

YOUR FOOD IS MY FRIEND!

An anthropological investigation in Yogyakarta's dog meat trade and the animal activism against this practice



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Preface: The one that got away

Born in a dirt-poor family, with a lot of siblings and the father already gone at the time of birth, she had a hard life ahead of her. They did not have a house, but their mom had found a safe place behind an old ruin, where she grew up with her sisters and brothers. Only a young girl, she was sent out on the streets, having to fend for herself. She was free, and enjoyed the space, but also longed for some food for dinner and a dry place for those hours when the monsoon was pouring down. She had friends, some people gave her food, and she would find scraps to get around. Life was not too bad.

When she hit puberty, a man came and caught her. She was put in a bag to prevent her from moving and her mouth was tied closed, so she could not bite the man that took her, nor scream for help. Together with a lot of others, she was put on a truck and they would drive for hours under the scorching sun. When the truck stopped she was thrown into a dark room by another man, who smelled of blood and sweat.

Together with around forty-five others she lay in the dark room. In the morning the man smelling of blood came, and took some of them. She listened to the screams and shivered. "This place is bad" she thought, "I need to get out". She managed to loosen the rope around her face, and bit through the bag that kept her enclosed. She jumped over the enclosure, which was surprisingly low, and stumbled away from the house. Tired as she was, having gone without food for days, hardly any water and almost no sleep, she fell asleep in some bushes close by. The next morning she woke from the voices of approaching people. The people stopped in front of her, and one of them kneeled down. She smelled something good. Some food! Maybe it was dangerous, but she was so hungry. Leaving her hiding space, she slowly crawled towards the food that was being handed out to her. She could almost touch it, just another step. BAM. Caught again! In a box, and into another car. The trip did not take so long this time and soon she was brought to a new place, in the woods somewhere. There were others, and there was a fence, but within it she could walk freely. She got food and water. She got her fur brushed. She was safe.

Chapter 1. Introduction

The short tale in the preface is semi-hypothetical, in the sense that it could well have happened, but since it accounts of a dog's life unfortunately I was not able to conduct an in depth interview with the protagonist of this story. It is however based on a very realistic situation a dog in Indonesia might find himself or herself in, albeit that the chances of getting butchered and eaten are remarkably higher than the chances of finding shelter in an animal sanctuary. In this thesis I will look into the two human sides of this story, namely the supporters and the opponents of the dog meat trade. In chapter two I will investigate Yogyakarta's dog meat trade and pay attention to the dog meat proponents' perspectives. In chapter three I will look at the NGO Animal Friends Jogja and the animal activists' perspectives on the matter. Chapter four is where I will look at the 'dogs are not food' campaign from the NGO, and this is where the two sides will meet. In the chapter that follows some theoretical issues will be addressed, and an analysis of the ethnographic material is provided. The sixth chapter is the concluding part of this thesis.

In this first chapter I will briefly introduce the main themes of this thesis, namely the dog meat trade and the activism against this trade. I will look at the position of the dog meat trade in Indonesia and in other countries (notably South Korea), and also pay attention to the opposition against this trade.

1.1 Dog meat

Archeologists have found proof of people using dogs for food all over the world, and this habit is traced back a thousand years (Herzog 2010, 171). Dogs were often used for provision storage, in times of excess they would be fed, only to be eaten in scarcer periods (Herzog 2010, 170). Today, dog meat can be found on the menu in several countries, including Nigeria (Ekanem et al. 2013), South-Korea (Lien 2004, Oh & Jackson 2011), China, Vietnam and Thailand (Podberscek 2007), and Indonesia (Weichart 2004, Parker 1991). Although the eating of dogs was outlawed in 1998 in the Philippines, dog meat is still much appreciated here (Podberscek 2009). As this list shows, the practice concentrates in (South-East) Asia. It is estimated that approximately 13 to 16 million dogs are consumed each year in Asia (Bartlett and Clifton, 2003). In 2012, dog meat consumption in Indonesia was in the international spotlights for a brief moment, when US president Barack Obama admitted that during visits to his grandfather in West Java he had consumed dog meat, and enjoyed it, but apart from this, it seems that internationally not much attention has been given

to the practice of dog meat consumption in Indonesia, nor to the debate that accompanies this practice. Neither has there been much attention in anthropological or sociological literature on the practice in Indonesia, even though the situation is very interesting and calls for an academic assessment. The Indonesian case is particularly interesting because of the high heterogeneity of the Indonesian population in terms of the various ethnic groups, very unlike the relatively homogeneous South Korean society (Podberscek 2009). Dog meat consumption in Indonesia is mainly associated with the regional areas of North Sumatra, with as capital Medan and North Sulawesi with the capital Manado. North Sumatra is home to members of several different Batak ethnic groups, of which the Toba Batak and Karo Batak are best known for their preference for dog meat. In North Sulawesi it is the ethnic group Minahasa to which this feature is ascribed (Weichart 2004). Also in Kalimantan dogs are consumed, mainly by the members of the Dayak (Dahniar 2013). It is however not the case that only members of these specific ethnic groups engage in dog meat consumption. The practice is widespread over the archipelago and none of the many different ethnic groups living in Indonesia seem to be excluded from having members who eat dog every now and then. In Bali, for example, an animal welfare organization investigated the local dog meat trade, and found that 50 percent of the consumers were Balinese natives (Bali Animal Welfare Association 2014). The majority of Indonesians are Muslim, and according to the Islam dog meat is *haram*, which mean that it is forbidden for Muslims to consume dog flesh. However, as I will show later on, Muslims also engage in the practice.

In Yogyakarta, central Java, it is not particularly hard to find a place where dog meat is served. You have to know what to look for, however, since codes are used to indicate that dog meat is offered (see picture 1). The most common code for dog meat is B1. This code is derived from the Batak word for dog, *biang*. The 1 stands for the number of b's in the word, and forms the distinction with the code for *babi* (pig), which is B2 (because of the two b's in *babi*). Another typology for dog meat often used in Yogyakarta is *sengsu*, which is derived from the words *tongseng* (something like a curry) and *asu* (dog in Javanese). Other codes are used as well, but are less common. Examples are *RW*, from the Minahasan *rintek wuuk* (which can roughly be translated as 'soft hairs'), *jamu* (the Indonesian and Javanese word for herb, synonym for traditional medicine or traditional healing) and the euphemistic *daging* (meat) *Scoobedoo*.



Picture 1.

This is a picture of the outside cover of a dog meat restaurant in Yogyakarta. The codes B1 and B2 are used to indicate the kinds of meat they are selling (dog and pig).

1.2 Legal framework

In Indonesia eating dog is not illegal (Bali Animal Welfare Association 2014). However, the law prosecutes those who commit certain animal welfare violations. The provisions that could be related to the dog meat trade are embedded in the criminal code (KHUP) under the Act Animal Husbandry and Animal Health 2009:18, and include laws concerning the theft of dogs for financial profit (article 362), physically abusing animals, chaining them inside an enclosure, not providing animals with water or food and killing and/or poisoning dogs (article 302). Added to this is article 66:2, which, among other points, states that during transportation, stress amongst the animals should be avoided, and that when animals are butchered efforts have to be made to reduce the inflicted pain as much as possible. The maximal punishment for breaking these laws is life-long imprisonment. In theory the practice is further restricted by a prohibition to transport *hewan penyebaran rabies* (animals which can transmit rabies) from areas where rabies has not officially been eradicated. However, in practice none of the regulations mentioned above are ever enforced, and amongst animal rights activists in Java there is no knowledge about anyone ever being convicted for breaching these regulations.

In the Terrestrial Animal Health Code 2014, the World Organization for Animal Health (Office Internationale des Epizooties, OIE) sets out “standards for the improvement of terrestrial animal health and welfare and veterinary public health worldwide” (OIE 2014, foreword). In this document dogs are discussed as well, but they are not included in the list of livestock animals. The mentioning about dogs is limited to the keeping of pets and the dealing with stray dog

populations. It is not explicitly argued that dogs are not to be considered as meat, but in the document no standards are provided on how to regulate the dog meat trade, and as such it can be concluded that dogs are not considered as livestock animals by the OIE. The Codex Alimentarius Commission, an initiative of the World Health Organization and the Food and Agriculture Organization to promote world-wide food safety, makes no explicit mentioning of dogs as commodity for consumption. According to the Dutch coordinator of the Codex Alimentarius, international trading of dogs happens on such a small scale that the memberships of the Codex Alimentarius Commission (183 countries, including Indonesia) have apparently not felt the need to compose standards on this issue. Anung Endah Swasti, the head of the Section for Animal Health and Veterinary Public Health of the Department of Agriculture of the Special Region of Yogyakarta, stated that the Indonesian government follows the OIE and does not consider dogs to be livestock animals. The result of this classification is that there are no regulations and controls in regard to the processes dog meat goes through. As such there are no standards about the quality of dog meat.

1.3 Theoretical framework and introduction of the themes

In this section I would like to discuss some theoretical considerations that are linked to the themes of dog meat consumption and animal activism. I have divided these into three subsections, all of which will return during the analysis in chapter five.

Classification of dogs (and food taboo)

The practice of dog meat consumption has often been, and still is, topic of debate. This debate is fuelled by the different sentiments that people have about dogs and the various classifications the nonhuman animals (henceforth ‘animal’) are placed in. In many cultures eating dogs is considered a food taboo. According to Herzog there are two reasons why dog meat is avoided, namely because people despise these animals, or because people love them (2010, 172). In many countries in the Middle East, dog meat consumption is extremely uncommon because dogs are deemed unclean by most interpretations of the Koran. The other side of the coin is most clearly present in western countries, where dogs are seen as companion animals, as man’s best friend and as a family member. For many in these countries the thought of eating dog fills them with disgust, anger and an eagerness to judge those who engage in dog meat consumption as savage and

immoral (Lien 2004, 6-7). Harris also noticed this phenomenon, and claimed that people with a western origin “think it self-evident that pets are not good to eat” (1985, 175). As a cultural materialist, Harris finds a materialistic explanation for this taboo, namely that dogs are more valuable to westerners alive than dead, as the animals provide them with protection, means of transportation and food (in the case of hunting with the aid of dogs), and because dogs, as carnivorous animals, are an inefficient source of meat (1985, 175). More recent anthropological work has abandoned such a singular view on human-animal relations, and strives towards a more holistic and dynamic approach. Fuentes notes that “our relationships with other animals are complex and culturally contingent and contextual. Therefore, no uniform or simple perspective - whether ethical, ecological, ethnological, or literary- can effectively categorize them” (2006, 130). In investigating the human-animal relationship and the way this relationship was shaped, it is important “to consider the cultural and historical context, while also taking economical, ecological, structural and symbolical perspectives into account” (Mullin 1999, 208). All these perspectives add up and give shape to a classification of a certain animal, and it is this classification which plays a major role in assessing the dog meat discussion in Indonesia, and also in other countries. It has already been shown that “not all biologically edible food is culturally edible” (Poon 2014, 309), meaning that through the classification of specific animals, different cultures hold different notions about what is in fact edible. Also one specific animal species can be classified in more ways. As Poon describes, in China, certain dog breeds are seen as pets, others as food, and some as both (2014, 311). In Korea it is one specific breed of dog which is bred for food (the ‘yellow dog’), while other, smaller breeds are exclusively seen as pets (Dugnoile 2014). But, the distinction between ‘pet and plate’ is also described as a fluid classification, in which animals can shift between the categories, depending on the situation. For instance, Harris notes that Australian Aboriginals do live with dingo pups, and raise them as their children. In times of scarcity however, a pup might become a meal (1985, 187). In addition to classifying dogs as beneficial (be it as food or friend), they can also be considered pestilent, or as a threat. As possible carriers of rabies, dogs can be placed in “an ambiguous and paradoxical place” (Poon 2014, 316), and in times of a rabies outbreak, the classification of ‘pet’ can turn into ‘beast’, with preventive killing in the name of public health as result.

Globalization of morality and animal rights versus cultural rights

In recent years the academic focus on this topic has mostly been directed toward South Korea (Lien 2004; Kim 2008; Podberscek 2007, 2009; Tosa 2010; Oh and Jackson 2011; Dugnoille 2014). This country has been of particular interest because the dog meat discussion here took place on an international level, driven by two major sports events that were organized in South Korea. In 1981 Seoul was chosen as the host city for the Summer Olympic Games of 1988. International animal rights and animal protection organizations used this event to broach the consumption of dogs in South Korea, and under the pressure of intensive international criticism the South Korean government delegalized the practice. This prohibition did not lead to an end of the dog meat trade, it merely caused a move to the backstreets and the use of euphemisms for dishes that contained dog meat (Oh and Jackson 2011; Tosa 2010). In 2002, when South Korea hosted the soccer World Cup together with Japan, a new wave of international criticism hit the country, and again the government took measures to remove dog meat from the public area, but still the effects were meager since South Korea's citizens did not incorporate the new regulation, and even actively countered the changes. Dog meat proponents claimed that their beloved practice was being subjected to globalizing values, which threatened the national and cultural identity of the country. An insightful thought on this matter is offered by Oh and Jackson (2011). They place the consumption of dog meat in South Korea within "an interplay of global forces and local traditions" (2011, 33). The movement against the consumption of dog meat is, according to the authors, based upon Western values which are becoming more and more widespread in the process of globalization. The movement is transnational, and "promotes a universal morality, based on a Euro-American view of human-animal relations, which leaves little room for cultural variation" (Lien in Oh and Jackson 2011, 39). This 'globalization of morality' as such is manifested in the export of a Western food taboo to other countries through the activists, who are active in a transnational network. This kind of development can be seen as a form of "grassroots globalization" in which certain values are gradually reaching, and become active on, a universal level, being instigated "from below" (Lien 2004, 16). The other side of the story is that of the dog meat proponents, who relate eating dog meat to claims of cultural identity and tradition, and adhere to another globalized value, namely cultural rights (Oh and Jackson 2011, 44). They call for "the acceptance of cultural diversity" (Lien 2004, 8). As we will see later on, these claims are

also made by Indonesian dog meat proponents, but there are also many differences with the Korean situation. I will evaluate this in the fifth chapter.

Animal activism

In recent years, opponents of the dog meat trade in Indonesia have brought their arguments forward, and started campaigning against the practice. I will look at this in depth in chapter three, but I would like to use this section for a brief introduction on the topic of animal activism. Throughout this thesis I will refer to this activism as 'animal activism', not as animal rights activism, animal welfare activism or animal protection, because the activism under consideration is directed to a broad range of animal related problems.

Since the publishing of the works of the philosophers Peter Singer (in 1975) and Tom Regan (in 1983) on animal rights, animal rights and animal well-being movements have increased in number, and these movements have grown in followers (Herzog 1993, 103). Benthall also acknowledges the importance of Singer's work for the animal rights movement, as he sees this work as the original stimulant of the movement (Benthall 2007, 1). This trend of increasing interest in animal activism mainly shows up in the Western world. However in other countries around the world a growing number of people is expressing concerns about the well-being of animals (Benthall 2007; Emel and Wolch 1998). In general, there is correlation between the economic development of a nation and number of organizations working on animal rights and animal welfare topics, though this is not always the case. India, for example, has a large number of animal protection organizations, but these organizations are usually economically weak, whereas Saudi Arabia is economically strong but has hardly any of these organizations (Irwin 2003, 4). In the case of Indonesia, animal activism is still small, but growing. In 2003, Irwin stated that for South-Asian countries, "animal protection is confined to a few effective pockets or to leftovers from colonial times" (2003, 4), and he estimated that at that time there were three active animal protection organizations in Indonesia. I have not made a full inventory of the current situation, but I can say with certainty that in the past twelve years this number has at least tripled, showing a rise of interest in animal welfare, rights and protection. This rise can probably be partially explained by the expanding pet culture which strengthens a bond between human and animal and by the increasing possibilities for already existing organizations to spread their message through various social media. According to Emel and Wolch (1998) activism dedicated

to increasing animal welfare can be roughly divided into two strains. The first strain consists of wildlife and wilderness protection groups that exist within the larger environmental movement, who mainly aim at conservation of habitat and species. Regarding the second strain they write the following: “the other major arm of the animal social movement is dedicated to animal protection, specifically the protection of individual animal lives, the reduction of animal suffering, and, in some cases, the “liberation” of captive animals” (Emel and Wolch 1998, 519). Although animal activism is by the media often depicted as radical and violent, the movement is in fact “overwhelmingly non-violent” (Munro 2005, 76), and often aims at getting public attention for their cause.

