

DISSERTATION

PROFESSIONALIZATION, FACTIONALISM, AND SOCIAL MOVEMENT SUCCESS:
A CASE STUDY ON NONHUMAN ANIMAL RIGHTS MOBILIZATION

Submitted by

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In partial fulfillment of the requirements

For the degree of Doctor of Philosophy

Colorado State University

Fort Collins, Colorado

Spring 2016

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ABSTRACT

PROFESSIONALIZATION, FACTIONALISM, AND SOCIAL MOVEMENT SUCCESS: A CASE STUDY ON NONHUMAN ANIMAL RIGHTS MOBILIZATION

This project explores the intra-movement interactions between professionalized and radical factions in the social movement arena using a content analysis of movement literature produced by the Nonhuman Animal rights movement between 1980 and 2013. Professionalized factions with greater symbolic capital are positioned to monopolize claimsmaking, disempower competing factions, and replicate their privilege and legitimacy. Radical factions, argued to be important variables in a movement's health, are thus marginalized, potentially to the detriment of movement success and the constituency for whom they advocate. Specifically, this study explores the role of professionalization in manipulating the tactics and goals of social movement organizations and how the impacts of professionalization may be aggravating factional boundaries. Boundary maintenance may prevent critical discourse within the movement, and it may also provoke the "mining" of radical claimsmaking for symbols that have begun to resonate within the movement and the public. Analysis demonstrates a number of important consequences to professionalization that appear to influence the direction of factional disputes, and ultimately, the shape of the movement. Results indicate some degree of factional fluidity, but professionalization does appear to be a dominant force on movement trajectories by concentrating power in the social change space. Professionalization appears to provoke the mobilization of radical factions, but it also provides organizations that professionalize the mechanisms for controlling and marginalizing radical competitors.

ACKNOWLEDGEMENTS

I enjoyed the assistance from many respected vegan colleagues in the construction of this project. Thanks to Dr. Kate Stewart of the University of Nottingham for her encouragement and assistance with choosing and operating qualitative content analysis programs, and Dr. Matthew Cole of the Open University for his assistance in locating historical content on the Vegan Society. Thanks also to Dr. David Nibert for his mentorship and to Dr. Tom Regan, Carol J. Adams, Kim Stallwood, and Dr. Michael Lundblad for their support and help illuminating the history of Nonhuman Animal rights mobilization and suggesting helpful sources. Thanks to Gwyneth Thayer, Associate Head and Curator of Special Collections at North Carolina State University, for her assistance at the Tom Regan Animal Rights Archives, Kathie Clarke of Dabney S. Lancaster Community College for her help locating relevant books, James Aherne and Rhiannon Sims for their assistance in tracking down units for analysis, and Sarah K. Woodcock for mulling over the findings with me in many spirited late-night conversations. My feline companion Keeley should also be acknowledged, as he also offered his supervision and support throughout the writing process.

I am grateful to my friends and colleagues for their support and encouragement. The doctoral journey is an arduous one that is especially challenging for women of disadvantaged backgrounds. The friendship of Soren Nelson, Cheryl Abbate, Katie Koczynski Demong, Rebecca Rhodes, Rhiannon Sims, and others helped me navigate my difficult graduate career, especially, my mother, who really made it all possible. Finally, I wish to thank my amazing dissertation committee for their guidance, wisdom, and patience. Without these folks, it is unlikely I would have succeeded.

Part of this dissertation research was funded by a VegFund merit award, and part of this dissertation was composed at the Shin Pond Summer Retreat Program hosted by the Humane Society of the United States in Shin Pond, Maine.

DEDICATION

For Soren

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CHAPTER ONE | INTRODUCTION

Social movement mobilization is a common route to achieving social change when legitimate means (legal exercise, democratic participation, etc. are thought insufficient. While social movements are often researched as projects of social change, they are also relevant to the study of social interaction and group dynamics. The question of how social movements organize and operate, for instance, is of particular interest to this project. Specifically, I seek to understand how groups interact to create meaning and achieve change. What facilitates group cooperation? What encumbers that cooperation? Social movement research gravitates towards individual level participation, group interactions, and systemic influences. This project will specifically examine group level mechanisms in an effort to understand how organizations orchestrate social change within a competitive social movement environment. Who is privileged to decide what social change is needed and how is this leadership decided?

As these questions are generally too large for the scope of this project, I focus my investigation in the realm of factionalism, a site of meaning contestation and resource competition that frequently manifests within the social movement arena. Factional disputes, I argue, can demonstrate the role of power struggles in the ongoing project of human social interaction and change. *Factionalism* refers to the division of a given social movement into distinct conflicting groups that aim for similar goals, but may differ in how they define the social problem and the tactics they favor (Balsler 1997; Schwartz 1969. Factionalism is relevant to a study of social movement organization because it has the potential to divert resources and disturb

activist cooperation.¹ For instance, factionalism in the 1980s nuclear disarmament movement became so hostile that new recruits and seasoned activists alike began to withdraw their participation. The movement's credibility with its constituency was shaken, and it subsequently became vulnerable to countermovement infiltration. Some factions tightened their boundaries to the point of losing resonance and thus lost access to the resources necessary to survive (Benford 1993).

The cause and consequence of factionalism are unclear. Gamson (1990) suggests that factionalism is less likely to manifest in a movement that demonstrates centralized power and bureaucratic organization, as this type of movement is better equipped to cope with internal conflict. Balsler (1997), however, argues that the institutional channeling of movements (the process whereby movements exchange moderation for state-granted legitimacy and resources) ignites conflict over the required compromise. Others have conceptualized the rise of a non-profit industrial complex, a phenomenon thought to place enormous pressure on movement organizations to secure funding and state sanction by professionalizing. Negotiation of this kind not only entails a move away from radical collective action, but also the co-optation and castigation of radical claimsmaking (Choudry and Kapoor 2013; Smith 2007). Likewise, Benford (1993) finds that social movement schisms most often entail a division between a *professionalized* faction or factions and a *radical* faction or factions. A *professionalized* faction is a subset of a given social movement that has bureaucratized and moderated its stance to maximize resources (McCarthy and Zald 1977). A *radical* faction, on the other hand, is defined as a movement subset that differs from the traditionally-sanctioned world-view (Bittner 1963) but also aims to restructure rather than reform the social system (Fitzgerald and Rodgers 2000).

¹ Herbert Haines (1984) refers to this criticism as the “negative radical flank effect.”

A factionalized social movement that experiences contention between professionalization and radicalism offers a rich setting for the investigation of group interactions. These interactions tend to manifest in the form of *framing*, a process of meaning construction whereby a movement attempts to manipulate the meaning of its given social problem in a way that resonates with the public and agents of social change (legislators, lobbyists, non-governmental organizations, other social movements, etc.). Framing manifests itself at the movement level, but also in the claimsmaking of individual factions. The framing process intends to define a given social problem and a proposed solution in a manner that favors that particular faction's interests (Benford 1993).

In a factionalized movement, multiple factions might engage framing and may also seek to *counter-frame* the claimsmaking of competing factions. The resonance of any faction's framing is likely contingent on that group's access to resources and their subsequent status within the social movement arena. The ability to stabilize resources and reduce uncertainty lends to a group's power (Jacobs 1974), meaning that a faction stands to benefit significantly if it can achieve these goals through the professionalization process (Emerson 1962). The resources available to a given faction determine its ability to shape the discourse, influence other actors, and achieve successful outcomes. The ability to successfully engage framing is reliant on available resources, but the availability of resources also depends on resonant framing. In other words, movements need to create successful claims to secure resources, but the efficacy of their claimsmaking is improved if they are privileged with access to money, state sanctioning, public favor, etc.

Steinberg (1998) insists that frames are far from static, as they are bound to historical context and dynamic interactions between groups. To understand frames, researchers must also

understand the “who, what, when, and where” of frame production, because the ability to frame is highly contingent on external factors. One of those factors relates to the relative power an entity enjoys in relation to other actors in the space. Framing is not so much a matter of rational decision-making; it is inherently collective, as its manifestation is bound to the existence of and behaviors of other participants, competitors, and opponents.

Successful framing in the social movement arena acts as *symbolic capital*. A group’s possession of symbolic capital surfaces in its ability to channel resources based on its recognized legitimacy and social power (Bourdieu 1986). For movements, symbolic capital can be cashed in for the privilege of identifying particular problems, to encourage particular solutions, to mobilize large numbers of activists, to access adequate financial resources, and to achieve stated goals (these goals might include educating large audiences, enacting legislation, influencing social behavior, or recruiting members). Professionalization is a common venue for organizations that seek the symbolic capital necessary to secure their foothold in the social movement arena and expand their influence.

Professionalization and Symbolic Capital

Obtaining symbolic capital is often a matter of strategy. It is likely that status and legitimacy can be gained from identification with one faction or another, as is the case with many in-group/out-group dynamics (Tajfel and Turner 1979). The trend towards professionalization among prominent organizations within a social movement environment reflects a rational tactic employed to maximize presence and resource attainment (McCarthy and Zald 1977; Soule and King 2008). Minkoff (1993) suggests that organizations that adhere to moderate objectives enjoy more security, legitimacy, and survivability. By professionalizing (bureaucratizing, prioritizing donations, and moderating message to stabilize resources),

however, a social movement organization must compromise goals to reach the widest possible audience. This is because a larger constituency is better equipped to provide the additional resources needed to fund the organization's bureaucratized structure (Zald and Ash 1966). Moderation is also necessary to secure funding from the state and from foundations that most often harbor conservative interests (Smith 2007). Survival, in this case, takes priority over success. Indeed, the meaning of "success" for the organization may shift. Success for a professionalized organization is no longer built on radical social change, but rather on organizational maintenance and the ability to provide basic social services to its constituency. This tradeoff often triggers contention within the social movement arena. A common reaction to the moderation of a movement's goals, as previously mentioned, is the emergence of radical factions that compete for resources and the privilege of framing the movement's problem.

Professionalized factions, however, enjoy a stabilized influx of resources and greater recognition with their audience. They also tend to work in close congruence with the state (while radical factions tend to demand the restructuring or even the abandonment of the state). It is this cooperation that works to legitimize the professionalized faction. It might be expected that professionalized factions wield greater symbolic capital as a result, as they tend to acquire economic, social, and political capital through the process of professionalization. Indeed, Bourdieu (1986) allows that other types of capital can be obtained from basic economic capital, a process easily demonstrated by a professionalized organization that has prioritized fundraising.

While access to symbolic capital will be closely tied to a group's access to other types of capital, symbolic capital can also operate independently of these more tangible resources. For instance, Chinese land reform and redistribution under Mao in the mid-20th century demonstrated the overriding importance of symbolic capital. With other forms of capital eliminated in the

upheaval, symbolic capital still worked to maintain traditional class distinctions (Xiaojun 2004). Symbolic capital, then, can be independently powerful enough to reproduce culture, “giving value and meaning to other forms of capital” (Xiaojun 2004: 39). Because it lends to the ability to define that which is legitimate and desirable (Bourdieu 1977), symbolic capital is especially relevant to the ways in which a social problem is defined and understood. The possession of symbolic capital can grant a faction the power to frame the problem in a way that is recognized as legitimate by its audience and ultimately self-beneficial. A social movement with considerable symbolic capital can impose its vision of reality and social change while simultaneously manipulating the social movement environment in such a way as to ensure the continuing acquisition of symbolic capital. This routinized acquisition has the added benefit of ensuring the reproduction of the symbolic capital. This compounding effect makes equal opportunity in the social movement arena unlikely.

Frame contestation is thus positioned as a struggle over symbolic capital within the social movement arena. Drawing on the work of Erving Goffman, framing in this context refers to a social movement’s ability to manipulate perceptions of social reality. A successful frame can, “[...] render events or occurrences meaningful and thereby function to organize experience and guide action” (Benford and Snow 2000: 614). The various factions within a given social movement often compete over meaning construction, hoping to prioritize their particular vision and manipulate audience interpretations. Benford’s (1993) aforementioned analysis of the nuclear disarmament movement finds that frame disputes occurred most often between moderate and radical factions. Given the power imbalance in the movement environment, it could be the case that symbolic capital concentrated in favor of the professionalized faction could make contestation a difficult enterprise for other factions. For this reason, the interplay of framing and

symbolic capital in the relationship between professionalization and factionalism could have significant consequences for collective action outcomes.

Radical Factions and Marginalization

If a professionalized faction is able to monopolize symbolic capital, a faction privileged in this way could also be capable of reproducing its own power while marginalizing competing factions through processes of frame contestation. Frey, Dietz, and Kalof (1992) have suggested that factionalism creates intra-movement competition for resources, thereby necessitating that factions differentiate themselves from one another. Others have suggested that the *non-profit industrial complex* (NPIC)—a nexus of non-profits and the state agencies and foundations that support and influence them—aggravates movement competition and discourages the co-operation that may be necessary to achieve the desired social change. Organizations are also under pressure to downplay failures and sensationalize even the smallest of victories as evidence to their funders that they are both successful and worthy of further funding (Smith 2007). In this environment, it is every organization for itself. Organizations will fall back on conservative tactics and specialize in their focus (potentially, to the detriment of cooperation and alliance-building) to showcase their unique role in the social change environment. This need for clear differentiation, in turn, leads factions to over-emphasize ideological purity and denigrate competing factions. The intersection that exists between non-profits, elites, and the state creates a “hegemonic common sense” regarding the industry of social change, one that is nearly impregnable by radical contenders: “[. . .] the overall bureaucratic formality and hierarchical (frequently elitist) structuring of the NPIC has institutionalized more than just a series of hoops through which aspiring social change activists must jump—these institutional characteristics, in fact, *dictate the political vistas of the NPIC organizations themselves*” (Rodríguez 2007: 29).

Professionalization can therefore aggravate factionalism in usurping available resources, but it can also minimize competition by dominating the movement's symbolic landscape and political imagination.

If it could be shown that professionalized organizations are the primary possessors of symbolic capital, this could lend evidence to their ability to frame meaning in a way that both privileges their approach and is recognized as legitimate. Relatedly, if it could also be shown that professionalized organizations are able to dominate resource attainment in the social movement arena (or, in the Bourdieuan sense, the social movement *field*), then there may be important implications for social movement success. It is possible that a marginalized faction's difficulty in resonating could be a result of the resource-rich professionalized faction's ability to maintain and protect its own power. The social movement field, as Bourdieu might understand it, is social arena of capital contestation. Social movements with greater accruals of capital will be better equipped at playing the field, and those movements with greater accruals of symbolic capital in particular will also benefit from the ability to structure the field itself and define the rules of the game, so to speak.

Indeed, Magee and Galinsky (2008) suggest that organizational status and power hierarchies are often self-reinforcing with a high status designation working to advantage the replication of that status for the privileged parties. For instance, the largest professionalized organizations in the Nonhuman Animal² rights movement expend considerable effort in reframing the claimmaking produced by abolitionists, one of the movement's most radical factions. Typical of many radical factions that have emerged in response to a movement's move towards moderation, abolitionists are sharply critical of professionalized Nonhuman Animal

² I have capitalized the term "Nonhuman Animals" to indicate that these individuals constitute a distinct social group.

advocacy. This faction is characterized by a non-violent, education-based grassroots approach to the total abolition of speciesism (Wrenn 2016). Professionalized organizations have responded with claims that abolitionists are divisive and are thus “[...] one of the animal abusers’ best assets” (Pacelle 2012; Potter 2011). They are labeled “loud, judgmental vegan-police types” who are unrealistic, “dogmatic,” “arrogant,” not “psychologically sound,” “crazy,” “misanthropic,” “angry,” and “obsessive” (Ball 2012c).

The No Kill faction, also sharply critical of moderated tactics utilized by the professionalized groups, receives its share of counter-framing as well. This faction primarily seeks accountability for the deplorable conditions and practices found in many companion animal “shelters” and advocates for adoption over “euthanasia.”³ In response, People for the Ethical Treatment of Animals (a Nonhuman Animal rights organization that kills 95% of its intake) regularly posts blogs and distributes outreach material that reframes No Kill advocates as abusive hoarders (PETA n.d.-a; Winograd 2007) and bullies (Newkirk 2013). Given the prestige and power enjoyed by professionalized organizations, radical factions could incur severe damage from this negative counter-framing. This maligning likely makes it especially difficult for a radical faction to earn legitimacy, assemble resources, or find audience for its claimsmaking.

The intentional marginalization of competing factions likely has consequences for the movement as a whole as well as the constituency it represents. Frame contestation that favors the heavily resourced professionalized organization could ultimately have an impact on social movement success by eliminating potential for discourse and reflexivity. Recall that one of the primary functions performed by radical factions is their tendency to challenge the moderation and compromise typical of higher-status professionalized organizations. Movement politics

³ Many advocates contest the use of euthanasia terminology as a euphemism when used in reference to the institutionalized killing of healthy animals, and may instead refer to this practice as “convenience killing.”

might block their visibility, but the positions held by radical factions could be imperative for achieving the movement's desired social change. For instance, Cress and Snow (2000) find that social movements that employ multiple framing pathways tend to be more successful than those relying on a unidimensional approach. Furthermore, the non-profit industrial complex allows for the state and elite co-optation of collective dissent. These entities bestow protection and funding to organizations in exchange for the dilution of radical social change and transparency in operations. Non-profits are not legally allowed to expend substantial portions of their activity attempting to influence legislation or supporting particular candidates. Power and decision-making are stripped from the masses, instead becoming concentrated among a few salaried career activists who grow devitalized by increasing responsibilities to secure grants. Non-profit activists are also moderated with conformity-inducing training programs and tend to become disassociated from the communities they serve (Allen 2007).

By reinforcing elite and state interests and eschewing aims for radical structural change, non-profits may actually exacerbate social problems (Choudry and Kapoor 2013). Radical sites of collective action, then, are an imperative component for social change that benefits the disenfranchised. However, as this study will argue, radical factions in the Nonhuman Animal rights movement are largely silenced. This likely occurs because radicals essentially challenge the privileged organizations' control over resource mobilization. Radical factions pose a threat to accepted forms of collective action that have been normalized as "common sense" advocacy, advocacy norms that ultimately benefit professionalized organizational structures.

On the other hand, marginalized factions may be aggravating their own exclusion if they have an overly enthusiastic fixation on their own status as the most "virtuous," or if their group identity is overly bound to the desire to be understood as "the opposition" to professionalized

advocacy. Instead of defining themselves as what they are, they may be too invested in defining themselves as what they are *not*. Inflexible group boundaries and a rigid group consciousness could make dialogue and compromise difficult. Szymanski (2003) observes this phenomenon in the identity politics of the environmental movement: “Ultimately, the grassroots sector appears to devote more energy to distinguishing itself from the ‘corrupt’ national organizations than it does to building bridges to them” (215). Extreme exclusivity can lead to isolation, preventing strategic alliances and cooperation (Mansbridge and Morris 2001; Miller 1999; Tarrow 1998). A related phenomenon exists in the women’s movement in what is referred to as “politics of difference.” Diversity in race, class, nationality, religious affiliation, etc., can make the creation of a more harmonious and united front difficult for feminist activists (Steans 2007; Weldon 2006). For any movement concerned with dismantling oppression based on difference, this exclusivity is especially problematic and potentially self-defeating. Frey, Dietz, and Kalof (1992) warn that this ideologically-focused boundary work can potentially repel members and supporters. Ideology also constrains what resources and strategies are recognized as available to an organization (Downey 1986). Thus, a preoccupation with ideological purity may prevent a faction from capitalizing on otherwise useful or necessary measures.

The consequences of “status contamination” may also present a weak point in group identity. Status contamination is a phenomenon often present in the maintenance of class, gender, and race boundaries. Bourdieu (1984) applies this notion to the social construction of “taste,” a qualifier that is used to distinguish between higher and lower social positions. Individuals with higher status wield the symbolic power necessary to define what tastes are considered “pure,” “refined,” and “authentic” as well as those which are considered “course,” “vulgar,” or “imitation.” He also observes that, as members of the lower stratum begin to achieve higher

status tastes, higher status groups will redefine taste to escape the reach of the less privileged in order to maintain the differentiating boundary. For example, as more daughters are given male names, those names become increasingly androgynous and lose their ability to successfully bestow privilege on sons. Once a tipping point is reached, parents of male children tend to abandon androgynous names for more “masculine” (and socially advantageous) names (Lieberson, Dumais, and Baumann 2000). Similarly, as women and people of color encroach on male- or white-dominated occupations, those occupations become “contaminated” in their association with a socially disadvantaged group. The advantaged will begin to seek or create other male- or white-dominated positions where their social superiority will be protected (Kmec 2003). Segregation, in other words, facilitates inequality which necessitates boundary work.

Boundary change of this kind can create considerable disruption and conflict, often facilitating attack and defensive behaviors among contending groups (Tilly 2004). I suspect that, for social movements, the professionalized faction may be denying others access to resources by maintaining in-group/out-group boundaries with framing. Alternatively, it may also be the case that that radical factions do not aspire to be incorporated into the professionalized faction (Fitzgerald and Rodgers 2000; Smith 2007). Even if the disassociation is mutually desired, it is possible that the privileged faction could pull resonant symbols from marginalized groups and reframe them to its own benefit. If this is the case, symbol mining could represent another instance of status contamination. For instance, it appears that Nonhuman Animal welfare reformers (activists who take a protectionist, rather than liberatory approach to anti-speciesism) self-identify as “abolitionist” given the increasing popularity of abolitionist claimsmaking in the movement community (Cochrane 2013; Joy 2012). Therefore, status contamination can be detrimental to radical factions in two ways. First, if professionalized organizations are successful

in framing radical factions as detrimental to movement success, a radical faction's ability to mobilize could be stunted, thus deflecting resources and participants. Second, if professionalized organizations begin to usurp the radical faction's rhetoric, the meanings so carefully constructed by the radical faction in order to differentiate itself could become diluted and its claimsmaking may lose resonance.

The literature most often presents factionalism as a reaction to professionalization which hinders goal attainment by diverting resources away from the targeted social problem to intra-movement frame contestation (Benford 1993; Downey 1986; Joy 2008; Maurer 2002; Miller 1999). I suggest, however, that factionalism could be detrimental to movement success if it hinders claimsmaking ability, framing resonance, or resource attainment for marginalized radical groups, thus stifling critical discourse. Professionalization prioritizes organizational maintenance, but a decentralized social movement facilitates strategy innovation (Staggenborg 1989). Important criticism and innovation often springs from marginalized groups (Estes, Farr, Smith, and Smyth 2000), and while marginalized factions are still movement "insiders" to some extent, they are nonetheless essential as a site of resistance to the established status quo. This is accomplished by developing fresh approaches and realigning the movement toward the utopian society originally envisioned by activists (Wrenn 2011).

Haines (1984) argues that radical flanks are essential for increasing support for the movement overall. In an examination of the civil rights movement, he suggests that radical Black organizations attracted attention and also made fundraising easier for the moderate factions. Threatened elites and a public worried with radical and often violent anti-establishment activism poured their support into those groups that were more cooperative with the existing social

structure.⁴ Recall that multiple framing pathways have been shown to be more beneficial to social movements than a singular approach. Factionalism can be beneficial for the movement's overall health in addressing a wider array of social problems (Schwartz 1969), dispersing risk (Schwartz 2002), diversifying frame resonance (Soule and King 2008), refining claimsmaking (Benford 1993), and maintaining goal alignment (Smith 2007; Wrenn 2011). Rather than target radical factions as the primary source of movement stagnation in diverting resources, I argue that the professionalized organizations may bear some of that responsibility in systematically excluding, or even denigrating, radical claimsmaking.

Using the Nonhuman Animal rights movement as a case study, this project seeks to address the following: 1) How has the movement shifted from radical grassroots mobilization to the professionalized model; 2) How do professionalized organizations wield and maintain their symbolic capital through framing?; 3) How do radical factions operate within a professionalized social movement arena to advocate their own framework?; and 4) How might this interplay impact social movement success? To address these questions, Chapter 2 will begin with a brief historical account of the Nonhuman Animal rights movement followed by a literature review of relevant social movement theory designed to situate anti-speciesist mobilization within individual level, group level, and environmental level conceptions of collective behavior and social change. Chapter 3 will present a qualitative content analysis methodology for a group level investigation of factional politics, including a discussion of data collection and analysis and potential ethical considerations. Chapter 4 moves into the findings and will expand on historical events that define anti-speciesist mobilization, pointing to early manifestations of factionalism in the years prior to non-profitization in the social movement field. This early history offers a point

⁴ However, elites also enticed radical groups into professionalization with the allure of much needed funding, thus subduing them as well. See Allen, Robert L. 2007. *Black Awakening in Capitalist America: An Analytic History*. Trenton, NJ: Africa World Press, Inc..

of comparison to the characteristics of factionalism found in the professionalized contemporary movement. Chapter 5 moves forward to the movement of the late 20th century, with an examination of pivotal events that hint to the encroachment of professionalization. This chapter will also identify some of the predominant trends in professionalization, thus identifying some key points of advantage and disadvantage inherent to the process. Chapter 6 extends this taxonomy to specifically explore the ways in which professionalization influences boundary maintenance. Professionalized groups work to protect their hegemony by denying or making invisible the presence of factional differences, appropriating the symbols of competing factions, and excluding competing factions from important events where power might be assembled. Chapter 7 will then flip the perspective and examine the ways in which radical factions manage under these constraints to mobilize limited resources in their struggle to be heard. It will be argued that boundary work is intensified when radical factions must differentiate themselves from other radical factions in addition to the more powerful professionalized faction. They are strained further still when they begin to self-factionalize in reaction to internal divisions. In the concluding chapter, the results will be summarized with a presentation of trends exhibited by professionalized organizations. It will also offer an updated, more forgiving classification for radical factions and a new interpretation of factionalism as it exists in the corporatized social movement space.

CHAPTER TWO | LITERATURE REVIEW⁵

The Nonhuman Animal Rights Movement

A multitude of social movement definitions exist, but, for the purpose of this project, a social movement will refer to conscious, sustained efforts to enact social change using extra-institutional means (Goodwin and Jasper 2003). This definition is distinct from consensus movements that tend to be widely supported by the public and the state, as they are largely free from opposition (Schwartz and Paul 1992). This also distinguishes social movements from interest groups that also enact social change but rely heavily on legitimated channels for social change, namely through political lobbying (Clemens 1997).

As such, the Nonhuman Animal rights movement can be considered a social movement as it has struggled since the early 19th century to improve conditions for marginalized species despite considerable resistance using moral suasion, consumer boycott, protest, and other forms of direct action (Beers 2006; Guither 1998; Jasper and Nelkin 1992). The Nonhuman Animal rights movement might be considered part of a larger wave of “new” social movements characterized by a democratic structure, the rejection of traditional means for social change, and claimsmaking grounded in rights and quality of life (Dalton and Kuechler 1990). In the era of new social movements, political power is no longer monopolized by the state and is increasingly wielded by organizations (McCarthy, Britt, and Wolfson 1991). The abolitionist faction of Nonhuman Animal rights is particularly exhibitive of this focus on democratic access to decision making. For instance, prominent abolitionist theorist Gary Francione explicitly rejects the need for professionalization or leadership: “We do not need large organizations whose employees get

⁵ Portions of this chapter are adapted from a paper previously published by the author in 2012 with the *Peace Studies Journal* 5 (3): “Applying Social Movement Theory to Nonhuman Rights Mobilization and the Importance of Faction Hierarchies,” pp. 27-44.

fat salaries and subsidized travel. Every one of us can be a ‘leader.’ If we are to succeed, every one of us *must* be a leader, an important force for change. Every one of us has the ability to affect and influence the lives of others” (2007a). By rejecting traditional bureaucratic organization, some movements engage collectivist-democratic organizational styles. This approach tends to delegate authority to the collective, thereby eliminating a hierarchy of positions. With labor divided as little as possible, there is an emphasis on the community instead of bureaucratic impersonality (Rothschild-Whitt 1979).

Today’s Nonhuman Animal rights movement may reflect this democratic trend to some extent, but, historically, it was an elite-driven enterprise. Earnest mobilization for the protection of Nonhuman Animals began in Victorian America and Great Britain, where wealthy aristocrats, involved with other moral crusades and having the resources to spare, became concerned with the treatment of urban working horses and the particularly abhorrent methods used by cities to “dispose” of free-living “stray” dogs.⁶ Gradually, welfare concerns extended to other species as well. Upton Sinclair’s 1906 novel, *The Jungle*, while intended to raise awareness to worker conditions (and ultimately most effective in raising awareness about food safety), was successful in revealing to the public the previously shrouded reality of slaughterhouse operations. Just a decade prior, Henry Salt (1980) penned a treatise on rights for other animals. Salt’s work drew on contemporary human rights mobilizations of his time that were also advocating for the personhood of individuals who were legally considered property.

Indeed, a number of human rights activists and reformers of the 19th century were seriously considering the treatment and use of other animals. The communal Alcott house of New England known as *Fruitlands* operated as a stop on the Underground Railroad, but also

⁶ In New York City, for example, dogs were corralled into a large cage and drowned in a river. See Beers, Diane L. 2006. *For the Prevention of Cruelty: The History and Legacy of Animal Rights Activism in the United States*. Athens, OH: Ohio University Press.

required veganism of its residents (Francis 2010). The flesh, eggs, and lactations of other animals eschewed, as well as their labor and manure. Vegetarian and vegan experiments of this kind abounded in this era, sometimes following trends in romanticism or religious purity. In other cases, advocacy explicitly recognized the correlations between the experiences of humans and other animals with a desire to extend moral consideration (Davis 2010).

Thus, the social reforms spanning over the previous two centuries were hugely influential in early mobilization efforts for other animals. As the Nonhuman Animal rights movement has struggled for legitimacy, it intentionally draws on human rights discourse to garner claimsmaking strength. This is a time honored tactic for social movements. Building connections to human rights has advantages for a number of disadvantaged movements hoping to bolster their legitimacy (Brysk 1994). In the movement for other animals, it has been common practice to apply abolitionist anti-slavery rhetoric to nonhumans (Beers 2006), and suffragettes recognized vegetarianism as congruent with their anti-patriarchal objectives (Kean 1995; Leneman 1997). However, it was not until the mid-twentieth century that Nonhuman Animal rights activism gained a significant political presence (Guither 1998), and this success was at least partially attributable to a conscious association with the civil rights movement. Social movement scholar Charles Tilly refers to this phenomenon as “borrowing,” whereby actors capitalize on familiar boundaries to “[. . .] emulate distinctions already visible in other organizations of the same general class [. . .]” (2004: 219). As civil rights activists began to challenge the exclusion of women, homosexuals, and African Americans from the rights discourse, advocates for Nonhuman Animals used this same framework to push the boundaries of moral consideration to include other species as well.

As with gender, race, and other ascribed identities, species identification is also thought to be arbitrarily defined and socially constructed (Calarco 2008; Derrida 2008; Peggs 2012; Wolfe 2003). As such, activists claim that excluding marginalized species based on socially constructed differences is problematic. Claimsmaking that seeks to create a master narrative of oppression, however, runs the risk of obscuring important differences in experiences and needs among various species. Some post-humanists have suggested that the current rights framework may not be adaptable to human/nonhuman relationships. Because rights have traditionally been human-centered and utilized to demonstrate human exceptionalism, they may be fundamentally ill-suited to addressing the interests of other species. If rights are used to differentiate and thereby privilege some, those who remain outside the boundaries are apt to be devalued and ignored. Extending rights “down the ladder” to include other species is a strategy that maintains an exclusionary and hierarchical system (Kappeler 1995). In prioritizing the rights of the individual over the system, a rights-based approach may find difficulties with complex moral issues (Luke 1995). Haraway (2008) highlights this in her example of a free-living “feral”⁷ ⁸ pig who is killed by humans to protect the lives of others in the ecosystem. The vegan alternative to scenarios of conflict can also lack nuance. “Cruelty-free” vegan products promoted by many Nonhuman Animal rights activists and organizations, for instance, may support exploitative working conditions imposed on immigrant laborers, vulnerable workers, and slaves in developing nations (Harper 2010b).

⁷ Any language that neutralizes or obscures the personhood of vulnerable individuals and groups or the systems of violence that impact them will be placed in quotation to denote the potential for this language to be problematic. Quotation marks are also used to denote the contestation over their meaning.

⁸ Post-humanist theory is not to be confused with Nonhuman Animal rights theory. Post-humanist theory is more likely to excuse systemic violence on Nonhuman Animals in the service of human privilege, including the consumption of their bodies and products.

Just as the inclusion of new human minorities necessitated a reconstructing of eligibility requirements, protest strategies, and appropriate goals, the process of extending rights to other species has necessitated new considerations as well. Just who is being represented and who can be counted as a representative has required definition and is still without consensus. Nonhuman Animal activists of yesteryear focused largely on highly visible, urban nonhuman species who were not used for food. With the rise of factory farming systems a century later and the subsequent release of Brigid Brophy's (1965) essay "The Rights of Animals" and Peter Singer's (2002) *Animal Liberation* in 1975, activists began to widen their circle of concern to more seriously include those species killed or otherwise exploited for food. Modern Nonhuman Animal inquiry continues to challenge the human-privileging human/nonhuman divide and hierarchies of moral consideration (Adams and Donovan 1995; Wolfe 2003).

While species representation will vary by individual and organization, any number of species impacted by human activities can be included. Human interference tends to be a prerequisite, but groups can further discriminate based on a number of qualities when determining how far to cast their net of representation. For example, according to Francione, "animals" are differentiated from non-animals in their capacity for sentience or self-awareness. Francione's definition of sentience requires an ability to feel pleasure and pain and to hold interests and preferences. Any animal that is sentient would be eligible for representation. This is coupled with Regan's notion of a "subject of life," whereby an eligible Nonhuman Animal would need the ability to "perceive and remember," "act intentionally in pursuit of their desires or goals," and possess "beliefs, desires, and preferences," a "sense of their own future," and a "psychophysical identity over time" (Regan 2004: 264). However, Regan's notion of animality is quite particular and could exclude many sentient beings whose subjective experiences remain

outside human understanding. Moreover, as Francione argues, many of Regan's requirements exclude sentient beings (including many humans) who could still benefit from rights regardless of their capacity for complex cognitive functions. Therefore, it is perhaps wiser to adhere to a more inclusive definition of "animal" which relies on sentience alone in deciding who qualifies to hold rights. For those Nonhuman Animals whose sentience is questionable, Francione suggests we err on the side of caution and include them as well. This definition is important because once an animal is regarded as non-sentient or not a subject of life, it follows that other rights holders might justifiably use them as resources.

As illustrated in this debate over moral inclusion, animality is socially constructed. As a consequence, collectives in the Nonhuman Animal rights movement vary in their representation of animals. Some attempt to represent all sentient animals, including humans and insects. Others focus only on nonhuman species, excluding those of lower complexity. Still others focus primarily on charismatic megafauna, such as monkeys and apes, cats and dogs, or whales and dolphins. Generally, however, activists seek to extend those rights traditionally granted to humans—a *fair consideration of interests*—to incorporate other sentient beings who share a capacity to suffer and thus possess interests to speak of. Like other oppressed groups who have struggled for inclusion in rights discourse, newcomer claimsmaking will reflect that demographic's unique interests and identity. In other words, just as women have an interest in the consideration of sexual violence in the rights discourse, Nonhuman Animals would likely have an interest in a recognition of violence related to their use in food, labor, vivisection, or entertainment.

Additional points of contention in anti-speciesist mobilization relates to the particular types of interests that should be considered, and who can be considered an appropriate proxy for

Nonhuman Animals. Because the movement is so diverse, activists take a variety of stances on appropriate human-nonhuman relationships. To be considered an activist, it is not enough that to simply represent the interests of Nonhuman Animals. Such a definition may suggest that vivisectionists and farmers who practice good “husbandry” might be considered advocates. Similarly, “sportsmen” who mobilize to protect favored “hunting” spaces under the pretense of “conservation” might also be included. Therefore, for the purposes of this project, Nonhuman Animal rights activists will be defined as those who seek to relieve Nonhuman Animals from their oppressive conditions with a focus on individual rights for Nonhuman Animals that stand independent of whatever function they might serve humans or the ecosystem. This conceptualization will not include any entity that does not seek to liberate other animals, treats other animals as objects and resources, or values species only as components of an ecosystem by ignoring individual rights. Thus, many Nonhuman Animal and environmental “protection” groups (the Humane Society of the United States and the Sierra Club, for example) would be excluded.

With these working definitions of “animal,” “rights,” and “activist” thus established, we can begin to locate Nonhuman Animal advocacy within the sphere of social movement studies. This literature review will deconstruct social movement theory as it relates to the micro-level/individual experience, the meso-level/group experience, and larger, macro-level influences. While participation in a social movement is sometimes a personal decision and there are certainly private costs and benefits to be had, the decision to participate is often mediated by social pulls found in networks and culture. Likewise, the individual and group experience of collective action must always contend with structural influences such as political regimes, competition among social movements, environmental disasters, historical forces, etc.

As is typical with other social movements, the Nonhuman Animal rights movement recognizes that the choice to mobilize is ultimately an individual choice. The individualized aspect of participation is especially pronounced for this movement, as many are recruited in the absence of preexisting networks. The individual can also expect to experience profound identity transformations, some of which may indeed be negative. This movement also recognizes the importance of organizational strategy and a nurturing movement culture for sustaining activism and coordinating efforts. But advocates for other animals must also contend with macro-level issues such as speciesist ideologies, countermovement mobilization by industries that exploit other animals, competing social movements and factions, and trends in globalization that entrench Nonhuman Animal use.

Micro-level Structures: Individual Participation

Ultimately, any social movement is comprised of individual participants. Some are comprised of only a few committed and resourceful persons, while others lay claim to hundreds of thousands of more loosely committed members. The experience, skills, and resources each participant can contribute (and could potentially gain) also varies, as do their motivations and expectations. In anti-speciesist mobilization, the personal motivations vary considerably. Because other animals generally lack the ability to mobilize on their own behalf, humans have intervened as proxies. This inherent disconnect between Nonhuman Animals and their representatives creates a potential disincentive to participation that is somewhat unique to this movement. Yet, many oppressed human groups lacking political presence have also been severely limited in their ability to mobilize, and social movements have been able to circumvent this disadvantage to create meaningful change for their constituency (Beers 2006). This is not to say that human slaves, women, and other disadvantaged subjects of social change have not been

able to act on their own behalf. Even Nonhuman Animals have been active participants in their emancipation as documented in countless instances of resistance (Hribal 2010).

Even for those in more privileged or advantageous positions, social movement participation almost always entails a certain degree of cost and risk that must be overcome. Thus, the decision to participate is not simply a knee-jerk reaction to grievance. Instead, it necessitates some degree of mindful consideration. Because significant disincentives would be expected to incapacitate social movement mobilization, social movement theorists have expended considerable attention to identifying what motivates certain individuals to participate and others to free-ride.⁹ Indeed many theorists frame the decision to participate as a rational choice, whereby the decision to participate is made by weighing potential costs against potential benefits. Potential costs for the Nonhuman Animal rights movement might include significant social stigmatization (Iacobbo and Iacobbo 2006), legal persecution (Lovitz 2010; Potter 2011), and limited socioeconomic or geographic access to vegan alternatives (Harper 2010b). If advocates do not stand to gain any direct benefits from liberating other animals, these costs might be amplified. The collective good that advocates hope to achieve—an equal consideration of interests for all sentient beings—might not resonate with a deeply speciesist society. As such, many activists also reiterate the interconnected nature of oppression for humans and nonhumans alike. It is also common for activists to position veganism as essential for achieving environmental and human health benefits for the larger public.

⁹ Free-riding is the tendency for a rationally acting individual to abstain from participation if they expect that they can still enjoy the benefits achieved by other social change actors. In other words, if it is thought that others can achieve a goal with or without the free-rider's contribution, there is no incentive to incur the costs and risks associated with participation. Large numbers of free-riders, however, increase the burden for those who do choose to participate, thus prolonging or otherwise complicating social change. What is rational for the individual thus becomes irrational for the group.

Researchers have identified several other potential individual benefits associated with social movement participation that could compensate for costs and risks and explain collective behavior. First, the achievement of a critical mass is thought to encourage participation (Chong 1992; Gerald and Oliver 1993). With enough participating, risks and costs are distributed more widely, diminishing the burden for each. Critical mass also creates a culture that normalizes social movement behavior and ideologies. However, Olson (1968) counters that large groups will find it difficult to maintain individual commitment and free-riding would be more likely. He also notes that smaller groups enjoy lower costs and a higher return in collective action from investments in the group. Individuals are thought more likely to participate if they suspect success is likely and that their involvement will be influential (Finkel, Muller, and Opp 1989). Second, individuals are thought to undergo some degree of political learning. That is, individuals will consider their past experiences in mobilization to determine the utility of their potential future participation (Macy 1990). Again, the perception that their involvement was influential is important. It has also been considered that extreme repression can sometimes overpower hesitations related to risks and costs, encouraging mobilization despite the clear disincentives (Opp and Roehl 1990). What is more, some individuals may participate to *intentionally* face the risks of participation. Some researchers have argued that the celebration of risk-taking and sacrifice for the greater good actually works as a status reward (Willer 2009).

To be sure, the identity gained from participation can become a powerful incentive. Prestige and reputation gained can override immediate self-interest in avoiding risk and cost (Muller and Opp 1986). Likewise, as demonstrated in lesbian and gay mobilization efforts, the community and sense of belonging that a movement can elicit becomes a potent motivator (Armstrong 2002; Bernstein 1997). Nonhuman Animal rights activists also report experiencing

heightened self-confidence and enriched, more meaningful lives (Gaarder 2008; Harold A. Herzog 1993). Others have described the process of becoming vegan as a status passage (Larsson, Ronnlund, Johansson, and Dahlgren 2003). It should be noted, however, that this acquired identity can also become a detriment. Many activists for other animals, for instance, are labeled by the public, countermovements, and the state as irrational, terroristic, or overly emotional.

