The Dissertation Committee for Courtney Lanston Dillard
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The Rhetorical Dimensions of Radical Flank Effects: Investigations into the Influence

of Emerging Radical Voices on the Rhetoric of Long-standing Moderate

Organizations in Two Social Movements


Committee:

_____
Dana Cloud, Supervisor


_____
Rick Cherwitz


_____
Roderick Hart


_____
Laurie Lewis


_____
Karin Wilkins

The Rhetorical Dimensions of Radical Flank Effects: Investigations into the Influence

of Emerging Radical Voices on the Rhetoric of Long-standing Moderate

Organizations in Two Social Movements


by


Courtney Lanston Dillard, B.A., M.A.


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The Rhetorical Dimensions of Radical Flank Effects: Investigations into the Influence

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Supervisor: Dana Cloud

Guided by an interest in the origins of social change, this dissertation

investigates how long-standing social movement organizations adopt and promote

more progressive ideologies over time. While some scholars have argued that well-

established social movement organizations tend to occupy positions more in line with

the status quo as they age, there are provocative cases in the field that challenge this

perspective. In this dissertation, I examine two social movement organizations, The

Humane Society of the United States (HSUS) and the Sierra Club, both of which

continue to introduce new arguments and new messages into the public sphere and therefore encourage the public to embrace a larger degree of social change.

In attempting to explain how these organizations have developed their discourse in the last thirty years, I focus on the impact of key emerging radical groups within the larger movement. I ask: Does the rhetoric introduced into the animal protection and environmental advocacy movements by more radical groups affect the rhetoric of more moderate organizations in those same movements? I endeavor to answer this question by tracking and analyzing the rhetoric produced by HSUS and the Sierra Club from 1970 to 2000. In conducting my investigations, I explore whether attempts on the part of radicals to expand the realm of identification (Burke, 1950) by challenging taken for granted notions concerning the value of animals/the earth and offering counter-arguments can be found in the discourse of later campaign materials produced by the moderates.

In order to do this, I track shifts in the arguments presented by the moderate organizations both prior to and following the emergence of the more radical groups - People for the Ethical Treatment of Animals (PETA) and EarthFirst!. Specifically, I explore whether following the introduction of a more radical ideology into the movement, moderates begin to challenge accepted norms concerning human relations with animals/the earth, ultimately setting the stage for a reinterpretation of that relation and a broadening of the existing sphere of identification.

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CHAPTER 1: INTRODUCTION


Thirty years ago, the only question a woman might ask herself when buying a fur coat was - mink or sable?  At that time, vegetarianism was only for hippies and the vast majority of the general public accepted the use of lab animals for scientific purposes as unproblematic.  Thirty years ago, no politician would even consider a proposal to tear down existing dams.  In the 1970s, ancient trees were more economically valuable and therefore more likely to be cut than second growth.  Government agencies were also assumed to manage public lands in the interest of the public.

A lot has changed from 1970 to 2000.  Buying fur has an element of shame to it, celebrities from Kim Bassinger to Alec Baldwin are touting their vegetarian status, and many major research centers have established ethics committees to oversee animal experimentation.  Former Secretary of the Interior, Dan Hodel, has publicly announced his support for the removal of Glen Canyon dam.  Trees-sitters protecting old-growth forests resonate with the public and several pieces of legislation have prevented logging ancient trees, despite their economic value.  Finally, the public is beginning to question the interest of government agencies such as the Forest Service and the Bureau of Land Management.  Public comments on environmental impact statements have grown tremendously.  There have been many changes.  But how do

such changes come about?  While a multitude of influences exist in any notable

societal shift, social movements have historically been an important catalyst.

Social movements provide a place to speak up, object, oppose, and dissent when

others in the society are still silent.  Participants in social movements argue certain

practices are problematic, while the rest of society takes them for granted.  But social

movements also change.  Ideas and arguments that formed the basis of their struggle

may be superseded or replaced.  How do social movements change?  Who changes

these change agents?  More specifically, what factors influence ideological shifts in

social movement organizations so that we may hear different arguments over time?

These are important questions to pose as social movements ready themselves for

international protest and persuasion campaigns in the new millennium.  One way to

begin addressing these questions is by examining shifts in the rhetoric employed by

specific social movement organizations over time.  Such rhetorical shifts can reveal

evolving ideological alignments and help us to better understand shifts in policy

pursuits.

The rhetorical study of social movements and social movement organizations is

not a wholly new enterprise.  Rhetorical scholars found social movements ripe for

investigation throughout the 1960s and 1970s, when social movements were an

important part of the national picture.  As social movements faded in importance

throughout the 1980s and early 1990s, however, scholarly interest declined (Short,

2001).  The current growth of protest in relation to global economic practices may

very well spark a resurgence in the study of social movements by rhetorical critics. This dissertation plays an important role in this resurgence. It responds to a need for answers to the complex questions regarding social movement organizations and ideological shifts by exploring intra-movement relations and their rhetorical dimensions.

According to social movement scholars Mayer Zald and John McCarthy (1987), a social movement organization (SMO) can be defined as a "complex, or formal, organization that identifies its goals with the preferences of a social movement or a counter-movement and attempts to implement those goals" (p. 20). These organizations operate within a social movement (SM) which Zald and McCarthy define as "a set of opinions and beliefs in a population representing preferences for changing some elements of the social structure or reward distribution, or both, of a society" (1987, p. 20). Despite these distinct definitions, scholars often make the mistake of conflating social movements with social movement organizations, effectively ignoring the wide variety of groups that exist within one movement.

It is important to recognize both the uniqueness of specific groups, and the fact they do not act in isolation from one another. As several sociologists have noted, SMOs interact in a variety of ways from competing for resources (Oberschall, 1973; McCarthy & Zald, 1987) to building coalitions (della Porta & Diani, 1999). Yet the bulk of sociological research suggests that group interaction and influence is limited to material relations, relations either competitive or cooperative that revolve around

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resources.  McCarthy and Wolfson's study (1996) which analyzed how different

groups with different strategies, levels of agency, and organizational structure

affected the ability of the movement against drunk driving to mobilize resources

demonstrates this approach.  They focus on factors influencing the level of success

demonstrated by SMOs in garnering financial and human resources.

In my dissertation I enlarge the scope of such investigations to include a

rhetorical dimension.  That is to say, I want to pursue a line of inquiry that focuses on

the discourse of specific social movement organizations, particularly the types of

arguments they employ in trying to persuade their audience.  I want to consider the

language of these organizations as a corollary to existing research on the activities of

SMOs.  Through rhetorical analysis involving broad content analysis and tools

associated with the close reading of key documents, I explore the possibility of

rhetorical influence between organizations operating within the same social

movement.  Specifically, I employ two case studies to examine the way in which

newly emerging, more ideologically radical SMOs may influence the discourse of

long-standing, moderate SMOs within the same movement.

Almost from the time the very first social movement was launched, there has

been a variety of SMOs that have affiliated themselves with the overarching

movement while holding different ideological positions and employing different

tactics.  While many scholars have ignored differences between SMOs, some have

tried to draw distinctions particularly between moderate/reformist organizations and

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radical/militant organizations. Unfortunately, in much of the literature groups are

labeled radical without an explanation as to what criteria are used in such an

assessment (Ingalsbee, 1996) or solely in terms of the types of tactics employed by

the SMO (Barkan, 1979). Only recently have Fitzgerald and Rodgers (2000) clearly

delineated the differing characteristics between radical and moderate social

movement organizations in terms of internal structure, communication, assessment of

success, ideology, and tactics. While their work is helpful in demonstrating the

different approaches scholars can employ in analyzing specific social movement

organizations, such a simplistic division is often difficult to find within the

movements themselves. Often times, organizations that are ideologically radical are

using moderate tactics such as legal action, while ideologically moderate

organizations are engaging in radical tactics such as direct action.

As a result of this complexity, I believe it is best for those interested in pursuing

social movement research to label organizations as moderate or radical based on one

characteristic. In this paper, I will put aside a consideration of tactics, typically the

area of inquiry, and focus exclusively on ideology. I am most interested in ideology

because of its clear rhetorical dimensions and its impact on decision-making at all

levels from the creation of organizational mission statements to the enactment of

specific issue campaigns. In addition, shifts in ideology lend themselves well to

rhetorical analysis because of their frequent presence in the literature produced by

SMOs.

While it is both difficult and dangerous to simplify matters too much, I suggest, following Herbert Haines' (1988) lead, that movements are often represented by a few well-known SMOs. In terms of their ideological stance, these SMOs exist on a type of continuum from more moderate to more radical. That is to say, they differ in their worldview and the goals they seek to achieve. Often it is easy to identify a key SMO at each end of the continuum. The more moderate SMO is typically presenting their arguments from a perspective generally in line with the dominant ideology, often with an emphasis on working within the system. As a result, this organization may have access to those in power and more dependable resources. The more radical organization, on the other hand, may be operating outside of the ideology, advancing new arguments that challenge existing norms. While they attract much publicity and can achieve direct results through disruptive actions, they typically lack access to those in power or dependable resources. These two types of organizations operate within the same larger environment and simultaneously represent the movement with their rhetoric. In addition to affecting the general public or powerful elites, the rhetoric of one organization may affect the rhetoric of another. It is this possibility which is central to the direction of my dissertation.

An example of such a division in ideology can be seen in one of this country's earliest social movements, the movement against the practice of slavery. In the years following the American Revolution, anti-slavery societies such as the Pennsylvania Abolition Society were created. The goal of these first anti-slavery organizations was

the gradual elimination of all human slavery in the United States. Their arguments were conservative in nature and their call to action gradual rather than immediate (Nye, 1963; Bormann, 1972).

Over time, however, another type of organization arose within the overarching movement; specifically, the 1830s saw the emergence of the abolitionists. The abolitionists were much more ideologically radical, demanding a total and immediate elimination of slavery, largely on the basis that blacks were wholly human and should enjoy the same rights as whites. While the anti-slavery supporters were often vague in their goals and their principles, the abolitionists made their point clear and unequivocal - they would use reason and emotion to organize opposition to slavery until the practice was ended (Nye, 1963). Organizations that favored gradual emancipation, colonization, or other approaches existed alongside abolitionist organizations for decades before abolition eventually dominated the movement in the few years prior to the Civil War. There can be little doubt that the emergence of this more ideologically radical rhetoric influenced the more moderate anti-slavery organizations. For example, Stephen Browne (1996) argues William Lloyd Garrison's "Thoughts on African Colonization" replaced reformist rhetoric with a more radical one effectively creating the demand for an immediate end to slavery. Gregory Lampe (1998) also highlights the important role of new rhetoric in radicalizing the movement. His study of Frederick Douglas outlines the radical positions taken by this rhetor and the way in which his demands shifted the political

approach to abolition over time.  While anti-slavery organizations began by publicly

announcing their opposition to abolition (Nye, 1963), in time many supported and

furthered the abolitionist cause.

A large number of current social movements provide similar examples of

ideological division.  For the purposes of my dissertation, I have chosen to limit my

investigation to two movements: (1) the animal protection movement, with its

moderate arm of animal welfare and its more radical arm of animal rights and (2) the

environmental advocacy movement with its moderate arm of conservation and

preservation and its more radical arm of deep ecology.  I have chosen these two

movements for a number of reasons.  The most important of these is the centrality of

natural resources in many of the current debates between social movement

organizations and those in power.  As was evident by the organizations protesting the

World Trade Organization in Seattle and at other such summits, the animal protection

movement and the environmental advocacy movement are key players in the struggle

over how resources will be used by those running the global economy.  As a result,

the intra-movement discourse within these movements is a critically important space

for investigation.  In essence, the way an SMO such as the Sierra Club speaks about a

river may come to affect the way in which all of us come to see that river, as well as

the actions we take regarding it.

While humankind has been entwined with nature and animals throughout

history, it was not until roughly the late 1800s that any SMOs emerged to voice

concern over the ethical basis of that relationship.  By the late 1950s, the most prominent such groups were the Humane Society of the United States (HSUS), an animal welfare organization, and the Sierra Club, an environmental conservation organization.  Respectively, they insisted that while animals/the earth were resources to be used, they should not be treated cruelly or depleted entirely.  When the prevailing norms and the laws of the land began to reflect this, evidenced by the passage of animal cruelty laws and the protection of federal wilderness areas, that ethical obligation became part of our culture's established value system.  While this alignment signaled victory for these groups, other voices were raised to argue the adoption of such a perspective was not enough.  They offered a variety of more ideologically radical positions that fundamentally challenged the existing hierarchical relationship between humans, animals and the earth.  By the early 1980s, key activists had created two new organizations—People for the Ethical Treatment of Animals (PETA) and EarthFirst!.

These two new organizations employed controversial tactics to raise public attention and rather quickly introduced their positions into the public dialogue.  While the emergence of PETA and EarthFirst! increased awareness of both animal protection and environmental advocacy movement issues, their very success spelled enormous difficulty for the more moderate organizations.  In addition to concerns over sharing limited material resources, HSUS and the Sierra Club had to grapple with the discourse being promulgated by these new groups.  As media

representatives, ever interested in controversy, demanded to know where the lines of difference were drawn, some members pushed for clearer position statements, and the movement as a whole flirted with and yet tried to avoid infighting, these two moderate groups had to quickly reassess their ideological commitments.

While these long-standing organizations had never existed in isolation from other groups in the movement, the emergence of PETA and EarthFirst! signaled an important ideological shift and a possible schism within each of the two overarching movements. Much of the difference in ideology was embodied in rhetoric. For example, while the HSUS had historically fought for bigger cages and more humane slaughter, PETA demanded no cages and a vegetarian diet. As institutions in the wider public sphere, HSUS and the Sierra Club were aware of this emerging radical rhetoric. This dissertation seeks to explore whether the discourse and ultimately the direction of these more moderate groups were influenced by such rhetoric.

## Research Questions

Social movement organizations clearly operate and become modified within a larger environment that includes a wide variety of influential factors. Scholars of social movements, particularly those associated with the resource mobilization paradigm, have approached their investigations with this in mind. Such scholars focus on political opportunities, pre-existing social networks and available material resources. As a result, they have been primarily interested in how SMOs relate to those in power, possible adherents, and those who may provide the resources for the

movement to be successful.  These scholars have paid much less attention to the possible influence of one SMO on another.  The work that has been done in this area concentrates almost exclusively on competition between organizations for material resources.  While a small body of literature explores radical flank effects, or how the existence of radical organizations affects more moderate SMOs in the same movement, almost no work has been done on how radical organizations affect the discourse and ultimately the direction of more moderate groups.

In my dissertation, I pursue this line of inquiry.  In order to trace the possible impact of more ideologically radical organizations on more moderate groups, I engage in a comparative historical analysis asking these key questions:

(1) Does the rhetoric introduced into a social movement by more radical groups offer a possible explanation for shifts in the rhetoric of more moderate organizations?

(2) If moderate groups do employ more progressive rhetoric over time, how does this alter their material resources?

## Rationale

I believe the questions I am posing are important for both those studying social movements and those participating in them.  This investigation adds dimension to existing scholarship on three accounts.  First, it plays a part in the reemerging interest in the study of social movements within the discipline.  This reemergence comes at a time when other disciplines, specifically sociology, are recognizing the importance of

discourse. As noted by Garner and Tenuto (1997) who have compiled an extensive bibliography on social movement research, the current period of social movement research looks at movements "not only in terms of organizational behavior, but also in terms of belief systems, ideologies and discourses" (p. 42). Thus, the current context is ripe for communication studies to become a more prominent and influential discipline in social movement research. Work such as the study I am undertaking, turns the spotlight on the power of discourse to help shape reality and impact material consequences. This investigation suggests that a shift in an organization's rhetoric can affect both what the organization seeks to accomplish and is capable of doing.

Second, this study serves as an important bridge between the areas of rhetoric and organizational communication. Scholars such as George Cheney (1997) and Dennis Mumby (1997a, 1997b) have argued convincingly for work that connects these two areas of research. While the connection between organizational theory and social movements has long been acknowledged and explored within sociology (Zald & Ash, 1966; Zald & McCarthy, 1987), only recently has work within communication studies revealed just how fruitful investigations of social movement rhetoric and organizational communication can be for our own discipline. One notable example is Elsbach and Sutton's (1992) article which examined the material and rhetorical construction of legitimacy by the SMO, EarthFirst!. Currently, these articles are emerging primarily from an organizational communication perspective.

My dissertation will take a different angle, focusing largely on how rhetoric influences organizations and their effectiveness.

Finally, this work also offers a productive middle ground between the two dominant paradigms in the sociological study of social movements. As I will elaborate on in the coming pages, the first of these paradigms is the resource mobilization paradigm. Research pursued under this paradigm is mostly concerned with how social movement organizations mobilize participants and how they achieve certain material outcomes. The second paradigm is the new social movement paradigm. Scholarship within this paradigm emphasizes member identity and the discourse surrounding grievances. While these two paradigms are typically espoused by different camps and treated as very different approaches, I intend to demonstrate the most fruitful work is done when research accounts for both discourse and structure. Here, I investigate not only shifts in the rhetoric of SMOs, but also the impact of those shifts on their material resources. I look at the intersection of rhetoric and resources in order to attribute importance to both. Such an approach should demonstrate the rewards of examining language and structure together as scholars attempt to better understand social movements and social movement organizations, particularly in terms of change.

In addition to being a productive venture within the academy, this study will be of use to those involved in social movements as well. First and foremost, it may be helpful in clarifying and therefore improving intra-movement relations.

Organizations operating within the same movement often claim they could be more successful without the existence of other organizations. A more radical organization may feel the more moderate group has sold-out or is too gradual in their approach to be effective. At the same time, members of the more moderate organization may feel the radical organization is ineffective because of its extremism. They believe the extremist image negatively affects the credibility of the movement in general. In an attempt to move beyond these simplified perspectives, I wish to suggest the movement thrives on both types of organizations. Over time, the rhetoric of the movement is influenced by each of them to a certain degree. It may very well be that the overarching movement remains viable because radical organizations influence the rhetoric of more moderate organizations, which in turn attempt to change the attitudes and behaviors of those in power.

