defense Fund. "Court Enjoins Enforcement of Unconstitutional Ag-Gag Law." November 12, 2015. <https://aldf.org/article/court-enjoins-enforcement-of-unconstitutional-ag-gag-law/>.
- Animal Legal Defense Fund. "Court Rules Iowa Ag-Gag Law Unconstitutional in Major Victory for Free Speech and Animal Protection: Undercover Investigations at Factory Farms Protected by First Amendment." January 9, 2019. <https://aldf.org/article/court-rules-iowa-ag-gag-law-unconstitutional-in-major-victory-for-free-speech-and-animal-protection/>.

- Animal Legal Defense Fund. "Federal Appeals Court Strikes Down Provisions of Idaho's Ag-Gag Law in Precedent-Setting Victory for Animals, Workers, Free Speech." January 4, 2018. <https://aldf.org/article/federal-appeals-court-strikes-provisions-idahos-ag-gag-law-precedent-setting-victory-animals-workers-free-speech/>.
- Animal Legal Defense Fund. "Idaho "Ag-Gag" Law Ruled Unconstitutional in Federal Court." August 3, 2015. <https://aldf.org/article/idaho-ag-gag-law-ruled-unconstitutional-in-federal-court/>.
- Animal Legal Defense Fund. "Utah Ag-Gag Law Declared Unconstitutional." July 7, 2017. <https://aldf.org/article/utah-ag-gag-law-declared-unconstitutional/>.
- Animal Legal Defense Fund. "Utah Will Not Appeal Decision Holding Ag-Gag Law Unconstitutional." September 7, 2017. <https://aldf.org/article/utah-will-not-appeal-decision-holding-ag-gag-law-unconstitutional/>.
- Aristotle. *Politics*. Translated by Ernest Barker. Oxford: Oxford University Press, 1998.
- Bauböck, Rainer. "Stakeholder Citizenship: An Idea Whose Time Has Come?" In *Delivering Citizenship: The Transatlantic Council on Migration*, edited by Bertelsmann Stiftung, European Policy Centre and Migration Policy Institute, 31–48. Gütersloh: Verlag Bertelsmann Stiftung, 2008.
- Beaudry, Jonas-Sébastien. "From Autonomy to Habeas Corpus: Animal Rights Activists Take the Parameters of Legal Personhood to Court." *Global Journal of Animal Law* 1 (July 2016): 3–35.
- Beckerman, Wilfred. "Intergenerational Justice." *Intergenerational Justice Review* 2, no. 2 (2004): 1–5.
- Beckman, Ludvig. *The Frontiers of Democracy: The Right to Vote and its Limits*. Basingstoke: Palgrave Macmillan, 2009.

- Belgische Grondwet* (Belgian Constitution). Translation provided by the Belgian House of Representatives.
https://www.dekamer.be/kvvcr/pdf_sections/publications/constitution/GrondwetUK.pdf.
- Bentham, Jeremy. *An Introduction to the Principles of Morals and Legislation*. Mineola: Dover Publications Inc., 2007.
- Berg, Floris van den. "Harming Others: Universal Subjectivism and the Expanding Moral Circle." PhD diss., Leiden University, 2011.
- Berg, Floris van den. *Philosophy for a Better World*. Translated by Michiel Horn. Amherst: Prometheus Books, 2013.
- Berg, Floris van den, and Janneke Vink. "Human Rights are Animal Rights." Paper presented at *The Future of Human Rights: Conceptual Foundations, Norms and Institutions Conference*, Utrecht, May 28, 2015.
- Bertelsmann Stiftung, European Policy Centre and Migration Policy Institute, eds. *Delivering Citizenship: The Transatlantic Council on Migration*. Gütersloh: Verlag Bertelsmann Stiftung, 2008.
- Bidadanure, Juliana. "Youth Quotas, Diversity, and Long-Termism: Can Young People Act as Proxies for Future Generations?" In *Institutions for Future Generations*, edited by Iñigo González-Ricoy and Axel Gosseries, 266–281. Oxford: Oxford University Press, 2016.
- Blackstone, William T., ed. *Philosophy and Environmental Crisis*. Athens: University of Georgia Press, 1974.
- Bolliger, Gieri. "Constitutional and Legislative Aspects of Animal Welfare in Europe: Animal Welfare in Constitutions." *Stiftung für das Tier im Recht*, February 1, 2007.
- Bolliger, Gieri. "Legal Protection of Animal Dignity in Switzerland: Status Quo and Future Perspectives." *Animal Law* 22, no. 2 (Spring 2016): 311–395.

Boon, Dirk. "Nederlands Dierenrecht." PhD diss., University of Groningen, 1983.

Boon, Rudolf. *Een Progressieve Conservatie: Edmund Burke als Tijdgenoot*. Soesterberg: Uitgeverij Aspekt, 2004.

Bundesverfassung der Schweizerischen Eidgenossenschaft (Federal Constitution of the Swiss Confederation). Unofficial translation provided by the Swiss government. <https://www.admin.ch/opc/en/classified-compilation/19995395/index.html>.

Burke, Edmund. "Mr. Edmund Burke's Speech to the Electors of Bristol." In *Select Works of Edmund Burke: Miscellaneous Writings (Vol. IV)*, edited by Francis Canavan, 5–13. Indianapolis: Liberty Fund, 1999.

Burke, Edmund. *Reflections on the Revolution in France*. Oxford: Oxford University Press, 2009.

Burke, Edmund. *A Philosophical Enquiry into the Origin of Our Ideas of the Sublime and the Beautiful*, edited by Paul Guyer. Oxford: Oxford University Press, 2015.

Burke, Katherine A. "Can We Stand for It? Amending the Endangered Species Act with an Animal-Suit Provision." *University of Colorado Law Review* 75 (Spring 2004): 633–666.

BVerfG (Bundesverfassungsgericht). December 8, 2015. 1 BvR 1864/14. ECLI:DE:BVerfG:2015:rk20151208.1bvr186414.

BVerfG (Bundesverfassungsgericht). July 3, 2007. 1 BvR 2186/06. ECLI:DE:BVerfG:2007:rs20070703.1bvr218606.

BVerfG (Bundesverfassungsgericht). June 20, 1994. AZ 1 BvL12/94.