Indeed, emotionality plays a controversial role in nonhuman advocacy. While emotion is hugely important in motivating participation for any social movement (Goodwin, Jasper, and Polletta 2001), it is particularly salient in Nonhuman Animal rights participation (DeCoux 2009; Jacobsson and Lindblom 2013). Emotional reaction to morally shocking information about speciesism is the most common channel for activist recruitment when social networks are lacking (Jasper and Poulsen 1995). But emotion can also work to delegitimize movement claims if participant identities are gendered and negatively perceived. This is a common occurrence in the largely female Nonhuman Animal rights movement (Einwohner 1999; Gaarder 2011). While anti-speciesist activism is largely motivated by an emotional response (Jacobsson and Lindblom 2013; Jasper and Poulsen 1995), and *men's* expression of emotion in Nonhuman Animal rights activism (primarily anger) is often accepted as legitimate (Groves 2001), the negative stereotypes of irrationality attributed to the larger female activist demographic (that women are tender-hearted, apt to overreact, hysterical, illogical, or ignorant to the “reality” and “necessity” of Nonhuman Animal use) are notable risks to consider (Gaarder 2008). For this reason, many activists adhere to highly rational, reasoned arguments to counter the risk to their identities (Groves 2001).

Identity can also deter recruitment in creating an identity that is too exclusive. Creating a vegan or liberationist identity, for example, necessarily otherizes the larger, speciesist public who also act as the movement's recruitment pool (Maurer 2002; Smart 2004). As was previously discussed, this seems to occur *within* the movement as well. The abolitionist faction, for example, has been criticized for protecting exclusivity at the cost of alienating and repelling other advocates (Yates 2012). Radical factions, by their nature, criticize moderated movement activity and must protect and differentiate their position. This is a quality that could create a negative and unwelcoming identity.

Given high opportunity costs (significant inconveniences, social stigma, and legal persecution) and the potential for identity to become problematic, group solidarity acts as a more legitimated form of emotion work that is especially critical for sustaining participation (Gould 2009). For instance, Nonhuman Animal rights activists may present a rational persona to the public, but in private meetings, free expression of "unprofessional" emotions like sadness and anger is accepted. Individuals must be bound together in some way to sustain and protect their involvement. Nonhuman Animal advocacy in particular relies heavily on networks to recruit and maintain members (Cherry 2006; Haverstock and Forgays 2012). Increasingly, transnational networking has become an important resource for Nonhuman Animal rights advocates, particularly for smaller, radical factions. Advocates struggle to create an identity that is nurturing to participants, but not so exclusive that it discourages new participants from joining. Again, advocates must also contend with outside counter-claims to their identity that can undermine the movement's authority. Strong, inclusive networks, then, carry much potential in reducing costs associated with participation and can counterbalance the potential for free-riding (Diani 2004).

Meso-Level Structures: Social Movement Agency

While individual decisions and contributions are important in understanding how movements coalesce and sustain, social movements are ultimately collective endeavors. Group processes vary significantly between social movements, and how a movement mobilizes available resources is linked to its ability to attain its goals (McCarthy and Zald 1977). Resource mobilization theory has become a predominant theme in the social movement literature as a means of analyzing these questions related to movement agency (Jenkins 1983). Just as individuals are expected to participate given some degree of rational consideration, movements, too, are thought to behave more or less rationally when navigating their environments in pursuit of social change. Movements negotiate externally with the public, the state, other social movements, and countermovements. They also exhibit factionalism and tussle internally for the power to create meanings and to frame problems. Resource mobilization theory presumes that grievances which inspire collective action are normal social events, as is the desire to address them. It thus looks beyond individual incentives for participation and grapples with the difficult problem of how groups manipulate resources to achieve goals (Foweraker 1995).

Movements have some ability to influence societal culture and can create supportive ideologies that legitimize their claims-making (Eckstein 2001). Anti-speciesist mobilization has been successful in creating a culture that is much more sensitive to Nonhuman Animal interests (Beers 2006; Ryder 1985). Since the 1970s, the concept of Nonhuman Animal “rights” has become increasingly familiar with the general public. The mainstreaming and normalization of concern for Nonhuman Animals—intentionally crafted by decades of mobilization efforts—has certainly created an environment much more conducive to future movement activities.

Over time, however, these efforts also run the risk of falling into certain path dependencies, whereby movements become locked into procedures and repertoires initiated many years prior. Deviation from this routine becomes increasingly difficult as time passes and movements become invested in particular behaviors (Mahoney 2000). The cultures and ideologies they have fostered could begin to cement, and a lack of flexibility can become a liability. For example, a movement that has historically structured itself for the purpose of mobilizing financial donations will have difficulty adapting to mobilize grassroots activism when doing so might be advantageous (Oliver and Marwell 1992). Adhering to accepted courses of action can ensure an organization's security (Minkoff 1993), making innovation relatively unattractive. The non-profit industrial complex also pushes organizations into a professionalized structure and away from grassroots activism and radical claimsmaking. A professionalized organization with a moderated stance is better positioned to receive regular funding. However, recall that it is also made vulnerable to state monitoring and elite influence (Smith 2007). Piven and Cloward (1977) are particularly critical of professional movement organization for these reasons. Organizations, they argue, are prone to internal oligarchy, external cooptation, moderated tactics and goals, and the rejection of influential radical mobilization. Again, professionalization aggravates these tendencies because moderation is especially favorable to maximizing a constituency. Unfortunately, moderation also creates a significant diversion of acquired resources to support self-maintenance (Edwards and Marullo 1995).

This is where abolitionist criticisms of professionalized Nonhuman Animal rights organizations can be placed. Francione (1996) underscores moderated goals and tactics as a significant compromise to Nonhuman Animal rights. As a matter of "purely pragmatic self interests," he argues, "[...] large, wealthy animal organizations [...] are more concerned with the

size of their donor bases than with the moral message that they promote” (Francione and Garner 2010: 74). It is likely that a combination of path dependency and active moderation is coalescing professionalized movement power to the point of self-imposed inflexibility. If this situation is stunting movement activity, radical factions could be especially critical in refocusing movement goals and inspiring tactical innovations (Gerlach 1999; Wrenn 2011).

While radical factions play an important role in social movement health, they have not always been welcomed favorably. Factionalism tends to be underscored as a significant detriment to movement success, particularly in that it diverts crucial resources to infighting (Benford 1993; Miller 1999). Recall that the abolitionist Nonhuman Animal rights faction has been criticized for its extreme exclusivity, a characteristic that may be limiting its ability to expand (Yates 2012). To measure movement success (or lack thereof), it is important to examine variations in resource mobilization between movements, but the interactions among internal factions are also a critical component. The Nonhuman Animal rights movement is not unlike many other social movements in its exhibition of several sharply divided factions (Zald and Ash 1966). It is typical for movements to splinter and regroup in reaction to conflicts over perceived problems, accepted solutions and tactics, and methods of mobilization (Benford and Snow 2000). For example, while advocates are united under the shared aim of Nonhuman Animal advocacy, they cannot agree on whether it is more prudent to aim for liberation or reform. The legitimacy of various tactics (direct action, violence, nonviolence, vegan outreach, etc.) is also contested.

While agendas and claimsmaking will certainly differ, how resources are mobilized by Nonhuman Animal rights factions varies considerably. The mainstream movement, having largely professionalized, is more likely to focus on the more dependable solicitation of financial donations and media representation. In contrast, the direct action or “militant” faction, namely

represented by the Animal Liberation Front (ALF) and symbolized by iconographic ski-masked men dressed in black, often relies on property damage (Foreman and Haywood 1993; Love and Obst 1971), open releases (*An Animal Liberation Primer* n.d.), intimidation (Morgan 1980), and interpersonal violence (Frankford Arsenal n.d.) Through physical harm to other humans, destruction of property, and emotional terror, this faction hopes to create social change through force and fear. A tactical repertoire of this kind also tends to reject the utility of nonviolence.

This is explained in one essay promoted on an online ALF library:

The ideology of nonviolence creates effects opposite to what it promises. As a result nonviolence ideologists cooperate in [...] continued repression of the powerless [...]. To minimize violence we must adopt a pragmatic, reality-based method of operation. (Meyers 2000: 1).

This approach requires that they operate in relative secrecy. This faction receives little public support from contemporary professionalized organizations (Guither 1998), but its continued presence in the movement offers a wealth of information on the experiences of radical factions.

Alternatively, the abolitionist faction rejects both the moderate claimsmaking of the mainstream movement and the violent tendencies of the direct action faction, relying instead on nonviolent vegan outreach and moral suasion (Wrenn 2012). Abolitionist Nonhuman Animal rights claimsmaking suggests that moderation and violence are counterproductive to the movement's goals. The compromises made by professionalized organizations are seen to undermine goals of Nonhuman Animal liberation in supporting exploitative industries and creating consumer complacency. Violent liberationist tactics, on the other hand, are thought to alienate the public, incite state repression, and run contrary to values of peace, equality, and respect (Hall 2006). Drawing on the abolitionist language of the anti-slavery movement that preceded it, abolitionists emphasize the intersectional nature of oppression for humans and

nonhumans alike (Boyd 1987).¹⁰ This faction calls for a complete cessation of Nonhuman Animal use and hopes to achieve this through education, outreach, and vegan boycott. In many ways, anti-speciesist abolitionists do resemble human abolitionists of decades past, particularly in their reliance on moral suasion and nonviolent tactics. Yet, human abolitionists have sometimes utilized violence and have often engaged accepted legal channels to achieve change (Quarles 1969). Furthermore, the work of human abolitionists is far from complete, as human slavery has resurfaced in sharecropping, mass incarceration, and sex trafficking. Human abolitionist efforts today focus on desegregation, combating racist ideology, improving educational opportunities, and securing other basic freedoms (Davis 2006; Lewis 1995). Nonhuman Animal abolitionists, however, remain focused on attacking the property status of other animals. Though, like their human abolitionist counterparts, Nonhuman Animal abolitionists do emphasize the importance of undermining oppressive ideologies that support institutionalized enslavement and speciesism.

Macro-Level Structures: The Social Movement Environment

The relatively rationalized behaviors of individuals, movements, and their factions have been explored as important determinants in the structuring of collective action. Yet, the Nonhuman Animal rights movement, like any social movement, does not operate in a vacuum. Proponents of political opportunity theory seek to account for macro-scale realities that can go unaddressed in examinations of resource mobilization (Koopmans 1999; McAdam, McCarthy, and Zald 1996). There will always be some degree of uncontrollable environmental influence that either provides or impedes opportunity. A movement's agency will also be influenced its

¹⁰ The appropriation of human abolitionist language has garnered some degree of controversy in that Francione, who developed the terminology for Nonhuman Animal rights purposes, has largely failed to place the term historically or within the discourse of ongoing human abolitionist mobilization. See Nocella, Anthony J. 2010. "Abolition a Multi-Tactical Movement Strategy." *Journal for Critical Animal Studies* 8:176-183.

own history (Eckstein 2001; Rubin 2004), its relationship to larger cultural forces, and the social movement climate in general. The Nonhuman Animal rights movement, for instance, has a history of responding to highly visible cruelties suffered by urban species. This historical focus has sustained a movement that continues to be largely concerned with reform. With few exceptions, liberationist claimsmaking that is anti-reformist has emerged only relatively recently in response to the energy and influence of the civil rights movement. As a consequence, the movement's history has created reformist path dependencies in goals and tactics that continue to structure the movement's decision making today.

Political climate, too, will shape a movement's structure and trajectory. In the mid-nineteenth century, for example, Nonhuman Animal advocacy gained legitimacy in drawing on the claimsmaking discourse of the relatively successful human abolitionist movement (Beers 2006). The American Temperance movement, and subsequently, the Progressive movement, also created a political and cultural environment conducive to drawing attention to Nonhuman Animal welfare and vegetarianism. Later, riding the success of the civil rights and environmental movements of the 1960s, the anti-speciesist politics were revitalized by a public consciousness that was especially receptive to claims that extended concern to the nonhuman realm.

Recently, however, the post-September 11th atmosphere has heightened state sensitivity to disruptive domestic activism. For instance, the 1992 Animal Enterprise Protection Act was amended in 2006 and renamed the Animal Enterprise *Terrorism* Act, effectively criminalizing any activism on behalf of other animals that financially interferes with industries that exploit and kill Nonhuman Animals (Lovitz 2010). Activism on behalf of other animals continues, but participants and potential participants alike are keenly aware of the increased risks (Potter 2011). This could be deterring and muting collective action (Lovitz 2010). A number of other social and

environmental factors could also impact a movement's success. The Western health crisis associated with rich diets high in Nonhuman Animal products has introduced many to a vegan and vegetarian lifestyle (Marsh, Zeuschner, and Saunders 2012). Likewise, the growing concern with climate change increasingly recognizes Nonhuman Animal agriculture as the primary culprit (Nibert 2003).

The very methods allocated for creating social change are themselves politically bound. While I have defined social movements as collective action seeking to create change through extra-institutional channels, this is not to say that social movements are outside of institutional control. The hegemonic rise of the non-profit model has created trajectories for social change actors that are difficult to deviate from. As Congress initiated tax regulations on elites and their industries in the early 20th century, elites began to protect their assets and avoid taxation through the construction of foundations. Through these foundations, they are able to preserve (and increase) their wealth.¹¹ They are also able to advance conservative interests by redirecting public money—money acquired from capitalist surpluses and thus destined for public redistribution—from the millions of individuals struggling from an exploitative economic system. The redistribution of power and resources to the poor could create an opportunity for social restructuring that may threaten elite control. Foundations circumvent the process to prevent this possibility.

The state, too, has an interest in reinforcing the non-profit model. Coercing social movements into professionalization (with moderated tactics) in exchange for recognition and

¹¹ Though required to spend a minimum amount on public goods each year, many foundations actually increase their wealth by allocating far below that minimum and investing. Foundations also tend to hire persons from privileged backgrounds, providing them with sizable incomes. In addition to supporting conservative interests, foundations also tend to invest in “public” interests that actually benefit primarily privileged communities such as universities, hospitals, and museums. Only 1.7% of foundation grants are awarded to civil rights and social justice efforts. See Ahn, Christine E. 2007. "Democratizing American Philanthropy." in *The Revolution Will Not Be Funded: Beyond the Non-Profit Industrial Complex*, edited by INCITE! Cambridge, MA: South End Press.

funding acts as a powerful form of social control.¹² Furthermore, the non-profits become responsible for a vast array of social services. These are services made necessary when the state fails to attend to them properly, if at all, when accommodating corporate interests. The state thus supports conditions for social welfare problems to manifest (Wolch 2006), but relies on non-profits to pick up the slack. Non-profits can absorb the cost of risky state policies, neutralizing the inevitable public contention, and then footing the bill. Non-profits act as intermediaries for state and elite interests, buffering the oppressive behavior of the powerful and the liberatory consciousness the oppressed.

Another influential factor in the social movement environment, one that is largely outside the control of participants and groups, is the inevitable mobilization of countermovements. With an interest in preserving the status quo, countermovements emerge to protect taken-for-granted social structures and ideologies (Jasper and Poulsen 1993). Social movements are often obligated to address counter-claimsmaking and adjust their framing and repertoires accordingly. As Jasper and Poulsen uncover when exploring Nonhuman Animal rights interactions with opposing mobilizations, countermovements can become a key variable in explaining movement successes or failures. The Nonhuman Animal rights movement must combat countermovement mobilization in addition to marshalling resources, recruitment, and social change. Exploitative industries actively seek to defame advocates for other animals (Gorski 2011), portraying them as detriments to human well-being, hindrances to scientific progress (Smith 2010), or, as noted previously, violent extremists. Another tactic is to secure minor reforms with the hopes of creating an appearance of meaningful change, as evidenced in the “humane-washing” of “meat,” dairy, and birds’ eggs industries (Anderson 2012). Much of this countermovement activity is

¹² The non-profit industrial complex is thought to be a corollary to the prison industrial complex. While the prison industrial complex overtly controls dissent with police, courts, and imprisonment, the non-profit industrial complex works indirectly to encourage dissenters to self-police by professionalizing and denouncing radical claimsmaking.

conducted by highly organized and well-funded agribusinesses, bio-medical industries, and recreational “sportsmen” (Sorenson 2006) with powerful ties to the state (Lovitz 2010).

Movements must also contend with public perceptions and media portrayals (Gamson 2004). The media’s selection process can be particularly troublesome, with a bias toward powerful interests and the status quo (Oliver and Myers 1999). Movements are underrepresented and only particular protests will be covered. Nonetheless, movements must rely on the media as it is an invaluable resource in diffusing claimsmaking to the public and mobilizing participation. Independent media outlets are better positioned to offer venue and voice for otherwise marginalized groups (Ryan 2005). Radical factions may be excluded from the larger movement’s claimsmaking process, but they can utilize affordable, free-access media resources like self-printed literature and the Internet to overcome internal movement barriers. For anti-speciesist activists, the Internet, in particular, “[...] has lowered the opportunity costs of communication and has facilitated networking among similarly minded activists, who can bypass the large organizations and their efforts to control the discourse about issues” (Francione and Garner 2010: 67). That said, online channels can foster a situation of cyberbalkanization, as increased control over claimsmaking can lead some groups to promote their agendas to the absolute exclusion of opposing approaches (Alstynne and Brynjolfsson 1997). Given its problems with exclusivity, the abolitionist faction must certainly contend with this. However, abolitionists hold a vested interest in monitoring professionalized and violent organizations and tactics, a characterization that could combat, to some extent, the potential for cyberbalkanization. Indeed, abolitionism is very often engaged in rigorous debate with other groups and individuals within the Nonhuman Animal rights arena (Francione and Garner 2010).

Despite the power found in media representation, movements must also be wary of how media bias can misconstrue the movement's claimsmaking to its detriment. While culture and ideology can be manipulated by movements, preexisting counter-ideologies and unreceptive cultures are a social reality that movements must address and attempt to resonate with. The Nonhuman Animal rights movement in particular enjoys very few positive media representations. In fact, many anti-speciesist claims are ignored entirely, or reframed in ways that support the interests of exploitative industries (Blaxter 2009; Cole and Morgan 2011; Freeman 2009; Freeman, Bekoff, and Bexell 2011). Regardless, media coverage continues to be a favored tactic in the nonhuman movement. PETA, for example, operates under the assumption that any coverage, even if negative, will be useful for eliciting attention and hopefully critical thinking about speciesism (PETA n.d.-b). In any case, resonance with an indifferent or unfavorable public sphere is a leading challenge for Nonhuman Animal rights activists.

The Role of Factionalism

The Nonhuman Animal rights movement must contend with a multitude of factors that complicate the liberation of other animals. Some of those factors are within its control, but many are not. This movement also faces the additional challenge of intra-movement competition, and whether or not this variable is within the movement's control is unclear. All social movements are familiar with the problems associated with competition for limited attention and resources between similar organizations in the field (indeed, many organizations within a field will actually begin to homogenize as a successful strategy becomes standard) (DiMaggio and Powell 1983). However, radical factions pose an additional challenge. They are not only sharply critical of the moderated professionalized organizations, but they, too, compete for resources and claimsmaking space.

To be clear, other movements experience this stress, as radical mobilization is certainly not unique to the Nonhuman Animal rights movement. The women's movement, for example, enjoys a robust, moderated collectivity (generally associated with the most prominent professionalized group, the National Organization for Women), but it also contends with radical feminists who worry that the moderated movement has lost sight of important goals and ignores root causes of gender inequality. The women's movement, however, explicitly values difference, encourages all to participate, and gives weight to a variety of concerns (at least theoretically) (Lindsey 2010). It has been suggested that this lack of unity and the leniency towards dissenting opinions have inhibited its ability to achieve goals (Epstein 2003). This individualized approach to feminism is more than a reflection of inclusive feminist values. Gail Dines (2012) identifies individualism or "choice feminism" as an indication of neoliberal influence. This ideology, she suggests, actively undermines the feminist potential for a collective identity and effective mobilization. The civil rights movement has experienced similar internal divisions, as many organizations have been enticed into professionalization by the lure of funding and state sanction, a process that marginalizes radical groups and starves them of resources (Allen 2007). Factionalism, then, is not always a simplistic disagreement over tactics and goals, and might also manifest in resistance to elite cooptation, corporatization, and bureaucratization in the social change space.

As Piven and Cloward (1977) suggest, organizational oligarchy can manifest to the detriment of movement progress. This study will explore how radical factions in the Nonhuman Animal rights movement seem to be largely excluded by more professionalized organizations such as PETA, Farm Animal Rights Movement (FARM), Compassion Over Killing (COK), and Vegan Outreach. These professionalized organizations have the resources to counter radical

claimsmaking and block its access to spheres of discourse. Behavior of this kind appears to be common under the constraints of the non-profit industrial complex:

[. . .] in order to protect their non-profit status and marketability to liberal foundations, [non-profits] actively self-police against members' deviations from their essentially reformist agendas, while continuing to appropriate the language and imagery of historical revolutionaries. (Rodríguez 2007)

For instance, in the summer of 2012, dissatisfied with the moderated messages promulgated by the Animal Rights National Conference that is hosted annually by FARM to spotlight the agendas of professionalized organizations, a group of abolitionists attempted to hold their own smaller convention in the same venue at the same time as the larger conference. After initially accepting their reservation, the hotel later shut down the abolitionist event at the behest of the Animal Rights National Conference organizers (LaVeck and Stein 2012). FARM later released a statement intended to “clear the air” and disparage the offending radicals as “sideline pundits”(FARM 2012).

In another example, Vegan Outreach released a “manifesto” on Nonhuman Animal advocacy efforts that frames its professionalized, compromised approach as “hardcore” “radical pragmatism” (Ball 2013f). In this statement, the organization explicitly rejects the need to promote veganism, framing it as an unrealistically “pure” position that is “driven by words and dogma.” So, on one hand, Vegan Outreach defends its professionalized approach with the trope of pragmatism, but, on the other hand, it appropriates the language of the same abolitionist position that it challenges. While it adamantly opposes promoting veganism (encouraging the public to reduce their consumption of Nonhuman Animal products instead),¹³ the organization is called “Vegan” Outreach. It describes its position as “hardcore” and “radical,” though it is

¹³ In an interview, cofounder Matt Ball stated: “I can only tell you that our goal isn’t advocating ‘veganism,’ but reducing as much suffering as possible.” See Ball, Matt. 2011b. "Transcript of Matt Ball's ARZone Guest Chat." ARZone. This position has been repeated in many Vegan Outreach publications.

actually quite compromised. Its moderate nature is indicative of the pressure for non-profits to appeal to elites, industries, the state, and the donating public. In fact, one of the founders of Vegan Outreach admits that its name is contentious in this regard: “For a variety of reasons, we didn’t change the name. But I know having ‘vegan’ in our name hurts us in different ways, most clearly on fundraising. Foundations and rich non-vegans give to groups with similar philosophies/approaches, but won’t give to ‘Vegan’ Outreach” (Ball 2011b). While Ball does not disclose the reasons for maintaining the word “vegan” in the organization’s name, it is likely that Vegan Outreach hopes to draw on the growing popularity of veganism. Veganism was largely absent from the claimsmaking of professionalized organizations until quite recently (Francione and Garner 2010), and Vegan Outreach is a relatively young organization, having been founded in 1993. Alternatively, the grant-funded non-profit VegFund does *not* use the word “vegan” in its name, though it explicitly promotes vegan education. There seems to be a tradeoff in choice of symbolism. To appeal to foundations, a vegan organization must either omit veganism from its identity or omit veganism from its activities. In one way or another, it must be compromised.

Thus, intra-movement tensions are a particular problem for collective action on behalf of other animals. Radical collectives seem to experience a significant amount of exclusion and countermovement retaliation from the dominant groups despite their critical role in maintaining overall movement health. Perhaps not unrelated, radicals must also contend with the phenomenon of status contamination. As larger organizations increasingly frame radical advocacy as deviant, unrealistic, and divisive to the effect of demonizing radical tactics, it might be expected that fewer advocates would be willing to identify with a radical faction. The status of radical mobilization thus devalued and diminished, participants would presumably disassociate. Alternatively, should professionalized organizations also co-opt distinguishing

symbols and claims made popular by radical advocacy and mold them into something congruent with their favored moderate tactics, radical activists must also concern themselves with the possibility that their status as radicals could be “contaminated” with moderate claimsmaking. As a consequence, radical activists must engage in their own disassociation to protect their status, and this could aggravate the already disconcerting problem of hyper-exclusivity.

Summary

The individual decision to participate in collective action is, to some extent, a result of carefully weighed costs and benefits. Potential costs include time, stigma, and stress, but identity, emotion, and networks can influence these decisions and help counteract the potential to free-ride. At the collective level, movements can bring about change through the strategized mobilization of available resources and the active creation of meaning, culture, and ideology. As resource mobilization theorists have emphasized, how a movement frames problems and solutions shapes its identity and this can impact its ability to succeed. Yet, conflicts over framing often encourage factionalism. Factionalism can operate as a useful motivation for the movement, but it can also act as a major drain on resources. In the larger context of movement activity, movements operate in a fluctuating, reflexive relationship with their environment. They can be paralyzed or invigorated from particular political, economic, social, or ecological climates. Likewise, their actions and repertoires may be restricted by certain path dependencies that have crystallized over the course of the movement’s history, aggravated by the trend in professionalization that repositions non-profits within the control of the state and elites in exchange for the funding and legitimacy they provide.

For the Nonhuman Animal rights movement, it is possible that factionalism, as a reflection of power differentials within the movement, could be one of the greatest impediments

to goal attainment. The ways in which professionalized organizations actively countermobilize against radical advocacy might prove a useful site for further exploration, as would the trends in extreme exclusiveness perpetuated by the radicals themselves. While radical factions are often cited as cause for hindering movement success, it is likely that professionalized factions hold a greater share of responsibility. Placing blame on marginalized groups ignores the systemic issues that create this intra-movement inequality. In many instances of social stratification, the groups in power go unexamined, while the minority is disproportionately scrutinized. This study seeks to expand the factional imagination by examining the actions of powerful professionalized groups in addition to radical competitors.

This study aspires to offer a more complex and perhaps more forgiving exploration into the often maligned radical flanks. Radical factions might offer an important challenge to debilitating movement path dependencies and the compromising consequences of professionalization. In refusing to challenge the unequal social structures that create the interest in and need for social change in the first place, professionalized organizations actually come to *reinforce* and *maintain* oppressive systems (Rodríguez 2007). An investigation into factionalization in a professionalized social movement arena could be useful to understanding how social movements achieve, or fail to achieve, success. In the following chapter, the methodology used to explore these variables will be presented. Given the strong historical component to the trends in question and the limited existing information available on the influence of factionalism in the Nonhuman Animal rights movement, a historical content analysis of movement claimsmaking spanning the era of professionalization is proposed.

CHAPTER THREE | METHODOLOGY

This project investigates framing, factionalism, and professionalization in social movement mobilization utilizing qualitative content analysis. The Nonhuman Animal rights movement exhibits significant factionalism, presenting itself as an appropriate case study. Social movement theorists have pointed to “conversation”—including both talk and social interactions—as an important mechanism in boundary work across groups (Tilly 2004). As such, conversation will form the basis of this inquiry. This analysis explores movement publications between 1980 and 2013, a time frame that reflects available data, but also targets the era of professionalization in the movement. This analysis seeks to ascertain the rationale for professionalization, how that professionalization manifests, and how professionalized organizations and grassroots coalitions struggle over boundaries.

Relatedly, I have sought to uncover how these mechanisms influence the outcome of the factions in question. To clarify, measuring *outcome* is not the same as measuring *success*. Measuring a social movement’s success is especially difficult. Success might be defined as the movement’s ability to secure collective goods for a particular group (Amenta, Dunleavy, and Bernstein 1994) or its ability to influence policy implementation (Andrews 2001). Many movements may achieve their goals, only to regroup and establish new ones. For instance, the anti-slavery movement continues working towards abolition even after emancipation. Physical bondage was outlawed, but Jim Crow sharecropping and the prison industrial complex perpetuates slavery in other forms. Movements also tend to operate in cycles, fluctuating

between cycles of high activity and dormancy, and occasionally many decades will transpire between each cycle (Rochon 1997). Activists may negotiate their understanding of “success” to reflect a number of external environmental constraints (Bernstein 2003). The Nonhuman Animal rights movement continues to experience considerable activity, making it difficult to measure its success at this stage. Therefore, this project does not attempt to evaluate the success or failure of advocacy on behalf of other animals. Instead, I offer an exploration into largely overlooked intersections of variables related to intra-movement boundary work: professionalization, framing, and factionalism.

This study will utilize historical comparison to determine how the movement has shifted from radical grassroots mobilization to the professionalized model. It will utilize a content analysis of movement-produced literature to ascertain how professionalized organizations wield and maintain their symbolic capital through framing. Steinberg (1999) has argued for the importance of a dialogic analysis in framing theory, as meaning production in social movements is a site of heavy contestation and depends greatly upon factional disputes. Frames, he insists, are bound and limited by the politics of the social movement field: “Only when we see cultural processes as part of the action, as part of what is quintessential both in formation and at stake, can we fully appreciate the cultural dimension of collective action” (1999: 772). A content analysis can demonstrate what messages are being used and how frequently, who or what is considered legitimized and highlighted, and who or what is delegitimized or made invisible. Finally, while outcome is not the focus of this study, success can be somewhat ascertained by determining the level of visibility various factions enjoy in the materials produced, the wealth they have accrued, and the types of activities they are able to engage in, all of which is information present in movement-produced literature.

McCarthy and Zald (1973) identify a professionalized social movement according to the presence of four variables: 1) fulltime leadership and a large proportion of resources originating from outsiders, 2) a small, paper-based, or nonexistent membership base, 3) claims that it speaks on behalf of a potential constituency, 4) and attempts to influence policy in favor of the constituency. I extend this conceptualization somewhat, defining a professionalized organization as one that has achieved non-profit status, is donation-based with a large membership, and enjoys national (or international) jurisdiction. To be counted as relevant to this study, an organization must also prioritize the liberation of Nonhuman Animals as a group as opposed to any specific species. Examples of professionalized Nonhuman Animal rights organizations include PETA, COK, FARM, Save Animals from Exploitation (SAFE), Sanctuary, Mercy for Animals, Vegan Outreach, and Vegetarians' International Voice for Animals (VIVA).

The literature identifies at least three radical factions within the Nonhuman Animal rights movement: the abolitionist faction, the No Kill faction, and the direct action faction. A table is provided below that lists organizations included in this sample (and otherwise referenced in this study) according to factional affiliation (TABLE 1). The No Kill faction will be excluded because it focuses primarily on dogs and cats in shelter facilities, and this project seeks to understand how the larger rights movement coalesces. It does appear that the No Kill faction has emerged as a direct consequence of professionalization in the Nonhuman Animal *welfare* movement.¹⁴ Publications from both sides of the debate would offer a wealth of potentially interesting data regarding factionalism, boundary work, and non-profitization. For the sake of

¹⁴ The welfare/humane movement is primarily concerned with companion animals. Many organizations do advocate for the interests of other animals, but they do not seek to liberate them, nor do they seek to end Nonhuman Animal agriculture or domestication. Importantly, it is not clear that the No Kill faction seeks abolition either. The faction's most prominent leader, Nathan Winograd, insists that the institution of pet-keeping should be preserved. See Winograd, Nathan and Jennifer Winograd. Forthcoming. *Welcome Home: An Animal Rights Perspective on Living with Companion Dogs & Cats*.

clarity and succinctness, however, I only explore the movement to liberate Nonhuman Animals as a group, not dog and cat species in particular. When particularly relevant, some examples of No Kill boundary work are included as supplementary evidence, but No Kill data is not included in the coding analysis.

Direct action activism is included, specifically because this faction was heavily active as the movement began to professionalize. Some direct action groups were especially resistant to the professionalized path, while others would go on to professionalize themselves. There is some degree of difficulty in differentiating direct action activism, as some participants are associated with direct action grassroots efforts and professionalizing organizations alike. Some professionalized organizations also utilize direct action. For example, Mercy for Animals and Compassion Over Killing sometimes stage open rescues that entail breaking into facilities to film and confiscate especially ill and injured animals. I therefore define the direct action faction as encompassing those grassroots coalitions that, 1) primarily rely on illegal tactics (like open rescue, arson, vandalizing, or physical interference with industry operations), and 2) are not professionalized. While I was able to access a large amount of data from direct action activism, it is worth noting that the illegal nature of this faction has likely restricted the amount and type of information that is publicly available. These activists are often forced to act clandestinely and anonymously.

Defining the abolitionist faction also included in this study is similarly challenging. As outlined in the introduction, I suspect that symbol mining makes clear distinctions difficult. It is possible that some professionalized organizations are appropriating especially resonate symbols, but it is also the case that definitions of particular faction identities will simply vary. For instance, according to Francione, abolitionism rejects the utility of welfare reform and seeks the

complete cessation of Nonhuman Animal use, but it also rejects violent tactics and single-issue campaigns (Wrenn 2012).¹⁵ However, many groups that seek Nonhuman Animal liberation, but also favor violence or single-issue campaigning, identify as abolitionist as well. For illustration, Animal Rights Coalition, a small group based in Minnesota, identifies as abolitionist, but the organization's tactics mirror that of reform-focused professionalized organizations. Another concern is that "abolitionism" as a distinct faction identity did not functionally exist prior to the early 2000's. However, the language and goals were indeed present, influencing many early activist endeavors. For the purposes of this study, I define abolitionist groups as those that promote veganism, reject reform-centered tactics, and aim to end *all* Nonhuman Animal use. To differentiate abolitionism from direct action activism, I further identify abolitionist groups as those that reject violence: abolitionists seek to end all oppression, and violent tactics are thought to engage and perpetuate oppression. Single-issue campaigns are not to be included as an indicator, as their legitimacy in abolitionist claimsmaking is still contested (Wrenn and Johnson 2013).¹⁶

As the complexity involved in these various positions may indicate, professionalization and radicalization might not be mutually exclusive. Some professionalized organizations may adopt radical tactics, and some radical activists may adopt professionalized tactics. The fluidity inherent to identity necessitates that the factional boundaries conscribed here will resist full distinction and total accuracy. As Robnett, Glasser, and Trammel (2015) find, social movement factions are in constant flux, thus making them quite difficult to define to the effect of creating considerable disagreement among researchers. Analysis, however, requires some level of

¹⁵ Single-issue campaigns are those which focus on one specific use or species, such as the campaign to end the horse-drawn carriage industry. Francionian abolitionism sees single-issue campaigns as reformist in nature and ultimately speciesist in that they single out particular issues as more important and deserving of attention and resources. See Wrenn, Corey Lee and Rob Johnson. 2013. "A Critique of Single-Issue Campaigning and the Importance of Comprehensive Abolitionist Vegan Advocacy." *Food, Culture & Society* 16:651-668.

¹⁶ Many abolitionists utilize single-issue campaigns if they are thought to be abolitionist in nature. That is, they may focus on eliminating a particular form of speciesism rather than reforming it.

categorization. Therefore, the professionalized faction is defined for this study as exhibiting non-profit status, national or international reach, claims to authority in the movement, fulltime leadership, a donation focus, a distanced or paper-based membership, and attempts to influence policy. I define the direct action faction as anti-reform, grassroots, and primarily reliant on illegal tactics. The abolitionist faction is defined as anti-reform, grassroots, non-violent, and pro-vegan.

While boundaries and their tendency to cycle and fluctuate will be discussed in greater detail in later chapters, with few exceptions, radical collectives are not professionalized. This occurs because the professionalization process—by its very nature—is intended to deradicalize. Likewise, this polarization also occurs because radical factions tend to sprout *as a reaction to* and *in resistance to* professionalization. It is difficult for any collective to maintain a foothold in both spaces. As Robnett et al. (2015) explain, “The moderate organizations must either distance themselves from the radical flank by jumping on the gravy train with the conservatives, or radicalize and destroy their credibility and ties with state officials.” The politics of social movement arenas allow little support for fence-sitting.

TABLE 1 Nonhuman Animal Rights Organizations by Factional Affiliation¹⁷

Professionalized (Or Transitioning)
American Society for the Prevention of Cruelty to Animals (ASPCA)
Animal Aid
Animals Australia
Animal Liberation Australia (ALA)
Animal Liberation Victoria (ALV, also ALVIC) (Previously Animal Liberation Australia)
Animal Rights International

¹⁷ Many of these organizations are not included in the sample, but are included here for reference. Some older or since defunct organizations listed here that existed before the rise of professionalization are classified based on tactical strategy. Organizations of this kind are listed as professionalized if they favor a moderate, nonvegan approach. Anti-vivisection groups are also listed as professionalized as they are single-issue and nonvegan.

Australian and New Zealand Federation of Animal Societies (ANZFAS) (Now Animals Australia)
British Union for the Abolition of Vivisection (BUAV)
Compassion in World Farming (CIWF)
Compassion Over Killing (COK)
Farm Animal Rights Movement (FARM) (Previously Farm Animal Reform Movement)
Humane Society of the United States (HSUS)
Humanitarian League
Justice for Animals Fund
Last Chance for Animals
League Against Cruel Sports (LACS) (Formerly the League for the Prohibition of Cruel Sports)
League for the Prohibition of Cruel Sports (Now the League Against Cruel Sports)
National Anti-Vivisection Society (NAVS) (Formerly the Victoria Street Society)
National Society for the Abolition of Cruel Sports (Formerly the League Against Cruel Sports)
People for the Ethical Treatment of Animals (PETA)
Royal Society for the Prevention of Cruelty to Animals (RSPCA)
Society for the Prevention of Cruelty to Animals (SPCA)
The Fund for Animals (Now HSUS)
United Poultry Concerns (UPC)
Vegan Outreach (VO)
Victoria Street Society (Now the National Anti-Vivisection Society)
Women's Humane League
Direct Action
269life
Animal Liberation Front (ALF) (Previously Band of Mercy)
Band of Mercy (Now Animal Liberation Front)
Breach

Direct Action Everywhere (DXE)
The Human/Animal Liberation Front (HALF)
Institute of Critical Animal Studies (ICAS)
Negotiation is Over
Abolitionist
Animals' Friend Society
Animal Rights: The Abolitionist Approach
Go Vegan Radio (GVR)
Feminists for Animal Rights (FAR)
The Abolitionist Vegan Society (TAVS) (Now The Advocacy of Veganism Society)
The Advocacy of Veganism Society (TAVS) (Formerly The Abolitionist Vegan Society)

Data

Data for this study was obtained from historical primary sources stored in the Tom Regan Animal Rights Archive at North Carolina State University (NCSU) in Raleigh and contemporary primary sources (from late 2006 through 2013) hosted online. The documents included in the sample are reasonably representative of several professionalized organizations and competing factions. Those held at the Animal Rights Archive are primarily historical in nature, providing insight to organizational activities as the movement began to professionalize. The archive is quite large, including copious records from individual organizations and the manuscripts and correspondences of prominent theorists and activists. The archive's *Guide to the Animal Rights and Welfare Publications, 1896-2009* was selected as the main collection for analysis, as it appears to be the most comprehensive. This guide contains 146 boxes of data, generally split up by publication type or organization. The particular collections included in the sample were selected according to the criteria outline above.

Nonprobability relevance sampling was applied to narrow the research scope due to the large volume of available data and the undetermined relevancy of said data. Subsequently, I targeted several organizations that are key players in the professionalized field today (PETA, FARM, Vegan Outreach, Compassion Over Killing, and Animal Liberation Front). Keyword searches for “magazine” and “newsletter” were also conducted, as these media channels are created for participant and public consumption and would likely have many indicators for particular framing practices. The search was filtered with a focus on professionalized and grassroots groups that remain active today so they might be compared with recent publications to provide evidence for change (or lack thereof) over time. Datasets corresponding to organizations were restricted to those corresponding with coalitions that are presently national rather than regional. Datasets were excluded if they focused only on one species or issue (like the American Anti-Vivisection Society’s documents) and also if they were not rights-based (like the Animal Welfare League).¹⁸ Only organizations producing literature in the English language were included.

Originally, I had intended only to include American organizations, however, the archival data included in the sample was inclusive of other Western countries. I was not able to determine country of origin until I could examine the data firsthand. At that point, some data from the United Kingdom and Australia surfaced in the sample. I decided to retain it because it appeared particularly relevant to my research questions. I also believe this adjustment is appropriate due to considerable transnational cross-influence and the heavy communication between organizations

¹⁸ The Nonhuman Animal rights movement has fluctuated in focus considerably over the centuries. For instance, anti-vivisection efforts dominated activism in the late 19th century through the 20th century. This study focuses only on rights-based efforts for all species in all speciesist institutions, although opening up the study to include these specialized areas could broaden the findings.

that is evidenced in this data. Prior to the 2000s, American organizations were certainly not operating in a vacuum.

Based on these selection definitions, two magazines appeared especially useful to the analysis: *The Abolitionist* (published by Compassion Over Killing, 1997-2003)¹⁹ and *Animal Times* (published by PETA, 1994-2002). Several newsletters were also included: the British publication *The Animal Liberation Front Supporters Group Newsletter (ALFSGN)* (1993-1996), The Human/Animal Liberation Front's newsletter (1986-1988), *PETA News* (1982-1994), *PETA News Special Issues* (1987-1989), and three Vegan Outreach newsletters (1997-2002). Other records of interest identified on site include *FARM Report* (1992-2001) and *ACTION: The Animal's Voice* (formerly *Action: Animal Liberation Magazine*). *ACTION* is an organizational publication produced by Animal Liberation in Australia (1994-2001) which happened to be stored alongside the targeted sources and is included because it appeared relevant. TABLE 2 provides a list of datasets included in the study.

The first phase of data collection took place over three days in November of 2013 at NCSU's Animal Rights Archives in Raleigh, North Carolina. The aforementioned datasets were evaluated and documents that appeared to be related in some way to professionalization, framing, and/or factionalism were recorded by photograph. Images were then transferred to NVivo (a qualitative data analysis program) and organized by affiliation and date of publication. The second stage of data collection explored online advocacy resources from the mid-2000s through the end of 2013. Primary documents that illuminate current movement activity were derived primarily from blogs, which are an increasingly popular way for organizations to reach

¹⁹ Some of these publications are still in print today. However, I only had reliable access to those issues made available in the archive. The dates presented correspond to issues available in the archives and do not correspond to the total life of the publications.

the public with carefully crafted claimsmaking. A preliminary exploration into the online material determined that eight currently updated blogs were appropriate to the study (

TABLE 3). These are blogs maintained by Compassion Over Killing (2011-present²⁰), FARM (2010-present), PETA (2006-present), Vegan Outreach (2010-present), Gary Francione (2006-present), Go Vegan Radio (2013), Negotiation is Over (2008-2013), and North American Animal Liberation Press Office (2008-present). Vegan Outreach, PETA, FARM, and COK are professionalized organizations; Francione's blog and Go Vegan Radio are representative of the abolitionist faction; and the NAALPO and NIO publications speak to direct action advocacy. A multitude of other blogs exist, but I chose to include the blogs associated with particular professional organizations because they correspond with the data available in the Animal Rights Archive. The abolitionist blogs sampled are included because they have relatively large audiences and contain sufficient material for coding. The direct action blogs sampled were chosen simply based on availability. The time frame for analysis begins at a blog's launch through the end of 2013. Most contained a large number of updates, necessitating a random sample. Samples were determined with a confidence level of 95% with a 5% margin of error (

TABLE 3).