One important result of improved movement relations for those involved in the movement is a more united front. SMO leaders recognize that resources must be devoted to opposing detrimental policies enacted by those in power because social movements, as marginalized activities, are rarely well-funded or wholly embraced by the public. When resources are directed at infighting rather than raising public awareness on specific issues or actively challenging controversial practices, the movement as a whole is negatively affected. As corporate power grows and those in power become more difficult to find and hold accountable, a united front on the part of social movement organizations within specific social movements is critical. These

SMOs will have to coordinate efforts in order to wage successful international campaigns that address problems incurred from a global economy. If various groups within the same social movement understand the usefulness of different ideological approaches, they will be more likely to work together effectively.

Limitations of the Study – Scope and Conclusions

Before I can turn my attention more directly to my analysis, it is important to note some of the limitations of this work. In order to give depth to my project and structure to the document, there are several choices I have made which I should clarify for the reader from the outset. First, this dissertation does not seek to demonstrate causality. That is to say, I attempt to trace possible influence, rather than directly contend radical groups cause changes in the discourse of moderate groups. In this same vein, I do not wish to imply such influence is singular in nature. I recognize other factors may impact shifts in the moderate group's ideological position and I address these in the paper's conclusion.

Second, I have limited this work not only to two social movements and four social movement organizations, but I have also limited it in terms of the direction of influence. While I chart the rhetorical influence of radical discourse on moderate organizations, I leave unexplored the possibility of moderate influence on the rhetoric of radicals. Even as I believe this influence may exist and is certainly worthy of investigation, I leave such analysis to another time for the sake of both clarity and

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brevity. It is quite possible I will conduct such analysis at a later date, eventually considering the complex web of two-way influence.

Third, as I noted above, I have chosen to examine ideological shifts rather than tactical shifts on the part of moderate organizations. This decision was again based on a need for a strong focus and a manageable amount of data for analysis. As I suggested earlier, SMOs can have moderate ideology and radical tactics or radical ideology and moderate tactics, creating the need for a quadrant system of sorts. This level of complexity is beyond the scope of this work. While I believe tactics can be rhetorical acts, I will again wait until a later date to explore this dimension of social movement rhetoric.

Finally, in this dissertation I limit my analysis of the impact of discourse on resources to a consideration of financial contributions and membership numbers. I do not attempt to examine how shifts in discourse may provide greater political opportunities, or shifts in the legal landscape in which these movements operate. I believe such outcomes can be much more difficult to objectively measure as they often require a high level of interpretation.

## Chapter Outline

I have divided my dissertation into seven distinct chapters. Following this introductory chapter, I use Chapter Two to build a theoretical foundation for the work, as well as locate it within the already existing body of literature. I begin by offering a brief history of both sociological and communication research on social

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movements.  Under each discipline I isolate the theoretical and empirical work that best informs this dissertation.  Specifically, I am interested in existing literature on relations between moderates and radicals, as well as theoretical work that may help to explain shifts in SMO ideology.  I conclude the chapter by reviewing work conducted on both the environmental advocacy and animal protection movements and specific groups within them.

Chapter Three begins with an overview of the movements I employ as case studies in the dissertation.  For each movement, I offer a short history, ideological underpinnings for both its moderate and radical factions, and details about the organizations I have chosen to examine.  This chapter also provides the details of the theory that informs my analysis, as well as information on my data collection and methodological approach.

In Chapter Four and Five, I examine the rhetorical influence of radicals on moderates in the animal protection and environmental advocacy movements respectively.  In each chapter, I perform a rhetorical analysis of archived materials, specifically looking at shifts in the basis of argument over time.  I demonstrate and discuss the findings of my analysis by first highlighting the rhetoric of the moderates prior to the emergence of the more radical groups.  I then explore the rhetoric introduced into the movement by the newer, more ideologically radical organizations. Finally, I compare the initial rhetoric of the moderate SMOs to their rhetoric after the

emergence of the more radical organizations.  Such comparisons allow me to trace

and identify signs of rhetorical influence.

Chapter Six is primarily devoted to the question of what material impacts

rhetorical shifts may have on the moderate organizations.  Specifically I chart both

membership numbers and financial contributions to the organizations from roughly

1970 to 2000.  I explore whether rhetorical shifts on the part of the moderates produce

positive or negative material outcomes.  Having laid out the findings, I will discuss

their implications.

The final chapter, Chapter Seven, begins with a summary of the previous

chapters.  I then revisit the ways in which my work can impact both those studying

and those participating in social movements.  Turning my attention to the need for

further research, I address several other possible sources of influence, as well as

possible next phases for my overarching research agenda. I conclude the chapter with

a brief discussion of the future role of SMOs nationally and on a global scale.

CHAPTER 2: LITERATURE REVIEW

Social movements have been the object of study for a number of disciplines over the last fifty years. As rich social phenomena, they have been of particular interest to scholars in the fields of sociology and communication studies. Scholars from these two disciplines, while often taking different approaches and raising different questions, have at the same time been influenced by similar theoretical paradigms and interested in similar issues. As a result, it is important to ground this dissertation in the literature of both sociology and communication studies. In fact, several rhetorical scholars have either explicitly or implicitly suggested that communication studies relies on sociology in the construction of our own theoretical approaches to social movement research (Simons, 1976; Hahn & Gonchar, 1980; Simons, 1991, DeLuca, 1999).

Perhaps the simplest way to examine the extant literature on SMOs and their various relationships is to take up the three dominant theoretical paradigms that have directed research in sociology and then turn to discussions within the communication literature which have centered on rhetorical approaches to social movements. While social movement scholars are interested in a wide variety of phenomena, here I will focus upon three paradigms and their application to inter-organizational relations.

Sociology: Theoretical Paradigms and Social Movements

The first and oldest of the theoretical paradigms in sociology, which has now been largely rejected by most social movement scholars, is the classical paradigm. This rubric was influential from the mid-1940s to the early 1960s. The classical period, affected as it was by various historical events such as the Holocaust, stressed the irrationality of social movement behavior. Researchers of social movements conflated the overall movement, its participants and structure with collective behavior, specifically as it pertained to mobs and riots. Scholars, honing in on the psychological reasons for a person's involvement in mob behavior, focused on the individual (Garner & Tenuto, 1997) rather than the movements themselves, or the relations between SMOs. In fact, concurrent work that emphasized the influence of mass society, stressed the isolation of individuals within the larger society when attempting to explain an individual's involvement in a social movement (Cantril, 1941).

One of the key themes within the classical paradigm is that of authoritarianism. Studies such as Bettelheim and Janowitz's work with veterans (1964) focused on the submission to authority within American society. One of the most important works of the period was Adorno, Frenkel-Brunswich, Levinson and Sanford's *The Authoritarian Personality* (1950). In this work, the researchers sought to better understand how the Holocaust could have happened by measuring subjects'

authoritarian tendencies. They concluded the modern world was filled with people willing to submit to another's authority. Other work completed during this era highlighted the role of authoritarianism in communism (Almond, 1954; Laswell & Lerner, 1966).

Because the classical paradigm emphasizes both the individual and the irrationality of social movement adherence and activity, there is almost no research under this paradigm focusing on organizational relations. As many theorists saw participation in movements as largely unplanned, issues of mobilization and movement structure were often ignored. This perspective changed in the 1960s with the emergence of the Resource Mobilization (RM) paradigm. RM theory distinctly breaks from the classical paradigm in viewing social movement participation as rational. In fact, the very basis of the paradigm is the theoretical work of Mancur Olson (1965) in which he employs the rational choice model of human action. He demonstrates how an individual weighs her action based on its costs and benefits in deciding to join a social movement. Such an approach was quickly taken up by theorists in the field such as Mayer Zald, Roberta Ash, and John McCarthy who developed the foundations of the RM paradigm.

The driving question behind much of the inquiry under this paradigm became: How do SMOs strategize in order to more effectively mobilize those human resources who must rationally decide to become involved in the SMO? An important component of the answer was the environment in which the SMO operated. From the

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RM perspective "organizations live in a changing environment to which they must adapt to survive. They adapt in order to continue the flow of resources required for organizational maintenance and growth" (Zald & McCarthy, 1987, p. 2).

As Garner & Tenuto (1997) summarize, research operating within this paradigm focuses on specific SMOs, their strategies of recruitment and their participation in the overall political structure. RM scholars are fundamentally interested in the wide variety of resources available to social movement actors in the ongoing struggle over power. For example, several scholars examined the Civil Rights Movement and specific organizations operating within it such as SNCC and the Southern Leadership Conference (Carson, 1981; Garrow, 1987). Other scholars turned their attention to the mobilization of participants and the available resources, both rhetorical and material, in the Civil Rights Movement. One of the most interesting of these studies was Aldon Morris' *The Origins of the Civil Rights Movement* (1984) that demonstrated the importance of pre-existing social networks such as churches within the African-American communities for social movement recruitment. Finally, theorists such as Anthony Oberschall (1973) suggested several conditions within the larger environment that increased or decreased the likelihood of mobilization. Some of the favorable conditions he highlighted were the loosening of social control by those in power, early success at key focal points in the movement, and strong urban-rural links.

While RM theory certainly provided a much more conducive space for work focused on the inter-organizational relations of SMOs, very little attention was paid to these relations specifically. Theorists did indeed turn their attention from the individual to the organization, but did not widen their lenses much from there. When SMOs were considered in relation to one another, the importance of structure and resources to the RM paradigm almost assured that such considerations would be in terms of competition for resources. This narrow framing of their relations allowed RM theorists to leave some of the complexity, including rhetorical construction of these relations, outside of their purview.

Towards the middle of the 1980s, a few social movement scholars began to note some of the limitations of the RM paradigm and attempted to formulate a new approach. They argued resource mobilization was too rational, often ignoring the role of grievances and the importance of identity and culture in mobilization (Steinmetz, 1994). They also suggested the RM paradigm ignored the issue of movement maintenance in favor of the genesis of movements (Stotik et al, 1994).

As a response to the limitations of the RM paradigm, scholars such as Alberto Melucci and Hank Johnston joined other active theorists in the field (Klandermans, Snow, Tarrow, and Gusfield) in constructing the New Social Movements (NSM) paradigm which currently dominates social movement research. Proponents of this paradigm wanted to introduce identity as a key consideration in the study of social

movements.  In addition, the NSM approach reintroduced, in much more positive

terms, the importance of belief systems and discourses within particular movements.

   Beyond taking a different approach, however, some NSM theorists also suggest

the movements themselves have fundamentally changed in nature.   Johnston, Larana,

and Gusfield (1994) highlight what they see as the specific characteristics of new

social movements:

>    (1) the social base of NSMs is not wholly class dependent, (2) NSMs exhibit a
> pluralism of ideas, (3) NSMs often develop around weaker dimensions of
> identity, often tied to consumer decisions, (4) in NSMs, the relation between
> individual and collective is blurred, (5) NSMs often focus upon more personal
> aspects of life rather than public/political ones, (6) NSMs often use radical
> tactics of disruption and (7) NSM organizations are often segmented and diffuse
> (pp. 6-8).

Some examples of movements considered to be new social movements are the

environmental, anti-nuclear and feminist movements (Pakulski, 1991).

Recognizing that identity is a key component of work pursued under this

paradigm, much of the recent research on social movements has highlighted this

aspect of participation.  For example, Stoecker (1995) offers a model by which one

can understand how identities converge between social movement organizations and

the communities in which they operate.  Hercus (1999) examines the role of emotion

in creating identity within feminist oriented social movement organizations.  Finally,

Moore (1990) studied the Australian skin-head community, theorizing that drinking played an important part in constructing a shared sense of ethnic identity.

It is important to note that while NSM theory was developed as a type of corrective to the overly rational RM paradigm, a number of scholars have critiqued NSM theory for wholly abandoning the study of material outcomes and the possibility of agency (Klandermans & Tarrow, 1988; Zald, 1992). Several case studies have clearly demonstrated material conditions, both existing and envisioned, play a role in social movement activities. For example, Oberschall (1993) discusses how the fight for material goals such as equal pay and non-discrimination remained at the forefront of the women's movement throughout the 1970s and into the present time. Cloud (2001) highlights the economic and political conditions in Indonesia that led to the Indonesian Revolution and the overthrow of long time dictator, Thojib Suharto. Cloud's work not only reminds us that material conditions continue to play a fundamental role in social movements and social conflict, it also demonstrates that despite the pessimism associated with globalization, everyday people can effectively resist and remove those in power.

Currently, a number of major theorists in the field are attempting to incorporate the focus on identity into an approach that still values the material outcomes associated with the resource mobilization paradigm. In *Power in movement* (1998), for example, Tarrow offers a synthesis of both paradigms when he lays out his central argument:

[P]eople engage in contentious politics when patterns of political

opportunities and constraints change, and then, by strategically employing a

repertoire of collective action, create new opportunities, which are used by

others in widening cycles of contention. When their struggles revolve around

broad cleavages in society, when they bring people together around inherited

cultural symbols, and when they can build on or construct dense social networks

and connective structures, then these episodes of contention result in sustained

interactions with opponents – specifically in social movements (p. 19).

In my dissertation, I will also strive to find a productive middle ground between the

two paradigms. As I will discuss in detail at a later point in this paper, some existing

scholarship within rhetorical studies recognizes the importance of both discourse and

material outcomes. I intend to strike the same balance in my own work.

The NSM paradigm, particularly when it does account for movement goals and

political opportunities, opens up a potential space for more work to be done on inter-

organizational relations. One of the clearest signs of a response to this possibility is

the recent increase of studies on coalitions and coalition building. Researchers have

explored several examples of European coalition building by a wide variety of

movements, particularly around environmental issues (Donati, 1996; Szerszinski,

1995). Other work has looked at the way in which grassroots organizations operating

within different, but similar movements may work together in order to educate

themselves and plan events (Baugh, 1991; della Porta & Diani, 1999). While these

articles have shed light on relations between groups often associated with a wide variety of movements, they do not specifically consider inter-organizational relations within the same movement. The body of research in this area is quite small and underdeveloped.

<p align="center">*Inter-organizational Relations*</p>

As I noted earlier, there are many possible avenues of research in the area of intra-movement relations. And yet, few have been explored in any depth. While Zald and McCarthy (1987) explicitly called for more research in this area, their suggestions have generally fallen on deaf ears (Zald, 2001, personal correspondence). Two partially developed areas of sociological inquiry on intra-movement relations that are particularly pertinent to this dissertation are *radical flank effects* and a subset of collective action framing research generally referred to as *frame disputes*.

*Radical flank effects*

In the 1960s, a small number of scholars began theorizing about the relationship between more radical and more moderate organizations within the same social movement. Largely, they were interested in the impact radical groups had on the material effectiveness of more moderate organizations and the movement as a whole. As mentioned earlier, Nye (1963) included a discussion of radical/moderate relations in his work on the abolition movement. He noted that moderates were often wary of the tactics employed by the radicals and traced the disintegration of the moderates in the years prior to the Civil War. Killian (1972) also examined the impact of emergent

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radicals on other organizations within the movement.  Some of the effects he highlights are the introduction of new issues into the movement's agenda and the radicalizing of the overall movement over time.

While scholars of this period had begun to analyze intra-movement relations, it was not until 1975 that the term "radical flank" was employed.  Freeman (1975) utilized the term to describe the more radical organizations operating within the larger context of the women's movement and impacting other groups within the same movement.  She concluded the radical flank provided greater legitimacy to more moderate organizations and therefore increased their effectiveness.  Following her work, the impact of a radical flank was investigated in connection to several movements including the labor movement and the anti-nuclear movement.  For example, Barkan (1979) suggested that while radical tactics may have hurt the movement overall, the radical flank was able to enlarge the scope of the issues the movement pursued.

One of the ongoing debates in this area of research is whether radical flanks have more positive or more negative effects on moderate organizations.  Haines (1988) sought to answer this question in what is currently considered the only substantial study on radical flank effects.  In *Black Radicals and the Civil Rights Movement, 1954-1970*, Haines lays out criteria for positive and negative flank effects. After extensive investigation of financial contributions and political goals, he concludes the existence of a radical flank created mostly positive effects for the

moderate organizations including increased material support and legislative outcomes.

In the last several years, only a handful of other pieces on inter-organizational relations have been written and few of these specifically focus on the concept of radical flank effects.  Esterberg (1994), for example, utilizes competition theory to explain the decline of particular SMOs in the homophile movement.  She notes shifts in identity also play a key role in the emergence of new organizations and shifts in mobilization patterns.  Poster (1995) examines the role of class and racial diversity in two social movement organizations within the contemporary women's movement.  She suggests these two factors contribute to both the tactical and ideological differences between the organizations.  Finally, Haines (1996), in line with his previous work, identifies two different approaches utilized by groups mobilizing against the death penalty: the first seeking to abolish the death penalty outright and immediately, the other seeking to do so through the court system one client at a time.

*Framing*

In their chapter on the competition and conflict between social movement organizations, McCarthy and Zald (1987) argue that the competition for symbolic dominance or symbolic hegemony (p. 180) is an important and fruitful area for inquiry.  Much of the analysis of competition over symbols has been conducted under the rubric of framing, a concept that has occupied an important place in both recent RM and NSM theory.  Framing is the use of "an interpretive schemata that simplifies

and condenses the 'world out there' by selectively punctuating and encoding objects, situations, events, experiences and sequences within one's present or past environment" (Snow & Benford, 1992).

Snow, Benford, Worden and Rochford (1986) suggested four key types of frame alignment processes: frame bridging, frame amplification, frame extension and frame transformation. The frames selected by social movement groups later came to be termed *collective action frames* and were defined by Snow and Benford as "emergent action oriented sets of beliefs and meaning that inspire and legitimate social movement activities and campaigns" (1992, p. 137). The collective action framing process consists of diagnostic framing or identifying a problem and locating blame, prognostic framing which offers a solution to the problem as well as specific approaches to implementing the solution, and motivational framing which is essentially a call to arms (Benford, 1993; Benford & Snow, 2000).

