Reflect on the Past or on the Present? The root cause of the difficulties in advancing animal protection in China. Review of Peter J. Li's latest work: Animal Welfare in China, Culture, Politics and Crisis, Sydney University Press 2021*

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Abstract

Animal Welfare in China, Culture, Politics and Crisis, Sydney University Press 2021, mainly introduces the problems and prospects of animal welfare in contemporary China; it is perhaps the first book worldwide on this topic. Animal cruelty in contemporary China is a reality and it is rewarding to explore its root cause. There has been a misconception for a long time that the origin of animal cruelty in China is traditional Chinese culture, which has a core of cruelty. The author, Peter J. Li, responds to this stereotype by deeply analysing ancient Chinese political thoughts. Ancient Chinese culture and values were rich in benevolence and care for animals. Thus, contemporary animal cruelty in China is irrelevant to ancient Chinese culture and it is unreasonable to deny this Asian wisdom. The main reason for contemporary animal cruelty in China is the intensive animal husbandry practices. Since the economic reform in 1978, China has adopted its goal as a developmental state by creating policies including introducing massive technologies from the western world and encouraging and developing intensive husbandry industries. This modern economic development model focuses on economic profits but not social justice, which is why hundreds of billions of animals suffer greatly in China. The emerging progress of China's animal advocacy is creating a positive prospect for animal cruelty.

Keywords: Animal Law, animal welfare, ancient China, contemporary China, civilization.

Resumen - ¿Reflexionar sobre el pasado o sobre el presente? La raíz de las dificultades para avanzar en la protección de los animales en China. Revisión del libro de la última obra de Peter J. Li: Animal Welfare in China, Culture, Politics and Crisis, Sydney University Press 2021

Animal Welfare in China, Culture, Politics and Crisis, Sydney University Press 2021, presenta principalmente los problemas y perspectivas del bienestar animal en la China contemporánea; es quizás el primer libro a nivel mundial sobre este tema. La crueldad animal en la China contemporánea es una realidad y resulta alentador analizar su origen. Durante mucho tiempo ha existido la idea errónea de que el origen de la crueldad animal en China es propio de la cultura tradicional china, pues tiene una base de crueldad. El autor, Peter J. Li, responde a este estereotipo analizando en profundidad el antiguo pensamiento político chino. La cultura y los valores de la antigua China eran ricos en benevolencia y cuidado de los animales. Por lo tanto, es irrelevante relacionar la crueldad animal contemporánea en China con la antigua cultura china. La crueldad animal contemporánea en China se refleja principalmente en las prácticas de cría intensiva de animales. Desde la reforma económica de 1978, China ha adoptado un objetivo como estado desarrollado creando políticas que incluyen la introducción de tecnologías masivas del mundo occidental y el fomento y desarrollo de industrias de cría intensiva. Este modelo de desarrollo económico moderno se centra en los beneficios económicos pero no en la justicia social, por lo que cientos de miles de millones de animales sufren enormemente en China. El progreso emergente de la defensa de los animales en China está creando una perspectiva positiva contra la crueldad animal.

Palabras clave: Derecho animal, bienestar animal, China antigua, China contemporánea, civilización.

About the author

Dr Peter J. Li, Associate Professor of Political Science, completed his doctoral study at Northern Arizona University with a PhD degree in Comparative Politics in 2000 and joined the University of Houston-Downtown in 2002. Dr Li's research covers two major areas: international relations in east Asia and China's animal policy and law issues. He has published many articles on books and academic journals, and frequently appears on a large number of popular media and news programs in the US and around the world to offer his comments on Chinese politics, US-China relations, Northeast Asian politics and animal protection policy issues. He has also been a consultant (China Policy Specialist) for Humane Society International (HSI) since 2007.¹²³

The noteworthy uniqueness of this book, *Animal Welfare in China*, is related to Dr Peter Li's very special Chinese-American identity. Born in China in the 1960s, his childhood and teenage years coincided with the Cultural Revolution and the early years of the reform and opening-up. Later, he went on to study and work in the United States for over 30 years. As a scholar with a strong background in political science and one of the very few scholars concerned with animal protection in China, the author's dual cultural immersion allowed him to step outside the circle of "Chinese people looking at China" and "western people looking at China." Through his work, Dr Peter Li has succeeded in presenting readers with a unique perspective to reflect on the relationship between humans and animals in contemporary China.