BVerfG (Bundesverfassungsgericht). October 12, 2010. 2 BvF 1/07. ECLI:DE:BVerfG:2010:fs20101012.2bvf000107.

- Callahan, Daniel. "What obligations Do We Have to Future Generations?" In *Responsibilities to Future Generations*, edited by Ernest Partridge, 73–85. Buffalo: Prometheus Press, 1980.
- Canavan, Francis, ed. *Select Works of Edmund Burke: Miscellaneous Writings (Vol. IV)*. Indianapolis: Liberty Fund, 1999.
- Canavan, Francis. "Speech to the Electors of Bristol." In *Select Works of Edmund Burke: Miscellaneous Writings (Vol. IV)*, edited by Francis Canavan, 3–4. Indianapolis: Liberty Fund, 1999.
- Cavalieri, Paola, and Peter Singer, eds. *The Great Ape Project: Equality Beyond Humanity*. New York: St. Martin's Griffin, 1996.
- Churchill, Winston L. S. "Speech in the House of Commons." In *The Official Report: House of Commons*, 5th Series, vol. 444 (November 11, 1947).
- Clifton, Merritt. "Argentinian Court Grants Zoo Chimp a Writ of Habeas Corpus." *Animals* 24-7, November 8, 2016. <http://www.animals24-7.org/2016/11/08/argentinian-court-grants-zoo-chimp-a-writ-of-habeas-corpus/>.
- Cliteur, Paul. *De Filosofie van Mensenrechten*. Nijmegen: Ars Aequi Libri, 1999.
- Cliteur, Paul. *Darwin, Dier en Recht*. Amsterdam: Boom, 2001.
- Cliteur, Paul. *The Secular Outlook: In Defense of Moral and Political Secularism*. Boston: Wiley-Blackwell, 2010.
- Cliteur, Paul. "Criteria voor Juridisch te Beschermen Godsdienstvrijheid." *Nederlands Juristenblad* 44–45 (2012): 3090–3096.
- Cliteur, Paul. *Philosophical Criteria to Identify False Religion: Why Halal Animal Slaughter, Child Marriage, Circumcision, and the Burqa are Crimes*. Lewiston: Edwin Mellen Press, 2018.

- Cliteur, Paul, and Janneke Vink. "Kunnen We Vleesconsumptie Verbieden?" *Ars Aequi* 63, no. 9 (September 2014): 658–664.
- Cliteur, Paul, and Janneke Vink. "De Gelijkheid en Vrijheid van Mensen en Andere Dieren." In *De Strijd van Gelijkheid en Vrijheid*, edited by Jasper Doomen and Afshin Ellian, 87–105. Den Haag: Boom Juridische Uitgevers, 2015.
- Cochrane, Alasdair. "Animal Rights and Animal Experiments: An Interest-Based Approach." *Res Publica* 13 (2007): 293–318.
- Cochrane, Alasdair. *An Introduction to Animals and Political Theory*. Basingstoke: Palgrave Macmillan, 2010.
- Cochrane, Alasdair. *Animal Rights Without Liberation: Applied Ethics and Human Obligations*. New York: Columbia University Press, 2012.
- Cochrane, Alasdair. "Cosmozoopolis: The Case Against Group-Differentiated Animal Rights." *LEAP* 1 (2013): 127–141.
- Cochrane, Alasdair. "From Human Rights to Sentient Rights." *Critical Review of International Social and Political Philosophy* 16, no. 5 (December 2013): 655–675.
- Cochrane, Alasdair. *Sentientist Politics: A Theory of Global Inter-Species Justice*. Oxford: Oxford University Press, 2018.
- Coldwell, Will. "Marine Park Attractions: Can They Survive?" *The Guardian*, September 12, 2014.
<https://www.theguardian.com/travel/2014/sep/12/seaworld-blackfish-marine-park-attractions-future>.
- Collini, Stefan, ed. *On Liberty and Other Writings*. Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 1989.

Cowburn, Ashley. "85% of the British Public are Opposed to Repealing Fox Hunting Ban, Poll Reveals." *Independent*, December 26, 2017.

<https://www.independent.co.uk/news/uk/politics/fox-hunting-poll-boxing-day-league-against-cruel-sports-ban-theresa-may-election-a8127851.html>.

Crick, Bernard. *Democracy: A Very Short Introduction*. Oxford: Oxford University Press, 2002.

Cudworth, Erika, Stephen Hobden and Emilian Kavalski, eds. *Posthuman Dialogues in International Relations*. Abingdon: Routledge, 2017.

Dahl, Robert A. *After the Revolution? Authority in a Good Society*. New Haven: Yale University Press, 1970.

Dahl, Robert A. *Democracy and Its Critics*. New Haven: Yale University Press, 1989.

Darwin, Charles R. *The Origin of Species*. London: J. M. Dent & Sons Ltd., 1971.

Darwin, Charles R. *Charles Darwin's Notebooks (1836–1844)*, edited by Paul H. Barrett, Peter J. Gautrey, Sandra Herbert, David Kohn and Sydney Smith. New York: Cambridge University Press, 1987.

Darwin, Charles R. *The Descent of Man*. Ware: Wordsworth Editions Limited, 2013.

Dawkins, Richard. "Gaps in the Mind." In *The Great Ape Project: Equality Beyond Humanity*, edited by Paola Cavalieri and Peter Singer, 80–87. New York: St. Martin's Griffin, 1996.

Dawkins, Richard. *The Blind Watchmaker: Why the Evidence of Evolution Reveals a Universe Without Design*. New York: W. W. Norton & Company, 1996.