Scholars have developed a large body of literature around the concept of framing. While numerous articles have explored frame resonance with the public, counter-framing by oppositional movements, and constraints on frame alignment, relatively little research has been done on frame development within movements and the resulting frame disputes which occur between organizations. As Benford and Snow (2000) point out, frame disputes occur in three primary areas. Organizations compete and often clash over whom to blame for the problem, how to fix it, and which frames will best resonate with the public. A few notable pieces have

investigated the phenomenon of frame disputes. Benford (1993) found that frame disputes within the anti-nuclear movement were a central feature of the movement's internal workings, with the disputes mostly occurring between moderate and radical factions. In more recent work, scholars have suggested frame disputes incur both costs and benefits for the overall movement and particular organizations (White, 1999).

In addition to being grounded in literature on frame disputes, this dissertation is also interested in the connection between framing and the effectiveness of social movements and SMOs. Surprisingly, this area of research is also underdeveloped. Cress and Snow (2000) suggest this underdevelopment is the result of lacking strong empirical measures for such a connection. The few case studies scholars have undertaken in this area do support a link between frame choices and outcome attainment. For example, Snow and Benford (1992) argued the failure to create a master frame that resonates with the public kept the peace movement in the United States relatively small during the 1970s despite an optimal mobilization context. McCarthy (1994) traced the shift in frames used to discuss automobile accidents. He noted the successful use of the drunk-driving frame by the media greatly affected the movement against drunk driving both in terms of increasing material resources and creating collective identity for victims and their families. More recently, Cress and Snow (2000) engaged in an interesting comparative analysis. They looked at fifteen SMOs focused on the issue of homelessness and identified differences, including

rhetorical differences in frame construction, that led some organizations to be more successful in achieving their outcomes than others.

The concept of framing provides a natural bridge between sociology and rhetorical studies. The strategic use of frames by social movement organizations demonstrates the important role discourse can play both in the everyday struggle over power and in specific attempts to obtain material outcomes. In essence, research on framing is research on the chosen methods of persuasion, as well as the impact of context on the success of that persuasion. This is partially because scholarship on framing tends to highlight the importance of such variables as political climate and particular audiences (Jasper & Poulson, 1995; Evans 1997). As Benford (1997) relays, framing was part of "an opening in the field's opportunity structure for those interested in movement reality construction and communication processes" (p. 409).

The use of framing as a lens on social movement activity has a strong history in communication studies, from Gitlin's (1980) well-known work on media framing and the New Left to recent work on framing and the environmental movement (Karlberg, 1997; Liebler & Jacob, 1996). This research demonstrates that the way in which the media represented the movement affected such material matters as membership and resource allocation. While research on media framing is informative to this dissertation, here I focus my attention on framing processes within the movement rather than those created by outside parties.

Communication Studies: Theoretical Paradigms and Social Movements

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Communication studies, as a discipline, came rather late to the study of social movements. In the 1940s, scholars raised questions about how the discipline should approach social movements, what tools to employ, and what types of discourse to analyze (Crandell, 1947). But no ready answers were offered. Perhaps as a result of this ambiguity, little research took place in this area until the late 1960s. As Henry and Jensen (1991) note, Edwin Black only listed two pieces of rhetorical criticism and one theoretical work pertaining to social movements in 1965. By 1980, various scholars estimated the number of completed studies analyzing social movements was between 200 and 300.

During the 1970s and 1980s, many positions were advanced concerning the most fruitful theoretical perspective to take in analyzing social movements. I will briefly recount the most enduring perspectives below. The first of these, summarized by James Andrews, is an historical approach. Andrews (1983) argued rhetorical scholars should take up social movements with an understanding of the historical context within which they take place. He suggested social movement rhetoric does not contain "a discreet repertoire of unique patterns" (p. 68), rather it is affected by a larger context which the critic should share with her audience in connection with any interpretation. The second perspective, which was widely applied in the 1970s, is the confrontation perspective. Robert Cathcart (1983) laid out his theory, calling for an analysis not only of messages and counter-messages, but also how the public is positioned to weigh in on the matter. Cathcart was particularly interested in a

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movement's ability to create identification and examined the role of ideology in movement persuasion.

Finally, Charles Stewart, who continues to produce scholarship on the topic of social movements, presented a functional perspective.  He contended that such a perspective, one that takes rhetoric as the agency through which movements are created and enacted, is the most productive approach.  Stewart's position suggested social movement scholars within communication studies may be able to identify "typical" social movements and the way in which they employ rhetoric to perform a whole host of functions.

In addition to these perspectives, a clear split resembling that between RM and NSM scholars could be found in the positions taken by Herbert Simons and Michael McGee.  Simons (1970) defined a social movement as an "uninstitutionalized collectivity that mobilizes for action to implement a program for the reconstitution of social norms or values" (p. 2).  As a result of emphasizing action and reconstitution, Simons approach aligns with the resource mobilization paradigm.  His further development of the requirements-problems-strategies approach (1982) provided a rhetorical tool by which scholars could investigate how social movement actors utilize discourse to achieve specific material outcomes.

Michael McGee, on the other hand, offered a different approach in arguing rhetorical scholars should examine social movements as a form of meaning.  McGee (1980, 1983) suggested movements exist only as we employ rhetoric to constitute

them.  In this way, he aligned himself with those operating under the NSM paradigm.

He disagreed with Simons' contention that social movements are a distinct

phenomena, suggesting instead the study of social movements must be informed by

hermeneutic theory.  Like those in sociology who emphasize identity, McGee called

for questions of consciousness to play center stage in scholarship on social

movements.

While research in social movements continues within the field, it has receded

and changed emphasis in the last ten to fifteen years.  In line with new social

movement theory, much current research focuses on media representation (Barker-

Plummer, 1995; Ryan, Carragee & Schwerner, 1998) and the shifting rhetorical

representation of identity within social movements over time (Slagle, 1995).  As

suggested in the discussion on various theoretical paradigms within sociology, I

intend for this dissertation to focus on strategy and material outcomes, without

ignoring the role of such factors as grievances and values.  Simons work (1970, 1982)

provides a fruitful approach to the rhetorical study of social movement organizations

by identifying discourse as a type of resource available to social movement actors.

His perspective, which I share, allows for discourse to play a prominent role in the

investigation of specific SMOs and their interaction without isolating discourse from

material outcomes.  I intend to follow Simon's lead in looking at the rhetoric of social

movements as a means rather than an end.  I am particularly interested in looking at

the rhetorical relationship between radicals and moderates and the concept of counter-hegemony that has recently been explored and applied within communication studies.

*Rhetorical Dimensions of Radicals and Moderates*

Communication studies and particularly rhetoric has had an enduring interest in the radical voice. Scholars writing in the 1970s examined radical rhetoric from a number of angles. For example, Chesebro (1972) investigated five different rhetorical strategies employed by the New Left after the movement entered into its revolutionary phase and attempted to unite various factions under a more radical ideology. Scott (1973) demonstrated the conservative nature of radical rhetoric in its use of division as a rhetorical strategy. In addition to these studies, a few scholars took a lens to radical rhetoric that suggested such rhetoric has features of coercion. Burgess (1973) argued the discipline of rhetoric could develop stronger theory by accepting this coercive tendency within particular contexts such as large-scale social conflict. Andrews (1973), one of the main theorists in the field, utilized the Trent affair as a case study of coercive rhetoric. As a theorist working from a historical perspective, he suggested the context of the event created a successful rhetorical strategy that included forms of coercion. Finally, Cathcart's confrontational perspective (1980, 1983) maintained social movements rhetoric has a radical dimension to it in which movement actors are confronting those in power who in turn attempt to preserve the status quo.

While an interest in radical rhetoric both within social movements and other contexts continues today (see Darsey, 1997), scholars have never paid much attention to the moderate rhetoric of social movements.  Perhaps as a result of this imbalance, there has been only a handful of works that specifically concerned themselves with the rhetorical dimensions of radical/moderate relations.  One of these exceptions is work by James Klumpp (1973).  In relaying the challenges confronting the student movement at Columbia University as they became more radical in their demands and their tactics, Klumpp noted an early split between moderate and radical factions.  He argued some members wanted more moderate ideology in order to attract new members, while others wanted to radicalize new members through a more radical ideology.  While the radicals prevailed within the movement, their attempt to frame the administration as illegitimate failed to resonate with the university community.

In another article examining radical/moderate relations, Jurma (1982) takes up the case study of the moderate group, the Vietnam Moratorium Committee.  In probing into the reasons for the group's ultimate demise, he suggested moderate groups have difficulty in navigating the middle-ground between aligning their interest with those in power and negotiating challenges by more radical organizations.  He concluded the group was unable to maintain an effective position partially because radicals continued to make larger demands on the moderate group at the same time the radicals attracted more followers.  The split between radicals and moderates was also an important feature of several articles written by James Andrews (1970, 1973,

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1983).  Andrews, who focused on the rhetoric of the Whigs during the period of parliamentary reform, explained differences over tactics and scope divided the movement for reform and negatively affected its effectiveness (1973, 1983).

The two most pertinent pieces of literature for this study are Simon's article "Requirements, problems, and strategies: A theory of persuasion for social movements" (1970) and Robert Scott's chapter "Black power bends Martin Luther King" in *The Rhetoric of Black Power* (1969).  Simon's piece, clearly emerging from sociological theory, laid out the rhetorical issues facing social movement leaders of both reformist and revolutionary movements.  He suggested, particularly in the case of rhetorical strategy, militants and moderates are often at odds with one another.  Yet he recognized they can positively impact each other's legitimacy in the eyes of certain constituents, as well as influence attempts to gain desired material outcomes. He concluded by noting "however much they war amongst themselves, militants and moderates each perform essential functions" (p. 10).

In the second piece, Scott demonstrated not only the existence of radical and moderate factions and their effect on public perceptions, but also the rhetorical influence of radicals on the discourse of moderates within the overarching movement. Scott analyzed several letters and speeches by MLK following the Meredith March of 1966 when the term "black power" was first introduced.  He explained that even as the term (which symbolized a radical shift) was rejected by King, the rhetoric of the great civil rights leader bore its mark over time.  For example, in a speech given at the

10th Anniversary of SCLC, King not only echoes the rhetoric of Stokely Carmichael, but also makes greater demands, particularly concerning economic issues. In this chapter, Scott clearly identified and evidenced the rhetorical influence of radical rhetoric on moderate discourse.

*Hegemony and Counter-hegemony*

The term "hegemony" was first used by Russian Marxists, specifically Lenin, as a description of how state power could be won in Russia (Carroll, 1992). Gramsci's use of the concept in the *Prison Notebooks* (1971) reinterpreted hegemony as moral and intellectual leadership utilized not only to win state power, but also to maintain it. The paramount dilemma facing Gramsci at the time of his writing was how to reconcile the lack of a revolution with Marx's original theorizing that had suggested such a revolution was inevitable. In order to do this Gramsci introduced the concept of hegemony. He defines hegemony such that it includes ideology but is not the same as ideology (Eagleton, 1991, p. 112). As Eagleton clearly articulates: "A ruling group or class may secure consent to its power by ideological means; but it may often do so, say, by altering the tax system in ways favorable to groups whose support its needs, or creating a layer of relatively affluent, somewhat politically quiescent workers" (p. 112). Gramsci conceives of hegemony as an overarching and encompassing system of values that come to be known as common sense within a society. This common sense reinforces the status quo and the existing power structure.

According to Eagleton, Gramsci believed hegemony could be won not through passive activities, but through establishing "the moral, political and intellectual leadership in social life by defusing one's own 'worldview' throughout the fabric of society as a whole, thus equating one's own interests with the interests of society at large" (p. 116). Such an establishment was the product of struggle as Gramsci notes in his discussions on the war position (1971, pp. 238-239). This struggle took place not only within the individual, but also on the terrain of the entire society. Gramsci divides institutions into those who use coercion and those who use ideology. He aligns the coercive institutions with the state and places those utilizing ideology within civil society.

Gramsci's perspective is grounded in a belief in human agency. He conceives of the possibility of waging a war of position and wresting control from the ruling class. It is within civil society that Gramsci locates the possibility for counter hegemony. Within this civil society, organic intellectuals emerge and encourage the participation of the masses in a revolution. Organic intellectuals differ from traditional intellectuals as they arise from their own class and are in opposition to the ruling class. These organic intellectuals are conceived to be the primary organizing agents in the war of position. They are to develop consciousness among the masses by appealing to the working people's lived experience.

Social movements are key components in counter-hegemony as well. As Simon (1991) suggested:

The hegemonic power exercised by the bourgeoisie through the organizations of

civil society has to be increasingly undermined by the countervailing power of

the social movements based on the growing activities of the members of these

movements, linked together under the leadership of the ruling class

(p. 75).

Social movements work to challenge and ultimately subvert the reified discourse of

the ruling power. In part, they offer oppositional perspectives on taken for granted

attitudes and behaviors within the society. Such counter-hegemonic forces must be

vigilant however. Those in power often work to subtly absorb challenging discourse,

making it much less potent (Boggs, 1984).

In the last 15 years, various scholars have taken up the concept of hegemony,

expanding and reinterpreting it. A central such work is Laclau and Mouffe's

*Hegemony and Social Strategy: Towards a Radical Democratic Politics* (1985).

Here, the authors attempt to examine social struggles through a commitment to

pluralism. This commitment recognizes the fluid nature of identity and demands a

conception of social change privileging the role of the discursive. In several places

throughout the work, Laclau and Mouffe seem to blend the material and the

discursive. For example, they suggest articulation (as they have constructed the

concept) is not only a linguistic phenomenon, but "must instead pierce the entire

material density of the multifarious institutions, rituals and practices through which a

discursive formation is structured" (p. 109).  They continue in this line of argument,

suggesting that every social practice is "articulatory" (p. 113).

Recent scholarship in communication studies on the concept of hegemony has

focused upon the interpretation of the concept and its applicability in studying various

types of discourse.  While some scholars, most notably Cloud (1996), have argued to

maintain Gramsci's original meaning of the term which is much more active and

confrontational, others, most notably Condit (1994), have argued to broaden and

largely soften the concept, presenting it as a type of concordance.

In addition to important theoretical debates, some scholars have considered

social movements in light of hegemony and social control.  In using the concept of

hegemony to examine the freedom rides of 1961, Murphy (1992) focused "attention

on the strategies used to accommodate dissent within dominant systems of meaning"

(p. 74).  Downing (1984) has looked at the possibilities of counter-hegemony by

social movements in their use of the media.  He argued social movements have a

dialectical relationship with the media, as they both generate and are stimulated by

radical media.

The concept of hegemony acts as an important foundation for my dissertation

for several reasons.  Following Carroll and Ratner's (1996) suggestion that Gramsci's

original work on hegemony offers a viable alternative to those embracing wholly

material or radically pluralistic position, I will locate my analysis within civil society,

recognizing not only the cultural context, but also the material consequences of power

relations. In addition, I view social movements as potential forces of counter-hegemony that confront those in power and challenge the dominant discourse. In my dissertation, I will focus upon the ways in which those challenging voices create and change their messages. While I will hone in on the role of discourse, I will continually interrogate the relationship between discourse and material conditions, particularly in terms of the available material resources. Here, I will view civil society as a landscape upon which actors, including those associated with SMOs, battle over the power to construct and control components of the dominant ideology in order to achieve specific goals.

Research on the Environmental Advocacy and Animal Protection Movements

In recent years, the environmental advocacy movement has been a popular site of social movement research within sociology. Scholars have looked to the movement to explore a myriad of theoretical issues from the relationship between identity and movement participation (Conell, 1990) to the mobilization efforts of grassroots organizing (Freudenberg & Steinsapir, 1991). Those interested in doing comparative analysis across cultures or examining social movements in other cultures have also found the environmental advocacy movement to be of use. Several articles concerning the environmental movement in the European context have been published (Sarkar, 1986; Schmid, 1987; Taylor, 1993). In addition, Klandermans and Tarrow's work (1988) which compares four different movements in parts of Europe

and the United States, spends much time looking at the similarities in tactics as well as the diverse outcomes of SMOs operating in different places.

Despite a clear interest in the movement as a whole, there has been almost no direct work done on intra-movement relations. Instead, researchers have concentrated on coalition building around environmental issues. The creation of coalitions certainly can take place between organizations within the same movement (Donati, 1996; Szerszinski, 1995), but may also involve several different movements coalescing around a salient event or campaign. An example of this is the environmental justice movement that encourages bonds between civil rights groups and environmental organizations (Baugh, 1991).

In addition to concentrating on inter-movement relations rather than intra-movement relations, work on environmental organizations has tended to lack balance. While several articles examine a specific SMO within the movement (Brown & May, 1991; Ingalsbee, 1996), or look at the tactics or discursive practices of several radical organizations (Devall, 1991), they do not specifically examine relations between radicals and moderates within the same movement. Ingalsbee's piece provides a good example. While arguing for the importance of identity in new social movements, he uses EarthFirst! as a case study. Although he clearly notes a division between the moderate environmental movement and those aligned with EarthFirst!, he neglects to further develop the impact of this division on particular moderate organizations or the movement as a whole.

Communication scholars have also demonstrated an interest in the environmental movement, even though comparatively less research has been published in the discipline. In an important article for those interested in environmental advocacy, James Cantrill (1993) created an organizing scheme for research in this area, as well as offered a strong review of the relevant literature to date. He suggests there are three belief subsystems that can serve to organize communication scholarship on the environment: sociocultural, informational bases and strategic-actional concerns. Using this as a rough guide, the three most developed areas of research are currently the relationship between culture and the environment, media representations and environmental issues, and discursive practices/tactics of environmental social movement organizations.

The most interesting work on the cultural aspects of the environment has, in my mind, focused on language as a window on cultural value systems. For example, Oravec (1970) examined the debate over damming Hetch Hetchy in terms of the language used. He highlighted the ways in which word choice revealed how most people view the environment primarily as a resource. Other work has examined the struggle over language by the environmental movement and its counter-movement, often referred to as the wise-use movement (Moore, 1993).