Archival samples, on the other hand, were obtained using nonprobability relevance sampling because the amount of data available was so great and the time and familiarity with material available to the researcher was limited. To be included in a relevancy sample, the unit of analysis for archival data must have discussed one or more of the following:

- Professionalization (benefits, drawbacks, rationalization, etc.). This would include any discussion of how an organization relies on fundraising, moderates tactics, bureaucratizes, etc.
- Radical theory or tactics

²⁰ At the time of this writing, these blogs are still maintained. Material published after 2013 was not included in the analysis.

- Pragmatic or utilitarian theory or tactics
- Any sort of engagement with competing factions included in this study

Relevant units were saved as a PDF, categorized according to source and date, and entered into NVivo.

Once collected and organized, these units informed my coding frame and my pilot phase. It is possible that utilizing the search function associated with each blog could increase the amount of relevant data if applied to this study on faction claimsmaking. However, lacking a preexisting list of valid keywords would complicate this method. Two factors complicate the construction of a list of keywords. First, this study is exploratory, meaning that the precise language used to describe professionalization, framing, and factionalism in the Nonhuman Animal rights movement was relatively undetermined. For that matter, language is likely to have evolved over the decades included in the sample. Second, the discourse surrounding factionalism is often highly nuanced, meaning that there may not be many keywords that consistently pull on relevant data. Creating an exhaustive list would likely prove extremely difficult.

TABLE 2 Publications Included in Archival Sample (1980-2002)

Publication	Publisher	Sample Frame²¹	n
<i>ACTION: The Animal's Voice</i>	ALA	Summer 1994-06/2001	37
<i>The Animal Liberation Front Supporters Group Newsletter</i>	ALFSG	Winter 1993/1994 – Autumn 1995	29
<i>Vic News</i>	ALV	Autumn 1994 – Autumn 1995	6
<i>The Abolitionist</i>	COK	Autumn 1997 – Winter/Spring 2003	70
<i>The FARM Report</i>	FARM	Spring 1992 – Fall 2001	56
<i>The Human/Animal Liberation Front</i>	HALF	12/1986 - Christmas 1988	4
<i>PETA's Animal Times</i>	PETA	06-07/1994 – Winter 2002	18

²¹ Datasets are not inclusive, some issues are missing. Again, these dates correspond only those publications available in the archive.

<i>PETA News</i>	PETA	09/1982 – Spring 1994	75
<i>No title</i>	Vegan Outreach	12/1997 – 08/2002	14

TABLE 3 Publications included in Blog Sample (2006-2013)

Blog	Publisher	Sample Frame	N	n
<i>PETA's Blog</i>	PETA	10/25/2006-12/31/2013	6678	363
<i>The Vegan Outreach Blog</i>	Vegan Outreach	03/26/2010-12/31/2013	1360	300
<i>FARM Blog</i>	FARM	01/7/2010-12/31/2013	194	129
<i>Voices of Compassion</i>	COK	03/8/2011-12/31/2013	396	195
<i>Animal Rights: The Abolitionist Approach</i>	Gary Francione	11/29/2006-12/31/2013	319	175
<i>Go Vegan Radio Blog</i>	Go Vegan Radio	03/03/2013-12/31/2013	189	127
<i>North American Animal Liberation Press Office</i>	NAALPO	09/03/2008-12/31/2013	526	222
<i>Negotiation is Over</i>	NIO	09/01/2008-12/31/2013	853	265

Study Design

Strengths and Weaknesses in QCA

A qualitative content analysis of recent and historical movement documents was chosen in order to examine contemporary discourse and framing processes regarding professionalization and factionalism. Krippendorff (2013) defines content analysis as a “[. . .] research technique for making replicable and valid inferences from texts (or other meaningful matter) to the contexts of their use” (24). This method was particularly conducive to my geographic and financial restrictions, as well as my hearing disability. Qualitative content analysis is flexible in that it allows the researcher to work with available data in the examination of particular concepts (Schreier 2012). While this analysis was concept driven in that it involved searching for

particular themes (factionalism, framing, and professionalization), it was ultimately structured by data availability. QCA is inductive and adaptable, thus allowing me to construct codes and concepts as I progressed through the data retrieval and reduction. This flexibility also allowed me to alter my coding frame as necessary as data was analyzed. Furthermore, it is not obtrusive, meaning I could avoid some potential for error and ethical problems inherent to using human subjects. Another benefit to this methodology is its ability to manage a large amount of data and reduce it for easier analysis in a systematic manner. This is especially important given the vast array of publications produced by long-established social movements. It also allows for context, which is necessary for understanding latent meaning, of which there is a great deal in movement discourse and claimsmaking.

One of the primary drawbacks to quantitative analysis is that researchers are only provided the manifest meaning of the data. For this study, context is essential to achieve a valid interpretation. Some have suggested that researchers refrain from making inferences from the data (Schreier 2012), while others insist that the interpretation of latent meaning is foundational to the method (Krippendorff 2013). Because this project examines social movement framing and claimsmaking, I decided that considerable interpretation would be needed. Much meaning would be lost if the study were to rely solely on quantitative measures: “Content analysts who start with a research question read texts for a purpose, not for what an author may lead them to think or what they say in the abstract” (Krippendorff 2013: 37). Therefore, while qualitative content analysis relies on some degree of objective data (like frequencies), it is ultimately reflexive. Of course, this has the potential to introduce considerable bias. For this reason, a number of precautions were adopted.

In particular, the need for reflexivity and the potential for bias act as important shortcomings in this methodology. My data sample is limited to a specific time frame and a particular movement and I will also be coding alone, which will reduce the generalizability of my results. My interpretation of the data will be unique to my background, meaning that interpretation might vary for other individuals. It may even vary for the researcher over time. QCA relies on extracting socially shared interpretations from the data. The context and social reality of the data will always be subjectively constructed, meaning that that its interpretation will never achieve true objectivity (Krippendorff 2013).

Strengthening Reliability and Validity

With such a large amount of unfamiliar and irregular data and no assistance from other coders, achieving reliability and validity is especially difficult in a study of this kind. Nevertheless, I made use of several strategies to strengthen the legitimacy of the findings. To improve reliability, I utilized a reliability check and adhered to a strict set of procedures when coding. I also focused on three areas to improve validity: conceptual coding, trial coding, and acknowledgement of limited generalizability.

While I will not be using the assistance of other coders, I can increase my internal reliability by calculating a percentage of agreement. This strategy will compare the coding results across points in time. To do this, I began by coding 10% of my data and then removing myself from the project for two weeks. I then returned to the data to recode this 10% sample. Coding results could then be compared to create a coefficient of agreement.

$$\text{Percentage of Agreement} = \frac{\text{Number of Units in Agreement}}{\text{Total Number of Units}} \times 100$$

While this coefficient of agreement is likely not as strong as it might be if I were to solicit the assistance of additional researchers, it does improve the strength of reliability considerably. To increase the percentage of agreement, I defined my coding frame categories as clearly as possible, not only for my own benefit, but also with the intention of better conveying my interpretation to readers and future researchers.

Reliability is also increased by ensuring that the coding frame and the coding procedure are systematic. Following a set sequence of steps is a strong strategy for achieving the appropriate interpretation each time. The utilization of QCA software assists greatly in this regard by allowing for the coordination and structuring of a coding scheme and its data.

Validity can be increased by phrasing my coding categories conceptually to incorporate variations in interpretations. As an example, I included a code for “Promotes flexitarianism,” which was intended to identify evidence for an organization’s reformist position.

“Flexitarianism” is a concept that can speak to a number of possible interpretations, including the promotion of nonvegan reductionist diets or the promotion of movement events such as Meatless Mondays or The Great American Meatout. An elastic code of this kind allows for a number of, in this case, diet-related claims that speak to a reform or radical focus without being overly specific.

My trial code also works to improve validity. For instance, if I have a considerable amount of data that did not fit into the categories I have created, this would indicate that my frame is not able to demonstrate the meaning of the material. Lopsided frequencies, a problem that presents itself when some subcategories are disproportionately used, would also demonstrate low face validity. My subcategories needed to be sufficiently specific, but not so specific that they do not adequately resonate with the data. For instance, I included a code for claimsmaking related to “rationale” with the hopes of identifying justifications for why a given group chose to

adhere to a grassroots or professionalized style. Extremely few units were coded as demonstrating rationale (presumably rationale was considered self-evident by most of the movement authors). However, I ultimately decided to retain this code as this information, limited as it may be, is so vital to the research questions.

Finally, making inferences about the data may also impact my validity, a problem confounded by my use of nonprobability sampling. Therefore, my findings are not slated as representative, meaning that my generalizations will ultimately be restricted to the organizations and factions in question.

Units of Analysis and Coding Scheme

Units that were analyzed included magazines, newsletters, blogs, and reports; units of coding were the magazine articles, newsletter articles, individual reports, and blog entries. After having compiled my data set inclusive of the print literature from the Tom Regan Animal Rights Archive and the digital literature from the online blogs, I created main categories related to my topics of interest. I strove to shape categories that are one-dimensional, mutually exclusive, exhaustive, and saturated as is recommended in analysis of this kind. Because this analysis is inductive, I refrained from choosing a strategy for building my coding frame prior to data collection. Once familiar with the data, however, I created main categories and subcategories using clear definitions that include adequate indicators and examples. Primary codes include factional affiliation, degree of professionalization, evidence of factionalism, evidence of framing, symbol contestation, main purpose of the unit, main theme of the unit, and rationale of organizational structure. The full coding scheme is reproduced in APPENDIX A: CODING GUIDE.

As was previously addressed, some variables derived from the literature required modification to suit this study. McCarthy and Zald (1977) identify a group's tendency to speak on behalf of the constituency as an indicator of professionalization. However, this is somewhat ill-fitting with anti-speciesist work. Nonhuman Animal groups will inevitably seek to impart this image due to language and ability barriers experienced by their nonhuman constituency. Nonhuman Animals do communicate displeasure with the violence they endure as evidenced by resistance, violence, and regular attempts to escape, but they will always be reliant on human allies to speak on their behalf in human spaces. This indicator was thus modified and applied to those professionalized groups that attempted to speak *on behalf of the movement*, a definition that not only includes Nonhuman Animals, but their human allies as well. Radical factions tend to be more cognizant of their marginalized status and their limited ability to act as representatives. Consequently, they often referred to the negative consequences of professionalized organizations speaking on behalf of the movement, framing it as counterproductive or otherwise detrimental to Nonhuman Animal interests.

As preliminary coding began, a number of additional modifications were necessary. First, the diversity of symbols that appeared to be under contestation among the various groups necessitated an additional category in the coding frame. There was also a need to categorize the aim of factional boundary work, as it was complex than expected. For those units that demonstrate evidence of factionalism, I attempted to identify what other faction the group is concerning itself with in the claimsmaking (the professionalized faction, a radical faction, or its own faction). In most cases, no target at all is identified and factional claimsmaking could easily refer to any individual or group. For example, if a unit is criticizing the tactics of other "animal people," this is non-specific and does not yield reliable information as to the intended reference.

In this case, a unit would be coded as related to factionalism, but its intended reference would not be coded. The factionalism category was further refined by adding a variable to identify claims that a particular group, faction, or position is superior. This was necessitated because claims to superiority regularly appeared as a means of framing a given approach, differentiating a group, and contesting the approaches of others.

Because so many units in the blog sample did not engage factional work (recall that the blog sample was random), I added a category to describe the main purpose of the unit. It became clear that professionalized factions are considerably more concerned with bureaucratic issues than with the counter-claimsmaking of other factions. As a result, these groups spend much more time promoting events and products.

I was also interested in seeing how the topics of discussion may have changed over time, as this relates to my research questions on the effect of professionalization on an organization's framing and outcome. For instance, I felt it would be interesting to determine if product promotion correlates with professionalization. I predicted that regular product placement and advertisement might manifest as a result of an increased reliance on fundraising. It was possible that this economic shift may be usurping space that was previously reserved for ant-speciesism advocacy. Festival participation and promotion may also increase because they tend to be major sources of income to the hosting organization and many sponsoring products and businesses are also showcased at these events.

I also felt it necessary to add a category for each unit's main theme because, oftentimes, the framing in professionalized publications will prioritize themes that are not directly related to Nonhuman Animal rights. Examples include discussions of veganism as a diet, veganism as a means of improving health, vegetarianism as a critical component to environmental justice, or

updates on imprisoned activists. Radical organizations seem to prioritize Nonhuman Animals more than the professionalized groups, but they also explore ethical problems with speciesism that branch beyond the immediate injustice imposed on Nonhuman Animal communities. Adding a category to identify the main theme illuminates these patterns. Subsequently, units demonstrating various indirect social concerns with speciesism are coded according to the most dominant theme present. If it was not possible to discern the predominance of any one theme, or, if the purpose of the publication is to make a case for the intersectionality of human and nonhuman oppression, the unit was coded as “intersectional.” There are a few units in the sample that are best categorized as “other,” such as those that discuss the civil rights of activists and prison politics. The Go Vegan Radio sample in particular contains a number of units that discuss the current political climate or prominent politicians and are not framed in relation to Nonhuman Animal rights.

Before coding began on the whole of the material, a trial coding was conducted to ensure that coding was consistent and that the coding frame is appropriate. To ensure that the pilot phase best encapsulates the data, a 10% sample was drawn proportionately from each unit, resulting in 88% reliability. Low consistency indicates low reliability, so any issues that arose in the pilot phase were noted and addressed during the main coding frame. I found that the primary area of disagreement in my reliability check related to identifying evidence of factionalism. In some cases, factional work was indeed present but had gone previously undetected. This indicated that I had not been reading closely enough, or, my skills at locating factional claimsmaking had simply improved with practice. To increase reliability, I made a conscious effort to read more closely to ensure less obvious examples of factionalism could be located. The sample data was reused in the main coding phase.

Despite these precautions, there were a few indicators that were not included that I believe may have benefited the coding process. Unfortunately, these went undetected until coding had progressed past the point of adjustment. For instance, adding variables for accusations of exclusion and appropriation of symbols and meanings as reported by radical factions would be useful for explaining factionalism, as would explicit calls for unity from any faction. I subsumed these within other codes, but additional clarity would have been useful to the analysis.

Following these adjustments, the four main themes explored in the final analysis relate to factional affiliation, degree of professionalization, evidence of factionalism, and evidence of framing. Coding for factional affiliation and degree of professionalization allows me to discern the quantitative representation of various factions. It also allows me to track their ebb and flow over time. This should lend evidence to my first research question which asks how the movement has shifted from radical grassroots mobilization to the professionalized model. Coding for evidence of factionalism and framing will also speak to this, though these codes should also partially answer my second research question which asks how professionalized organizations wield and maintain their symbolic capital through framing. I expect that coding for factionalism, framing, and symbol contestation in particular will lend evidence to my third research question which asks how radical factions operate within a professionalized social movement arena to advocate their own framework. I also coded for the main theme in the unit, a code designed to explore how a faction spends its time and what resources it has available. These results can give insight to my fourth and final research question regarding the impact that professionalization, factionalism, and framing might be having on movement success.

When coding for factional affiliation, a unit needed to present three or more indicators I outlined above that I have argued characterize a particular faction. Failing that, one or two indicators will suffice, so long as no indicators from other factions were present. I allowed for the possibility that a unit demonstrated professionalized values but was not professionalized as such. I accomplished this by defining factions along ideological lines, rather than structural: a unit might be coded as reformist, abolitionist, or direct action. Recall that moderates are in a precarious position in the movement field, so it is more often that reformers ascribe to professionalization, and abolitionists and direct action activists ascribe to radicalization. Nonetheless, separating factional identity from the presence of professionalization allowed for variation.

Evidence of professionalization in units was determined according to the indicators outlined above (non-profit status, prioritization of fundraising, etc.). Alternatively, a unit would be coded as grassroots if the collective with which it is associated had no indication of non-profit status, prioritizes forms of activism beyond fundraising, is volunteer operated, locally-based, democratic or non-hierarchical in structure, and if it favored a non-moderate or radical stance (which could include an open disfavoring of reforms, the promotion of veganism, disfavoring of “euthanasia,” or open support of violence). Some units might have displayed some professionalized indicators and grassroots indicators simultaneously, and few displayed all indicators of any category. To be coded in either category, it only needed to display a majority of indicators associated with a given code. In many cases, the unit itself did not provide enough information to code for professionalized or grassroots; in those cases, the unit’s publication context was taken into account. A given essay in PETA’s *Animal Times* would not likely make explicit mention of PETA’s non-profit status, for instance, but information provided elsewhere in

the sample source could speak to this. In this example, the inside cover of the magazine clearly states the organization's status, size, and reach.

In regard to factionalism, I coded along a number of various indicators, including the criticism of other approaches, statements in defense of the entity's own tactics, the presence of a position statement, symbol contestation, or claims to being the superior group or position. Although there is some overlap between evidence for framing and evidence of factionalism (it is difficult to tease these two mechanisms apart, as they are inherently bound), I felt it necessary to clearly explore the manifestation of frame-work in its own right. If a unit included an attempt to define a social problem, an attempt to define a solution to a problem, an attempt to counter-frame a problem identified by another faction, or, if it contested a symbol, it was coded as exhibiting evidence of framing. If it specifically included symbol contestation, I allowed for a number of symbols so that areas of disagreement could be determined. Which symbols were under dispute and by whom could enlighten my concerns regarding the effect of professionalization on radical mobilization.

For clarification, due to the large amount of information included in the sample, units of analysis are essays (blog posts, newsletter stories, or magazine articles). Many essays from the archives and blogs are bordered with insets and advertisements. While these accessory items are not coded, they are sometimes used to assist with interpretation. With archival data, sometimes the table of contents or editorial information was referenced to help situate the essays in question, though these accessories are not coded either. Similarly, comments were not included in the content analysis of blogs that featured a public comments section, though sometimes they are referenced if they serve to clarify the intentions of the unit's author. Shared news items not authored by the organization make a regular appearance in the sample. If they do not contain any

forward or afterward offered by the hosting organization, they were coded to indicate that they do not demonstrate any framing. It is possible that an insinuated meaning from shared news pieces could be discerned, but I suspect that the potential for researcher error in making inferences is too high.

While a random sample of the blogs was coded, recall that only a select few pieces from the archive were coded as they represent a sample of convenience. Some units in the blog sample offer little evidence of claimsmaking, but, as I have explained, these units could still give an idea as to what else occupies the attention of organizations (advertising or festival promotion, for instance). Unfortunately, useful information of this kind cannot be gleaned from the nonprobability relevance sample of some archival data because the majority of the units were only included only if they were directly relevant to the research questions. For some publications, however, time allowed for all pages of the available magazines or newsletters to be documented. This applies primarily to Compassion Over Killing, FARM, and Vegan Outreach.

Ethical Considerations

A few ethical concerns should be addressed in undertaking a project that engages contentious material. Bringing attention to factionalism has the potential to aggravate intra-movement conflicts, which could further depreciate the standing of marginalized factions, and may indirectly impact the well-being of individual activists who are committed to the faction's success. Research demonstrates that factionalism can be a very emotional and distressing issue for activists (Gould 2009). However, this study may prove useful to these factions, especially if they prioritize their ability to influence the discourse. Understanding how their marginalization is created and reinforced by measurable movement processes may encourage leaders and other activists to reevaluate and improve their approach. Indeed, if radical factions are able to utilize

this information to their advantage, there could be important implications for improving overall movement success.

Another ethical concern is my own personal identity as the researcher. As a self-identifying and active abolitionist, I must recognize my personal bias against the role of professionalized organizations in the Nonhuman Animal rights movement which could threaten the internal validity of the project. My affiliation with the movement, however, is useful for providing me with access to extensive networks and insider knowledge. This has helped me to locate potential data and also assisted me in understanding and deconstructing the language and symbols specific to Nonhuman Animal rights advocacy. Again, I had to remain cognizant of my role as a researcher and consciously strove to balance that role with my personal involvement to maintain objectivity and detachment as much as is possible (Adler and Adler 1987). I attempted to counter this problem through active self-reflection and by acknowledging my influence as a research instrument (Marshall and Rossman 2006). I found that my excitement in learning about previously unknown movement processes generally distracted me from any biases I may have held. Surprisingly, I actually found that my researcher identity would come to challenge my preexistent activist identity as I became intimate with decades of factional claimsmaking previously unknown to me.

My primed sensitivity as an anti-speciesist activist did surface in other ways, however. Sociological research in the area of social justice movements presents a unique challenge in regard to the content matter. Repeated exposure to graphic images and descriptions of Nonhuman Animal suffering and death is emotionally draining. The systemic violence imposed on Nonhuman Animals is not the focus of this research, but it is the focus of those groups included in the sample. This means that exposure to disturbing content was frequent. Images that

document mangled dog corpses post-vivisection, crying and cancerous chickens, monkeys screaming as they are blinded or anally penetrated by research instruments, horses hog-tied with their throats being ripped out, and pigs and cows too sick to walk to slaughter being stomped on by slaughterhouse employees definitely takes a toll on the researcher's psyche. Another complication is that this analysis focuses on claimsmaking within the text, meaning that reading gruesome descriptions of speciesism was unavoidable.

As a female-identified researcher, repeated exposure to sexist claimsmaking was also uncomfortable. Many male-identified activists haphazardly make references to speciesism as "rape" and use women's experiences with structural violence to construct their position. PETA, in particular, relies heavily on the sexual objectification of women to promote their organization. PETA also uses the female body as a representative of speciesist violence, drawing on commonly understood images of violence against women to convey meaning. I soon learned that self-care efforts (like taking breaks or speaking with friends and family) are necessary to conduct this type of work in a safe and healthy way.

Concluding Rationale

Social movement theory is a prominent field of inquiry in the sociology of organization and social change, and many theorists grapple with the complexities of social movement success and failure. As discussed, the variables related to social movement functions are innumerable and heavily intertwined. This inquiry seeks to explore an important, yet under-researched area in social movement theory: the role of factionalism in relationship to professionalization and movement outcome. An analysis of movement publications should partially uncover the interplay between these variables and ascertain how groups utilize framing to maintain boundaries and aggravate factionalism.

As a heavily factionalized movement, the Nonhuman Animal rights movement presents itself as a pertinent case study. Qualitative content analysis allows me to delve into the boundary work of professionalization and factionalization as it unfolds in the 1980s and beyond. It also offers me the convenience of conducting this research in a timely and cost-efficient manner. The results of this project will contribute to the scant literature on factionalism and professionalization, build on framing theory, and offer clues as to how social movements operate and ultimately achieve (or fail to achieve) their stated goals.

The following chapter begins the journey with an exploration into the state of factionalism in the movement prior to professionalization. This chapter will extend the literature on anti-speciesist mobilization, presenting a historical framework for the later events that will be covered by the content analysis. Specifically, factional divides over vivisection, veganism, and feminism are discussed. As will be explored, factionalism has been a prominent feature of the movement since its inception, though professionalization seems to present a distinct set of challenges.

CHAPTER FOUR | FACTIONALISM BEFORE THE NON-PROFIT INDUSTRIAL COMPLEX

Social movements are fluid and constantly evolving, making them difficult objects of analysis. Like other movements, the Nonhuman Animal rights movement involves waves of thousands of tiny groups that surface, splinter, transform, die, regenerate, or reconfigure. Most organizations rise and fall with little to no lasting imprint on collective memory. For that matter, many organizations in operation today barely resemble their original manifestations. As this study seeks to understand, professionalization and factionalism are two of the most influential variables in this evolution. In line with my first inquiry regarding the movement's shift from radical grassroots mobilization to the professionalized model outlined in Chapter 1, the following three chapters will examine the historical progression of the Nonhuman Animal rights movement from its founding to the era of professionalization in the 1970s, 80s, and 90s. Recall that a historical understanding of factionalism and political climate is important for contextualizing movement dialogue (Steinberg 1999).

This chapter in particular will focus on some major historical instances of division in the movement in an effort to provide a background for understanding divisions that exist today. Initial collective organization efforts harbored disagreements between radicals and moderates over goals that often reflected the financial interests of those supporting the movement. In the years to follow, this tension would only intensify, aggravated by the increased pressure to secure resources in the competitive social change space and the increased availability of financial incentives associated with professionalization.

While this study seeks to understand the manifestation in factionalism following the rise of professionalization, it is helpful to understand this factionalism within the context of the

movement's history. Many of the popular points of contention that characterize the movement of today have roots in divisions that shaped the movement as far back as two centuries ago. Goals for structural change give way to reform, contentious activism concedes to state cooperation, and funding and elite patronage, more so than activists, determine the movement's direction. The unprecedented growth in non-profits and the power afforded them by professionalization, however, would later take the movement's experiences with factionalism to a new level. While goals and tactics are always subject to the influence of patronage, public resonance, and environmental pressures, professionalization would come to entrench the movement's decision-making within the context of bureaucratic and financial growth.

For the Prevention of Cruelty

Though the rise of non-profitization in the era of neoliberalism poses a unique challenge to the Nonhuman Animal movement, factional tensions regarding the role of professionalization have beleaguered the movement from its beginning. From the inception of the movement, organizations have been shaped by their relationship to the state. After several failures in Parliament, an anti-cruelty law finally succeeded in the United Kingdom with the passage of Martin's Act in 1822. The act made wanton abuse of Nonhuman Animals illegal, but left the power to enforce the law in the hands of the public, thus necessitating the formation of the Society for the Prevention of Cruelty to Animals (SPCA). The fledgling SPCA policed infractions, brought cases to court, and sought to educate the public on matters of humane coexistence with other animals.

Subsequent infighting related to operational goals and tactics led to the expulsion of the Society's then Secretary, Lewis Gompertz. Though Gompertz is credited with invigorating the fledgling organization and even personally funded much of its operations, his strict commitment

to anti-speciesism was off-putting to other members who had interests in “hunting” and a desire for continued consumption of Nonhuman Animal flesh. As a result of Gompertz’s radical work, the SPCA passed a new resolution that the Society would thereafter operate according to Christian principles. The resolution also called for a cessation of inspector employment and introduced a new commitment to publishing only reports (effectively eliminating the possibility of issuing educational or activist material) (Cotes 1835). Officially, it seemed Gompertz was pressured to resign on the grounds that the SPCA was a Christian organization (Gompertz was Jewish) (Phelps 2007). Unofficially, it appears his radical politics were the source of tension. That Gompertz promoted veganism was potentially problematic, as was his reliance on inspectors to identify infractions, a tactic that was seen in poor taste in an etiquette-conscious culture of 1830s Britain. Gompertz would go on to form Animals’ Friend Society, which reportedly came to outstrip the SPCA in many ways (Renier 2012). The Animals’ Friend Society prioritized fundraising, effecting prosecutions, printing newsletters, and distributing pamphlets.

In addition to these tactical disagreements, the course of the movement has also been heavily shaped by the politics of funding. In its early years, the SPCA was suffering from serious debt, a problem that was not adequately alleviated until Queen Victoria granted patronage to the organization in 1840. Rebranded as the *Royal Society for the Prevention of Animals*, the organization subsequently had much less trouble attracting desperately needed donors. This royal affiliation and brush with bankruptcy would strongly influence the mission of the organization. In these early years, the organization did not take a strong stance against “hunting” (an activity of the upper classes), vivisection, or the consumption of other animals’ bodies and labor.

Some years later, Henry Bergh founded the American Society for the Prevention of Cruelty to Animals (ASPCA) to attend to suffering working animals, “stray” dogs and cats, and

other species in 19th century America. New York City subsequently attempted to put the ASPCA in charge of managing “strays.” Bergh resisted this offer as he was ethically opposed to the city’s lethal approach, though the Society would later accept the city’s contract after his death. Chapters across the country soon followed suit. By incorporating with local governments, ASPCA chapters inevitably lost their radical edge. No longer activist collectives, they became state institutions that cheaply performed the function of “controlling” dog and cat populations. Where they had previously challenged city governments for killing these animals, the organizations were now doing the unpleasant work themselves. Cities across America not only benefited from the cheap labor employed for this grisly social service, but also in escaping the movement’s ire. Early experiences with professionalization seem to create a precedent for the state and elite co-optation of radical anti-speciesism efforts. The potentially dangerous force that a social movement represents can be tempered and immobilized under these illusions of agency and the allure of bureaucratic growth. The SPCA experience reflects what would become a common state practice of delegating public services to non-profit organizations.²²

Vivisection Dissects the Movement

While the anti-cruelty movement sought to relieve the suffering of working animals and companion animals, new collectives arose in response to the growth of vivisection in the sciences. Rights-based anti-vivisection efforts could be seen as a splinter group that emerged to deal with those animals excluded from the anti-cruelty organizations, but the two might also be conceptualized as related but essentially separate movements. As with the SPCA, the anti-vivisection movement relied on the patronage and leadership of wealthy elites, those who could

²² As was discussed in Chapter 2, a chief advantage to placing the responsibility of social services on non-profits is the relative affordability of placing costs outside the state. However, a non-profit’s ability to successfully address social problems is hampered by difficulties in obtaining funding. Understaffed and underfunded, the ASPCA of New York City ceded a majority of enforcement duties to the police in 2014. See Clifton, Merritt. 2013. "ASPCA Cedes Lead Role in New York City Humane Law Enforcement to Police." *Animal People* 22:1-16.

afford the economic costs of advocacy and also possessed the social status to leverage change. Indeed, while a number of working class women were involved in street protest, professional anti-speciesism advocacy appears to have always been relatively restricted to elites. This strong relationship between social change work and fundraising drew early critics. Socialist Paul Lafargue, son-in-law to Karl Marx, chastised the movement's elite leaders for expropriating funds donated with the intention of relieving Nonhuman Animal suffering:

All of these societies are speculations: a certain number of influential members (presidents, secretaries, agents, inspectors, etc.) are lavishly maintained on the funds intended for beasts. They consider themselves to have all the qualities required to deserve the solicitude of the friends of animals. (1881)

While Lafargue is primarily concerned with the tendency for bourgeois anti-vivisectionists to ignore human exploitation as well as their obstruction of scientific progress that might relieve many diseases and health concerns that afflict poor persons, his criticism reflects a common objection to professionalized advocacy: concentrated power and a disconnect from the oppressed masses.²³ These concerns continue to frame the work of modern researchers who see a movement predominantly organized by society's most privileged, a situation that results in a failure to resonate with the larger public (Harper 2010a).

Arguably, the anti-vivisection movement would act as the precursor to the modern Nonhuman Animal rights movement. While the RSPCA, ASPCA, and other anti-cruelty organizations would continue to manage companion animals, the anti-vivisection movement challenged the human supremacist notion that other animals exist as objects of resource. Though the early efforts of the late 19th and early 20th centuries initially capitalized on societal anxiety with the growing power of the scientific discipline, anti-vivisection would continue to dominate

²³ Some early organizations did draw on class consciousness to demonize vivisectionists (who were predominantly of the upper classes) and warn of the potential for working class persons and poor hospital patients to also be used as test subjects for the benefit of the wealthy. See Kean, Hilda. 1995. "The 'Smooth Cool Men of Science': The Feminist and Socialist Response to Vivisection." *History Workshop Journal* 40:16-38.

the attention of activists in the 1970s, 80s, and 90s. This anti-vivisection tradition would become relevant to the modern movement's schisms. Under the reign of neoliberalism, organizations of later decades began gravitating toward models of bureaucratic growth that leave little room for the contentious work of challenging scientific inquiry and the powerful pharmaceutical and medical industries that fund it. The displacement of vivisection as the leading priority, in addition to the exclusion of direct action activists who had traditionally enjoyed considerable respect and admiration in the movement, would represent a major source of factional difference in the years to come.

Vegans Leave the Half-Way House

In addition to anti-cruelty and anti-vivisection mobilization, there were also a number of activists addressing the interests of Nonhuman Animals killed for food. Many of those active in the anti-cruelty and anti-vivisection movements were also vegetarian or vegan. Outside the borders of the movement, there was also increasing interest in plant-based eating as was popularized by religious and dietary fads of the late 19th century. The variety of competing interests undergirding vegetarianism at this time makes identifying it as a political movement difficult. Vegetarianism in the early 20th century centered diet and spirituality and was inconsistent on the position of anti-speciesism. Vegetarian societies sprouted up in both the United Kingdom and the United States, but these groups did not always prioritize Nonhuman Animal rights (Phelps 2007; Spencer 1994).

In late 1944, Donald Watson penned the first edition of *The Vegan News*, announcing an organizational split from Britain's Vegetarian Society (Leneman 1999). The Vegan Society emerged for number of reasons that generally related to the growing political interest in ending Nonhuman Animal consumption. First, claimsmaking based in spirituality and pseudo-science

was rejected as potentially counterproductive (James 1948). Another differentiation was the explicit rejection of dairy, egg, and byproduct consumption which would bring differences of position to a boiling point: “[. . .] the case on ethical grounds for the disuse of these foods was exceptionally strong, and we hoped that sooner or later a crisis in our conscience would set us free” (Watson 1944). Because The Vegetarian Society was not a rights-based organization, it remained focused on flesh consumption and was not willing to officially acknowledge other Nonhuman Animal products as problematic.

There were also certain political opportunities that made the split possible. First, wartime scarcity meant that many were going without Nonhuman Animal products for extended amounts of time, demonstrating that a vegan diet was both possible and safe. Second, post-war industrialization in agricultural processes dramatically increased levels of Nonhuman Animal production, thereby stimulating public concern with their suffering. Subsequently, Watson describes vegetarianism as the “half-way house” in the evolution of ethical eating. With no indication that organized vegetarianism would expand to address newly defined social problems, it was time to “move out” with the establishment of the new vegan movement.

The Vegan Feminist Mystique

In addition to these disagreements over how best to address speciesism, factional divisions have at times reflected the gender identity of activists and tensions between patriarchal norms and feminist ideals. Though the Nonhuman Animal rights movement has depended on the ingenuity and hard work of women from its inception in the early 19th century (Buettinger 1997; Kean 1995; Leneman 1997), women have historically had difficulty in accessing recognition, legitimacy, and leadership positions. In many cases, women were unwilling to sit by as passive objects in the movement, either pushing back against patriarchal control or founding their own

organizations. In 1875, infamous feminist and anti-vivisectionist Frances Power Cobbe established the Victoria Street Society with fellow activist George Hoggan in the United Kingdom (Phelps 2007). As a result of anti-vivisectionist pressure and the Queen's subsequent desire to regulate the practice, parliament would pass the Cruelty to Animals Act. Unfortunately for activists and sentient test subjects, this regulation would effectively protect vivisection at the institutional level, increasing vivisection and making future activist work that much more difficult (Kean 1995). Exasperated with this setback, Cobbe set about reforming her organization and adopted an explicitly abolitionist stance against vivisection. This radical position resulted in the resignation of Hoggan and other influential members. Indeed, historians note that Cobbe's overbearing personality and radical inclinations would often ostracize her (Mitchel 2004).

In later years, Cobbe relaxed her control over the Victoria Street Society, and the organization would regroup in 1895 with a regulationist position and a moderated name: the National Anti-Vivisection Society (NAVS). Cobbe subsequently withdrew her support and launched a new abolitionist anti-vivisection society, the British Union for the Abolition of Vivisection (BUAV). Meanwhile, other feminist agitators were dissatisfied with Cobbe's singular focus on vivisection. These activists had become concerned that she was ignoring the interests of animals killed for food. Indeed, Cobbe appeared to be making their work more difficult by insisting that Nonhuman Animal consumption was a divine human right. Fellow anti-vivisectionist and feminist Anna Kingsford would take on the vegetarian cause, though Cobbe made it her business to complicate Kingsford's efforts (Phelps 2007).

Cobbe's difficulty in achieving resonance may have been less an issue of her personality and more of a product of widespread distrust of women's activism at the time. Salt's Humanitarian League, for instance, attracted criticism for ignoring women's significant

contributions to the group's campaigning and for intentionally refraining from offering assistance to suffragettes undergoing force-feedings (Kean 1995). Moreover, political attention given to women's suffrage was seen as a distraction, a position that would understandably alienate female-identified activists. BUAV was somewhat more welcoming to feminist issues however, as was the League for the Prohibition of Cruel Sports (now the League Against Cruel Sports), which relied heavily on feminist contributions. Incidentally, the League Against Cruel Sports (LACS) is a product of factional disagreement itself. Having formed in 1924 in response to the RSPCA's failure to seriously address "hunting" issues, it filled the space created from the 1919 collapse of the Humanitarian League. LACS would *also* experience schism not long after in the 1930s. Like anti-cruelty efforts of the 1800s, divisions among LACS activists emerged over the issue of patronage from royalty, whose "hunting" behaviors were seen as inconsistent with the organization's goals (Field 2003). Defectors went on to create an abolitionist organization known as the National Society for the Abolition of Cruel Sports.

As Nonhuman Animal rights sentiment established in the United States, feminist influences and patriarchal resistance would also challenge movement solidarity. The British SPCA model had taken root in New York City under the leadership of social elite Henry Bergh, and by the 1860s, a chapter was successfully established in nearby Pennsylvania with the efforts of Caroline Earle White and a number of other women. Once in operation, however, it quickly became clear that women would be granted no formal leadership roles. Undaunted, White soon after established a woman's chapter of the Pennsylvania SPCA that would be known as the Women's Humane Society (Buettinger 1997).

Invigorated by feminist gains in the 1960s and 70s, the modern Nonhuman Animal rights movement would see further factionalism over sexism and gender imbalances in leadership and

representation. In the two hundred years of advocacy on behalf of other animals, little has changed in regard to male leadership and masculine approaches to social change. As is typical with many social movements, female-identified activists found themselves relegated to less prestigious, devalued, and relatively invisible organizational roles. The gendered imbalance also speaks to the movement's masculinized approach to collective action which idolizes celebrity leaders and normalizes hierarchical organization. This formula ensures that men will enjoy considerable control and recognition in the movement, while women are more likely to be relegated to rank-and-file drudgery work.

As a result, some women would suggest that gender segregation in the ranks would be necessary to overcome this sexist structure. Founded in 1982, Feminists for Animal Rights advocated for a democratic social justice space and an intersectional approach to social change for approximately two decades before folding. Feminist anti-speciesist advocacy values democratic decision-making, avoids celebrity adulation, and nurtures alliances with like-minded anti-oppression social movements. In an article for the organization's newsletter she titles "Speaking the Unspeakable," Kheel laments the state of sexism in the movement:

Articles concerning "in-fighting," I am told, are frowned upon by many activists (read men) who feel that it is divisive to the movement. These are not isolated incidents, but, rather, everyday occurrences for many women involved in the animal rights movement. But what is this movement that, we are told, must be protected at all costs? And whose movement is it? (1985: 1)

In response to charges of divisiveness, she insists, "What they fail to see is that the movement is already divided" (1985: 6). She recommends that women organize separately from the male-dominated major organizations. Doing so, she suggests, will free female advocates from the draining task of navigating sexism and thus facilitate female creativity. Another benefit, she

insists, would be the recognition of intersecting oppressions which could facilitate alliances with other anti-oppression movements.

Gender divisions continue to undergird movement tensions today. However, there is limited feminist mobilization in the movement as of this writing. The dialogue continues, but generally it is subsumed within the larger movement discussions. Only a handful of small, grassroots feminist collectives and individual spokespersons carry on the feminist tradition, but intersectionality theory is growing more visible in conferences, blogs, books, and other social change spaces.

As this chapter has established, factionalism has had a formidable presence in the Nonhuman Animal rights movement long before the advent of non-profits. State and elite interests, funding availability, political climate, social inequalities, and genuine disagreements over tactics and goals have been pulling and tugging on advocacy boundaries for centuries. The establishment of the non-profit model, however, would dramatically amplify these tensions. The following chapter will investigate the state of the movement in the eve of professionalization, identifying those structures and tactics that appear to have been popular before the shift. This should offer a point of comparison to the hyper-bureaucratized, corporatized movement of today. As will be demonstrated, a movement that once favored democratic organization and direct action repertoires will experience a noticeable shift in identity when faced with the allure of non-profitization.

CHAPTER FIVE | MOVEMENT CHARACTERISTICS PRIOR TO PROFESSIONALIZATION

Divisions over tactics and goals, specifically in relation to reform and abolition, preferred institutional targets, vegetarianism and veganism, and gender inequality, continued to linger as non-profitization began to increase in popularity across the cultural landscape. While many points of contention remained the same, the political atmosphere surrounding the movement would shift dramatically. The structure of these centuries-old divisions would be impacted as a consequence, their trajectories warped by bureaucratic pressure and the consolidation of power.

As the movement modernized in the late 1970s, a number of identifiable structural characteristics would become strained or disappear under the weight of professionalization. For one, the movement had much great grassroots representation prior to the mid-1990s. A large number of organizations had been established by that time (in addition to the many anti-cruelty and anti-vivisection organizations of the Victorian era that were still in operation), but these groups tended to be locally based and were often staffed by volunteers. The movement continued to prioritize vivisection until the late 1980s and early 1990s when the “fur” industry and Nonhuman Animal agriculture also became major targets. Cooperation between different groups was customary, and contentious activism in the form of illegal tactics, civil disobedience, and public protest predominated. The following section will illuminate a more collaborative, engaged, and grassroots movement of the 1980s and 1990s as was uncovered through content analysis.