Munro (2005) offers a framework for understanding the different non-violent tactics that animal activists may use, and for linking those tactics to overarching strategies. In this context strategies should be seen as the “broad organizing plans for acquiring and using resources to achieve the movement’s goals, while tactics refer to the specific techniques for implementing the strategy” (Munro 2005, 77). There are publicity strategies, subdivided in persuasion strategy and protest strategy. Persuasion strategy is achieved with certain tactics like pamphleteering, holding information stands and petitions, while protest strategy is employed by tactics like demonstrations and pickets. Next to this are the interference strategies. The first of this category is non-cooperation strategy, with tactics like civil disobedience and providing animal sanctuaries. The second is intervention strategy, with tactics such as animal rescues and undercover surveillance (Munro 2005, 78). I will use this framework as an analytical tool to understand the different tactics employed by the NGO Animal Friends Jogja in order to counter the dog meat trade. I will also look at the personal motives of the activists, because, as Munro puts it, “it is people who have objectives, rather than organizations per se” (2005, 76). As such, I think it is vital to pay attention to personal accounts and individual experiences of those active in the NGO in order to understand their perspectives, which form the cornerstone of the movement.

1.4 The study

This thesis is based on the information that I have gathered during three months of fieldwork in Yogyakarta, Indonesia. Yogyakarta is the capital of the province the Special Region of Yogyakarta. The census held in 2010 showed 388,627 inhabitants of Yogyakarta city, with a majority of 80 percent being Muslim, and the other 20 percent being mainly Catholics and

Protestants (BPS Statistics of Yogyakarta city 2013, 43 & 45). During the first month of my research I followed an intensive language course, and I mainly focused on getting to know the consumers and the restaurant owners. The second and the third month I lived at the headquarters of the NGO Animal Friends Jogja to get acquainted with the perspectives of the animal activists, and it was also in this period that I went out and visited dog butchers. The aim of my research had been to find out what the dog meat trade looks like, and to understand the motives and perspectives of those who play a role in this practice, either as proponent or as opponent. Through my fieldwork and the writing of this thesis, I want to give an answer to the following research question:

How can the dog meat trade in Yogyakarta, Indonesia be described and understood, looking at the perspectives and actions of the different actors involved and what contributions can be made to dealing with the problem(s) at hand?

I have conducted 29 semi-structured interviews with people that are in one way or another involved in the dog meat trade, be it as supporters or as opponents. I spoke to nine dog meat consumers, three dog meat restaurant owners and three dog butchers, two of whom also owned a dog meat restaurant. I did twelve interviews with eleven activists, one with an expert on the risks of dog trafficking and dog meat consumption and I also conducted a skype-interview with a government official of the section for Section for Animal Health and Veterinary Public Health of the Department of Agriculture of the Special Region of Yogyakarta. Around half of these interviews were conducted with the aid of an interpreter. I received the aid of two different interpreters. The first interpreter is Meita, she was assigned to me by Universitas Gadjah Mada from Yogyakarta. The second is the dog meat consumer Gerry, with whom I established a close friendship. He helped me with the interviews with the butchers, with one interview with a consumer and with one interview with a restaurant owner. Apart from these semi-structured interviews I have had many informal chats with pet shop keepers, animal sellers at the animal market, dog owners, tourists and members of the previously mentioned groups. These interviews form the basis for this thesis, combined with many hours of (participant) observation. I did not always participate completely, for example, I did not help with the butchering of dogs, and although I went along with consumers when they went out for a dinner containing dog meat, I did

not eat any dog meat myself. During the interviews with the consumers free-ranking and listing methods were conducted to find out about their meat preferences.

In this thesis the names of the informants have been altered to protect their identity. Only the names of the interpreters Meita and Gerry; Ina, Elly and Monique from Animal Friends Jogja; nutrition expert Professor Umar Santaso; rabies expert Dr. Purnumo and government official Anung Endah Swesta are real. When I mention prices or costs, I do this in the Indonesian currency, being the Indonesian Rupiah (IRP). The conversion rate at the time of writing is around 15,000 IRP to 1 euro. Words that are written *italic* are in Bahasa Indonesia, unless mentioned otherwise. When I use quotations by the people I spoke to, these quotations are literal in the case of an English spoken interview, or translated by Meita or Gerry in the case of an interview conducted in Bahasa Indonesian. When I talk about most of the interviewees, I address them as *Pak* (sir), *Ibu* (madam), *Mas* (young man) or *Mbak* (young woman). This is the way I would also address them when I was speaking to them directly, so I considered it appropriate to stick to this in my thesis. I have tried in this thesis to give a description of the current situation, looking at both sides of the debate. I am a vegan myself, and as such I am probably rather biased in favor of the activists, however, I tried to overcome this during the fieldwork. I did this by investing time to get to know the dog meat proponents on a personal level, which eventually led to a friendship with a dog meat consumer, and which helped me understand (although maybe not always agree with) the proponent's point of view. I have added a small appendix to this thesis, in which I will address this issue with more depth.

Chapter 2. Dog meat consumption in Yogyakarta

In this chapter I will investigate the practice of the dog meat consumption in Yogyakarta by looking at the different links in the trade and follow the dog from the moment the animal gets caught until the meat ends up on a plate and is eaten by someone. I will look at the different actors as groups, but also zoom in on the individual level, paying attention to personal motives and perceptions about dog meat. The aim here is to give a non-normative description of the practice as it currently is, and to give insight into the position of dog meat proponents. Unfortunately I have not been able to include all the relevant actors in this research. I have not spoken to dog catchers, and the group of consumers probably does not represent the broad spectrum of different people who consume dog meat. During my visits to dog meat restaurants I have not come across any tourists buying dog meat and I have not met any consumers of Chinese descent, while these people are mentioned by the restaurant owners as their clientele. As such, I do not want to make the claim that this thesis is completely encompassing. However since I selected the consumer-respondents based on a multitude of observations, the insights offered here still reflect the situation as it is on a given day in Yogyakarta.

2.1 How the dog becomes a dish.

While moving through Yogyakarta you will not see many, if any, stray dogs around. The most evident reason for this is that dogs have been caught for their meat extensively throughout the years, leading to near extinction of stray dogs in and around Yogyakarta. It is for this reason that most of the dogs that are consumed in Yogyakarta are brought in from other parts of Java. Strays are caught, hogtied and put in old plastic rice bags in East and West Java and Bali after which they are brought to a specific place from where they are sold on to traders from Yogyakarta and Solo (a city close to Yogyakarta). The dog catchers use a special tool to catch the dogs (see picture 2). Traders that come to buy dogs can purchase over 150 at once, driving in big trucks to take the load home. Not all dogs used for consumption are caught on the streets, supposedly there are some large dog farms on Java but none of the people I spoke to knew where to find those farms.



Picture 2.

The dog catchers a hollow stick of bamboo, through which they put an iron wire. The loop goes around the neck of a dog and when the wire at the end of the stick is pulled the loop closes, catching the animal.

On a smaller scale dogs are also bred in and around Yogyakarta. There are residents living in the peripheral area who have a litter of dogs around the house, and who will sell the litter when the pups are around eight months old. Per dog they can get 250,000 IRP. Another source of dog meat comes from dogs that are owned by people. When these dogs are walking freely around the house, the risk exists that they will be caught. This practice is something which leaves many dog owners scared, afraid that their pets will be taken at one point. As I found out, these dog owners can in some cases also be dog consumers. This is supported by Weichart, who writes that “despite their taste for dog meat, many Minahasa would not like to sacrifice their own dog for a delicious meal and they make an effort to prevent their dogs from being stolen” (2004, 55).

The dogs are brought to Yogyakarta in trucks. This trip can take up several days, depending on the location of the transfer. After the trucks arrive in Yogyakarta, the animals are distributed to butchers, and also the trader bringing in the dogs usually is butchering a share of these dogs himself. The killing of the dogs happens in a specific manner, which is described in the box below.

Box 2.1 How to kill a dog

The way dogs are killed is essentially the same for all three butchers that I spoke to. They all follow the same process to take the dog's life. The slaughtering process is always done by a male. The dog, with the paws tied together and still in the plastic bag, is put on a flat, stone floor. The butcher takes a bat, swings, and smashed the nose of the dog. They are aiming for the nose, because this is the most sensitive part of a dog's body. There are two reasons for hitting the dog is this way. The first reason is that the dog has been in a bag for a long time already, and the body of the animal is without energy.

Continuation of box 2.1

By hitting the dog on his most sensitive organ it is believed that the body gets an energy-boost, strengthening the meat of the dog. The second reason is that usually after the third hit, the dog passes out, which makes it easy to slit the throat.

For some dishes the blood of the dog is saved, however in most cases the blood is not used and it is regarded as waste. To drain most of the blood, the dog is hanged upside down on a hook, hanging on a cable from the ceiling. The paws are cut off, and an incision is made on the back paws and the crotch, so that the dog can be skinned. After the skin has been taken off, the skin is covered in salt, folded and put in an old oil drum. These skins will be sold for around 2000 IRP per skin to a leather factory in Solo, which is using the dog skin for manufacturing shuttlecocks for badminton, Indonesia's number one sport. Dog skin is said to be the best material for a shuttlecock, because of its flexibility. Skin which is of an exceptional quality, strong and with thick fur, might be processed as decorative fur, or as leather for a jacket. However this happens rarely since dog skin is hard to color, because it is a bit oily. For example, if the factory wants to color a dog skin, it needs at least three color baths, while for a goatskin one bath will usually suffice. Rumor has it that dog skin is being used to make krupuk, but the butchers I talked to told me that this is an urban myth.

After the skinning, the butcher cuts the good meat off, and leaves it on the side, yielding around ten kilogram per dog. The organs are going to a nearby pig farm, and the bones are used to make soup, bought by *warung* owners and by people for private use. The head is used in the East-Indonesian cuisine.

When I visited the main dog butcher, during the day almost every half hour someone would come by to purchase dog meat. Some of them purchased one kilo for their own use, others bought more, up to fifty kilos. Most of these large quantity buyers own a *lapo* (a Batak restaurant) or a different kind of restaurant where dog meat is sold. A small percentage of the people that buy a large quantity do so in order to prepare for a specific occasion, like a marriage or a family meeting.

Most of the places where dog meat is sold are called *lapo*. These are typical restaurants, with low tables and woven mats to sit on, and they are owned by Batak. Their menu is usually pretty simple, selling two or three variations on dog meat and pig meat with white rice. The menu offers *sangsang BI*, a stew of dog meat that has been simmering in the dogs blood and *sate BI* (dog meat grilled on a stick, with peanut sauce). Along with the meat, at the *lapo* you can also drink *tuak*. This is a light alcoholic beverage (around 3-5 percent alcohol). *Tuak* is also known as palm-wine, since it is mostly made from sugary palm-juice, but in Yogyakarta it is mainly made from fermented sugarcane. The drinking of *tuak* is strongly connected to eating dog meat at a *lapo*, making it a social undertaking, especially for young men.

There are also other places where dog meat is sold, without the typical features of a *lapo*. There are *angkringans* (street food-stalls with some wooden benches and a small frame covered with plastic sheets) that sell dog meat and also more settled restaurants with tables and chairs. At *angkringan* you can also find *sate BI*, but their main dish is the curry-like *sengsu*. This last dish is from Java, and Yogyakarta is somewhat famous amongst dog meat consumers for the *sengsu*. They say that if you visit Yogyakarta, you have to eat *sengsu* in order to experience Java. There are also dog meat restaurants with a Minahasa owner, offering pig and dog ‘Minahasa style’. An example is *rica-rica BI*, which is based on a very spicy Minahasa recipe with a lot of chili peppers. It is not the case that these different dishes are restricted to the kind of restaurant as described above, there are also mixed versions, where one can find dog meat in Minahasa, Batak and Javanese (and probably other) styles.

In general, dog meat is considered an evening dish, and places that sell dog meat usually only open after five o’clock in the afternoon. During dusk, a wide variety of different customers visit the places that sell dog meat. Most of the customers are Christian, but not exclusively, since Muslims also engage in dog meat consumption. The Christian consumers are from different origins, most of them are Toba Batak, Karo Batak or Javanese. Although women also eat dog, it is primarily a male activity. Women come along to the *lapo* and *angkringan*, but they tend to eat pig more often than dog. Small dog meat *angkringan* might sell around two kilos of dog meat per night, at around 150 gram per portion. The bigger ones can at one evening sell 16 kilos, which are over 100 portions.

Since the dog meat trade and consumption take place on the shady side of society, it is very difficult to give numbers about the size of the practice. When I asked informants about the amount of dog meat restaurants in town, answers ranged from five to 200. The government also states not to know the exact amount, but estimated the number to be somewhere between 100 and 150. In 2014, the activists claimed that a minimum of 360 dogs each week were imported into Yogyakarta. With an average of ten kilos of meat per dog, and 150 gram per portion this equals around 24,000 portions each week. The meat from dogs bred and caught in Yogyakarta itself should be added to this, but this amount is very unclear. Since far from all dog meat consumers consume meat on a daily or weekly basis, it can probably be said that there are at least 50,000 dog meat consumers in Yogyakarta, around 10 percent of the city’s population. This shows that

the dog meat trade and dog meat consumption in Yogyakarta, although somewhat hidden from public life, is in fact not something marginal.

2.2 Dog meat proponents

In the previous paragraph I have described in broad lines what the dog meat business in Yogyakarta looks like, and I have mentioned the different actors who take a part in this business. Here I will introduce some of these actors on a more personal level, to find out who they are, why they engage in the dog meat business and what their perceptions on this topic are. I have not spoken to any dog catchers, since this happens primarily on the flanks of the island of Java, and I did not have the possibility to travel to those areas. But I will still start at the source of the dog meat, since I visited two households where dogs are bred, to be sold for consumption after the pups have grown.

2.2.1 The breeders

Both of the households where dogs were bred had a house on the outskirts of the city. One was located on the eastern side in the area called Kalasan and the other was surprisingly close to AFJ's animal rescue shelter (only around 500 meters away). For reasons I will explain later I will not give any specific information about this location. The first breeder, Ibu Dunuk, has a small enclosure next to her house, around eight square meters, surrounded with a fence of one meter height. Next to this is their relatively large house, with next to it another small building that is used as a restaurant for dog and pig meat. Ibu Dunuk is a female pastor, and at Sundays the restaurant is turned into a church. This restaurant, a small, rectangular room, had some Christian artefacts in it and a lectern, but also had a bloody bat, and long sharp knives laying around, because the restaurant/church also serves as a slaughterhouse for killing dogs and pigs. At the time of my visit she had one mother dog tied to a pole outside the enclosure, inside the enclosure were her eight pups. These dogs did not have names, nor were they ever pet or even touched. When I tried to pet the mother dog, Ibu Dunuk was shocked, and called out her son to take a look at the spectacle the weird visitor was making. When the pups are around eight months old they will be slaughtered. The eight pups that they had are not enough to provide for all the dog meat she could sell, so she also bought dogs from traders. These dogs that she bought would still be alive, because her husband wanted to control the slaughter, and also because buying a live dog is

cheaper than buying the already cut meat. For a live dog she would pay around 26,000 IRP per kilo, whereas a kilo of cut dog meat costs approximately 60,000 IRP.

Box 2.2 A small life history of dog breeder/restaurant owner Ibu Dunuk

Ibu Dunuk is a stocky woman, 59 years old. She is laughing a lot, and invites me and my interpreter Gerry in with a broad smile. Ibu Dunuk was born in a Protestant family and has lived her whole life in this *kampung* (comparable with the English word neighborhood). She studied theology, and after she received her degree she married her husband and moved in with him. They got five children together, and since 1998 she was teaching Christian Religion at a university in Yogyakarta. In 2006 Yogyakarta got hit by an earthquake, completely destroying the house Ibu Dunuk and her family lived in. They had difficulties financing the restoration, and a financially troublesome year followed. To become financially independent, Ibu Dunuk and her husband decided to open a restaurant, selling pig and dog meat. Because of her knowledge of the bible, Ibu Dunuk argues that she can surely say that eating dogs is not a problem, and in 2008 they opened for business. After this they have been doing well for themselves, and they have been able to rebuild and expand their house, and send their children to university. They have a wide variety of customers, most of them are Christian, but also some of them are Muslim. Most customers come to eat pig meat, but dog meat is also very popular.

Even though most of their neighbors are Muslim, Ibu Dunuk and her husband have never experienced any problems related to their business. Ibu Dunuk argues that this is because the people respect each other, and also because her husband is the leader of the neighborhood, which puts him in the position where people do not want to discredit him. It is important to note here that this is the way Ibu Dunuk phrased it. It could well be possible that instead because of having respect for each other's practices, people do not interfere because they want to avoid conflict. Ibu Dunuk is not aware of any campaigns against dog meat. While she does know that dogs in other areas have rabies, she is positive that the dogs she breeds, and Javanese dogs in general, are good food and pose no threat to public health.

The second breeder had eight pups as well, who were roaming free around the house. These dogs could walk away, but did not, since they saw the place as their home base. The mother dog had given birth around six weeks ago, and was sold five weeks later for 300,000 IRP. The puppies would be sold after they were eight months old, but the breeder would keep one female to get impregnated by one of the male dogs from the *kampung*, so that the process can be repeated. Both these breeders are working on a very small scale, breeding only one litter at a time. For Ibu Dunuk breeding dogs formed a cheap, trustworthy source of dog meat, while for the other breeder it offered an (enormous) income once every year.