Research on the media and the environment has often been concerned with media framing. Coverage of the Exxon Valdez oil spill, for instance, was considered to have naturalized the event through the creation of a disaster narrative that removed

notions of human agency and responsibility (Daly & O'Neill, 1991).  In other work, Davis (1995) investigated the connection between the framing of environmental messages and the public attitudes and behaviors toward environmental issues.  Liebler and Bendix (1996) suggested television framing favored those in support of cutting old-growth forests, rather than those opposed to it.  Finally, Karlberg (1997) focused upon the use of adversarial framing and environmental news and argued it had negative effects on the environmental movement.

There have been a few important pieces published which focus on the rhetoric and the tactics of environmental social movement organizations.  Many of these are specifically interested in radical organizations.  The most prominent work in the field at this time is DeLuca's book *Image Politics:The New Rhetoric of Environmental Activism* (1999).  Here, DeLuca employs several pieces of postmodern theory to demonstrate how radical positions on the environment create new opportunities to challenge the dominant discourse. Within his overarching focus on the potential of images in social protest, he also explores issues of media framing, current notions of progress, and the dilemmas inherent in the role of the critic.  He contends it is the image rather than discursive argument which matters in social movement rhetoric and the engagement in protest rather than the outcome which is important to both activists and academics.

Echoing Brant Short's review of DeLuca's work (2001), I believe while DeLuca makes a strong case for the reading of image events and the immensity of their

rhetorical impact, he too quickly offers images the center stage of social movement rhetoric. I agree with Short that it is discourse, particularly the use of strategic frames that have historically defined and enabled social movements to reach the public and affect policy decisions. DeLuca, like many NSM theorists, makes the mistake of trying to entirely redirect the focus of social movement research rather than offering the image or identity as important and previously ignored elements within the existing body of scholarship. Viewing social movements through a postmodern lens should uncover those elements not yet considered, rather than work to dismiss all previous investigations. In my own dissertation, I hope to expand the view social movement scholars take of their subject as I work to include the role of rhetoric in achieving material outcomes.

Additional work pursued within the discipline includes two pieces that specifically examine the tactics and discourse of EarthFirst! First, Short (1991) argues EarthFirst! utilizes "agitative rhetoric," such as acts of civil disobedience and eco-sabotage, in both symbolic and instrumental ways. He also suggests this type of rhetoric can generally be used to distinguish between the more radical groups who employ it and the more moderate ones who eschew it. Second, Lange (1990) directly comments upon the consequences of the radical rhetoric and tactics of EarthFirst! for other groups within the movement. He argues while many moderate groups dislike the organization, Earthfirst! offers benefits as well as extract costs from the

movement. Specifically, he notes radical tactics can make the moderate group more attractive to those in power and broaden the environmental debate.

While the environmental movement has enjoyed a level of prominence within social movement research, the animal protection movement has remained under-explored. In the handful of scholarly works on the movement, researchers have pursued a variety of angles. For example, within the sociological literature Groves (1997) examined the role of emotion in recruiting members to the movement and sustaining their activities. Peek, Konty and Frazier (1997) were also interested in issues of adherence. They traced the link between religious beliefs and ideological support for the animal rights movement, finding that some religious beliefs positively correlated with adherence to movement perspectives and support for movement outcomes.

Other work within sociology has focused on factors impacting the success of animal rights' campaigns. Einwohner (1999a) conducted ethnographic research on the Progressive Animal Welfare Society in WA, determining that both political and cultural opportunity played an important role in whether or not particular campaigns were successful. In another article developed from the same study, Einwohner (1999b) assessed the role of class and gender on reactions to two separate campaigns. She suggested a lack of identification between targets and activists in anti-hunting campaigns decreased the likelihood of message reception by the targets. Finally, Tannenbaum (1995) examined the role of the courts in the animal rights movement.

He argued the movement may be able to achieve various outcomes by working within the legal system and addressing the issue of animals as property.

Although some important literature on the overarching movement has been developed by activists (see Francione, 1996), Jasper and Nelkin's *The Animal Rights Crusade: The Growth of Moral Protest* (1993), is the definitive scholarly piece on the movement and the most pertinent one for this dissertation. In their book, Jasper and Nelkin not only review each of the five major issues pursued by the animal rights movement, but also extensively discuss the three dominant strands of the movement: welfarists, pragmatists, and fundamentalists. The position of each of these wings is delineated throughout the book and in connection to each of the major issues.

While the authors do not discuss the concept of radical flank effects directly, Doug McAdam (1992) juxtaposes the existing literature on the topic with the concluding commentary of Jasper and Nelkin. He suggested the radical flank typically benefits the more moderate groups by lending them greater legitimacy and by providing an overall approach of carrot and stick to the movement. In previous research, Gamson (1975) discovered that such an approach aided the movement in achieving their desired outcomes. Most importantly, McAdam points out that moderates gain legitimacy even as they "themselves are broadening their goals in response to the pressure applied by the radicals" (p. 1449). It is this point which I will specifically take up and attempt to support in my dissertation.

While there is very little research on the animal rights movement within sociology, there is even less in communication studies. In addition, the work that has been pursued is not linked by any common thread. Medhurst and Benson (1991) analyzed the animal rights movement in their chapter on the rhetoric of campaigns and social movements. They examined a number of different messages disseminated by groups within the movement, as well as discussed the movement in relation to new social movements. Several years later, Olson and Goodnight (1994) explored the controversy over fur as a case study for oppositional rhetoric. They demonstrated how the animal rights movement and its adherents challenged the taken for granted notion that animals are valuable only in terms of their use by human beings. They concluded their piece by suggesting such rhetoric signaled the possibilities for reinvigorating the public sphere.

In the last few years, only one other piece has utilized the animal rights movement as a case study. Charles Stewart (1999) looked at the animal rights movement as an example of other-directed movements. While his primary concern is the role of ego function in this movement and two others, he effectively established the uniqueness of movements in which the primary rhetors are not beneficiaries.

In my dissertation I focus on both the environmental advocacy movement and the animal protection movement. As noted before, I selected these movements because of their centrality in current and future debates on natural resources. In addition, I decided to focus on these movements because both have a long history and

each have at least one well-established, more moderate organization and one newer,

more ideologically radical one.  In the next chapter, I lay out the broad context for

these movements by giving a brief history of each movement, as well as highlighting

their various ideological underpinnings.  I also offer some background information on

the four organizations I focus on in Chapters Four and Five.  Finally, I introduce the

theoretical lens through which I will examine the case studies, explain the data

collection process, and summarize the methodology I employ in analyzing my

materials.

CHAPTER 3: CONTEXT & METHODOLOGY

In this dissertation I employ a case study approach. In so doing, I have chosen to engage in rhetorical criticism on a small number of social movements and social movement organizations. Specifically, I will examine the discourse of a moderate and a radical organization within two different SMs: the animal protection movement and the environmental advocacy movement. In order to draw conclusions about the four groups I have selected, I will analyze a wide variety of materials. The bulk of my analysis will be qualitative. To most effectively prepare the reader for the coming analysis, this chapter will provide a background for the cases to be examined, as well as introduce my theoretical lens, explain the details of my data collection, and lay out my methodological approach.

Both the animal protection movement and the environmental advocacy movement have important histories. As movements, they are fluid and have changed over time. In the short history I provide below for each movement, I intend to demonstrate how various factors from legislative accomplishments to the discovery of new issues have influenced their development. Specifically, I highlight the ideological underpinnings of both movements, illustrating that each has a more moderate and a more radical approach to how humans interact with the earth and the other animals upon it. These fundamental differences are one of the reasons for the myriad SMOs operating within the overarching movement. In moving to discuss the

four specific groups I will analyze, I demonstrate how HSUS and the Sierra Club have historically aligned themselves with the more moderate ideology of the movement, while PETA and EarthFirst! produce a discourse more reflective of a radical ideology. In order to make my argument as clear as possible, I offer examples of the groups' own words throughout my description of the cases.

Case One: The Animal Protection Movement

*Short History of the Animal Protection Movement*

The American commitment to animal welfare can be traced as far back as 1641 when the Massachusetts Bay Colony made cruelty to domestic animals unlawful. Other such laws were passed throughout the 1700s and 1800s in a number of different colonies. It wasn't until the mid-1800s, however, that specific SMOs were formed to pursue and protect the welfare of animals. From 1866 to 1868, three such organizations came into existence: the American Society for the Prevention of Cruelty to Animals (ASPCA, 1866), the Philadelphia SPCA (1867) and the Massachusetts SPCA (1868). These organizations had the backing of several influential people including notable clergy and politicians. In the years to follow, more organizations were founded, some with very specific areas of interest like the protection of horses.

Unlike the environmental movement, those advocating on behalf of animals were unable to pass important pieces of legislation until the 1950s and 1960s. In that decade, after the founding of the Humane Society of the United States (HSUS, 1954)

and Friends of Animals (1957), there were a series of bills passed which protected specific animals under specific conditions. For example, the Humane Slaughter Act of 1958 requires farm animals be stunned before they are butchered. The Laboratory Animal Welfare Act (LAWA) of 1966 laid out a series of protocols for the handling of animals during laboratory experiments. While these pieces of legislation were triumphs for the movement, they were narrow in their scope. In the 1970s some of these acts were broadened. For example, the LAWA was extended to become the AWA. The AWA currently prohibits dog and cock fighting, as well as establishes regulations for the transportation of a wide variety of animals. In addition to the extension of existing laws, the decade also saw the passage of new acts such as the Marine Mammal Protection Act (1972) and the Fur Seal Act (1976).

In 1971, Richard Ryder rocked the foundation of the movement when he coined the term *speciesism* to define the preference for one's own species over the interests of other species. Working in conjunction with Ryder, Peter Singer wrote *Animal Liberation* (1975). In this work, he lays out utilitarian arguments against the view that animals only have value in their use by human being and builds an argument for the interests of animals. The first animal protection organization to utilize the term *rights* was founded by Henry Spira (Animal Rights International) in 1976 and five years later the Animal Legal Defense Fund was formed. Tom Regan introduced another important philosophical work into the movement in 1984 when he wrote the

*Case for Animal Rights.*  In his work, he explicitly advances a rights view over the utilitarian argument articulated by Singer.

In the 1980s, the direction of the movement began to notably change.  The shift in the underlying philosophy of the movement was the catalyst for the formation of several new organizations including People for the Ethical Treatment of Animals (1980) and In Defense of Animals (1983).  These organizations introduced a new discourse into the movement and employed different tactics.  Two of their early projects that gained much public recognition concerned the treatment of primates in medical labs, specifically the Silver Spring monkey case and the case against the Head Injury Clinical Research lab at the University of Pennsylvania.  Other campaigns included those against fur and those promoting vegetarianism.

*Ideological Underpinnings – Animal Welfare*

Animal welfare is a term used by a number of people who work with animals including animal researchers and those in agribusiness.  Broom (1999) proposes animal welfare be defined as the state of an individual in regard to its attempts to cope with its environment.  Duncan and Fraser (1997) offer an alternative definition suggesting animal welfare can be viewed from three different approaches.  First, the feelings based approach posits "welfare will be reduced by negative subjective states such as pain, fear, frustration, hunger and thirst, and will be improved by such positive states as comfort, contentment, and the pleasure of certain types of social interaction" (p. 22).  Second, the functioning based approach contends "welfare will

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be reduced by disease, injury and malnutrition; good welfare will be indicated by high levels of growth and reproduction, normal functioning of physiological and behavioural (sic.) processes and ultimately by high rates of longevity and biological fitness" (pp. 23-24). Finally, the natural environment approach suggests "to promote animal welfare, we should raise animals in natural environments and allow them to behave in natural ways. " (p. 26). Examples of creating a natural environment include allowing farm animals to graze and wild animals to roam.

According to Michael Fox of the Humane Society of the United States (personal correspondence, 2001), most people within the humane movement currently refer to their work as animal protection in addition to, or as a substitute for, animal welfare. He believes this shift occurred because "welfare" became co-opted and diluted in the 1980s. In a discussion of the overarching movement's ideological development, Gary Francione (1996) lays out what he believes to be major tenets of the ideology guiding animal welfarists within the movement. First, animal welfare theory assumes animals are indeed sentient beings capable of both pain and pleasure. Second, while animals are sentient they should not be granted the same consideration as human beings. Humans are assumed to be superior to other animals. Third, animal welfare accepts the property status of animals. And finally, animals may be used in a variety of ways to serve human interests as long as it can be demonstrated the activity under consideration is both necessary and significant. In essence, proponents of the animal welfare/protection position seek to punish human abuse of animals and condemn

outright cruelty within the status quo, without questioning the existing hierarchical relationship between humans and animals.

Social movement organizations dedicated to animal welfare and protection clearly articulated the way in which such philosophical underpinnings informed their specific practices when they published "Joint Resolutions for the 1990s by American Animal Protection Organizations", in the *New York Times* on January 29th, 1991.  The document, consisting of phrases such as "diminishing the pain and suffering," marks its supporters as reformist in nature.  The introduction states:

> In order to establish the 1990s as a decade of rapid progress in diminishing the
> pain and suffering that billions of animals experience each year in laboratories,
> on farms, in the wild, as pets, in sports and entertainment, in exhibits and work
> situations, the undersigned humane organizations, representing millions of
> concerned American citizens, have adopted the following Resolutions to
> promote and guide both individual and joint efforts on behalf of these animals
> who are so much in need of our immediate and compassionate care and
> protection (D 22).

*Humane Society of the United States*

One of the oldest and most influential organizations currently promoting animal welfare/protection in this country is the Humane Society of the United States (HSUS).  Founded in 1954 by Fred Meyers, Larry Andrews, and Helen Jones, HSUS is the nation's largest animal-protection organization, with more than 6 million

constituents.  In its original charter, the HSUS aimed to promote the humane treatment of animals and to foster respect, understanding, and compassion for all creatures.  HSUS has nine regional offices as well as several programs dedicated to international projects.  The organization has 250 staff members, including veterinarians, wildlife biologists, lawyers, and animal behaviorists.

The major project areas of the organization are animal research issues, companion animals, farm animals & sustainable agriculture, government affairs, investigative services, wildlife & habitat protection, and marine animals.  In order to achieve the desired outcomes in each of these areas, HSUS engages in lobbying efforts on both the national and state levels, public education which includes working with the media and humane education programs in schools, investigations into cruelty claims, consumer advocacy, and litigation.  HSUS is structured in such a way that different program sections are able to pursue different goals and utilize different tactics.  For example, the HSUS Wildlife Land Trust works specifically on maintaining sanctuaries for wildlife where hunting and trapping are prohibited.

Much like the Sierra Club, HSUS both considers itself and is consider by others within the movement to be a more moderate SMO.  In addition, much of their rhetoric ranging from newsletters to public speeches reveals a reformist agenda rather than a more radical one.  For example, in a speech given in 1977 (prior to the founding of PETA), John Hoyt, HSUS president, states that while we have a responsibility towards animals, "most of us would agree that animals are necessary and thus

justifiably utilized for food, for clothing, for assistance in labor, for certain research

purposes, for companionship, and in some cases for entertainment and recreation."

Such statements clearly mark HSUS as a moderate SMO seeking reform of the status

quo, rather than offering a strong departure from it.

<center>*Ideological Underpinnings –Animal Rights*</center>

In the 1980s, another view of animals arose which is typically referred to as

animal rights.  The idea animals have rights and that humans have an obligation to

observe these rights came from the writings of two philosophers, arguing from very

different ideological foundations.  In 1975, Peter Singer published *Animal Liberation*,

which many argue served as the catalyst for the animal rights movement.  In his

work, Singer approaches the rights of animals from a utilitarian perspective.  Citing

Bentham, he argues the interests of "every being affected by an action are to be taken

into account and given the same weight of the like interests of any other being" (p. 5).

Equal consideration of these interests, as Bentham himself recognized, are derived

from the shared capacity to suffer, rather than the ability to reason or use language (p.

8).  This is the case because the ability to suffer is "the prerequisite for having

interests at all"(p. 8).  Singer uses his first chapter to demonstrate how society's denial

of rights to women and blacks on the basis of sexism and racism, parallels the denial

of the consideration of the rights of animals as it emerges from a "speciesist"

perspective.  This speciecism has caused humans to consider even the slightest of

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their interests (such as the taste of flesh) over the greatest interests of other beings (such as the desire to live and avoid suffering).

In 1984, Tom Regan completed the movement's other foundational work, *The Case for Animal Rights*. The conclusions drawn from his extensive argument leave utilitarianism and advance towards rights theory. Regan claims every sentient being has basic or unacquired moral rights. That is, they have these rights inherently, outside of considerations of context and the decisions of other beings. The principle right held by all beings is the right to respectful treatment, regardless of the claims others have on that being (p. 327). Here, Regan, holding the rights view, *generally* rejects the utilitarian concept that interests can be weighed in making decisions affecting others. He argues the interests of the whole (group) should not override that of the individual in most cases (p. 328).

The work of these two men, while rooted in different philosophical theory, ultimately brought many future leaders of the movement to the same central conclusion: it was time to publicly question the basis of the human/animal relationship and demonstrate the many injustices it had produced. This shift in philosophy proved fertile ground for a move from a reformist ideology to a more radical or revolutionary position. The animal rights view is encapsulated in the oft-heard statement, "We don't want bigger cages, we want empty cages and we want them now."