- Dawkins, Richard. "The Tyranny of the Discontinuous Mind." *New Statesman* 140, no. 5084/5085 (December 19, 2011): 54–57.
- Dobson, Andrew. "Representative Democracy and the Environment." In *Democracy and the Environment: Problems and Prospects*, edited by William M. Lafferty and James Meadowcroft, 124–139. Cheltenham: Edward Elgar Publishing, 1996.
- Donaldson, Sue, and Will Kymlicka. *Zoopolis: A Political Theory of Animal Rights*. Oxford: Oxford University Press, 2013.
- Donaldson, Sue, and Will Kymlicka. "Unruly Beasts: Animal Citizens and the Threat of Tyranny." *Canadian Journal of Political Science* 47, no. 1 (March 2014): 23–45.
- Doomen, Jasper. *Freedom and Equality in a Liberal Democratic State*. Brussels: Bruylant, 2014.
- Doomen, Jasper, and Afshin Ellian, eds. *De Strijd van Gelijkheid en Vrijheid*. Den Haag: Boom Juridische Uitgevers, 2015.
- Driessen, Clemens. "Animal Deliberation." In *Political Animals and Animal Politics*, edited by Marcel Wissenburg and David Schlosberg, 90–104. Basingstoke: Palgrave Macmillan, 2014.
- Dworkin, Ronald. "Rights as Trumps." In *Theories of Rights*, edited by Jeremy Waldron, 153–167. Oxford: Oxford University Press, 1984.
- Eckersley, Robyn. "Liberal Democracy and the Rights of Nature: The Struggle for Inclusion." *Environmental Politics* 4, no. 4 (December 1995): 169–198.
- Eckersley, Robyn. *The Green State: Rethinking Democracy and Sovereignty*. Cambridge: The MIT Press, 2004.
- Eisen, Jessica. "Liberating Animal Law: Breaking Free From Human-Use Typologies." *Animal Law* 17, no. 1 (Fall 2010): 59–76.

- Eisen, Jessica. "Animals in the Constitutional State." *International Journal of Constitutional Law* 15, no. 4 (November 2017): 909–954.
- Ekeli, Kristian Skagen. "Giving a Voice to Posterity: Deliberative Democracy and Representation of Future People." *Journal of Agricultural and Environmental Ethics* 18, no. 5 (2005): 429–450.
- Ekeli, Kristian Skagen. "The Principle of Liberty and Legal Representation of Posterity." *Res Publica* 12 (2006): 385–409.
- Ekeli, Kristian Skagen. "Green Constitutionalism: The Constitutional Protection of Future Generations." *Ratio Juris* 20, no. 3 (September 2007): 378–401.
- Ekeli, Kristian Skagen. "Constitutional Experiments: Representing Future Generations Through Submajority Rules." *The Journal of Political Philosophy* 17, no. 4 (2009): 440–461.
- Elliot, Robert, and Arran Gare, eds. *Environmental Philosophy*. Milton Keynes: Open University Press, 1983.
- Eskens, Erno. *Democratie voor Dieren*. Amsterdam: Uitgeverij Contact, 2009.
- Eskens, Erno. *Een Beestachtige Geschiedenis van de Filosofie*. Leusden: ISVW Uitgevers, 2015.
- European Convention on Human Rights*. Authentic English version provided by the European Court of Human Rights.
https://www.echr.coe.int/Documents/Convention_ENG.pdf.
- Evans, Erin. "Constitutional Inclusion of Animal Rights in Germany and Switzerland: How Did Animal Protection Become an Issue of National Importance?" *Society and Animals* 18, no. 3 (2010): 231–250.

- Favre, David. "A New Property Status for Animals: Equitable Self-ownership." In *Animal Rights: Current Debates and New Directions*, edited by Cass R. Sunstein and Martha C. Nussbaum, 234–250. New York: Oxford University Press, 2004.
- Feinberg, Joel. "The Rights of Animals and Unborn Generations." In *Philosophy and Environmental Crisis*, edited by William T. Blackstone, 43–68. Athens: University of Georgia Press, 1974.
- Four Paws International. "Countries With Restrictions or Ban of Wild Animals in Circuses." June 19, 2018. <https://www.four-paws.org/campaigns-topics/wild-animals/restrictions-keeping-wild-animals-in-circuses>.
- Francione, Gary L. *Animals, Property and the Law*. Philadelphia: Temple University Press, 1995.
- Francione, Gary L. "Personhood, Property and Legal Competence." In *The Great Ape Project: Equality Beyond Humanity*, edited by Paola Cavalieri and Peter Singer, 248–257. New York: St. Martin's Griffin, 1996.
- Francione, Gary L., and Robert Garner. *The Animal Rights Debate: Abolition or Regulation?* New York: Columbia University Press, 2010.
- Frey, Raymond G. *Interests and Rights: The Case Against Animals*. Oxford: Clarendon Press, 1980.
- Fukuyama, Francis. *The End of History and the Last Man*. London: Penguin Books, 1992.
- Garner, Robert. *Animals, Politics and Morality*. Manchester: Manchester University Press, 2004.
- Garner, Robert. *The Political Theory of Animal Rights*. Manchester: Manchester University Press, 2005.

- Garner, Robert. "Rawls, Animals and Justice: New Literature, Same Response." *Res Publica* 18, no. 2 (May 2012): 159–172.
- Garner, Robert. *A Theory of Justice for Animals: Animal Rights in a Nonideal World*. Oxford: Oxford University Press, 2013.
- Garner, Robert. "Animals, Politics and Democracy." In *The Political Turn in Animal Ethics*, edited by Robert Garner and Siobhan O'Sullivan, 103–117. London: Rowman & Littlefield, 2016.
- Garner, Robert. "Animal Rights and the Deliberative Turn in Democratic Theory." *European Journal of Political Theory* (February 25, 2016): 1–21 [published online before print].
- Garner, Robert, and Siobhan O'Sullivan, eds. *The Political Turn in Animal Ethics*. London: Rowman & Littlefield, 2016.
- Gerritsen, Vanessa. "Animal Welfare in Switzerland: Constitutional Aim, Social Commitment, and a Major Challenge." *Global Journal of Animal Law* 1 (January 2013): 1–15.
- Giménez, Emiliano. "Argentine Orangutan Granted Unprecedented Legal Rights." CNN Español, January 4, 2015.
<https://edition.cnn.com/2014/12/23/world/americas/feat-orangutan-rights-ruling/index.html>.
- González-Ricoy, Iñigo, and Axel Gosseries, eds. *Institutions for Future Generations*. Oxford: Oxford University Press, 2016.
- González-Ricoy, Iñigo, and Axel Gosseries. "Designing Institutions for Future Generations: An Introduction." In *Institutions for Future Generations*, edited by Iñigo González-Ricoy and Axel Gosseries, 3–23. Oxford: Oxford University Press, 2016.
- Goodin, Robert E. "Enfranchising the Earth, and its Alternatives." *Political Studies* 44, no. 5 (1996): 835–849.

