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Big Animal Rights and the Nonprofit Revolution

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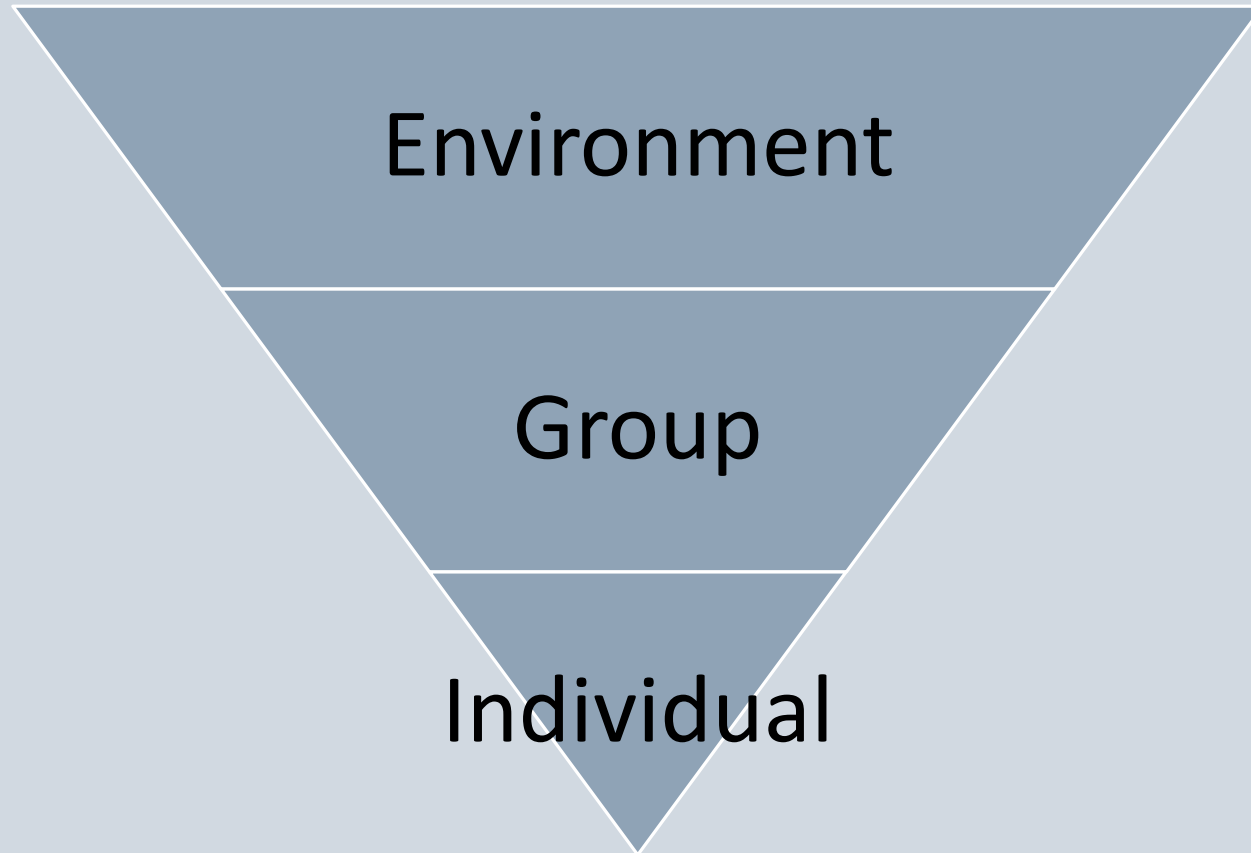


The Activist Imagination

- ❖ Sociology 101: **Don't miss the forest for the trees**
- ❖ Tradition, authority, hegemony restrict
- ❖ Emotive, integrated, and stressful nature of activism invites individualizing



Social Movement Theory



Environmental Influence of Neoliberalism

- ❖ West enters era of austerity in 80s-90s
- ❖ Nonprofits cheap solutions
 - ❖ And quell radical protest
- ❖ Nonprofits rational solutions
 - ❖ Offer stability, predictability, and efficiency
- ❖ Nonprofit industrial complex



Research Design

Qualitative Content Analysis

Archival data

- Nonprobability sampling
- Magazines and newsletters
- 1980 - Early 2000s

Digital data

- Random sample
- Blogs
- Professionalized groups and radical factions
- Mid 2000s - 2013



Trends in Animal Rights Nonprofitization


- ❖ Shift towards professionalization beginning in the mid 1980s
- ❖ Claimsmaking and tactics moderate
- ❖ Increased wealth
- ❖ Increased reliance on fundraising
- ❖ **No defense given for these shifts; taken for granted as appropriate**

Every time we sit down to eat,
we are making a choice.

Now I can look at you
in peace; I don't eat
you anymore.

—Franz Kafka, author

Choose compassion over killing.
Choose vegan.

