
Tied Oppressions: An Analysis of How Sexist Imagery Reinforces Speciesist Sentiment^{1*}

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Abstract: All oppression is rooted in the same system of domination and so embracing any form of oppression reinforces all oppressions. Unless social movements recognize oppression as rooted in the same system of domination, they will not be able to reject the foundations upon which their oppression is rooted. Dichotomous epistemology and value-hierarchies are the main characteristics of patriarchy that enforce both sexism and speciesism. I illustrate this by examining two animal rights advertisements that use sexist images. I demonstrate how sexism bolsters speciesism by reinforcing dichotomous epistemology, establishing value-hierarchies and accepting that positioning women as animals is degrading to women.



Social justice movements are typically single-issue ventures. While this may be necessary in order to set achievable goals, make coherent claims, and develop a larger base of supporters, it can also lead to a lack of mutual identification between social justice movements. Social movement organizations are vying for limited resources, including members, funds, and political allies. In this context, competition can develop between social movement organizations within a single social movement,² as well as between different social justice movements.³

Inter-movement competition often leads to situations in which social justice movements make claims or take actions that place their goals over the goals of other movements. For example, social movements may use patriarchal organizing structures and devalue the work of women as Belinda Robnett shows in the case of the Civil Rights movement⁴ and Julian McAllister Groves⁵ shows in the case of the animal rights movement. Movements may also intentionally assert their cause over other movements, as has occurred with debates over live animal markets in San Francisco's China town. Animal rights activists claim that the welfare of the animals is the most important issue, while community activists in China town claim that preserving cultural autonomy is of paramount concern.⁶

In this article I speak specifically to the effects of a third way that social justice movements undercut each other. Though less common, it is the case that social movements actively oppress other disadvantaged groups to further their own aims. This is particularly problematic because oppressions are interlocking⁷ and mutually reinforcing within an overarching system of domination. Therefore, when any social justice movement asserts privilege over another social justice movement it hurts *all* movements fighting oppression.

I demonstrate how this works by focusing on one example that ties two social movements: women's movements and animal rights. I present two advertisements by People for the Ethical Treatment of Animals (PETA) and take the reader through a feminist reading of these images to demonstrate 1) they are sexist, 2) the way in which they are sexist relies on paralleling women to nonhuman animals, and 3) this parallel reasserts speciesist ideology and reinforces both anti-woman and anti-animal sentiments.

The argument that some PETA ads are sexist is not new,⁸ and has long been a discussion among both feminists and animal rights activists. I extend this debate by arguing that these images also reinforce speciesist and anti-animal ideology through their use of sexism. I tie this argument back to the larger need for social justice movements to recognize that all oppressions are interlocking and when any oppression is embraced all oppressions are strengthened.

I focus on these specific advertisements and on PETA for a number of reasons. PETA is in no way representative of all animal rights organizations, but it is currently the largest animal rights social movements organization in the United States.⁹ According to their mission statement they currently have over 2 million members and supporters internationally. Furthermore, they are an organization that is popularly recognized in the United States for advertising campaigns that often feature famous actors (e.g. Alicia Silverstone, Jack-Ass's Steve-o), musicians (e.g. Paul McCartney, Pink) and pop icons (e.g. Pamela Anderson, Playboy Playmates) in risqué poses. Since PETA campaigns are more visible to a larger audience than are most animal rights campaigns, the tactics they choose are particularly important as they can potentially direct popular sentiment toward animal rights. I selected the advertisements I refer to in this article not because they are indicative of all animal rights campaigns or even of all PETA advertisements, but because they are clear examples of the main points I am making in this paper; namely, that utilizing sexism reinforces the oppression of animals.

(Un)Tied Oppressions

All forms of discrimination, including homophobia, racism, sexism, speciesism, ageism, disableism and bias based on weight and citizenship status, are rooted in the same system of oppression. This is not to say that *experiences* of or *histories* of oppression are the same for different groups. In fact, oppression never looks the same; this is why it is difficult for oppressed groups to recognize the ways in which their oppressions are similar and can actually reinforce each other. Different groups have different histories and daily experiences of oppression. Further, within any group, oppression and discrimination is experienced differently on an individual basis. Each individual embodies a unique array of oppressed and privileged positions simultaneously, based on their biography and social experiences; as such systems of oppression intersect differently for different individuals. This is what Kimberly Crenshaw describes as “intersectionality.”¹⁰