The book blends deeply grounded cultural interpretations with a variety of factual sources directly from the Chinese homeland. The author's individual experience provides an accurate capture of facts and information based on his personal field trips, surveys and interviews, which show us a rich and authoritative picture. However, he does not get caught up in the picture; he looks at it from a high level and analyses it with insight, allowing the reader to gain a more layered view of the issues from the perspective of a western scholar. While a general scholar might analyse the situation from the perspective of social structure or cultural limitation, the author looked deeper than that as he explored the political and historical roots of severe animal cruelty. The information that this book has to offer to the reader is quite an interesting and unique reflection.

Structure of this book

This book, which contains a wealth of knowledge and data, is the culmination of the author's research and fieldwork across twenty years. Apart from an introduction and a conclusion, the main body of the book consists of seven chapters that explore the relationship between humans and animals in ancient Chinese culture and history, expose the current situation and problems of wild animals, farm animals and companion animals, and examine the progress of animal protection laws and the plight of both public and private animal protection careers in China. In addition, the references have been presented to the reader in a bilingual manner in both English and Chinese. The author also compiled a very useful index that allows readers to quickly see what they want to know.

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¹ See Dr. Peter Li's webpage: https://www.uhd.edu/academics/humanities/undergraduate-programs/political-science/Pages/bios-lip.aspx [Last accessed: 5 February, 2022].

² See Dr. Peter Li's select publications: https://works.bepress.com/peter-li/ [Last accessed: 5 February 2022].

³ See Dr. Peter Li's opinion & commentary: https://www.scmp.com/author/peter-j-li [Last accessed: 5 February 2022].

Content Summary

Chapters one and two present an analysis of how ancient Chinese history and culture viewed the relationship between humans and animals. The author acknowledges the complexity and diversity of Chinese culture, but he also emphasizes that there is a seemingly hidden but unbroken undercurrent that has always permeated Chinese culture: a rejection of the insensitivity, cruelty and wanton exploitation of non-human creatures. Chapters three, four and five deal with the current major conflicts and problems relating to companion animals, wild animals and farm animals in China respectively. All of these human-animal relationships are manifested in the form of industries and serve the nation's political and economic goals. In chapter six, the author reveals the dilemmas of the China Wildlife Protection Law (WPL). WPL is blamed to be "a utilization law" rather than "a protection law." Its revision is a hot spot of social concern in the context of pandemics. In chapter seven, the author takes note of the Chinese civil society in animal protection. The constant efforts and persistence of ordinary Chinese people from the bottom up in the social, cultural, legal and political spheres is strong evidence of the unbroken tradition of animal protection in ancient China. These efforts and perseverance are full of pathos and helplessness, but also create more possibilities and hope.

Evaluations

The author's description of animal cruelty in contemporary China gives the reader an insight into the typical anthropocentric implications of human-animal relations in China nowadays. The author encourages the reader to wonder if the real root cause of the current state of animals' encounters in China is traditional Chinese culture. The author's negative answer is one of the major contributions of this work.

When discussing reasons for animal cruelty in contemporary China, some western scholars tended to believe an explanation that there was a cruel human-animal relationship tradition in ancient China. Nevertheless, the author's analysis of ancient Chinese culture reveals its traditional complexity. It is notable that the ancient Chinese human-animal relationship was dominated by compassion rather than cruelty.