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OVER KILLING** Post Office Box 9773
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*As long as people will shed the blood of
innocent creatures, there can be no peace,
no liberty, no harmony between people.
Slaughter and justice cannot dwell together.*

— Isaac Bashevis Singer, Nobel Prize Winner

While animals can't protest the routine abuse
they endure on factory farms and in slaughter-
houses, we can each stand up for them.

Every time we sit down to eat,

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THE ABOLITIONIST

THE NEWSLETTER OF COMPASSION OVER KILLING

SEPT/NOV 1997

ISSUE 29 FREE

**COMPASSION OVER KILLING
DELAYS RINGLING BROS. CIRCUS!**



Inside This Issue of The Abolitionist...

2 • COK McProtests in Celebration of the Great
American Meatout
3 • COK Delays Ringling Bros. Circus Activities
Barely Explains Why to Protest Animal Exploitation
4 • COK Talks on the Life for House
5 • COK, Pig Foods Muscular Man Hood on World Day
for Animals in Laboratories
6 • Paul Watson Meets!

7 • Tips from Seasoned Activists to
2018 • 2018's Anti-Campaign Update
10/18 • AUP Logbook
12/18 • COK's 18 Step Guide to
Denier Protests
14/15 • Merchandise
15 • What is COK?
15 • Membership Information

Compassionate Action

The Magazine of Compassion Over Killing

Summer/Fall 2014 • Issue 29



COK Investigator Wins
Two Awards


Investigation Update:
Criminal Charges Filed,
Cases Go to Court

US VegWeek 2014:
More than 130,000
Meat-Free Meals!

Interview with Vegan
Artist Dana Ellyn

Compassion & Soul:
Recipe from Bryant Terry

And much more...

 **COMPASSION
OVER KILLING**

Big Animal Rights

- ❖ Animal rights as a professionalized, hegemonic collective
- ❖ Weilds immense power over the social movement space
- ❖ Strongly shaped by financial interests

Making Big Animal Rights: Isomorphism

- ❖ Similar structures
- ❖ Teamwork
- ❖ Very rarely speak ill of one another
- ❖ One hegemonic voice
- ❖ Control over aspiring grassroots groups
 - Supplies
 - Street teams & leadership workshops
 - Grants



Making Big Animal Rights: Erasure

- ❖ Factionalism is **largely ignored** in professionalized claimsmaking
- ❖ In 1996 . . .
 - 2nd “March for Animals” in D.C.; only 3,000 attendees
 - *Rain without Thunder* published
 - Direct action faction routinely reporting disgruntlement
 - FARM reports that the movement: “[. . .] **enjoys uncommon ideological unanimity**”

Making Big Animal Rights: Diminishment

- ❖ “Diversity” & need for “unity”
- ❖ “False dichotomy”

Making Big Animal Rights: **Disparagement**

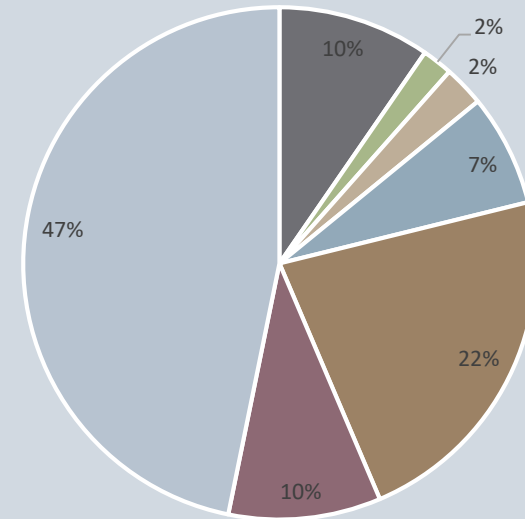
- ❖ More rarely, dissent addressed as a problem
- ❖ Vegan Outreach capitalizes in order to appear “practical” & less threatening
- ❖ Also framed as wasteful & negative

Making Big Animal Rights: Symbol Mining

❖ Power of prof. orgs allows them to mine images, concepts, & ideas as they gain resonance

❖ Then manipulate them to protect hegemony

- Identifying as “abolitionist” or “grassroots”
- Using footage obtained by direct action



■ Abolition ■ Euthanasia ■ Rationality ■ Sexism ■ Veganism ■ Violence ■ Humane



Who's behind those attention-grabbing animal actions? These guys are! Meet the crack team that makes it all happen.

It's 9:30 a.m. on Tuesday and PETA's International Outreach Campaigns (IOC) staff is immersed in weekly planning. The agenda is a sizable four-column, 10-page document, complete with "drops," mailings, paper ads, debates, and a star-studded event. Most of IOC-orchestrated actions will take place all over the world during the week.

At 11:00 a.m., IOC interns and volunteers like Aparna Gullapalli from Cosmeceutical and Carrie Kramer from Pennsylvania stuff envelopes, activate the phone tree, paint signs, staff information tables, march in picket lines, and occasionally get hauled away in handcuffs. Must be those free vegan lunches that keep 'em coming back!