- Goodin, Robert E. "Democratic Deliberation Within." *Philosophy & Public Affairs* 29, no. 1 (Winter 2000): 81–109.
- Goodin, Robert E. *Reflective Democracy*. New York: Oxford University Press, 2003.
- Goodin, Robert E. "Enfranchising All Affected Interests, and Its Alternatives." *Philosophy & Public Affairs* 35, no. 1 (2007): 40–68.
- Graaf, Beatrice de, and Alexander Rinnooy Kan, eds. *Hoe Zwaar is Licht? Meer dan 100 Dringende Vragen aan de Wetenschap*. Amsterdam: Uitgeverij Balans, 2017.
- Grondwet voor het Koninkrijk der Nederlanden* (Constitution of the Kingdom of the Netherlands). Official translation provided by the Dutch government.
<https://www.government.nl/documents/regulations/2012/10/18/the-constitution-of-the-kingdom-of-the-netherlands-2008>.
- Grundgesetz für die Bundesrepublik Deutschland* (Basic Law for the Federal Republic of Germany). Official translation provided by the German government. Translated by Christian Tomuschat, David P. Currie, Donald P. Kommers and Raymond Kerr, in cooperation with the Language Service of the German Bundestag. <https://www.btg-bestellservice.de/pdf/80201000.pdf>.
- Hakkenes, Emiel. "De Koe Kan Sterven Met Subsidie." *Trouw*, February 17, 2017. <https://www.trouw.nl/groen/de-koe-kan-sterven-met-subsidie~ac0c2fce/>.
- Hakkenes, Emiel. "Stormloop Op Sterfsubsidie Voor Melkkoeien." *Trouw*, February 21, 2017. <https://www.trouw.nl/home/stormloop-op-sterfsubsidie-voor-melkkoeien~a32197c7/>.
- Handelingen I* 2010/11, (10), 36, 59–60.

- Haupt, Claudia E. "The Nature and Effects of Constitutional State Objectives: Assessing the German Basic Law's Animal Protection Clause." *Animal Law* 16, no. 2 (Spring 2010): 213–257.
- Hayward, Tim. "Constitutional Environmental Rights: A Case for Political Analysis." *Political Studies* 48, no. 3 (June 2000): 558–572.
- Hobbes, Thomas. *Leviathan*, edited by Richard Tuck. Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 1996.
- Ito, Shigehiko. "Beyond Standing: A Search for a New Solution in Animal Welfare." *Santa Clara Law Review* 46, no. 2 (2006): 377–418.
- Jávor, Benedek. "Institutional Protection of Succeeding Generations: Ombudsman for Future Generations in Hungary." In *Handbook of Intergenerational Justice*, edited by Joerg Chet Tremmel, 282–298. Cheltenham: Edward Elgar, 2006.
- Jones, Jeff, and Lydia Saad. "Gallup Poll Social Series: Values and Beliefs." May 2015. https://cdn.cnsnews.com/attachments/gallup_animals-poll.pdf.
- Kaldewaij, Frederike. *The Animal in Morality: Justifying Duties to Animals in Kantian Moral Philosophy*. Zutphen: Wöhrmann Print Service, 2013.
- Karnein, Anja. "Can We Represent Future Generations?" In *Institutions for Future Generations*, edited by Iñigo González-Ricoy and Axel Gosseries, 83–97. Oxford: Oxford University Press, 2016.
- Kates, Michael. "Justice, Democracy, and Future Generations." *Critical Review of International Social and Political Philosophy* 18, no. 5 (2015): 508–528.
- Kavka, Gregory S., and Virginia Warren. "Political Representation for Future Generations." In *Environmental Philosophy*, edited by Robert Elliot and Arran Gare, 21–39. Milton Keynes: Open University Press, 1983.

- Lafferty, William M., and James Meadowcroft, eds. *Democracy and the Environment: Problems and Prospects*. Cheltenham: Edward Elgar Publishing, 1996.
- Larik, Joris. *Foreign Policy Objectives in European Constitutional Law*. Oxford: Oxford University Press, 2016.
- Lefranc, Pierre. "De Actio Popularis ter Bescherming van het Milieu: Wenselijk?" In *De Toegang tot de Rechter de Lege Ferenda in Milieuaangelegenheden*, edited by Pierre Lefranc and Charlotte Ponchaut, 19–29. Mechelen: Wolters Kluwer, 2017.
- Lefranc, Pierre, and Charlotte Ponchaut, eds. *De Toegang tot de Rechter de Lege Ferenda in Milieuaangelegenheden*. Mechelen: Wolters Kluwer, 2017.
- Locke, John. *Second Treatise of Government and A Letter Concerning Toleration*, edited by Mark Goldie. Oxford: Oxford University Press, 2016.
- Low, Philip. "The Cambridge Declaration on Consciousness," edited by Jaak Panksepp, Diana Reiss, David Edelman, Bruno Van Swinderen, Philip Low and Christof Koch. Publicly proclaimed on July 7, 2012, at Churchill College, University of Cambridge, Cambridge (United Kingdom).
<http://fcmconference.org/img/CambridgeDeclarationOnConsciousness.pdf>.
- MacFarlane, Charles. *The Cabinet History of England (Vol. 19)*. London: Charles Knight and Co., 1846.
- Mank, Bradford. "Protecting the Environment for Future Generations: A Proposal for a Republican Superagency." *New York University Environmental Law Journal* 5, no. 2 (1996): 445–516.
- May, John D. "Defining Democracy: A Bid for Coherence and Consensus." *Political Studies* 26, no. 1 (March 1978): 1–14.