The relationship between humans and animals is an evolving development in which the form of human domination over animals is influenced by the distinction and dissimilarity between the two.⁴ The anthropocentric perspective has clearly played an important role in the delineation of such boundaries. It has been suggested that Western anthropocentrism is based on a dichotomy between man and nature, with the man as the subject and nature, including animals, as the object, and a clear boundary between the two. It is worth exploring whether this division is universal.

The core of ancient Chinese ecology and animal ethics is "harmony and unity between man and nature" (天人合一). This kind of thought is rooted in Zhou Yi, which held an opinion that humans, animals and nature were all created through the transformation of Taiji and interaction of "Yin" and "Yang."⁵ Accordingly, all things in the universe, including humans, animals, heaven and earth, all exist in a holistic space. Thus, humans and animals can share common characteristics and can communicate, interact, share experiences, and even transform into each other's forms of existence.⁶ Consequently, the ancient Chinese did not regard themselves as "masters of all creatures (万物之主)," although they claimed to be "the highest and most spiritual of all creatures (万物之主)." In other words, the ancient Chinese culture, including Zhou Yi and the sequent Confucianism, Buddhism, Taoism, folk beliefs, minority cultures and religious traditions, opposed western anthropocentrism.⁸ Although ancient Chinese culture prioritized humans, it did not divide humans and nature, and refused to view natural creatures, such as animals, from an artificially categorized and isolated perspective. It is therefore inherently inappropriate to simply place traditional Chinese culture within an anthropocentric or non-anthropocentric framework. This dichotomy does not apply to the case of ancient China, which had its own particularities.⁹

Those holistic particularities set a tone for Chinese mainstream culture, which is compassionate and merciful instead of cruel. Not only did ancient Chinese philosophy show this tone, but ancient China law regulating animals also extended compassion and benevolence beyond humans to other life forms in nature.¹⁰

⁴ FOUCAULT, M., The order of things (Routledge 2005).

⁵ ZHOU, Z., Zhou Yi Translation and Commentary (Beijing 2018).

⁶ MANG, P., Love all things and the unity of heaven and earth: An Introduction to Ancient Chinese Ecology and Animal Ethics, in Social Science Research. 3 (2009) 158.

⁷ ZHANG, W., The origins, development and characteristics of Chinese legal culture (Second Part), in Peking University Law Journal. 1 (2011) 6-23.

⁸ MANG, P., The world of the inter-related self and other: Chinese beliefs, lives and views of animals (Beijing 2009).

⁹ MANG, P., Love all things and the unity of heaven and earth: An Introduction to Ancient Chinese Ecology and Animal Ethics, in Social Science Research. 3 (2009) 153-158.

¹⁰ CAO, D., Animals in China: Law and society (Springer 2015) 11.

⁵² Derecho Animal. Forum of Animal Law Studies, vol. 13/1

The eastern ancestors were convinced that the harmonious coexistence between humans and animals was a symptom of a beautiful environment and a sign of a prosperous country and a peaceful society.¹¹ They designed a small, but very crucial, part of ancient Chinese legislation to protect animals. In fact, they set excellent examples of acknowledging animals' intrinsic values and considering their welfare.

The information that the author wanted to convey clearly to the readers is that ancient China and today's China present a very different picture when it comes to the human-animal relationship. Guided by a holistic view, the dominant approach to animals in ancient China was one of compassion and restraint. The wisdom of the Chinese ancestors in considering animals' interests was not only rich, but also valuable. It gave Chinese people nowadays a sense of the reverence and humility with which their ancestors treated nature and all living things. Contemporary Chinese should seriously study and learn from the wisdom of their ancestors and reflect on their relationship with animals.

Since the problem of animal cruelty in China cannot be attributed to ancient Chinese culture, what is the answer? The author finds it in the changes and developments in contemporary China. This is the second major contribution of the book.