At its most basic level, intersectionality refers to the fact that any one form of oppression is experienced differently in light of other positions of oppression an individual holds. In other words, an Asian woman experiences sexism differently than a black woman and experiences racism differently than an Asian man. For example, discrimination in the labor market works differently for men and women and varies by race in a complex way, so that an individual is multiplicatively affected by race and gender. Though men within any ethnic group make more than their female counterparts on average, this gap varies depending on the ethnic group. The largest average wage gap within any U.S. ethnic group is between Asian men and Asian women (\$205/week), followed by whites (\$152/week), blacks (\$67/week), then Hispanics (\$47/week). At the same time, differences between ethnic groups are such that the general tenant that men make more than women fades; the median weekly earnings of Asian and white women is greater than that of black and Hispanic men.¹¹

This example demonstrates the way that oppressions intersect in a complicated manner, such that each individual experiences oppression in a unique way. This makes it particularly difficult to recognize oppression as a systemic rather than an individual problem. In addition to the intersections of oppressions that individuals experience, it is necessary to recognize that different types of oppression mutually reinforce one another. David Nibert¹² identifies the systematic and institutional nature of oppression, highlighting the way in which oppressions are “entangled”:

[T]he oppression of various devalued groups in human societies is not independent and unrelated; rather, the arrangements that lead to various forms of oppression are integrated in such a way that the exploitation of one group frequently augments and compounds the mistreatment of others.¹³

U.S. slaughterhouses provide a stark example of the way that oppressions are entangled. The push for inexpensive food has led to a system of exploitation that oppresses workers, the poor, nonhuman animals, and immigrants. The exploitation of nonhuman animals is obvious—in 2009 a total of 9,078,208,000 cows, calves, sheep, lambs, pigs, chickens, turkeys, and ducks were murdered in U.S. slaughterhouses.¹⁴ Workers in these slaughterhouses face one of the highest risk jobs in the U.S. Slaughterhouses were identified in 2005 as the most dangerous factory job in the U.S. by the Human Rights Watch,¹⁵ with workers experiencing serious injuries at a rate five times higher than the national average.¹⁶ Further, companies often recruit workers without documentation,¹⁷ leaving them no recourse for opposing unsafe labor conditions. Work stresses spillover into the community, putting women at particular risk. Amy Fitzgerald, Linda Kalof and Thomas Dietz found “that slaughterhouse employment increases total arrest rates, arrests for violent crimes, arrests for rape, and arrests for other sex offenses in comparison with other industries.”¹⁸ The fast pace of the slaughterhouse also increases the risk of errors that can lead to contamination by pathogens such as *E. coli* and *Listeria*. The lowest grades of meats involve the mixing of parts from multiple animals, increasing this risk even further; it is this meat that is incorporated in the country’s free lunch programs, and is fed to the poorest of the country’s children.

Oppressions are entangled in such a way that they mutually generate and reinforce each other because they are all linked through a single overarching system of oppression—what Patricia Hill Collins has labeled the “matrix of domination”:

Intersectionality refers to particular forms of intersecting oppressions, for example, intersections of race and gender, or of sexuality and nation. Intersectional paradigms remind us that oppression cannot be reduced to one fundamental type and that oppressions work together in producing injustices. In contrast, the matrix of domination refers to how these intersecting oppressions are actually organized. Regardless of the particular intersections involved, structural, disciplinary, hegemonic, and interpersonal domains of power reappear across quite different forms of oppression.¹⁹

The overarching structure currently bolstering all oppression is patriarchy, a social system premised on an unequal distribution of power that privileges and maintains the power of humans, men, whites, U.S. citizens and the wealthy. Patriarchy enforces and maintains an inegalitarian power structure through the use of dichotomous epistemologies and value-ordered hierarchies. Dichotomous thinking defines something in relation to what it is *not* as opposed to what it *is*. A dichotomy establishes only two opposite ways of being and only one is valued. All that are not on the valued end are devalued because they are defined as *not like* what is valued.²⁰ Two of the most

salient dichotomies are the man/woman and man/nature dichotomies, which create boundaries that are so accepted they are almost rendered invisible. The man/woman dichotomy that is the root of misogyny clearly demonstrates this point.

In the man/woman dichotomy, “man” is privileged and everything else is devalued. “Man” is not just a biological male; it is equated with masculinity, whiteness and heterosexuality. In this dichotomy, one version of masculinity is valued and all others are relegated to “not man.” This applies not only to women, but also to men who don’t embody this dominant masculinity. A man who is not white or straight is not *fully* a man, and a qualifier is typically attached to him; he is an “Asian man” or a “black man” or a “gay man.”²¹

Dichotomous thinking not only reinforces gender inequality through the man/woman dichotomy that devalues women and feminine traits; it also perpetuates racial inequality. For example, Espiritu explains the consistent oppression of Asian Americans and Asians in the United States as a result of their being defined as “not-American,” which relegates them as a group to being “forever foreigners.”²² Patriarchal dichotomous thinking explains why animals don’t deserve equal rights as a function of their status as *not* human, rather than because of their status as animals. Importantly, there can be no concept of animal as *not* human without establishing the concept of humanity, when in reality humans *are* animals. This erects the man/animal species barrier and propagates an inequalitarian relationship of power.