Embracing Direct Action

One of the more notable pre-professionalization characteristics of the Nonhuman Animal rights movement is its open support for direct action. The Animal Liberation Front is a leading

representative of the direct action faction and consists of loosely collated activists operating in North America, the United Kingdom, and parts of Europe. ALF's precursor, Band of Mercy, originated in 1972 with a focus on "hunt" sabotage, later moving on to arson attacks on sealing boats and pharmaceutical laboratories (Phelps 2007). Band of Mercy would evolve into the Animal Liberation Front in 1976. Aside from this basic story of origin, the direct action faction's unstructured nature, tendency for clandestine activism, and regular reconfiguring make its history impossible to chronicle completely. Groups appear to have sprouted, morphed, and disbanded with considerable frequency.²⁴ It is not clear as to whether this extreme instability is due to the influence of professionalization or the faction's commitment to a non-hierarchical structure. The direct action faction is unique in this respect because its structure relies on self-dependency, disjointed networks, and secrecy. As one prominent activist explains: "You cannot join the A.L.F. but you can become the A.L.F." (Marino 2011b). These organizational values are likely a product of the illegal activities it engages in tandem with the anarchist ideology that predominates in these spaces.

While the direct action coalition experienced factionalism well before the influence of professionalism, analysis demonstrated that it also experienced much more support from the movement. PETA, COK, and other organizations regularly provided support for activists who were legally persecuted. When direct action advocates address factionalism at this time, it is often done so with the intention of encouraging continued support for the civil liberties of activists. It seems that professionalized organizations in Britain had already begun to give the cold shoulder to activists who were being targeted by law enforcement in the 1980s. Direct action advocates in the United Kingdom sometimes pointed to the stronger relationship between

²⁴ For a detailed history of direct action, see Best, Steve and A. J. Nocella II. 2004. "Terrorists or Freedom Fighters? Reflections on the Liberation of Animals." New York: Lantern Books. Also see Newkirk, Ingrid. 2000. *Free the Animals: The Amazing True Story of the Animal Liberation Front*. New York: Lantern Books.

large non-profits and grassroots activists in the United States as an ideal relationship for strengthening the movement and protecting activists (Crocker 1994: 32).

In the mid-1980s, analysis indicates that direct action activists were beginning to grow wary of trends associated with professionalization, but they tended to be critical of a number of other tactics utilized by most groups as well. A 1986 HALF editorial for instance, criticizes the movement for fruitlessly expending so much effort on seeking media attention when the media, it asserts, will only focus on the commotion and spectacle of the event, not the political issues (The Human/Animal Liberation Front 1986). HALF is also critical of store boycotts and FARM's newly introduced Great American Meatout event, which are determined to be inappropriate given the limited influence of the movement at the time. Instead, HALF suggests the prioritization of local activism.

Factional criticism at this time appears to be influenced by the newness of the modernizing movement. Much of the claimsmaking is concerned with the problems associated with organizational growth, but many are also a predictable reaction to a newly invigorated movement, one that is experiencing a swell in membership and a greater diversity of approaches. Analysis suggests that direct action was still widely embraced at this time, meaning that much of the factional disagreement related to tensions between grassroots and national-level efforts, and not so much with the efficacy of direct action as a tactical style.

Democratic Structure

Archival publications included in this study demonstrate that many (but certainly not all) Nonhuman Animal rights collectives of the 1980s and 1990s were predominantly grassroots in nature. Some degree of bureaucratization is present at this time, however, presumably as it is necessary to coordinate networks and campaigns. For the direct action activists, this was

sometimes a point of contention. Any one person or collective of persons who attempted to represent a group (or were perceived as attempting to) could draw criticism from other members. By way of an example, one ALF committee member who stands accused of this behavior in the sample insists that committee members are only volunteers and reminds readers that all members are welcome to contact the office or attend a meeting to voice their concerns over the organization's operation (Animal Liberation Front Supporters Group Member 1994). Criticizing the committee, the author warns, is ill advised in a "time for unity," and there is suspicion that in-fighting may be a result of police infiltration. Indeed, power struggles between individuals and groups who have different visions for appropriate activism are a basic undercurrent to schisms in this era, a time when groups are still taking shape and power is much less centralized.

ACTION Animal Liberation, the publication of Animal Liberation in Australia, also presents some insight into the regular bureaucracy of the organization prior to professionalization. According to archival data, it appears that the organization was democratic in nature, with office bearers and committee members earning their positions through election. Then Animal Liberation president Jim Roberts implores: "Your presence and informed vote is essential in preserving a vigorous organization" (Roberts 1994: 2). This desire for engaged membership is now largely extinct in the professionalized structure. The modern structure is one where members are relegated primarily to check-writers and petition-signers. Indeed, this fate would also befall Animal Liberation in Australia. Following a schism in the organization in 1996, founder Patty Mark (1997c) laments that the group's democratic structure is undermined as power consolidates with bureaucratic growth.

Another common structural characteristic that predominated prior to professionalization is an arrangement based in local chapters. Animal Liberation in Australia (now known as Animal

Liberation Victoria) and PETA both began with this organizational style before later consolidating to a single organization. Archival data from the PETA sample reaches back to the first issue of *PETA News* in 1982.²⁵ Identifying an exact moment of professionalization in PETA is difficult based on the limited data available for this study, but PETA appears to have grown in size and wealth with surprising speed. In the early 1980s, PETA might be best understood as a transitioning organization. It enjoyed a national reach, but it maintained a preference for aboveground direct action and heavily supported the ALF.

Prior to the onset of professionalization, cooperation between factions appears to have been quite normal, if sometimes strained. As late as 2002, PETA was still lingering in support for direct action, promoting the services of their official “school lecturer,” Gary Yourofsky, a prominent advocate of direct who is more commonly associated with the ALF (People for the Ethical Treatment of Animals 2002). Debate over the ethics of “euthanasia” was common in the movement prior to the rise of the No Kill faction in the 2000s, but PETA did not generally engage this controversy. In its early years, PETA primarily speaks of hoarding situations in terms of “collectors” who become overwhelmed and lose control. This dialogue was not framed in relation to factional differences, and these stories tended to be covered in order to encourage adoption, rather than as a justification for “euthanasia” (People for the Ethical Treatment of Animals 1995a). This framing would change dramatically following the growing power of No Kill claimsmaking, however. As will be explored in later chapters, the data suggests that factions become far less tolerant of one another and take on an adversarial relationship under the influence of professionalization.

The following chapter will follow this path to professionalization, focusing on the contentious marches in Washington and the dramatic transformations experienced by two

²⁵ PETA was founded in 1980 and is supposed to have been active as a student organization since the late 1970s.

organizations in the sample. Sadly, organizations do not make public the decision-making process behind professionalization, at least in the materials included in this study's sample. To compensate for this oversight, a number of observations from contemporary movement leaders are presented. Taken together, this analysis considers the ways in which factional differences were interpreted and how the movement's slow and disjointed progress was rationalized. These were volatile and confusing times, and it seems that few activists understood why solidarity was so difficult to obtain.

CHAPTER SIX | THE RISE OF PROFESSIONALIZATION

Identifying an exact moment of professionalization in the Nonhuman Animal rights movement is not possible, as it is a process of gradual transformation. At some point, a community emphasis gives way to national or international reach, volunteers are replaced with a staff of paid career activists, and access to resources boosts the scale and depth of campaigns. As this chapter will demonstrate, many groups go from small grassroots collectives to national non-profits with access to huge revenues in a matter of just a few years. This transformation involves certain costs, however, which especially strain the experiences of radical factions.

A number of organization histories and movement-wide events can be dissected to explore this process. The impact of professionalization is especially visible in the literature produced by Compassion over Killing and Animal Liberation in Australia in the 1990s, and the controversy surrounding the March for Animals suggests that their experience was indicative of a movement in turmoil. This chapter will first discuss the degeneration of the march as a sign that structural changes were rocking the movement and significantly impacting its ability to coordinate advocacy. Secondly, this chapter will also examine COK and Animal Liberation in Australia as case studies in this transitional period.

The March for the Animals

Considered one of the “founding fathers” of the modern Nonhuman Animal rights movement, Dr. Tom Regan has drafted some of the most influential philosophical theory on the liberation of other animals. When I presented my research questions to Dr. Regan in winter of 2013, he drew my attention to two important events: the National Institutes of Health sit-in of 1985 and the marches on Washington DC in 1990 and 1996. The sit-in involved a four day

occupation of the institute's eighth floor in protest of vivisection. It was a remarkable show of solidarity and demonstrated that the Nonhuman Animal rights movement was a viable force for social change. But this energy was not to last. Enigmatically, Regan suggests, "Something important happens in those years [. . .]."

The marches of the 1990s demonstrated vividly the paradoxically damaging effect that the movement's growth posed for mobilization. As described in Regan's autobiography, the first march was a force to be reckoned with:

Estimates ranged from 30,000 to 100,000 marchers. No one will ever know the exact number. Believe me, I was not the only one with tears in my eyes on that day. Such a mass of human compassion the world had never seen before. (N.d.)

Despite this encouraging initial turnout, however, a second march organized in 1996 drew less than 3,000 people. HSUS reportedly declined to participate in the original 1990 march out of concern with the radical rights rhetoric that was used to frame the event. However, HSUS, PETA, and a number of other reformist organizations would go on to sponsor the 1996 march. This professionalized sponsorship resulted in an immediate dilution of goals. In a contemporary account, Francione explains: "The tone of the 1996 march is clearly more moderate than that of the 1990 march, and it reflects the deliberate and explicit rejection of animal rights by many animal advocacy groups" (1996: 33-34). In promotional materials, the march for "rights" became a march for "protection." Regan also suspects the discrepancy was related to political changes within the movement:

Instead of growing more unified, more focused, more powerful, the years after the first march witnessed increasing movement fragmentation often accompanied by bickering and back-biting. And whereas, in the years leading up to the first march, new people were entering the movement in unprecedented numbers, by the time of the second march unprecedented numbers of tried and true activists, people who had made a major commitment to animal rights, were leaving. [. . .] That fragile feeling of unity was broken. Veterans of the struggle couldn't help noticing that some of the wind had gone out of our sails.

While Regan would eventually accept an invitation to deliver a keynote address at the 1996 march, he was initially in public opposition to the event (Francione 1996). He had called for a boycott, citing the dilution of rights-based advocacy with the inclusion of reformist positions. Regan, Francione, and other authorities of the time were growing concerned with an ideology of reform that was quickly eroding the transformative focus of the movement. This schism was more than theoretical; it was having real, measurable consequences on activist participation.

Based on the archival data, the early nineties seem to be a tipping point in the professionalization of the Nonhuman Animal rights movement and it is likely no coincidence that the second march collapsed as this transformation was taking place. The event's failure was tainted with allegations of organizational competition and corruption. Critics questioned the misappropriation of funds by, "[. . .] organizations and individuals who take liberties with public trust, from using exaggerated and inaccurate statistics in direct mailings to hyping up a make-work project for organizers as a landmark political event" (Animal People News 1996). The tendency to blame individual activists for, as Regan puts it, "bickering and back-biting" is a common theme among activists struggling to explain factionalism and the movement's inability to create satisfactory change. This individualized understanding, I will argue, generally obscures structural issues deriving from the non-profit model, structural issues that work to the benefit of state interests, not radical social transformation.

Professionalization seems to have been taken for granted by many as the appropriate trajectory for achieving Nonhuman Animal liberation. Individualizing factional problems distracts from the compromises inherent to this path. Other activists and organizations would become frustrated with slow progress and the inefficiencies of bureaucratic approaches and subsequently adopted or amplified illegal and violent tactics.

The sit-in of 1985 demonstrated the movement's ability for unity and strength, a resilience that had apparently begun to fade as liberation was not forthcoming. Regan explains, "The NIH occupation told a story about what ALF was capable of doing before it turned to arson [. . .]" (2013). The archival data demonstrates, however, that economic sabotage and property damage had been foundational to ALF activities for many years prior, and the group enjoyed open support from influential organizations like Compassion Over Killing and PETA well into the 1990s. In other words, direct action had been a primary form of activism since the 1970s, and continued to be supported by the majority of the movement for some time after the sit-in. The tactic has always been present; it was the level of support that changed. That change coincided with professionalization: direct action was not only drawing a negative response from the public, but the corporatized movement was withdrawing its support as well. Regan's observations on activism following the 1985 sit-in might be more accurately explained by the deepening factionalism that also sapped the 1996 march, factionalism that appears to have been aggravated by the pressures of professionalization.

Kim Stallwood (1996), another influential leader present for the modern movement's transformation, blames factionalism for the movement's stagnation at this time as well. Stallwood, however, sees merit in professionalization. He argues that large professionalized national organizations are just as essential as local groups, and the two are not in competition with one another. Rather, he believes that both have responsibilities to assist one another. This false dichotomy discourse is another reoccurring theme in activist thought. Having worked for a variety of professionalized Nonhuman Animal rights organizations since 1976, Stallwood might be expected to hold some degree of bias for the importance of the non-profit model and moderated activism. The data supports this bias. As the movement's story unfolds in newsletters,

magazines, and blogs, it is generally the professionalized organizations that frame unity as essential and movement “diversity” as compatible with this goal.

Others frame this diversity as toxic. Norm Phelps (2007), another movement leader of this era who was employed with The Fund for Animals (now subsumed within the HSUS) claims that the movement’s diversification of campaigning destroyed the solidarity that had previously existed with the singular focus on vivisection. This observation is supported by academic qualitative research on the events. Attitude surveys conducted at the original 1990 march and the following march in 1996 suggest that the subsequent decline in participation resulted from a shift in focus (Plous 1998). Prior to the 1990 march, the leading movement concern was vivisection. However, the move to include animals used for food and the focus on veganism appears to have disrupted the movement’s strength. What these observations fail to address, however, is the reason for this shift in focus. Grassroots organizations and large non-profits have not necessarily been in competition, as grassroots groups are able to adapt to community needs and may draw on the resources of the larger organizations to accomplish localized goals. But as large organizations stray increasingly towards the role of industry auxiliary, many advocates find it difficult to maintain this cooperation as an ethical matter. For example, Linden of Go Vegan Radio, a community activist of two decades, points to the conceptualization of “humanely”-produced Nonhuman Animal products as the ruination of the professional model (2014). At this point, he explains, cooperation between large non-profits and grassroots groups had become impossible.

Splitting Up Down Under

At the structural level, it seems that the movement was struggling under the transition. The content analysis of individual organizations illuminates these troubles. Some organizations fought to maintain a grassroots identity, while others embraced a new corporate model. While

this study has focused primarily on the American experience, it seems that movements in other Western countries were also grappling with these difficult choices.

Animal Liberation in Australia was founded in the late 1970s, inspired by the work of Australian-born ethicist Peter Singer (considered, along with Tom Regan, a “founding father” of the movement). Beginning with Animal Liberation New South Wales, Animal Liberation chapters would spring up in other Australian states by the 1980s. Their publication *ACTION Animal Liberation* is included in the sample and is representative of the various chapters in operation at that time. Launching in 1980, *ACTION Magazine* was a continuation of the previous publication known as *Outcry*, and, at its height, was distributed to over 200 Australian libraries in addition to their subscribers. It is unclear to what degree Animal Liberation in Australia was professionalized during the years included in the sample, though one *ACTION* update reports that volunteers had raised over \$38,000 AUD in 1996 for the organization, indicating modest financial wealth, but also a continued reliance on volunteer efforts (Animal Liberation Action 1996a). The magazine was a quarterly publication until 2001 when it was reduced to an annual review due to lack of funding, disappearing from the record sometime thereafter. Among those issues available in the archives, many include an additional newsletter produced by the Victoria chapter, *Vic News*. Because structural decision-making is infrequently included in movement-produced media, the two publications offer a rare glimpse into factional divisions as they occur.

Following the Australian screening of the British exposé on Nonhuman Animal oppression in 1982, *The Animals Film*, membership grew and activists began to prioritize direct action. These activities involved hen rescues where activists would frequently chain themselves inside agricultural facilities. *ACTION Magazine* documents the organization's roots in direct action and its close collaboration with American welfare organizations like PETA, United

Poultry Concerns, and Last Chance for Animals. Aside from the space given to direct action advocacy, *ACTION* appears quite similar to modern professionalized non-profits in regard to the heavy support of single-issue campaigns and the failure to hold veganism as a baseline.

Patty Mark, who edited *ACTION*, also founded the Victoria chapter. In 1996, *Vic News* inserts suddenly stopped appearing in the magazine. From this point *ACTION Animal Liberation* is referred to as *Action Magazine*, and it appears that Animal Liberation in Australia becomes Animal Liberation Action, and was no longer a parent organization to Animal Liberation Victoria. In a fall newsletter, Mark (1996) cites, "[. . .] bureaucracies, committees and power struggles" as reason for the separation. Like other groups in this study that directly address factionalism, the split is not interpreted as a positive development: "The takeover of Animal Liberation Victoria Inc. is regrettable and to be condemned. Continued infighting is unproductive and damaging to animals" (Mark 1996: 1). In a later publication she adds, "Such is the struggle in our relatively young and undisciplined movement. People problems crave to dominate and so much energy is wasted" (Mark 1997c: 4). One campaign against puppy mills covered in *Action Magazine* requests further donations, reporting that money previously raised through Animal Liberation Victoria was not transferred to the campaign following the split (Animal Liberation Action 1996b). A follow up on this campaign reports that many volunteers with Animal Liberation Victoria resigned due to "[. . .] frustration that the current management at Animal Liberation failed to acknowledge the hard work and commitment of [. . .] staff in raising funds, and for [. . .] the unsupportive attitude of Animal Liberation management concerning campaigns [. . .]" (Animal Liberation Action 1996a: 2). In an end of the year review, Mark reports that the "[. . .] worst part of 1996 was the internal political wrangling [. . .]," but insists that her organization has persevered "[. . .] without the support of a 'big organisation'" (Mark

1997b). Somewhat paradoxically, she immediately follows this statement by expressing gratitude to PETA and other Animal Liberation chapters in Australia for their support. The following year, the magazine featured a "CLAWS DOWN" to Animal Liberation Victoria's committee for dropping *ACTION*, failing to pay debts of \$8,000 to the magazine, voting against Mark for her focus on battery hens, and expelling and refusing many members (presumably because of their factional alliances). *ACTION* reports that Singer, then president of Australian and New Zealand Federation of Animal Societies (ANZFAS) (now Animals Australia) backed the split encouraging Animal Liberation members to support Animal Liberation Victoria's bureaucratic reform and switch to ANZFAS' competing publication, *Animals Today* (Mark 1997a).

At about the time when the magazine was reduced to an annual review in 2001, *ACTION* announced that Mark and fellow editor Romeo Gadze would be returning to their committee positions with Animal Liberation Victoria and *Vic News* would once again be jointly provided to *ACTION* readers (Mark 2001a). Roles reversed, *Action Magazine* appears to become the insert, subsumed within Animal Liberation Victoria, which had become the new parent organization. Single-issue campaigns in this new issue mirror those favored by the large non-profits in the United States, and calls for donations garnish the front page. Unfortunately, the trail ends at this point and the reason for the reunion is not explained in the available data. In the years following, however, Animal Liberation Victoria (ALV) would go on to become one of the most prominent Nonhuman Animal rights organizations in Australia. Though ALV relies on fundraising for survival, it maintains a surprising degree of radicalism in its claimsmaking. At the time of this writing, the ALV website describes its organizational goals as explicitly abolitionist, anti-regulation, anti-speciesist, non-violent, and vegan-centric. ALV thus exists as a group that has

taken the route to professionalization with some direct action tactics and abolitionist goals surviving intact.

This dual identity can also be observed in its contentious relationship with others in the Australian movement space. Data from the *ACTION* sample indicate that the group was critical of larger organizations in the 1990s. One unit gives a “claws down” to RSPCA Australia, “[. . .] for nationally marketing and profiting from a range of pet [sic] foods made out of some creatures great and small, who suffered greatly while alive” (Animal Liberation in Australia 1996a). An essay titled, “RSPCA Under Fire” describes Animal Liberation in Australia’s campaign against RSPCA for its failure to take issue with especially cruel (and illegal) forms of chicken confinement (Australia 1996c).

In fact, the RSPCA is often targeted and criticized by Australian Nonhuman Animal rights activists in much the same way as the reformist HSUS is besieged by American radicals. Partnership with speciesist institutions, explicit rejection of vegetarianism, and a desire to implement reforms that purposefully pose no threat to speciesism are listed as major points of contestation (Animal Liberation in Australia 2001). In another article, a campaign is framed as necessary to specifically compensate for RSPCA failings: “Repeated requests to the RSPCA, Department of Agriculture and the Police to take action failed. Animal Liberation again was forced to enter the sheds in the middle of the night to give help and veterinary care to sick and dying animals after no-one else would” (Animal Liberation in Australia 1995a). After giving aid to the hens, activists chained themselves to equipment, a stunt that resulted in their arrest.

Importantly, Animal Liberation in Australia is relatively typical of transitioning groups of this time, at least among those included in the sample. The direct action it utilizes may be illegal and disruptive, but it is far from violent or threatening. Mark frames the group’s tactics as civil

disobedience: “Animal Liberation’s approach in Australia is *strictly* non-violent (in regards to property as well)” (Mark 1995a). There is no explicit intent to terrorize, destroy property, or dismantle institutions. Indeed, the organization often made use of the court system to advocate for other animals, generally seeking reforms and prosecutions. In its dialogue, factory farming and excessive cruelty are prioritized, neither of which were especially radical positions for the movement at that time. The organization was also openly reliant on membership, donations, and merchandising. Furthermore, in the same unit that gives a “claws down” to the RSPCA, Animal Liberation gives a “claws up” to model Cindy Crawford for posing naked in PETA’s anti-“fur” campaign (images from PETA media campaigns appeared regularly in *ACTION*). These tactics suggest that, while direct action played a role for professionalizing organizations, conservative channels of social change predominated. It would therefore be difficult to describe this group as radical.

It is worth noting, however, that Animal Liberation in Australia does appear impacted by abolitionist claimsmaking. This is evidenced in its promotion of Francione’s work in later publications included in the sample. An interview with United Poultry Concerns founder Karen Davis which explores her sharp criticism of the movement’s focus on “suffering” and “cruelty” also suggests a move away from the welfare reform that had previously dominated Animal Liberation’s operations (Davis 2001).

From Abolition to Compassion

As previously mentioned, I was not able to identify any clear discussion from any organization in regard to what motivated the decision to professionalize. Rarely, these groups will address criticisms of professionalization, and these responses are generally embedded in the somewhat dismissive argument that all groups big and small are necessary for a healthy

movement and all would do well to work together. While the data is not forthcoming with explanations and justifications, the data does tell a story of how this transition impacts the focus of a given organization. Compared to other groups included in the sample, Compassion Over Killing perhaps demonstrates this process most visibly. The data follows its transition from a locally-based, aboveground, direct action grassroots organization to a national, professionalized reformist group, a process that took less than a decade.

Compassion Over Killing had already earned non-profit status at the time when the first available newsletters in the archive were printed in late 1997. As is demonstrated by other groups included in the study, non-profit status does not necessarily coincide with professionalization. However, achievement of non-profit status *does* seem to place many organizations on the path to professionalization. In the late 1990s, COK's newsletters primarily report on the aboveground direct action activities of its organization in Washington DC and occasionally those of other groups. The illegal and antagonistic actions of the ALF are often promoted and celebrated, and COK appears to emulate them at times. Following one protest, several COK members were arrested, which COK enthusiastically frames as a "victory" (Compassion Over Killing 1997a).

Likely as a consequence of their non-profit status, COK was accepting paid memberships as early as 1997. Importantly, the desire for monetary donations was not especially highlighted in this early framing. Instead, newsletters also regularly requested a variety of material donations like office supplies. They are also prioritizing engaged participation at this time. By way of an example, one membership advert reads: "GOOD INTENTIONS AREN'T GOOD ENOUGH . . . GET ACTIVE!" (Compassion Over Killing 1997b). Likewise, one unit advertises a national conference for anti-speciesist civil disobedience (Compassion Over Killing 1999). Two COK

frontrunners are listed as workshop leaders. A mission statement that appears in each issue of *The Abolitionist* also makes its anti-reform agenda quite clear:

While some forms of animal cruelty may seem more egregious than others, there is no hope of helping nonhuman animals by merely *reforming* the institutions which exploit them; the institutions are inherently unethical, no matter how they may be modified, and just therefore be abolished.

In these early years of its activity, this group seems to have drawn quite heavily on radical claimsmaking and tactics.

COK's organizational structure at this time might be described as transitional. While tactics and claimsmaking reflect a radical position, its non-profit status, open reliance on funding, and cooperation with professionalized organizations suggests a desire for bureaucratic growth. Like others prior to professionalization, organizational publications are rather democratic. They frequently open up editorial space to a variety of positions and ideologies. In a two page editorial for the autumn issue of *The Abolitionist*, the Director of Campaigns and Media of The Fund for Animals,²⁶ Mike Markarian contributes an essay that responds to the growing criticism of paid activism, bureaucratic growth, and division between grassroots and national groups. He repeats the common anti-factionalism trope used by several other professionalized groups in the movement: both grassroots and national groups are thought to be a necessary part of the movement and the movement would benefit from cooperation. That COK publishes this essay, I believe, demonstrates more than a desire for maintaining a democratic claimsmaking space. It might also indicate an interest in cooperating with professionalized organizations as consistent with its aspirations of achieving professionalization.

²⁶ As of this writing Markarian is now Chief Program and Policy Officer for HSUS and president of The Fund for Animals, the two groups having merged in 2004. According to his HSUS profile, he is credited for growing The Fund for Animals' staff to 50 employees, raising revenues to over \$7 million annually, and building \$22 million in assets.

A number of other indicators surface to demonstrate COK's procession to professionalization. Prior to professionalization, COK was quite clear in its support for veganism. As it began to transition at the turn of the 21st century and its focus shifted to the interests of food animals, veganism emerged as a more holistic solution to COK's concerns. This reincarnated veganism would be more encompassing than its past radical emphases on "fur" and vivisection. The move towards "food" animal issues appears to be another commonality in the path to professionalization that appears in the data. The larger audience is likely responsible for this switch. COK explains: "[. . .] when we promote veganism, our target audience is virtually everyone [. . .]" (Perna 1999). The focus on food consumption would come to define COK, but its support for veganism (an indicator of radicalism) was not to last.

In 2002, the formerly black and white print newsletter became a glossy magazine, an indication that the organization had increased access to wealth. The title would later change to *Compassionate Action*, and the blog, *Voices of Compassion*, echoes this linguistic shift. This "compassionate" language is a significant departure from the more radical and politicized title of its earlier newsletter, *The Abolitionist*. At this time, the strict anti-reform statement quoted above that had regularly appeared on the inside cover disappears, and campaigns for factory farming reformation are introduced.

Indeed, from this point, a large number of claimmaking transformations occur. Gone are the "Introduction to Animal Rights" inserts previously included in COK's vegan pamphlets. By 2003, references to vegetarianism and cruelty replace references to veganism and rights in the mission statement. The back cover of newsletters had previously featured a large image rallying for veganism, but, at this time, the images begin to plug vegetarianism. The mission statement of present-day COK, however, seems to abandon vegetarianism altogether in favor of a more

loosely understood notion of reductionism: “Our work at Compassion Over Killing is fundamentally aimed at reducing the demand for meat, milk, and eggs, a strategy rationally chosen in order to reduce the supply of animal products in order to alleviate suffering” (Leahy 2011a). Prior to its professionalization in approximately 2003, COK’s now popular “Try Veg” campaign had been known as “Try Vegan.” That same year, its “Vegan Starter Guide” became the “Vegetarian Starter Guide” it distributes today. Individuals operating COK had been previously referenced as editors or members, but as the transition to professionalization began, bureaucratic executive titles were referenced instead. The editorial section that previously welcomed opposing viewpoints disappears, as does any reference in support of the radical direct action group ALF and imprisoned activists. Likewise, readers are no longer rallied for protests or civil disobedience. Instead, interested participants are more often asked to leaflet COK materials, write legislators in support of reforms, or to donate. The COK example is quite revealing, because the data shows an identifiable intersection between professionalization and the impact on tactics and goals. Unfortunately, there was no open discussion present in the sample as to why this route was taken, nor were there any details as to how the decision was made.

This chapter has identified a number of decisions and behaviors which appear to characterize a professionalizing movement. Animal Liberation in Australia and Compassion Over Killing in particular were analyzed as grassroots groups in transition. Animal Liberation in Australia (now Animal Liberation Victoria) was uncommonly open about internal disputes that strained the organization’s democratic, chapter-based, direct action model. Despite the intense quarreling, professionalization would eventually prevail, though ALV today is rather distinct in its continued commitment to many radical values. Compassion Over Killing, however, never

openly discussed its decision to professionalize in *The Abolitionist* or *Compassionate Action*. A number of major alterations took place, seemingly without dispute.

Whether fiercely resisted or openly embraced, professionalization would come to dominate the movement following the mid-1990s. The following chapter will identify the various ways in which this new organizational structure would come to define groups and their interactions with others in the social movement space. Specifically, professionalization seems to have facilitated isomorphism and cooperation among organizations that adopt the corporatized, bureaucratic approach. It simultaneously appears to encourage cutthroat competition with opposing radical entities. There is also a strong moderating effect on professionalized organizations and a heightened reliance on fundraising, both of which presumably impact access to symbolic capital and goal attainment.

CHAPTER SEVEN | A TYPOLOGY OF PROFESSIONALIZATION

Professionalized organizations in the sample demonstrate little defense of their decision to professionalize. Non-profit growth and increased bureaucratization appear to be the presumed path for social movement collectives. Perhaps a result of the economic logic of growth that manipulates the ideology of most bureaucracies, groups that have professionalized seem to understand this move as a rational and appropriate choice. Indeed, many smaller groups aspire to this same goal, which may explain both their desire to work underneath the hegemonic organizations and their failure to criticize the compromises inherent to professionalization.

A radical faction's identity is in many ways bound to its relationship to the professionalization of the movement. Tectonic shifts in the movement space force these factions to focus much of their claimsmaking on the problems associated with the moderated approach of large non-profits. Unlike the radical factions, the professionalized groups in this sample do not have to expend as much energy defending their tactics against criticism, nor do they spend as much energy criticizing the tactics of the radical factions.

In the few cases that factionalism is addressed, it is often framed positively or at least neutrally. Rather than refer to it as "factionalism," or "in-fighting," for instance, it might be referred to as "diversity." This type of framework could be said to have the effect of dismissing the root of factional divides. Divisions generally result from the problems associated with professionalization, and, if addressed, could presumably work in the disservice of large non-profits. Professionalized organizations, then, probably have a vested interest in deflecting attention from factionalism. This chapter will uncover these processes in order to address the second line of inquiry presented in Chapter 1: how do professionalized organizations wield and

maintain their symbolic capital through framing? Silence and deflection are two themes that surface in the data which might explain this.

All's Quiet on the Professionalized Front

Of the 1,776 units in the digital blog sample for all groups combined, 296 (16.7%) demonstrate some concern with factionalism. Out of 789 essays published in the blogs of the radical flanks, 244 (31%), or almost one third, address factional issues. Of the remaining 987 units published by the professionalized organizations, only 52 (5%) address factionalism. Equivalent data could not be determined from the non-randomized archival data, as many of the datasets are comprised mostly of units that were intentionally chosen as being relevant (meaning there were far fewer units included that were not directly relevant to factionalism that could serve as a point of comparison). Consequently, the following statistics are presented only to describe the collected data and are not intended to be representative. All of the groups represented in the archival sample account for 309 coded items; 50 of these (16.2%) indicate concerns with factionalism. Twenty-two of those 50 units relating to factionalism (44%) are attributed to “transitioning” organizations (Animal Liberation in Australia, Animal Liberation Victoria, Compassion Over Killing, and Vegan Outreach), 24 (48%) are attributed to radical groups (ALFSG and HALF), and only 4 (8%) are attributed to the already professionalized organizations (FARM and PETA). In other words, it was much more difficult to find open discussion of factionalism in the archival material associated with large non-profits.

Importantly, the distribution of radical, transitioning, and professionalized groups in both the archival and digital datasets are not fully representative of the enormously diverse and highly prolific movement. The archival data in particular represents considerable convenience sampling. Furthermore, two of the largest samples in the archival data—that of PETA and FARM—

represent organizations that had already professionalized during the timeframe of the archival sample, while several of the remaining sets were already transitioning. Therefore, professionalization was already influencing the movement and was likely triggering a factional response similar to that of today. Nonetheless, it is interesting that somewhat comparable levels of attention to factionalism appear in data from the archival sample spanning the 1980s and 1990s and the digital sample spanning the 2000s and 2010s.

The tendency for professionalized organizations to remain relatively silent on factionalism in both the historical and current literature is also telling. Although radical factions are characterized by claimsmaking that is highly attentive to factional issues, professionalized organizations appear to dominate the social change space to the extent that they need not be bothered with addressing factionalism. PETA, for instance, acknowledges approaches to anti-speciesism that challenge its own only three times in the blog sample. This undoubtedly reflects the immense social power it wields within the social movement arena and the diminutive threat that radical factions pose to this power.

The professionalized sources in both datasets are much more likely to frame social problems in a compromised manner (by seeking to reform some speciesist practices or by promoting flexitarianism over veganism, for example). In fact, there were many cases where professionalized publications did not really engage framing at all: the information was simply presented as though it was common sense in the activist schema. For instance, while *The Abolitionist Approach* blog regularly signs off essays with a plea for readers to go vegan, insisting it was the “morally right thing to do,” professionalized publications often carry on with activities and announcements with little consideration for framing. That is, there are discussions of ongoing or planned campaigns without any dialogue about why they are necessary. Their

relevancy is simply taken for granted. Vegan Outreach regularly posts updates on university campus visits that document how many students have been reached with leaflets. Other times, it simply shares photographs of students reading the leaflets they received with no accompanying text. Many of these posts do not dedicate any space to explaining why leafleting is utilized and whether or not leafleting is effective for motivating social change.

Likewise, Compassion Over Killing's blog contains many posts about its campaigns to increase vegan options in chain restaurants, but there is no discussion of why the lack of vegan options is a social problem and how increasing mainstream consumer choices is helpful to Nonhuman Animal liberation efforts. Although COK's strategy is explained in a few posts, it is still the case that many units lack any explanation at all. As a professionalized group with considerable power in the social movement space, there is likely much less need to assert itself or anticipate questions and criticisms. By way of an example, COK published a campaign update in 2011 which celebrates the inclusion of a vegan menu item in Canadian Subway restaurants; the only discernible framing relates to its desire to see American stores follow suit:

While the vegan patty is currently only available in select locations in Canada, with enough positive feedback from consumers eager to see this option available everywhere, the company may decide to expand all of its menus. [. . .] That's why we need your help today:

Visit WeLoveSubway.com and call Subway at 203-877-4281 to add your voice to the thousands of others who are urging the company to add hearty vegan options to all of its menus. (Meier 2011)

The social problem implied is a dearth of vegan options in American Subways, the solution is framed as customer pressure on the chain, and there is no discussion of why this problem is relevant or why this a worthwhile expenditure of movement resources. This straightforwardness in campaigning is a privilege generally not afforded to radical factions. Radical factions must

repeatedly frame the problem in relation to Nonhuman Animal liberation and defend the approach they favor.

Cooperation and Competition

While it has been theorized that organizations must compete for scarce resources within the social movement arena, thus reducing the likelihood of cooperation (Smith 2007), the opposite appears to be true in this sample. There was considerable evidence of professionalized factions collaborating with one another, primarily through the sharing of tactics, networks, and other resources. As previously addressed, a common professionalized response to factionalism is to highlight the complementary roles that grassroots and professionalized groups are thought to play in the movement. Cooperation in practice, however, exists primarily among reformists themselves and does not generally include radicals.

As an example of this upper-level solidarity, Vegan Outreach reports: “We coordinate with national and regional groups [. . .] so that the maximum number of people can be reached with the minimal duplication of effort” (Green 2013). Although the analysis is unclear in this regard, mutual support between professionalized groups may indicate an orchestrated effort to consolidate operations in order to normalize their approach. With all major groups in more or less agreement over how to frame speciesism, how to frame the anti-speciesism, and how to mobilize support, marginalized radical groups will have greater difficulty constructing meanings that resonate. In contrast to the consolidated and propitious professionalized groups, radical groups are likely to appear unreasonable, unrealistic, and unsupportable.

In addition to this disempowering effect that consolidation could have on marginalized radical groups, the professionalized silence on factional tensions also ensures that the powerful professionalized position is that which is taken for granted as most appropriate. Some abolitionist

advocates suspect that this failure to engage factionalism is intentional, a conscious strategy to avoid drawing attention to compromised tactics. Francione regularly alleges, for instance, that “[. . .] welfarists refuse to engage abolitionists in debate because they have nothing to say in response to the argument that welfare reform merely increases the production efficiency of animal exploitation” (2009). Of course, this silence on factionalism may also reflect an attempt to present to the public and other benefactors the rosy picture of a united movement, a movement that is confident and eager to put donated resources to good use. Professionalized framing is depoliticized in this sense. A display of factional schism may give an appearance of negativity or even uncertainty over appropriate tactics and resource expenditure. Given this, a rationally acting group would understandably seek to present itself as most qualified for the job, and would consequently have an interest in erasing the existence of competitors in order to secure limited resources. The result is that the “noise” of debate and contention emitted by the many entities vying for resonance in the movement does not penetrate the echo chamber of the professionalized coalition.

Vegan Outreach differs somewhat in this regard by capitalizing on factionalism to present itself as a more moderate and realistic option to supporters. Vegan Outreach claims that debate over tactics and goals is “useless” and “internecine” (Ball 2013d), and that it has been heavily chastised for ignoring these debates (Ball 2013g). Despite this frame of indifference, Vegan Outreach is actually the most engaged of all the professionalized groups in addressing competing positions. Radical claimsmaking appears to be strategically acknowledged with the intent of making Vegan Outreach seem to be a better, more realistic organization to support in comparison. The strong commitment to veganism favored by radical factions is debunked as

selfish and counterproductive; donating to Vegan Outreach to support reductionist activism is thought to be more “honest” and “psychologically-sound.”

There is some evidence that Vegan Outreach may be lumping PETA in amongst the radicals in order to dissociate itself. In an interview shared on its blog, Vegan Outreach representatives make reference to the problem of the “[. . .] ‘extreme PETA’ label that is so often applied to vegan advocates [. . .]” (Vegan Outreach 2013a). Vegan Outreach does cooperate quite a bit with other professionalized organizations, but it clearly understands that standing out from other organizations is important: “I’m not saying I’m against PETA, but being written off because of a person’s perception of a SEPARATE organization is sometimes frustrating.” This problematic association, Vegan Outreach clarifies, decreases resonance and support.

Vegan Outreach hints at this problem again when discussing its historical progression as an organization. Having previously advocated against a number of Nonhuman Animal rights issues, it was determined that a singular focus on food animals would be more efficient, and a more flexible, less “dogmatic” version of veganism would be more effective (Ball 2013b). Prior to this transformation, Vegan Outreach claims that the movement was dominated by “[. . .] loud, judgmental vegan-police types,” and there was “[. . .] no dedication to, or even though about, optimizing advocacy” (Ball 2013d). Responding to criticisms of this move towards reduction and reform, Vegan Outreach states: “If you judge groups based on words / labels, rather than results, then *Vegan Outreach is definitely not the group for you*” (Ball 2013b). A hard-line vegan position, it insists, is “[. . .] feeding a negative stereotype and wasting the time of practical, forward-looking advocates” (Ball 2013d). In another essay, Vegan Outreach explains that the “cheery, sure-sounding, inspiring, attention-grabbing message” is better

positioned to receive funding (Ball 2013e). Direct action activists have facetiously referred to this position as, “touch-feely, puppy-hugging politics” (Best 2010). Neither are the abolitionists impressed, pointing to the Vegan Outreach approach as evidence of compromise that works to the ultimate disadvantage of Nonhuman Animals.

Again, the professionalized faction does not generally seek to engage these tactical debates. Francione (2010b) explains: “Anyone who does not paint a smiling happy face on any problem and a [sic] propose a quick fix is dismissed as ‘negative’ and ‘pessimistic’.” These observations mirror problems identified by Vegan Outreach. That is, a realistic, but pessimistic focus on speciesism is considered too off-putting. Francione theorizes that professionalized groups intentionally adopt a moderate approach as a consequence: “[. . .] we [the professionalized faction] do not want the public to be unhappy and any solution that requires real change might interfere with the relentless quest for entertainment and easy solutions.” Professionalization, then, seems to inspire a need to foster a positive outlook to improve resonance. As a result, large non-profits may need to suppress criticism or even, in the case of Vegan Outreach, distance themselves from veganism and other rights-related symbols.

This boundary work can become so severe that Vegan Outreach appears completely detached from the movement. At times, it even encourages activists to abandon truth, facts, and consistency by catering to the irrationality of speciesism (Ball 2011a).²⁷ I interpret this as a bargaining with ethics that is intended to increase resonance. On one hand, Vegan Outreach warns against pushing vegan “propaganda,” but, on the other hand, it sees veganism as a worthy

²⁷ Ball writes [emphasis his]: “[. . .] the question isn’t if we vegans think something is ‘right’ or ‘wrong.’ The only question is: **What can we do / say that will lead as many meat eaters as possible to start making positive changes for the animals?** (Indeed, it is rather . . . forlorn . . . for vegans to sit around and debate words and philosophy amongst themselves. There is so much actual, constructive work that absolutely needs to be done! We don’t have time to type away on the internet to demand satisfaction from other vegans. We need to get real results in the real world for the animals.) [. . .] Not to harp on all my mistakes, but my prior attitude of ‘Just tell everyone the whole truth! They need to know!’ was very harmful to the animals. It was psychologically at odds with creating change.”

option for reducing suffering. That is, Vegan Outreach may paradoxically admit that veganism is ideal, but it does not want to promote it outright because of associated negative connotations. Subsequently, even *Vegan Outreach* does not want to be involved in promoting veganism. Indeed, Vegan Outreach spends the most efforts of all groups included in the sample toward the denigration of veganism. Veganism is regularly dismissed, and a goal of reducing rather than abolishing suffering takes precedence.