2.2.2. The butchers

I have spoken to three butchers, one being Ibu Dunuk's husband. He explained the procedure of killing dogs and stressed it was his task to slaughter the dogs, because it is really a man's job, while his wife is in charge of the cooking. The other two dog butchers I visited both live in the area of Ganjuran in the village Bantul. This village is located just south of Yogyakarta, and the Christian *kampung* of Ganjuran is famous (or notorious) for the availability of dog meat. On a scorching hot Tuesday morning my friend Gerry, dog meat consumer and my interpreter for the day, and me took our scooters and drove out to this place. After Gerry asked around for a place where he could buy some dog meat, we were sent to a sandy back street and after we drove up this street a bit, we saw some skinned meat hanging from a beam. This was our destination. We introduced ourselves and got permission to talk to one of the two owners. His name is Pak Andi, a 38 year old, skinny and shy man. We sat down beside a wooden building that served as a dog meat restaurant, and where another man was frying cubes of dog meat in a large pan, preparing *sate BI*.

Pak Andi has been selling dog meat for as long as he can remember, and before him his grandfather and father were in the same business. His grandfather and father would sell *sate BI* door to door, but Pak Andi expanded the business with a restaurant. Nowadays he slaughters around six dogs every day, which he buys from another man in Ganjuran for 300,000 per dog. He sells the meat of one dog in his restaurant every evening, and the rest goes to people from the neighborhood. Sometimes, when he has enough dogs to slaughter, he will also bring some meat to Yogyakarta city, to sell to the restaurants there. Pak Andi has never heard of any campaigns or criticism against dog meat. He does not consider the way he treats the dog to be cruel. Even though the dogs are tied in a bag, he still claims to take good care of the animals, since they get food and water. Also the butchering is not cruel, Pak Andi said, because the dogs are 'dizzy' after two hits on the snouts. He argues that the animals are unconscious after they get hit, and that they do not feel anything when he slits their throat. Pak Andi had to laugh, when I told him that there are actually people who strongly disagree with his business. He suspects that these people might be Islamic fundamentalists, whom are trying to stop the dog meat trade because it interferes with Islamic principles. But, and he surprised me here, Pak Andi said that actually he is a Muslim as well. He prays five times a day, and knows that the Islam prohibits the use of dog meat, or the touching of dogs for that matter, but in his perspective Allah can forgive him for his sins. He

argued that because the only thing he can do to provide an income for the ten people depending on him is the butchering of dogs and the selling of dog meat, Allah will allow his mistakes for the greater good it serves. Pak Andi is not afraid of a government-imposed ban on dog meat. He expects that even if such a ban becomes reality, Ganjuran, being a Christian *kampung*, will not be subjected to the ban. He thinks that no one in this area minds about the dog meat trade, and that a lot of the inhabitants are one way or another involved in the practice. If the ban would however still be enforced on him, he would change the kind of meat that he is selling eventually, but he is afraid that business will then be worse off, because dog meat is very popular. Pak Andi contributes this popularity mainly to the prize of dog meat, because it is the cheapest red meat available, cheaper than goat and much cheaper than beef. It does cost more than chicken, but for most of his clients this is not even considered to be meat, he said.

One day after the interview with Pak Andi Gerry and me went back to Ganjuran, because we had heard about a man that was considered the ‘boss of the dog meat trade’, and we wanted to find him. After asking around we got directions to his house. We found a large, white house, with a garage next to it. I approached the garage and looked over the gate. In the dark room, around twenty square meters, lay twenty dogs in bags. The smell of faeces and blood hung thick in the air. The dogs were all in a bag, one seemed to be dead already, another was kindly licking the face of a fellow dog. Their heads were still sticking out of the bags. There was white rice around, and a bowl with water, but most dogs had their snouts tied, so I wondered how they could eat and drink. The dogs just lay there quietly, although breathing heavily due to the heat and their confinement in a bag. The room had a half door, over which I could look into it. Some of the dogs seemed to look back at me, but other than that there was no reaction to my appearance. We called to find out if anyone was there, and found the son of the trader/butcher. His father was not around, the son said, but we could come back the next day. I was allowed to take one photograph of the dogs in the room (see picture 3). The next day we went to Ganjuran again and this time we met the butcher. Pak Dan seemed a hardened cold man, with piercing eyes. We arrived just after he had butchered today’s batch of twelve dogs, the blood still on his hands and arms. He did not trust us, he said, because the year prior to that moment, he had been subject of an undercover action by animal activists (as later turned out these were people from AFJ). During this action the activists had claimed they were students and as such had gone along with him for a couple of days, and filmed everything. Later they had used this material in an online campaign against the

dog meat trade. Luckily we could still persuade him to let us interview him, although I was not allowed to take pictures or to record the interview. Gerry and I were invited in the house, where we sat down and were served strong black coffee by the butcher's wife.



Picture 3. The storage room of butcher Pak Dan. These dogs were caught in West Java and transported to Yogyakarta. The day after I took this picture, most of them were already slaughtered.

Every week Pak Dan drives up to Tasikmalaya in West Java, where he meets the dog collectors who sell dogs to him. Each time he takes around 50 or 70 dogs for 200,000 IRP each. He wishes he could take more dogs but other traders and butchers also come to the same place, and demand is high and competition is fierce. At the point of purchase the dogs are already hogtied, and bagged, their snouts tied. When he gets home he puts the dogs in the storage room, where the dogs will remain until they are butchered or sold alive. In some cases this can take up to five or six days, depending on the demand.

Box 2.3 Life history of butcher Pak Dan

Pak Dan was born in 1960 as an only child. He says he never received any love from his parents, and tells his father was a stubborn man who often left him out on the streets. The only one who cared for him was his neighbor who on many occasions took him in and fed him. His parents were not poor, since they had a thriving chicken business, his father transported chickens to Jakarta and his mother sold meat of around 100 chickens every day, but he was not part of the family and did not share in their wealth. When Pak Dan was a teenager his parents left him in Bantul when they moved to Jakarta. At the age of 23 he married his current wife, and she told him that he should find a good job. He was at that time working as a constructor, working on building sites, but the money was not good. He knew he had to find a new job and he was thinking about this a lot. He prayed to god to help him find something, and at a point, in his dream, god answered him, saying; “tomorrow you will find your new job”. The next day, he changed his job, and he tried to sell chickens, just like his parents, but this did not become a success.

At that time he was living with his wife in a small house on a hill, looking out over Yogyakarta. He had 10,000 IRP left (which at that time was still quite a bit) and he went for a walk. During this walk he met an old man, and when the old man asked him if he wanted to buy his dog he said yes immediately. He could buy the dog for 1750 IRP. When he came home, his wife gave some food to the dog. But he was very confused. “Why did I buy this dog”, he thought. He knew his neighbor Pak Sutijo sold dog meat, so he went there and proposed to sell his dog. Pak Sutijo paid 6000 IRP for the animal. After this Pak Dan realized that he could make a lot of money selling dogs. The next day, he went around looking for more dogs, and he found two, which he caught and sold to his neighbour. This went on for a couple of months. Then when he was 25, he one day bought three dogs for 6000, and sold two to Pak Sutijo for 8000. The other dog he took home and processed himself. This was the first dog he ever killed, but it was very easy to do. He had been looking at Pak Sutijo slaughtering dogs many times, so he knew what to do. On this processed dog he made a lot of profit, and he went out looking for more dogs. Steadily his business grew, to 20, even 30 dogs a day. He would not sell anymore to Pak Sutijo but process them all himself, and sell them all that same day. His business kept on growing, and in 1985 he bought a house and built a slaughterhouse next to it, where he would process around 50 dogs a day. Soon the dogs started running out in the local area, and he had to look in other places, like Kebumen, on the border between Central Java and East Java, and later in West Java people started collecting dogs and selling them to him. He grew in status in Ganjuran, becoming a boss in the area. He bought a large motorbike, and then later a car, and another house, and a large plot of land for rice cultivation. He started giving lessons about the organs of dogs to students from UGM. In the late 1990’s he bought trucks and set up another business, selling construction materials. He extended his house and lives there with his children and grandchildren. He became a wealthy man because of the dog meat trade. He still continues the dog meat business, because the money is good and he does not see a reason to stop this source of income, however he does not depend on it anymore because his construction business and the rice cultivation generate enough income for the family.

2.2.3. The restaurant owners

As already described in the introduction of this chapter, there are several kinds of dog meat restaurants. The most common one is the *lapo*, and this name has become a synonym for a place

where one can eat dog, though in truth not all dog meat restaurants are *lapo*. *Lapo* are organized according to Batak culture, with people sitting on the ground around low tables. The first time I visited a *lapo* I went along with a student from UGM whom I had met earlier that day. He was just that evening going for some dog meat, so I went along with him. The *lapo* we went to was his favorite, because of the quality of the *sangsang B1*. The place was set on the side of the road, on a broad sidewalk, covered by large plastic sheets and closed off from the road by a large banner with the code B1 and B2 on it. There was enough sitting space for around 30 people, a small portable kitchen and an old van in which a television was placed. We sat down at one of the tables, and drank some *tuak*. Mas Ramsi, my companion for this evening, ordered his favorite dish for 14,000 IRP. Soon after he was sweating, because of the spiciness of the meat. The cook joined us for a moment, interested by the presence of a *bule* (term used to describe white people). I made an appointment for an interview with him and the owner of the place for later that week.

The owner of this dog meat restaurant is named Ibu Dita, she has had this *lapo* here since 1997. At first she only sold *tuak*, but soon she expanded her business, selling also pig and dog meat. Personally she is not a big fan of dog meat, and she hardly ever eats it herself. She prefers pig, as do most of her customers. Only 20% of the clientele comes for the B1 menu, and 80% of the eaters come for pig. She thinks that the dog meat customers come because dog meat is considered to be *jamu*, a traditional medicine to cure all kinds of health problems. Ibu Dita or her husband never slaughtered a dog themselves, they just buy the meat from a middleman, purchasing around 3 kilos per day. When they need some dog meat, they make a telephone call and the meat will be delivered to the *lapo*. Ibu Dita told me that it is very important that the dog that is cooked is a *kampung* dog, also known as *anjing Jawa* (Javanese dog, which is a synonym for a dog of mixed breeds) because they taste the best. If you would try to eat a breed dog, like a pit-bull, the taste would be disgusting, she says. Ibu Dita explained that breed dogs are only for pet keeping, and she also tells me that at home they have some dogs as pets. Surprisingly, these are not breed dogs, but *kampung* dogs, and she spoke with affection about these dogs. She would never eat them, she said, and she gave these dogs names. The reason why she can sell dog meat is that the meat comes from animals with which she does not have any emotional connection, and she can consider the dogs they are cooking as ‘just business’.

Lapo owner Pak Freddy has his restaurant just north of the Yogyakarta ring road, at a bus terminal where both regional and city busses depart and arrive. The place looks like a parking lot,

crammed with small food stalls, and surrounded by a low building, in which several restaurants are located. The air is full of smoke from the grills and the fumes coughed out by the old busses. The restaurants customers are travelers having a break, but also people coming from town by scooter. Every stall and restaurant offers its own specialty, and Pak Freddy's specialty is pig and dog meat. He has a typical *lapo*, where around twenty customers can eat at the same time. At my time of visit, it is rather quiet, with just one couple visiting. Good for me, because this means Pak Freddy has time to talk. Pak Freddy is a stout man, friendly-looking, and he speaks English pretty well.

Box 2.4 A small life history of *lapo* owner Pak Freddy

Pak Freddy was born in 1975 in Medan. Being Karo Batak, he is Protestant. He was very young when he ate his first piece of dog meat, and says that for his family it was very normal to eat dog. Sometimes they ate dog four or five times per week. It was nothing special, just another way for the family to compose a meal. When he was ten years old, he and his family moved to Yogyakarta because his father wanted to start a *lapo* in this city. While he went to senior high school, his fathered acquired a place in the vicinity of Jalan Malioboro, Yogyakarta's main street in the center of town, near the touristic area. Pak Freddy often helped in the restaurant, serving the customers and later on he also started cooking, which he really enjoyed. Often foreigners would visit, to try the 'exotic' menu that the restaurant offered, and by talking to them Pak Freddy learned to speak English. In 2007 he decided to open his own restaurant and he found a place at the northern bus terminal. At first he only sold pig meat, as this is his personal favorite, but because many customers requested dog meat, he added dog to the menu.

Pak Freddy offers a couple of meals, all based on either pig or dog meat (see picture of the menu). Although the dog meat was often requested, he earns the main share of his income by selling pig meat. He estimates that 30% of his customers come for the dog meat, and the rest for pig. His customers are from a wide variety of ethnic groups, like Chinese (who have a strong preference for pig meat), Javanese, Ambonese and also from Papua. But basically you can find anyone at his *lapo*, he said. Pak Freddy gets the dog meat from a local trader. He does not want to give me the name of the trader. "*It's not illegal, but it happens secretly ('jualan diam-diam'), people do not have a permit, so they just sell from their homes*" he explained. He pays around 60,000 IRP per kilo of dog meat, and 60,000 to 90,000 for pork, depending on the quality. Per day he sells around three to five kilos of dog meat, with one portion being around 150 gram.

Just 100 meters from Pak Freddy's place another dog meat restaurant is located. This place is significantly larger, having room for 60 people to eat simultaneously. This place does not look like a typical *lapo*, and it is owned by a Christian Javanese couple. They have a huge black and white banner with 'B1/B2' hanging from the front, but the owners told me they do not know what these codes stand for. They said that they use these codes because it attracts customers, and people just know what it means. They started the business in 2002. At other *lapo* they saw that selling dog and pig was good business and so they tried to do this as well. At first they were a bit skeptical about their chances for success, because of the Muslim majority in Yogyakarta, but in all the years since the opening they did not experience any complaints or other problems. Nowadays they serve around 200 people each evening, of which around half comes for dog meat. The woman said that she has never eaten dog meat herself, and added the following: "*I think that eating dog is disgusting, I could not eat a dog, but if other people want to eat it, it is no problem for me*". At home she has two golden retrievers, but the dogs they sell here are *kampung* dogs, and those dogs are just business for them. The couple has heard about the campaign against the dog meat trade, but they have no fear it will hurt their business. According to them, the activists have the right to their own opinion and a right to protest, but they claim to have a permit for the restaurant and are therefore not afraid for any sanctions. I later found out that specific permits for selling dog meat are not available, and that the permit to which they referred was probably a permit to keep a restaurant at that location, unrelated to the selling of dog meat.

2.2.4. The dog meat consumers

The first of all interviews I conducted during my fieldwork was with Mas Ramsi, the university student who took me along to a *lapo*. In the box below I have placed a very brief life history of him.

Box 2.5 A small life history of dog meat consumer Mas Ramsi

Mas Ramsi was born in Medan, 24 years ago. He was living with his family in a *kampung* on the outskirts of the city, where they would always have dogs around the house. Mas Ramsi remembers the following: "*At my family's house in Medan, we always had around three dogs, they get 20 puppies each year. When the puppies are around 8 months to 1 year we eat them*". When he was twelve years old, Mas Ramsi moved to Jakarta with his family. Here they did not have dogs anymore, but still ate dog meat very often, at least twice a week.

Continuation of box 2.4

When he finished his high school in Jakarta, Mas Ramsi went to Yogyakarta to study political science at Universitas Gadjah Mada. Sometimes when he gets back to his family in Jakarta or Medan, they have a big celebration and they eat a whole dog with around twelve family members, but in Yogyakarta he does not eat dog meat very often, perhaps only once or twice a month. However, dog is his favorite meat. It is the 'strongest' meat, he argues, and it helps him when he is feeling down and tired. He describes the meat as something like beef, but harder and stronger. He does not care much about the arguments of the activists. He accuses them of campaigning only in order to receive foreign funding. However, he also seems to understand that dogs can be more to a person than just a piece of meat. He says that: *"once there was a dog that I really loved, he was my friend. But then he got big and my uncle slaughtered him. I did not want to eat this dog"*.

In total I conducted interviews with nine dog meat consumers, one female and eight males. Seven of these men and the woman are Christian, either Catholic or Protestant, but two of the interviewees consider themselves Muslim. For these two being Muslim and eating dog is not mutually exclusive, even though for most other members of the Islamic community eating dogs, or even touching them, is considered *haram*, which means unholy and unclean. These two young men also like to party and to drink alcohol, and work in a bar, and even though they visit the mosque no more than three times a month, they tell me that they are devoted Muslims for whom religion plays an important part in their lives. The Islamic dog eaters are aware that others in their *kampung* would not allow this behavior and would judge them for it, which is why they consume dog in relative secrecy. They choose to eat dog, mainly because of the taste and also because of the belief that eating dog meat can heal wounds. The first time one of them ate dog meat, was when his father gave it to him because he had a large cut on his arm. After this he kept on eating dog meat every time he had a *luka* (wound) and through this it became a custom to go to a *lapo* once every month.