Within the matrix of domination there are multiple oppressions operating simultaneously so that people, including nonhuman animals, have different positions along a dynamic continuum of power relations. Carol J. Adams refers to this rank ordering as a value-hierarchy.²³ Within this hierarchy, certain groups, ideas and institutions are privileged over others. This hierarchical system of ordering society has also come to influence the way that we think about inequality, providing the justification needed to maintain oppressions:

Oppression has to be rationalized and justified. It relies heavily on hierarchical views in which certain groups are believed to be undeserving of consideration and fair treatment, promoting a ranking based on purported virtue or worth.²⁴

The most prominent example of the way this system of oppression and power works is capitalism. Nibert identifies economics, particularly capitalism, as the foundation of oppression.²⁵ I, however, position capitalism as a *tool* of patriarchy. In the current social-historical context, capitalism is likely the main tool of patriarchy, but patriarchy provides the structural and ideological foundation

under which capitalism operates. Capitalism is a clear example of how patriarchy builds institutions that appear to be fair when in reality they maintain power structures.

Economic inequality established under capitalism parallels and maintains the myriad inequalities perpetuated by patriarchal domination at the same time that it masks inequalities and systemic oppression. Because currency looks the same no matter who holds it, and because of the current cultural perpetuation of the “boot strap myth,”²⁶ people do not question or have the means to oppose this system. It therefore becomes a self-sustaining and self-regulating system that exploits the majority economically, keeping them in competition with each other for resources, rather than in conflict with those in power. In this way the privileged few effortlessly, and perhaps unreflexively at times, maintain power.

The concept of value-hierarchies can also help us understand why social justice movements choose not to mutually support each other and how patriarchy allows movements to undercut one another. The notion of value-hierarchies explains why social justice movements may claim that some oppressions are more immediate or necessary or important than others—at times leading movements to engage in an unnecessary competition amongst each other for legitimacy, members, or resources.

Frayed Rope

Vegetarian ecofeminists have worked to bring an ethic of animal rights to feminism by making empirical and theoretical ties between women and animals. *The Sexual Politics of Meat*, by Adams,²⁷ is the seminal work advancing these arguments. Adams argues that the oppression of nonhuman animals is directly linked to, and actually reinforces, the oppression of women. She describes meat eating as a vestige of patriarchy that perpetuates the key aspects of patriarchy, including the ideas “that the ends justifies the means, that the objectification of other beings is a necessary part of life, and that violence can and should be masked.”²⁸ Further, vegetarianism is equated with emasculation, as meat is a cultural signifier of virility and masculinity.²⁹ As Pierre Bourdieu explains, part of the gendering (and thereby hierarchical organizing) that occurs in the family occurs through food, including the belief that meat is intended for men and is important for both their strength and virility.³⁰ That society accepts this notion is apparent in the fact that most vegetarians are women; it is estimated that at least two thirds of the animal rights movement is women.³¹

From this perspective meat eating is unjustifiable not only because it is premised on killing that is unnecessary to maintain human life or health, but also because meat encodes patriarchal relations of domination. Adams strengthens the argument that the oppressions of women (and children) and nonhuman animals are tied via an analysis of how sexual violence in families links misogyny and animal abuse. She argues that sexual abusers often kill or threaten to kill animals, most often companion animals, to get victims to comply. She describes how one frequent tactic used by abusers to get children to remain silent about sexual abuse is to tell them that their companion animal will be killed if they reveal the abuse. Empirical studies at women's shelters support her argument. The American Humane Association found that 71% of abused women seeking shelter at a safe house said that their partner had threatened, hurt, or killed their companion animals.³² Another study found that 48% of Ontarian women who had left their abusive partner said that concern for the safety of their pets delayed their decision to leave.³³

The ecofeminist perspective recognizes the tied oppressions of women, animals, and the earth, but it is not a dominant feminist perspective. Similarly, a rejection of sexism is often not a focus within animal rights theory or practice. This results in the two movements remaining separate, whereas they would be better served by acknowledging the ways their experiences of oppression are tied together and mutually reinforce each other. Their lack of ability to recognize their oppression as tied allows for situations in which feminists engage in the abuse and exploitation and the murder of animals while the animal rights community engages in sexist behaviors. For example, feminist events almost always serve meat and dairy and many animal rights campaigns rely on sexist "hooks." The harm this causes extends not only to the group oppressed, but the group engaging in the oppression and all other social justice causes that are engaged in fighting oppression. The privileging of one end of the artificial dichotomy (in this example, women over animals, or animals over women) is implicit in patriarchy, which relies on differentially valuing those few in power over the majority and splintering the majority into multifarious minority groups. Patriarchy maintains itself effortlessly when oppressed groups feel their goals are at odds, oppress one another, and remain disparate rather than uniting.