Rarely do professionalized groups in the sample demonstrate an interest in collaborating with radical factions. Despite Vegan Outreach's heavy boundary maintenance with groups large and small, the norm for professionalized groups is to cooperate with one another and ignore the efforts and interests of its radical flanks. In this coalition, *mum* is the word on factionalism. Even Vegan Outreach, weary of being conflated with PETA, allows that other professionalized groups play an important role in raising awareness to speciesism. Vegan Outreach also receives the support of many other professionalized organizations and emphasizes that criticizing the efforts of large organizations is a waste of limited time (Ball and Norris 2011).

While collaboration remains normative within the professionalized faction today, archival data indicates that the intensity of cooperation was significantly greater in the 1980s and early 1990s, with many organizations dedicating sizable shares of their literature to the promotion of other groups, the campaigns of other groups, and networking opportunities such as conferences or workshops. Despite continued collaboration, it does hold true that professionalized organizations expend considerable effort in maintaining a unique identity or "brand" in order to differentiate themselves in the crowded professionalized movement space. For instance, while Vegan Outreach explains that networking with national and regional groups is important for reasons of efficiency, it also adds that, "A large part of being efficient is specializing" (Green

2013). Vegan Outreach accomplishes this for itself by specializing in leaflet distribution on college campuses. By way of another example, PETA might be said to specialize in shocking media stunts, while COK stands out by focusing on increasing vegan options in product chains, grocery stores, and restaurants.

For professionalized groups that must compete in the social movement space for very limited fundraising, it is in their interest to demonstrate how and why their organization is most appropriate and worth supporting. This may also explain why Vegan Outreach so frequently utilizes rhetoric of effectiveness and efficiency to describe its favored approach of leafleting reductionist material to receptive college students. Again, Vegan Outreach is unique because it often accomplishes this differentiation by denouncing competing positions, whereas most professionalized organizations are much less vocal in this regard. Of all the professionalized groups in the blog sample, Vegan Outreach devotes the most space to both promoting and defending its approach. As evidenced in its frustration with PETA's noisome presence, much of the criticisms disseminated by Vegan Outreach may relate to its desire to disassociate itself with the negative perceptions of vegans and Nonhuman Animal rights activists. Subsequently, this group works to present itself as understanding, patient, and calm, and not "angry" or "smug." Vegan Outreach seeks to meet people "where they are" (Ball 2013a): "That is: the less people have to change, the more people will change" (Vegan Outreach 2013b).

Many posts position veganism as one of many potential ways to reduce suffering leaving plenty of leeway for other individual choices. Whenever sharing a vegan resource with readers, Vegan Outreach (2012b) is careful to present a non-judgmental and flexible version of veganism as the most appropriate. This non-threatening position likely makes it much more attractive to potential funders by appealing to conservative foundations that may be profiting from

speciesism. Based on the multiple posts that emphasize the large percentages of Americans interested in flesh-free consumption, Vegan Outreach may also be using this moderated approach to frame itself as an organization with a much larger potential constituency that could otherwise be claimed if it adopted a strict vegan position. In the process of creating this identity, however, it also fans factionalism.

Moderating the Movement

With professionalization, then, comes considerable moderation. Far and away, the most common factional contestation relates to the meaning of “humane,” “welfare,” or “rights” in the context of Nonhuman Animal interests. Radical factions are extremely concerned with the professionalized reconstruction of these meanings, as they are thought to maintain speciesism and violence against other animals. Even some of the smaller professionalized non-profits such as FARM are concerned with these manipulated meanings.

In fact, analysis revealed that there is a great deal of factional disagreement over a litany of variables such as violence, single-issue campaigning, racism, sexism, “euthanasia,” rationality, and religiosity. Yet, none of these topics of debate receive the level of attention that is paid to reform as both a tactic and an ideology. Because the reformist approach is so characteristic of professionalization, the movement’s focus on this variable reveals that professionalization as a system and a process may actually be at the root of the movement’s schism, not exactly the reform itself. That is, a reformist approach is a product of professionalization, not the reverse. This is not to say that unprofessionalized organizations do not support reformist approaches, as many do. However, the hegemony of professionalization influences these smaller groups by normalizing professionalization as the most appropriate and also by marginalizing competing radical approaches.

Many advocates and smaller groups benefit from the mentorship and support of larger, professionalized groups and quite understandably aspire to achieve that organizational structure as well. Those identifying with a radical faction, however, are less likely to demonstrate an aspiration to professionalize. For abolitionists, this may be due to the confusion between reformism and professionalization: the adoption of reformist tactics is more likely to be identified as the problem than the process of professionalization. For direct action activists, this disinterest in professionalizing may be due to a realization that adherence to violent or illegal tactics creates an automatic exclusion from funding from conservative foundations or state sanctioning through non-profitization. Professionalization and combative direct actions are probably understood to be incompatible. As a result, both the abolitionist and the direct action factions tend to be disinterested in taking the professionalized route. Radical factions are therefore intentionally radical and may also be intentionally grassroots.

Organizations are, for the most part, reluctant to discuss how the pull of bureaucratic growth influences campaigning, but it is evident that there is some relationship of this type. One major theme attributable to moderation that appears in the data is the tendency to shift from anti-speciesist focus to a number of less polemic subjects that will likely resonate with a larger public. COK, for instance, tends to focus on the human health aspects of vegan and vegetarian eating. This framework resonates with a public that is increasingly viewing these diets as a healthy alternative, but it also distances itself from potentially alienating Nonhuman Animal rights rhetoric. This is partially reflected in its heavy use of cooking recipes in blog posts which lack any social change framing. Vegan Outreach is an exception in this case, however, and is very clear about its focus on Nonhuman Animals: “That is the bottom line of every decision made every day: helping the most animals possible by changing society as broadly and quickly

as possible. Period” (Ball 2012b). Recall, however, that Vegan Outreach intentionally and strategically ceased participation in a number of Nonhuman Animal rights campaigns in favor of food animal representation. Therefore, its framing is not terribly unique from that of COK. Professionalization appears to necessitate the casting of a wider net in terms of the social problems identified, and most professionalized groups in the study take this route. Radical factions, on the other hand, primarily focus on ending speciesism as a matter of social justice for Nonhuman Animals. One potential explanation for Vegan Outreach’s non-intersectional position could be its need to distinguish itself as unique. Recall that this individual identity is an advantage for any group that is heavily reliant on funding and must compete for grant access.

Vegan Outreach’s focus on Nonhuman Animals also appears to reflect its pragmatic, utilitarian ethos, one that is typical of professionalized organizations. Although units in the Vegan Outreach blog sample sometimes speak to health-related issues to combat misunderstandings about vegan nutrition, this organization explicitly rejects health arguments from its repertoire. It is feared that a nutrition approach might encourage a reduction in the consumption of cow and pig flesh only to create an undesirable increase in the consumption of chickens and fishes. Many more of these small animals must be killed to meet demand, which would lead to an increase in suffering (Ball 2012a).

This reasoning (seeking maximum reduction in suffering) is also cited as the reason Vegan Outreach focuses on factory farmed animals to the exclusion of other animals. Indeed, the focus on factory farmed animals is characteristic of most professionalized non-profits. Due to the harsh state repression of those who speak ill of the food system in the United States (“meat” and dairy production in particular), rejecting the health approach and downplaying vegan nutritional benefits may be an intentional strategy to moderate the Vegan Outreach position. For instance,

Vegan Outreach postulates that the public will always side with popular beliefs about the healthfulness of an animal-based diet, therefore, an appeal to the nutritional benefits of veganism would be futile. Yet this presumption contradicts with growing public awareness that plant-based eating is indeed a healthy choice (Lea, Crawford, and Worsley 2006; Marsh, Zeuschner, and Saunders 2012).

The rationalization that undergirds the rejection of a health-centered tactic—that the public will not be receptive to attitude or behavior change due to speciesist barriers—is also contradictory because it could *also* be used to reject Vegan Outreach’s favored tactic of ethical education. The healthfulness of vegan eating will be considered debatable, it argues, but, “[. . .] obvious cruelty cannot be debated, ignored, or forgotten [. . .]” (Vegan Outreach 2012c). Vegan Outreach presupposes that inaccurate beliefs about human supremacy can be overcome with a focus on Nonhuman Animal suffering but not with nutrition, even though both must contend with ideological barriers. This paradoxical reasoning suggests that something else may be shaping its tactical approach.

Indeed, the professionalized focus on “cruelty” has become a major topic in radical counter-framing. Abolitionists insist that the movement’s focus on cruelty will counterproductively encourage the public to purchase “humane” products. Vegan Outreach (2011b) and other professionalized organizations, however, are less likely to view this as counterproductive and even interpret the switch as a positive gain in the interest of Nonhuman Animals. This is not to say that a focus on ethics is necessarily less effective than a focus on health, but only to suggest that the framework in support of certain tactics to the rejection of others appears to be related to something other than evidence-based social change epistemology.

It is possible that these tactics also reflect a need to be competitive within the crowded social movement space. Again, the exact mechanisms of professionalization are rarely discussed in publicly available material, but one unit in the Vegan Outreach sample provides some evidence in support of this theory: “It is also very hard to get people to fund honest and balanced nutritional research and reporting [. . .]” (Ball 2013e). Animal suffering, in other words, sells better than veganism.

The considerable effort spent on challenging the vegan position is itself quite telling. In one essay, Vegan Outreach worries that “[. . .] the angriest, most extreme, obsessive, fanatical [. . .],” “[. . .] loudest, most outspoken – or obnoxious – person seems to represent all vegans” (Ball 2011a). Again, I suspect that Vegan Outreach strategically distances itself from radical positions as a result of professionalization. While larger professionalized organizations simply ignore competing radical positions, Vegan Outreach manipulates them as a means of distinguishing itself as the more desirable group to support by comparison. The potentially threatening language of veganism and abolition contrasts starkly to rhetoric of “reducing suffering,” which seemingly allows for the continuation of Nonhuman Animal consumption and speciesist institutions.

With social change goals thus diluted, a professionalized group will have greater access to resources. In all professionalized blog samples in the study, veganism tends to be subsumed within references to flexitarianism, such as “veg,” “plant-based eating,” “vegetarianism,” or “compassionate food choices” (FIGURE 1). Both COK and FARM regularly promote “Meatless Mondays” or “Meatouts,” which insinuate that flesh is especially problematic and that reductionism is an acceptable solution to speciesism. Veganism is infrequently discussed

independently, and it is not often presented as the most appropriate response to speciesism. In this way, veganism becomes tempered, if not invisible.

The professionalized faction's sample also demonstrates significant support for in-vitro (lab-grown) animal protein. All professionalized organizations in the blog sample published at least one statement in support of it. Similar to their support for reductionism over veganism, support for in-vitro flesh maintains the speciesist social structure with the expectation of that it will simultaneously reduce harm imposed on Nonhuman Animals. Although in-vitro "meat" would theoretically reduce the number of Nonhuman Animals killed for human consumption, its incorporation would reinforce a human diet that is unhealthily based on animal protein. It would also reinforce the symbolic notion that Nonhuman Animals are resources as consumable "meat." Another ethical conundrum lies in the need to use Nonhuman Animals as test subjects, as vivisection is required to produce this non-sentient flesh (Stephens 2013). Despite the human and nonhuman injustices upheld with a "lab-grown" food system, non-profits can appease the public's desire to continue their consumption of animal bodies and assuage the concerns that grant-providing foundations may have with the potential economic disruption a plant-based society would create. In-vitro flesh thus addresses the non-profit's intent to advocate for the abolition of speciesism while avoiding potentially off-putting radical vegan rhetoric.

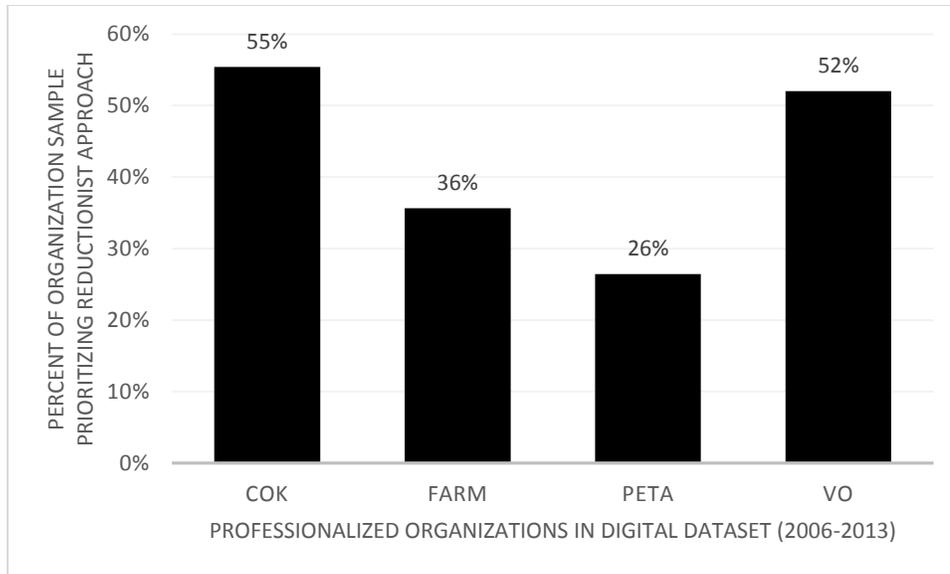


FIGURE 1 Percentage of Professionalized Blog Space Prioritizing Reform²⁸

Archival data shows that veganism was not a popular concept among professionalized groups in earlier decades either. This may only be a result of simpler times. Take, for instance, an essay in the *Animal Liberation in Australia* sample which is titled “Your Tastebuds – Their Lives” declares: “The single most important thing an individual can do to help animals, the environment and human health is to be vegetarian” (Mark 1995b). While veganism as a political concept has been present at least since the emergence of The Vegan Society in the 1940s, the Nonhuman Animal rights movement may have understood “vegetarianism” to be inclusive of all Nonhuman Animal products. Vegetarianism, in a historical sense, has often been understood to be interchangeable with veganism.

On the other hand, there is some suspicion that the invisibility of veganism has been intentional. Francione (2012b), who has been active in the movement since the early 1980s, writes:

²⁸ Unit was coded as prioritizing reductionism if it references vegetarianism, flexitarianism, Meatless Mondays, etc. Units that only speak to veganism or do not mention diet change at all are not coded.

The modern animal movement has *never* promoted a clear and unequivocal abolitionist/vegan message. On the contrary. Almost all of the large groups in the United States, UK, and elsewhere promote a welfarist approach, and to the extent that they even talk about the abolitionist/vegan approach, they present it as some sort of distant and utopian goal.

The Animal Liberation in Australia “Your Tastebuds” example illustrates this confusion in a number of ways. First, vegetarianism is discussed in terms of “meat,” but the essay also references an ongoing campaign against battery cages used in the production of chickens’ eggs. It is clear that the organization recognizes that egg consumption is connected to chicken suffering. Furthermore, an inset opposite the article which is titled “The Environmental Connection” discusses veganism (without calling it such) by urging readers to “Stop buying and eating meat, milk and eggs.” The same page also includes another inset which identifies the cover model as a *vegan* chef and author. This group, at least, understands the meaning and relevance of veganism, but consciously chooses to subsume it among a variety of other consumption choices. This was a tactic found to be typical of modern professionalized groups.

Moreover, rather than speak in terms of “rights” or “justice,” sampled professionalized groups in the Nonhuman Animal rights movement are more likely to frame the problem as Nonhuman Animal “suffering” and the solution as human “compassion.” For instance, Compassion Over Killing states that the organization’s purpose is to reduce (as opposed to eliminate) demand in order to “alleviate suffering” (Leahy 2011a). *The Abolitionist Approach* criticizes this language as intentionally depoliticized:

[. . .] those concerned can get together and feel good about expressing their support for “humane” treatment and “compassion” and to protest “abuse”—notions which are vacuous and with which no one disagrees with anyway as an abstract matter.” (Francione 2010b)

Appealing to widely held values improves resonance because it does not disrupt individual attitudes and behaviors or the systems that would be impacted by an anti-speciesist message.

Groups utilizing this language may be attempting to frame their interests in a manner that protects human supremacy and an anthropocentric social structure. In a moderated movement, the data seems to support that a number of topics less directly related to speciesism will surface, while veganism may be downplayed in favor of anti-cruelty, reformist approaches.

The professionalized framework comes to inform the social movement's habitus. Control over what tactics are deemed appropriate is a major indicator of the power afforded to this faction. The abolitionist faction emphasizes the creativity of activists, encouraging individuals and groups to engage activism within their means and skills. The direct action faction tends to prioritize violent or illegal tactics, but also leaves advocacy up to the inventiveness of participants. Radical factions, in other words, seem to be more adaptable and open to new ideas. They also tend to respect activist agency in tactical development. Professionalized groups, on the other hand, are more involved in the management of appropriate advocacy. As one example, FARM heavily promotes its "Great American Meatout" campaign, suggesting that those wanting to help Nonhuman Animals seek FARM's advice and materials to present a Meatout event in their community. FARM requests that groups register any events through them as well. PETA, too, regularly encourages potential participants to contact it for volunteer resources. Inevitably, this will result in a number of scandalous street demonstrations guaranteed to attract media attention, as consistent with PETA's favored approach. Vegan Outreach (2013c) even suggests that an independent approach to helping other animals (aside from donating, which it frames as most important) is unnecessary:

You don't need to start a group. You don't need to pass a law. You just need to make the join with all the others who are dedicated to making a real difference. Vegan Outreach can provide you with lessons from decades of experience and all the tools you need. VO exists to help everyone and anyone, in every situation, be the most effective advocate possible.

The implication is that activism should be undertaken under the guidance of the professionalized groups according to the protocol and goals they have established. The diversity of skills and resources attributed to potential volunteers arguably goes untapped as professionalized organizations squeeze activists into their favored and branded approach.

The professionalized approach is globalizing as well. PETA's reach, for example, extends internationally with a number of offices in Asia, Europe, and elsewhere. FARM also prioritizes "advocacy abroad," and seeks to "promote effective animal activism across the globe" through a number of its own workshops, grants, and speaking tours (Farm Animal Rights Movement 2015a). Professionalized organizations are not only dominating the political imagination of their home countries, but they can also shape the common sense of international advocacy. Just as smaller groups in the United States look up to professionalized organizations as the model of success, collectives outside of the United States seem to idolize large, wealthy, and influential American organizations. More than a reflection of America's privileged space in the world system, this global hegemony is intentionally nurtured. Following PETA's transition in the late 1980s and early 1990s, Animal Liberation in Australia was reporting substantial guidance from PETA. Reporting on a campaign against vivisection, the editor writes: "Heartfelt thanks to *PETA* (People for the Ethical Treatment of Animals) in the US for their enormous help and powerful campaigning methods" (Mark 1994). In fact, PETA campaigns are regularly referenced by this aspiring organization. Following a networking trip to the United States, founder Patty Mark appears to have been greatly influenced. She began to heavily promote PETA's professionalized style in her magazine to Australian advocates who clearly also viewed large American groups as role models.²⁹

²⁹ Tactical preferences do flow both ways, however. Mark is generally understood to be the activist who spearheaded the popular tactic of open rescue. This tactic would go on to influence other aboveground direct action

Financing the Movement

I was not able to affordably obtain revenue information for the non-profits included in this study prior to 2002.³⁰ However, information from the National Center for Charitable Statistics demonstrates steady growth for Compassion Over Killing, FARM, PETA, and Vegan Outreach from that point. Non-profits that earn less than \$25,000 in revenue are not required to file financial reports with the Internal Revenue Service. Therefore, data for Go Vegan Radio, the only grassroots non-profit in the post-2000 sample, is not available.

TABLE 4 Total Revenue of Professionalized Organizations (1994-2012)³¹

	1994	1997	2002	2012
COK (est. 1995)	--	--	\$167,177	\$726,562
FARM (est. 1981)	\$101,700 ³²	\$292,700 ³³	\$369,349	\$1,014,475
PETA (est. 1980)	--	--	\$24,082,725	\$34,696,042
Vegan Outreach (est. 1993)	--	\$34,447 ³⁴	\$212,582	\$893,907

In addition to a moderation in tactics and goals, professionalization also seems to shift the meaning of activism from engagement to patronage. Vegan Outreach (2012d) boasts: “If you would like there to be more vegetarians in the world, please donate to Team Vegan [. . .].” It also frames donation as a way of providing Nonhuman Animals a voice (Vegan Outreach

groups like Compassion Over Killing in the early 2000s and Direct Action Everywhere today. See Killing, Compassion Over 2003. "COK Talks with Open Rescue Pioneer Patty Mark." *The Abolitionist*, pp. 10-11. See also Hsiung, Wayne. 2015. "On the Importance of Open Rescue: Four Reasons to Get Serious About Liberation." in *Blog, Direct Action Everywhere*. San Francisco, CA: Direct Action Everywhere.

³⁰ Professional services offering access to older documents charge for \$125 per report. Older data was obtained from material in the archival sample if it was available.

³¹ Figures derived from Form 990 data available from the National Center for Charitable Statistics. Data has not been adjusted for inflation.

³² Data reported in Winter 1994 issue of *FARM Report*.

³³ Data reported in Winter 1997 issue of *FARM Report*.

³⁴ Data reported in December 1997 issue of the Vegan Outreach newsletter.

2013e). A variety of other participation styles (such as tabling, lecturing, and protesting) may also give voice to other animals, but these actions go unacknowledged or are denounced as ineffective or inefficient. In one post, FARM encourages interested parties to donate and also to encourage others to donate, emphasizing the ease of this kind of activism: “[. . .] you didn’t even have to leave the couch” (Funkhouser 2013). In this way, professionalized groups maintain control over advocacy behaviors by delegating activism to the financial support of their own work.

Though professionalization creates a heightened focus on fundraising, larger organizations seem to enjoy some degree of freedom from fundraising focus in their power and stability in the field. In other words, the larger they become, the easier it becomes to access revenue channels such as large grants or state support. Large groups such as PETA have become so synonymous with Nonhuman Animal welfare efforts, their notoriety works to its continual benefit as a form of symbolic capital. If an individual or group wants to help other animals, they instinctively “know” to turn to PETA with their support. These large groups also have the resources to staff a number of funding coordinators with advanced degrees and skill sets who work behind the scenes to maximize resource attainment. Smaller organizations hoping to achieve the same level of power must hustle and cannot afford to be private in fundraising efforts.

For instance, the Vegan Outreach sample presents the greatest percentage of units *specifically* devoted to fundraising (FIGURE 2). In the sample of blog essays published in the 2000s and 2010s, the average percentage of units that focus primarily on fundraising is 6%. However, the main purpose of 87 of the 300 blog essays in the Vegan Outreach sample (29%) is

fundraising.³⁵ Furthermore, a primary indicator of professionalization identified by McCarthy and Zald—the prioritization of fundraising—was far more likely to be present in the Vegan Outreach sample (FIGURE 3).³⁶ In other words, Vegan Outreach not only produces the greatest number of units that are intentionally designed to rally funds, but it also produces the greatest number of units, regardless of topic, that in some way prioritize fundraising as an important form of activism. Indeed, the Vegan Outreach sample is saturated with fundraising rhetoric.

The heavy emphasis on moderation may be related to this extreme focus on financial growth. In an interview included in the Vegan Outreach sample, representatives support this hypothesis in stating that fundraising is indeed the top priority for this organization and that the abstract nature of veganism is difficult to fundraise behind. When asked to identify the greatest challenges facing the organization, Vegan Outreach responds singularly with: “Raising money” (Ball 2013e). As a result, it focuses on suffering instead of liberation. Vegan Outreach’s primary form of activism is leafleting on college campuses, and donation-focused units in its blog sample are often framed as a means of directly supporting the printing and distribution of leaflets. However, many (if not most) of the organization’s leafleters are volunteers and leaflets have a very low production cost. It seems that much of their \$900,000 revenue is applied to bureaucratic growth, and not to printing pamphlets.³⁷

³⁵ Although archival data does not represent a random sample, results from the archival data are similar to that of the digital data. Each organization included in the sample includes an average of 6% units that are primarily related to fundraising, whereas Vegan Outreach is an outlier with 29%.

³⁶ Any professionalized unit that discusses the importance of donating in any way is coded with this indicator. Any unit, regardless of degree of professionalization, could be coded with a *main purpose* of fundraising if that was the primary purpose of the unit.

³⁷ According to the 2012 IRS Form 990 filed by Vegan Outreach, only \$277, 132 (30%) of their total revenue of \$914,100 goes towards “Printing and Publications.” An additional \$85,544 was allocated towards postage and shipping, though non-profits are allowed to mail free of cost in the United States. Most of the remaining revenue was invested in salaries and wages, travel and conferences, advertising, contract services, and savings or investments.

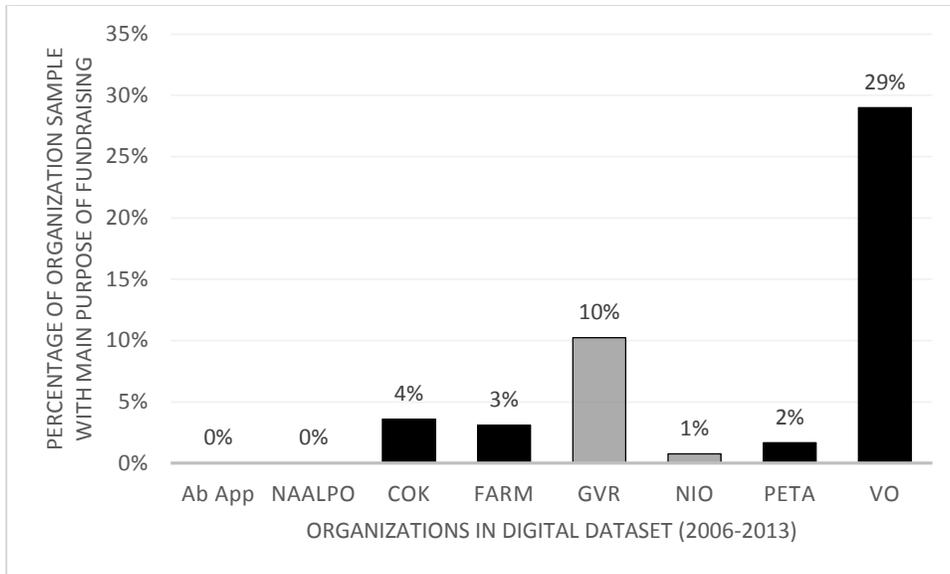


FIGURE 2 Percentage of Blog Units with Main Purpose of Fundraising

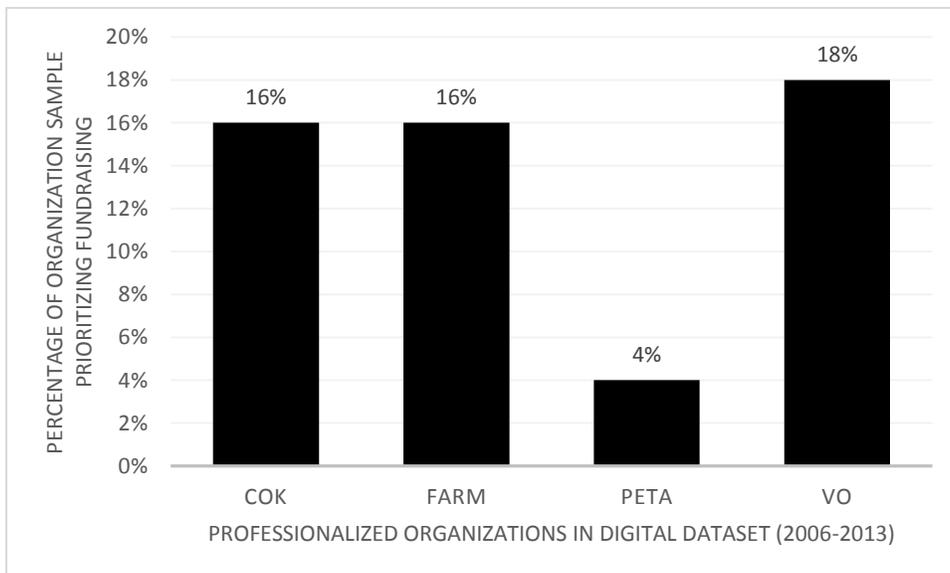


FIGURE 3 Percentage of Professionalized Blog Space Prioritizing Fundraising

Not all organizations are as transparent in their reliance on funding. The Compassion Over Killing sample, for instance, demonstrates that this organization is not especially likely to frame the solution to speciesism as a financial one. Sixteen percent of the units in the digital COK sample prioritized fundraising in some way (FIGURE 3), but less than 5% of the units had a *primary* theme of soliciting funds (FIGURE 2). Instead of requesting donations, COK will

instead encourage readers to adopt a plant-based diet, volunteer, or petition legislators and speciesist businesses. Likewise, units from the PETA blog sample rarely center fundraising, nor do they explicitly request funding to support efforts. Almost always, when action is requested, PETA asks readers to contact individuals, businesses, or legal entities on behalf of Nonhuman Animals. Otherwise, readers are asked to go vegan or to reduce Nonhuman Animal consumption. At the bottom of each blog essay, however, is a small and unassuming text link that reads, “Donate now.” Links that encouraging shopping and donating are also displayed at the top of the website. Keep in mind, however, that donations and merchandise sales are not the sole source of income. Non-profits earn much of their revenue through grants and events.

Fundraising interests may be absent from framing, but still present in more subtle ways. Units that do not demonstrate indicators of factionalism or framing in the radical samples are more likely to relate to event updates, news items relevant to activism or speciesism, or activist achievements. Professionalized organizations feature these as well, but they are also very likely to promote vegan products like particular brands of vegan food, restaurants, films, or cookbooks. The FARM sample even includes units that promote vegan travel services. This indicates a close overlap between consumption and activism. FIGURE 4 demonstrates that there is a strong relationship between professionalization and product placement; professionalized organizations have a greater percentage of units with a main purpose of promoting products for sale.

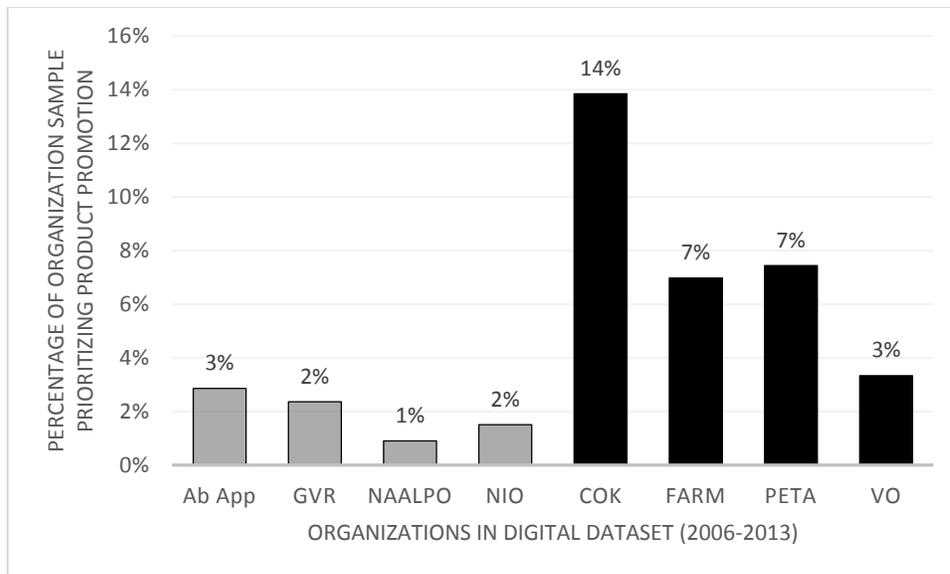


FIGURE 4 Percentage of Blog Space Engaging Product Promotion

Promotional posts sometimes engage framing that can also allude to deeper economic connections. Compassion Over Killing and Vegan Outreach promote some businesses and products that, in turn, donate to or promote the organization. For instance, recipes may include specific products in the ingredient list, as evidenced in an Easter recipe posted by COK which lists “The Vegg” as an ingredient (Mathers 2012). The Vegg was a relatively new brand at the time of the recipe publication, and one that is not widely available or well known to vegan customers. The company notes on its website that 10% of net sales are contributed to “the nation’s best animal protection charities.” While these charities are not identified by name, it is highly likely that Compassion Over Killing is included among them. This sponsorship is not divulged in the COK units in question, meaning that advertisements are disguised within advocacy updates.

Likewise, many units that demonstrate evidence for framing openly promote a particular restaurant because a portion of the sales would be donated to the organization or because the company sponsored an event or campaign. Individual consumption is framed as a form of

activism. Many outreach events are also centered on the distribution of vegan products, meaning that vegan businesses can use the free labor of activists to advertise their products (often referred to as “donations”) to the public as well as the web space of major Nonhuman Animal rights organizations to promote their products to vegan consumers. Non-profit charities and for-profit businesses can work together to maximize financial return on the public interest in Nonhuman Animal suffering. This is easily accomplished in a movement that has crafted a membership base that exists as little more than a pool of potential customers already primed to conflate caring with cash payout.

Publications produced by professionalized groups in this study also demonstrate a greater proportion of event promotion and reports on completed events (FIGURE 5). Events may include festivals, campus visits, tabling, lectures, or any other coordinated effort that puts the group in action in a way that can be documented and shared through social movement media networks. One organization in the direct actions ample, the North American Animal Liberation Press Office, appears as an outlier among radical groups because it focuses on small, relatively unplanned events, primarily those that involve a small handful of activists committing acts of economic sabotage or vandalism. These events do not require much expenditure of resources, thus allowing for a greater number of events. Furthermore, the primary purpose of the NAALPO is to distribute information on activist activities, meaning that the blog’s data will be biased in favor of event coverage. Go Vegan Radio is also somewhat skewed because many of the “events” promoted are actually upcoming shows and interviews.

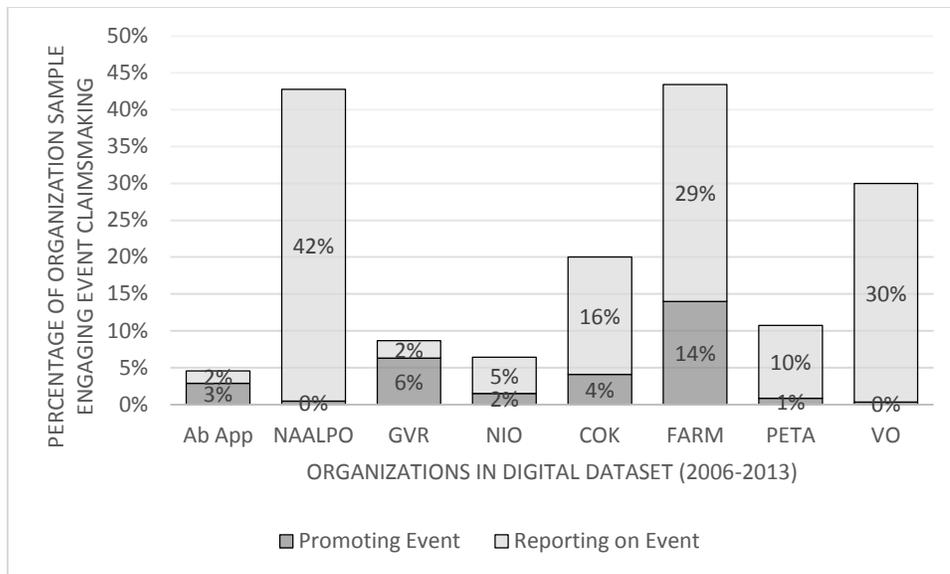


FIGURE 5 Percentage of Blog Space Discussing or Promoting Events

Aside from these anomalies, FARM and Vegan Outreach appear to be the most dedicated to event coverage among the professionalized groups. FARM’s specialization is the organization of movement-wide events, including the Animal Rights National Conference and the Great American Meatout. Vegan Outreach’s blog regularly covers campus visits and subsequent student reactions. Event promotion is important for highlighting group activities, which is essential for grant proposals and increasing resources.

More than a means of gaining power, events are a means for *displaying* power. Heavy event coverage demonstrates an organization’s increased access to resources because events entail a considerable amount of networking and financial expenditure. These are resources that are much less available to radical factions. Accordingly, aside from Go Vegan Radio’s regular promotion of upcoming shows,³⁸ there is little evidence of event promotion in the radical factions’ samples. The direct action sample demonstrates a high level of event reporting which is

³⁸ In retrospect, I may have more accurately omitted the promotion of upcoming radio shows as “events,” as broadcasting is routinized behavior for Go Vegan Radio. Regular radio programming is not as comparable to events such as the World Vegan Summit, which Linden would go on to organize in the summer of 2014 (outside of the sampling time frame).

skewed by its preference for direct action and its commitment to regularly reporting on these actions in order to motivate and sustain the faction. Yet this faction rarely engages any event organization or large-scale attempts at networking. In fact, radical activists are sometimes critical of events as self-indulgent displays of power:

Instead of rising up as a unified nonviolent force to say “no” to this unimaginable suffering and death [speciesism], we seek to turn this moral black hole into entertainment. We have galas hosted by nonvegan with streaming video that allows us to see a group of pathetic narcissists receive awards, naked women who sit in cages “for the animals,” and animal welfare leaders who join with institutional exploiters and assure us that the “worst” aspects of animals exploitation can be addressed through meaningless reforms so we can just relax and be happy because it’s all going to be fine—as long as we donate, of course. (Francione 2010b)

Some radicals, then, are wary that events and other campaigns may be engaged by professionalized groups with ulterior motives. Francione’s comments frame ostentatious events and campaigns as “entertainment” and non-profit “trade shows” that promulgate messages so moderated that creating social change becomes unlikely. Several units in the PETA archive attest that award shows and galas are somewhat commonplace among the professionalized organizations (Farm Sanctuary, while not included in the sample, also regularly hosts them). However, smaller non-profits utilize this “entertainment” framework to secure resources as well. A “Walk for Farm Animals” fundraiser promoted by Animal Liberation in Australia in the 1990s advertises “good exercise,” “vegie BBQ,” a “colorful float,” a “marching band,” and “great companionship,” imploring readers to “Join the fun!” (Animal Liberation Victoria 1994). And, of course, sponsors are also encouraged.

Regardless of intention, event promotions represent an important aspect of consolidating and growing power. The tendency for events to feature other professionalized organizations, vegan and vegetarian businesses, and local reformist groups with no radical agenda stands as a major mechanism for maintaining a social movement arena that is favorable to those groups in

power. In a way, events hosted by professionalized organizations operate as a microcosm of the larger social movement arena. In these events, professionalized groups have the ability to fully control meaning construction and participation. The inability for radical groups to create large events or to participate in the events hosted by professionalized non-profits is both a symptom and a metaphor of the inequality of access and opportunity in the Nonhuman Animal rights movement space.

A similar process appears present in the professionalized groups' control over financial support for smaller groups and individual activists. Just as a large, professionalized group's access to grant money in the greater social movement arena is shaped by its position and tactics, so will a grassroots group's access be contingent on its chosen framework in the Nonhuman Animal rights space. Groups like FARM and VegFund maintain modest grant programs that allow them to support smaller groups of their choosing. As an example, Vegan Outreach enjoyed the benefice of at least two professionalized reformist organizations (Animal Rights International and Justice for Animals Fund) in its fledgling years.³⁹ Clearly, these groups are not likely to fund factional operations that challenge the professionalized position or pose any sort of serious competition. This financial hold works to alienate radical positions, but it also works to police smaller groups, pressuring them into adhering to a moderate position in order to access resources from larger groups. Having access to enough wealth that a professionalized group can afford to disperse it further down the chain in the social movement space demonstrates a major incentive for bureaucratic growth because it gives the organization the power to manipulate the movement to further support and normalize its position. In other words, a wealthy professionalized organization can "buy" a movement that continues to favor and benefit it. The resources made

³⁹ This funding information was printed in the August 2002 Vegan Outreach newsletter. Nalith, Inc., a grant-providing non-profit, is also listed as a benefactor and may have shaped Vegan Outreach's decision to moderate as well.

available by professionalization are thus reinvested into the social movement arena in order to protect and grow power and resources.

The next chapter will extend this examination of non-profit strength and manipulation to determine with greater detail the ways in which professionalization creates and maintains symbolic power in the social movement space. First, the invisibility of dissent will be unpacked. Professionalized organizations in this study respond to factional disputes by erasing, diminishing, or disparaging them. As will be demonstrated, for those radical notions that cannot be disguised or debunked, professionalized groups may actually begin to appropriate them. By putting radical symbols in the service of the professionalized agenda, it effectively dulls and blunts the competing factions' tools and strips the radical repertoire of ammunition. Finally, the professionalized faction can simply exclude radical factions from important social movement spaces. This chapter's discussion of event coordination will be extended with a case study of the Animal Rights National Conference, an event that exemplifies the ways in which large groups can cooperate in the protection of professionalized hegemony to deny radicals right to entry.

CHAPTER EIGHT | PROFESSIONALIZED ORGANIZATIONS AND BOUNDARY MAINTENANCE

Although professionalized organizations may fail to cooperate with radical factions, they are certainly not strangers to radical praxis. The archival data demonstrates that many of today's professionalized groups began as grassroots groups with a strong preference for aboveground direct action. In the 1980s and 1990s, stories on campaigns or activities that engage this type of activism appear regularly in the sample. Because support for direct action was also waning at this time, some negotiation in claimsmaking was necessitated. In other words, the activist space was still conducive to relatively radical approaches, but organizations were developing a consciousness as to how radical behavior could be impeding long term success, at least for those groups that understand success to be synonymous with bureaucratic growth. This is evidenced in a story published by *Animal Liberation* in Australia in support of an activist imprisoned for arson which is prefaced with an editorial disclaimer:

Animal Liberation promotes non-violence to all living beings and property. Not all animal activists agree with the property part and many, including Keith Mann, have been jailed for their actions. While *Animal Liberation* does not endorse property damage, it understands the torment people experience seeing animals suffer. C. J. Eddington [article author] reports on a brutal jail sentence given to a man who obviously cares deeply for animals. (*Animal Liberation* in Australia 1995b)

Illegal actions may not meet the approval of all organizations, but there is evidence that there was considerably more tolerance and appreciation for these tactics in earlier years. The Eddington article cited above is quite sympathetic to illegal activism, finding merit in these actions and citing incarceration as evidence to the effectiveness of Nonhuman Animal rights work. Keith Mann's story is covered in later issues, in fact, with comparably sympathetic framing, and often without any discussion of the potentially problematic nature of his chosen

tactics. Animal Liberation in Australia's Patty Mark also regularly engaged illegal actions which resulted in arrest, and her campaigns are covered in the magazine as well.