The political and economic processes of China have created and boosted an anthropocentric attitude. Greatly influenced by politics, this anthropocentric attitude has unfolded and intensified as a top-down process. From 1949 till 1978, famines and political campaigns across China mainland contributed to the development of a collective prejudice against animals. After the beginning of the reform and opening-up period, everything in social lives was centred on economic development. As a means of quickly eradicating poverty, the massive expansion of multiple animal use industries exacerbated humans' neglect of animal interests. It must be acknowledged that the emergence and continued deterioration of China's animal cruelty under such an "unsustainable environmentally unfriendly developmentalism"¹² is a typical side effect of political and economic development. At the outset, policy & law makers didn't foresee that these problems would eventually become a huge public safety hazard.

In this context, a view of the law under anthropocentrism is a key factor that holds back China's Animal Law progress. According to Chinese jurist Liang Zhiping, "the rule of law ideology" is at the heart of this view of the law. As an approach that dominates contemporary Chinese attitudes towards human-animal relations, this rule of law ideology is the theoretical root of the ongoing difficulty in moving forward the development of Animal Law, and a practical obstacle that must be overcome in the cause of animal protection in China.¹³

By reading the extensive data and examples in the book, readers can gradually understand this rule of law ideology. Dominated by anthropocentrism, most Chinese people revere such a set of value packages, which mainly include human rights, freedom, market and property rights, among which animals are placed in the position of property objects. A very critical issue here is that this package of values presupposes a premise that animals' interests are in complete opposition to these values. In other words, animal protection can only be justified and accepted if it does not interfere with the realization of these values. ¹⁴

Through reading this book, readers get to know that a system designed to benefit animals is very rare in the social institution construction in China. So, what is the key to advancing the process of Animal Law and improving animal cruelty in China? Changing this above-mentioned rule of law ideology and breaking that value packages is vital.

Firstly, to change this rule of law ideology, Chinese people must first focus on reversing their "misunderstanding" or "lack of awareness." A lack of proper knowledge regarding human-animal relations exists at all levels in China, from policymakers, legislators, and legal practitioners to the public. Specifically, this "misunderstanding" is reflected in two ways. 1) As the author discussed in the book, the misunderstanding of ancient Chinese animal ethics and legislation, in reality, exists as a huge gap in the general public. Most people believe that animal protection is a foreign product that doesn't suit China's context. 2) Chinese people suppose that the animals' interests are incompatible with the interests of humans. This is another gap in existence. If we want to conquer the above misunderstanding, we can accomplish it by developing interdisciplinary education with a focus on Animal Law.

Most Chinese people are distant from animals. They are just like what Martha Nussbaum described as having a stereotypical and mechanical image of and lack genuine humility and real curiosity towards the

¹¹ QIAO, Q., "Extending benevolence to animals": The animal view in Confucian ecological philosophy, in Peking University Chinese Cultural Studies. 1 (2015) 211-244.

¹² LIANG, Z., Reflection on the Rule of Law Ideology: Based on the Perspective of the Relationship between Humans and Animals, in Peking University Law Journal. 32/6 (2020) 1437.

¹³ Ibid, 1426-1447.

¹⁴ Ibid, 1426-1447.

creatures.¹⁵ In particular, the urban population often has an impression of animals that is not obtained through close contact, observation or interaction. People are often easily guided by second-hand information (e.g., education and the media) to fuel their imagination and influence their understanding of animal groups and individuals. With the changing lifestyles of society, humans live in increasing proximity to and integrate with animals,¹⁶ which results in many more cross-species conflicts than before. These diverse relationships can be dealt with well only if humans are sensitive to other species' needs and status¹⁷ and include animals in daily ethical thinking and are aware that animals should be respected.¹⁸

One of the basic ideas to be clarified and disseminated through Animal Law education is that caring for animals' interests does not mean treating them better than humans, but simply showing respect for animals' forms of life and activity and giving necessary attention to the particularity of animal individuals.¹⁹ Importantly, humans establish good relationships with the animal world, which, in turn, contribute to the prosperity and development of humans ourselves.^{20 21} A very urgent example is the fact that in the context of pandemics, public health and animal welfare are closely related. Safeguarding animals' interests and establishing good human-animal relationships are necessary to maintain human health.