Tying Knots

I will now present two advertisements produced by PETA. I identify them as sexist by highlighting how they perpetuate dichotomous ways of thinking and reinforce value hierarchies, the key mechanisms of patriarchal domination, which oppresses both women and nonhuman animals. I

demonstrate that understanding the sexism inherent in these ads plays upon dominant social ideologies about the inferiority of nonhuman animals and, in this way, actually fosters the acceptance of speciesism. In the name of making immediate changes to individuals' consumptive behaviors regarding animals, PETA uses sexist advertising hooks that reinforce misogyny, racism and, counter-intuitively, speciesist sentiment.

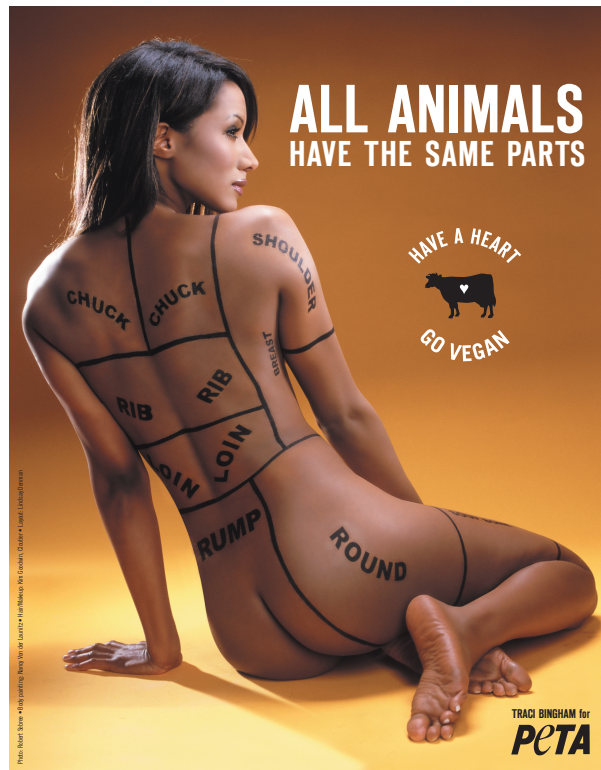


Figure 1

I highlight two advertisements—one promoting veganism (Figure 1) and the other opposing the annual seal hunt in Canada (Figure 2). The pro-vegan advertisement was released in April 2006 as part of PETA's promotion of a vegan diet. It features Traci Bingham, naked, back turned to the camera. The copy reads: "All animals have the same parts. Have a heart. Go vegan." Bingham is leaning on one hand, her head turned so that her profile is visible.³⁴ Her body is sectioned off with black lines. Inside of these lines are words that represent different cuts of meat that correspond with that body part. For example, over the buttocks is the word "rump" and, though none of her breast is visible in this advertisement, the word "breast" is written on her side.

This image is similar to one on Adams' book, *The Sexual Politics of Meat*. On the book cover the image is appropriate; it is meant to offend and to highlight the connection of the oppression of *both* animals *and* women. The connotations change in PETA's advertisement. First, the representation Adams uses is a drawing; no specific woman is used. Conversely, PETA uses a photograph of an actual woman, thereby choosing to allow the degradation of a living person, treating her as they argue animals should not be treated. In the process of showing the similarity between humans and animals, PETA does not critique the sexualization of the model as Adams does. Rather, they rely on the sexualization of this woman to sell their message. However, by devaluing the women who is used to sell this message, they devalue the message itself.

In the pro-vegetarian billboard, Bingham is visibly objectified. That is the point of the ad—that she is equated to pieces of meat. Bingham also becomes an object in a more subtle way. This ad relies on the most tried-and-true images of a misogynistic society—a naked sexualized woman whose primary value is in her ability to provide pleasure for (heterosexual male) others. Bingham is reclining, actionless, vulnerable and naked. She is an object of desire. This is repeated with Surya Bonaly, an accomplished French figure skater, who is positioned below the camera, crawling on the ice, seductively looking up toward the camera (Figure 2).