The space provided to various approaches at this time is quite different from the minimal to nonexistent recognition given to violent tactics by professionalized organizations today. In the case of Animal Liberation in Australia, diversity in movement repertoire was appreciated, but its use of direct action advocacy was consciously moderated to fill a movement niche:

The Animal Liberation Front (ALF) represented small numbers of hardcore activists involved in *underground* direct action to free animals from labs, and there were the more mainstream groups, representing much larger numbers of people whose involvement consisted mainly in contributing money, letter writing and attending demonstrations. What was missing was above ground direct action. (Tranter 1997)

More than addressing what was "missing," this aboveground direct action model is thought to be a necessary adaptation of radical, clandestine efforts. Animal Liberation in Australia frames its newly devised model as preferable and effective, while the ALF's actions are condemned as counterproductive (United Poultry Concerns 1999). As the movement began to professionalize, tensions between direct action activists who had traditionally enjoyed the spotlight would only increase. This modified aboveground direct action model acts as a bridge between traditional grassroots direct action advocacy and professionalized advocacy. Increased professionalization would also encourage increased legality and political acceptability in the aboveground repertoire. Leaders of large non-profits today are rarely found chained to gestation crates in piggeries hoping for arrest, though public protests do continue, when permit allows.

As previously discussed, the transition from aboveground direct action advocacy to professionalized advocacy is exemplified by Animal Liberation Australia/Animal Liberation Victoria and Compassion Over Killing. However, it appears that this is a model that continues to hold true today. Direct Action Everywhere (DXE), for instance, began as a grassroots, volunteer-

only group in the mid-2010s. As of this writing, the group engages in locally based aboveground civil disobedience, primarily through open rescues in agricultural facilities and “flash mob” events where activists unexpectedly coalesce in grocery stores and restaurants to chant and display signs. DXE has also achieved non-profit status and is beginning to collect donations. As of 2015, financial support is encouraged as only one of many ways to participate, though its importance is emphasized as necessary to support career activists. Based on the trends uncovered in this study, it would be predicted that the normalization of the professionalized path in the activist imagination and the draw of growth and security will see DXE abandoning its direct forms of activism in favor of less confrontational approaches which are more conducive to fundraising efforts.

Contemporary blog posts from professionalized organizations rarely show any sort of support for violent tactics, but they also rarely condemn their use by other groups. It could be the case that non-profits understand that direct action advocacy may have a role to play in the movement. For instance, an April Fool’s Day post on PETA’s blog jokes that “hunting” blinds had been sprayed with snake pheromones to attract “ticked-off” cottonmouths to disrupt (and presumably endanger) “hunters” (Elizabeth 2009). Quite a few PETA blog units covering non-violent public demonstrations frame security or police intervention as a positive occurrence and evidence of advocate dedication and effectiveness. The only unit included in the PETA blog sample that criticizes the problematic (presumably violent) tactics of other factions occurs in a featured interview.⁴⁰ No PETA staff writer ever explicitly denounces direct action in the blog.

⁴⁰ From the interview with George Snedeker, a participant in the television show *30 Days* on an episode about Nonhuman Animal rights activism:

One area where I think PETA could use some P.R. work is separating themselves from some of the other animal rights groups out there. The term that most people relate to animal rights is PETA. Anything that happens for the sake of animals, regardless of how offensive it is, gets hung on the neck of PETA. Consequently, most people think PETA people are nuts. I believe PETA does it the right way education.

It may be the case that professionalized organizations see that direct action advocacy does alleviate Nonhuman Animal suffering. More likely, they may understand militant advocacy as motivation for foundations, industries, the public, and the state to support their moderate stance in order to counteract the influence of threatening direct action advocates. The shift from heavy support for direct action in the 1980s and 1990s to a general quietness on these tactics of present is likely also related to professionalization, a move that requires transparency and cooperation with the state. The sharp increase in legal barriers to Nonhuman Animal rights activism undoubtedly plays a role as well. Whatever the reason, the professionalized movement of today seems to have washed its hands of all radical associations. The cooperative movement of the 1970s and 1980s has given way to an intensely polarized social change arena. All historical linkages to a radical past seem to have vanished from the professionalized narrative.

Erasing Divides

Again, there is no significant amount of claimsmaking in defense of professionalization produced by any group in the study.⁴¹ I have argued that this silence in all likelihood reflects the power of professionalized organizations in the social movement space. It might also speak to the ability of these groups to enjoy the taken for granted appropriateness of non-profit growth, and, likewise, the anemic criticisms levied by radical factions that do not warrant acknowledgement. Although the No Kill faction was not included in the content analysis, PETA does engage some amount of counter-claimsmaking with its positions. This response might be necessitated by the public's preference for life-saving tactics like adoption and an overall recognition of companion animal personhood. In other words, the No Kill movement enjoys more public and political

See Dore, Christine. 2008. "30 Days: The Aftermath." in *PETA's Blog, PETA's Blog*. Norfolk, VA: People for the Ethical Treatment of Animals.

⁴¹ Only 5 of the 2,084 units coded in the study presented a rationale for professionalization.

support. As such, it poses a greater threat to PETA's credibility, thus necessitating some reaction on PETA's part. PETA cannot afford to ignore the highly resonant No Kill position.

While mum is generally the word for professionalized organizations in regard to factionalism, there are other exceptions that mirror PETA's relationship with the No Kill faction. The FARM sample includes several posts that defend its reformist tactics against the criticism of radicals, for instance. This defense was engaged with attempts to incorporate the radical position as congruent with FARM's reformist approach. While radical factions are more likely to clarify the distinctiveness of positions, professionalized groups can wield their power in the social movement space to normalize their position as the umbrella position. In doing so, they can also discredit a stereotyped understanding of radical positions.

In 1996, for example, FARM claims that the movement, "[. . .] enjoys uncommon ideological unanimity on the goal of liberating animals from human exploitation" (Hershaft 1996). FARM also claims the only "substantial controversy" in the movement relates to the killing of healthy but homeless companion animals. Francione's *Rain without Thunder*, however, was published this same year, a book which chronicles the contentious divide between welfare and abolition across the movement at that time. Direct action advocates in the 1990s, too, are quite vocal about the exclusion they are experiencing. When FARM ignores this contention or otherwise implies that it must be unsubstantial in its reference to "uncommon ideological unanimity," this suggests that professionalized organizations might be attempting to delegitimize the concerns of radical factions. In fact, the violent tactics favored by direct action factions are addressed only once in the archival FARM data. This reference exists in an editorial penned by President Alex Hershaft who warns activists that, while civil disobedience is important to any social movement, some violent actions will not work in the movement's favor. The examples

Hershaft provides in support of this argument makes it clear that useful acts of civil disobedience are those associated with professionalized groups, while problematic “violent actions” are those favored by direct action protestors.

In later years, FARM is more willing to acknowledge the existence of controversy in the movement, but it refers to factional schism as a “false dichotomy.” According to FARM, there is no need to choose between “effectiveness and integrity,” because its position includes both a practical reformist element *and* an abolitionist element. In another FARM blog post which cites a speech given by Hershaft regarding the “variety of strategies and tactics in pursuit of this common vision,” competing radical positions are alluded to with claims that FARM seeks “total liberation,” but the world “won’t go vegan overnight,” (a reference to the abolitionist position) and “directly saving animals” (a reference to direct action) is not as effective as the professionalized approach (Webermann 2013). This framing carefully addresses radical critiques by subsuming them under the rhetoric of unity (the “common vision”), while simultaneously positioning FARM’s reformist approach (presumably that which will not happen “overnight” or “directly”) as the most effective.

FARM’s use of “total liberation” language (an appropriation from direct action rhetoric⁴²) subtly attempts to address radical criticisms of professionalized moderation and compromise. Abolitionists tend to be wary of the false dichotomy rhetoric: “[. . .] their hollow calls for ‘unity’ and cohesiveness are nothing more than endorsements of welfare reform and support for ‘happy’ exploitation” (Francione 2012c). The professionalized faction’s strategy of neutralizing criticism under a veil of unity and its ability to avoid directly engaging this criticism

⁴² Direct action leader Steve Best frequently uses this phrase to differentiate the faction. See his infamous manifesto on the importance of direct action activism in the context of a professionalized movement space: Best, Steve. 2009. "Manifesto for Radical Abolitionism: By Any Means." Animal Liberation Front.com.

is another important indication of power in the social movement space. Francione (2012c) charges: “They pretend that it’s all really *one* movement: theirs.”

One response to radicals that the professionalized groups can mobilize is to dilute their criticism by subsuming it within the organization’s own position (differences are merely a “false dichotomy”). Again, the other common response is to simply ignore it. Vegan Outreach, of course, is an exception in this regard. Recall that Vegan Outreach is much more involved in openly dispelling other approaches in an effort to frame its own approach as superior (shunning offensive PETA tactics and denouncing abolitionist vegans as angry and delusional, while positioning itself as stable and sensible, for instance). Factionalism is painted as a waste of resources, and deliberation is thought to be divorced from “real” activism. Vegan Outreach (2011a) scorns those who “[. . .] sit around and debate words and philosophy amongst themselves” instead of doing “[. . .] actual, constructive work [. . .].”

Importantly, “loud” is a pejorative that is noticeably utilized by this organization. Recall earlier examples in Ball’s reference to radicals as “loud, judgmental vegan-police types” (2012c), or the “[. . .] loudest, most outspoken – or obnoxious – person[s]” in the movement (2011a). The language of loudness can describe differing positions that Vegan Outreach understands to be influential without directly acknowledging that they are influential. As a younger organization, Vegan Outreach likely lacks the symbolic capital necessary to completely ignore radical positions (PETA, for instance, does not seem to find abolitionists or direct action activists especially “loud”). The language of loudness thus addresses factionalism in a manner intended to cast competing positions in a bad light. Factionalism is acknowledged but simultaneously dismissed as inconsequential.

It does not appear that erasing differences is a strategy that is available to marginalized factions, either. For that matter, radicals would likely be uninterested in subsuming the reformist approach into their own position, as the impetus for their very manifestation and perpetuation is largely a reaction to the problems they perceive to be associated with moderation. The power to undermine criticism by redefining radical positions as consistent with an organization's existing frame could be said to indicate a considerable amount of strength in the social movement field. It would be strange, indeed, if the Animal Liberation Front were to gloss over significant factional variations in goals and tactics and claim that FARM, PETA, and Vegan Outreach are actually on the same page with the ALF. An organization's ability to center its own frame as the master frame and ignore differences demonstrates both considerable confidence and control over meaning construction. In Chapter 7, it was uncovered that professionalized organizations dedicate very little of their claimsmaking space to addressing factionalism, but significant amounts to promoting reformism (and not abolitionism or direct action). That is, the evidence does not support the "false dichotomy."

A dichotomy is indeed present; it is only that professionalized organizations create an illusion of unity by ignoring factionalism. FARM claims that the abolitionist and reformist divide is a "false dichotomy," because FARM claims to represent both positions simultaneously (Weber 2012). Vegan Outreach (2013d) dismisses factional debate as a waste of time and irrelevant to effective advocacy, while simultaneously engaging these debates to differentiate itself. Vegan Outreach (2013d) also dismisses the presence of opposing positions as insignificant: "The good thing, though, is that today, the 'vegan police' / ingredient- and 'consistency'-obsessed types are an incredibly tiny minority, compared to all the pragmatic activists who are focused on the

animals.” Radical faction activists are fully aware of these characterizations, and are much more cynical in interpreting their purpose:

Criticism of the bloated, ineffective entertainment machine called “the movement,” which is a misnomer because it’s moving nowhere but backward, is not tolerated. It interferes with our desire to believe the corporate welfarists who tell us that we can cure the moral cancer by writing a check, shutting up, sitting down, and watching the show. It’s like someone talking in a movie theater when we are trying to watch and enjoy some mindless movie. It interferes with the entertainment. (Francione 2010b)

Radicals understand factional difference as essential to the development of sound goals and tactics. The professionalized groups, if they acknowledge factionalism at all, view it as either a mere annoyance or a problem to be suppressed within their dominant framework.

Symbol Mining

When contention cannot be quelled, professionalized organizations are not without recourse. Groups can take the false dichotomy argument to the next level and begin to appropriate from radical factions as they gain resonance. The analysis revealed that a number of terms, images, and other symbols were used interchangeably among factions. The power of a given faction will presumably determine the amount of resonance a given symbol will enjoy, and it will also determine how much control a faction will have over the symbol’s meaning and purpose.

Sometimes, a radical faction’s mobilization efforts will succeed and certain symbols will gain resonance with the public and also with the movement. This can prompt the larger, more powerful non-profits to respond by usurping these symbols and manipulating their meaning to suit the professionalized agenda. A number of factional points of contention were identified in the data, and 234 units contained evidence for contestation over a particular symbol (see FIGURE 6). Debate over the meaning of “humane” treatment (47%) and veganism (22%)

dominated the discourse. Both of these variables are strongly associated with professionalism, with most groups moving toward goals of improve humaneness and away from veganism as they professionalize.

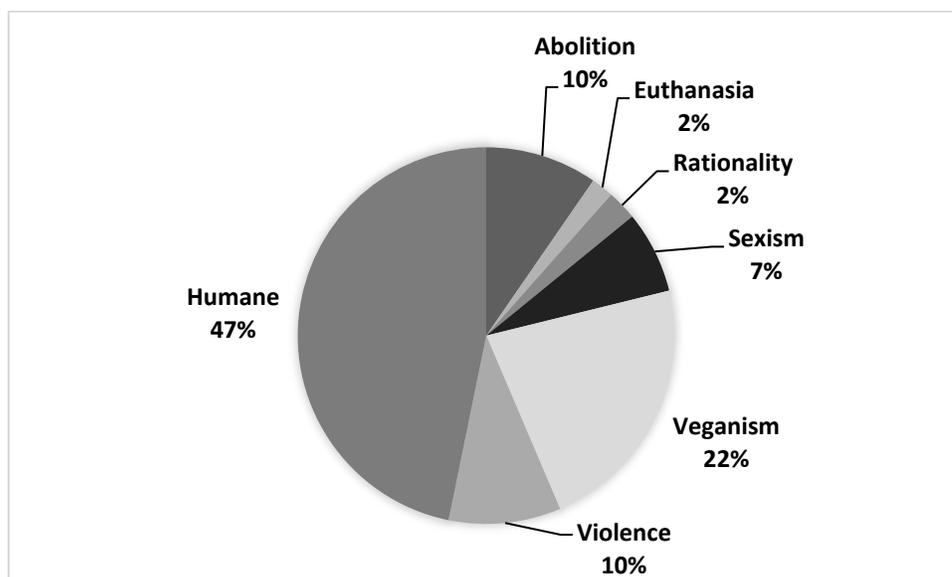


FIGURE 6 Symbols and Issues Debated across Factional Lines

Negotiating with Terrorists

Despite its relative unpopularity in the movement today, the direct action faction has experienced a surprising amount of symbol mining. In an *Animal Liberation Front Supporters Group Newsletter* article titled, “Living without Backstabbing,” *ALFSGN* reports that Animal Aid, a large British charity organization, printed approximately 12,000 copies of their publication *Outrage* which featured information obtained by ALF activists (Stark 1994). By accident, one photograph included an activist wearing a balaclava (a trademark of ALF activism). Animal Aid’s founder Mark Gold subsequently had the magazines destroyed rather than risk a damaging association with ALF. To add insult to injury, Animal Aid was simultaneously reporting that ALF’s tactics were undermining Animal Aid’s effectiveness. ALF’s illegal actions provided the much needed fodder for anti-speciesist claimsmaking and

resource mobilization, but large groups were tempering the material to protect their public image.

As another example of symbol mining that surfaced in the analysis, the ALF also claims to have been exploited by professionalized organizations in mainstream media spaces. One Shoreham Harbour protest campaign against British live export practices that was primarily organized and staffed by ALF activists in the 1990s enjoyed heavy media coverage. Reportedly, Compassion in World Farming (CIWF) had backed out of the campaign, but benefited from the protest nonetheless, experiencing an upsurge of approximately 1,000 new members who were inspired by the activist coverage on mainstream news media (*Animal Liberation Front Supporters Group Newsletter 1994-1995b*). This benefit was not accidental. *ALFSGN* claims that CIWF was, in fact, intentionally claiming credit for the ALF's successful campaigning. In an unrelated incident, *ALFSGN* (1994b) reports that the League Against Cruel Sports, another professionalized group, also interfered with mainstream media coverage, convincing television broadcasters to omit ALF-related rescue work from a news story on Nonhuman Animal rights advocacy.

In these ways, the *ALFSGN* sample suggests that professionalized groups fuel factionalism by distancing themselves from direct action in an attempt to protect themselves from prosecution and negative attention. The direct action faction is fully aware that resources sorely needed for direct action efforts will be much less accessible due to its relative poverty in the professionalized movement arena. Unlike the larger groups, radical work is small scale, "not newsworthy," and "hardly noticed," despite being, in its view, just as valuable and far better aligned with liberationist goals (Chesler 1993-1994). The symbolism of direct action and the

media the ALF was able to garner, however, appears to be appropriated by more powerful groups to their own benefit.

Interestingly, the professionalized samples in this study demonstrated a strong concern with challenging the state sanctioning of Nonhuman Animal rights activists as “terrorists.” I suspect that this could be another instance of symbol mining. This interest in destigmatizing terrorist symbolism would seem to parallel that of direct action activists, but the context of this claimsmaking suggests differing motivations. The direct action activists view themselves as freedom fighters working to create significant economic and psychological damages in order to encourage individuals and businesses to cease their involvement with speciesist industry. Their illegal and violent actions ensure that their behaviors will indeed be interpreted as terrorism in a deeply speciesist society. Direct action activists counter-frame this interpretation in order to justify their position and to trigger a rethinking about the status of Nonhuman Animals and humanity’s responsibility to them.

The professionalized reformist faction, however, is more likely to challenge the issue of state repression through legislative efforts and protest. Their motivation appears to be more a matter of access to speciesist facilities for the purposes of documentation. Some professionalized groups have traditionally engaged open rescues (breaking into facilities to film conditions and rescue especially injured or ailing animals), and all professionalized groups rely on undercover footage of Nonhuman Animal facilities to buttress their campaigns. It is entirely possible that the funding focus of professionalized groups means that counteracting the “terrorist” label is important to maintain legal access to facilities. In a January 22 e-newsletter, FARM’s project coordinator reports that he and other FARM activists had been charged according to new “ag-gag” legislation after attempting to document the transport of pigs to a slaughterhouse. The

announcement first encourages FARM's audience to "spread the word" about the repressive nature of ag-gag laws, and, second, to donate (Monell 2015). Activists already have access to a large amount of footage documenting human violence on other animals, but professionalized groups rely on fresh supplies to motivate activists, engage the public, and entice further resources, especially grants and donations.

The terrorist label is a direct result of the Animal Enterprise Terrorism Act which penalizes any interference with Nonhuman Animal agriculture. It is also heavily related to an upsurge in "ag-gag" bills which make it extremely difficult for activists and whistle-blowers to legally document and report on conditions in Nonhuman Animal agricultural facilities. National non-profits in the post-professionalization sample do not challenge the repression of activists engaging violent behaviors, but focus instead on the repression of peaceful activism, such as demonstrating, leafleting, and participation in online debates (Ortberg 2010b). In one post, FARM rallies for "solidarity" with activists persecuted in other countries, but it also clarifies that the activists in question are not connected with direct action protest (Ortberg 2010d). This indicates that professionalized non-profits are not necessarily seeking to undermine the conceptualization of Nonhuman Animal advocates as "terrorists" or "extremists," nor are they seeking to achieve movement unity. Perhaps they are instead seeking to protect their own privilege to continue their reformist operations by resisting government restrictions on Nonhuman Animal charity work and distancing themselves from the direct action faction. Direct action activists, on the other hand, lacking the resources available to professionalized organizations to combat this problematic legislation themselves, try to put a positive spin on state repression as a source of recruitment: "[. . .] LEGAL activists are being increasingly driven into clandestine and anonymous actions, morally justified but illegal actions which are rarely

punished” (North American Animal Liberation Press Office 2009b). Professionalized organizations therefore mine the symbolism of direct action thus identified as terrorism by the state to their benefit, reframing the repression of direct action as a repression on reformism.

In a safer context, professionalized groups may mine direct action symbolism more obviously. The FARM sample also demonstrates some reinterpretation of direct action rhetoric through the promotion of their “Underground Liberation Team.” The term “underground liberation” harkens on two primary characteristics of direct action favored by groups like ALF: clandestine activism and the prioritization of freedom over reform. Direct action activists more often frame their work in terms of “liberation” rather than of “rights,” as liberation is thought to be more relevant to the immediate interest of other animals. FARM absorbs the potentially threatening radical position of direct action by drawing on that faction’s symbols to describe the professionalized, reformist approach:

By joining the Liberation Team, you will be able to get **free materials** for all campaigns and **receive action alerts** for tabling at shows, **tips** on veganizing your cafeteria, and getting people to live vegan for at least one day a week. Making the switch to veganism is imperative. From there, it is essential that we stay on top of new information, incorporate it into projects in class or at our jobs, and get active! (Ortberg 2010c)

In a possible attempt to draw in activists who might be attracted to direct action claimsmaking, FARM tempers the radical position by conforming new “team members” to the professionalized approach. Hardly “underground,” the professionalized co-optation of direct action advocacy encourages visibility through incorporation into its aboveground networks and also by directing advocates to engage the public, classmates, and workmates. The defining features of the direct action approach, however, include strict rules regarding secrecy and the use of violent or illegal actions. FARM’s Underground Liberation Team pulls on these characteristics to neutralize this

faction's potential to compete. In doing so, it is able to absorb movement diversity in a way that protects the hegemony of professionalization.



FIGURE 7 FARM “Underground Liberation Team” Banner

The image corresponding with FARM’s announcement for this campaign’s launch speaks to this co-optation as well (FIGURE 7). The image reads, “Join the FARM underground liberation team,” and the two variations of typeface used mimic that of militant correspondences and grassroots publications produced on home typewriters. This, too, pulls on the underground and militant nature of the direct action faction. On the left side of the image, there is a man in a black hoodie with dark sunglasses yelling into a megaphone, harkening on the stereotypical image of direct action activists who tend to be male and often dress in a black hoodie or balaclava to obscure their identity (other direct action groups like DXE regularly use megaphones in their street protest). On the right, however, a conventionally dressed woman is depicted holding a petition clipboard and distributing vegan literature. Professionalized activism and direct action activism are thus presented as one in the same. This image presents the professionalized FARM approach as one that encompasses the symbols of direct action.

By moderating the position and image of the direct action faction, the professionalized faction stands to gain by pulling more resources toward its moderate stance. Recall that radical factions of the civil rights movement represented by groups such as the Black Panthers actually

increased resources presented to the moderate groups. This was thought to have occurred because moderate groups appeared far less threatening to the white supremacist social structure, and supporting them meant that the effects of radical mobilization could be tempered. In a similar fashion, professionalized groups like FARM may be hoping to present themselves as the more sensible choice, and supporters may be more willing to grant it resources based on the widespread fear of direct action violence. Alternatively, by weakening the stance of the direct action faction, professionalized groups create a less threatening image of the movement in general, which will also be important when seeking resources. Finally, the professionalized groups can use this tempered imagery to attract activists who might otherwise align with competing factions. All of these processes drain what little power radicals make have fostered for themselves through compelling claimsmaking that resonates with those frustrated with the slow progress of social change.

Everyone's an Abolitionist

The growing presence of abolitionism in the modern Nonhuman Animal rights movement predicts that abolitionism will also be a symbol ripe for the picking. All three factions included in this study regularly refer to their approach as “abolitionist.” Of course, the abolitionist faction, having adopted abolitionist symbolism as a primary identifier, utilizes it much more heavily and spends much more effort working to define and defend it:

If you say that you are an “abolitionist” but support welfare reform as a means to abolition, you are using “abolition” in a fundamentally different way from the way in which I use that term. I use that term to identify a position that *excludes* regulation/welfare reform. (Francione 2013)

Both radical factions included in this study insist that no organization can be understood as abolitionist so long as it allows for continued speciesism through reforms or reductionist diets.

Abolitionists understand abolitionism to be a position that is non-violent, non-reformist, and pro-vegan, while direct action activists understand it as a non-reformist, pro-vegan position that is inclusive of direct liberation efforts. Based on this tactical difference, the term “abolitionist” is often used interchangeably with “liberation activist” by direct action affiliates. Professionalized groups, on the other hand, understand abolitionism as an incremental approach that necessitates reforms and single-issue campaigning. PETA’s president Ingrid Newkirk (2010) explains this logic: “[. . .] giving a little comfort and relief to animals who will be in those cages their whole lives is worth fighting for, even as some of us are demanding that those cages be emptied.” In other words, professionalized groups frame abolition as a goal, but one that must be achieved through more “practical” reformist measures.

Professionalized organizations regularly pull on abolitionist symbolism in this way to either conceal or justify moderation and reform. This perhaps intentional dilution inspires considerable abolitionist counter-claimsmaking. Referencing the anti-slavery abolitionist movement as a metaphor, reformist organization Vegan Outreach explains that the abolitionist faction’s goal purity is “[. . .] justified and righteous, and on the losing side [. . .],” while Vegan Outreach’s “abolitionist” approach favors: “[. . .] possible progress over personal purity, incremental advance over impotent anger” (Ball 2013c). Reform, in other words, is positioned as a practical variant of abolitionism. Francione (2012a) disagrees, insisting that the two positions are not aligned with the same goal:

It would have been absurd in the 19th century to claim that there was no difference between those who opposed slavery and those who favored its regulation. It is absurd now to claim that there is no difference between those who propose veganism as a clear, unequivocal moral baseline and those who promote the “humane” regulation of animal exploitation and “compassionate” consumption [. . .].

Indeed, many of these very same tactical and ideological differences over abolitionism also manifested within the anti-slavery movement of the United States and Great Britain two centuries ago. Abolitionist symbol contestation is not especially a new to social movements. Professionalization, however, and the subsequent dash for cash means that organizations of today now understand these definitions within the framework of profitability. Vegan Outreach regularly promotes this “incremental advance” because it can be framed as positive progress. The vegan educational approach utilized by the abolitionist faction has much more difficulty achieving this because, despite being framed as an “overnight” plan by professionalized organizations, it actually relies on a long-term strategy. Welfare reform, on the other hand, banks on fast turnover. Vegan Outreach views the desire for slowly-achieved radical societal transformation as a detriment to fundraising: [. . .] people like to back an immediate winner [. . .] (Ball 2013e); “Pragmatism pays” (Vegan Outreach 2011a).

In one FARM publication, Hershaft actually draws on the language of the abolitionist faction to frame his organization as a representative of the abolitionist approach (Felsing 2011). While outlining several criticisms of welfare reform associated with other professionalized organizations as is characteristic of the abolitionist faction’s behavior, his essay also promotes vegetarianism and other forms of reductionism as consistent with a vegan goal. It supports a number of other tactics that are familiar to the professionalized, reformist approach as well. A rose by any other name is still a rose, but FARM symbol mining does not go unnoticed.

Go Vegan Radio is sharply critical of FARM’s inability to hold abolitionist principles consistent, specifically in relation to FARM’s Animal Rights National Conference that invites representatives of non-vegan groups like HSUS which promote speciesist industries:

FARM still cannot distinguish animal killers from animal advocates even when a group like HSUS recently honored Burger King with its highest award, had its associated

personnel join a Tyson ‘foods’ animal well-being scam, and gleefully hosted a ‘best butchers’ festival. [. . .] Alex Hershaft, wherever you are, whoever removed your or replaced your brain and heart, please come back and accept your moral responsibility to reject animal-killing butchers from the ‘AR’ [animal rights] movement instead of embracing them.” (Linden 2013a)

Thus, while FARM maintains many reformist attributes, it simultaneously claims an abolitionist identity. This has clearly aggravated the factional divide between professionalized organizations and abolitionists, but it also demonstrates that the radical claimsmaking *is* having some impact, if only to be absorbed and reconstructed.

What’s a Vegan?

As demonstrated in FIGURE 6, veganism is a symbol that endures a significant amount of debate among the various factions. This contention is likely aggravated by the increased presence of the abolitionists. Veganism is a politicized concept, and is thus inconsistently utilized across the movement. Vegan Outreach is locked into a vegan identity as a result of the title it crafted and copyrighted in years prior, but, following professionalization, Vegan Outreach (2012a) regularly works to dilute its meaning. Actual vegan outreach (as opposed to the non-vegan reductionist approach that Vegan Outreach defends) is framed as, “[. . .] the glorification of a certain diet [. . .] to make some people [activists] feel better about themselves [. . .].”

Submerging vegan advocacy within flexitarian or reductionist rhetoric tempers it. One unit in *The Abolitionist Approach* sample acknowledges this difference in conceptualization, and identifies it as part of the movement’s reformist direction. Professionalized groups, Francione (2010c) suggests, “[. . .] maintain that we may have a moral obligation *not* to be vegan in situations in which others will be annoyed or disconcerted by insistence on veganism.” While Francione does not specify that the co-optation or rejection of veganism is a direct result of

professionalization, he does insist that this framework protects speciesism: “Veganism is not just a way of reducing suffering; it is what justice for nonhumans requires at the very least.”

Professionalized groups suggest that one can continue to consume the bodies, products, and labor of other animals and simply support Nonhuman Animal liberation in other ways (like petition signing, flexitarianism, or donating). Radical factions most often take the opposite route by framing veganism as foundational to anti-speciesism work. Abolitionists are quite clear that veganism is nonnegotiable. For Francione (2010a), the *first* step in “effective animal rights advocacy” is to “go vegan.” Direct action activists build on this foundation, with many units in the sample insisting that veganism is not enough. Marino (2009c) writes:

[. . .] adopting this philosophy [veganism] is the absolute least that each one of us can do to address a violent culture. It is incumbent on vegans to speak out and challenge the institutions and behaviors that necessitate animal exploitation. [. . .] While some animal advocates adopt an attitude of tolerance, no one should be deluded about the fact that this position aligns the advocate with the perpetrators.”

This is a far cry from the professionalized position that veganism is optimal but optional. Direct action activists insist that veganism is important, but clarify that it should only be a springboard for additional commitments. An activist who had been jailed for destroying a canine “breeding” facility explains in an interview with *Negotiation is Over* (2013a):

Eating is not a form of activism. Veganism is merely the abstinence from cruelty to animals, it is not in and of itself doing *anything* to combat the horrific, widespread and systemic exploitation of nonhuman animals. [. . .] we need to mitigate this mass slaughter as much as we possibly can, by taking direct action to save the lives of animals, taking to the streets, forming a social resistance against this global holocaust.

Promoting vegan food and cooking is a popular tactic for aboveground activists; both abolitionist and professionalized reformist groups prioritize this approach. For activists who seek to influence more immediate change, however, culinary activism is often targeted as pacifist or

non-action. Specifically targeting vegan cupcakes (a popular symbol of vegan education), 269life founder Sasha Boojor reports to NIO (2013b):

For some reason, most vegans believe that somehow the mere fact that they are vegans is protest enough and feel justified with being passive bystanders. Baking vegan cupcakes should be outlawed... [. . .] the scene is growing and its [sic] much easier for us, but meanwhile the willingness to actually act, when it is so desperately needed, is reduced.”

The direct action faction tends to insist that vegans must be politically engaged and active in their advocacy. Sometimes this conceptualization of political veganism is thought to entail violent or illegal actions to demonstrate commitment and authenticity.

Struggling Over Violence

Likewise, non-violence is also a highly contested symbol in the analysis, with all factions having a different understanding of its meaning and purpose. Interestingly, all three pulled on the ideology of Martin Luther King Jr. to frame its position, even the direct action activists. Indeed, all regularly compare their participants to civil rights activists of the 1960s. They also frame the history of the civil rights movement in such a way as to legitimate particular tactics of choice.

Direct action adherents are frequently critical of non-violence, which they tend to refer to as “pacifism.” Liberation is generally framed as the most effective strategy, but direct action activists perceive it as mistakenly dismissed by other factions. For that matter, non-violent factions are portrayed as less committed:

[. . .] we have taken to the streets to realize the dream of so many lukewarm veg(etari)ans who chant, shout, sing and whine for Animal Liberation at concerts, in front of a computer, looking at photographs of tortured and dying animals, at peaceful demonstrations, among other events and places far removed from the breeders, laboratories, the dog pounds, the ‘pet’ stores, the farms, etc. where the animals are truly hoping that you will shake your fear, your defeatist attitude and that you will decide once and for all to begin to realize your dream, your yearning, your desire for Animal Liberation. (North American Animal Liberation Press Office 2009a)

Abolitionists tend to take a much stricter stance against violence of any kind, preferring peaceful educational efforts. *The Abolitionist Approach*, for instance, explicitly rejects the notion that vegan education is too passive, countering that education as a tactic is the most effective means of achieving cultural change (Francione 2008).

Pulling from the Grassroots

A final symbol that is appropriated to suit professionalized interests is one that intentionally obscures that bureaucracy. FARM,⁴³ PETA, and Vegan Outreach⁴⁴ refer to their work as “grassroots,” despite their professionalized status, national jurisdiction, access to millions of dollars (TABLE 4), and, in FARM’s case, command over the largest and most influential annual Nonhuman Animal rights conference. By way of example, a story in *Animal Times* introduces readers to the PETA (1995b) “Grassroots Gang,” although the staff referenced are salaried at the newly centralized organizational headquarters in Norfolk, Virginia and PETA was at the time was already laying claim to several hundred thousand paying members. It appears that grassroots rhetoric is used to reframe the very characteristics about the organizations that identify them as professionalized. “Grassroots” is seen as a positive identity, and it is one variable that could work in the favor of radical factions. However, when professionalized organizations mine this grassroots symbolism, it could dilute the meaning or rob radical groups of this important advantage.

⁴³ FARM describes itself in a statement of purpose as “[. . .] a national nonprofit organization promoting a vegan lifestyle through public education and grassroots activism to end the use of animals for food.” See Ortberg, Adam. 2010a. “FARM Holds Demonstration at Industry Front Group Conference.” in *FARM Blog*, *FARM Blog*. Bethesda, MD: Farm Animal Rights Movement.

⁴⁴ Vegan Outreach refers to itself as grassroots in internship vacancy announcements. In a book review of Gene Baur’s (2008) *Farm Sanctuary: Changing Hearts and Minds about Animals and Food*, Matt Ball frames both Farm Sanctuary (another large, professionalized non-profit) and Vegan Outreach as grassroots endeavors. See Ball, Matt. 2008. “The Vital Importance of Grassroots Animal Advocacy.” in *Special Enews*, *Vegan Outreach*. Davis, CA: Vegan Outreach.

This suspect authenticity should not imply that professionalized groups are divorced from grassroots efforts. FARM, Vegan Outreach, and other major non-profits support smaller groups with supplies, networks, and support. One volunteer explains to *Voices of Compassion*:

COK has developed an infrastructure that not only is responsive but also gives me the tools I need to succeed on projects. Whether it be presentations, restaurant outreach, leafleting, tabling, or linking me up with other activists, I feel much more comfortable asking COK for advice, resources, etc. That has helped me make the biggest difference for the animals. (Leahy 2011b)

While explicit acknowledgement of how bureaucracy might be an advantage to advocacy is rare in the sample, non-profits are sometimes referenced as an efficient coordinator of resources and networking. Professionalized organizations may use this relationship as a bargaining point. For instance, FARM insists in an essay titled, “12 Ways You Can Help the Animals,” that the number one way to help Nonhuman Animals is the “direct support” of non-profits like itself: “As animal advocacy nonprofits are in the direct business of helping animals, *supporting these organizations* (financially and/or as a volunteer) is always an effective way of benefiting the animals” (Saadi 2010).

Professionalized patronage comes at a price. Supplies (like signs and pamphlets) are, as a rule, emblazoned with the professionalized organization’s logo, branded identity, and contact information. Support from professionalized organizations also entails a certain amount of control over the claimmaking of smaller groups. Grassroots support is an important form of advertisement for professionalized groups. The immense power they wield in the social movement space means that small groups tend to admire them and actively seek out mentorship. In a more recent essay not included in the sample, FARM explains its deliberate influence over grassroots groups and the eagerness with which locally-based activists seek this mentorship in an aptly titled essay, “Building the Next Generation of Animal Rights Leaders!”:

CAN [Campus Activist Network] coordinators join a community of like-minded individuals to share advice and bolster their outreach efforts. A new CAN logo [. . .] offers a fresh and modern look for the activists we are reaching – in the last year the network has doubled in size! With nearly 900 organizers in the U.S. alone, and 10 – 20 new applications a week, our community is rapidly increasing. Active coordinators are rewarded with gift cards to popular vegan businesses, tools to enhance their activism, or cash for their campus organization. (Farm Animal Rights Movement 2015b: 16)

It is telling that FARM describes this networking as a means of “building the next generation.”

Its relationship with grassroots groups is more than a matter of good will and solidarity. It also helps to solidify professionalized control over the social movement space by shaping the activist imagination. Professionalized support of grassroots groups is ultimately a paternalistic relationship; it promotes the taken for granted appropriateness of the reformist position. This tactic likely dampens the potential for radicalism to develop as well, an important advantage as radicalism is more likely to manifest within grassroots spaces.

The Animal Rights National Conference

Controlled networking is highly beneficial to the professionalized faction. Infiltrating grassroots groups and beguiling college students with gift cards are routine mechanisms for protecting resources, but hosting intermittent, high-intensity events can have an even stronger impact on the activist imagination. Movement conferences are regularly organized to build community, support activists, and share news and developments. Unfortunately for resource-hungry radical factions, it can be difficult to gain admission to these critical events.

It is typical for conferences discussed in the sample to be advertised as inclusive and representative. Conferences, however, appear to be hotspots of contention among competing factions. When radical factions find difficulty participating, these instances can provide invaluable evidence to power dynamics within the movement. Recall that FARM’s annual conference created some controversy when abolitionists were made unwelcome in 2012, leading

abolitionists to unsuccessfully attempt to organize a separate but concurrent event in the same hotel. As the content analysis reveals, this incident is not isolated. Conferences have been sites of factional maintenance for several decades.

In the 1990s, direct action activists in the United Kingdom were reporting exclusion from events hosted by large organizations as a result of the movement's increasing distaste for violent and illegal activism. This exclusion was achieved through expensive registration and booth space fees that could not be afforded by marginalized groups with scant resources. Exclusion was also achieved by simply ignoring their requests to participate. *ALFSGN* reports:

Every year there is a march in London to highlight the plight of laboratory animals organized by the National Anti Vivisection Society (NAVS). NAVS also holds an exhibition over the same period to publicize ant-vivisection campaigns and a cruelty free lifestyle. But a number of groups who campaign on many issues relating to animal liberation, animal rights and animal welfare are unable to take part in the NAVS event due to cost or radical political views. (World Day for Animals Committee 1994-1995)

Understandably, marginalized groups often respond by organizing their own events to compensate for this loss. ALFSG took such a route, advertising the alternate gathering in its newsletter:

This fair has been organized to enable the less well-off groups to inform the public of their work and to raise funds for their campaigns. The organisers of this fair have provided stall space to very different organisations: from sanctuaries to rescue organisations, national single-issue campaigns to a coalition of local animal rights groups, from mainstream and strictly legal lobbying groups to the ALF Supporters Group. (World Day for Animals Committee 1994-1995)

Exclusionary practices in conference organization indicate the presence of factionalism, but they can also aggravate factionalism because conferences are spaces where power is made, protected, and grown. Radical groups are aware that inclusion in major movement events is important for gaining new members, earning revenue from merchandise sales, garnering support for their

campaigns, and meeting with their members in order to maintain a democratic management structure (Animal Liberation Front Supporters Group Newsletter 1994a).

FARM occasionally states that its conference events are open to all positions (meaning those of competing factions). However, as is true of any event that has a well-known history of excluding minority positions, a simple statement of inclusion will not generally suffice to attract and secure diversity of participation and attendance. Boundaries, once constructed, can continue to influence social interactions even if no longer explicitly maintained (Tilly 2004). Following the 2012 ARNC gaffe, Francione was allowed to present in 2013. At least from the abolitionist perspective, he did not disappoint. The commotion and disruption resulting from his debate with Bruce Friedrich of professionalized organization Farm Sanctuary and his polemic plenary speech on the soured politics of the movement reportedly led many reformist organizations to put pressure on FARM to prevent a repeat performance. Both Francione and Linden claim to have been strongly discouraged from participating in FARM's future conferences as a result of "disapproval by those co-opted groups in attendance" (meaning the large, professionalized non-profits) (Linden 2013e).

The No Kill faction, too, finds inclusion in the Animal Rights National Conference difficult. Nathan Winograd, one of the faction's most vocal spokespersons, reports that FARM's last minute tampering with his participation agreements was a not-so-subtle attempt to discourage his appearance. Specifically, he accuses the organization of cutting into his speaking time and replacing his originally scheduled adoption workshop with a debate against a proponent of "euthanasia." The newly instilled debate, however, put Winograd at an obvious disadvantage, as the disparagement of other positions is prohibited.

Indeed, FARM has a strict policy against criticism that has structured ARNC from the beginning. In a 1997 announcement for the upcoming ARNC, for instance, FARM states that it will bias emerging leaders when selecting speakers, and it will not allow those who are critical of the movement or organizations to participate (Hershaft 1997). This guideline can only be understood as an intentional silencing of dissent and factionalism. It is also intended to control radicals, as radicals tend to emerge in reaction to the perceived shortcomings of a moderate approach. Counter-claimsmaking dominates their operations as a result. A ban on criticism is effectively a ban on radicals. Inevitably, professionalized organizations and their moderate ideologies predominate ARNC events. Like the abolitionists, Winograd (2014) expresses disdain with the large platform given to professionalized organizations that undermine Nonhuman Animal interests:

It allows them to speak, provides them political cover, highlights them, inducts them into its hall of fame, and prohibits other speakers from criticizing them. Far from advancing the rights of companion animals, FARM is helping ensure their continued slaughter.