Just as organizations supporting the animal welfare philosophy made public statements of their intentions in the early 1990s, so did organizations influenced by the theory of animal rights. "The Declaration of the Rights of Animals," was "adopted and proclaimed" at the first March for the Animals in Washington, DC on June 10th, 1990. It highlights the same areas or industries in which animals are currently used as the Joint Resolutions do, but offers a more radical position on what needs to be done regarding the status quo. Employing such phrases as "animals have the right to live free from human exploitation," the document argues for a major shift in our view of animals. Signed by almost every national animal rights group, it states:

> Whereas it is self-evident that we share the earth with other creatures great and small; that many of these animals experience pleasure and pain; that these animals deserve our just treatment; and that these animals are unable to speak for themselves; we do therefore declare that these animals have the right to live free from human exploitation, whether in the name of <u>science</u> or <u>sport</u>, <u>exhibition</u>, <u>service</u>, <u>food</u>, or <u>fashion</u>; have the right to live in harmony with their nature rather than according to human desires; and have the right to live on a healthy planet (unpublished document).

*People for the Ethical Treatment of Animals – PETA*

As a direct result of Singer's work, Ingrid Newkirk and Alex Pacheco founded the animal rights group People for the Ethical Treatment of Animals (PETA) in 1980.

Although today there are many different groups across the country with a wide variety of issues and viewpoints, PETA is the organization most often linked with the animal rights movement. PETA has more than 650,000 members, and is therefore the largest animal rights organization in the world. It operates from a national office in Norfolk, Virginia and organizes international projects in Europe and Asia.

PETA engages in a number of major campaigns and several minor ones. Currently, they are pursuing major campaigns against the use of animals for fur, cosmetic testing, food, and entertainment. These campaigns are used to present information about the use and abuse of animals in certain contexts and by a variety of industries. The leaders of PETA believe greater change will come about through individuals and their choices than through legislation or direct appeals to the industry. Therefore, PETA's campaigns first work to bring information about animal issues to the public's attention. Once this information causes people to think and question their personal practices, the group offers viable alternatives to the use of animals. Finally, PETA makes a call for action to those who have decide the use of animals in a particular realm is unethical. Typically people are asked to protest a practice and/or boycott a product. In addition to these campaigns, PETA pursues cruelty investigations, animal rescues, and celebrity endorsements.

In my dissertation, I will consider the possibility of rhetorical influence by the more ideologically radical SMO, PETA, on the more moderate group, HSUS. Most activists, including those operating within PETA, consider the group's final objective

of total animal liberation, where every animal exists without interference from or use by human beings, to be radical. Ingrid Newkirk, offering a very different view from the one articulated by HSUS president, John Hoyt explains her position:

All of my life I'd thought that we should treat animals as kindly as possible within the context of using them. . . . (then) I began to realize that maybe they were not <u>ours</u> to use at all. Perhaps animals weren't walking hamburgers and handbags and amusements. . . I came to believe that animals are not <u>inferior</u> to human beings but rather just <u>different</u> *(PETA's Guide to Animal Liberation*, p. 4).

In Chapter Four, I will explore the ways in which PETA articulates their perspective on animal rights. Beginning in the early 1980s, they introduce a very different conception of animals into both the movement and the larger public sphere. Essentially, as demonstrated above, PETA argues animals should not be used by human beings and that any use, regardless of how humane, is exploitation. They seek to radically alter the human/animal relationship by assigning subjecthood to animals. I am defining subjecthood in this case as both the construction of individuality and the acknowledgement of agency. PETA want their audience to view an animal as an individual capable operating under free will and capable of decision-making. They believe rights should be granted on the basis of individual interests. It is through this "humanization" of other animals that the group intends to widen the sphere of identification. While the more moderate organization, HSUS, does not fully embrace

this position, this radical rearticulation does encourage them to widen the contexts in which the use of animals is problematic.

Case Two: The Environmental Advocacy Movement

Short History of the Environmental Advocacy Movement

Prior to the late 1800s, the vast majority of Americans viewed wilderness wholly as a resource to be utilized and as a landscape to be tamed. George Perkins Marsh was the first prominent public figure to alert Americans to the problems associated with a view of nature as something to be conquered. Through various speeches given in his home state of Vermont, and later in *Man and Nature or the Earth as Modified by Human Action* (1847), he contended humans disturbed the earth's natural balance by their activities. He argued they should therefore be mindful of the way in which they entered and interacted with wilderness.

His writings, in conjunction with Henry David Thoreau's early works, slowly began to resonate with the American people, including those in political power. In 1872 the United States Government created Yellowstone National Park, the first publicly-owned nature park in the world. Several years later, the first social movement organizations within the environmental movement were founded – the Audubon Society (1890) and the Sierra Club (1892). The movement experienced growth in the early years of the Progressive Era under President Theodore Roosevelt, but its ability to achieve desired ends was always balanced by economic concerns within the larger society. In the most infamous of its early battles, the Sierra Club

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was unable to prevent the damming of the Hetch Hetchy Valley in 1912. The demand to build a reservoir for the growing cities of California outweighed interest in letting the river run wild.

From 1915 to 1950, the movement progressed slowly, aided by the establishment of government agencies (National Park Service, 1916), the founding of other SMOs (Wilderness Society, 1935) and the publishing of key works on the environment (Aldo Leopold's *Sand County Almanac*, 1949). Throughout the 1950s, environmentally progressive legislation was passed, including the Wilderness Bill (1955). But it wasn't until the 1960s that the movement was able to gain significant public support. This support came largely from the debate and publicity surrounding Rachel Carson's *Silent Spring* (1962) that decried the use of pesticides, noting their extensive harm to local ecologies. Carson argued humans would destroy themselves in their attempts to control nature. As a result of public outcry and interest, several new national organizations including Friends of the Earth were formed and existing SMOs began to more vigorously oppose environmentally destructive legislation such as the damming of the Grand Canyon (1966).

Even as the 1960s saw an invigoration of the movement, it is truly the 1970s that stand out as the environmental decade. In 1970, several environmentalists and legislators worked together to found Earth Day (1970) in order to educate the American people about environmental issues. That same year, the Clean Air Act passed and in the few years following, the Water Pollution Control Act (1972) and

the Endangered Species Act (1973) also passed. In addition, the decade witnessed numerous large protests and the birth of the anti-nuclear contingent of the movement.

During the last twenty years, the public has continued to show support for environmental regulation and concern over environmental degradation, even during times of economic recession and shifts in political administrations (Dunlap & Mertig, 1992). There have been a number of legislative victories such as the revised Clean Air Act of 1990 and the preservation of millions of acres of wilderness in Alaska through the Alaska National Interest Lands Conservation Act (1980). In addition, the environmental movement has broadened its scope. Some of the most important debates currently surround issues of environmental justice. With the siting of landfills and polluting industries in poor and predominantly minority communities, many within the movement have protested what they see as environmental racism.

Perhaps as a result of such expansion, the environmental movement currently includes a much wider variety of ideological stances and tactics. The emergence of deep or radical ecology has changed the terms of the debate as well as the tools of engagement. DeLuca (1999) argues the 1990s witnessed a shift from the strategies of bigger, more bureaucratic environmental social movement organizations, to the tactics of smaller grassroots groups. These tactics include such direct confrontation as tree-sitting and eco-sabotage. Organizations like EarthFirst!, which was founded by Dave Forman in 1979, encourage such direct action, arguing other means are too slow and conservative.

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*Ideological Underpinnings – Conservation and Preservation*

Even in its early years the environmental movement was based upon two different, and often incompatible ideological approaches – environmental conservation and environmental preservation. While environmentalists are often called conservationists in the press, there are real differences between conservation and preservation. W. D. Edge (2000) defines the two terms in the following manner:

> Conservation is the management of a natural resource so that it can be sustained over the long-term. Conservation programs usually require some type of active management to achieve long-term sustainability. However, conservation also includes cases in which resources are not actively managed. Wilderness areas in the United States are conservation areas where little or no management is practiced. Preservation is a subset of conservation and refers to protecting a resource by withdrawing it from use. Some habitats, for example, may become endangered; the remaining habitat is often protected from use. Old-growth forests or tallgrass prairies are examples where preservation is the primary practice.

The fundamental difference between the two approaches concerns the nature of environmental value. Conservation locates the value of the environment in its usefulness to human beings. Conservationists argue land, forest, and rivers should be conserved now so they will be available for use by future generations or in the case of resource shortages. Preservationists, on the other hand, believe the environment can

be valuable outside of its use by human beings.  They contend it should be preserved regardless of usefulness considerations.

The difference in these two perspectives is perhaps best understood by comparing the words of their earliest champions.  Gifford Pinchot, who had a hand in naming the conservation movement and who was a conservationist himself, maintained conservation should be regarded as the proper use of natural resources as determined by scientists and government officials.  This proper use, required environmental concerns be considered in conjunction with economic benefits.  He is quoted as saying: "the object of our forest policy is not to preserve the forests because they are beautiful or because they are refuges to the wild creatures of the wilderness. The forests are to be used by man.  Every other consideration comes secondary" (Kline, 1997, p. 58).

John Muir's rhetoric, on the other hand, clearly marks him as a preservationist. He believed nature was valuable outside of economic concerns.  He often noted man was more at home in nature and that the natural world should be preserved simply because of its own magnificence.  In response to the decision to dam Hetch Hetchy, he proclaimed: "These temple destroyers, devotees of ravaging commercialism, seem to have a perfect contempt for Nature, and instead of lifting their eyes to the God of the Mountains, lift them to the Almighty Dollar" (Kline, 1997, p. 61).

*The Sierra Club*

Most moderate environmental organizations currently embrace a view of the environment that forefronts a multi-use perspective and advocates for responsible use. The Sierra Club is an example of such an organization. John Muir founded the Sierra Club in 1892 and today it has over 600,000 members. While the Sierra Club maintains national offices in Washington DC and San Francisco, there are hundreds of local chapters throughout the country. Even as each of these organizations adheres to the Sierra Club's mission statement they are also encouraged to pursue issues on the local level.

The Sierra Club is involved in a large number of environmental issues. They have drafted conservation policies on topics such as agriculture, biotechnology, military and nuclear issues, land management, and pollution. The strategy of the Sierra Club is to "activate appropriate portions of a network of staff, members, and other concerned citizens, using legislative, administrative, electoral, and legal approaches, and to develop supporting public opinion" (www.sierraclub.com). The Sierra Club is increasingly involved in politics – offering financial support to candidates committed to preserving the environment and lobbying for environmentally friendly legislation. In addition, they publish lists of politicians whom they consider to be anti-environmental and provide information on corporate donors who may influence legislative votes. Other tactics such as public education and awareness raising, educational programs for schools, and media campaigns complement the political activities of the Sierra Club.

I believe my choice of the Sierra Club as an example of a moderate environmental social movement organization is justified for several reasons. First, prominent representatives of the organization have accepted and even promoted the label of moderate. In an article in *Mother Jones*, former director Michael McCloskey wrote "We may be 'reformist' and all, but we know how to work within the context of the basic institutions of the society" (Sale, 1986, pp. 32-33). In addition, their mission statement, using phrases such as "responsible use," is clearly drafted from a position that straddles a preservation and conservation view. Their mission is to:

1) Explore, enjoy, and protect the wild places of the earth

2) Practice and promote the responsible use of the earth's ecosystems and resources

3) Educate and enlist humanity to protect and restore the quality of the natural and human environment

4) Use all lawful means to carry out these objectives

Finally, other scholarly work which examines environmental social movement organizations has tended to view the Sierra Club as a moderate organization based on organizational structure, policy aims, and discourse (DeLuca, 1999; Ingalsbee, 1996; Lange, 1990).

*Ideological Underpinnings of Radical/Deep Ecology*

Deep ecology has part of its philosophical roots in the writings of Heidegger and Spinoza, both of whom contended everything existing in nature has the right to express itself (Pepper, 1996). It also has strong ties to Eastern philosophies,

particularly Buddhism and Hinduism.  As Lange (1990) points out, deep ecologists align themselves with Aldo Leopold's (1933) view "A thing is right when it tends to preserve the integrity, stability and beauty of the biotic community, and it is wrong when it tends otherwise."

Arne Naess introduced the concept of deep ecology in 1973.  Naess argues deep ecology differs from shallow ecology because of its interest in asking basic questions prior to asking technical questions.  For example, instead of initially addressing environmentally sound ways of retrieving natural gas and oil, deep ecologists would ask whether it's imperative to exploit these resources at all.  Foundational to deep ecology theory is a rejection of the view humans and nature exist dualistically, that is separately and differently.   Deep ecologists believe humans are part of nature.  In addition, deep ecology seeks social transformation particularly in terms of bio-diversity.  They attempt to enact this transformation through changing individual consciousness (Pepper, 1996).  Using Naess' writings and those of other influential philosophers and scientists such as Thomas Berry, John Seed of Australia, Alan Drengson of Canada, and George Sessions and Gary Snyder of the United States, deep ecology environmentalists drafted an eight point platform.  Many SMOs within the radical green movement, including EarthFirst!,  have endorsed this platform (Callicott, 1993).  Below is a shortened version of the platform's main points:

1) The well-being and flourishing of human and nonhuman Life on Earth have value in themselves and are therefore independent from their instrumental value.

"Life," in this context, is understood broadly to include, for example, rivers, landscapes, and ecosystems. Accepting the idea that humans are not the only valuable part of nature is the watershed perception from which Deep Ecology flows. 2) Richness and diversity of life forms contribute to the realization of these values and are also values in themselves. Valuing diversity means freeing large areas of the earth from domination by industrial economy and culture. 3) Humans have no right to reduce this richness and diversity except to satisfy vital needs. 4) The flourishing of human life and cultures is compatible with a substantial decrease in human population. The flourishing of nonhuman life requires such a decrease. 5) Present human interference with the nonhuman world is excessive, and the situation is rapidly worsening. 6) Policies must therefore be changed. These policies affect basic economic, technological, and ideological structures. The resulting state of affairs will be deeply different from the present. For Deep Ecology, at least, we need to sustain the very conditions for the diversity of the myriad forms of life, including the cultural diversity of human life. 7) The ideological change is mainly that of appreciating life quality (dwelling in situations of inherent value) rather than adhering to an increasingly higher standard of living. Moving towards an appreciation of the quality of life, instead of quantity of things, leads to an increase in happiness, not a decrease. 8) Those who subscribe to the foregoing points have an obligation directly or indirectly to try to implement the necessary changes.

*EarthFirst!*

In 1979, Dave Foreman and others founded EarthFirst! as an explicit response
to what they saw as "a lethargic, compromising, and increasingly corporate
environmental community" ([www.earthfirst.org](www.earthfirst.org)). EarthFirst! is slightly different
from the other organizations I will consider in this dissertation because it has no
membership lists or specific national headquarters. Although they refer to themselves
as a movement rather than an organization, local and state chapters have organized
themselves under the label of EarthFirst! and can be found from British Columbia to
Austin, Texas. There are about 12,000 to 15,000 non-members across North
America.

While not an organization per se, EarthFirst! does pursue projects and align
themselves with other SMOs in forming both international and national coalitions.
Some of these projects include the Cascadia Fire Ecology Education Project that takes
up issues of fire ecology and logging, Zero Extract which deals with resource
extraction such as mining and drilling, and the Ranching Task Force which focuses
on the environmental impact of grazing. In addition, EarthFirst! distributes literature
and sells merchandise.

EarthFirst! adheres to a belief in biocentrism or a life-centered view (as
opposed to anthropocentric or human-centered) and a commitment to direct action.
As they clearly state on their web page, "we believe in using all the tools in the tool
box, ranging from grassroots organizing and involvement in the legal process to civil

disobedience and monkeywrenching." EarthFirst!ers must be willing to take action

against what many supporters see as the destruction of the Earth. They argue

humankind is not only destroying specific animal populations or eco-systems, but in

so doing are destroying the fragile web which makes all life on planet Earth possible.

They contend "clearly, the conservation battle is not one of merely protecting outdoor

recreation opportunities; neither is it a matter of elitist aesthetics, nor 'wise

management and use' of natural resources. It is a battle for life itself, for the

continuous flow of evolution" (www.earthfirst.org).

In my dissertation, I will investigate the possibility that the moderate Sierra

Club is influenced by the rhetoric of the more ideologically radical SMO, EarthFirst!.

It is clear from the several academic pieces in sociology and communication studies,

that scholars have labeled EarthFirst! as a radical organization, both in terms of

tactics and ideology (DeLuca, 1999; Ingalsbee, 1996; Lange, 1990). In addition,

representatives of the group agree their position is indeed radical. It is an entirely

different way of looking at the Earth and our commitments to it. Earthfirst! clearly

views the environment as having a sort of inherent worth. In a statement about the

goals of the environmental movement, they suggest it is not enough to preserve some

of the remaining wilderness, or oppose new dams. They are involved in:

> developing a new biocentric paradigm based on the intrinsic value of all natural
>
> things: Deep Ecology. Earth First! believes in wilderness for its own sake. . ..
>
> All natural things have intrinsic value, inherent worth. Their value is not

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determined by what they will ring up on the cash register, nor by whether or not

the are good.  They are.  They exist.  For their own sake.  Without consideration

for any real or imagined value to human civilization (www.earthfirst.org).

In Chapter Five, I will examine how Earthfirst! introduces this very different

perspective on the relationship between humans and the Earth.  As

exemplified by many of their foundational documents, they seek to rearticulate the

Earth as having inherent value.  This perspective problematizes much of its use by

human beings.  Earthfirst! operates from a position of biocentricism that replaces the

existing hierarchical relationship with a more equitable one.  They extend the value of

life to non-human beings including rivers and trees.  While the more moderate

organization, the Sierra Club, does not assume the same position, over time they offer

broader arguments against the use of resources under certain conditions.

The Lens of Rhetorical Criticism

Having explored the ideological basis for radicals and moderates in both the

animal protection and environmental advocacy movements, I would like to further

highlight a key difference.  While moderates accept the existing relationship between

humans and animals/the earth, radicals seek to fundamentally change that

relationship.  The existing relationship is one in which humans value animals/the

earth in terms of their usefulness to human beings.  This relationship assumes a

hierarchy in which human beings are above animals/the earth and animals/the earth

are regarded as property.  Moderates have historically left this notion of hierarchy

unchallenged, instead proposing reforms within the context that mark animals/the earth as human resources. Such an approach can clearly be found in association with moderates in both movements. As Gary Francione notes, animal welfare/protection advocates view humans as superior to animals and accept current perspectives on animals as property. As for the more moderate Sierra Club, one of the tenets of their mission: practice and promote the responsible use of the earth's ecosystems and resources, demonstrates their adherence to a value in use orientation.