Figure 2

This ad, released in February 2007, is one of several in which Bonaly appeared to promote opposition to seal hunting in Canada. She is looking up at a camera above her head. The copy reads: "Get the Violence Off the Ice." This advertisement relies on images that are used regularly in the popular media to control women through subordination and sexual objectification. She is not doing anything, her crawling is merely a seductive position, not a mode of transportation; she is going nowhere. In fact, she is positioned such that if she were to move forward she would be forced to crawl through blood.

Bonaly is the object of the picture. The viewer, who takes on the perspective of the male gaze, is the subject. The male gaze "directs itself at, and takes pleasure in, women, where women function as erotic objects."³⁵ The subject accepts the privileged position and Bonaly becomes the devalued object (who is possibly supposed to be "like" a baby seal). Both of these ads reinforce a dichotomous way of knowing by reproducing the subject/object dichotomy. This is the very dichotomy that justifies the inhumane treatment of animals as the object of human consumption.

The valued end of any dichotomy will always privilege those in power and a patriarchal way of being. The animal rights movement can potentially offer and benefit from a powerful critique of patriarchy. Human consumption of animal products and inhumane treatment of animals in the name of capitalist gains or personal pleasure is immoral and wrong to those concerned with animals' rights because they acknowledge that nonhuman animals have an equal claim to having full lives, free of pain or confinement. However, in privileging the male-gaze subject looking at Bingham and Bonaly, they reestablish the subject/object dichotomy.

Not only do these advertisements make women objects, they make them sexual objects. Bingham is intentionally paralleled to an animal and, presumably, this parallel is supposed to be blatant enough to encourage us to stop eating meat. However, her sexualization reinforces the misogynistic idea that women are sexual objects. The use of sexist imagery is an outcome of patriarchy that supports and encourages oppression by reinforcing both the subject/object and man/woman dichotomies.

Sexist imagery is also premised on underlying assumptions of speciesist ideology since women are often positioned as nonhuman animals to visibly convey their inferior status. Bonaly is unquestionably animalized. She is shown crawling on all fours, beneath the male gaze, looking up, in a pose that can easily be compared to that of a loyal dog looking up at its "owner." One of the ways that the oppressor class attempts to establish their superiority is by demonstrating the inferiority of those whom they wish to dominate. Utilizing the man/nature dichotomy and assigning an "inferior"

status to those that are considered closer to nature often achieve this. This is tied into what Norbert Elias describes as the “civilizing process,” an ongoing historical process through which humans seek to distinguish themselves from other animals by monitoring, controlling and distancing themselves from the biological body and drives.³⁶ In examining the historical development of manners and etiquette, Elias found that class boundaries are maintained by developing systems of manners in which the upper classes consistently seek to distance themselves from the lower classes by creating and utilizing more rituals and codes of conduct to distance themselves further from natural bodily functions.

Social boundaries are drawn not only by establishing one’s own distance from nature, but also by asserting that another group is “closer” to nature and nonhuman animals. This is one way that racism and sexism have been maintained historically. Throughout US history, immigrant and minority groups have been compared to animals. Examples abound: slaves were often referred to as chattel and called “beasts”; anti-Chinese sentiment in the late 1800’s through mid 1900’s paralleled Chinese men to rodents and suggested they were barbaric;³⁷ black women throughout U.S. history and at present are often portrayed as hypersexual and wildly animalistic;³⁸ Asian women are seen as ultra submissive and loyal,³⁹ much like the family dog; Latinas are labeled “breeders”.⁴⁰ All of these stereotypes provide justification for and the perpetuation of racism.

These constructs are used to oppress women as well. The insults that control women are often premised on animal comparisons: old hen, bitch, fat cow, etc.⁴¹ These advertisements embrace sexism by turning the women in the ads into objects (versus subjects) and by literally positioning them as animals. Bingham is nude in this ad. Nudity is seen as “natural” and animalistic at the same time that removing a woman’s clothing makes her vulnerable and turns her into an object of heterosexual male desire and control. Bonaly is explicitly positioned as an animal and that is how the viewer understands that she is in a submissive position because of the dominant perception of nonhuman animals as inferior. A sexualized woman can only catch attention to sell an idea or product in a misogynistic culture. Misogyny is rooted in sexism, sexism is a tool of patriarchy, and patriarchy is the very system that oppresses nonhuman animals. By utilizing an image that relies on the viewer’s acceptance that positioning a woman as a nonhuman animal is degrading, these advertisements are inadvertently bolstering the idea that nonhuman animals are subordinate. Embracing sexism actually reinforces speciesism and subverts the aim of any animal rights campaign that relies on sexism.