Two of the nine dog meat consumers actually own a dog themselves, one has a golden retriever and one other has a pit-bull. Both of them seem to be very strict about the differentiation between their own (breed) dog and dogs of a mixed breed, but also note the paradox, as one of them said that: *"... because of my dog, it is more difficult for me to eat dog. I always eat outside, to not see my dog when I eat. And I could never eat my own dog."* Although in general dog meat is seen as a specialty, something that is not consumed every day, still three interviewees ate dog more than once a week. Four others consumed dog more than once a month but not every week, and two around once a month. For most, eating dog is considered a social undertaking, to be done

with friends, and preferably family. This connotation of family seems to be strongly connected to eating dog, and many have happy memories about being together with the whole family and eating a dog. Many of the consumers still have family back in Medan or Manado, where they return to once or twice every year. This reunion is always celebrated with a large amount of dog meat. One consumer said the following about his last visit to Medan; *“always when I get home, there are my uncles and other family and my own family. We buy one dog and eat this all together, for twelve people. This means I am home”*.

2.3. Reasons for eating dog

During the interviews with the proponents of dog meat several motives for selling and buying dog meat were brought forward:

Taste

When asked about the main reason for eating dog meat, one of the interviewees answered: *“Because it is delicious! The texture is great, it is strong. In our language ‘kenyal’ (chewy). Dog is my favorite food. It is strong meat.”* This connotation of strength has been made multiple times, by several consumers and dog meat sellers. It is a double connotation, based on the meat itself, as it is very chewy, and it is also related with the idea of medicinal powers of dog meat. For most consumers however, dog meat is not their favorite meat. From free-listing and ranking exercises it showed that dog meat was considered to be the tastiest kind of meat for three of the consumers, and twice it did not even make it to the top four. The taste of beef and pork was overall more appreciated (see table 2.1). Still, the taste of dog meat is considered to be special, and every now and then, the consumers crave for this special taste.

Table 2.1 Preferences of meat

	A	B	C	D	E	F	G	H	I
Cow	1	2	2	-	2	3	1	-	1
Pig	2	1	6	4	3	1	2	-	2
Goat	5	5	4	3	4	-	-	-	-
Dog	4	3	3	1	1	2	3	3	3
Chicken	3	4	1	2	5	-	4	2	-
Duck	-	-	-	-	6	-	-	-	-
Fish	6	-	5	-	-	4	-	1	-

Table 2.1 shows the different animals used for meat that were mentioned by the nine consumers during the free listing exercise. They are ranked according to the personal preference of the nine consumers (represent by the letter A till I).

Medicine / magical powers

Five of the ten consumers claimed that eating dog meat helped them with physical problems, like quick recovery after a cut, burn or ruptured skin. Also it was said that dog meat helps against tiredness, 'feeling slow', depression, and it is thought to give a libido boost to men. When talking about dog meat, the interviewees used both the words *obat* (medicine) and *jamu* (traditional healing), but I would like to emphasize here that dog meat seems to be considered something with magical features more than medicinal ones. This is also noted by Parker in the case of Balinese dog eaters, who writes that the dog meat consumers believe that eating dog meat “confers magical prowess and sexual potency” (1991, 14).

Financial

Dog meat apparently tastes somewhat like beef, but in general it is cheaper. The kilo price of dog meat is often at least half the price of a kilo of beef (see table 2.2 for an overview), leading to also lower prices for the consumers. Since in most cases the dogs are not bred, but caught, there are no production costs that need to be covered. The animals get butchered at people's houses, not in established slaughterhouses, which also lowers the expenses. All these factors result in dog meat being the cheapest red meat available. Vegetarian meals or meals with chicken are usually cheaper, but these dishes are not always satisfactory for the interviewees. Table 2.2 shows an overview of the prices of meat in Yogyakarta.

Table 2.2 Prices of meat in Yogyakarta

Animal	Price per kilo meat (in IRP)
Cow	120,000
Pig	60,000 – 90,000
Goat	65.000
Dog	60,000
Chicken	25,000

Table 2.2 shows the prices per kilo clean and raw meat (without bones) after the animal has been butchered. These prices are based on the purchase costs of the meat when it is bought from the butcher.

Tradition/Culture

This is an important notion. Especially for those informants of Batak origin, notions of culture and tradition seem to play an important role when thinking about dog meat. Recipes and butcher

procedures are handed over between generations and eating dog has a strong connection with the places where Batak people in Yogyakarta were born and raised. Dog meat is also connected to celebrations, like marriage. One interviewee told me that for a Toba Batak marriage, the groom has to offer dog meat to his parents in law. He also said that for the celebration of the graduation of his son in Medan, dog meat was essential because without it the celebration would be an insult to his son and the guests. The cultural note is also recognizable in the names of *lapo*, which are usually in Batak, as is the word *biang* (dog) from which the code B1 is derived. Also the dog meat restaurants advertise with the origin of the owner and the style of recipes, as can be seen in the following picture.

Picture 4.



This dog meat restaurant is located on a fairly busy street in Yogyakarta. The advertising is strongly linked to the Minahasa background of the owner.

Demand

The restaurant owners and butchers make clear that they are providing the customers with dog meat, because their clientele demands it. This is connected with the financial motive, because the business provides the people working in the dog meat trade with an income.

Pestilent animal

One of the consumers sees dogs as awful animals which form a problem as stray animals, and considers eating them as a good way to get rid of them.

2.4 Concluding remarks

Dog meat consumption is not limited to specific ethnic groups or religions. Although the majority of consumers, breeders, restaurant owners, and butchers are either Catholic or Protestant, there are also Muslims who play a role in the dog meat trade. The people involved in the trade make a distinction between breed dogs and non-breed dogs, in the sense that breed dogs are not to be eaten because they are more profitable to be sold as pets and because breed dogs taste bad. The non-breed dogs are in general not regarded as pets, but there are exceptions when a non-breed dog gets named and becomes a pet animal.

Especially people from North Sumatra (Batak) seem to use the word culture (*budaya*) to describe their relation with dog meat. This notion of dog meat as part of culture seems to be strongly connected to gatherings with the extended family, coming home again after an absence and to various family celebrations.

Very important to note is the connotation of medicinal powers attributed to dog meat, mentioned by nearly all interviewees. For the interviewees dog meat is something that is not eaten every day and for most of them it is not the most appreciated kind of meat, but every now and then the dog meat consumers have a craving for dog meat. This craving is related to the special taste and the chewy texture. It appears that dog meat is primarily eaten by men, although not exclusively, since some women also enjoy eating dog, although this phenomenon is rare.

Chapter 3. “People eating dog, it really breaks my heart”

Just outside of Yogyakarta, on a semi-secret location in a small forest flanked by a river lies an old house with a large fence around it. This is the place where Yogyakarta’s troubled animals are cared for. At the back of the house there is a cage for long-tail macaques. These monkeys are placed here in a rehabilitation program. Divided over five enclosures which are located around the house, live twenty-six dogs. These dogs are all rescued from problematic situations, such as abusive homes, the mount Merapi eruption in 2010 or were taken because they got injured after an (car-)accident. The house itself is home to fifteen cats, also all saved from precarious situations. It is this place which forms the headquarters of the NGO Animal Friends Jogja. During my fieldwork, I lived for two months at and near this site, I was helping with the daily tasks, did a lot of talking with the activists, went on one rescue mission and joined two events. In this chapter I will pay attention to the reasons why the NGO was founded and by whom and I will look at the NGO's workings and strategies. I will also approach the activists on a more personal and individual level, looking into their motives for becoming active in the movement and their perspectives on the human-animal relation.

3.1 The NGO Animal Friends Jogja

AFJ was founded in early 2010. Six inhabitants of Yogyakarta decided to team up and help the animals in need in and around the city. Five of the founders are Indonesian nationals and one is Australian/Dutch, although at that time she was already living in Yogyakarta for ten years. All these six people felt frustrated about the confrontation with animal suffering, and the lack of possibilities do to something about it. They figured that they needed to establish a possibility to tackle the problems within the human-animal relations that they encountered around them, and as a result Animal Friends Jogja was born.

Initially the organization’s goal was to set up educational programs to inform people about animal welfare and via this route decrease animal suffering, but when in November 2010 the volcanic mount Merapi, located around twenty kilometers north of Yogyakarta, erupted, immediate care for animal victims was needed. In the first couple of weeks after the eruption several wounded cats and dogs were rescued from the disaster site, and brought to the house of a friend of one of the founders. However, soon a more durable place was needed. At that time two of the founders owned a house in the periphery of the city, which they had acquired in order to

make it their home, but they decided that it would be more beneficial to make it a place where the animals could be taken care of. Preparations were made, and the animals were moved to this new place.

Now, nearly five years later, AFJ is an established NGO. Apart from the six founders, there are six staff-members, of whom three people are working at the headquarters every day. One of the staff members is in charge of coordinating the volunteers, another takes care of the financial administration, and one is mainly occupied with taking care of the monkeys. However, all of them also carry the responsibility for the wellbeing of the animals that live at the headquarters. In their flyer, AFJ emphasizes that this place is not a shelter, where animals are just taken in, but that instead AFJ tries to help people keep their pet by providing advice, training and equipment. So this place is more a last resort option for the more severe cases. AFJ is supported by a lot of volunteers, the majority being of Indonesian origin, but occasionally also by foreigners that give a helping hand for various amounts of time. During my stay I did not get to know all of the volunteers, but I can surely say that the number of volunteers that make a non-financial contribution exceeds twenty per month.

Mission, strategies and tactics of AFJ

Following Munro (2005), I make a distinction between the strategies and the tactics of the NGO. The strategies consist of the broader plans, while the tactics form the means to achieve these plans (Munro 2005, 77). To give an example, the NGO's strategy in the 'stop dog meat campaign' would be to get the government to implement a ban. The tactics to achieve this come in many varieties, such as a petition, demonstration, undercover action and more. I will elaborate on this when I cover the campaigns of AFJ.

The NGO consists of a formally required executive board, consisting of the six founders, with one of them functioning as the director of the NGO. The organization aims to be non-hierarchical, meaning that not only the founders make the decisions, but that also the staff and the volunteers get a say in the policymaking, On the website of Animal Friends Jogja (2015) the people active for the NGO describe themselves and their mission as follows:

We are simply friends who share similar views on treating non-human animals with the respect and compassion they so rightly deserve. Including the right to live free from

unnecessary suffering and exploitation. We are simply friends who support sustainable living in balance and with respect of humanity's symbiotic relationship with the Earth's natural cycles and ecology. We are simply friends who are small in number and resources but always take these challenges on with a lot of heart.

The main aim of Animal Friends Jogja is to decrease animal suffering as much as possible. This is done both in a direct and in an indirect manner. First I will discuss the direct methods, which always involve (physical) contact with the animals themselves. It often starts with a rescue mission; the NGO is called by someone who has come across an animal in need, for example a cat that has been hit by a car, and the activists move out to the location of this cat. The cat is taken to either the headquarters, or to a place called 'the cat house'. The cat house is the residence of two of the founders, and home to over 30 cats. The cat will receive medical care and vaccines. Once the animal has recovered he or she will be sterilized and put up for adoption. Until a fitting adoption home is found, the animal will receive food and daily care at one of the two locations. As already pointed out above, these locations are kept secret from the general public. This is done for two reasons, namely that the activists want to avoid the risk of becoming a place where animals are dumped, because they do not have the capacity to take care of this, and secondly because there is a risk of dogs getting stolen to be sold either for food purposes or as pets. Apart from sterilizing rescued animals, AFJ also runs a spaying and neutering program in cooperation with a veterinarian clinic, and people can come to have their pets sterilized for a small fee. This is done to control the animal population in a non-harmful way, and aimed at a decrease in the number of strays.

Indirect tactics employed by the activists are the lobbying for legislative change, demonstrations, education programs, petitions, investigations and creating awareness through legal graffiti, posters, banners, stickers, social media and other media, so through tactics in which there is no physical contact with the animals, but which also have as their goal to reduce suffering of animals.

Campaigns

The campaigns are often a combination of the implementation of direct and indirect tactics. These tactics are all focused on a specific aspect of the human-animal relationship that the activists

consider to be problematic. Currently running campaigns, apart from the ‘dogs are not food’ campaign, are directed towards dancing monkeys, dolphin circuses and shark finning. Below I give a brief overview of these three campaigns:

Dancing monkeys

The aim of this campaign is to put a stop to the use of monkeys (long-tail macaques) as entertainment in the streets of Yogyakarta. The monkeys are trained to dance, often with a mask on, in order to earn some money for their owner. The monkeys are tortured in the teaching process, often their canines are removed, and they spent their lives on a chain, without having the chance to socialize with members of their own kind. This practice has been recognized by the government as ‘animal cruelty’, and as such monkeys have already been confiscated and put in the AFJ rehabilitation program, in which they (re)learn how to behave in a group and how to find food. Although at the moment the number of reports about *topeng monyet* (dancing monkeys) is decreasing, in Yogyakarta there is still at least one place where the practice takes place nearly every day. This is at a busy crossroads on the eastern side of town.

In Jakarta the practice has been completely banned by the local government. This ban included compensation for the people depending on the dancing monkeys for their livelihood. These people either received funds to start up a new business, or they were given instruments with which they could start a new profession, such as a *becak* (a bicycle taxi) or sewing machines. The aim of AFJ is to achieve this in Yogyakarta as well. This solution of compensating the supporters of the practice is also important when considering the dog meat trade, but I will come to that later.

Dolphin circus

Indo-pacific humpback dolphins are caught in the ocean and used in traveling marine circuses, which move around the Indonesian archipelago to entertain visitors. The dolphins are kept under poor conditions, and often develop both mental and physical problems. This campaign consists of an education program, which tells people the story of the dolphins that are caught, and through this the activists hope that people will refrain from visiting circuses that use dolphins. Furthermore there is a program in cooperation with Jakarta Animal Aid Network which aims to confiscate dolphins and to release them back into the ocean.

Shark-finning

This campaign is mostly directed towards restaurants and hotels in Yogyakarta where shark fin soup is offered to the guests. The activists claim that with shark finning fishermen are catching sharks, cutting off the fins, and throwing the rest of the shark back into the ocean, where they will die, if this did not already happen. The sharks caught are mainly blue sharks, silvertip sharks and dusky sharks. Apart from the obvious suffering involved for the individual animal, there is something larger at stake here, since the shark is the top predator of the oceans, and its absence would disturb the whole marine ecosystem. The method used to challenge shark-fin retailers is naming and shaming, which seems to be quite effective because the targets are mostly top end restaurants and hotels. Although there is an international campaign against shark finning, AFJ operates on the local level, and is not connected to the international campaign.

A previous campaign has been directed to dog fighting, and success was achieved since the government illegalized dog fighting. This has not stopped the practice completely, but the activists argue that the ban has led to a significant decrease in the number of dog fights being organized in the Special Region of Yogyakarta.

Partners

Animal Friends Jogja has a close working relation with Jakarta Animal Aid Network (JAAN). This NGO has been active in Indonesia since 2008, when it was founded by three non-Indonesian women, and has grown rapidly ever since. According to Ina, one of AFJ's founders, the people running AFJ have learned tremendous amounts about how to actually go about establishing and maintaining an animal rights and welfare oriented NGO. Apart from the initial support and advice, JAAN and AFJ are working together on a number of projects. Furthermore, JAAN currently supports AFJ with a full time employee, who is paid by JAAN to take care of the macaques at AFJ. Other partners are Garda Satwa Indonesia (GSI) and Bali Animal Welfare Association. These partnerships are less intensive than with JAAN. An outcome of a collaboration between these organizations and AFJ is a flyer on the shared perspectives about the dog meat trade. This flyer is written in Indonesian, and explains in few short points the position the organizations take towards the dog meat trade in the country.

Finance

AFJ is mostly dependent on gifts from private parties. Every month the NGO needs around 30 million IRP to be able to sustain their daily tasks. The main share of this money comes from monthly donations from dedicated sympathizers, all of them inhabitants of Indonesia. There are also money collection boxes placed at ten places in the city. These boxes are placed at strategic points, such as vegan restaurants and at places that are frequently visited by foreign tourists. These boxes generate around one million IRP each month. On top of this there is some foreign contribution from the Australian NGO Animal Aid Abroad, which supports the monkey rehabilitation program with 500 Australian dollars each month. Other income is generated by selling AFJ merchandize, like t-shirts with the print 'dogs are not food' online, and at the 'Hey You'-shop in the touristic area of Yogyakarta. This shop is owned by one of the activists and a share of five percent of the revenue from this shop is directly donated to AFJ.

3.2 Becoming an animal rights activist

In this and the coming paragraphs I want to zoom in on the individual experiences, motives, perceptions and perspectives from the activists in order to understand why and how they joined the animal rights movement, and to get to know the people that are involved in this movement on a more personal level.