The absence of radicals at these events not only disadvantages the marginalized factions that are denied access to important networking opportunities, but it also contributes to their invisibility and the professionalized organization's claimsmaking hegemony. In Winograd's case, the restrictions and stipulations attached to his invitation to participate proved to be too much, and withdrew from the conference.

For direct action activists, not much has changed since the 1990s. They, too, face difficulties with inclusion in these more recent events. In one unit in the NAALPO sample, a contributor promotes a number of upcoming conferences that are, "[. . .] worth noting for their willingness to represent the diversity of tactics employed in the animal liberation movement [. . .

]” (Young 2010). Presumably, its militant approach is not often welcome in the claimsmaking space, although FARM’s annual conference is included in the list.

The direct action faction also engages its own boundary maintenance in retaliation. While the *ALFSGN* promoted its alternative event in 1994/1995 as open to all, the Institute of Critical Animal Studies, an academic-activist collective founded by ALF leaders Steve Best and Anthony Nocella, states in its conference organizing guidelines: “No presenter is invited if that person has made negative comments about ICAS or CAS” (The Institute for Critical Animal Studies 2013: 1). Because the institute lists support for economic sabotage as a principle of ICAS, and “All conferences, presenters, and organizers must hold to the Ten Principles of ICAS,” abolitionists and many representatives from professionalized organizations are subsequently barred from participation. While the ICAS may have relatively little power and presence in the movement compared to FARM and other event-hosting organizations, its academic leanings do provide some legitimacy, networking, and resources that can help direct action activists overcome the costs of exclusion from mainstream spaces.

In spite of these admirable attempts to create alternative networking events, the data shows that radical factions spend less of their claimsmaking space promoting events or reporting on events than professionalized organizations (FIGURE 5). This probably results from a lack of resources necessary to organize events and also their relative powerlessness in the movement. Again, exclusion from events can be costly for radical factions, while inclusion can be quite lucrative for professionalized organizations. A sizable portion of FARM’s annual revenue derives from the ARNC. Sponsorship fees range between \$2,500 and \$7,500, and offer the sponsor deep access to conference goers with many opportunities to advertise its organization or business (Farm Animal Rights Movement 2015c). FARM frames sponsorship as a way to: “[. . .

] increase your visibility within the movement!” The more money paid, the more space it can usurp in the conference. This includes the number of speakers and exhibition tables allowed. In this social movement, it pays to be wealthy.

This chapter has presented a number of ways in which professionalized organizations manipulate the social movement arena to protect and grow their power. While these mechanisms make mobilization difficult for radical factions, they are still able to muster enough resources to maintain a presence, marginalized as it may be. The following chapter will examine the experiences of radical factions, presenting a number of adaptations they favor, as well as a number of challenges they seem to bring upon themselves.

As will be explained, factionalism might make mobilization markedly more difficult for a radical contender, particularly when the moderate professionalized faction intentionally seeks to silence it. Even so, a number of radical strategies have been developed that have successfully sustained movement diversity. Some of these strategies, such as fundraising, non-profitization, and the active exclusion of other marginalized groups, actually mimic those that have been identified as problematic when wielded by professionalized organizations. This behavior suggests that there may be more overlap between competing factions than is commonly recognized in the movement habitus.

CHAPTER NINE | RADICAL FACTIONS AND BOUNDARY MAINTENANCE FOLLOWING PROFESSIONALIZATION

A result of their marginalization in the movement, or perhaps in spite of it, radical factions have a much different agenda than professionalized organizations. The analysis indicates that radical organizations (*The Abolitionist Approach*, Go Vegan Radio, NAALP, and NIO) are much less diverse in claimsmaking than their professionalized counterparts (FIGURE 8). The direct action groups were heavily concerned with generating calls to action, a finding that corresponds with their tactical emphasis. This faction also dedicates a good deal of space to reporting on past events (primarily instances of direct action). The abolitionist groups utilize most of their claimsmaking space to discuss topics, and usually these topics relate to counter-framing speciesism or counter-framing professionalized claimsmaking. Direct action groups are immersed in this counter-claimsmaking as well. The reformist leanings of the large non-profits is a huge source of contention among many grassroots activists. In personal correspondence, Linden (2014) explains, “I cannot consider myself part of a movement where one cannot distinguish between animal killers and animal advocates.”

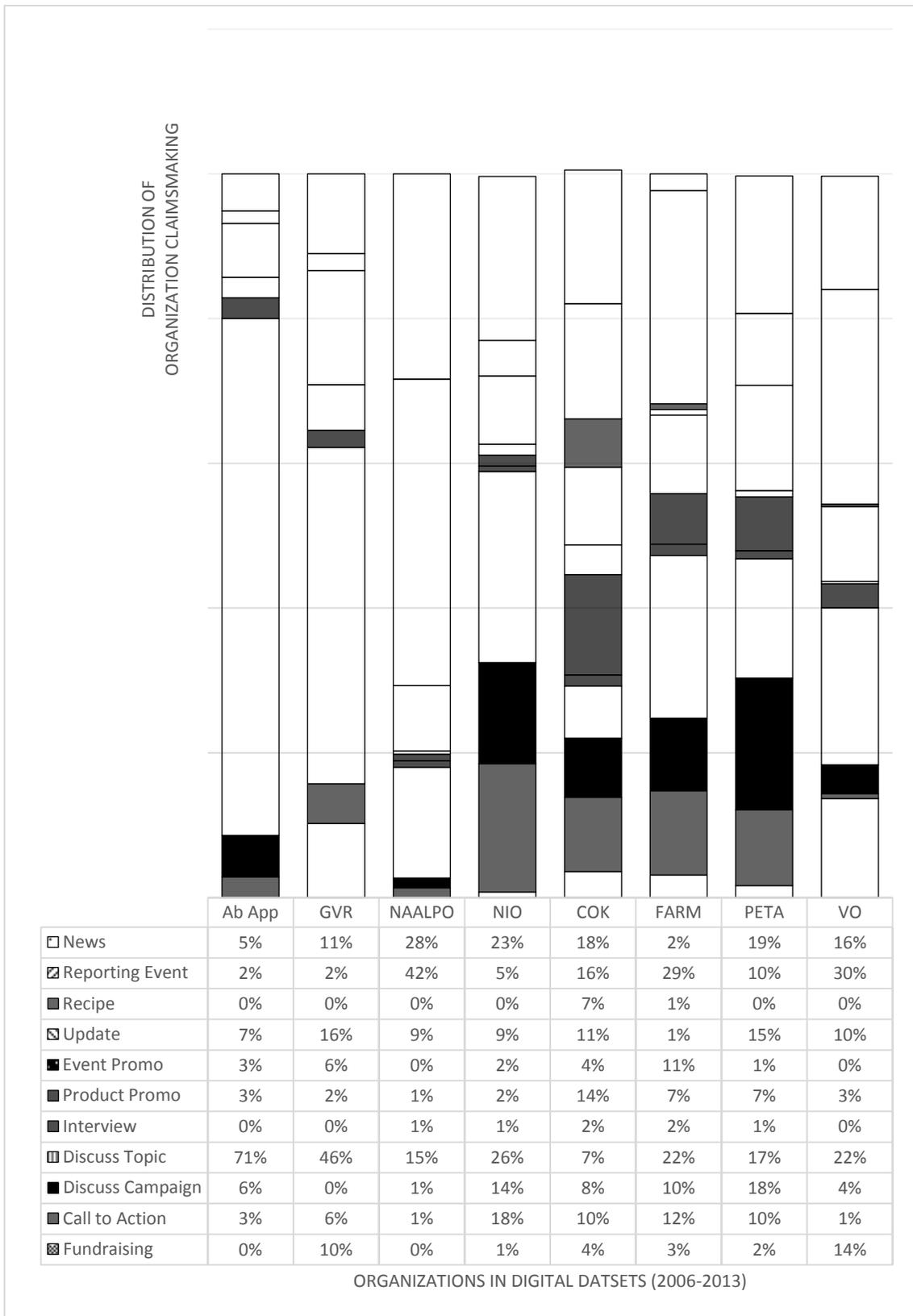


FIGURE 8 Distribution of Claimsmaking in Blog Sample

There may be some truth to Linden’s criticism. The digital dataset demonstrates that, while Nonhuman Animals remain a primary focus of all the organizations featured in the study, a number of other themes compete with speciesism in professionalized claimsmaking (FIGURE 9). For professionalized organizations, intersectionality in general and health in particular, become sizable points of focus. However, the radical groups also devote considerable attention to other issues, albeit less noticeably than their professionalized counterparts. This is primarily explained by the direct action’s focus on the civil rights of activists, and, in the case of Go Vegan Radio, regular commentary on political issues unrelated to Nonhuman Animal rights activism. As previously discussed, I suspect that the increased diversity of claimsmaking following professionalization results from an organization’s reliance on fundraising and its need to resonate with a larger audience and create a narrative of greater impact to grant providers.

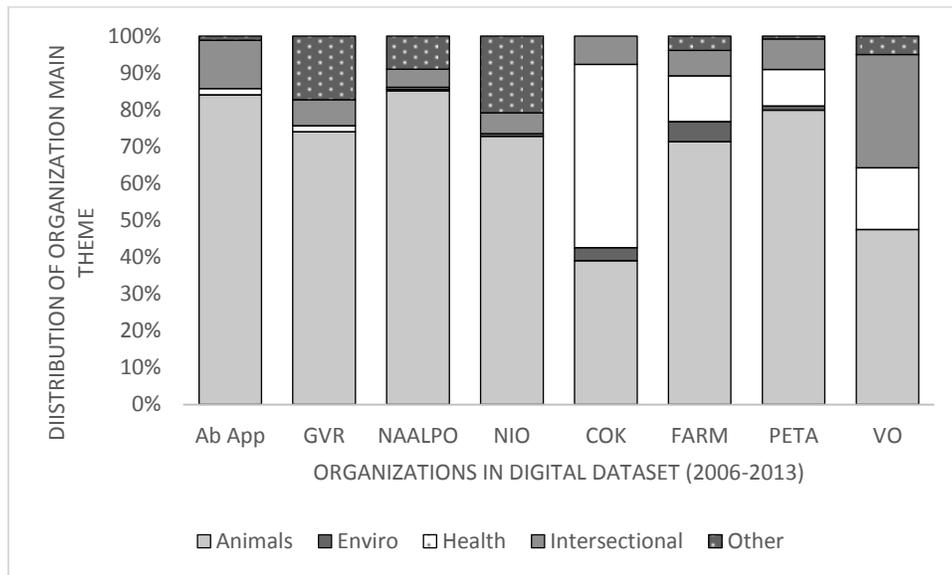


FIGURE 9 Central Focus of Claimsmaking in Blogs across Factions

When comparing archival data and digital data associated with professionalized groups (FIGURE 10), it does appear that professionalization is having an impact on claimsmaking. Once a group begins to professionalize, its claimsmaking demonstrates greater diversity. The

transformation for Compassion Over Killing and Vegan Outreach are particularly remarkable. As grassroots organizations, the two almost exclusively catered to Nonhuman Animal topics. As they professionalized, a number of other interests would also be represented. FARM appears to have taken the opposite route, with a larger percentage of claimsmaking efforts directed at Nonhuman Animal issues. Interestingly, at some point in the 2000s, FARM changed its working title from Farm Animal *Reform* Movement to Farm Animal *Rights* Movement. FARM is the oldest organization in this sample, and thus has had greater opportunity for evolution. I also suspect that this rise in speciesism claimsmaking may be at least a partial result of increased abolitionist activity which also became an influential force on the movement in the 2000s.

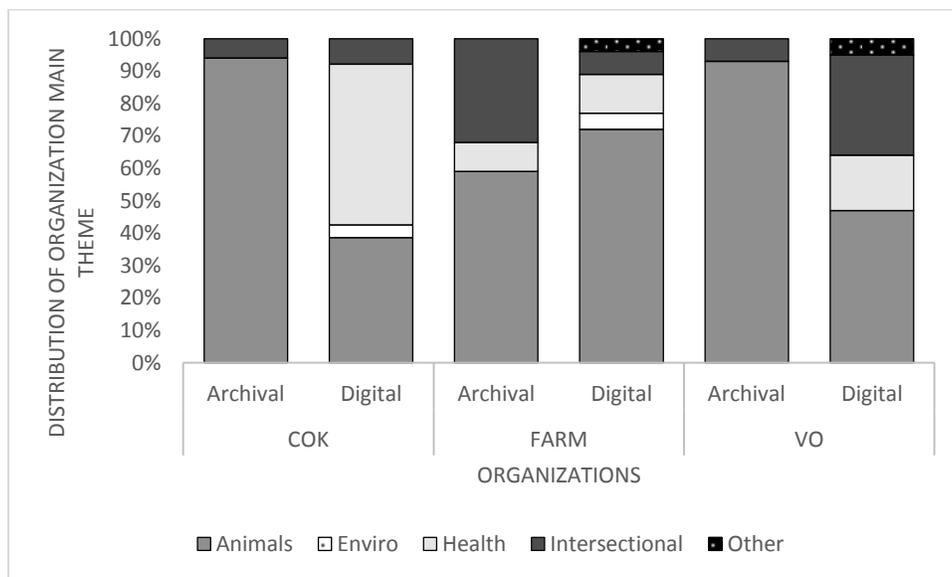


FIGURE 10 Central Focus of Professionalized Claimsmaking Over Time⁴⁵

These results indicate that professionalization is likely having some influence on organizations. If an organization seeks this route, a number of changes in goals and tactics take place. However, many groups have no interest in professionalization. Recall that many radical groups have expressed suspicion and disgruntlement with the effects of professionalization. The

⁴⁵ These three organizations are included for comparison because the archival data is much more inclusive. PETA is excluded because the archival data available for this organization is primarily a result of nonprobability sampling and is therefore not reliably representative. Vegan Outreach is included, but the archival sample size is very small (only three newsletters were available.)

abolitionist non-profit International Vegan Association, formerly the Boston Vegan Association, explicitly rejects professionalization as incompatible with radical politics:

[. . .] the cornerstone of abolitionist advocacy requires no infrastructure at all—it requires only a willingness to read, think, and then head out into the world and talk to others about veganism and animal use. It is uncommon that individuals working as a formal group are able to accomplish so much under the banner of an organization that they offset the administrative and practical burdens of group-running.

This is a serious problem, but it is only the tip of the iceberg. Organizing and maintaining an advocacy organization is not only inefficient, but often downright harmful. (International Vegan Association 2014: 1)

Nonetheless, there was very little evidence associated with the grassroots groups in the analysis that might demonstrate an explicit desire to remain grassroots.⁴⁶ It is possible that direct action or abolitionist activists might understand professionalization and effectiveness to be congruent characteristics under careful management. For instance, The Advocacy of Veganism Society (or TAVS, formerly The Abolitionist Vegan Society), an abolitionist grassroots organization that was founded in 2013 and now enjoys non-profit status, attempts to balance organizational growth with a strict anti-speciesist position and educational tactics. While the organization does accept donations, it ensures donors that all monies are applied to funding abolitionist work (FIGURE 11).

⁴⁶ Only six units from the entire sample specifically addressed the rationale for remaining grassroots.

What organization will *you* support?

With The Abolitionist Vegan Society, what you have is an animal organization that has never and will never sell out animal interests. An animal organization that has a mission that is straightforward. An animal organization where the net proceeds go to promoting abolitionist veganism (not to paying the Founder/Executive Director, employee wages, or rent) (and not to promoting a watered-down donation-generating version of animal "rights"). An animal organization that refuses, under any circumstance, to compromise the moral baseline of veganism. An animal organization that refuses to use sexist, racist, or other discriminatory tactics to attempt to advance animal rights. An animal organization that knows violence is the problem (not the solution).

Go vegan. Educate others. Adopt/foster.
© 2013 The Abolitionist Vegan Society



FIGURE 11 The Abolitionist Vegan Society Fundraising Poster

Regardless of any deliberate choices a radical group may or may not make as it designs its future trajectory, it is evident that the ideology of professionalization is impacting radical claimsmaking and behavior. This chapter will specifically address the activities of the direct action and abolitionist factions with a focus on how professionalization and factionalism intersect to influence their framing activities and boundary maintenance.

Violent Opposition

While the direct action activists began to lose favor in the wake of professionalization, their presence in the movement and their influence on countermovements continues despite a sharp decrease in support and resources previously provided by many aboveground

organizations. The activities of this faction are extremely informative to this study specifically due to its longevity and persistence. Both prior to and following professionalization, direct action collectives have observed the state of the movement, providing insight and criticisms that are generally withheld from the public claimsmaking of professional groups. The *Animal Liberation Front Supporter Group Newsletter* sampled in this study, for instance, appears to have held two major objectives: highlighting ALF activities and monitoring the professionalized movement. Indeed, *ALFSGN* published a regular column known as “National Watch” which cast a critical eye on competing organizations.

According to archival data, the ALF appears to have had a contentious relationship with a number of large British charities including BUAV, CIWF, LACS, and NAVS. The moderation of goals and a growing partnership with speciesist institutions are identified as particularly problematic trends (Animal Liberation Front Supporters Group Newsletter 1995; ZOL 1994). While the ALF also targets vivisection, “fur” production, and “hunting,” it seems that some of the larger organizations in the United Kingdom regularly excluded the ALF from activist spaces due to discomforts with its tactical style. In the 1990s, the ALF was commending PETA for its steadfast support of imprisoned activists, suggesting that BUAV and NAVS would benefit the movement in following suit (Animal Liberation Front Supporters Group Newsletter 1994-1995a).

As indicated by PETA’s position, the professionalized movement’s declining support for direct action was not evenly experienced. BUAV’s trajectory, in particular, appears have been majorly influenced by disagreements over the role of direct action. Kim Stallwood launched a campaign in the 1980s to reinvigorate the path dependent and aging organization, and explains that its democratic structure eventually allowed for direct action advocates to takeover:

Should our supporters elect a majority on the committee, it would be possible to re-establish BUAV as a robust campaigning organization. Given that the Old Guard was declining in numbers, both as committee members and voters, it was only a matter of time before we, the Young Turks, took over (Stallwood 2014: 106).

Stallwood reports reframing the organization's mission to adopt a vegan, rights-based perspective with rejuvenated tactics. However, these improvements would be short-lived.

Stallwood left the organization only a few years later to join PETA in the United States: "I was proud of my accomplishments at BUAV, but frustrated with the persistent infighting and bureaucracy that stymied creativity in our programmes and campaigns" (2014).

BUAV would undergo additional upheaval in the 1990s as a result of movement shifts. *ALFSGN* (1994b) claims that BUAV factionalism involved further competition between older members who wished to focus on foreign or globalized institutions of speciesism outside of Britain (which are thought easier to campaign behind) and the newer members who sought to retain a traditional focus on local vivisection activities and direct action tactics. BUAV appears to have attempted to resolve this division through democratic measures, however, as *ALFSGN* reports that BUAV leaders were seeking to consolidate power by allowing for proxy voting and banning direct action activists from future meetings. BUAV would go on to become an internationally-focused professionalized organization relying on donations, celebrity endorsements, single-issue campaigns, and political lobbying. Fleeting though it was, the BUAV takeover is a remarkable instance of factional schism that resulted in direct action activists assuming power in a previously reformist organization. A takeover of this nature would be highly unlikely today, as the democratic structure has now been largely abandoned. Professionalized organizations today are more likely to consolidate (and protect) power in hierarchal management structures with membership relegated to non-participatory roles.

Like their British counterparts, direct action activists in the United States were also less than satisfied with influence of professionalization on the movement, despite the continued media space and prisoner support they were still enjoying in the 1980s and 1990s. Reporting on the state of the movement in the late 1980s, Human/Animal Liberation Front's newsletter (1988) warns that the growth of the movement was compromising goals. Its shift in focus to legislative reform is especially criticized: "Tools such as tabling, leafleting, posting signs, informational pickets, demonstrations, etc., have been replaced by slick mailers and letter writing campaigns." Activists affiliated with this faction had reason to be suspicious. Although direct action tactics did enjoy greater support from American organizations that were emerging in the late 1970s and early 1980s under the influence of Britain's direct action model, this support begins to wane in the 1990s as organizations become both increasingly bureaucratic and increasingly wary of how associations with the ALF may tarnish their public image. As the ALF activities increased in the United States, so did state repression, something that also may have caused professionalized groups to balk. This rejection was especially frustrating for direct action activists because some of these professionalized organizations were not hesitant to mine footage and other evidence uncovered by ALF activists, materials made available from the very illegal activities the larger organizations were so eager to distance themselves from.

Recall that many professionalized organizations omitted references to direct action advocacy from campaigns, organizational literature, and television coverage. These actions were not only engaged to obscure any relationship with direct action efforts, but they also had the effect of erasing direct action advocacy from mainstream activist spaces. In addition to barriers previously discussed, ALFSG reports that Animal Aid (a professionalized British charity) was also preventing the ALF and other direct action groups from participating in its movement-wide

exhibition. Radical activists interpret this deterrence as intentional. The suspicion is that professionalized organizations exploit the power, privilege, and perceived legitimacy achieved through bureaucratic growth to ignore smaller groups at their discretion. In addition to strains with Animal Aid, the ALF charges the RSPCA and other large organizations with assisting with this exclusion. That same year, *ALFSGN* also reports that ALF was not invited to NAVS' annual World Vegetarian Day in 1994 and ignored ALF's repeated requests for a space at the event. To add insult to injury, issues of the *NAVS' Campaigner* were simultaneously relying on information gleaned by ALF activities (Webb 1994). In a maneuver that would be repeated by American abolitionists some twenty years later in response to comparable exclusion from the FARM conference, the ALF responded by organizing an independent event in an alternative venue on the same day.

Direct action activists tend to be critical of the consequences of professionalization as a theoretical matter as well. One short-lived direct action group advertising its establishment and need for support in an issue of *ALFSGN* claims that it was:

[. . .] formed by a group of disillusioned ex-campaigners and activists of other conservation organisations. They feel that many of the large groups have lost their raw cutting edge. This is often the case when people in charge have lavish salaries and comfortable offices and the groups have large assets to protect. The fear of criminal and civil action looms large. Breach have none of these things and aim to be hard-hitting and uncompromising in pursuit of a total ban on whaling. (BREACH 1994: 33)

This group claims to have formed as a direct result of professionalization, and suggests that the process creates an inappropriate focus on office work, salaries, and growing assets. As a result, direct action tactics are dismissed and on-the-ground activists become estranged from the decision-makers of the organization. Groups that emerge in response to these concerns are thus framed by radicals as locally-based, tactically-pure, and better able to put donations directly to use.

Direct action commentators, then, sometimes associate professionalization with a disassociation from the movement's core values and goals. However, the direct action position sometimes advocates for unity as well. Activists of this persuasion understand that the infighting emerging from these tensions might interfere with recruitment should new participants be turned off by a disjointed movement (HSA Committee Member 1994). Factionalism is also framed as an unnecessary distraction: combatting speciesist institutions is thought demanding enough without the additional efforts needed to address internal pressures. Also present is the narrative that unity is essential for protecting activists targeted by the state, and a lack of solidarity is thought a detriment to the movement as a whole. This argument is somewhat unique to direct action protesters who are the most likely to be targeted for their illegal activism. Nonetheless, a divided movement, they suggest, is susceptible to state dismantlement. This problem is amplified when activists lack the support needed to continue their activism. Factionalism is thought to increase the movement's vulnerability to state and industry interests in seeing the movement dissolved. Factional differences, it is suggested, should be dealt with internally and in a positive manner to protect a facade of unity that will, in turn, protect the viability of the movement in the face of severe state surveillance and repression (Chesler 1993-1994).

This wavering criticism of professionalization suggests that marginalized activists might understand that the troubles attributed to large groups would be more appropriately applied to particularly problematic leaders. The desire to individualize movement problems may indicate some ignorance to professionalization as a phenomenon commonly experienced by most social movements. Direct action activists will sometimes acknowledge that large organizations are a positive asset to the movement, particularly given their ability to disseminate information to the public and attract new recruits. It is understood that many recruits to radical factions come from

the participant pool of the larger non-profits, meaning that professionalized organizations are thought essential for the movement's growth in general and the growth of marginalized factions specifically. In some cases, direct action activists repeat the professionalized movement's common claim that the movement's diversity is symbiotic: "Like it or not, they get the support and the cash, and therefore the high profile, even if, as they say, it's the activists that get things done" (ZOL 1994).

Direct action claimsmaking of the 2010s demonstrates a confused position on professionalized organizations and their relationship to factional divisions as well. Abdul Haqq (2012a), imprisoned co-director to Negotiation is Over writes:

[. . .] I no longer believe that making a spectacle of myself or tearing down others [sic] views or activism is productive. And I no longer believe that hardline, sectarian and artificial divisions in religion, politics, ideology or activism is anything but divisive. [. . .] Animal Liberation, Whatever It May Take!

An editorial note by NIO administrator and co-director Camille Marino introduces Haqq's polemic on factionalism with an updated mission statement:

[. . .] I am taking the liberty of making this statement or new Editorial Policy. We don't care about politics, religion, or any other "artificial" divisions. This is about Animal Liberation. In that we must all be united.

Direct action claimsmaking of this kind is interesting in its rejection of factionalism, but it continues to be conventional in reinforcing a radical and hardline concern for the prioritization of Nonhuman Animals above all else. Anti-factionalism framing obscures factional interests that have not actually disappeared. Indeed, the data included in this study demonstrates that the dominant direct action framework tends to override the occasional presence of unity rhetoric.

In a post addressing criticisms that NIO had covered a story in solidarity with professionalized campaigns against the live export of sheep for ritual slaughter, Marino (2012a) argues:

We do not need to be ideologically-aligned with a given group to support an isolated action that has merit. And we are really limiting ourselves if we summarily reject a tactic because we disagree with the motivation driving it.

NIO's critics apparently had taken issue with the tendency for live export campaigns to intentionally exclude a vegan message. However, it is not clear that this collaboration was an act of solidarity, as collaborations between professionalized organizations and radical factions are rarely observed. It is more likely that NIO supports the campaign because it was resulting in activist arrest, and illegal tactics are especially favored by direct action protesters. Recall that this faction takes police harassment of protesters seriously as well. NIO also published an essay written by abolitionist Bob Linden (2012) following his arrest for non-violent protest in California. He frames the event as a violation of constitutional rights, a point that allows for temporary convergence between factions. Thus, examples of this kind make for uneasy instances of cooperation, as both abolitionist and professionalized groups rarely engage the direct action tactics that seem to have attracted NIO's temporary favor.

Admittedly, the direct action faction does explore other tactics as potentially useful, particularly those involving public education. One imprisoned NIO activist criticizes reformist approaches, but is otherwise open to tactics that may not center his preference for militancy: "Aggressively active in our cause – we all have different abilities and talents. Do an honest self-assessment, learn what your strongest attributes are and employ them [. . .]" (Bond 2011a). Marino (2009a) mirrors this sentiment in her essay, "Evolution of an Activist," positing that a tactic's efficacy actually depends on the strengths of the individual, not the tactic itself (vegan education, she admits, is "not a part of" her "skill set"). She emphasizes that no one activist will have all the answers to effective activism, so critical self-reflection and a dedication to continuous learning is necessary.

Contrary to this editorial policy, however, the data clearly demonstrates that the direct action faction prioritizes illegal or violent tactics. It also demonstrates that this faction is more likely to criticize the utility in non-violent approaches like protest and reform. In most cases, a call for unity and a denouncement of factionalism suggests a “live and let live” ethic, one that hopes to create immunity from tactical or ideological evaluation for itself. In other words, calls for unity sometimes operate to protect direct actions from criticism. Responding to “keyboard commandos” and others who problematize militant tactics, NIO writes: “The idea that tactics are right or wrong is an elitist and cowardly approach. It is only the ends that are right or wrong” (Bond 2011b).

A movement that prioritizes unity over efficacy will inevitably maintain an atmosphere that is prone to schism, as radical factions manifest primarily as a response to perceptions of movement ineffectiveness or corruption. Another post by Marino (2012b) titled “A Grassroots Guide to Exposing Vivisection in your Local University” demonstrates the propensity for continued factionalism despite her declaration in favor movement unity: “[. . .] in terms of strategic targets, it would probably be more productive to target horses than mice. Our objective is to win, not to be morally correct.” This singular focus on charismatic species to the detriment of mice (who are, at this of this writing, excluded from welfare laws that regulate vivisection) will inevitably spark division, as will her presumption that interfering with laboratories and targeting the loved ones of vivisectionists (“especially their children or grandchildren” she emphasizes) is an effective tactic. Many in the movement believe illegal or violent activism to be a major hindrance to achieving public support for ending speciesism, as Marino discovered when she implemented a such a campaign against vivisection at the University of Florida and attempted to recruit the support of the university’s Nonhuman Animal rights club: “In my case,

students at UF publicly denounced me and NIO as they did not approve of some of my tactics.” A disregard for “morally correct” tactics will most certainly invite challenge and discourage cooperation.

Another primary contestation that the direct action faction holds with competing tactical preferences relates to the idolization of veganism as the “end all, be all” activist goal. Vegan education may have a role to play, but it must go further. Marino (2011a) insists that direct action is the “most effective course,” and ethical veganism represents nothing more than a personal boycott. Vegan outreach efforts, she explains, are, “[. . .] largely responsible for perpetuating an ineffective movement.” From jail, Walter Bond (arrested for committing arson on a sheeps’ skin factory) contributes an essay to NIO insisting that living vegan is not sufficient for the dismantling of speciesism. Referencing the importance of direct action, he offers, “The human politicking and education that exists in the Animal Rights struggle is vital and necessary but must never become the collective primary focus! Saving actual Animals and making real world (their world) progress is our mandate” (Bond 2013). Yourofsky (2013), another high profile direct action activist, adds, “Technically, we don’t have to agree on tactics, but NOT supporting me – and other activists who risk it all – is treasonous, and a slap to the face of every enslaved animal.” Marino (2009b) herself agrees in a position statement: “The only action that matters to the imprisoned is the one that imparts freedom. It is a moral obligation to protect the innocent whenever we can—and direct action, sabotage, or subduing the violent with violence is a necessary tactic.” This rhetoric demonstrates that a faction’s call for unity may entail a number of limitations and caveats. For all factions, radical or professionalized, when factionalism is denounced in favor of unity, that unity is envisioned as one where one’s own faction is given precedence and is protected from criticism. As this analysis has suggested, the desire for

meaningful collaboration is often poorly supported by a faction's overall claimsmaking and actual behavior.

Finally, the legal consequences of direct action should be considered as a major influence on this faction's claimsmaking. It is a pull that may be reducing the amount of factional boundary work it might otherwise engage. Modern direct action claimsmaking prioritizes reports on incidents of arson, liberation, or vandalism. Quite a few units in the direct action blog sample represent action updates or are reprints of mainstream news reports of illegal or violent anti-speciesism activity. By and large, these types of posts lack any effort to frame, especially in regard to how direct action measures up to other approaches. Illegal activity, then, may be creating a distraction. Police and courts likely pose more of a drain on attention and energy than in-fighting. This also speaks to the importance the faction places on promoting its image to pull in new participants given the high cost of illegal and clandestine activity. Regardless, factional boundary work is quite common, and direct action activists must regularly defend their choice to engage violent actions. Many times these actions are done in "honor" of other groups or activists. This sort of framing represents solidarity building, but it is also an attempt to increase social capital. It is not enough that these acts are committed, they must also be reported so that some form of reward, recognition, and positive feedback can be obtained. Another related and common theme is the publishing of photographs and personal information associated with former members who are suspected of compromising the faction in some way, such as "snitching" or police cooperation. This indicates that boundary maintenance is taken very seriously by direct action activists.

Direct action blogs also lend considerable platform to imprisoned protesters and providing support to activists penalized by the law. The large amount of space given to prisoners,

ex-prisoners, and issues regarding the civil rights of activists is somewhat ironic, as this faction prides itself in putting Nonhuman Animals first. A regular criticism it charges of competing factions is the apparent selfishness or egoism associated with non-violent approaches (these tactics are not thought to entail any serious risk). Favoring violent and illegal tactics, however, means that brushes with the law are regular. The result is that penalized activists must dedicate a good portion of their resources and claimsmaking space speaking about themselves and their own interests, rather than that of Nonhuman Animals. One prisoner in particular, Walter Bond, publishes numerous biographies and appeals for money, correspondence, and other forms of support in both of the direct action blogs included in the sample. Non-imprisoned group members and other free-living supporters are also encouraged to dedicate their time, money, and energy to support targeted activists, resources that might otherwise be supplied to activism for Nonhuman Animals.

The Abolitionist Approach

Not encumbered with the state repression that dominates the claimsmaking of direct action activists, it appears that abolitionists spend considerably more effort renegotiating the meaning of symbols within the social movement space. The overwhelming majority of units in *The Abolitionist Approach* sample involve factional work. This is primarily aimed at professionalized organizations, and, to a lesser extent, the direct action faction and the abolitionist faction itself. Both abolitionist blog samples were singularly authored by one individual. This is likely a reflection of the faction's small size and its democratic and non-hierarchal structure, meaning it lacks major organizations that could afford to maintain regular blogs with multiple contributors.

While factional boundaries continue to be somewhat fluid in the present day movement, recall that they were much less pronounced in previous decades. Today, abolitionism, if not subsumed or corrupted by the professionalized faction, is quite often dismissed as overly rigid or utopian. Like the direct action faction, however, this was not always the case. Earlier movement literature indicates that abolitionism was often welcomed. In 2001, *Compassion over Killing* promotes Francione's publication on rights theory in a lengthy and positive review (Davis 2000-2001). *Animal Liberation Victoria* also praises Francione's abolitionist approach in a review of the same book: "He truly blazes a trail for us to follow" (Spencer 2001). Far from being framed as a threat to the movement, the growing abolitionist faction is understood to be "[. . .] the foundation stone that will support our movement to reach the highest heights imaginable for the animals we dearly love and respect" (Mark 2001b). However, in the very same ALV editorial that promotes Francione's abolitionism as vital to effectiveness, PETA, the veritable antithesis to abolitionism, is also saluted for providing supplies and advice for Australian campaigning. Before the introduction of professionalization would come to highlight factional boundaries, it appears that tactics and ideologies are adopted in a more honest manner, that is, in relation to how they are perceived to benefit Nonhuman Animals.

The abolitionist presence in the movement today is far more contentious. *Go Vegan Radio* began to collaborate heavily with Gary Francione in 2013, featuring him in a regular commentary on the radio show. In more than one unit, Linden and Francione team up to demand that professionalized groups demonstrate the effectiveness of their approach. Framing of this kind demonstrates that the abolitionist faction actively engages factional difference and is greatly interested in challenging the status quo of professionalized activism. That is, abolitionists do more than passively question taken-for-granted activism, they also demand accountability

through direct provocation. It is worth noting that the ability for professionalized non-profits to ignore these challenges—even when abolitionist criticism points to very serious shortcomings—speaks to the considerable power that these organizations enjoy.

This collaboration between GVR and *The Abolitionist Approach* may compromise the diversity of the sample, however, I was not able to locate any other abolitionist blogs that consistently update or provide enough units for a robust sample within the selected time frame. Furthermore, the claimsmaking made by Francione and Linden differ considerably. The GVR sample primarily concerns itself with the HSUS (which is often referred to as the “H\$U\$” to emphasize the role fundraising has in compromising the organization’s decision-making). Unlike Francione’s writings, the GVR sample does not especially busy itself with defending the abolitionist position taken. That is, professionalized groups are heavily criticized, but the abolitionist alternative is rarely explained or justified as necessary. However, many of these polemic posts do call on activists to boycott certain events or to raise complaints to event organizers for featuring professionalized groups that are thought to compromise Nonhuman Animal interests: “Stop booking these stooges [. . .] for vegan events that allow these corporate shills to brainwash animal lovers and advocates into underserved good will for bloody butchers” (Linden 2013d). Many posts also urge readers to contact the large non-profits directly to express their concerns with reform campaigns. Thus, GVR works to manipulate the social movement space by regularly challenging the hegemony of large non-profits and by attempting to undermine their ability to manipulate the activist imagination.

The primary form of activism promoted by GVR appears to be donating and ethical consumption, but also protest against reformist, professionalized hegemony. *The Abolitionist Approach*, however, is much more critical of donation as a form of activism and is more likely to

frame activism as educating the public about veganism. Both were more likely to dedicate blog space to discussing topics (primarily criticizing mainstream approaches to combating speciesism) than other blogs in the sample. In other words, the abolitionist faction appears to be preoccupied with what it stands *against*, with less attention given to what it stands *for*.

GVR framing also differs slightly from *The Abolitionist Approach* in its willingness to cover topics and campaigns related to the efforts of the direct action faction. Francione's blog explicitly rejects the behaviors of this faction, but Linden sometimes provides direct action updates on his blog, indicating some support for this approach. In one fundraising announcement, an ALF video was advertised as a special gift to sponsors (Linden 2013f). In another post in promotion of a new episode, Linden (2013g) indicates that the upcoming show includes correspondence with an anti-vivisection organizer who reveals a "big primate escape at UC Davis experimentation facility – kept secret until now [. . .]." Recall that he has also contributed to the Negotiation is Over blog (Eisenbud 2012; Linden 2012).

The GVR sample also shows many instances of support for single-issue campaigning, a tactic that consistently draws criticism from Francione. For instance, in one blog post announces an upcoming interview with Animal Liberation Victoria. ALV is described as "vegan abolitionist" by Linden, but would be considered "new welfarist" according to Francione as the organization utilizes reformist tactics. This episode also features an interview with a single-issue campaigner working to end chimpanzee exploitation in vivisection (Linden 2013h). In another update, Linden (2013i) promotes San Francisco's "March for Elephants" (a single-issue campaign against elephant poaching) and an anti-vivisection conference titled "Free the Animals." Evidently, Linden is far less interested in boundary maintenance. In fact, he sees factionalism as a problem in itself. In one post which frames the HSUS partnership with Whole

Foods as a serious barrier to anti-speciesism efforts, Linden (2013j) specifically points to factionalism a distraction:

While vegans quibble about words like “welfare” and “abolition” and whether H\$U\$ is an “animal advocacy” organization (when it becomes more and more obvious that it is the “meat” industry’s self-appointed “animal rights” leader) – look at who now becomes the leader in animal “WELL-BEING” [referencing Whole Foods].

Further, not one unit in the GVR sample demonstrated criticism against violent or illegal activism on behalf of other animals or the sexist and racist tactics that proliferate in the movement. As a result of these differences, GVR appears to be more concerned with a divide between the moderated non-profits and the non-moderated non-profits. So long as an organization appears to demonstrate an uncompromised allegiance to Nonhuman Animals, specific tactical preference appear irrelevant. *The Abolitionist Approach*, on the other hand, is much more engaged with boundary maintenance and seeks to define the abolitionist faction as one that is distinct from the direct action faction and groups large or small that favor reformist tactics and goals.

GVR is also unique because it is registered as a non-profit and all blog posts are framed with a variety of advertisements for vegan businesses and products. Blog updates are always presented alongside a link that reads: “BE A CHAMPION FOR ANIMALS! Tax deductible donations from people like YOU keep us on the air.” GVR posts often end with a plug for a vegan product, business, or event.⁴⁷ *The Abolitionist Approach*, however, often ends essays with an entreaty for readers to adopt veganism.⁴⁸ While it is unclear if GVR represents a bureaucratic organization with paid staff or volunteers (the site speaks in terms of “we,” though Bob Linden is the only individual presented as a representative of GVR), it does rely heavily on funding to

⁴⁷ The donation page also asks interested parties to sponsor GVR with advertisements or to donate real estate, stocks, cars, broadcasting equipment, or funding for travel and speaking engagements.

⁴⁸ It should be considered that, at the time of this writing, Francione is a tenured professor with Rutgers University and likely does not need to rely on donations to support the project.

support radio fees. Radio broadcasting and online archiving of past episodes are its primary forms of activism. In many posts that explicitly relate to fundraising, Linden presents GVR as an intersectional endeavor, reflecting the framing strategy of more professionalized organizations like COK. For instance, while the majority of GVR posts in the sample were related to criticizing HSUS and other large non-profits, an update seeking sponsorship through advertisements frames itself as:

[. . .] the first ‘food’ program on GCN [Genesis Communications Network] - and, of course, it’s the ‘food’ program that’s about everything else too, even offering solutions to society’s greatest challenges – war, violence, hunger, disease, poverty, climate change, animal suffering...” (Linden 2013b)

Suddenly, when fundraising is prioritized, Nonhuman Animals are relegated to the bottom of the list.

Like the larger non-profits, GVR frames financial support and consumption as important forms of activism. To potential advertisers, he insists: “YOUR PRODUCT IS PART OF THE SOLUTION TOO – that’s why a partnership with GO VEGAN RADIO is perfect for you...” (Linden 2013b). Unlike professionalized organizations, however, GVR does, in many instances, clarify that donations go towards abolitionist work. The compromises associated with professionalization can become a selling point for radical groups seeking funding:

If your mission is VEGAN ANIMAL LIBERATION action and activism, please donate now. [. . .] No donation is too big or too small, and it will never be used to promote any animal products or use, including ‘humane’ inhumane products or cruel ‘cruelty-free’ products.” (Linden 2013c)

However, factionalism is more likely to be downplayed or absent in fundraising posts.

Furthermore, GVR appears to take for granted that bureaucratic growth is an appropriate development. For instance, one fundraising update solicits donations in support of Linden’s goal for “developing a media empire for vegan animal liberation advocacy,” and, like larger non-

profits, insists that fundraising is essential to achieving that growth. This is somewhat ironic, given that GVR is so often critical of how financial interests have corrupted larger non-profits, like the “H\$U\$.”

Funding Radical Work

The focus on fundraising encroaches on a group’s attention if it has non-profitized (see FIGURE 3 and FIGURE 8). Non-profit calls for financial support can usurp as much as 14% of claimsmaking space in blogs featured in this study. However, non-profitized groups like *The Abolitionist Approach* and the North American Animal Liberation Press Office rarely, if ever, dedicate space to fundraising in the sample. Negotiation is Over includes a generic request for donations at the bottom of many posts with no explanation as to how the money will be distributed other than supporting its work. Here, donations are requested as a check or money order mailed directly to Marino. All blog essays are also framed with a donate button (that accepts major credit cards) for the group’s legal fund. One NIO essay explains that the best way to support prisoners jailed for their direct action is to send them money (Haqq 2012b). Financial support is also framed as support for free speech.