Radicals, on the other hand, work to disrupt the basis for the current relationship. They object to a relationship between humans and animal/the earth that assumes hierarchy and views animals as property. They wish to see the relationship reformulated from a perspective granting inherent value. This is demonstrated by Ingrid Newkirk, president of PETA, when she notes, "All of my life I'd thought that we should treat animals as kindly as possible within the context of using them. . . . (then) I began to realize that maybe they were not ours to use at all. Perhaps animals weren't walking hamburgers and handbags and amusements. . .. I came to believe that animals are not inferior to human beings but rather just different *(PETA's Guide to Animal Liberation*, p. 4). The same ideological stance is the foundation for the platform on deep ecology upheld by Earthfirst!, "The well-being and flourishing of human and nonhuman Life on Earth have value in themselves and are therefore independent from their instrumental value."

It is this ideological difference, more than anything else, which defines and divides moderate and radical factions within the animal protection and environmental advocacy movements. Ultimately, radicals want the public to see animals/the earth as having the same kind of value humans do. They want to eliminate existing notions of hierarchy and property preventing the creation of a more equitable relationship. In the case of the animal rights movement, perhaps to a greater degree than the deep ecology movement, the radical group wants to rearticulate animals as subjects. They argue these subjects should be regarded as individuals and their use should be considered exploitation.

In working towards this goal, both groups entered a movement already occupied by moderate rhetoric in order to challenge and object to existing norms concerning the use of animals/the earth. They also advanced counter-arguments designed to reorient public perception and lay the groundwork for a wider circle of respect. In this dissertation, I will examine whether the objections and counter-arguments raised by the radicals can be found in the later materials of the moderates. I will take a theoretical approach that assumes radicals seek to broaden the sphere of identification and disrupt taken for granted notions concerning the relationship between humans, animals, and the earth.

*Identification*

Kenneth Burke argued that *identification*, not persuasion, should be the titular term for rhetoric in his well known work, *A Rhetoric of Motives* (1950). He defined

rhetoric simply as "the use of words by human agents to form attitudes or induce actions in other human agents" (1969, p. 41). Burke's work demonstrates he recognized an important tension in the human condition. This tension arises from the uniqueness of each being and our tendency towards hierarchy on the one hand and our desire for communion and guilt over separation on the other. He understood rhetoric was closely tied to this tension: "put identification and division ambiguously together, so that you cannot know for certain just where one ends and the other begins, and you have the characteristic invitation to rhetoric" (1969, p. 25).

Recognizing people desire a sense of union, Burke named identification as the central tool in the art of rhetoric. He posits, "A is not identical with his colleague, B. But insofar as their interests are joined, A is identified with B. Or he may identify himself with B even when their interest are not joined, if he assumes that they are, or is persuaded to believe so" (p. 20). Burke suggests identification can be created in a number of ways, with the simplest approach resting on the belief that "You persuade a man only insofar as you can talk his language by speech, gesture, tonality, order, image, attitude, idea, identifying your ways with his" (p. 55).

But we must also realize identification cannot totally overcome separation. While identification allows a person to share their substance with others, at the same time "he remains unique, an individual locus of motives. Thus he is both joined and separate, at once a distinct substance and consubstantial with another" (p. 21). In fact, as Burke points out:

to begin with 'identification' is, by the same token, though roundabout, to confront the implications of division. . .. Identification is affirmed with earnestness precisely because there is division. Identification is compensatory to division. If men were not apart from one another, there would be no need for the rhetorician to proclaim their unity. If men were wholly and truly of one substance, absolute communication would be of man's very essence (p. 22).

The existence of division is closely tied to notions of hierarchy and ultimately property. In telling the story of human society's genesis, Burke suggests:

So, out of the sea came the womb, out of the womb came the child, out of the child came the enlightened division of labor, out of the division of labor came the hierarchy, and out of the hierarchy came the new goadings of social property. And out of this came a variety of attitudes: first, ideally, love, charity, the attempt at the divided beings to overcome division; then, when the tension increased, the various departures from love (p. 139).

As a Marxist, Burke understood the central features of identification and division (especially the problems of their oft ambiguous nature) were rooted in issues of property, particularly economic property. He writes:

In the realm of Rhetoric, such identification is frequently by property in the most materialistic sense of the term, economic property . . .. Man's moral growth is organized properties, properties in goods, in services, and position

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or status, in citizenship, a reputation, in acquaintanceship and love. But however ethical such an array of identifications may be when considered in itself, its relations to other entities that are likewise forming their identity in terms of property will lead to turmoil and discord. Here is par excellence the topic to be considered in a rhetoric having 'identification' as its key term. (pp. 23-24).

Burke's theoretical work, which explains both the power of identification and its relationship to hierarchy and property, helps us to better understand the ideological basis and rhetorical aims of the radical SMOs operating in the animal protection and environmental advocacy movements. The desire on the part of the radicals to widen the sphere of identification is clearly tied to disrupting the current hierarchical and economic relations between humans and animals/the earth. Hierarchy prohibits identification by placing different beings on different levels of value. Radicals understand that if animals/the earth are seen as not only beneath humans in the hierarchy, but also only as the property of human beings, it will be impossible to create a broader sphere of identification and a more equitable relationship. Subjecthood is impossible when something is viewed wholly in terms of being an object of use.

And yet, the view of animals/the earth as being valuable only in their usefulness to human beings is a very old and entrenched perspective. While radicals ultimately want to change this view, they recognize they must first challenge existing

arguments that take this relationship for granted. They must object to a set of norms that have allowed the use of animals/the earth to proceed without much reflection. They must offer counter-arguments not originally offered by the moderates. Part of their strategy, as interpreted through communication theory, is to problematize existing norms governing the relationship between humans, animals and the earth by blocking enthymemes.

*Problematizing use value: blocking enthymemes*

The enthymeme is a subtle but powerful tool of argument. Aristotle referred to the enthymeme as a "rhetorical syllogism" or a type of logical reasoning used in rhetorical situations. He theorized: "The enthymeme must consist of few propositions, fewer often than those which make up the normal syllogism. For if any of these propositions is a familiar fact, there is no need even to mention it; the hearer adds it himself" (Book I). Enthymemes require audience participation because the audience, not the rhetor, is asked to fill in premises through their common sense or shared values. In so doing, the audience becomes involved in their own persuasion.

Contemporary rhetorical scholars continue to explore the power of the enthymeme. Bitzer (1959) reiterates the important role of the audience in constructing enthymemes. He agrees with Aristotle that the value of this rhetorical tool is in letting the audience persuade themselves to a degree. Cooper and Nothstine (1992) elaborate on the value of the enthymeme suggesting rhetors use them to provide the audience with a sense of satisfaction from their participation in the

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argument, to increase their adherence to the conclusion of the argument, and most importantly "to reduce the risk of either boring their audiences . . . or alienating their audiences by including some premise with which they might disagree" (pp. 28-29). Finally, Guerrero and Dionisopoulos (1993) clearly link the enthymeme with ideology by noting enthymemes "validate ideological predispositions" (p. 303).

G. Thomas Goodnight's recent theoretical and critical work on controversy examines the way in which oppositional argument and the "blocking of enthymemes" can open up debate on issues where a consensus has long been assumed. He explains that historically the public realm has consisted of discussions concerning such issues as "elections, taxation, representation, administration, trade and foreign affairs" (p. 252). In this realm, there has been a "more or less consensual vocabulary, institutionally sustained by tradition and adapted to suit changing communication technologies" (p. 252). But, Goodnight notes, this realm has necessarily excluded some voices and issues, because while the public sphere is seen as an open and common place, it necessarily must distinguish between significant and trivial issues. The decision as to what is trivial and without need for discussion, and what is significant, or debatable is the "threshold of controversy" (Goodnight, 1991, p. 5). Goodnight suggests: Social controversy occupies the pluralistic boundaries of a democracy and flourishes at those sites of struggle where arguers criticize and invent alternatives to established social conventions and sanctioned norms of communication (1994, p. 249). As such, social controversy "challenges the

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parameters of public discussion by extending argumentative engagements to the less

consensually-based cultural and social regions of oppositional argument" (p. 250).

That is to say, social controversy widens what is considered debatable. In essence it

is "an extended rhetorical engagement that critiques, resituates and develops

communication practices bridging the public and personal spheres" (1994, p. 249).

Goodnight (1994) argues oppositional argument functions to block the

unreflected activity inherent in enthymemes. It does so by raising objections not only

to particular activities, but also to the norms of communication themselves. An

objection can function as a challenge to action without reflection. An activity or

norm that formerly existed without hindrance is interrupted, changed or set in motion.

An interruption may force society to account for the norms it has constructed for its

members to live by. A space, or a pause is created where the previously accepted

norms are problematized with such questions as "Are the implied norms of

understanding, testing and adjudicating appropriate for us?" (1994, p. 251). In this

space an accounting for the practices is often expected. Activities that were

previously engaged in based on those norms are also reexamined. In this way,

oppositional argument works to disrupt taken for granted notions and creates

discussion.

Goodnight discusses the way this occurs in the fur controversy that he

examined in detail. In looking at the function of the arguments presented by anti-fur

advocates he notes: "Conventions that secure individual public display as a matter of

private choice are opposed by showing that the use of a part of another being cannot be detached neutrally from the social means of production" (p. 253). The enthymematically-sustained premise here is that what one wears is a private issue. The challenge from the anti-fur advocates, that one cannot look only at the garment but must also account for the production, problematizes the premise by blocking the enthymeme that sustains it. As a result, thought and discussion ensues as a number of voices present different perspectives on the issue and those involved in the disputed practice attempt to preserve the norms. I will keep Goodnight's work in mind as I conduct my analysis, recognizing the value of the oppositional argument in blocking enthymemes and challenging the existing relationship between humans, animals, and the earth. Such argument will ultimately allow a different relationship to be articulated.

## Methodology

### *Rhetorical Criticism*

Having offered a summary of the theoretical lens I will employ, I will now turn to a brief explanation of my methodology. The key question propelling this dissertation is: Can the introduction of a more ideologically radical SMO into a social movement influence the rhetoric of more moderate organizations over time? In order to offer tentative answers to this question in Chapters four and five, I examined the rhetoric of both of groups historically. In the most general sense, I employed the tools of rhetorical criticism to conduct a constant comparative analysis of discourse

over time.  That is to say, I studied the types of arguments developed by both the radical groups and the moderate ones during the time period of 1970 to 2000.  I conducted such analysis in the hopes of being able to identify and trace rhetorical influence on the part of the radicals.

Because I was interested in establishing shifts in the rhetoric of more moderate organizations as a result of the emergence of more radical groups within the same movement, I concentrated my analysis on specific time periods for both moderates and radicals.  For the moderates, HSUS and the Sierra Club, I focused on the decade prior to the founding of the more radical groups (1970-1980) and the two decades after their establishment (1980-2000).  For the radicals, PETA and EarthFirst!, I had a narrower time frame.  As I was interested in the new rhetoric they introduced into the movement upon their emergence, I focused on the time frame of 1980-1990.  The choice of time periods was governed by the desire to track influence historically.

For both the radicals and moderates I was particularly interested in identifying the discursive strategies they employed to challenge the common sense of the public.  I examined whether the arguments of the moderates problematized taken for granted notions both prior to and after the emergence of more radical groups.  Specifically, I was interested in the blocking of enthymemes and the creation of counter arguments.  Did the moderates come to develop objections that were rhetorically similar to the radicals over time?  Such similarities could begin to demonstrate discursive influence.  This approach will also allow me to gauge whether the moderate organizations are

influenced by the radicals' rhetorical attempts to lay the groundwork for a broader sphere of identification.

*Empirical Analysis*

Having gathered data to explore the question of rhetorical influence, I turn my attention to my second research question: If moderate groups have become more radical in their own discourse over time, how has this affected their material resources?  In conducting such an investigation, I collected information concerning financial support and membership numbers while on site.  This data is public record because of the organizations' non-profit status.  Often it was included in newsletters or annual reports.

I was able to gather nearly a complete record of both membership numbers and financial contributions for both HSUS and the Sierra Club.  Specifically, I examined HSUS membership from 1976 to 2000 and their financial resources from 1975 to 1999.  For the Sierra Club, I was able to obtain data on membership from 1970 to 1997 and finances from 1970 to 1999.

In Chapter Six, I use a simple line graph to demonstrate shifts in both membership numbers and financial contributions roughly over time from 1970 to 2000.  In my analysis of these findings, I am most interested in any withdrawal of material support over time in conjunction with the possible "radicalizing" of the moderate SMO's discourse.  I want to determine whether these organizations can utilize more progressive rhetoric while maintaining or even increasing their resources.

If they can, more can be said about the positive impact of emergent groups and the introduction of more radical ideology into the movement as a whole.

Data Collection

*Archival Materials*

For this dissertation I collected written data in three different phases. These phases coincide with the questions I investigate in this project. It is important to note the questions acted as the primary filter through which I approached my data collection. That is to say, the questions influenced the data I collected rather than the data acting as an impetus for what questions I would ask.

In selecting the types of data to concentrate on, I let the nature of the study guide me. As a piece of rhetorical criticism, this dissertation relies almost exclusively on archived written materials. I gathered the vast majority of these materials from libraries located on site at the case study organizations and from archives relating to the movements found at academic and private libraries. Even as the questions I was posing limited my collection to a certain degree, I amassed a wide variety of documents. The initial document collection included at least three categories of texts in terms of audience. The first was internal documents: letters, meeting minutes, policy statements, and memos. The second was member-oriented documents: newsletters, annual reports, and directed mailings. The third was public-oriented documents: pamphlets & brochures, media releases & articles, and mass mailings. After deciding an analysis of those documents directed at both members and the

larger public was most appropriate, I honed in on specific groups of documentation. I collected the bulk of the closely analyzed material from newsletters, brochures/pamphlets/fliers, and press releases.

It is important to note that some organizations were better record keepers than others. Earthfirst! was particularly limited in the amount of texts they had archived. In order to offer some balance to the materials examined, I concentrated quite heavily on newsletters that all 4 organizations created and distributed not only to members, but the wider public through various channels. The newsletters which are published anywhere from once a month to four times a year often highlighted the issues I focused on in my dissertation and were helpful in offering a more in depth view of the organization's position. In my analysis I collected over 200 articles from organizational newsletters concerning the six issues central to this dissertation. In addition to these materials, one time publications such as pamphlets were examined, though less frequently.

The analysis performed in this project centers on various issue campaigns conducted by both the moderate and radical factions of the animal protection movement and the environmental advocacy movement. I have selected issues for analysis based on information from staff interviews and immersion in archival data. In choosing issue campaigns, I attempt to identify those campaigns that have both longevity and wide appeal. These criteria will allow me to look at the rhetoric of moderates and radicals over time and in comparison to one another.

*Interviews*

In addition to the collection of archival materials, I also interviewed several spokespeople and organizational leaders. I approached these interviews keeping in mind Wayne Minnick's advice (1971) that the testimonies of an audience concerning rhetorical effectiveness "best serve the critic if he treats them as establishing hypotheses to be supported rather than as conclusive evidence of effect itself" (p. 275). As a result, I use interviews to help direct the early stages of my data collection, to inform the implications of my findings, and to identify alternative sources of influence - not to suggest the existence of rhetorical influence.

I interviewed a wide variety of people on staff at both of the moderate organizations. At HSUS, I spoke with several senior staff including vice-president Wayne Pacelle and Michael Fox. I also spoke with project leaders for the specific campaigns I examined. In aggregate I interviewed 8 employees. Because of previous contact with the organization, I was granted greater access to staff than is typically allowed. At the Sierra Club, my interviews were a bit more limited. I spoke at length with former president of the Board of Directors, J. Robert Cox, former president Mike McCloskey and senior staff member, Gene Coan. I did not conduct formal interviews at PETA and Earthfirst!

In conducting my interviews, I asked only a small set of questions, but encouraged interviewees to respond at length. Responses to interview questions were

recorded by hand.  After speaking with several people at HSUS, I decided not to

record interviews because staff was worried about "being on the record."  In order to

ensure accurate reporting of direct quotes, interviewees were asked to reiterate certain

points and to confirm them at the end of the interview.  All interviewing was

conducted within the guidelines offered by the departmental review committee on

research involving human subjects.

CHAPTER 4: NEW CHALLENGES TO OUR USE OF ANIMALS –

ARGUMENTS BEYOND CRUELTY


In the early 1980s, the Jindo Corporation announced its intention to become the McDonalds of fur. They had set up operations overseas to cheaply produce and manufacture fur, making it more affordable, and therefore available to a much larger market. Various animal protection organizations moved swiftly. They created a multi-level campaign designed to thwart Jindo's intentions. They acted strategically to identify target audiences, develop compelling messages, and utilize innovative tactics. Their response is illustrative of how social movements and specifically the animal protection movement responds to the larger environment. Because there are a wide variety of ways in which humans and animals intersect, there are several areas of concern for animal protectionists.

And yet, organizations operating in the animal protection movement would quickly expend their resources if they became involved in every sphere where humans used animals. Instead, they focus their attention on specific campaigns that organizational leadership identify as priorities. Such a selection is a common practice among SMOs, many of whom are structured around issue campaigns. In fact, many SMOs hire staff specifically for certain campaigns, employing a campaign coordinator and support staff for each issue like farm animal welfare or vivisection.

While specific events may draw attention at any given time, organizations primarily work within the specific campaign areas they have selected. Staff members assigned to an issue campaign are expected to conduct research within that area, develop materials for publication and distribution, coordinate activities and represent the organization's position on the issue to the public.