Many of the activists mentioned one specific event that worked as a catalyst for becoming active in favor of animal welfare. An example of this is given by AFJ cofounder Monique. She told me that one day she came across a dog that was hogtied (which means the paws are tied together) and lay next to the road. This dog was only around six months old and was crying out loudly. When she enquired at the nearest house, Monique found out that this dog was supposed to become tomorrow's meal, and that the animal had been tied up because the owners were afraid to get bitten. She asked them if they could just let the dog stay on a leash this last day of his life, to lessen its anxiety and fear, but they could not be moved. She then wanted to file a complaint about animal abuse, but there was no place or organization to do this, and she found out that there was actually not much she could do about the situation. This left her feeling very desperate, but it turned out to be the event that led to the founding of AFJ:

I felt so bad walking away, I could not sleep. And then it happened that I went to an

exhibition couple of days later and I saw Ina there, and we talked about that (the case of the dog), and she said 'let's do something about it, I've got some friends who are interested in helping.

Social media are important tools for AFJ to reach out to potentially interested newcomers. Especially through Facebook current AFJ volunteers have found out about the existence of AFJ, but also Twitter and the AFJ website are vital ways for the NGO to communicate with the broader public. It is through these channels that the 'new' activists hear about the possibility to contribute to animal welfare in an organized setting. However, the idea of putting effort in helping animals is not new to most of them. As could maybe be expected, the majority of the people involved in AFJ already did have prior experiences and relations with animals before deciding to take part in the NGO. Many did have animals around them when growing up, and tell stories about feeling upset after being confronted with an animal that was suffering. This upset feeling drove them to do small things for the animals in their local environment, such as, for example, feeding the street cats or taking in a litter of stray puppies. They often acted alone in this, and could not count on support from the people around them. This initial lack of support made it hard for the activists to find a satisfying way to deal with the problems that animals around them were suffering from, so they tried to expand their horizon by looking for like-minded people. This trajectory is more or less similar for the founders of the NGO and for the younger activists, with the difference that the latter had an easy accessible, already existing structure which was created by the founders with whom they could team up. For the founders, the situation was a bit different, since they first had to create this structure themselves.

But this trajectory does not apply to all the activists. For some of them the concept of having an animal friend was unknown to them before they got involved with AFJ. They followed other trajectories, for example going along with a family member and slowly getting to know the animals at the AFJ. One activist started as staff, because she needed a job. Gradually she was introduced to the concept of animal welfare, and at a certain point she was convinced by the arguments of the other activists. I will end this section with a life history of one the cofounders of AFJ.

Box 3.1 Life history of AFJ cofounder Ina

Ina was born in North Sumatra, in a small village around 80 kilometers from Medan, but since her father was working in projects of large companies, the family would move around a lot. Early in life Ina established a strong bond with the dogs that they kept as pets, and because of the frequent moving she could not always keep her friends, but she could keep her dogs. She recalls that, when she was eleven, she and her brother were at a wedding ceremony where pigs were to be slaughtered and that she and her brother tried everything they could to stop the butchers from taking the pigs. Her family would always eat a lot of meat, with meat being the main part of the dinner each day. When Ina was seventeen she moved to Yogyakarta to study architecture. Here she had an eye-opening experience;

When I went to Jogja [Yogyakarta], like the first week, I was very happy, because I could ride my bicycle; this was not possible in Jakarta. I went to the market, because I was living with my aunt, and I wanted to buy a chicken so she could cook the chicken for me. I went to the chicken section, and then there was this horror in front of my eyes. I never before went to a traditional market, always to a supermarket. I saw flying chickens half dead, still quacking, and the chicken seller put them in a drum with boiling water, to get rid of the feathers. She did not kill them properly, she had to be fast, 'they will die anyway'. That was my turning point, at that very second. I cannot eat meat anymore, not just chicken, because I thought, if they do this to chickens, what about cows? They are bigger, chickens are easier to handle than cows, what do they do to the cows? And I went outside and my eyes were wide open, and I saw these horses [horses with a carriage], and I thought, why! Poor horses! Things I never saw before. Since that day I could not eat meat anymore.

Soon after this she went home to her parents, and told them that from now on she did not eat meat. Her father was shocked, and worried about her mental health. He took her to a 'shrink' and to a priest to cure her of this madness, but this did not have any effect on Ina. At this point she did not yet know about the concept of vegetarianism, she just knew she did not want to be responsible for the killing of animals. A little while later she became acquainted with the punk scene in Yogyakarta, and there she met a guy who was a vegetarian. With him she would investigate the world of animal rights, vegetarianism and later also veganism, through magazines a Spanish friend had brought for them. Two years later she moved to a house her dad had built for her and her brother. Soon they had nine dogs around, and they kept on getting more dogs, because people knew that they liked dogs and would always tell them if they saw a distressed or wounded dog somewhere. At this point Ina had to work three different jobs in order to be able to cover all the costs that came with the dogs. Around this time she met Monique at an art opening, and Monique told her the story of the dog she had seen. They talked about animal suffering in Yogyakarta, and from this they concluded that "...it was clear that you cannot do anything, you cannot rely on anybody, you have to rely on yourself. So okay, let's start something". And so the NGO was founded. Soon after this Ina and her husband built a house almost next to the NGO's headquarters. In and around their house live around thirteen cats and six dogs. Many of these animals are problematic cases, like a very young litter of kittens without the mother, a paralyzed cat called Sam and a tiny dog with a damaged nervous system. Taking care of these animals takes up Ina's whole day, but she likes it. The animals are her children, she says.

3.3 Being an animal activist

In the previous paragraph I have paid attention to how and why the involved individuals came to join the animal rights movement. Now I will try to describe what it means to be an animal activist. My aim here is not to describe the ‘typical Yogyakarta animal activist’ because this would do injustice to the great variations between all the individuals involved. Some traits however are shared between a substantial number of activists. For example, most of the volunteers involved are female and of an age between 18 and 26 years and either university students or alumni. The six founders are of the generation before the most volunteers, five of them are female, and one is male. The activists come from a wide variety of backgrounds in terms of religion and ethnic origin. I only found this out because I asked them about it, but it seems these features do not play a role in the interactions between the activists. There are activists with a Batak background, activists of Javanese origin and also others. The religions mentioned were: Christian (both Protestant and Catholic), Islam, none, and a ‘*belief in nature and the animals*’. At the headquarters there is small praying room for Muslims, but there is only one activist who frequently makes use of this facility.

The activists’ diets range from eating meat, to being a pescetarian (eating milk products, eggs and fish), to vegetarian (not eating meat and fish) and also veganism. Vegans can be described as “people who object to the use of nonhuman animal products for food, cosmetics, clothing, and vivisection - virtually all invasive activities involving nonhuman animals” (McDonald 2000, 1). Many of those who are not vegetarian or vegan, say that they are in the process of changing this, but that it is something that they need to do step by step. For example, one activist stopped eating cow, but still eats chicken and fish, and she is working towards not eating meat at all. Also it is brought forward that for a student it is hard to be a complete vegetarian, because it is not always easy to find a suitable meal for a low price. It seems that all the activists have thought about their food consumption pattern. One of them says she is a pescetarian because her blood type does not allow for a diet without animal protein. When she was a vegetarian, she got anemia and her doctor advised her to at least eat some fish every now and then. She makes clear that for her fish are in fact an animal like any other, but that she does not want to jeopardize her health and chooses fish because she thinks that perhaps fish suffer less when they are killed, in comparison to mammals or birds.

(Daily) Tasks

Running a sanctuary is hard work. The animals need to be fed twice daily, many need medical care and the place needs to be kept clean. Together with the financial issues, these tasks are performed by staff members. Every day there are at least three paid staff members present at AFJ's headquarters. On most days, but especially in the weekend, volunteers drop by. These volunteers take care of the 'extras', such as dog walking, grooming and petting, as well as supporting the staff where needed. There is no real division between being a staff member or a volunteer, as staff also comes in on days when they do not have to work, and at that moment they contribute as a volunteer. This clearly shows the personal involvement of the staff in the organization and the wellbeing of the animals.

Apart from these daily tasks there are also events that need preparation. An example of this is the market, which was held at the headquarters. At this market basic foods such as rice and coconut oil were cheaply offered to the poorest households living in the surrounding *kampung*. Through this market, the activists got a chance to explain their presence and talk about animal welfare. Another purpose of the market is to support the local community, and create a positive relationship with the people living in the neighborhood of AFJ's base.

When the NGO was founded in 2010, the founders did not expect the organizational growth spurt that would occur. The impact of this growth on the personal life of those involved has been tremendous. Most connotations are positive, however in terms of social contact and having time for other occupations the NGO has taken a toll on the personal freedom of the activists. Monique makes clear that AFJ got bigger than she could ever have imagined, and that it is hard to combine the efforts it takes to run the NGO with her busy personal life.

Philosophy / world view from the individual activists

A generally expressed philosophy towards the treatment of animals was that animals deserve to have the chance to live a good life and that they should not be subjected to human inflicted suffering. The animals are regarded as individual beings, who are capable of experiencing pain, happiness, loneliness, and other emotions. This capability of suffering entitles them to rights. Although these rights are not specifically described, their main aim is to prevent suffering.

When I asked them about it, it became clear that not all activists consider themselves an

activist. One volunteer at AFJ said: “*why would I be an activist, if I just help an animal, for me it is normal.*” Others expressed this sense of self-evidence about making a contribution to animal welfare, but also note that they, the activists, are different from the majority in society. This expressed feeling of being different from most people came forward in many talks I had with the activists. Although it was hard for the interviewees to describe this sense of difference, often a negative remark about the ‘other’ people was connected to it. These other people are not by definition dog meat consumers, but in general other members of society who do not take much, if any, precautions in relation to animal welfare. Several activists called people who eat meat selfish and arrogant, and blamed them for causing a lot of harm to the animals and the environment, without caring about it. Others were milder, stating that animal abuse is mainly due to the lack of knowledge of many people. An activist said about these people: “*they are uneducated about animals’ emotions, which is why they do not know about the pain they are causing*”.

Some of the activists seem to navigate between moral standards and their own personal choices. At a certain point these standards and choices are overlapping, but this is often a gradual process in which the activist learns more about the moral standards from the other activists, through which the personal choices are adapted. This is visible in the changing diets of the activists, growing to a situation in which more and more food sources become taboo. Two of the activists draw the line at eating dog, and consider other meat to be acceptable, if this meat comes from animals classified as livestock. Another activist however said that “*a life is a life, all kinds of meat are equally bad*”, and most others seem to agree with this. The moral standards are not only provided by the other activists, they can also be based on knowledge gained through other channels, prior experiences, they can be ‘self-made’, and even be based on something seemingly random, like a song text. For example, one of the activists eats fish, because in a song of her favorite band it is mentioned that fish do not have feelings¹.

3.4 Concluding remarks

The activists are a very heterogeneous group of people, but they share a common aspiration, which is to decrease suffering amongst animals as much as possible. This common goal got the

1. The song referred to here is *Something in the way* from Nirvana. Indeed in this song the following lyrics are sung: “...But it's okay to eat fish. ‘Cause they don't have any feelings” (source is my own booklet from the Nirvana album *Nevermind*, published in 1993).

activists together, and was the reason for the founding of the NGO. In the five years since its foundation it has and will continue to combat several problematic aspects of human-animal relations by using various strategies and tactics of animal activism. The approach to the use of these methods is twofold; it is directed to helping animals in a direct way, for example through rescue missions and the monkey rehabilitation program. The second strain of tactics the activists are applying are targeting the problematized human-animal relation in an indirect manner, namely through education programs, lobbying and the spreading of information online and through leaflets.

It has become clear that there are multiple ways to becoming an activist, but in many cases a shocking confrontation with animal suffering worked as a catalyst for getting involved in the animal cause. Being an activist means that the relation with animals is critically evaluated, which, amongst others, leads to discussions and evaluations of consumption patterns. This then has as a result that most activists in one way or another avoid certain or all animal products for their diet.

Chapter 4. The ‘dogs are not food’ campaign

This chapter is dedicated to the ‘dogs are not food’ campaign from the NGO Animal Friends Jogja. I will look at how the campaign is implemented and executed. Part of this is an assessment of the strategies and tactics which are employed to reach specific goals. In this chapter I will also set out the activists’ argumentation against the dog meat trade, and elaborate on the problematic aspects of this trade as recognized by the activists. I will furthermore pay attention to the different perspectives of both the activists and the dog meat proponents on the campaign and on each other.

4.1 The campaign

In April 2014 the collaborating NGOs Animal Friends Jogja, Garda Animal Indonesia and Jakarta Animal Aid Network launched a campaign called ‘dogs are not food’ against the dog meat trade. Several Indonesian celebrities attended the event, speaking out their support for the campaign. The campaign has a national focus, but also plays on the regional level. In Yogyakarta AFJ uses several tactics in pursuing a decrease in the number of dogs ending up as meat, with a complete ban as the ultimate goal. There is an education program, and information is spread through (social) media and pamphlets. AFJ cofounder Elly said the following about the aim of the ‘dogs are not food’ campaign: *“it is our goal to raise awareness about this matter and to show people the cruelty involved and the public health issues within the dog meat trade. We want the slaughtering of dogs to become illegal.”* The spearhead of the campaign is the contact with government officials, since it is mainly through government interference that the activists want to target the dog meat industry. The aim is that this happens through the implementation and enforcement of a ban on dog meat in Yogyakarta. This tactic is slowly proving to become effective, with the local provincial government now looking at the possibilities for prohibiting dog meat. In 2014 two activists from AFJ conducted an undercover surveillance. In this case the activists pretended to be students, interested in the dog meat trade. They went along with a butcher, and were allowed to videotape and photograph the whole process, from collecting the dogs in West Java till the butchering itself. This often very graphic footage has been used to support the campaign, and to corroborate the claims of the unhygienic circumstances and the animal abuse in the dog meat trade.

Picture 5.



This is the front of a leaflet, distributed by AFJ, GSI and JAAN. The picture of the dogs is taken during the undercover surveillance and shows the dogs during transport. This image is used by the NGO's to inform the public about the cruelty connected to the dog meat trade.

Apart from this undercover action, the activists do not seek much contact with proponents of the dog meat trade, and their campaign seems to be more focused on the general public than on the proponents themselves. In case a dog meat consumer is a relative or friend of one of the activists, the consumer is challenged in his or her choice to eat dog. One activist said that she got her friends who ate dog meat in touch with her own dogs, and that in this way her friends learned about dogs from a whole different perspective, which in the end led them to stop eating dog meat. Also Ina emphasized that *“people stop eating dogs because they get to know dogs, as friends”*. However, there is no real direct way to reach out to other dog meat consumers. Several reasons for this were mentioned; one being the fear to become a public enemy, and getting into problematic situations that could become threatening to the activists. The second reason mentioned is that the activists are short of people to actually visit the places where dogs are eaten, because it is a very time consuming method. Some activists also said that they find these places so horrible they do not want to go there, because they do not want to be confronted with dog

meat.

When asked about other meats, the activists explained that most of those animals are in problematic situations as well, and that they also suffer. At this point, however, the focus is on the dog meat trade, because of its exceptional cruelty and because there is a chance of achieving success. As Monique puts it: *“you have to pick the fights you can actually win”*. Here she is emphasizing that other animal species do also deserve to be helped, but that the Indonesian society is not at all ready to give up chicken, while the activists expect that a ban on dog meat will probably be achieved sometime in the near future.

So why is it so important that the dog meat trade gets banned? The activists have formulated several reasons as to why the dog meat trade is problematic. I will explain and discuss these reasons here:

Animal suffering

The activists' main argument against the dog meat trade is the suffering of the dogs. In the case where dogs are bred for their meat, the conditions under which this happens are usually very poor. If the dogs are caught from the streets, this happens with force which often leaves the dogs with injuries. The activists also claim that some dogcatchers poison dogs with strychnine (rat poison). Dog catchers use this poison to kill dogs which they cannot easily catch. The catchers feed the dog some tainted meat, after which the dog will die a quick, but painful death. The dog catchers will take the dog from the street and immediately remove its stomach in order to prevent the strychnine from spreading through the dog's body. In most cases however, the dogs will be caught and transported alive, hogtied, snouts tied and put in a bag. During the undercover surveillance conducted in 2014, the activists collected footage which showed that once the dogs are in the bags, they are tossed around and thrown on and off the transportation vehicle. The dogs do not receive much food, if any, and are rarely provided with water. Even if water is provided, the dogs have problems drinking from it because their snout is tied. It happens that dogs do not survive the long transport in the warm climate, or that they die due to exhaustion or dehydration during the time that they are stored, which can last for several days. The final issue is that the activists state that the slaughtering process is exceptionally cruel, since the dogs get tortured before they are killed by men who are neither willing nor capable of killing the dog in a way which aims to limit the suffering involved.