11:30 a.m. **Avalanche!** The postal carrier gives, and Sandee Pyle, IOC's administrative secretary, takes away and distributeth. Hundreds of letters pour into IOC every week from all over the world.

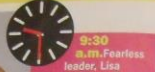
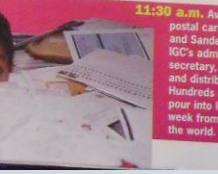
MEET OUR GRASSROOTS GANG!



(Vegetarian Campaign) map out their actions.



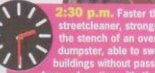
10:30 a.m. "Sometimes I wish I had three ears!" says Activist Liaison Judy Sweetland. Judy's job: helping callers organize in their communities.



9:30 a.m. Fearless leader, Lisa Lange, consults her troops. Cam MacQueen (Premarin Campaign), Judy Sweetland (Activist Liaison), Peter Wood (Gillette and Fur Campaigns), and Tracy Reiman (Vegetarian Campaign) map out their actions.



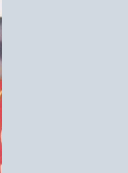
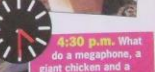
1:00 p.m. IOC staffers suit up Dutch intern Mariken Tyhuis (some of our interns come from as far away as Kenya!) for a Gillette event. Self-confessed publicity seekers, IOC is always looking for ways to grab people's attention. Using eye-catching costumes and generally misbehaving are favorite modus operandi. (See page 22 for the results!)



2:30 p.m. Faster than a streetcleaner, stronger than the stench of an overflowing dumpster, able to sweep tall buildings without passing out from exhaustion—it's the IOC clean-up crew. When cities and companies propose killing animals they consider "pests," IOC is always willing to dive in and clean up the problem, as they did recently when Baltimore, Md.'s trash-filled alleys spurred an attack on rats.



3:30 p.m. Whoops! Looks like Judy forgot to schedule a day off!



4:30 p.m. What do a megaphone, a giant chicken and a spare tire have in common? An IOC road trip! Today's destination: the Virginia Poultry Festival in Harrisonburg, Va. (We can't believe we weren't invited!)



Offshoots of the "roots." Marianne Hilberts, Harald Simons, and Toni Vernelli keep the activism alive and growing in PETA's Dutch, German and U.K. offices.

Making Big Animal Rights: **Exclusion**

- ❖ FARM hosts the annual Animal Rights Conference in the U.S.
- ❖ Radical factions barred
- ❖ Direct action advocates in the U.K. also reporting exclusion
- ❖ Radicals are silenced & cut off from resources



We select presenters and leaders for each component on the basis of their qualifications to handle the specific task (and availability). That judgment is grounded in our own sixteen years' active participation in the movement, including arranging or presenting at 15 animal rights conferences, as well as consultation with our cosponsors and other people whose judgment we respect. We acknowledge a slight bias in favor of emerging leaders and an overwhelming bias against those who would use the convention as a forum to put down other movement activists or organizations.

We look forward to an informative, inspiring, and harmonious convention in June, and we hope to see you there.

- *Alex Hershaft*

❖ Movement-wide events are spaces where **power is concentrated . . .**

❖ And radical factions are **marginalized and disempowered**

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Gold Sponsorship Package (\$7,500)

- Three prime exhibit tables (or equivalent space)
- Ten full registrations & banquet tickets with VIP seating
- Full-page full-color ad in the AR2015 program booklet
- A welcoming slot at the opening plenary
- Placement of up to three qualified speakers in appropriate sessions
- Arrangement of a special lunch session organized by you
- One evening networking reception hosted by you
- Prominent link throughout the AR2015 website
- Listing in all printed AR2015 promotional materials
- Display of your logo during plenary sessions
- Promotion on FARM's social networking sites and newsletters:
 - Three customized images on AR2015 Facebook event page
 - Three customized images on FARM's Facebook fan page (200,000 followers)
 - Tag on FARM's Instagram & Twitter (35,000 followers)
 - Feature of two of your speakers in FARM's e-newsletter (25,000+ subscribers)

Importance of Factionalism

❖ Thought to impact success . . .

❖ **Negatively**

- Drains energy & resources
- Reduces resonance (Frey, Dietz & Kalof 1992)
- Reduces credibility with public (Snow 1993)

❖ . . . **And Positively**

- Maintains goal integrity
- Tactical innovation
- *Increases* resonance (Cress & Snow 2000)
- Increases support for moderate groups (Haines 1984)



Conclusions

- ❖ Prof. orgs put economic & political capital towards the formation of **symbolic capital**
- ❖ Prof. orgs control the social movement field: the “**common sense**” of **activism** is created here
- ❖ This capital is wielded to **maintain and increase power** in the social change space
- ❖ **Aggravates factionalism**, but also **neutralizes resonance** of radicals

Conclusions

- ❖ Big Animal Rights correlated with greater **power** and **presence**
- ❖ But also **compromise** and **state collaboration**
- ❖ Hegemony of Big Animal Rights can be checked by **radicals**
- ❖ **Factionalism as a healthy mechanism, rather than hindrance**