Some units in the NIO sample rally for donations through official membership opportunities. This approach is rather unique for the direct action faction, as it compromises the group’s underground nature. Members are issued a membership card, a subscription to the NIO newsletter, online forum membership to strategize and network with other activists, and the eligibility to apply for a local NIO chapter. These posts also conflate a donation (paid membership) with meaningful political action. One donation request reads, “If you are not yet a member of NIO, the animals need you NOW. We need you NOW. Join us today...” (Negotiation

is Over 2011b).⁴⁹ Based on the forum access included in the membership, it is likely that NIO presumes that paying members will also be actively involved. Yet, the reason why a financial contribution is required at all is never explained in this case, and the framing of the post leaves open the possibility that financial participation is all that is necessary.

In order to raise money, groups large or small will need to compromise their approach to some degree. Small groups such as NIO compromise their clandestineness to attract paying members who may be drawn by a sense of community and inclusiveness. Abolitionists seem to slacken boundary work when seeking funding, focusing on intersectionality or speciesism as a social justice issue to encourage others to fund their work. Large groups have much more at stake as they tend to be responsible for salaries, office space, and other expenses inherent to a bureaucratic structure. As a result, they take even greater steps to attract donations and will, as we have seen, moderate their ideology, goals, and tactics accordingly. For professionalized groups, fundraising comes to dominate a sizable portion of their requirements for survival and growth, so fundraising comes to dominate a sizable portion of their claimsmaking as well.

In contrast to professionalized groups, radical groups frame donating as one of many possible ways to combat speciesism, usually with some mention to the prioritization that potential participants ought to give to more engaged political action like volunteering in demonstrations. Radical groups are often careful to differentiate themselves by acknowledging that donations made to their organization will be put directly towards activism and not the bureaucratic costs associated with competing professionalized organizations. While in the process of professionalizing, Animal Liberation in Australia (1996b), asks for donations in specific reference to an ongoing campaign: “Undercover work is expensive, if you’d like to help keep the team and video camera operating donations are very welcome.” Many times groups

⁴⁹ This request in particular asks that donations be sent to the personal PayPal account of Steve Best.

explain to readers that their magazine production is stunted due to lack of funds, thus emphasizing the direct impact that donations have on their ability to campaign. The NAALPO (2012) also clarifies purpose in a call for donations:

Every dollar goes directly into Press Office programs including: maintaining our website, conference rooms for media interviews, tabling at mass gathering, and animal liberation prisoner support. No Press Officer or other personnel receive any salary; in fact, most of us donate our own funds, time and efforts to maintain what we believe to be an integral component of the animal liberation struggle.

In addition to occasional calls for financial support to cover everyday operational costs, radical groups often request money to meet some immediate and temporary demand, such as replenishing foodstuffs for sanctuaries, supporting prisoners, or printing costs for leaflets needed for an upcoming demonstration.

An important exception is the direct action faction's focus on fundraising to support legal costs and prisoners. Violent and illegal advocacy has inherent costs that require continued attention to fundraising. Activists are aware that imprisonment is a real possibility and proceed regardless, subsequently becoming a burden on direct action networks that must sacrifice claimsmaking space for their support. Though direct action is predictably risky, costs remain relatively sporadic and individual. For that matter, the need for financial backing is sometimes ignored. Following Marino's arrest, for example, she clearly states that the best way to support her would be to support the campaign that led to her arrest (Marino 2012d). Costs associated with imprisonment can also be balanced with certain non-monetary benefits. Imprisonment can bring a positive return to the direct action faction by motivating outrage and action. Many social movements, such as the Irish struggle for independence, the suffragette movement, and the civil rights movement, frame imprisonment for a justified cause as a rallying point. NIO often refers to imprisoned activists as prisoners of war to reframe them as heroic victims of state violence.

Radicals against Radicals

Unfortunately for radical factions, state repression, funding concerns, and professionalized oppression are not the only challenges faced. Radicals often take on one another. Professionalized groups usually ignore, dismiss, or subsume radical counter-claimsmaking, but radical groups themselves do not have the same ability to accomplish this response to criticisms levied by other radical factions. The direct action faction and the abolitionist faction not only engage in challenges to the hegemonic positions of the professionalized faction, but they must also engage one another.

For instance, although the No Kill faction is not included in this study because of its singular focus on cats and dogs, its inclusion would have been interesting as a point of comparison because it almost singularly focuses factional claimsmaking against the professionalized position that favors the killing of healthy animals. Based on the units included in this sample, neither the direct action nor abolitionist factions take issue with the hardline pro-adoption position which characterizes the No Kill faction. The No Kill faction is considered “radical” because it is marginalized by the professionalized faction and because it challenges the status quo of handling companion animal homelessness. The utopian adoption goal that characterizes the No Kill faction requires major structural change to human-nonhuman relationships and the institutions that manage them. Other radical factions do not appear to have any qualms with this, but it may be that the No Kill faction is not considered to be in the same aggregation. If it were, direct action activists and abolitionists might be critical of the No Kill faction’s failure to address speciesism levied against non-companion animals and its lack of attention to veganism.

As to the relationship between the direct action faction and the abolitionist faction, there is considerably more tension. The No Kill faction focuses only on one human-nonhuman institution (“pet” keeping), but the other two factions seek a comprehensive reconfiguring of all human-nonhuman institutions. There is much more at stake with such a large goal, and much more room for variation and conflict in regard to tactics and access to resources. Recall that factional disputes emerge regarding how to define the social problem, how to define the solution, and how to motivate participation. Both factions envision a goal of total liberation and a complete dismantling of speciesism. However, the direct action faction prioritizes institutions of vivisection and “fur” production, while the abolitionist faction tends to be more inclusive, if perhaps somewhat biased in favor of food animals. Direct action protesters see the solution to speciesism as one of anarchy and militancy (Best 2010), whereas abolitionists prioritize non-violence and vegan education. The direct action faction generally believes that the demonstrated courageousness and bravery of militant activists, robust group boundaries (as evidenced in prisoner support and the public outing of “snitches”), and the shaming or emasculation of non-members will motivate participation. The abolitionist faction appears less forthcoming about strategies for motivating participation, but likely relies on notions of intersectionality, justice, and moral obligation to encourage action and support.

Again, part of defining factional identity entails the denunciation of competing factions. There is considerable evidence of this antagonistic behavior from both radical factions. The direct action faction frequently defends its preference for violence and discredits the non-violent abolitionist approach. It argues that education (the abolitionist faction’s preferred tactic) will not lead to liberation: “[. . .] instead of planting seeds, we need to plant bombs” (Best 2011).

Likewise, the abolitionist faction regularly emphasizes the problems with violent activism, insisting that violence is ideologically inconsistent and counterproductive in terms of results:

[. . .] in a world in which eating animal products is considered by most people as “natural” or “normal” as drinking water or breathing air, violence is quite likely to be seen as nothing more than an act of lunacy and will do nothing to further progressive thinking about the issue of animal exploitation.” (Francione 2007b)

While these criticisms might also speak to the professionalized approach, in many cases, this claimsmaking is directed primarily or specifically toward the other radical faction. One contributor to NAALPO summarizes a common criticism levied against the abolitionist faction:

“[. . .] I think that the absence of violence acts as a subtle signal to the collective societal perception that the animal question isn’t very serious [. . .] (Bogle 2010). Best (2010), a prominent leader of the direct action faction, insists that the movement’s factional divide is actually between “statist and non-statist approaches,” and not the more commonly accepted division between reform and abolition. Positioning of this kind seeks to elevate the direct action approach above both the professionalized faction and the competing radical abolitionist faction simultaneously.

Radical factions are thus encumbered by three entities that must be countered: 1) the state, elite, and public nexus that is largely supportive of speciesism, 2) the professionalized faction that is determined to be compromised, and 3) competing radical factions thought to engage problematic tactics. With attention and efforts spread so thinly, a radical faction with few resources to begin with could be expected to have a serious disadvantage in affecting social change. The relative low cost of direct action protest (sabotage efforts can often be conducted without any financial cost), abolitionist education, and internet networking could be integral to freeing up space to accommodate such heavy claimsmaking duties. One ALF member boasts: “What we lack in money, power, and sheer numbers, we make up for with our determination, our

passion, and the moral righteousness of Animal Rights [. . .]” (Miller 2010). Professionalized organizations with greater financial responsibilities seem less able to “afford” engagement with factionalism the larger they become.

Recall that professionalized groups also show a greater level of cooperation amongst themselves than with radical groups. These non-profits promote one another’s campaigns, borrow one another’s material, and collaborate at events. Radical factions, on the other hand, appear more likely to engage in cannibalistic behavior, creating additional schisms within their own faction. Unfortunately, this trend was difficult to measure because much of the factional dialogue is not specifically directed at any one competitor, but is instead presented as a general criticism against a particular tactic or position that more than one opposing faction might support. However, the amount of self-factionalizing present in the sample suggests that the scramble to define boundaries is constant and these boundaries are not fully agreed upon by factional members. Direct action activism is inherently prone to schism because it lacks any unifying organization as consistent with its anarchist ideology. While there is considerable networking among direct action activists and collectives, and a good deal of common ground is shared by those within this faction, there is also a large amount of variation.

The abolitionist faction also appears quite divided. The Go Vegan Radio sample often supports single-issue campaigning and direct action, while *The Abolitionist Approach* sample rejects these tactics. *The Abolitionist Approach* sample also negotiates boundaries with other abolitionist entities not included in the sample. For example, some abolitionists who promote adherence to rationality philosophies in outreach (an approach which prioritizes skepticism and rejects spiritual or religious approaches) are rejected by Francione (2012d). Recall that the term “abolitionist” is adopted by all three factions in this study and the meaning of the label is also

contested by all three factions, but the meaning of “abolitionist” is contested within the abolitionist faction itself as well. In one post included in this study, Francione (2014) appears to claim that abolitionism is applicable only to his own work, and suggests that any abolitionists interested in activism should make use of materials he has developed, rather than organizing their own collectives. Indeed, he insists that other groups that self-identify as abolitionist have a poor grasp on the approach:

I cannot stop people from calling themselves “abolitionists,” “abolitionist vegans,” or from starting groups of this sort that purport to represent my position while not doing so. But I want to be clear that I have nothing to do with any of these groups and I believe that some of them are contributing in significant ways to the confusion that is impeding effective advocacy for nonhuman animals. (Francione 2014)

In addition to this “confusion,” he posits that organizations could be dishonestly appropriating abolitionism as a means of distinguishing themselves in the crowded social movement space.

In the months following the time frame of this sample, Francione would introduce greater factional dispute by lending a number of essays toward the denouncement of several prominent vegan feminists (2015b; 2015c; 2015d), some of whom were active in the abolitionist faction. This abolitionist-feminist schism would be highlighted by another controversy over conference admission. In this case, The Abolitionist Vegan Society’s founder Sarah K. Woodcock had been invited to speak at three 2016 VegFest UK conferences on the topic of racism and sexism in the Nonhuman Animal rights movement. However, VegFest UK would later adopt Francione’s abolitionist approach, and, after also billing him as a speaker, subsequently dropped Woodcock from the lineup. VegFest UK organizer Tim Barford cited TAVS’ critical anti-racism work (which is inclusive of the abolitionist faction VegFest now endorses) as inappropriate (Woodcock 2015a), while Francione claims TAVS’ assessment of abolitionist theory is both

inaccurate and bigoted (Francione 2015a).⁵⁰ Woodcock would soon after change the name of her organization from The Abolitionist Vegan Society to The Advocacy of Veganism Society as a means of disassociating from Francione's heavy counter-mobilization against vegan feminists (or, more specifically, pro-intersectionality feminists). However, TAVS also cites the racially appropriative nature of abolitionist symbolism as a primary impetus for the name change (Woodcock 2015b). It would appear that, as a faction diversifies, the "purity" of particular symbols, for better or worse, can become corrupt or simply evolve. Comprehensive control over their meaning is both impossible, and, as the literature suggests, ill-advised, as factional borders can shrink to the point of losing resonance. For that matter, the need to defend factional boundaries on so many fronts can become a relentless drain on resources, as particularly evidenced in the highly distracted *Abolitionist Approach* sample.

⁵⁰ Incidentally, Woodcock has also been removed from an abolitionist conference hosted by both Francione and Linden in 2014. See Woodcock, Sarah K. 2014. "Removed as a Speaker from the World Vegan Summit." vol. 2016. Eden Prairie, MN: The Abolitionist Vegan Society.

CHAPTER TEN | CONCLUSION

This analysis of media produced by the Nonhuman Animal rights movement between 1980 and 2013 illuminates the complex interplay of power and politics in the social change arena under the influence of non-profitization and neoliberalism. This chapter will attempt to summarize some of the overarching patterns that have been identified in this case study as could be relevant to the factional experiences of social movements in general. Specifically, this chapter will offer further insight to the process of professionalization and its many characteristics and repercussions. As outlined in Chapter 1, this analysis was concerned with, first, examining the Nonhuman Animal rights movement's shift from grassroots to professionalized mobilization, second, the rise of professionalization and the ways in which professionalized groups maintain symbolic capital through framing, third, the consequences that these shifts may have for radical factions, and, fourth, the potential implications for movement success.

The research thus presented here has expanded on the traditional non-profit narrative to include the experiences of radical factions, collectives that are often dismissed as sideline players and rarely conceptualized as positive contributions to the social movement dialogue. The conclusion of this study sees a movement that is heavily impacted and potentially encumbered by concentrated wealth and power. Factionalism is not new to the Nonhuman Animal rights movement, but it is clear that the manifestation of professionalism is a leading source of factional dispute. Coalitions of professionalized organizations are able to accumulate and expend the symbolic capital necessary to both normalize professionalization and dilute the effectiveness of radical competitors. While this study has not attempted to provide definitive answers on how the processes of professionalization and factionalism can help or hinder social change work, it is

clear that a movement's ability to create desired change will be dependent upon how it successfully manages these strains.

Trends in Professionalization

In regard to the first line of inquiry on the movement's general move recession from the grassroots model, professionalization is a process. No unit in the sample demonstrated an exact point where a grassroots model was clearly abandoned and a professionalized model was adopted. Instead, indicators of professionalization gradually appeared, eventually dominated, and ultimately transformed the organization and its relationship with other groups. Recall that (McCarthy and Zald 1977) theorize that professionalization is a rational tactic intended to secure resources, and this appears to be the case in the Nonhuman Animal rights movement.

Professionalization is characterized by non-profitization, a bureaucratic structure, a hierarchy of control, access to considerable wealth, and the protection of and intent to grow that wealth. It is also characterized by a moderation of tactics and goals, as well as marked efforts to cooperate with the state and industry to ease operations. Additionally, a shift from the language of justice and rights to the less alienating language of suffering and compassion is a common indicator of this transition to professionalization. Grassroots, community-based direct action that engages participants in a meaningful and political way also begins to move from the spotlight to the margins.

Following professionalization, most groups featured in this study would hone in on particular forms of activism and exhibited far less diversity. The forms of participation that come to dominate a professionalized movement include letter writing, petition-signing, and donating. Fundraising, in particular, is prioritized. Fundraising reaches beyond a traditional reliance on donations from activists, paying members, and concerned individuals to also include grants from

elite foundations and the state. A professionalized movement might also frame individual consumption in the form of merchandise, event attendance, or sponsored products as political behavior. In other words, activism is enacted through purchasing, not protesting. Likewise, participation and decision-making becomes less democratic and is far less likely to be shared among large groups of people. Instead, movement management shrinks into the hands of a few individuals running large non-profits. These findings generally support the typology of a professionalized organization constructed by McCarthy and Zald (1977).

This study's second line of inquiry examines the negotiation of power and the manipulation of symbolic capital in the professionalized movement space. As Tilly (2004) suggests, when group boundaries are disrupted in some way, conflict can be expected. In this case, the manifestation of professionalization could be catalyzing this boundary change and movement contention. Indeed, movement institutionalizing, which favors bureaucracy, transparency, and state cooperation, can create considerable intra-movement tension (Balsler 1997). Professionalized organizations in this study demonstrate their disproportionate power in the conflict by remaining silent on the concerns raised by radical factions, but also by actively working to marginalize or silence radical claimsmaking. In the Nonhuman Animal rights movement, this behavior is identifiable when professionalized organizations sponsor events and then dominate claimsmaking spaces and pressure gatekeepers to close access to radical positions. The exclusion of radical factions from the Animal Rights National Conference and the moderating effect that professionalized sponsorship had on the March for Animals in 1996 exemplifies this process. Thus, as (Magee and Galinsky 2008) observe, higher status organizations are able to reinvest power to further advantage themselves in the field.

Subsuming radical claimsmaking within the professionalized framework by mining resonate symbols is another way in which the symbolic capital of professionalized organizations can be enacted to maintain control over the movement and dilute radical threats. These findings are consistent with those of (Choudry and Kapoor 2013) and (Smith 2007) who argue that professionalization invites schism. More specifically, as Benford (1993) emphasizes, it creates an adversarial relationship between the professionalized front and their radical contenders. As this analysis has also uncovered, these processes are amplified in strength because most professionalized organizations collaborate with one another, effectively creating a coalition of power that makes it particularly impermeable to challenges from within the movement.

Characteristics of Radical Factions

The struggle for radicals to survive in the professionalized movement space constituted the third area of investigation in this study. Radical factions often emerge in reaction to a moderating movement. As a result, they tend to devote a large amount of attention to claimsmaking that is critical of the parent movement. (Steinberg 1998) reminds us that movement frames are dialogic, as actors formulate and key claims in relation to other entities active both within and outside of the movement. This was certainly the case in the Nonhuman Animal rights movement units sampled in this study. Because radical factions tend to originate in response to professionalization in the movement, they will always be bound to addressing moderation to some extent. Professionalized organizations, however, are generally absconded from factional boundary work. Most professionalized organizations in this sample are quiet on radical complaints. Vegan Outreach, a relatively newly professionalized group, is an exception in this case. Unlike more established organizations, it utilizes negative stereotypes associated with the radical position to frame itself as more practical and realistic, and, therefore, more worthy of

support. PETA takes the opposite approach and almost never addresses abolitionist or direct action claimsmaking. It does however address No Kill efforts, suggesting that, if a radical faction can find sufficient resonance, it may force a professionalized organization to respond.

Radical factions are also characterized by their relative poverty. With each announcement of a split also comes a call for donations. This pattern indicates that an immediate consequence of factionalism is resource deprivation that can jeopardize the new group's ability to survive. This, of course, is compounded by their failure to professionalize, as professionalization is linked with greater security and access to resources (Minkoff 1993). Furthermore, the amount of resources that radical factions expend on challenges to the professionalized faction may be a considerable hindrance on their ability to mobilize for solutions to the initially identified problem: speciesism. This appears to be a particular problem for the abolitionist faction, as it spends so much of its space criticizing other factions that far less attention can be given to vegan education. As (Mansbridge and Morris 2001), (Miller 1999), and (Tarrow 1998) have suggested, exclusivity to this extreme can starve a faction of key resources and alliances. In this sample, claimsmaking space was one such resource lost, as was the ability to coordinate with other actors (particularly so for the abolitionist faction).

Freed from the constraints of addressing other factions, professionalized groups can focus on increasing their wealth and power by spending much more of their time promoting events, reporting on events, and discussing campaigns. Radical factions already have a very limited amount of resources, so factionalism, while largely unavoidable, comes at a higher cost to them. On the other hand, the professionalized faction's focus on promoting campaigns and events also demonstrates some degree of restrictiveness in its duty to donors. Because radical factions are largely grassroots and are not reliant on financing from donors, they do not need to concern

themselves so much with presenting an image of industriousness and moderation. Polemic efforts are not likely to be as attractive to donors as campaign work shaped by moderated values, but radical factions might view this freedom of expression and mobilization as an advantage.

This lack of resources and responsibilities, then, could be reframed as a benefit to radical factions. If a faction can overcome barriers to resonance, it may force professionalized organizations to address radical concerns. Evidence suggests that the No Kill faction is becoming successful in this regard. The structural changes in FARM and ALVIC also suggests that the abolitionist faction is influencing the tactics and goals of professionalized organizations as well. The large amount of symbol mining that was documented in this movement also suggests that radical factions, despite the limited resources and active marginalization they experience, can overcome these barriers to impact the movement in some fashion.

Factionalism Reconceived

The final line of inquiry sought to understand how a social movement's success might be impacted by these intersecting variables, or, more specifically, how different factions may be helped or hindered by power dynamics in the social movement space. Recall that factionalism is understood in complex ways. In this study, all factions at some point demonstrate some desire for movement unity and bemoan the negative consequences of factionalism. Most often it is framed as a drain on resources, an unnecessary weakness that leaves the movement vulnerable to countermovement actions. Otherwise, it is conceptualized as organic solidarity with many different parts of the social movement working together harmoniously for a common goal. Professionalized organizations are more apt to support this interpretation. They tend to see division as "diversity," emphasizing a need for cooperation and unity while dismissing the veracity of radical allegations. Direct action activists, desperate for movement support,

sometimes frame factionalism as a benefit to countermovements or even as evidence to countermovement infiltration. Professionalized organizations, with an interest in protecting their hegemonic presence, will also draw on this rhetoric. But meaning construction is unevenly absorbed. The relative power enjoyed by professionalized organizations intensifies the consequences of vilifying factionalism. When criticism is framed as complacency with opponents, this likely has a very powerful silencing effect on radical factions. Reformist tactics are protected as a result, as those critical of the problems inherent to compromise and moderation are framed as allies to the countermovement. Radical claimsmaking can easily be dismissed if it is believed to be traitorous. Again, Bourdieu's (1977) theories of cultural production suggest that the accumulation of symbolic capital would fund a professionalized organization's ability to construct meaning in a way that is understood as legitimate and credible.

Despite this heavy contention, the data demonstrates that factional boundaries in the Nonhuman Animal rights movement are, in reality, less rigid than they are actually understood to be by many of the activists authoring units included in the sample. Clear differentiations appear between the factions in regard to tactical preference, access to resources, and framing, but considerable fluidity is also evident. It was not typical for every unit in a faction's sample to meet all of the identified criteria for a given factional affiliation. Some entities like *The Abolitionist Approach* are very strict in factional boundaries, but most of the others included in the sample encroach into the ideological and tactical territories of competing factions. For instance, the abolitionist project Go Vegan Radio sometimes promotes the efforts of direct action advocates and does not violence as a tactic. Marino (2012c) of Negotiation is Over reports that Linden even provided her the opportunity to speak about her campaigning on an episode of Go Vegan Radio. "Much love to Bob for his tireless activism!" she adds. In fact, Go Vegan Radio's

factional boundaries appear so loose within the sample, it becomes debatable as to whether or not GVR stands as a good representative of the abolitionist faction. Instead, GVR could more accurately represent one site of resistance to factional allegiance.

Adding to this confusion, some direct action units in the sample are cognizant of the problems with violent tactics, and some even prioritize non-violent tactics (like humane education programs in school systems) (Browne 2012). Some posts promote an ideology that is potentially reformist, as is evidenced in a Negotiation is Over (2011a) post reporting on an illegal mink release which states, “We chose to do this not because we believe that humans wearing fur is inherently wrong. Rather we think that the callous disrespect with which the fur industry treats the animals is despicable.”⁵¹ In other words, speciesism may be deemed acceptable given that appropriate welfare precautions are taken. This suggests support for a reformist solution to “fur” production that would presumably be shared by the professionalized faction.

In fact, the direct action faction sample does demonstrate some collaboration with professionalized groups including PETA, ALVIC, and FARM. In an update about a successful campaign to prevent the air transport of monkeys for vivisection, Negotiation is Over shares PETA’s press release on the victory. This essay specifically points to “strength in numbers and coordinated actions” as reason for the success. In sharing this announcement, it is indicated that direct action activists have collaborated with PETA activists to achieve a shared goal. However, like Linden’s counter-framing of the HSUS as “H\$U\$,” NIO is careful to also indicate their dissatisfaction with PETA’s approach by modifying its acronym to “PeTA” in this post as well as others. This modified acronym is common in the movement and is meant to indicate that

⁵¹ The author appears to take issue with the industrialization of “fur” production and intensive confinement, clarifying that they do not support improved confinement conditions. The author does excuse Native American use that, first, allows for the freedom of Nonhuman Animals before killing, and, second, utilizes the body parts of Nonhuman Animals in a more utilitarian manner (as opposed to “the vanity and fashion of the rich”).

People for the Ethical Treatment of Animals' tactics are inconsistently "ethical." Boundaries are being tested, but they certainly are not abandoned.

The fluidity of factional boundaries appears in professionalized claimsmaking as well. For instance, professionalized groups are sometimes critical of reforming speciesist institutions and they do from time to time promote veganism instead of reduced consumption. Again, the power differentials between these factions will be relevant to the impact of intra-movement fluidity. When a professionalized group borrows on the symbols of radical factions, this must be understood within the context of their immense influence over both the social movement space and the public. For instance, if veganism is promoted, but the professionalized organization also regularly promotes reductionism, the moral imperative of veganism subsequently becomes diminished. Regardless, social movement participants may understand factionalism to be a major detriment or even a crisis, but the evidence indicates that actual factional boundaries are not so rigidly fixed.

Further evidence to this permeability is seen in the subtle tactical changes adopted by large non-profits. Archival materials from FARM indicate that this organization was extremely moderate in the 1980s and 1990s, with veganism rarely mentioned and agricultural reforms dominating efforts. By the 2000s, the digital data shows that, despite having grown considerably in wealth and power, FARM is considerably more radical in its claimsmaking and activities today than it had previously been. FARM's shift may indicate that the radical abolitionist claimsmaking manifesting at this time may have been impacting the organization. For all their strength, professionalized groups may not be so impervious to radical claimsmaking after all.

The Invisibility of Professionalization

This study has examined the path of professionalization, the impact on factionalism, the maneuvering of large non-profits and radical grassroots, and, finally, the ultimate outcome on factional agency. To answer these questions, a content analysis of movement frames was undertaken. Identifying the meanings thus presented in these frames brings light to the factional conversation. As I have shown, some factions had a stronger voice in this conversation, while others struggled to be heard. I have also noted that the erasure of particular topics was also evident. However, the larger political environment housing this conversation also seems to be out of view, and this lack of structural consciousness may also lend to the maintenance of power imbalances and factional discord.

While both radical factions included in this study are quite critical of the large, professionalized groups, there is not much evidence in support of a sophisticated criticism of professionalization or bureaucratic growth in particular. Indeed, there does not seem to be much awareness to the compromises inherent to professionalization as a systemic issue. Instead, criticisms tend to be applied to individual organizations, leaders, or activists. Unfortunately, rationalizations for adhering to a professionalized or grassroots style are rarely discussed in the contemporary blog posts. It could be the case that professionalization is largely taken for granted as a positive advancement in social movement efforts for both professionalized groups and the grassroots groups that aspire to grow. Following her visit to PETA headquarters in the mid-1990s (what she calls “the promise land”), ALVIC’s founder describes the experience to readers as a fulfillment of her fantasy that “[. . .] one day there would be multi-storied office buildings solely for the rights of animals” (Mark 1999). Professionalization of this kind would come to

transform the movement in the late 1980s and 1990s. After the dust of structural change had settled, professionalization is established as normal, natural, and expected.

Of course, some exceptions to this new world of activism do exist, as is evidenced by the persistence of radical grassroots mobilization. Best (2010), for one, explicitly identifies the movement's failure to acknowledge the role of capitalism as a serious barrier to success. Best's radical ideology challenges the movement's faith in democracy, its reliance on state-approved channels of social change, and its utilization of compassion rhetoric and non-violent tactics. Given corporate interests in both moderating the movement and profiting from it, professionalization becomes a liability. By working within the system and bending to the demands of economic growth and profit, Best argues that the movement strengthens the very system the movement seeks to change. As far back as the eighties, HALF (1988) writes of the movement's moderation in goals and tactics: "We can also go on forever sending mailers to larger sections of the population talking about pound seizure. But meantime we are loosing [sic] our energy, our commitment, our anger, and our zealotry. Those are the qualities we need, not money, slickness, or mainstream." Capitalist critiques of this kind demonstrate that cooperation with the existing economic system can easily undermine social justice work.

It is fair to say that many activists have some intuitive knowledge that professionalization is presenting a major challenge for the movement. Direct action watchdogs insist that, as organizational bank accounts grow, tactics are compromised and the movement becomes dangerously predictable to the state and countermovements. It is also understood that increased wealth means that organizations have more to lose, and this is thought to encourage muted behavior. Direct action protesters also see that this new formula is uninspiring for newly recruited activists who may not be motivated to stay. HALF continues:

The action level of the movement is going in the opposite direction than its bank accounts. Instead of having more and more actions, of greater imagination, greater force, greater dare, and greater impact, we see the same old stale actions: the yearly anti-vivisection demo, the yearly anti-fur one, a showing of a handful at the meatouts, and plenty of letter campaigns.

Direct action supporters are not alone in this awareness. Francione is also critical of organizational growth, but not because necessarily due to non-profit compliance with the state. Rather, he is concerned with their active criticism of vegan grassroots and the failure to redistribute their pronounced wealth in the service of radical campaigns (Francione 2008). In one unit, he suggests that “[. . .] merchandizing, branding, or the promotion of superficial or trivial actions [. . .]” is inconsistent with “helping animals,” advising instead an adherence to education-based grassroots activism (Francione 2014).

These insights, however, are not representative of radical claimsmaking. For the most part, criticism of professionalized groups hangs on the tactics they choose, not the mechanisms that influence these choices. This disconnect might reflect a general ignorance in the activist schema to the major compromises that are inherent to professionalization. A common criticism levied at professionalized groups is the amassing of financial resources without a fair redistribution of those resources towards meaningful relief efforts for Nonhuman Animals. Another common concern is a failure to support campaigns aimed at restructuring an unequal social system. Rarely in the sample are these problems seen as endemic to professionalization. Again, criticisms of financial growth are aimed at individual organizations or professionalized organizations as a group, not at the system of professionalization itself. HSUS and PETA are often targeted as failures to Nonhuman Animal liberation, but professionalization is far less likely to be identified as a detriment to effective social justice work.

Radical factions may understand these compromises to be a result of individual corruption or personal failings, with structural mechanisms thus made invisible. This invisibility helps to perpetuate this system of compromise, which may be to the benefit of the state and the industries threatened by social justice efforts. The wavering position of abolitionist blog Go Vegan Radio exemplifies the movement's ignorance to the consequences of professionalization. This sample in particular demonstrated an inconsistent criticism of comparable reformist non-profit organizations, openly supporting some, but severely chastising others. Linden (2013j) also dismisses the importance of factional boundary work conducted by others, though he himself regularly criticizes the HSUS and other large non-profits in a number of blog updates and radio shows. Again, individual organizations are targeted as "bad apples," but a systemic analysis is not forthcoming. Moderation and bureaucratic expansion are not especially related to individual corruption; these are characteristics that shape *any* professionalized organization's goals and tactics.

While Go Vegan Radio is less consistent in criticism, *The Abolitionist Approach* does seem to recognize that there is some relationship between the power of professionalized organizations and the inability for radical factions to find resonance. Francione (2012b) writes: "The 'animal movement' is dominated by large groups that promote welfare reform and actually go out of their way to marginalize the abolitionist perspective. [. . .] enormous animal charities that dominate the marketplace." As this analysis has shown, he is certainly correct to observe that professionalized organizations "dominate the marketplace of ideas." The wealth of symbolic capital afforded to these organizations and their subsequent ability to normalize particular activist pathways to the exclusion of others is at the heart of this study's findings. Yet, there remains a missing link in the radical epistemology regarding the ways in which

professionalization as a *process* requires organizations to support reform and marginalize other groups. As this study has attempted to demonstrate, it is not by accident that large groups take this route.

Implications for Social Movement Success

The claimsmaking thus uncovered here uncovers a dialogue in which participants do not have equal privilege in participation. Meanings thus created in the talk and backtalk can be manipulated or obscured as a result. Participants might be expected to exhibit a confused, incomplete, or insincere knowledge of what factionalism and professionalization means for the movement; they are not unique in this regard. Scientific research also demonstrates a conflicted understanding of how factionalism interacts with movement viability, with the results of this study only mirroring this uncertainty.

It is clear, however, that factionalism is unevenly experienced. Professionalized organizations in the Nonhuman Animal rights movement, for the most part, operate in relative freedom from accountability to their radical flanks. Grassroots organizations, on the other hand, dedicate much of their claimsmaking space to engagement with factional differences. While professionalized organizations can focus on the business at hand, grassroots groups do not (or cannot) maintain a centrality of focus to this level. Compromised though they may be, professionalized groups can reserve most of their efforts for social change as they understand it, while radicals must maintain a divided front. This research indicates that professionalized organizations are well-positioned to protecting and growing their power in the social movement. If radical claims as to the dangers of professionalization hold merit, this could be disastrous for achieving meaningful structural change.

This study was not designed to test the verity of radical claimsmaking, but it did demonstrate patterns of resource allotment. Again, radicals must engage multiple lines of attack, unlike their professionalized counterparts. What this means for the success of the movement is debatable. Some radical actors may understand their resource-intensive criticisms of other factional entities to be just as important to achieving social change as engaging their own activism. It could be that efforts to steer more powerful or influential groups toward investing their resources toward more effective (in their view) tactics and theory are thought a valuable endeavor. Recall that FARM recalibrated toward a more vegan-centric, anti-reform approach in the 2000's. Abolitionists might view apparent responses of this kind as a worthy investment. Alternatively, this contention could be interpreted primarily as a distraction from meaningful assistance to Nonhuman Animals. Abolitionists, for instance, are sometimes accused of critiquing other groups without actually engaging any social change efforts themselves (Phelps 2014).

Whether for better or for worse, factionalism does play an important role in movement relationships and claimsmaking. This is particularly so for radical factions, as factionalism is intimately bound to processes of professionalization. As with factionalism, just what impact this trend may be having on social movements is open to interpretation. As evidenced in the remarkable growth experienced by groups such as PETA, FARM, COK, and Vegan Outreach, professionalization opens up organizations to a much larger audience and multiplies their wealth. However, professionalization also aggravates radical contention, an indicator that the compromises necessary for growth are not universally accepted as appropriate in the social movement field. A large portion of radical claimsmaking is dedicated to pushing back on this compromise, but professionalized organizations can disempower this resistance in other, less

visible and tangible ways, such as diminishing criticism with euphemistic language, discouraging radicals from participating in conferences, or mining resonant symbols. Regardless of how effective a professionalized approach may or may not be, when power is wielded in such a way as to silence difference, marginalize competing factions, and maintain inequality in the social movement space, this mechanism threatens democratic values and challenges the meaning of social justice.

Future research into the processes of factionalism and professionalization in the age of neoliberalism could benefit social movement scholars and social change actors alike. Specifically, I have identified the No Kill faction as an emerging radical force in the movement that appears to be experiencing considerable success despite heavy pushback from professionalized organizations, namely PETA. Additional content analysis of materials produced by No Kill organizations and the professionalized non-profits they oppose would likely illuminate movement processes in a way that material produced by the less successful direct action and abolitionist factions might not.

Expanding methodological approaches could also inform future research. Because radical factions are so heavily marginalized, and, as a result, have less access to claimsmaking space, I suspect that qualitative interviewing might provide additional insight. Interviewing might also overcome important and deliberate omissions in the literature produced by the more powerful professionalized organizations. Because large non-profit organizations were so reluctant to discuss rationales for professionalization in the data that was publicly available, interviews with decision-makers and movement leaders could provide the missing explanations for these decisions. I believe it would also be fruitful to conduct interviews with grassroots organizations

that have achieved non-profit status. Specifically, I would be interested in understanding their rationale for seeking to professionalize or for desiring to remain grassroots.

This study has contributed to the conversation some new insights on the claimsmaking processes of those with power, those without power, and those seeking power in the social movement arena. A content analysis covering forty years of movement dialogue has identified a number of important patterns that can hopefully inform future efforts for research as well as activism. A historical account of this kind can also demonstrate a sense of continuity to those in the thick of advocacy. This is especially pertinent as the analysis demonstrates a lingering frustration among social change workers who may feel discouraged or disproportionately burdened with the constant strains of schism and change.

Yet, these strains are not new, nor are they likely to dissipate. Social movements are inherently contentious efforts and they must contend with a number of mechanisms and social forces that will seek to challenge or even destroy them. Increased awareness to the mechanisms of collective behavior can hopefully be reinvested into the service of social change. While the story unfolding in the Nonhuman Animal rights movement may seem bleak to some, it is important to recognize that the evidence demonstrates that professionalization and factionalism have not destroyed the movement. Radical activists continue to mobilize, and the data shows that they are having an impact.

Furthermore, professionalization may entail certain compromises, but it also entails a number of advantages. Neither factionalism nor professionalization should be conceptualized as inherently negative mechanisms. Most importantly, while professionalization does appear to lead to a significant growth in symbolic capital and concentration of power, conversations across factional lines continue. The trajectory of the movement remains a product of negotiation.

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APPENDIX A: CODING GUIDE

Faction Affiliation

Reformist

- Favors welfare reform
- Favors flexitarianism
- No open support for violent tactics
- No open criticism of bureaucratic growth
- Singular focus on particular species

Abolitionist

- Favors structural change
- Favors veganism
- Critical of violent tactics
- Open criticism of bureaucratic growth
- Comprehensive concern with all species

Direct Action

- Favors structural change
- Favors veganism
- Prioritizes illegal and/or violent tactics
- Open criticism of bureaucratic growth
- May prioritize only certain species

Degree of Professionalization

Grassroots (Six or more of the following apply)

- No indication of non-profit status
- Prioritizes forms of activism other than fundraising (such as volunteering, letter-writing, or adoption)
- Volunteer operated
- Locally based
- Democratic, nonhierarchical structure
- Non-moderate/Radical stance
 - Disfavors reforms
 - Promotes veganism
 - Disfavors euthanasia of healthy animals
 - Open support of violent tactics

Professionalized (Six or more of the following apply)

- Fulltime leadership
- Large proportion of resources originating outside the aggrieved group
- Prioritization of fundraising or open reliance on donations and grants
- Small, nonexistent, or membership base or a paper membership
- Attempts to impart the image of “speaking for a potential constituency”
- Attempts to influence policy
- Indication of non-profit status
- National or international reach
- Reference to bureaucratic, hierarchical structure
- Support of moderate stance (two or more of the following)
 - Promotes reforms
 - Promotes flexitarianism
 - Supports euthanasia of healthy animals
 - No open support of violent tactics

Evidence of Factionalism

Yes (Three or more of the following apply, or at least one applies in absence of any variables applying to the “No” category)

- Criticizes the approaches of other groups
- Statement in defense of tactics chosen
- Position statement
- Contestation over symbol
- No direct discussion of adopting tactics from others
- Claims that the particular group or position is best
- If yes, aimed at other radical factions?
- If yes, aimed at professionalized faction?
- If yes, aimed within the same faction?

No (Three or more of the following apply, or at least one applies in absence of any variables applying to the “Yes” category)

- Demonstrates cooperation or intent to cooperate with other factions
- No defense of tactics chosen
- No position statement
- No contestation over symbol; agreement or no mention
- Direct discussion of adopting tactics from others (evidence of unity) and/or cooperation with other groups

Evidence of Framing

Yes

- Attempt to define social problem
- Attempt to define solution to problem
 - Counter-framing of problem as defined by another faction
 - May include placing particular ideas or key terms in quotation marks
 - Symbol, idea, term, etc. under contestation

No

- The behaviors listed above are absent

Symbol under Contestation (If present)

- Violence
- Veganism
- Euthanasia/Adoption
- Abolition (ending speciesism) or Liberation (freeing animals)
- Welfare/Humane/Animal Rights
- Sexism, racism, ableism, etc.
- Rationality/Religion

Main Purpose of Unit (only one)

- Promoting event (festival, tabling, lecture, etc.)
- Promoting a product (restaurant, food, book, etc.)
- Reporting on event
- Sharing news item
- Discussing topic
- Discussion campaign
- Call to action
- Call for donations
- Interview within faction
- Recipe

Main Theme (Only one)

- Nonhuman Animals
- Health, food, and diet
- Environment
- Intersectional (No clear advocacy theme, or intentionally intersectional advocacy)
- Other (Not related to advocacy)

Rationale (If present)

Professionalization

- Increased resources
- Increased effectiveness
- Unity of movement position
- National reach
- Feeling of community

Grassroots

- Efficient use of resources
- Increased effectiveness
- Purity of goals
- Community responsiveness
- Feeling of community

APPENDIX B: LIST OF ABBREVIATIONS

ALF, Animal Liberation Front

ALFSG, Animal Liberation Front Supporters Group

ALFSGN, Animal Liberation Front Supporters Group Newsletter

ALV, Animal Liberation Victoria

ANZFAS, Australian and New Zealand Federation of Animal Societies

AR, Animal rights

ARNC, Animal Rights National Conference

ASPCA, American Society for the Prevention of Cruelty to Animals

BUAV, British Union for the Abolition of Vivisection

CAS, Critical animal studies

CIWF, Compassion in World Farming

COK, Compassion Over Killing

DXE, Direct Action Everywhere

ICAS, Institute for Critical Animal Studies

FARM, Farm Animal Rights Movement

GVR, Go Vegan Radio

HALF, The Human/Animal Liberation Front

HAS, Hunt Saboteurs Association

HSUS, The Humane Society of the United States

LACS, League Against Cruel Sports

NAALPO, North American Animal Liberation Press Office

NAVS, National Ant-Vivisection Society

NCSU, North Carolina State University

NPIC, Non-profit industrial complex

NIO, Negotiation is Over

PETA, People for the Ethical Treatment of Animals

QCA, Qualitative content analysis

SARP, Support Animal Rights Prisoners

SPCA, Society for the Prevention of Cruelty to Animals

RSPCA, Royal Society for the Prevention of Cruelty to Animals

TAVS, The Advocacy of Veganism Society (formerly The Abolitionist Vegan Society)

VO, Vegan Outreach