Risks for human health

As described in the previous chapter, many of the dog meat proponents claim that dog meat inhabits medicinal/magical powers. But, in fact this claim is not supported by any scientific research. According to Professor Umar Santaso, who is the head of the Nutrient and Food Study Center of Universitas Gadjah Mada, dog meat does not have exceptional nutritional values when compared with other kinds of meat (Sigi Investigasi 2015). What is proven however, is the risk that the dog meat trade and consumption of dog meat poses for human health (Ekanem et al. 2013; Adiani and Tangkere 2007). Since the dog meat trade is unregulated, there are no health requirements and checks regarding the physical state of the dogs. Also there are no hygienic guidelines for the processing of the meat. The danger here consists of zoonotic diseases. Zoonotic diseases are diseases that can be transmitted between animals and humans and infect both animals and humans. The unhygienic and poorly facilitated butchering circumstances increase the risk of the transmission of zoonotic diseases. The main health threat related to the dog meat trade is an outbreak of rabies in Yogyakarta. The city has been declared rabies-free since 1997, but in West Java the disease is still occurring. Since the majority of the dogs meant for consumption are being transported from the western flank of Java to Yogyakarta, Dr. Putut Purnomo, who is a veterinary epidemiologist and an expert on this topic, considers the risk of an outbreak to be imminent. Although so far no cases of rabies have occurred in Yogyakarta, the doctor states that *“we are just waiting for an outbreak to happen, with possibly many deaths as result”*. This threat is also recognized in other parts of Indonesia (Adiani and Tangkere 2007). During January and February 2015 a rabies outbreak occurred in West Kalimantan, resulting in the death of at least 18 people (CIVAS 2015). According to Dr. Purnomo this outbreak is a direct result from the dog meat trade. Research in Nigeria has also linked the dog meat trade to multiple rabies outbreaks in that country (Ekanem et al. 2013).

If a rabid (infected with rabies) dog is transported to Yogyakarta, the disease can spread quickly to other dogs in the same truck. Because rabid animals are highly aggressive, the chances of a dog biting a human are high, in which case the rabies will be transmitted to this person. Other ways through which humans can contract rabies is if any body fluid of an infected dog gets in contact with a person's eyes, mouth, nose or ruptured skin. Because the rabies virus dies at a relatively low temperature (around 60 degrees Celsius), and dog meat is prepared at higher temperatures, Dr. Purnomo considers the risk for consumers to contract rabies by eating meat to

be zero, but there are other zoonotic diseases, such as leptospirosis (Weil's disease) and trichinosis, which can humans can contract by eating infected meat. Another health risk for humans is the intake of parasites, such as hookworms, roundworms and heartworms. In severe cases these parasites can be the cause of death.

Classification

As pointed out in the introduction according to the Indonesian law dogs are not livestock animals. Another classification which is emphasized by the activists is that they see dogs as companion animals, and that these animals do not fall in the category of food at all. The activists have made stickers and t-shirts with the text: 'dogs are not food', and portray the consumption of dogs as something disgusting and highly immoral. When taken literally the statement 'dogs are not food' can be challenged by reasoning that dog meat does in fact have nutritional value, people can eat it, and as such can be considered food. However, the activists' semantics aim at excluding dog meat completely from the category of edible substances.

Societal unease

Another argument brought forward by the activists is the societal unease the dog meat trade supposedly causes. In a flyer, produced by the three collaborating NGOs AFJ, JAAN and GSI, it is written that in the last couple of years a growing number of Indonesian citizens reaches out to these NGOs with reports about to the dog meat trade related issues. People report the theft of their pets and abductions of strays to the activists and others say that they are distempered by the loud screams from dogs which are being butchered. According to the flyer, these reports are often accompanied by a request to the activists to undertake action to stop the practice.

Tourism

Another problem that is addressed by the activists is that the dog meat trade and consumption has a negative impact on the tourism in the city of Yogyakarta. The activists base this argument on stories about people who were not willing to visit the city, because they did not want to be confronted with dogs on the menu. From talks to restaurant owners however, I have learned that there is also a category of tourists that are attracted to the possibility to consume dog meat, and who visit dog meat restaurant to try an exotic dish. But, looking at the general tendency of dog

meat being a taboo in western societies, this point of the activists should not be discarded. Most of the tourists that I spoke to were not aware of the fact that dog meat is consumed in Yogyakarta, or in Indonesia for that matter, so for them it did not influence their decision to visit the country, but it was clear that hearing about the practice did generally shock them. After learning about the practice, however, some of them feared for eating dog meat unknowingly, and seemed rather doubtful about ordering meat at a street food stall again. This shows the reluctance of these tourists to be confronted with this practice, and as such it can be argued that the dog meat trade can indeed have a negative influence on the number of tourists choosing Yogyakarta and Indonesia as their travel destination.

The points mentioned above are all stated by AFJ as an organization. When talking to the activists other arguments came up. One of the activists said that for him personally his religion also plays a role: because dogs are *haram*, they should not be eaten. Another said this regarding the topic of dog meat consumption: *“It does not fit in our society, in Jogja [Yogyakarta] dog meat eating is not culture or tradition, it comes from other parts, we should not tolerate it in our society”*.

Although two individual activists do in fact mention culture and religion, for the NGO these themes are not a topic in the debate, stressing that the campaign has no ethnic or religious motives whatsoever. As said before, the activists do not form a homogeneous group, and this is also true when only regarding ethnic origin or religion. For AFJ the need to stop the practice has nothing to do with ethnicity or religion, but it is something that needs to happen to protect animals from more harm, whilst also decreasing human health risks.

4.2 How the activists perceive the dog meat proponents

An idea about the dog meat proponents that all the activists seem to share is that these people are not (yet) educated. The meaning of this is twofold. Firstly, the consumers are simply not aware of the way that the dogs are treated, and the animal suffering involved in the trade, and more importantly, they and the other proponents are not aware of the health risk eating dog meat poses. Secondly, the activists say that the dog meat proponents do not know about the compassionate capacities of dogs, about their loyalty and friendliness, and about their capacity to experience emotions like loneliness and feelings like pain.

Some other statements about dog meat proponents go further, saying that the people supporting the dog meat trade are heartless, brutal, criminal and evil. It is also brought forward that what the proponents call their tradition, is in fact not a tradition at all, certainly not in Yogyakarta.

4.3 How the proponents perceive the activists

Since most of the proponents of dog meat had never heard of the existence of a campaign against the dog meat trade, I had to explain to them what the campaign entails, and after this I asked them for their opinion on the matter. Some of the proponents could not take it seriously, and they thought that I was giving them a hypothetical case. *“What, here in Jogja? I think it is just for fun if they protest”* a *lapo* owner said. He was not the only one who expressed no fear for change invoked by any campaign, since they consider their business to be legitimate, and are not confronted with complaints.

When I asked Pak Freddy, another *lapo* owner, if he knows about campaigns held against the dog meat trade, he confirmed that he has heard about this. Online he came across a petition for banning dog meat all over Indonesia, but about any action in Yogyakarta he has never heard. He really would not mind, he said, if dog meat would be banned. For his business it would not be a disaster, since he can make a fine living just by selling pig meat. Often the dog meat he gets is of fairly poor quality. He sells it anyway, but he makes nicer dishes with pork, and enjoys cooking pork more. Freddy also said that he could kind of understand the activists and he portrayed them as passionate dog lovers.

Two other proponents said about the activists that they are probably Islamic fanatics, using the animal welfare as a method to push their religious agenda forward. This notion is perhaps understandable, since on the 18th of February 2015 in West Java fifteen illegal slaughterhouses where dog and pigs were slaughtered, were raided by the *Front Pembela Islam* (Islamic Defenders Front). Their statement was that illegal activities were going on, since the Act Animal Husbandry and Animal Health 2009:18, Art.66:2 was violated (see introduction), and that the forbidden meats (dog and pork) were also mixed with beef (Ruqoyah and Hamzah 2015). The activists are also criticized of hypocrisy, a dog meat consumer said about the activists that *“they eat chicken I am sure, and what is the difference?”* This view is, as the quotation shows, based on the idea that it is just dog meat that is criticized by the activists. As I have already explained, for a

small share of the activists this is indeed the case, however the majority expands the ‘don’t eat meat’ vision to other species as well, with some of the activists choosing a vegan lifestyle.

4.4 Concluding remarks on the chapter

The activists have composed an impressive list of arguments against the dog meat trade. Their line of argumentation is in many cases acknowledged and supported by independent experts. The main argument for the activists is the animal cruelty connected to the trade, but it is the threat to human health which puts the activists’ point of view on the agenda of the local government.

There is hardly any direct contact between the proponents and the animal activists. The activists have encounters with dog meat consumers in their personal circles, but not with dog meat consumers they do not know and neither with restaurant owners, butchers and breeders. In several cases the activists have achieved a change in the consumption pattern of their relatives or friends, mainly by introducing them to dogs and stimulating affection for the animal. The proponents are not much impressed by the activists, most of them have never heard of the existence of an anti-dog meat campaign.

Chapter 5. Analyzing the ethnographic field

In the previous chapters I have described the dog meat trade in Yogyakarta by looking at the perspectives and actions of the different actors involved. In this chapter I will take this empirical data to a more abstract, overarching level, through which I hope to develop some useful insights for understanding the complexity which is surrounding the dog meat trade. I will remain close to the field situation in Yogyakarta, and start building on the themes presented in the introduction. In this chapter the ‘NGO and activists’ section is quite elaborate, because in the final chapter this theme does not get so much attention due a more abstract and theoretical consideration of the issues related to the dog meat trade in this final chapter. I will conclude this chapter with a future perspective on a ban of the dog meat trade.

5.1 Blurry classifications and internal variation

From the empirical data it shows that people’s relations with dogs are for some of the people based on strongly fixed classifications, for example, most of the activists have established a point of view which is built on a thoroughly developed argumentation. As a result, these classifications are unlikely to change, because they form the core of the activists’ perspective. For other actors in the dog meat trade classifications about dogs can be of a more loose structure. Classifications of this last category are somewhat fluid, and as such they can change. This change of classification can occur either with individual dogs or with regard to the whole species, and is usually instigated by getting to know a specific dog on a personal level. The importance of understanding the classifications used here, is that the different classifications are of a strong influence on the way the animal is treated, and as such the classifications are linked to (a lack of) a moral assessment about the human-animal relation.

Dog meat consumers and butchers might own dogs as pets, and often, but not always, there is a strong division made between pedigree dogs and *kampung* dogs, which has a result that pedigrees are not eaten, but only kept as pets. But, there are also dog meat proponents who keep mixed breeds as pets, which leads to a whole different approach to these specific mixed breeds in regard to other dogs of mixed breed. This is also visible when looking at the dog sellers at the animal market. Here, full breed puppies are sold, but also mixed breed pups are available. The price difference is large; a full breed costs 1,500,000 IRP, while a mixed breed pup costs 400,000. Still this amount is significantly higher than the price for a mixed breed dog meant for

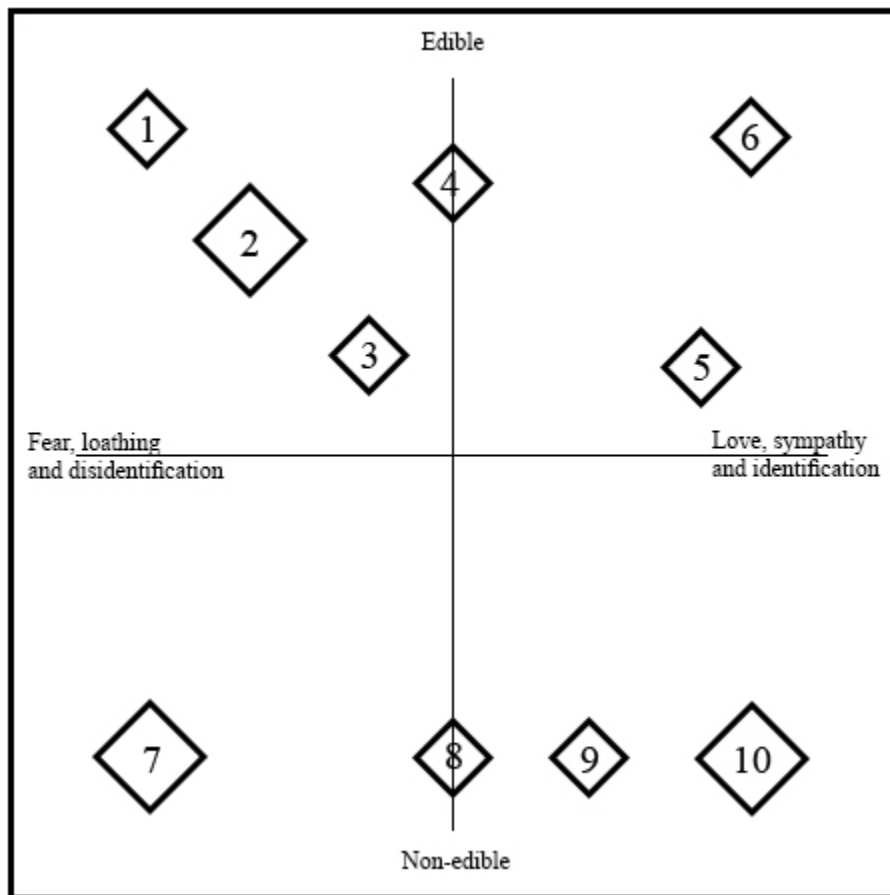
consumption. The activists do not make this strong distinction between breed or *kampung* dog. But, a few of them did mention to have a preference for the *kampung* dogs, because they are thought of as smarter, perhaps more ‘streetwise’ animals in comparison to the spoiled and clumsy full breeds. I also want to stress here that within the groups of activists and proponents there is a lot of variety regarding the way dogs are classified, because neither the activists nor the proponents of the dog meat trade form homogenous groups. There is a high level of internal differentiation (Pelto and Pelto 1975) within these groups, which means that there are members of various ethnics groups, religions, personal beliefs and perceptions present in each group. The main lesson to be learned from this notion is that it is not the case that the ethnographic field is divided by anti-dog meat Muslims on one side and pro dog meat Batak and Minahasa on the other side. There are animal activists of Batak origin and there are also Muslim dog meat consumers and butchers. This observation in fact strengthens the activists’ argument that the anti-dog meat activism is only directed towards animal suffering and does not aim to target such domains as ethnicity and tradition, and that its only goal is to eradicate the suffering of the dogs.

I would now like to explore the most surprising empirical example of internal variation, which is the seemingly paradoxical case of the Islamic dog eaters. I have tried to find an explanation for this phenomenon and this has led me to the following three ideas. The first explanation can be that the two young Muslims I spoke to might not be very devoted to the Islam. The both of them work in a bar, drink beer and visit the mosque just a few times per month. Since in the identification papers of Indonesian residents it is required that a religion is mentioned, ‘religion’ becomes an official part of someone’s identity, but this does not say much about this person’s personal experience. This then could mean that the men are classified as Muslim, and also uphold this classification themselves, but in practice this classification does not apply. Another explanation can be that for these men dog meat is not primarily seen as food, but more as *obat* or *jamu* (medicine). As such, dog meat can remain an inedible substance indeed, and it is more ‘taken’ than in fact ‘eaten’. A third explanation can be based on the fact that both of the Islamic dog eaters make a strong division between breed dogs, and *kampung* dogs. This latter they see as a pestilent animal that annoys people and is best to be exterminated, by eating these animals they rid the neighborhoods of vermin, and as such they do a good deed.

Another important issue that needs to be addressed here is the institutional classification of dogs as a non-livestock animal by the Agricultural Department of the Special Region of

Yogyakarta. As already pointed out before, this classification makes regulation and control of the transport and the slaughter under the livestock standards impossible. Also, the government is very reluctant to regulate the dog meat trade, since regulation incorporates some form of acceptance of the custom, and this would be incompatible with the majority's religious background. The following situation clearly shows the influence of the Islam on policy. In 2008 the government stopped the regulation of the pork trade, and banned pig farms from the region. In recent meat consumption overviews of the city, the number of pigs that are consumed on a yearly basis is said to be zero (BPS Statistics of Yogyakarta city 2013, 238). This is far from reality, since pork is still consumed at numerous places in the city, but this official estimation of zero shows the reluctance to embed food habits that fall outside Islamic decrees in policy. In the matrix below I have tried to show the variation of the perspectives held towards dogs.