Accepting these PETA advertisements means accepting the idea that women are objects of consumption and desire even though this is exactly how PETA wants us to stop treating animals. PETA asks us to accept value-hierarchies, oppression and sexual objectification when the objects (not subjects) are women but to reject these characteristics of oppression when the subjects of the debate are nonhuman animals. However, the problem is greater than the fact that “connecting their sexualized bodies to the idea of animals solidifies the trajectory of thinghood.”⁴² That is because the objectification of women in the ads is reliant on the viewer accepting and embracing that animals are in a position lesser than that of human animals. The sexist images in these ads are not critiquing the typical degrading use of the parallel of human animal to nonhuman animal, rather they are embracing it’s degrading value to produce images easily read as sexist.

Moving Forward

These ads are not representative of all animal rights campaigns, or even all PETA campaigns, but they are important examples of how a failure to reject all oppression subverts the goal of rejecting any oppression. It is also the case that whenever a women’s campaign utilizes speciesism they bolster sexism. Women’s movements often rely on animal abuse and exploitation to raise money and galvanize support. Fundraisers often serve animal flesh as food, breast cancer fundraisers are typically sponsored by or give the money they raise to companies that experiment on animals and there is rarely a prohibition on wearing skins into female “safe spaces” and woman-only centers and shelters, even though the methods of obtaining leather and fur are violent and abusive.

Sexist animal rights campaigns and speciesist feminist campaigns create a situation in which these movements are at odds with each other. This is precisely how the matrix of domination functions—it allows the oppressed to oppress each other so that the privileged maintain power. When two oppressed groups argue over whose oppression matters more they reinforce each other’s oppression and neglect to work together to fight oppression at its roots.

Ultimately, what is crucial for the animal rights movement to realize and incorporate in their advertisements is the patriarchal nature of meat eating, as well as the inherent quality and equality of all animals. But, as Adams and other ecofeminist scholars⁴³ have highlighted, this criticism of patriarchy involves a shift in epistemology, or worldview. The necessary shift is to reject dichotomous constructs and value hierarchies, thereby subverting patriarchy. In rejecting dichotomous notions, there is no longer a comparative standard of what is superior to set as a rubric by which to evaluate all others as inferior.

If we live in a society that accepts homophobia or racism or sexism, it surely will never reject speciesism. When any social movement frames their arguments in a way in which they embrace “selling” an idea, rather than challenging an oppressive system, they are accepting short-term, moderate goals using means counterproductive to achieving a society that actually values equality. What all social justice movements opposed to any form of oppression should ultimately seek to do is to recognize the commonalities among and foundations of all oppressions. In doing so, they can recognize common goals and appreciate and value those goals which are different because, without a patriarchal value system, difference will not equate to inequality. Such a tactical shift in epistemology and method serves all groups and goals by turning attention to dismantling oppression at its roots, rather than disparately focusing on oppression’s varied outcome; such a shift will potentially enable the type of change needed to dismantle oppression.

APPENDIX A: Response from PETA

As an organization staffed largely by feminist women, PETA would never do something that we felt contributed to the very serious problems that women face. We believe that all people should be free to use their minds *and bodies* as political instruments in order to draw attention to animal suffering and that there is nothing shameful or exploitative about doing so.

Our demonstrators and models—both women and men—choose to participate in our ads and demonstrations because they want to do something to make people stop and pay attention. Our campaigns aren't driven by a patriarchal power structure; they are designed to shake people up, initiate discussion, and question the status quo. This tactic has been used since Lady Godiva rode naked on a horse to protest taxes on the poor in the 11th century.

These activists are dedicated to helping foxes who are electrocuted and skinned by the millions for the fur industry, calves who are torn away from their distraught mothers and slaughtered for the meat industry, elephants who are beaten bloody and forced to live in chains year after year in circuses, and the billions of animals who suffer from abuse, maddening isolation, starvation, terror, and violent death at the hands of uncaring industries. Indeed, oppression of animals is unique in mortality rates.

Traci Bingham and Pamela Anderson both posed for our "All Animals Have the Same Parts" ad campaign. Both are deeply committed vegetarians known to millions for their television work, and they chose to use their bodies as a political tool to grab public attention for serious animal issues. In

this case, Ms. Bingham and Ms. Anderson were offended by the traditional "meat" posters that treat animals as "parts," and they wanted to make the point that neither farmed animals nor women should be viewed as parts—we are all precious.

French ice-skating champion Surya Bonaly has widely denounced fur and wanted to use her celebrity in a way that would initiate discussion about the mass slaughter of seals in Canada's annual massacre. Bonaly was fully involved in the making of her ad.

It must be noted that societies that allow women to wear revealing clothing are those in which women have the most rights and the most power. Likewise, it is the societies that punish women for wearing revealing clothing in which women have the fewest rights and the least power. Should women only be allowed to participate in activism if they promise not to show their bodies or use their bodies as political statements? If a person chooses to use his or her physicality and sexuality to convey a message of his or her choosing, aren't those who would censor him or her, even if their motives are good, also somewhat guilty of disrespect and repression?