- McCloskey, Henry J. "Rights." *The Philosophical Quarterly* 15, no. 59 (April 1965): 115–127.
- Meijer, Eva. *Dierentalen*. Leusden: ISVW Uitgevers, 2016.
- Meijer, Eva. "Political Animal Voices." PhD diss., University of Amsterdam, 2017.
- Meijer, Eva. "Worm Politics." In *Posthuman Dialogues in International Relations*, edited by Erika Cudworth, Stephen Hobden and Emilian Kavalski, 128–142. Abingdon: Routledge, 2017.
- Michel, Margot, and Eveline Schneider Kayasseh. "The Legal Situation of Animals in Switzerland: Two Steps Forward, One Step Back—Many Steps to Go." *Journal of Animal Law* 7 (May 2011): 1–42.
- Mill, James. *Essays on Government, Jurisprudence, Liberty of the Press, and Law of Nations*. London: J. Innes, 1825.
- Mill, James. "Government." In *Essays on Government, Jurisprudence, Liberty of the Press, and Law of Nations*, edited by James Mill, 3–32. London: J. Innes, 1825.
- Mill, John Stuart. "Considerations on Representative Government." In *Collected Works of John Stuart Mill (Vol. XIX): Essays on Politics and Society (Part II)*, edited by John M. Robson, 371–577. Toronto: University of Toronto Press, 1977.
- Mill, John Stuart. *The Logic of the Moral Sciences*. London: Gerald Duckworth & Co. Ltd., 1988.
- Mill, John Stuart. "On Liberty." In *On Liberty and Other Writings*, edited by Stefan Collini, 1–116. Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 1989.
- Mill, John Stuart. "The Subjection of Women." In *On Liberty and Other Writings*, edited by Stefan Collini, 117–218. Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 1989.

- Mill, John Stuart. "Utilitarianism." In *Utilitarianism and Other Essays*, edited by Alan Ryan, 272–338. Harmondsworth: Penguin Books, 2004.
- Mill, John Stuart. "Whewell on Moral Philosophy." In *Utilitarianism and Other Essays*, edited by Alan Ryan, 228–271. Harmondsworth: Penguin Books, 2004.
- Mille, Cecilia, and Eva Frejadotter Diesen. "The Best Animal Welfare in the World? An Investigation into the Myth About Sweden." Translated by Niki Woods. Djurens Rätt, 2009.
- Natrass, Kate M. "'...Und Die Tiere': Constitutional Protection for Germany's Animals." *Animal Law* 10 (2004): 283–312.
- Nayler, Mark. "Are Spaniards Over Bullfighting?" Culture Trip, June 15, 2017. <https://theculturetrip.com/europe/spain/articles/are-spaniards-over-bullfighting/>.
- Neumann, Jean-Marc. "The Legal Status of Animals in the French Civil Code: The Recognition by the French Civil Code That Animals Are Living and Sentient Beings: Symbolic Move, Evolution or Revolution?" *Global Journal of Animal Law* 1, (2015): 1–13.
- O'Sullivan, Siobhan. *Animals, Equality and Democracy*. Basingstoke: Palgrave Macmillan, 2011.
- Ontwerp tot Invoeging van een Titel Ibis en een Artikel 7bis om Duurzame Ontwikkeling als Algemene Beleidsdoelstelling voor de Federale Staat, de Gemeenschappen en de Gewesten in de Grondwet in te Schrijven*. DOC 51 2647/004, 9. March 23, 2007.
- Otjes, Simon. "The Hobbyhorse of the Party for the Animals." *Society & Animals* 24 (2016): 383–402.
- Palmer, Clare. *Animal Ethics in Context*. New York: Columbia University Press, 2010.

- Parijs, Philippe van. "The Disfranchisement of the Elderly, and Other Attempts to Secure Intergenerational Justice." *Philosophy & Public Affairs* 27, no. 4 (Autumn 1998): 292–333.
- Partridge, Ernest, ed. *Responsibilities to Future Generations*. Buffalo: Prometheus Press, 1980.
- Party for the Animals. "International Movement."
<https://www.partyfortheanimals.nl/international-movement/>.
- Pepper, Angie. "Political Agency in Humans and Other Animals." Paper presented at *Animal Agency: Language, Politics, Culture Conference*, Amsterdam, May 13, 2016.
- Pitkin, Hanna Fenichel. *The Concept of Representation*. Berkeley: University of California Press, 1972.
- Popper, Karl. *The Open Society and Its Enemies*. London: Routledge & Kegan Paul Ltd, 1999.
- Popper, Karl. *The Open Society and Its Enemies. Volume I: Plato*. London: Routledge & Kegan Paul Ltd, 1999.
- Popper, Karl. *The Open Society and Its Enemies. Volume II: Hegel and Marx*. London: Routledge & Kegan Paul Ltd, 1999.
- Popper, Karl. *The Poverty of Historicism*. London: Routledge & Kegan Paul Ltd, 2004.
- Rachels, James. "Darwin, Species, and Morality." *The Monist* 70, no. 1 (January 1987): 98–113.
- Rachels, James. *Created from Animals: The Moral Implications of Darwinism*. Oxford: Oxford University Press, 1990.
- Rachels, James. *The Elements of Moral Philosophy*. New York: McGraw-Hill, 1993.

- Rachels, James. "Why Darwinians Should Support Equal Treatment for Other Great Apes." In *The Great Ape Project: Equality Beyond Humanity*, edited by Paola Cavalieri and Peter Singer, 152–157. New York: St. Martin's Griffin, 1996.
- Radbruch, Gustav. "Gesetzliches Unrecht und Übergesetzliches Recht." *Süddeutsche Juristen-Zeitung* 1, no. 5 (August 1946): 105–108.
- Rawls, John. *A Theory of Justice*. Cambridge: Harvard University Press, 2005.
- Raz, Joseph. "Legal Rights." *Oxford Journal of Legal Studies* 4, no. 1 (Spring 1984): 1–21.
- Regan, Helen. "In Argentina, a Court Grants Sandra the Orangutan Basic Rights." *Time Magazine*, December 22, 2014.
<http://time.com/3643541/argentina-sandra-orangutan-basic-rights/>.
- Regan, Tom. *The Case for Animal Rights*. Berkeley: University of California Press, 2004.
- Rijkema, Bastiaan. "Minder Rechten voor Meer Subjecten: Over een 'Rechtendieet' ten Behoeve van Dieren." *Nederlands Juristenblad* 88, no. 40, (November 2013): 2811–2813.
- Rijkema, Bastiaan. *Militant Democracy: The Limits of Democratic Tolerance*. Translated by Anna Asbury. New York: Routledge, 2018.
- Rijkema, Bastiaan, and Machteld Zee, eds. *Bij de Beesten af! Over Dierenrecht en Onrecht*. Amsterdam: Uitgeverij Bert Bakker, 2013.
- Robb, Simon. "Judge Rules World's Loneliest Chimp Has Rights and Must be Freed." *Metro*, November 7, 2016.
<http://metro.co.uk/2016/11/07/judge-rules-worlds-loneliest-chimp-has-rights-and-must-be-freed-6240568/>.
- Robson, John M., ed. *Collected Works of John Stuart Mill (Vol. XIX): Essays on Politics and Society (Part II)*. Toronto: University of Toronto Press, 1977.