Matrix 5.1 Perspectives on dogs



1. The Islamic dog eaters, they despise dogs, but surely enjoy the taste
2. A main share of the consumers, not a large fan of dogs, but the meat makes for a good meal

3. The couple owning a dog meat restaurant: selling dog meat is just a business, dog as product.
4. Pak Freddy, he does not like dogs, neither their taste. He just cooks the meat for his customers
5. The consumer who has a dog himself which he loves. He feels guilty when he eats dog. He does not really like it, but it just happens, since he often eats with his friends
6. *Lapo* owner who owns dogs herself, and likes the animal, both as friend and food
7. Members of the Muslim *kampung* located close to AFJ's headquarters. This is the Islamic point of view: dogs are dirty and should be avoided
8. The position of the government official, neutral about affection, but dogs absolutely not to be considered as food
9. Dog seller at the animal market. Does not want his dogs to be eaten and he sees dogs as a pet animal, but he does not take good care of his animals, as they are placed in small, dirty cages, stacked up at the market
10. The activists' perspective: dogs are friends, not food

For composing this matrix I have looked at the perceptions towards dogs in general, which means that I have not made a differentiation between pet dogs and meat dog or between pedigree or *kampung* dog. This matrix is to show the high variation of perspectives about dogs amongst the interviewees. Mark 1, 3 and 10 were filled in by the participants themselves (although in a slightly different version, namely in Serpell's affect/utility diagram). The other marks are edited by me, based upon the information given during the interviews. I designed this model following Serpell's affect/utility diagram (2004, 3). I only altered the utility axis to an edibility one. The main point shown in this matrix is that all four extremes are reached or very closely approximated. This shows two things, namely that the different perspectives on this matter in practice can cover the whole spectrum of perceptions, and that many of the participants have a strong developed opinion about this issue.

As said before, most of the (anthropological) work on assessing the dog meat trade has been directed to South Korea. The main outcome of this research is that the custom in this South Korea is strongly related to notions of national cultural identity and tradition (Lien 2004; Tosa 2010; Oh and Jackson 2011). The opposition to the dog meat trade had as an effect that the dog meat proponents became more determined in classifying dog meat consumption as a tradition, and furthermore did the emergence of the debate give a boost to nationalistic sentiments (Tosa 2010). From this then derived the debate about animal rights (internationally approved standards for animal wellbeing) versus cultural rights (internationally approved entitlement to the maintaining of cultural diversity) in South Korea (Oh and Jackson 2011). With this in mind, I will now take a look at the Indonesian situation. An important difference between South Korea and Indonesia is the more or less homogeneity of the former and a high heterogeneity of the latter; where in South Korea there is in fact a national culture and one main ethnic group (Podberscek 2009), in Indonesia there are a multitude of cultures and ethnic groups. As such the internal variation in

Indonesia is greater, and with the majority of Indonesians being Muslim, dog meat consumption is not a national custom as it is in South Korea. But, in Indonesia dog meat proponents also make claims of tradition and cultural identity related to dog meat consumption, especially members of Minahasa (Weichart 2004), Dayak (Dahniar 2013) and certain Batak communities. However, they do not do this in an organized manner. That the proponents have not organized themselves is probably because the threat to their business is not as clear as it was in South Korea, since most proponents are not aware of campaigns against the dog meat trade.

To evaluate the claims made by the dog meat proponents, a more in depth study of these ethnic groups would be needed, however. Here I will take an approach based on the information I have gathered and the available literature. First, it is important to establish what is meant by tradition. A useful concept for this matter is to see tradition as a reservoir. This concept is offered by Graburn, who follows Horner when he writes that “tradition as a reservoir is the concept that tradition is a strength to draw upon, a source of historically defined identity, and a source of a sense of safety, specialness, or difference” (2001, 9). Adding to this that tradition consists of cultural features which are handed over from generation to generation (Graburn 2001, 6), it seems that, yes, in fact the dog meat custom is a tradition for members of specific ethnic groups in Indonesia. This is the case, because for these people the consuming of dog meat seems to be a component in the process of identity shaping. It can be added that dog meat consumption also plays a role in the thoughts about their origin and background, both socially and geographically. Also, in many interviews with the proponents an argument for participating in the dog meat custom was that it was the family’s way of doing things, in which younger generations are following previous generations, be it as consumer or as seller of dog meat. When describing Minahasa food practices, Weichart notes a connection between the consumption of dog meat and the celebration of special occasions, like birthdays, parties and formal receptions. She argues that because of a shortage of the meat, the dishes are reserved for these occasions (2004, 64). Others also note the link between dog meat and ceremonial feasts in specific parts of the Indonesian archipelago (Adams 2004). Some of the interviewees had this connotation of dog meat with certain ceremonies. Noting this it can be argued that the claim of tradition does not seem to be farfetched. However, there is also room for criticism, as I will show in the concluding section of this thesis.

5.2 Activism

The activism directed towards the dog meat trade can be viewed on several levels. First there is the international level, but the international animal rights community has not yet targeted the dog meat trade in Indonesia very extensively, as was the case in South Korea. On the Indonesian national level there is cooperation between various NGOs, which are supported by a couple of Indonesian celebrities, animal rights advocates and experts. Together they campaign against the custom, but this campaigning eventually mostly takes place on the regional level. It is at this level that the debate becomes a part of the proponents' and opponents' daily lives, which is why the regional level and the personal level have been of particular interest to me. In the following section I will pay attention to these levels of activism in Yogyakarta.

5.2.1 The NGO and the 'dogs are not food' campaign

The NGO AFJ has been active for five years. Their kind of activism can be described as DIY (Do It Yourself) activism, since it is employed by a group of people who are personally investing time and effort in order to achieve their set goals. The DIY activism employed by AFJ is manifested in several forms, for example; the activists act as organizational advocates while lobbying at the government, and also use tactics often manifested in grassroots activism campaigns, such as animal rescue and undercover surveillance. The tactics are low budget, and the activists learn more about how to run the campaign as they go along. The choice for campaigning against the dog meat trade is based on the strong sense of affection from many activists for this particular animal, on the cruelty involved in the dog meat trade, and also the activists state that an important reason for targeting the dog meat trade is that there is in fact an actual chance of achieving success. This line of reasoning has been recognized in many studies of social movements and is phrased by Einwohner as the opportunity for change (1999). The opportunity for change depends on external factors, in the case of the dog meat trade contributions to the chances for success are provided by the threat of a rabies outbreak and by a growing number of concerned pet keepers. These contributing aspects are also built upon by the activists, and used in their campaign to strengthen the legitimacy of their undertakings. Another opportunity which increases the chances of success is the fact that the majority of Yogyakarta is Islamic, however this specific aspect is not referred to by the activists because they do not want to use ethnic or religious arguments to support their cause.

As already shown in chapters three and four, the NGO makes use of several tactics to reach its goals. In this evaluation I will only consider the activism connected to the dog meat trade and leave the other campaigns out of the equation. Following Munro's approach, which is based on the typology provided by Turner and Killian in the year 1987 (Munro 2005, 84), I have here made a distinction between two overarching strategies (publicity / interference), which are put into practice by the implementation of the accompanying tactics. My aim of the use of this framework is to understand the tactics of activism as employed by the activists of AFJ in relation to the intended goal.

Publicity strategy

Tactics which fall under this strategy are mostly non-violent, institutionalized forms of activism which aim at getting public attention (Munro 2005, 79). These tactics are usually of an indirect nature. Herzog noted that the animal rights movement has been particularly effective at "drawing public attention to the ethical issues involved in our relationships with other beings" (1993, 103). Media coverage is also vital in many campaigns for providing the activism with legitimacy and publicity (Munro 2005, 79). For AFJ, reaching out to the public is a core strategy, since support from the public is essential for maintaining the NGO because of the dependence on donations and volunteers, to increase public awareness about the animal cause and because it is a way to get information across to dog meat proponents without having a direct confrontation with them. A form this tactic takes is the spreading of informational leaflets, in which the problematic aspects of the dog meat trade are explained. Distributing leaflets is a tactic that has been used for a long time in the animal movement. Munro makes clear that for many activists, the leaflet is regarded "the medium of the animal movement" (2005, 85). In the case of AFJ I would argue that the main medium nowadays is social media, but still you can find AFJ leaflets at several places, like tattoo shops, (vegan) restaurants, hostels and other shops in Yogyakarta city. In the leaflets often sad and distressing pictures of suffering animals are depicted. Also there are pictures of healthy-looking animals, to show the impact of the work of the NGO. The leaflets call out for help, like donations, volunteers or other support, and urge the need to change the current situation. Through the use of footage which shows the suffering of animals, the activists aim to provoke a sense of shock, disgust or anger amongst the recipients of the leaflets, which is then hoped to result in a (more) critical stance towards the dog meat trade.

Other tactics which are forms of the publicity strategy are demonstrations, info stands and the distribution of stickers and posters. These tactics have the same purpose as the distribution of leaflets, but an added value of demonstrations (and in some cases also info stands) are that the activists meet likeminded people with whom knowledge is exchanged. Receiving new knowledge can lead to a new 'shock', which is kind of a reconfirmation about the need for the activism, as such encounters between fellow activists are likely to strengthen the activists' motivation (Hansson and Jacobsson 2014, 274).

Interference strategy

These kinds of tactics are mostly non-violent, unconventional and non-institutionalized forms of direct action (Munro 2005, 79). For AFJ, tactics that fall under this strategy are very important, since they provide a true 'something to do about animal suffering' for the activists. By this I mean that employing these kinds of tactics is usually directly targeted at the problem, and through such a method improvements (although they might be small) are realized every day. An obvious example of this is the animal rescue and the maintenance of an animal sanctuary, but also the undercover surveillance action is an interference tactic. In fact, this last tactic is "one of the oldest tactics in the animal movement's repertoire" (Munro 2005, 88), and has been used extensively to expose animal suffering to society. Activists enter the target (in the AFJ case, the dog meat trade) by posing as a trustworthy third party, and obtain footage to support their claims about atrocities occurring within the target. Although it can be argued that this tactic is unethical due to the necessary deception in order to be successful, the activists consider this kind of activism acceptable. According to them it is their moral obligation to act against animal suffering and what matters is the result, not the method.

Another tactic, and for challenging the dog meat trade the most essential one, is lobbying. The animal activists of AFJ have so far had two meetings with the local government in order to implement and enforce a ban on dog meat. By sharing the results of investigations with the government, they lobby for a change in policy. This process is slow, and time and energy consuming because of the bureaucratic system. Through this tactic, the activists force the government to take position in the debate, and as such the policy of turning a blind eye is no longer an option.

The NGO thus uses tactics to get their message across, to provoke change or to alleviate animal suffering directly. What they do not do however, is target the dog meat proponents directly (apart from the undercover surveillance and dog meat consumers in their personal circles). Since there is not much contact between the two sides, a stereotype image of the other group is created and a feeling of anger and disgust about the consumers and sellers of dog meat exist amongst the activists. These feelings are rarely expressed towards the dog meat proponents, whilst they are fortified amongst the own group. There are moments of contact between the two groups, but in these moments the activists tend to abstain from all too harsh comments. They say they do not believe that a full frontal attack will help their case and they do not want to become a public enemy for speaking out their minds in an impolite manner. This choice is based on the will to avoid conflict, and the activists argue that the proponents are unwilling to change anyway, and that because of all this the use of another tactic (lobbying) is necessary to challenge the dog meat custom. I agree with this, but only partially. Einwohner (1999) has made clear that chances for success of animal rights campaigns are for a large share depending on the perception of the target group. The bottom-line of Einwohner's theory is that "practices that are defined by targets as central and necessary are difficult for protesters to work against, whereas more peripheral practices create a certain target 'vulnerability' that aids protest efforts" (1999, 170). For around half of the people I spoke to, eating dog meat is not considered to be something of essence. For most restaurant owners selling dog meat is not the primary source of income and four out of ten consumers did enjoy dog meat, but said that it could also be missed. This shows a possibility for the NGO to achieve success by campaigning to the consumers and restaurants directly. This is strengthened by the data suggesting that out of ten consumers, four said they were not aware of the butchering methods, and five had never heard about any possible health risks. They were also not aware of the 'dogs are not food' campaign. Taking this into account, it can be said that spreading information to these consumers can possibly lead to a decrease in demand of dog meat in Yogyakarta, even before the anticipated ban gets implemented. The problem here however is the question of how to reach those consumers, without risking (violent) conflicts with the dog meat proponents. A proposed strategy could be to intensify the publicity strategy and to get more out in the open, perhaps by organizing playful happenings in town. Then through higher public attention, the information that is shared might trickle down, and reach that group of dog meat consumers in which there is a possibility for changing their behavior.

Still, this method would certainly not work for the other half of interviewed proponents, who in fact consider eating and selling dog meat something which is essential to their identity, livelihood, health or happiness. This group consists of the dog butchers, breeders, restaurant owners who only sell dog meat and some of the consumers. Following Einwohner's approach, changing their perspectives by campaigning will be a near-impossible task for the NGO, because the dog meat practice is deemed central to these people. As such, aiming for a legislative change is more likely to be fruitful. In the final paragraph of this chapter I will discuss the implications of such a legislative change in more depth. For now I will first pay attention to the individual activists.

5.2.2 The activists

First I would like to point out that although I have made a differentiation here between the NGO and the activists, there is in fact a strong interplay between the two. Without the activists there would not be an NGO, and many of the activists stated that without the NGO they would not be activists. The NGO strengthens the activists and vice-versa, since through the NGO the activists have access to a platform through which they can build a social network and exchange knowledge, with the aim to achieve the set goals. But, since 'the activists' are not the same as 'the NGO', it is also important to make a distinction. This section as such is a reflection on the activists' shared and individual experiences and perspectives.

Herzog states that for a lot of activists he interviewed, "involvement in animal rights issues was associated with a major shift in thinking to a worldview in which there is a fundamental equality between humans and other species, a change which has both moral and behavioral implications" (1993, 106). This change is also noted by the Yogyakarta animals rights activists, and manifests itself gradually during the process of becoming an animal activist, and continues to do so while being an animal activist. Regan describes three paths to becoming active in animal (rights) activism (Vaughan in Hansson and Jacobsson 2014, 272). These three paths are:

1. Being born with a strong connection with animals, and never lose this connection
2. The experience of an eye-opening event

3. The gradual development of an animal consciousness

All three paths are also recognizable in the interviews with the activists of AFJ, and often a combination of all three can be observed. Although this does not count for all the activists, the majority of them have gone through a more or less comparable process of becoming active in the animal movement. This process roughly follows these following stages; first, there is an experience of a bond with certain animals, usually a pet or a stray dog or cat. After this there is a moment of shock, which is caused by a confrontation with animal suffering. This then leads to a feeling of despair because there is a sense of being powerless against this suffering. Hereafter the activist becomes active on a small scale, helping animals in the neighborhood or deciding to become a vegetarian. This then leads to exclusion from the social surroundings, or to self-chosen exclusion, for example, a move away from home. Finally, there is re-socializing within a new group. Pallotta also recognizes this process, and argues that becoming active in the animal movement requires “a de-socialization in relation to dominant norm and value systems and a re-socialization into an activist identity” (in Hansson and Jacobsson 2014, 263). Once within the activists’ group, their already existing affection for animals is deepened through the sharing of experiences with other activists and the bonds they get with the animals living at AFJ. This strengthens their ‘caring’ attitude towards animals. ‘Caring’ in this sense is described in an encompassing manner by Shapiro:

It [caring] means being attentive to them [the animals] in a watchful and concerned way. More than just curiosity or interest, it is a positive inclining or leaning toward them, a sympathy for them and their needs. A caring attitude is one of continuous sensitivity and responsiveness, not a transitory awareness or a momentary concern. (1994, 149)

Newcomers to the world of animal activism often are subject to a sense of increasing affection towards animals. Through gradually gaining knowledge and developing friendships both with humans and with animals, the activists develop a critical awareness and a mental responsiveness towards animal suffering. This process of ‘sensibilization’ (Hansson and Jacobsson 2014) is accompanied by a development of disgust and anger towards animal suffering and products that

are the result of animal suffering. This has as result that the activists start to critically evaluate their consumption patterns, which leads to a change of diet. From initially following the dominant consumption pattern based on a meat or fish centered meal, many of the activists follow a track towards ethical veganism, meaning that they choose to become vegan based on ethical considerations, and not because of medical necessity. This track is however not a one way direction and some of the activists can find solace in stopping somewhere on the way, for example as a vegetarian or pescetarian. Also, it would not be fair to exclude the activists that are not leaving meat from their diet, but stick to the livestock classification and perceive this as an acceptable norm. However, activists who make this choice are a minority within the movement.

The choices the activists make in regards to using animals are in general based on argumentation of a philosophical nature. I would like to take a moment and look at the philosophy behind animal rights. In the box below I have briefly described the core foundation of the contemporary animal movement. I consider this relevant, because I have come across a lot of parallels between the thinking of the influential animal rights philosophers Peter Singer and Tom Regan, and the philosophies of many of the activists.