For the purpose of this dissertation, I have selected three issue campaigns HSUS pursued between 1970 and 2000. Because of the centrality of the issues I selected, PETA has also created campaigns in these areas. It is common practice for organizations within the animal protection movement to structure campaigns around particular industries and the animals these industries use. In this chapter, I will examine the rhetoric employed in the fur animal campaign, the farm animal campaign, and the laboratory animal campaign. In the pages that follow, I will take up each campaign separately. I will offer a short background on the campaign before turning to my analysis.

For each campaign, I attempt to demonstrate an important shift in the rhetorical strategies used by HSUS over time. I argue that in each instance HSUS expanded their arguments from those addressing how animals are used (issues of cruelty) to include new arguments concerning the legitimacy of using animals at all in particular contexts. These arguments widen the situations in which animal use is unacceptable. This expansion occurred after the emergence of PETA. The more ideologically radical organization introduced a wholly new perspective on animals

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that sought to establish their subjecthood and therefore their rights. One of the ways in which Kenneth Burke defines humanity is through its ability to enact agency. The less a person is able to demonstrate agency, the less human that person is. Martha Solomon offers an example of this in her study on the Tuskeegee Syphilis Project. She argues public health officials dehumanized the black men in their study by rhetorically constructing them as objects rather than subjects in their own right. While Burke did not seek to extend his definition to animals, PETA is clearly working to "subjectify" and "humanize" animals that have previously been regarded solely as objects for human use. Such a rhetorical move encourages audience identification with animals.

This perspective is at the root of new arguments the organization created and introduced in their public documents. These arguments greatly problematized the use of animals. In addition to arguments made on the basis of animal rights, PETA also expanded the challenges to the current uses of animals. The introduction of this more radical rhetoric appears to have affected the discourse of HSUS. While the organization does not wholly embrace the animal rights stance, they do broaden the contexts in which they problematize the use of animals. In order to make these larger challenges, HSUS engages in the rhetorical practice of highlighting cruelty, blocking enthymemes (Goodnight, 1994), and offering counter-arguments. I suggest these rhetorical shifts lay the groundwork for future attempts at expanding the realm of identification through an increase in the consideration of the interests of animals.

That is to say, by broadening the instances in which the interests of animals are considered to outweigh the desires of humans, the movement begins to articulate a more equitable relationship.   I support such claims with textual evidence from discursive materials created by HSUS and PETA.  I approach my analysis in a chronological manner, first examining HSUS materials created during the period of 1970 to 1980, then turning my attention to PETA materials from 1980 and 1990 and finally taking up HSUS materials from 1980 to 2000.

The Fur Animal Campaign: From Cruel Traps to Shameful Display

The fur trade is a multi-billion dollar business with a long history that dates back to the colonial period in this country.  There are a wide variety of industry sectors involved in the trade such as trappers/breeders, manufacturers, and retailers. In the United States alone, it is estimated there are over 1350 retail furriers and countless department stores that house larger furrier companies.  There are more than thirty species of animals used to make fur coats and fur trim.  These animals range from large species such as pumas to smaller animals like squirrels.  The number of animals needed to make one fur coat depends on the type of animal used.  While a fur coat can be made using the skins of seven puma, it would take 250 squirrels to make the same type of coat.  It is estimated that in 1996 over 35 million animals were used in the fur industry (www.worldanimal.net).

There are two distinct methods employed to obtain fur pelts.  The first is the use of trapping devices to catch wild fur-bearing animals.  According to the

*Encyclopedia of Animal Rights and Animal Welfare* (1998) there are three common

types of traps: limb restraining, killing, and confinement.  The traps most often used

by the fur industry are leghold traps, which restrain a limb of the animal while

avoiding damage to the desired pelt.  These traps have been criticized for causing

much pain and distress to the trapped animal.  Because many trappers check their

traps only sporadically, animals have been found to chew off their own limbs rather

than endure a long period of pain from the steel-jaw trap.  Another concern raised by

humane organizations is the indiscriminate nature of the traps that can snag domestic

animals and endangered species.

The other method employed by those supplying pelts to the fur industry is the

farming or ranching of fur-bearing animals.  This practice dates back to the early

1900s and is typically used to obtain fur from smaller animals such as foxes, minks,

and chinchillas.  These animals are kept in captivity on farms that range from 100

animals to 100,000 animals.  Their life span averages seven months after which they

are gassed, electrocuted, or strangled.  These methods are employed in order to

maintain the integrity of the pelt.  Humane organizations argue such farms frustrate

the natural behaviors of animals and often neglect even their basic physical needs

such as food, water, and shelter.

The campaign against the fur industry began in earnest in the early 1960s.  In

these early years, the campaign often focused on the killing of seals for fur coats.

Public outcry was sparked by the violent methods by which seal pelts were taken.

Images of seals being rounded up and clubbed to death demonstrated the practice was inhumane and cruel. The movement would often rely on these images and the emotions they provoked to make their case. They recognized many people would find the clubbing repulsive and be encouraged to act towards its elimination. Throughout the last several decades, animal protectionist groups have expanded the campaign, arguing against the use of any animal for fur. They argue, and statistics seem to show, that this campaign is one of their most persuasive. While there has been some debate in the last several years about the reemergence of fur, there can be no doubt the industry has seen sales decline. This decline can be attributed to campaigns against the fur industry by the animal protection movement. Furriers themselves acknowledge the impact of the campaign. For instance, an article in *The Trapper & Predator Caller* states: "No one questions the fact that anti-fur activity in North America and Europe has changed the direction of the fur trade" (1997).

The Humane Society of the United States opposed the killing of wild animals for fur as early as 1970. They published several articles in their newsletter and created materials such as brochures and pamphlets to speak out against the clubbing of seals and the use of the steel-jaw leghold trap throughout the 1970s. As I will demonstrate below, these early pieces of literature focused on the cruel methods by which fur from wild animals was obtained. They did not question the belief that humans had the right to use animals for fur. In fact, HSUS operated within the

existing set of norms that suggested animals could be used for their fur as long as they were not used cruelly or suffered.

When PETA was founded in the early 1980s, they offered a wider set of arguments against fur.  Because they ultimately believe humans have no right to use animals, they focused on the use rather than the method of killing.  They sought to establish fur bearing animals as individuals whose desire to live was of far greater concern than a person's interest in having a fur coat.  They challenged the assumption that animals could be used for the purpose of fur as long as their pelts were obtained humanely.  They raised questions not only about how the animal was treated as it was being used, but also about the validity of the purpose for which it was to be used.  In so doing, they "blocked the enthymeme" (Goodnight, 1994) that allowed the wearing of fur to proceed uncontested.  They also presented counter-arguments about the wearing of fur that suggested it was disgraceful.  By the late 1980s, HSUS had incorporated these same challenges and counter-arguments into their own discourse concerning the fur campaign.  Currently, they argue the use of animals for their fur is never acceptable, regardless of the way in which it was obtained.  They also portray fur wearing as a shameful practice.  Below I lay out HSUS' approach to the fur animal campaign, both prior to and following the emergence of PETA.  By comparing the two time frames, I am able to demonstrate how the introduction of new challenges and new arguments by PETA broadened the oppositional rhetoric of HSUS in this campaign.

*HSUS 1970-1980*

In the early years of the fur campaign, HSUS focused their attention on the clubbing of seals for their coats.  Operating under the belief that the killing of the animals for their fur was not itself problematic, the organization did not initially oppose the hunts.  Instead they focused their attention on making them more humane.  For example, the November 1971 issue of *HSUS News* details how John Hoyt, HSUS president, urged the US government to pursue the seal hunts "with great deliberation and a more humane method of slaughtering seals" (p, 4).  It was only when it became clear the hunts could not take place without cruelty that the organization aimed to have them completely banned.  Throughout the 1970s, HSUS worked to eliminate the hunt.  A *Close-up Report* dated September 1979 states, "the HSUS is unalterably opposed to the continued clubbing of seals" (p. 2).

Even while HSUS primarily focused on seals in the 1970s, they also spoke out against the cruelty associated with trapping animals for their fur, especially the use of the steel-jaw trap.  As with their campaign for the seals, their arguments are advanced only in terms of the cruelty to the animal within the context of using it, rather than the acceptability of use in this case.  Their position is succinctly articulated in their *Statements of Policy*: "The Humane Society of the United States believes there should be a total ban on the metal jaw leghold trap in all circumstances."

This argument is also at the center of several HSUS documents aimed at the general public.  For example, a 1971 mass mailing by the HSUS begins with: "I am

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writing you today about traps, cruel, steel-jaw instruments of horror, that snap shut, cutting the skin, breaking the bone, leaving a poor animal to suffer, perhaps chew off his own foot, then bleed to death, slowly." The organization also developed a kit which they entitled *Awareness Kit on the Cruelties of Trapping*. The kit was featured in this 1976 Spring issue of *HSUS News* and was designed to raise public awareness about trapping. Specifically it was created "to help individuals and organizations educate the public on the need to ban the steel jaw trap . . ." (p. 11).

In addition to educating the public about the cruelty of the steel-jaw trap, HSUS encouraged voters to support legislation banning these traps. In November of 1977, HSUS printed and distributed a flier for a rally in support of Senate Bill 79 in Georgia. They urged citizens to attend the rally and vote in favor of the bill that would restrict the use of the steel-jaw leghold trap. Several documents were created to help argue for legislation. In 1977, HSUS produced a booklet detailing how the steel jaw trap works and interrogating the validity of pro-trapping arguments such as the lack of alternatives to steel-jaw trapping. During this time, some HSUS material even offered a variety of alternatives such as "so called 'killer' traps designed to immediately kill their victims by striking a fatal blow across the neck or shoulders" (p. 15). Such an example demonstrates how the organization at this time did not oppose the killing of the animals for their fur, rather the cruelty associated with certain methods of obtaining fur pelts.

By the late 1970s, HSUS was utilizing a variety of arguments against the steel-jaw trap. First, they argued against the indiscriminate nature of the traps, specifically their ability to trap domestic animals. In a news release to various media outlets, they voiced their concern "about the growing number of household pets caught in leghold traps in the Washington area." They report "many of the victims will lose a leg because of the strength of the steel trap, and the length of time the animal is immobilized by it." They also employed emotional arguments. In one instance, they ask readers to imagine themselves as a trapped animal by asking: "What's It Like to Be Trapped?" and offering the answer in gruesome detail. They use these arguments in combination with a variety of images, the majority of them displaying animals caught in traps or animals trying to free themselves from traps, in order to outlaw this cruel device.

A review of the available documents clearly demonstrates that throughout the 1970s HSUS advanced their arguments against fur almost wholly in terms of the cruelties associated with certain methods of obtaining fur pelts. While they discussed ranched animals very rarely, the few articles concerning fur farms took up the issue of cruelty. In the Summer 1979 issue, they displayed a picture of someone holding a sign that read "Mink Ranch = Torture Camp" and noted they would protest the International Fur Fair in order to "call public attention to the cruelty and animal suffering that the multi-million dollar fur business represents" (p. 2). In a Fall 1979 *Close-Up Report*, fur farms are labeled as cruel because of genetic modifications,

small cages, and killing methods.  These arguments concerning cruelty are the main

arguments advanced by HSUS in opposition to using animals for their fur.  They

largely operate within the existing set of norms governing the human/animal

relationship and do not fundamentally challenge it.  It is not until PETA objected to

these norms and advanced counter arguments that new approaches were taken by

HSUS.

*PETA 1980-1990*

While PETA was most actively involved in laboratory animal issues in the

early 1980s, members of the group were also publicly protesting fur.  Unlike HSUS,

they argued against the fur industry and the wearing of fur primarily from a rights

perspective.  In addition to accepted arguments about cruelty, PETA also began to

problematize the reason why animals were killed for their fur and challenge whether

those reasons were justifiable.  Their rhetoric blocked the enthymeme that relies on

the taken for granted notion people can kill animals for their fur if they do so without

cruelty.  Their objections raised the possibility that the use of an animal for its fur

could be governed by considerations of not only how the pelt is obtained but also for

what reasons.  They also offered counter-arguments portraying fur not as a status

symbol, but as a mark of shame or disgrace.

In 1980, PETA issued a news release detailing their intentions to protest all

Washington D.C. department stores that sold fur.  In their release they argue "the

killing of animals solely for their skins is one of the most blatant forms of unjustified

animal exploitation" and noted that the animals were "victims of the fur trade industry that is fueled by human vanity."  The use of the term *exploitation* highlights their belief that because animals have rights, any use of these subjects should be considered unethical.  Other objections are found in later examples.  In 1984, twenty members of PETA protested at a warehouse fur sale.  In an article in the *Arlington Journal* about the protest, members of the group suggested people could not justify buying fur coats when alternative fabrics were available.  These examples demonstrate how the objections against fur have been broadened to make the entire practice of fur wearing controversial.

Beginning in 1985, PETA launched several specific campaigns that combined the objection to fur on the basis of cruelty with their other objections.  One of their main arguments was that animals should not be killed for frivolous reasons like vanity, status, and luxury.  In protests, PETA would often unfurl banners that pictured animals in traps or cages and read "The Price of Vanity" (*PETA News, #6)*.  They objected not only to the fur industry and the tactics they used in obtaining fur, but also the consumer and the reasons why they purchased fur.  Often people wearing furs would be approached on the street and told not only about the suffering of the animals, but also that they did not need to wear fur.  In so doing, PETA members promoted a redefinition of fur bearing animals that assumed their lives were more valuable than the luxury of a fur coat.

PETA offered a number of counter arguments that worked to transform the image of fur from a positive one to a negative one. Their goal was to make the production and consumption of fur shameful practices. For example, PETA created advertisements entitled "What Disgraces a Legend Most?" in which well -known celebrities would appear ashamed at the prospect of wearing fur. In another ad campaign, they used a play on words: "Fur - The Ultimate Status Symbol" became "Fur - the Ultimate Sadist Symbol." In a similar vein, PETA ran a series of ads suggesting fur wearing was old-fashioned. Often they would portray cave women wearing furs, or very unattractive older women who are clearly not in the contemporary fashion scene. In an article from the May/June 1989 issue of *PETA News*, celebrities like Belinda Carlisle are featured equating fur with the dark ages.

In taking the approach that they did, PETA charted new ground. By blocking existing enthymemes, they disrupted taken for granted notions concerning fur production and consumption. By introducing a new perspective based on a belief in animal rights, they broadened the discussion to include considerations outside of cruelty. While they highlighted the suffering in the life and death of animals killed for their pelts, they also maintained that the killing of these animals in order to wear fur was unjustified because it was frivolous. In addition, PETA created counter-arguments suggesting the fur industry and people who chose to wear fur were disgraceful or should be ashamed because their desire for luxury products was causing the death of animals.

Throughout the early 1980s, HSUS continued to focus their efforts on outlawing the steel-jaw leghold trap based on its cruelty. They continued to make arguments about the indiscriminate nature of the device and its inherent cruelty. Several newsletter articles and close-up reports detail legislative and legal attempts to ban the steel-jaw trap on the local, state, and federal level. The Society was instrumental in passing bans in New Jersey (*Close-up Report*, 1984) and Suffolk county, NY (*HSUS News*, Spring 1987), but has so far failed to bring about an end to the use of the steel-jaw trap nationally.

By the mid to late 1980s, however, there were clear signs the organization was broadening their approach to include a wider variety of objections and new sets of counter arguments. In 1988 and 1989, HSUS leaders offered major revisions to their statements of policy on the use of fur-bearing animals. The new statement begins: "The Humane Society of United States is unequivocally opposed to the trapping, rearing, and killing of animals for the production of fur apparel and accessories." They note "HSUS believes that such exploitation and killing of animals for their fur causes needless and unjustifiable suffering and death and is, therefore, inconsistent with the aims to the civilized society." Finally, the organization pledged to continue its efforts to eliminate the killing of animals for their fur.

In those same years, HSUS launched a multi-year campaign entitled "The Shame of Fur" which objected to fur on the basis of cruelty, as well as its frivolous

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nature.  It also advanced counter-arguments associating fur with shame.  The main

image portrayed in this campaign was a woman wearing a fur coat and holding her

purse up to hide her face.  In the brochure titled *It's a Shame to Wear Fur*, readers are

told "People should be ashamed to wear fur.  When you choose to wear fur, animals

suffer and die needlessly.  A longer brochure titled *The Shame of Fur*, describes not

only the cruelties of trapping, but also the cruelties of the fur farm.  It highlights how

fur is not a necessity and how many "suitable and attractive substitutes" exist.

Readers are told frankly, "People have no right to kill these animals for their fur.  In

fact, people should be ashamed to wear fur."  In a final example, the fact sheet

produced for the campaign begins:

> The fur industry ultimately is responsible for the deaths of approximately 27
>
> million wild and domestic animals each year, just in United States.  This is a
>
> tragic waste of animal life.  Fur coats and accessories are frivolous fashion
>
> items.  Even the fur industry promotes its products merely as symbols of the
>
> 'good life.'  It's cruel and wasteful to kill animals simply to satisfy people's
>
> desire for a status symbol.  Men and women can dress fashionably without
>
> causing animals unnecessary suffering and death (1988).

Throughout the 1990s, HSUS continued to take the same approach to their

anti-fur campaign.  While they never stopped addressing the issue of cruelty in

obtaining pelts from both wild and ranched animals, they also highlighted the

argument that wearing fur was an unjustifiable choice.  This choice was unjustifiable

not only because fur animals suffered, but also because they died for frivolous reasons. In a 1992 *Close-up Report*, HSUS talks at length not only about the cruelty in obtaining fur coats, but also the "vanity and greed" which propels people to buy them. In a 1993 press release *Facts about Fur*, readers are told "there is nothing beautiful or glamorous about causing cruelty to animals for vanity" and "whether ranched or trapped, millions of animals suffer and die for the sake of this vanity fashion every year."

One of the most interesting developments in HSUS' campaign against fur in the late 1990s was their decision to join forces with other animal advocacy groups, including PETA, to coordinate an anti-fur strategy. Such a decision demonstrates how HSUS found common ground between their arguments and those offered by PETA. The groups worked together throughout the remainder of the 1990s.