- Rowlands, Mark. "Contractarianism and Animal Rights." *Journal of Applied Philosophy* 14, no. 3 (November 1997): 235–247.
- Rowlands, Mark. *Animal Rights: A Philosophical Defence*. Basingstoke: Macmillan, 1998.
- Ryan, Alan, ed. *Utilitarianism and Other Essays*. Harmondsworth: Penguin Books, 2004.
- Samuels, Gabriel. "Chimpanzees Have Rights, Says Argentine Judge as She Orders Cecilia be Released From Zoo." *Independent*, November 7, 2016. <http://www.independent.co.uk/news/world/americas/argentina-judge-says-chimpanzee-poor-conditions-has-rights-and-should-be-freed-from-zoo-a7402606.html>.
- Schäfer, Lothar. *Popper*. Translated by Ybe Casteleyn. Rotterdam: Lemniscaat, 2005.
- Schaffner, Joan E. *An Introduction to Animals and the Law*. Basingstoke: Palgrave Macmillan, 2011.
- Schmitz, Friederike. "Animal Ethics and Human Institutions: Integrating Animals Into Political Theory." In *The Political Turn in Animal Ethics*, edited by Robert Garner and Siobhan O'Sullivan, 33–49. London: Rowman & Littlefield, 2016.
- Shachar, Ayelet. *The Birthright Lottery: Citizenship and Global Inequality*. Cambridge: Harvard University Press, 2009.
- Shermer, Michael. *The Moral Arc: How Science and Reason Lead Humanity Toward Truth, Justice and Freedom*. New York: Henry Holt and Company, 2015.
- Singer, Peter. *Animal Liberation*. New York: HarperCollins Publishers, 2009.
- Singer, Peter. *Practical Ethics*. Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 2011.

- Smith, Kimberly K. *Governing Animals: Animal Welfare and the Liberal State*. Oxford: Oxford University Press, 2012.
- Sommermann, Karl-Peter. *Staatsziele und Staatszielbestimmungen*. Tübingen: Mohr Siebeck, 1997.
- Sorell, Tom. *Descartes*. Translated by Willemien de Leeuw. Rotterdam: Lemniscaat, 2001.
- Staker, Alexia. "Should Chimpanzees Have Standing? The Case for Pursuing Legal Personhood for Non-Human Animals." *Transnational Environmental Law* 6, no. 3 (2017): 485–507.
- Stein, Tine. "Does the Constitutional and Democratic System Work? The Ecological Crisis as a Challenge to the Political Order of Constitutional Democracy." *Constellations* 4, no. 3 (1998): 420–449.
- Stichting Aap. "Europeans Want Wild Animals in Circuses Banned, Poll Reveals." October 3, 2018. <https://www.aap.nl/en/news/europeans-want-wild-animals-circuses-banned-poll-reveals>.
- Stone, Christopher D. "Safeguarding Future Generations." In *Future Generations & International Law*, edited by Emmanuel Agius and Salvino Busuttil, 65–79. London: Earthscan Publications, 1998.
- Stone, Christopher D. *Should Trees Have Standing? Law, Morality and the Environment*. New York: Oxford University Press, 2010.
- Sullivan, Mariann. "Consistently Inconsistent: The Constitution and Animals." *Animal Law* 19, no. 2 (Spring 2013): 213–219.
- Sunstein, Cass R. "Against Positive Rights." *East European Constitutional Review* 35, (Winter 1993): 35–38.
- Sunstein, Cass R. "Introduction: What are Animal Rights?" In *Animal Rights: Current Debates and New Directions*, edited by Cass R. Sunstein and Martha C. Nussbaum, 3–15. New York: Oxford University Press, 2004.

- Sunstein, Cass R., and Martha C. Nussbaum, eds. *Animal Rights: Current Debates and New Directions*. New York: Oxford University Press, 2004.
- Taylor, Rowan. "A Step At a Time: New Zealand's Progress Toward Hominid Rights." *Animal Law* 7 (2001): 35–43.
- Thompson, Dennis F. "Democracy in Time: Popular Sovereignty and Temporal Representation." *Constellations* 12, no. 2 (2005): 245–261.
- Thompson, Dennis F. "Representing Future Generations: Political Presentism and Democratic Trusteeship." *Critical Review of International Social and Political Philosophy* 13, no. 1 (March 2010): 17–37.
- Thompson, Shawn. "When Apes Have Their Day in Court." *Philosophy Now* 111 (December 2015 / January 2016): 26–29.
- Tierschutzgesetz* (Swiss Animal Welfare Act). Unofficial translation provided by Interpharma.
<https://www.globalanimallaw.org/downloads/database/national/switzerland/Tierschutzgesetz-2005-EN-2011.pdf>.
- Tierschutzverordnung* (Swiss Animal Welfare Ordinance). Unofficial translation provided by Interpharma.
<https://www.globalanimallaw.org/downloads/database/national/switzerland/TSchV-2008-EN-455.1-2011.pdf>.
- Tonn, Bruce, and Michael Hogan. "The House of Lords: Guardians of Future Generations." *Futures* 38 (2006): 115–119.
- Tremmel, Joerg Chet, ed. *Handbook of Intergenerational Justice*. Cheltenham: Edward Elgar, 2006.
- Tribe, Laurence H. "Ten Lessons Our Constitutional Experience Can Teach Us About the Puzzle of Animal Rights: The Work of Steven M. Wise." *Animal Law* 7 (2001): 1–8.