Box 5.1 A philosophy behind animal rights

Singer's contribution towards the debate of animal rights is his utilitarian vision of happiness. According to this notion, the morally right thing to do is to strive for the greatest happiness for the greatest number, and according to Singer this idea should include nonhuman animals (Benthall 2007, 1). Tom Regan's ideas on animal rights are closely related to the main points that Singer is making. Regan's contribution to the matter is the development of the theory around the "subject to a life" (1985, 22), which states that every living being has an intrinsic value because it is alive, and it is this value that gives them the rights not to be used as a means. According to Regan the result of this should be that all those who possess life are respected for this trait, and as such those with a life have the right not to be harmed (1985, 23). The visions of Singer and Regan both build upon the notion of 'speciesism'. This term was first presented by Richard D. Ryder in 1970. Speciesism stands for a discriminatory act based upon a difference in species, or more concrete, a discriminatory act based upon the difference in species between men and animals. Ryder explains this notion as follows, and also calls for action:

In as much as both 'race' and 'species' are vague terms used in the classification of living creatures according, largely, to physical appearance, an analogy can be made between them. Discrimination on grounds of race, although most universally condoned two centuries ago, is now widely condemned. Similarly, it may come to pass that enlightened minds may one day abhor 'speciesism' as much as they now detest 'racism.' The illogicality in both forms of prejudice is of an identical sort. If it is accepted as morally wrong to deliberately inflict suffering upon innocent human creatures, then it is only logical to also regard it as wrong

Continuation of box 5.1

to inflict suffering on innocent individuals of other species... The time has come to act upon this logic. (Ryder 1971, 81)

Deriving from the above described thoughts is the perspective of animals as beings that are entitled to our moral consideration, not because they can (or cannot) reason and not because they can (or cannot) talk, but because they can suffer (Benthall 2007, 2).

The activists recognize a difference between the way they look at animals and the way that ‘other’ people look at animals. About an encounter with some stray cats one of the activists said the following: *“I saw some cats begging for food, when I see their eyes, I see a soul. I see a living being. I think most people cannot see that.”* This quote is interesting in two ways; firstly, the animal is regarded as an individual agent, or, as Regan would call it, “a subject of a life” (1985, 22). Secondly the activist makes a differentiation between the activist self and ‘most people’. The connection with animals seems to supersede the more common connotation that people might have with pets, such as companion and friendship, and extends to a deepened thought about animals as individual beings. Building on this, both the philosophical/moral and behavioral approach towards the animals by the activists are in line with viewing the animal as an individual being with needs, preference and personal traits. As such the activists attribute agency to the animals, but since the animal cannot express their agency, the activists take the role of a ‘voice for the voiceless’ (AFJ flyer).

5.3 Banning the dog meat trade: a future perspective

Since 2014 the NGO has had two formal meetings with representatives of the government of the Special Region of Yogyakarta during which the problematic aspects of the dog meat trade were discussed. At the moment, government officials say that they are looking at the possibilities for banning the dog meat trade. This exploring is mainly instigated by the threat of zoonotic diseases, with as main danger the outbreak of rabies. Countering this risk through regulation and control of the dog meat trade is not an option, due to the classification of dogs as non-livestock animals and the lack of political willingness. The head of the Section for Animal Health and Veterinary Public Health of the Department of Agriculture of the Special Region of Yogyakarta has answered that on top of the human health threat also the animal welfare argument can be an attribution for

composing the ban. However, she also makes clear that at this moment an estimation of how much time it will take to compose the proposed ban cannot yet be made, and that there are substantial considerations to be taken into account regarding the cultural value of dog meat. The situation is highly complex, related to notions of ethnicity, tradition, religion and morality. This is likely to delay any decisions on the matter. Added to this is the problem of enforcement. As pointed out before, specific aspects of the dog meat trade are already illegal at this moment, but there is no enforcement taking place and as such the law forms no barrier to the trade. If a complete ban was ever to be implemented, naturally this would have to be accompanied by enforcement of the new regulations. Perhaps enforcing the ban within the cities limits might be achievable, and controls on the places where dog meat is offered out in the open are likely to occur. But already at this moment many of the people active in the dog meat trade operate in the dark corners and back alleys of Yogyakarta. Thus it is not unlikely that the dog meat trade will submerge even deeper, because for many proponents eating dog is something they are not willing to give up, and they are willing to find other ways to continue the practice.

Some of the people who are currently participating in the dog meat trade, said that a ban would mean that they would stop with their activities. *Lapo* owner Pak Freddy for example declared that he would not see the ban as a problem at all, and he would gladly remove B1 from the menu. For him this is based on his personal preference and because, like for most *lapo* owners who also sell pig, the money earned by selling dog meat is not the most important share of the income. For Pak Andi, who only sells dog meat, a ban (if enforced) would mean a huge negative impact on his and his family's livelihood. To deal with this, the government should provide social security to support those who are confronted with income loss because of the ban, and to help them get started in a new profession. This can be done following the example of the Jakartan dancing monkey case, in which monkey owners received a grant or utilities to start a new business.

Chapter 6. Conclusion: main themes and theoretical considerations

In this thesis I have tried to describe a problematized human-animal relation, namely the dog meat trade in Yogyakarta. I have done this by trying to pay equal attention to both the supporters and the opponents of the dog meat trade, and also by taking the weight of the animal situation into account. My research question was;

How can the dog meat trade in Yogyakarta, Indonesia be described and understood, looking at the perspectives and actions of the different actors involved and what contributions can be made to dealing with the problem(s) at hand?

The descriptive part is covered in the chapters two, three and four. In chapter five I have paid attention to how the perceptions and actions can be understood. In this final chapter I would like to elaborate on the themes related to the dog meat debate, in order to discuss the main lessons learned, which can hopefully contribute to (an academic) dealing with this problematized human-animal relation.

6.1 The conflict

While I was writing the research proposal prior to the fieldwork, I constructed a notion of an arena in which the two sides would meet and where fierce debates would be held, showing the embodiment of the conflict caused by the opposing perspectives. However, I have not come across such a battleground, basically because it was nonexistent. As pointed out before, there is not much direct contact between the dog meat proponents and the activists. There is tension between the two groups, but this tension exists mostly in the minds, attitudes and actions of the activists. The tension is created by the incongruence between the activists' standards about how animals should be treated and the harsh reality. The activists blame those who in their eyes are perpetrators of these standards, and construct barriers based on anger and incomprehension towards the acts of their fellow humans. The conflict as such plays in the realm of morality and perceptions. The activists uphold a vision on the moral responsibility of humans towards animals which is highly incompatible with the way butchers and traders treat the dogs, with the consumers also being directly responsible, since they encourage the trade with each purchase.

The activists feel this conflict every day, it is what drives them to be an activist, but it is also what drives them mad with frustration at points.

6.2 Classification and food taboo

When we look at the case of the dog meat trade it becomes clearly visible that not only between large divisions of cultures such as ‘west’ and ‘east’ different interpretations towards animals are constructed and maintained, but that this variation is also present between the different cultures that exist within one nation state. Going deeper, we see that even within these cultures there is variation between sub groups, and this then can eventually be stretched even further, on to the level of an individual. This acknowledgement of intra-cultural variation (Pelto and Pelto 1975) is necessary to understand the different classifications that are directed towards one animal species, and even to one individual animal. When trying to comprehend the practice of the dog meat trade and the activism against the trade, an evaluation of these various classifications is essential, since the different perspectives from the various actors are for a large share based on these classifications.

The most important item in the consideration of classifications related to the dog meat trade is the ‘pet’ (or non-edible) versus ‘plate’ (or edible) domain, wherein the activists strongly maintain the position in which dogs are regarded as pets, companion animals and friends, and thus not as food. At the same time the dog meat proponents, naturally, do classify dogs as edible. As Serpell argues, these categories are in practice mutually exclusive, because the “practice of keeping animals as pets tends to render their slaughter and consumption taboo” (2009, 641). When looking at terminology, this domain is centered on the question whether or not dog flesh is in fact meat. Although throughout this thesis I have been talking about the dog *meat* trade, strictly taken this choice of words is arbitrary, since the word ‘meat’ implies the possibility for human consumption (Lien 2004). In neutral mediation, a better term to use might be dog ‘flesh’, which becomes meat in the process of commoditization (Kopytoff 1986). Following this, it can be said that the activists denounce the classifying of dog flesh as meat, and as such exclude dog from the ‘plate’ category completely. It is important to note here that the discussion is directed towards dogs of mixed breed and not to full breed pedigree dogs, for it seems that the dog meat proponents are undivided about the idea that only dogs of mixed breed are suitable for human consumption. The reasons for this differentiation are on the one hand pragmatic, being the

financial value of a full breed dog which makes it a waste to kill one. However, on the other hand, full breeds are thought of as pets because of esthetic reasons and the idea that breed dogs are in fact ‘dogs’, where stray dogs come closer to game, livestock, or vermin. But, also for the dog meat proponents this classification can get blurry. For example, in the case of an emotional connection with one specific dog of mixed breed, an exception can be made and this animal gets an upgrade from food to the ‘pet-level’. This upgrade is not just categorical and taking place in an abstract analysis of the notions held towards animals, but is in fact accompanied by a whole different approach from the person towards the specific animal. This is primarily noticeable in the name-giving of the animal, and the event that the dog which is given a name is taken out of the process of commodification.

6.3 Globalization of morality; animal rights versus cultural rights

In this section I want to use the existing literature on the dog meat debate in South Korea to make a comparison with the Indonesian case. As already mentioned in the first chapter, the South Korean dog meat debate played (and continuous to play) on an international level, and is for a large share instigated by transnational activists. These activists operate in networks which are nowadays targeting the dog meat trade worldwide, mainly through international petitions, lobbying and naming and shaming of particular events (for example, the annual dog meat festival in Yulin, China). International organizations targeting the dog meat trade, like the Human Society International, Say No To Dog Meat and the World Society for the Protection of Animals have pointed their arrows to several Asian and African countries. In the South Korean case, scholars noticed a ‘globalization of morality’, in which Western norms are exported to South Korea by transnational activists (Lien 2004; Oh and Jackson 2011; Tosa 2010). I would like to investigate this claim here in regard to the Indonesian situation. Indeed, it can be argued that in Indonesia the concerns towards the dog meat trade are at some level induced, or at least stimulated by the international animal rights and welfare community. Through the rapid increase of the use internet and social media, potential activists in Indonesia easily find their way to information and activists networks (Lim 2013). With regards to Indonesia there have been some internationally based initiatives to counter the dog meat trade, like a petition in 2014, however the transnational activism focused on Indonesia has not (yet) developed as it did in regard to South Korea and China, and mainly takes places in the online world. Still though, this online attention could be the

vessel through which Western norms about how to treat dogs seep into Indonesian society, and it cannot be denied that this does occur. However, accepting this approach as the only reason for the emergence of the Indonesian anti-dog meat trade movement would do great injustice to the agency and self-determination of the Indonesian activists. From their personal accounts it becomes clear that a main share of them had already developed concerns and constructed moral considerations towards the way animals are treated, without the input of transnational activists. On the other hand; it is true the NGO AFJ received aid (in the form of knowledge and support) from the NGO JAAN for setting up the organizational structure and maintaining the NGO. JAAN can be seen as a pioneer of animal activism in Indonesia, especially regarding domesticated animals, and JAAN does have a more international background with founders of Dutch and American origin and a supporting foundation based in The Netherlands. The founders of AFJ acknowledge the importance of the support of JAAN, and as such it can be said that transnational activism did indeed play a role in kick starting the anti-dog meat movement in Yogyakarta.

An additional reason for the increase in attention for animal welfare can be linked to the growing popularity in pet keeping in Indonesia, with new pet shops and grooming salons popping up all through Yogyakarta. This development is likely to have been the cause for new owners to become affiliated with animal (or at least dog and cat) welfare. Also here a connotation of Western influence can be recognized, as pet ownership in Indonesia in the present form shows much resemblance with pet ownership in the Western world. I would like to emphasize here that a growing pet culture does not necessarily coincide with an increase in animal welfare. Even the opposite can be the result, since the animals are heavily commoditized (Podberscek 2009). But the point I want to make here is that through intensifying contact between humans and animals, the idea that animals can in fact suffer becomes easier to comprehend for the humans involved in these relationships (Paul and Serpell 1993).

In conclusion on this matter I can say that the claim that having a critical stance towards dog meat consumption is a Western invention reveals an oversight of the personal experiences, perceptions and development of Indonesian activists. But it should also be noted that we live in a highly globalized world, and also domains like morality are moved and shaped by the interconnectedness all throughout the world. This means that, at least partially, a globalization of morality is in fact responsible for growing animal awareness in Indonesia.

As explained before, the debate about animal rights versus cultural rights is strongly based on the acceptance of the terminology of 'tradition'. An important notion to take into account here is provided by Hobsbawm (1983) who argues that often the concept of tradition is invented to legitimize certain practices. Proclaimed ancient traditions might in fact have appeared for the first time quite recently or they can be invented altogether (Hobsbawm 1983, 1). This insight should not be excluded when assessing the dog meat practice in Yogyakarta, since historical evidence of the custom in this area is basically non-existent. Claims of tradition often appear when a certain custom gets under pressure (Hobsbawm 1983). This phenomenon was also clearly visible in the South Korean dog meat debate. At the same time the activists claim that Yogyakarta is not a typical historical place for consuming dogs, that the 'tradition' in any case is not linked strongly to that geographical location and that the practice is imported from elsewhere. Still, independent from the question whether or not dog meat consumption is in fact a tradition or not, one thing can be undoubtedly concluded, namely that the dog meat trade is exceptionally cruel, and already at this point partly illegal. I would like to conclude with the statement that, in my point of view, claims of traditional aspects of a specific practice do never form a legitimation for the inflicting suffering on others, human or nonhuman. Be it the circumcision of young girls in Senegal, the negative stereotyping of colored Dutch people with Sinterklaas, Spanish bullfighting or the brutal slaughtering of dogs in Indonesia, we as human beings have the moral capacity to supersede this cruelty, and because of this capacity we are obliged to do so.

Appendix

The experience and ethics of doing fieldwork

I have tried to write the descriptive part of this thesis in a neutral sense, in order to give the reader the chance to develop his or her own point of view, based on objective (as much as possible) information. In the later chapters, especially the conclusion, I embed my personal perspective. In this appendix I will briefly reflect on doing field research amongst two groups of people with strongly divided interests and perspectives related to research topic.

My personal identity (or identities) of a white, male, Dutch, vegan anthropology student has undoubtedly influenced the articulations of the established relationships with the people who played a role in my research. Being a vegan definitely made it easier for me to find my place within the activists' surroundings, but it also made for uncomfortable situations at the moments I got offered a free plate of dog meat from a proud *lapo* owner. It was between these extremes that I tried to navigate. From the very beginning of engaging in the topic, I knew my personal perspective on human-animal relations incorporated a risk for a major bias when approaching the dog meat proponents, and that knew it would be a challenge to do detached research in these circumstances. And yes, it has absolutely been difficult at times, for example when speaking to the man who had just butchered ten dogs, the blood still on his arms, or when I saw him put a dog in a bag, still alive but not for long, selling the animal to a villager. The difficulty at such a point was mainly keeping my focus, and avoid letting my emotions take the better of me. I had to sit down with the man, listen to him, and I had to give him the chance to share his perspective.

Whilst doing fieldwork, I frequently had to shift between the two completely different groups to which my informants belonged. These shifts were not just physical, but needed a whole different mindset and accompanying vocabulary. For example, during the interviews with dog meat consumers I felt I had to distance myself from the activists. I used sentences as; "those people apparently think that dog meat is unhealthy", which is not the way I would actually describe the activists, but it did feel more suitable in that particular setting. In a way it can be said that by talking negatively about one group to members of one group, this would provide more access to the other group. I applied this in both directions in order to gain trust and put the informants at ease, but it certainly did not always reflect my real thoughts and feelings.

I was fortunate enough to receive the aid of two different interpreters. The first interpreter, a fellow anthropology student called Meita, was assigned to me by Universitas Gadjah Mada. Together we conducted fruitful interviews with activists, dog meat consumers and *lapo* owners. But there was another category of interviewees I wanted to reach, namely the breeders and the butchers, and these people were hard to find. Luckily one of the first consumers I interviewed was willing to help me out. His name is Gerry, and his English is very good due to the fact he is a tour guide in and around Yogyakarta (which is how we met as well). Gerry proved to be a highly valuable partner because he could find out where the butchers were located, and he gained the trust of these butchers easily because he was a dog meat consumer himself. Here I noticed Berreman's (2012) point about the strong influence an interpreter can have on the kind of information that you as a researcher have access to. With Meita, it would have been much harder to talk to the butchers, while it would have been impossible to talk to the activists when using Gerry as interpreter.

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Pictures

Picture on the front page: courtesy of Ina from Animal Friends Jogja

Picture 1: Taken by Wout Eijkelkamp on 22 January 2015

Picture 2: Taken by Wout Eijkelkamp on 03 March 2015

Picture 3: Taken by Wout Eijkelkamp on 05 March 2015

Picture 4: Taken by Wout Eijkelkamp on 22 February 2015

Picture 5: Leaflet published by Animal Friends Jogja, Garda Satwa Indonesia and Jakarta Animal Aid Network