PETA does make a point of having something for all tastes, from the most conservative to the most radical and from the most tasteless to the most refined, and our campaigns have proved extremely successful. In the three decades since PETA was founded, it has grown into the largest animal rights group in the world, with more than 2 million members and supporters worldwide. To find out more, please visit PETA.org.

Notes

*I wish to thank Bron Tamulis for his contributions to my early thinking on this project.

¹ See Appendix A for a response to this article from PETA.

² Mayer N. Zald and John D. McCarthy, "Social Movement Industries: Competition and Cooperation Among Movement Organizations" *Research in Social Movements, Conflict, and Change* 3: 4-5.

³ David S. Meyer and Nancy Whittier, "Social Movement Spillover," *Social Problems* 41 no. 2 (1994): 277-278.

⁴ Belinda Robnett, *How Long? How Long?: African-American Women in the Struggle for Civil Rights* (New York, NY: Oxford University Press, 1997).

⁵ Julian McAllister Groves, "Animal Rights and the Politics of Emotions: Folk Constructions of Emotions and the Animal Rights Movement" in *Passionate Politics*, ed. Jeff Goodwin, James M. Jasper and Francesca Polletta (Chicago, IL: the University of Chicago Press, 2001), 212-232.

⁶ See Lynda Gledhill, "Chinatown Grocers Cleared of Cruelty/ Animal Rights Group May Appeal Ruling," SFGate.com (July 23, 1998). http://articles.sfgate.com/1998-07-23/news/17727367_1_animal-cruelty-chinatown-merchants-animal-welfare-advocates

⁷ Patricia Hill Collins, *Black Feminist Thought* (New York, NY: Routledge, 2000), 8-12, 18.

⁸ A comprehensive discussion of whether PETA advertising campaigns can and should be read as sexist from a feminist perspective is outlined in detail by Maneesha Deckha, "Disturbing Images: PETA and the Feminist Ethics of Animal

Advocacy," *Ethics & the Environment* 13, no. 2 (2008): 55. See also Nikki Kraft's webpage, PETA: Where Only Women are Treated Like Meat at <http://www.nostatusquo.com/ACLU/PETA/peta.html>.

⁹ Corwin Kruse, "Gender, Views of Nature, and Support from Animal Rights," *Society and Animals* 7 no.3 (1999): 415-440.

¹⁰ Kimberly Crenshaw, "Mapping the Margins: Intersectionality, Identity Politics, and Violence Against Women of Color," *Stanford Law Review* 43 (1993): 1241-1299.

¹¹ Bureau of Labor Statistics, "Earnings of Women and Men by Race and Ethnicity, 2007" <http://www.bls.gov/opub/ted/2008/oct/wk4/art04.txt> (accessed July 18, 2010).

¹² David Nibert, *Animal Rights/ Human Rights: Entanglements of Oppression and Liberation* (Boulder, CO: Rowman & Littlefield Publishers, Inc., 2002).

¹³ *Ibid.*, 4.

¹⁴ USDA, National Agricultural Statistics Service, "Annual Livestock Slaughter Summary 2009" (2010) <http://usda.mannlib.cornell.edu/MannUsda/viewDocumentInfo.do?documentID=1097>.

USDA, National Agricultural Statistics Service, "Annual Poultry Slaughter Summary 2009" (2010). <http://usda.mannlib.cornell.edu/MannUsda/viewDocumentInfo.do?documentID=1497>.

¹⁵ Lance Compa and Jaime Fellner, "Meatpacking's Human Toll," *Human Rights Watch* (August 2, 2005) <http://www.hrw.org/en/news/2005/08/02/meatpackings-human-toll>.

¹⁶ Eric Schlosser, "The Chain Never Stops," *Mother Jones* (July 2001) <http://motherjones.com/politics/2001/07/chain-never-stops>.

¹⁷ Eric Schlosser, *Fast Food Nation: The Dark Side of the All-American Meal* (New York, NY: Perennial, 2002): 160-164.

¹⁸ Amy J. Fitzgerald, Linda Kalof and Thomas Dietz, "Slaughterhouses and Increased Crime Rates: An Empirical Analysis of the Spillover from "The Jungle" into the Surrounding Community, *Organization & Environment* 22 no 2 (2009): 1.

¹⁹ Collins, *Black Feminist Thought*, 18.

²⁰ Raia Prokhobnik, *Rational Woman: A Feminist Critique of Dichotomy* (New York, NY: Manchester University Press, 2000).