Secondly, what is the goal of our action to change this rule of law ideology? Is there only one way of moving from anthropocentrism to non-anthropocentrism? Based on the experience of the development of animal protection careers in western countries, the difficulties of targeting actions aiming at non-anthropocentrism can be severe. Is there another approach worth considering?

Anthropocentrism and non-anthropocentrism have different practical implications. Anthropocentrism constrains and destroys some ordinary viewpoints and ways in which people think meaningful to care for nature, including love, respect and awe. But this doesn't mean anthropocentrism can't produce useful policy proposals.²² Anthropocentrism could be presented in various forms, levels and degrees. There could be simple, crude, short-sighted and narrow-minded anthropocentrism. There could also be moderate, humane and civilized anthropocentrism.²³ Perhaps adopting moderate, humane and civilized anthropocentrism that recognizes and is willing to advance the interests of animals is a more appropriate and achievable option for China's current national context. This variable process could work out as an enrichment of humanity and an achievement of humans capable of creating miracles.²⁴

Thirdly, on whom should we place our hope? In the author's view, it does make sense that the hope for solving China's animal cruelty lies with the younger generation, especially those born in the 90s-00s. However, the author might have felt more hopeful if he had bet on a little more tolerance for those in power. Moving the Animal Law process forward requires policy & lawmakers to consider balancing different interest groups, which needs a necessarily long-term changing process. Although the current state of China's animal cruelty should indeed be attributed to certain limitations of the ruling party's decision-making at a particular stage in history, it is even more important to see that there are chances for transformation and improvement in the pursuit of economic and civilisational progress.

Since 2005, every year during the Chinese National People's Congress (NPC) and the Chinese People's Political Consultative Conference (CPPCC), there have been motions and proposals from NPC deputies and CPPCC members calling for animal-related legislation.²⁵ Expert advice drafts of the Animal Protection Act

¹⁵ WICHERT, R. N., & NUSSBAUM, M. C., Can There Be Friendship Between Human Beings and Wild Animals?, in Journal of Human Development and Capabilities. 22/1 (2021) 87-107.

¹⁶ Ibid.

¹⁷ Ibid.

¹⁸ HOLLAND, B., Allocating the Earth: A Distributional Framework for Protecting Capabilities in Environmental Law and Policy (New York 2014).

¹⁹ WICHERT, R. N., & NUSSBAUM, M. C., Can There Be Friendship Between Human Beings and Wild Animals?, in Journal of Human Development and Capabilities. 22/1 (2021) 87-107.

²⁰ NUSSBAUM, M.C., Frontiers of Justice: Disability, Nationality, Species Membership (Cambridge 2006).

²¹ NUSSBAUM, M.C., Creating Capabilities: The Human Development Approach (Cambridge 2012).

²² MCSHANE, K., Anthropocentrism vs. Nonanthropocentrism: Why should we care? in Environmental Values (2007) 169-185.

²³ LIANG, Z., Reflection on the Rule of Law Ideology: Based on the Perspective of the Relationship between Humans and Animals, in Peking University Law Journal. 32/6 (2020) 1426-1447.

²⁴ NUSSBAUM, M.C., Human Capabilities and Animal Lives: Conflict, Wonder, Law: A Symposium, in Journal of Human Development and Capabilities. 18/3 (2017) 317-321.