- Tuil, Mark, and Walter Dijkshoorn. "Symboolwetgeving in Wording." *Nederlands Juristenblad* 274, no. 6 (2010): 353–354.
- Universal Declaration of Human Rights*. Official version provided by the United Nations. <http://www.un.org/en/universal-declaration-human-rights/>.
- Urbinati, Nadia, and Mark E. Warren. "The Concept of Representation in Contemporary Democratic Theory." *Annual Review of Political Science* 11 (2008): 387–412.
- Verdonk, Dirk-Jan. *Dierenrechten*. Amsterdam: Amsterdam University Press, 2016.
- Vink, Janneke. "De Democratische Rechtsstaat als Belangenweegschaal: Belangen als Grondslag voor een Politieke en Juridische Positie voor Dieren." In *De Toegang tot de Rechter de Lege Ferenda in Milieuaangelegenheden*, edited by Pierre Lefranc and Charlotte Ponchaut, 43–56. Mechelen: Wolters Kluwer, 2017.
- Vink, Janneke. "Hoe Zijn de Rechten van Andere Dieren dan Mensen te Waarborgen?" In *Hoe Zwaar is Licht? Meer dan 100 Dringende Vragen aan de Wetenschap*, edited by Beatrice de Graaf and Alexander Rinnooy Kan, 314–317. Amsterdam: Uitgeverij Balans, 2017.
- Vink, Janneke. "If Slaughterhouses had Glass Walls...." Leiden Law Blog, March 31, 2017. <http://leidenlawblog.nl/articles/if-slaughterhouses-had-glass-walls>.
- Vink, Janneke. "Het Constitutionaliseren van de Zorg voor Dieren als Wezens met Gevoel." Speech at an expert hearing regarding the proposal to revise article 7bis of the Belgian Constitution, recited in the Senate, Brussels (Belgium), March 19, 2018.
- Vink, Janneke. "Dierenwelzijn: Van Onderhandelbare Naar Grondwettelijke Waarde." *Nederlands Juristenblad* 93, no. 26 (July 2018): 1862–1869.

Voorstel tot Herziening van Artikel 7bis van de Grondwet. 6-339/1. April 25, 2017.

Vrijheid en verantwoordelijkheid (Coalition agreement VVD-CDA). September 30, 2010.

Waldron, Jeremy, ed. *Theories of Rights*. Oxford: Oxford University Press, 1984.

Waldron, Jeremy. "A Right-Based Critique of Constitutional Rights." *Oxford Journal of Legal Studies* 13, no. 1 (1993): 18–51.

Weiss, Edith Brown. "In Fairness to Future Generations." *Environment* 32, no. 3 (April 1990): 7–31.

Winter, Stuart. "New Poll Shows Bullfighting is on the Way Out." *Express*, January 20, 2016. <https://www.express.co.uk/news/nature/636496/poll-shows-bullfighting-on-way-out>.

Wise, Steven M. *Rattling the Cage: Towards Legal Rights for Animals*. Cambridge: Perseus Books, 2000.

Wise, Steven M. *Drawing the Line: Science and the Case for Animal Rights*. Cambridge: Perseus Books, 2002.

Wise, Steven M. "Sandra: The Plot Thickens." *Nonhuman Rights Blog*, January 12, 2015. <https://www.nonhumanrights.org/blog/sandra-the-plot-thickens/>.

Wise, Steven M. "Update on the Sandra Orangutan Case in Argentina." *Nonhuman Rights Blog*, March 6, 2015. <https://www.nonhumanrights.org/blog/update-on-the-sandra-orangutan-case-in-argentina/>.

Wissenburg, Marcel, and David Schlosberg, eds. *Political Animals and Animal Politics*. Basingstoke: Palgrave Macmillan, 2014.

- World Animal Protection. "Swiss Confederation: Animal Protection Index 2014 ranking: A." November 2014.
https://api.worldanimalprotection.org/sites/default/files/api_switzerland_report.pdf.
- Zavala Tello, Ignacio. "En Una Decisión Judicial Inédita, la Mona Cecilia Será Traslada de Mendoza a Brasil." *Los Andes*, November 3, 2016.
<http://www.losandes.com.ar/article/tras-una-decision-judicial-inedita-la-mona-cecilia-sera-trasladada-a-brasil>.
- Zoethout, Carla M. "Animals as Sentient Beings: On Animal Welfare, Public Morality and Ritual Slaughter." *ICL Journal* 7, no. 3 (2013): 308–326.

Glossary of terms

Active political rights

A category of political rights that require political agency of the rights holder in order to make sense. These are rights that enable political participation, such as the right to vote and the right to politically represent others. See also section 1.4 and *Passive political rights*.

Anthropocentrism

A strong or exclusive, not always justified focus on humans and their interests. See also *Strong anthropocentrism* and *Weak anthropocentrism*.

Character selection strategies

Strategies that can help establish that representatives or representative institutions function in alignment with the interests of those they are supposed to represent by focussing on the manning of these institutions with the right persons. See also section 3.1.III and *Institutional nudging strategies*.

Consideration right

The (passive) political right to have one's interests considered by the political communities' rulers. *The Open Society and Its Animals* argues that all sentient animals on the territory of a liberal democratic state have a consideration right. See also section 1.4, *Passive political rights*, and *Interspecies democratic theory*.

Constitutional state objective

A constitutional norm with legally binding effect, which enjoins on public policy the continuous observance of or compliance with certain tasks or objectives (in the context of this book: protecting animal welfare). Sometimes also called: "fundamental objective," "policy principle," "constitutional objective," or "directive principle of state policy." See also section 4.1.

Democratic costs

Immaterial costs that the endeavour of enfranchising non-human animals may incur, which could be problematic from a democratic point of view. See also sections 3.1.V and 3.2.

Dynamic citizenship

A citizenship framework for non-human animals in which the mere presence of a sentient non-human animal on the sovereign territory of a certain liberal democratic state activates that state's duty to give due political consideration to the interests of that animal. See also section 2.1, *Residency criterion*, and *Residency-dependent right*.

Enfranchisement

Throughout *The Open Society and Its Animals*, the term "enfranchisement" is used in the broad sense of indicating some type of political or legal recognition of non-human animals in basic institutional structures, not in the narrow sense of extending voting rights to non-human animals. See also *Enfranchisement criteria*.