²¹ Michael S. Kimmel, *The Gendered Society* (New York, NY: Oxford University Press, 2000).

²² Yen Le Espiritu, "We Don't Sleep Around Like White Girls Do: Family, Culture, and Gender in Filipina American Lives," *Signs* 26 (2001). See also Yen Le Espiritu, *Asian American Men and Women* (Thousand Oaks, CA: Sage, 1997).

²³ Carol J. Adams, "Bringing Peace Home: A Feminist Philosophical Perspective on the Abuse of Women, Children, and Pet Animals," *Hypatia* 9 no. 2 (1994): 63-84.

²⁴ Nibert, *Animal Rights/ Human Rights*, 5.

²⁵ *Ibid.*, 15-17.

²⁶ The "bootstrap myth" refers to the U.S. colloquialism that anyone can "pull herself up by her bootstraps." This speaks to a cultural belief in the "American Dream" that no matter what a person's social or economic background is, he can succeed if he works hard enough.

²⁷ Carol J. Adams, *The Sexual Politics of Meat: A Feminist-vegetarian Critical Theory* (New York, NY: Continuum, 1990).

²⁸ *Ibid.*, 14.

²⁹ *Ibid.* See also Aimee Dowl, "Friend or Food: Raising the Flag for Feminist Vegetarianism," *Bitch* 34 (2007): 59-63.

³⁰ Pierre Bourdieu, *Distinction: A Social Critique of the Judgment of Taste*, trans. Richard Nice (Cambridge, NY: Harvard University Press, 1984).

³¹ Harold Herzog, "Gender Differences in Human Animal Interactions: A Review," *Anthrozoos* 20 no. 1 (2007): 7-21; James M. Jasper and Dorothy Nelkin, *The Animal Rights Crusade: The Growth of a Moral Protest* (New York, NY: The Free Press, 1992).

³² American Humane Association, "Understanding the Link Between Animal Abuse and Family Violence," Newsroom Fact Sheets, <http://www.americanhumane.org/about-us/newsroom/fact-sheets/understanding-the-link.html> (accessed on July 15, 2010).

³³ Ontario Veterinary Medical Association, "Ontario Veterinarians Applaud Province for Enacting Canada's Toughest Welfare Legislation" <http://www.newswire.ca/en/releases/archive/March2009/02/c5064.html> (accessed July 15, 2010)

³⁴ PETA just released another version of this advertisement with a Pamela Anderson. Though beyond the scope of this paper, these ads raise questions about the racialization of their ads as well. Anderson is white and Bingham identifies as African American; the ads vary in key ways worth briefly mentioning, as they can be understood as part of the racial subordination that is reinforced through visual images. Anderson is at least minimally clothed, while Bingham is not clothed at all. Additionally, Anderson is given more agency than Bingham, as she is looking at the camera while Bingham is not. Finally, it is worth noting that a second, Spanish language, version of the advertisement with Bingham was also produced. In that ad, Bingham is even more vulnerable, relining on her side with part of her breast showing. The most

submissive version of this advertisement is one in which one racial minority is posing for an ethnic minority. Only in the version with the white Pamela Anderson is the model given clothing or positioned to look at the audience head-on.

³⁵ Mary Devereaux, "Oppressive Texts, Resisting Readers and the Gendered Spectator: The New Aesthetics," *The Journal of Aesthetics and Art Criticism* 48 no. 4 (1990): 337.

³⁶ Norbert Elias, *The Civilizing Process* (New York, NY: Urizen Books, 1978), 143-152.

³⁷ Gwen Sharp, "Old 'Yellow Peril' Anti-Chinese Posters," *Contexts Journal Online*, <http://contexts.org/socimages/2008/07/08/old-yellow-peril-anti-chinese-posters/> (posted July 8, 2008).

³⁸ Patricia Hill Collins, *Black Sexual Politics: African Americans, Gender, and the New Racism* (New York, NY: Routledge, 2004).

³⁹ Espiritu, "We Don't Sleep Around Like White Girls Do."

⁴⁰ Pierrette Hondagneu-Sotelo and Ernestine Avila, "'I'm here but I'm there:' The meanings of Latina Transnational Motherhood," *Gender and Society* 11 no. 5 (1997): 548-571.

⁴¹ Joan Dunayer, "Sexist Words, Speciesist Roots," in *Animals and Women* ed C. J. Adams and J. Donovan (Durham, NC: Duke Press, 1995), 11-31.

⁴² Deckha, Maneesha, *Disturbing Images*, 55.

⁴³ Karen Warren, *Ecological Feminism* (London: Routledge, 1994). See especially Lori Gruen, "Toward an Ecofeminist Epistemology," 120-138.

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