²⁵ For example, during the 2021 NPC and CPPCC sessions, 162 deputies, including Zhu Lieyu, Xinjia Danzhen, Sun Yuanhua, Chen Zuodong and Mai Shirui, made five proposals (Nos. 027, 045, 055, 195 and 250) to enact an Anti-cruelty Animal Law (Companion Animal Protection and Management Law). In their proposals, they suggested the enactment of an anti-cruelty law, establishing a legislative concept that places equal emphasis on management and protection of animals, providing for the classification and protection of animals, stipulating civilized breeding, a licensing system and the fulfilment of vaccination obligations, as well as clearly prohibiting cruelty and consumption of companion animals for food and strengthening legal liability. See Report of the Committee on Agriculture and Rural Development of the National People's Congress on the Results of Consideration of the Motions Submitted by the Delegates Referred for Consideration by the Bureau of the Fourth Session of the Thirteenth National People's Congress. Website: http://www.npc.gov.cn/npc/c30834/202201/8149e86b74674c12a2c718936fd14dca.shtml [Last accessed: 5 February, 2022].

and the Anti-Cruelty to Animals Act were also introduced in 2009 and 2010, respectively. In recent years, the Ministry of Agriculture and Rural Affairs (MARA) has expressed an increasingly clear and gradually positive attitude towards animals. For instance, in May 2020, MARA categorized cats and dogs as companion animals rather than traditional livestock.²⁶ Chinese President Xi Jinping has also repeatedly expressed in public the goodwill of Chinese people towards animals and the importance that officials engage in animal protection work. He expressed his affection for animals and opened up that his family kept two dogs²⁷, recognized the uniqueness and importance of animals to Chinese culture²⁸, proved the necessity of learning from ancient Chinese people to treat animals²⁹ and showed concern about the Chinese elephants' expedition for 18 months³⁰ as a demonstration of the effectiveness of ecological civilisation and the results of wildlife conservation.³¹

Qian Yefang, a Law professor, interpreted these contents of Xi Jinping's thoughts by summing up a concept of "animal civilisation."³² Acting in the best interests of harmonization between humans and nature and sustainable development, the Chinese cultural ethics, ideologies, lifestyles, social structures and legal systems³³ relating to animals need to evolve from animal civilisation perspective under ecological civilisation. The possibility of potential variation is merging among the fifth generation of Chinese leaders. It is reasonable to assume that the nation's captain and official decision-makers, mainly those born in the 1950s and 1960s, are sufficiently enlightened to break out of the limitations created by history.

Conclusion

I highly recommend reading this book. This recommendation is not only for those who care for animal protection careers but also for the policymakers, legislators of the Animal Law field and animal-issue regulators in all the related industries. In the process of reading, readers can not only appreciate the author's wisdom and vision as a political scientist, but also sense the author's empathy and keen insight into social life. Animals and their parts can be found in every corner of China. Searching for a balanced relationship between humans and animals is an inescapable issue facing China in the 21st century. Readers will learn that this process is inevitably accompanied by political evolution and a reshaping of rights. With regards to five thousand years of civilisation in Chinese culture, the relationship between humans and animals in contemporary China get trapped in a historically rare morbid state, and most people who are deeply involved in the fact are not aware of it. In a land where ancient Chinese Animal Law once shone, the contemporary

²⁶ In the National Catalogue of Genetic Resources for Livestock and Poultry, officially published on 29 May 2020, the Ministry of Agriculture and Rural Affairs of the People's Republic of China has for the first time specified 33 species of domestic livestock and poultry, and dogs and cats are not among them. The Ministry of Agriculture and Rural Affairs has responded as follows in the relevant written notes and in a press question and answer session: During the public consultation to the community, the majority of comments were in favor of the exclusion of dogs from the catalog. With the progress of human civilization and the public's concern and preference for animal protection, dogs have been "specialized" from traditional domestic animals to companion animals. In the past people kept dogs mainly to guard their homes and for hunting and herding. Now the uses of dogs are even more diverse, mainly in the form of pet companionship, search and rescue police use and accompanying guides. Dogs have become more closely related to humans. As times progress and people's ideas of civilization and eating habits change, so do some of the traditional customs regarding dogs. Internationally, dogs are generally not considered as livestock, for example, dogs are not included in the FAO statistics of domestic poultry, nor are they included in the livestock and poultry list of the Korean Livestock Act. It is also inappropriate for China to include dogs in its livestock and poultry management. See 1. Notice of Public Consultation on the National Catalogue of Livestock and Poultry Genetic Resources by the Ministry of Agriculture and Rural Affairs. Website:

http://www.moa.gov.cn/govpublic/nybzzj1/202004/t20200408_6341065.htm?from=groupmessage&isappinstalled=0 [Last accessed: 5 February 2022]. 2.Q&A with the head of the Ministry of Agriculture and Rural Affairs on the National Catalogue of Livestock and Poultry Genetic Resources. Website: http://www.gov.cn/zhengce/2020-05/29/content_5515957.htm [Last accessed: 5 February 2022]. ²⁷ See Xi Jinping: My family has two pet dogs. Website: https://world.huanqiu.com/article/9CaKrnJugfE [Last accessed 7 December 2021].

²⁸XI, J., Speech at the 2018 Chinese Spring Festival Reunion. Website: http://www.gov.cn/xinwen/2018-02/14/content_5266872.htm [Last accessed 7 December 2021].

²⁹ XI, J., Pushing China's ecological civilization to a new level, in Qiu Shi (2019). Website: http://www.qstheory.cn/dukan/qs/2019-01/31/c 1124054331.htm [Accessed 7 December 2021].

³⁰ In March 2020, a group of 14 Asian elephants in China departed from Pu'er City in the southeastern province of Yunnan. After a journey of about 1300km, they returned to their original sanctuary in September 2021. These elephants were the center of attention of the Chinese people and worldwide. See Elephants return from epic journey. Website: https://www.chinadaily.com.cn/a/202109/11/WS613beee0a310efa1bd66ec44.html [Last consultation: 5 February 2022]

³¹ XI, J., Speech at Leaders' Summit of the 15th Meeting of the Conference of the Parties to the Convention on Biological Diversity. Website: https://www.mfa.gov.cn/zyxw/202110/t20211012_9552466.shtml [Accessed 7 December 2021].

³² QIAN, Y., Eight Pairs of Relationships to be Grasped in Building the Rule of Law for Animal Civilization in the Era of Ecological Civilization, in The Learning Power learning platform (2021). Website:

 $https://article.xuexi.cn/articles/index.html?art_id=407744384587991881\&item_id=407744384587991881\&study_style_id=feeds_de_fault&t=1634009357879\&showmenu=false&ref_read_id=130c456f-9112-40ff-a0e8-de_fault&t=1634009357879\&showmenu=false&ref_read_id=130c456f-9112-40ff-a0e8-de_fault&t=1634009357879\&showmenu=false&ref_read_id=130c456f-9112-40ff-a0e8-de_fault&t=1634009357879\&showmenu=false&ref_read_id=130c456f-9112-40ff-a0e8-de_fault&t=1634009357879\&showmenu=false&ref_read_id=130c456f-9112-40ff-a0e8-de_fault&t=1634009357879\&showmenu=false&ref_read_id=130c456f-9112-40ff-a0e8-de_fault&t=1634009357879\&showmenu=false&ref_read_id=130c456f-9112-40ff-a0e8-de_fault&t=1634009357879\&showmenu=false&ref_read_id=130c456f-9112-40ff-a0e8-de_fault&t=1634009357879\&showmenu=false&ref_read_id=130c456f-9112-40ff-a0e8-de_fault&t=1634009357879\&showmenu=false&ref_read_id=130c456f-9112-40ff-a0e8-de_fault&t=1634009357879\&showmenu=false&ref_read_id=130c456f-9112-40ff-a0e8-de_fault&t=1634008-de_fau$

a087eac7d4d9_1634086789396&pid=&ptype=-1&source=share&share_to=wx_single [Accessed 7 December 2021]. ³³ Ibid.

process of Animal Law lags considerably behind that of western countries. While this is regrettable, we still believe that the future of animal protection in China is full of hope.

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