Enfranchisement criteria

Normative requirements for institutionalizing the consideration right of non-human animals, derived from the interspecies democratic theory presented in this book. This book argues that there are five enfranchisement criteria, which together prescribe the normatively preferred enfranchisement of sentient animals in liberal democracies as follows. Liberal democracies must reserve an institutional place (*legitimacy criterion*) in which humans (*human assistance criterion*) are institutionally bound (*non-contingency criterion*) to consider the independent interests (*independence criterion*) of sentient non-human animals who reside on the territory of the state (*residency criterion*). See also section 2.1, *Legitimacy criterion*, *Non-contingency criterion*, *Independence criterion*, *Human assistance criterion*, *Residency criterion*, and *Interspecies democratic theory*.

Fundamental legal rights

This book typifies the fundamental legal rights it discusses as negative, individual, fundamental legal rights. *The Open Society and Its Animals* concludes that assigning sentient animals on the territory of liberal democratic states certain fundamental legal rights, such as the right not to be tortured and the right to life, could establish a normatively desirable situation in which sentient animals' consideration right is institutionally respected. See also section 5.2.

Human assistance criterion

One of the five enfranchisement criteria. The human assistance criterion prescribes that humans must assist in the realization of non-human animals' consideration right by objectively representing their interests in the appropriate institutions. See also section 2.1 and *Enfranchisement criteria*.

Identity of interests

A coinciding of interests between the rulers and the ruled. An identity of interests should prevent abuse of power, because the community can have no sinister interest within itself and with respect to itself. James Mill thought achieving an identity of interests to be an essential democratic ideal. See also section 1.4 and James Mill, "Government."

Independence criterion

One of the five enfranchisement criteria. The independence criterion prescribes that non-human animals' interests must be regarded and institutionalized as an independent factor in liberal democratic considerations. See also section 2.1 and *Enfranchisement criteria*.

Institutional nudging strategies

Strategies that can help establish that representatives or representative institutions function in alignment with the interests of those they are supposed to represent by focussing on the design of these institutions. See also section 3.1.III and *Character selection strategies*.

Interests

A certain good or action is in an individual's interest if it positively affects the well-being of that individual. See also section 1.2.

Interspecies democratic theory

The normative democratic theory developed in the first chapter of *The Open Society and Its Animals*. The theory holds that sentient non-human animals on the territory of a liberal democratic state have a consideration right: the (passive) political right to have their interests considered by the political communities' rulers, on account of having politically relevant interests. See also chapter 1, *Consideration right*, and *Enfranchisement criteria*.

Interspeciesism

Arbitrary discrimination between animals of the same species. See also section 2.2.

Legitimacy criterion

One of the five enfranchisement criteria. The legitimacy criterion prescribes that basic democratic structures must reflect a due and equal regard for sentient non-human animals in order to qualify as democratically legitimate. See also section 2.1 and *Enfranchisement criteria*.

Non-contingency criterion

One of the five enfranchisement criteria. The non-contingency criterion prescribes that the consideration of sentient non-human animals' interests may not be contingent in the sense that it is dependent on the willingness of humans to do this, but must be non-contingent in the sense of institutionally secured. See also section 2.1, *Enfranchisement criteria*, and *Weak anthropocentrism*.

Passive political rights

A category of political rights that do not require political agency of the rights holder in order to make sense. The consideration right is a passive political right. See also section 1.4, *Active political rights*, and *Consideration right*.

Political agency

The characteristic of being able to act with the intention of affecting political institutions. See also section 1.3, *Political agent*, *Political patient*, *Political patiency*, and Angie Pepper, “Political Agency in Humans and Other Animals.”

Political agent

An individual who is able to act with the intention of affecting political institutions. See also section 1.3, *Political agency*, and *Political patient*.

Political patient

An individual who is unable to act with the intention of affecting political institutions. See also section 1.3, *Political patiency*, and *Political agent*.

Political patiency

The characteristic of being unable to act with the intention of affecting political institutions. See also section 1.3 and 1.4, *Political agent*, *Political patient*, and *Political agency*.

Residency criterion

One of the five enfranchisement criteria. The residency criterion prescribes that the consideration right of sentient non-human animals currently living and residing on the sovereign territory of a liberal democratic state must be institutionalized. See also section 2.1, *Enfranchisement criteria*, *Dynamic citizenship*, and *Residency-dependent right*.

Residency-dependent right

A right that becomes activated only if the rights-bearing individual resides on the territory of the state. See also section 5.4, *Residency criterion*, and *Dynamic citizenship*.

Strong anthropocentrism

A situation in political systems in which the interests of non-human animals are only considered to the extent to which humans want them to be considered, in other words: contingently. See also *Anthropocentrism*, *Weak anthropocentrism*, and Robert Garner, "Animals, Politics and Democracy."

Weak anthropocentrism

A situation in political systems in which there is human representation of animal interests irrespective of the wishes of any particular human electorate, even if these interests clash with important human interests. The non-contingency criterion favours a weak anthropocentric institutional setting. See also *Anthropocentrism*, *Strong anthropocentrism*, *Non-contingency criterion*, and Robert Garner, "Animals, Politics and Democracy."

Curriculum vitae

Janneke Vink (Schiedam, 1990) holds a Bachelor's degree in Law (Leiden University, 2011), a Master's degree in Criminal Law and Criminal Procedure (Leiden University, 2013) and a *cum laude* Master's degree in Jurisprudence and Philosophy of Law (Leiden University, 2013). Vink has been lecturer of several Jurisprudential courses at Leiden University, guest lecturer for a science course on Human Evolution at Leiden University, lecturer for the Pre-University College at Leiden University, editor and author for the Leiden Law Blog, and is founding board member of the Dutch branch of the non-governmental organization Minding Animals. Vink is also a member of the study group on Animal Ethics of the Dutch Research School of Philosophy (Nederlandse Onderzoeksschool Wijsbegeerte). Her doctoral research was conducted at the Institute for the Interdisciplinary Study of the Law at Leiden University. Vink is currently Assistant Professor at the Department of Constitutional and Administrative Law and Jurisprudence of the Open University of the Netherlands.

The Open Society and Its Animals is an interdisciplinary study centred on the political and legal position of animals in liberal democracies. With due concern for both animals and the sustainability of liberal democracies, *The Open Society and Its Animals* seeks to redefine animals' political-legal position in the most successful political model of our time: the liberal democracy.



Universiteit
Leiden