In HSUS' most recent campaign, *2000 Fur Free*, there is clearly a wider set of arguments that challenge the right of humans to use animals for any end as long as the means is humane. One document entitled "Questions and Answers about Fur" tells readers "the advent of synthetic fabrics that are warmer and lighter than fur has eliminated the need for fur garments." The document goes on to state "there is no justification for the commercial killing of animals for their pelts . . .. To condone the killing of animals for the sake of fashion cheapens life, including our own."

In reviewing materials associated with HSUS' anti-fur campaign over time, I have noted important rhetorical shifts. During the 1970s, HSUS operated in the

narrow space of challenging certain cruel aspects of obtaining fur pelts - seal clubbing and the use of the steel-jaw trap.   By the year 2000, HSUS had broadened the discourse of their campaign extensively - not only challenging taken for granted notions about the proper use of animals, but also offering counter-arguments.  Such a shift follows the development of new arguments by the more radical organization in the movement, PETA.  Documents from PETA's campaign suggest the killing of animals for their fur was unjustifiable, outside the issue of cruelty, and labeled fur as disgraceful.  In problematizing the use of animals for their fur on a multitude of levels, the animal advocacy movement created greater opportunities for future arguments.  These arguments may more directly challenge the existing hierarchical relationship that defines animals as property.

A recent example of these more progressive arguments can be found in a HSUS campaign piece from 2000.  One of the major issue advertisements associated with the millennium campaign did not object to fur on the basis of cruelty or vanity.  Instead, it used very different type of argument about identity.  The ad features an arctic fox who stands beside the statement: "I'm not a coat."  Such an approach clearly moves far beyond a perspective in which the use of the animals is governed by norms surrounding cruelty, to a perspective that challenges the very notion that animals are valuable based solely on their usefulness to human beings.  This example is reminiscent of challenges to the subjectification strategies  employed in the civil rights movement.  In response to deplorable working conditions for sanitation

workers in Memphis (1968), black strikers sought to establish their subjecthood by carrying signs which simply read "I am a man." In the HSUS campaign piece, the fox speaks in a human voice to remind readers he is not an object to be used, but rather a subject with the right not to be. It is possible such an approach came from the early rhetoric of PETA concerning animal rights.

This shift in HSUS' arguments may very well have influenced the general public as well. Throughout the late 1980s and 1990s sales of fur garments were down. Several large companies closed their doors (Atonivich Inc., Furrari, Inc. etc.) and a number of retailers such as Nordstroms stopped selling fur (CQ Researcher, 1991). In addition, the public often weighed in on polls stating their opposition to fur. For example in a 1995 AP poll of 1004 Americans, 59% were opposed to the killing of an animal for its fur. This figure is up from a 1989 poll in which 46% opposed the practice (ICR Survey Research Group). It is worth noting that the poll was concerned with the purpose of the killing rather than whether the method of killing was humane.

The Farm Animal Campaign: From Reforming Slaughter Methods to Vegetarianism

In the last decade, many organizations within the animal protection movement have focused their attention on farm animal issues. Farm animals have become a central concern for these groups due in large part to the overwhelming number of animals used in the agricultural business. Some current estimates suggest close to 9 billion animals are killed each year for food in the United States. While a handful of family farms remain, agribusiness is primarily big business in this day and age. In

1993, consumers spent 244 billion dollars on meat, poultry, eggs, and dairy products (Guither, 1998). Demand for these products affects a number of different animals currently used in agribusiness the most common being chickens, pigs, and cows.

Farm animal concerns are divided into three categories that emerge from the various industry sectors impacting the living animal. The first concern is the conditions under which the animal is raised. In the last several decades, more and more animals are being raised in factory farms, rather than family farms. These intensive production operations allow farmers to produce more product with less labor. They have also dramatically changed the lives of farm animals. In factory farms animals are often restricted from their natural behaviors including movement, social interaction, sexual reproduction, and territorial concerns. Several animal welfare researchers have argued such a system creates stress and boredom, negatively impacting farm animals both physically and psychologically. Some of the most well known examples of animals raised in intense confinement are veal calves and battery-caged hens.

The second major concern regarding farm animals is their transportation, particularly from the farm to the stockyards/slaughterhouses. The vast majority of farm animals are transported by truck, while a small number of them are transported by rail and air. Prior to transport, there is often confusion and animals are handled roughly as they are loaded into the trucks. Animals are also crowded together, pigs and cows in specially designed trucks and chickens in cages stacked upon one

another. Two areas that have drawn attention from animal protection groups are the feeding and watering of animals during transport and the treatment of "downed" animals, those who have broken limbs in the transportation process.

The third area of concern is the methods by which an animal is slaughtered. Different methods of slaughter are employed for different types of animals. In general however, animals are stunned before their necks are cut. Chickens are passed through electrocuted water, while cows and pigs are stunned by bullets or electric shocks to the head. Large animals killed in kosher slaughter are strung upside down without being shocked. Their necks are cut so that all blood is allowed to flow out of the animal. Animal protection groups have lobbied against kosher slaughter. They have also maintained current slaughtering methods do not ensure each animal is properly stunned and do not account for the stress of the animals prior to slaughter.

Animal advocates have pursued several campaigns in connection to farm animal issues. While they were able to pass legislation in the 1960s concerning methods of slaughter and have been successful in lobbying for some improvements in animal transportation, they have been unable to have much impact on the law surrounding animal rearing methods. Groups did raise public awareness of the issue and were able to reduce veal consumption throughout the 1980s and 1990s.

During the 1970s, HSUS focused their attention on passing legislation concerning the transportation and slaughter methods of farm animals. At this time, their campaign rhetoric was focused solely on issues of cruelty. HSUS did not

question whether animals should be used for food. Instead, the organization accepted the commonly held belief that meat eating was a necessity. In fact, many of the campaign materials created at this time refer to farm animals as food animals. HSUS also assumed their members could do little to affect change in this area outside of supporting the organization financially. They did not block enthymemes by raising objections to these taken for granted notions, but instead operated within them.

From the very beginning, PETA advocated an end to the consumption of animals and even animal products. They were opposed to cruelty, but took their objections further. Leaders at PETA believe the ultimate denial of a being's right is to kill it and then consume it. They see such a practice as the ultimate betrayal, almost an act of evil. While PETA holds the perspective humans have no right to kill and eat animals, they crafted their early rhetoric in objection to the assumption that meat eating was a necessity. In so doing, they disrupted the enthymeme that allowed the killing of animals for food to proceed without reflection outside of cruelty concerns. They offered counter arguments to demonstrate a vegetarian diet was not only possible, but also preferable for a number of reasons. They also challenged the conception of compassionate individuals as having a narrow sphere of influence. They argued individuals could exercise their power quite effectively as conscientious consumers. By the mid-1980s, HSUS was also challenging claims that meat eating was a necessity and individuals had little power. Much of their campaign discourse came to embrace vegetarianism and promote compassionate consumption. Below, I

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will lay out HSUS' approach to their farm animal campaign both prior to and following the emergence of PETA's discourse. I will demonstrate how after PETA introduced a more radical rhetoric, HSUS came to block enthymemes concerning meat eating, as well as redefine activism in terms of consumptive practices.

*HSUS 1970-1980*

Throughout the early and mid 1970s, HSUS produced very few pamphlets or brochures on the topic of farm animals. While *HSUS News* contains some articles relating to farm animals, the issue was not a prominent one. This may be the result of weak policy statements in this area. During the 1970s, HSUS produced two policy statements concerning farm animals: one condemning kosher slaughter and the other entitled "Livestock Practices" which was a general policy of working to eliminate cruelty to food animals. When the organization did pursue its campaign on behalf of farm animals, they focused entirely on alleviating their suffering in various industry sectors.

In the early years of the campaign, the organization pursued legislation that would specifically improve farm animal handling/transportation and slaughtering methods. For example, in 1974 HSUS petitioned Congress to "stop the death and suffering of livestock being transported by truck." John Hoyt, HSUS president, argued "huge numbers of livestock of many varieties are being killed or rendered unusable each year because they're trampled on by other heavy animals in transit" (*HSUS News*, 1974, p. 9). Another example can be found in the 1977 Fall issue of

*HSUS News*.  Here, readers are told how HSUS staff found new practices in the transportation of hogs by rail to be inhumane.  After inspecting Union Pacific's system, HSUS staffers suggested changes in the loading of animals, the spraying and watering of animals, the waiting periods, and the distribution of food while in transit.

HSUS was also concerned about slaughtering methods.  In a flier produced by the organization in the early 1970s, readers are told in detail how animals are being slaughtered.  The society argues "these cruelties are not necessary.  They're not even profitable.  There are better ways and cheaper ways to kill animals."  The flier suggests such methods as carbon dioxide or the captive-bolt pistol that are economical and can "eliminate the brutalities of the sledgehammer."  This example is particularly telling of the organization's perspective at this time.  There is absolute acceptance that animals must be slaughtered, confining objections to the way in which that slaughtering is conducted.

In 1978, HSUS worked to expand the Humane Slaughter Act of 1958 so that it applied to all animals being slaughtered rather than being limited to those slaughterhouses selling meat to the federal government.  In mass mailings and in *HSUS News* (Summer, 1978) readers are told of the importance of H.R. 1464 that would "require that humane methods of slaughter and pre-slaughter handling be used in all slaughterhouses under the jurisdiction of the Federal Meat Inspector."  HSUS believed this legislation would "eradicate the last vestige of inhumane slaughter and

make sure all species of livestock are guaranteed a humane death." (p. 17). This bill was made law in October of 1978.

It was not until 1978 that HSUS began to tackle the issue of factory farming. Dr. Michael Fox, reputed to be one of the more progressive thinkers at HSUS, wrote a *Close-up Report* entitled "Food Animals are Suffering" in October of 1978. He begins the article by saying "It's the subject adults rarely talk about. It's the topic children quickly learn to stop talking about. It's how our animal food products get to our kitchen tables. Yet, it is this one use of animals that accounts for untold cruelty and suffering" (p. 1). In the beginning of the article he argues "the factory farm is cruel" and details how animals are treated in factory farm systems. While the remainder of the report focuses on handling and slaughter issues, HSUS introduces its audience to a wider variety of issues involving farm animals for the first time.

During the 1970s, it is clear HSUS focused on eliminating cruelty towards animals used for food rather than disputing the necessity of their use. This approach is exemplified by the section entitled "You Can Help" (*Close-up Report*, 1978). Here, readers learn:

Of paramount importance is our attitudes towards the animals we eat. Collectively, we must turn over a new leaf. These food animals are providing us with nutrients to contribute to our well-being and growth. We must make our food production systems humane. If we continue to treat food animals as machines, what does the future holds for all animals? (p. 3).

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The view that meat eating was essential is clearly held by many within HSUS at this time.  The most striking example of this view can be found in the section "President's Perspective" in the 1979 spring issue of *HSUS News*.  The article begins with the question "Do You Eat Meat?"  John Hoyt, HSUS president, opens the article by suggesting this question is often posed to him by those challenging the goals of the humane movement.  Because Mr. Hoyt does eat meat, he sets forth the argument:

> There is surely a difference between killing an animal for food purposes (as some hunters do) and abusing and injuring animals for pleasure, sport, or for other non-essential reasons. . . There are, I accept, legitimate uses of animals in a society where people and animals are very much interdependent.

During this time, HSUS also clearly articulates a view of its audience allotting them little power outside of supporting the organization.  In the *Close-up Report* (1978) on farm animals, readers are told:

> There is not much that you, the consumer, can do to improve the lot of food animals other than the support of HSUS programs.  You have no way of knowing where your food comes from, how it was raised, and if it was mistreated.  If you believe that food animals deserve better treatment, then you should lend your strength and support to our efforts."

Such a comment demonstrates during this period HSUS does not believe the consumer can be informed or that compassionate consumption is a powerful tool in the farm animal campaign.

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PETA has always focused a significant amount of attention on farm animal issues. While HSUS clearly accepted the commonly held belief meat eating was a necessity, PETA openly challenged it. Their larger argument against the practice of meat eating was an ethical one: because animals had rights, humans could not in good conscience, kill and eat them. Whether the argument stemmed from Singer's theory that an animal's desire to live should outweigh a human's desire for the taste of flesh, or Regan's argument that regardless of desires, animals had the inherent right to life, PETA argued meat eating was wrong because it flew in the face of the rights of animals. While some of their literature solely advanced this argument, other materials sought to challenge meat eating on other bases. Regardless of the reasons given, PETA's introduction of these challenges functioned to block the enthymeme allowing the killing of animals for food to be uncontroversial. In many cases, they combined existing arguments of cruelty with objections to meat's status as a necessity.

In fact, from the very beginning PETA's discourse was based on the belief that meat eating was not necessary. They advanced counter-arguments in support of vegetarianism. Examples of this approach abound. In a 1982 document targeting churchgoers, PETA appealed to "the people of all creeds to abstain always from eating meat and all animal products and to stop supporting the oppression of animals." Radio PSAs developed by the group also send this message: "Non violence

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begins at breakfast" and "If you 'love animals,' respect life, or care about human famine, the waste of energy, or your own health -- go vegetarian.  The lives you save may include your own."

The organization sustained this approach throughout the 1980s.  They argue vegetarianism is not only a healthy choice, but also the most ethical one.  For example, in Issue 8 of *PETA News*, the group focuses on farm animal issues.  They include information on "downed animals" or those hurt during transport, the comparison between outrage over the eating of dogs and our continual acceptance of eating other animals, investigations into chicken slaughterhouses, information on laying hens, the problems associated with meat eating, and stories of individual farm animals.  Following these pieces is an article entitled "Kicking the Habit" which explains to readers how they can adopt a vegetarian diet.  The clear message is that when confronted with this information, one must refuse to eat meat - that is the only humane choice.  In a PETA fact sheet entitled *Vegetarianism: Eating for life*, readers are also told:

> We do not need to eat meat, drink cows' milk or goats' milk, or eat eggs to survive.  Because today's system of mass production of these 'products' causes pain, distress and ultimately death to the billions of animals from whom they are taken each year, we're ethically bound to renounce them."

PETA's rhetoric not only disrupts the taken for granted notion people must eat meat, but also challenges the narrow role assigned to concerned individuals in the

campaign.  In their fact sheet, *Factory farming: The mechanized madness*, readers are told "Factory farming is an extremely cruel method of raising animals, but because it is profitable, it will only increase.  One way to stop the abuses of factory farming is to support legislation that abolishes battery cages, veal crates, and intensive confinement systems.  But the best way to save the animals from the misery of factory farming is to stop buying and eating meat, milk, and eggs.  Vegetarianism and veganism mean eating for life: yours and theirs."  In a brochure entitled *Living without cruelty* readers are reminded of the importance of being "a conscientious consumer."  The article begins "If we want to help animals, the most important place to start is with our own lifestyles.  What we eat, wear, and use has a direct impact on the lives and deaths of the animals.  Every time we visit the grocery store, the pharmacy, or go shopping for sweaters or shoes, we vote with our consumer dollars FOR or AGAINST animal suffering."  Finally, in a short article about farm animals in Issue 4 of *PETA News* entitled "Are You Really that Hungry?" PETA director, Ingrid Newkirk, writes "You can do something.  You can vote with your consumer dollars every time you do your marketing or order a meal.  Vote 'no' to cruelty and 'yes' to life -- yours and the animals'" (p. 9).

PETA's approach to the farm animal campaign notably transformed the oppositional arguments available to the movement.  Beginning from a rights perspective, they developed challenges that blocked the enthymeme concerning the necessity of meat eating.  By advancing arguments in favor of vegetarianism, they

made the consumption of meat controversial.  They also unveiled a new approach to

activism for the campaign by encouraging members to be compassionate consumers.

*HSUS 1980-2000*

Throughout the early years of the 1980s, HSUS continued to focus primarily

on the most abusive situations in animal agriculture and stress the importance of

legislation in rectifying them.  For example, in the 1981 Fall issue of *HSUS News*

readers are told about federal legislation the organization introduced regarding factory

farming.  Some of the changes HSUS proposed include "an eventual ban on the use of

battery cages, raising veal calves in narrow crates and feeding them only liquid diets,

and a phasing out of sow confinement" (p. 30).  At this same time, it was clear leaders

in HSUS were not ready to challenge the necessity of meat eating.  In a letter to Alex

Hershaft dated May 27th 1981, John Hoyt, president of HSUS, declined an offer to

work with the vegetarian group, FARM and noted "The HSUS as an organization has

neither opposed nor endorsed vegetarianism."  He goes on to state "To some extent

our effectiveness . . . has already been diminished by erroneous conclusions that the

HSUS is, in fact, promoting vegetarianism."

In keeping with an approach that focuses on the most extreme examples of

cruelty, HSUS' farm animal campaign dealt almost entirely with veal production

throughout 1981 and most of 1982.  Several articles were published in *HSUS News*

detailing how veal calves were raised and a new campaign entitled "No Veal This

Meal" was launched.  The central feature of this public awareness campaign was to

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educate the public about milk-fed veal and encourage them to eschew this type of meat. Another area on which they focused their attention was the production of goose liver pate which is produced by force feeding geese to enlarge their liver "causing undue distress, pain, or suffering to the animals" (News Release, April 25th, 1983).

But PETA's objection to the necessity of meat eating and promotion of vegetarianism could not be ignored indefinitely. By 1982, HSUS began to challenge, in a moderate way, the belief that human beings had to eat meat to survive. In an internal memo dated September 13th 1982, Peter Lovenheim working on farm animal issues, recommended "we consider the veal campaign ended, although our position on veal raising remains unchanged." He goes on to suggest there should be a "change in our position on farm animal welfare" and HSUS should adopt "Eat Less Meat" as part of its formal position on the welfare of farm animals.

In 1984, HSUS formulated a new position that can be found in their *Statements of Policy* from that year. The most significant lines of this new policy are:

> the Society endorses the concept of eating with conscience - of eating no meat, or eating only those animal products that come from animals raised less inhumanely than those raised under controlled, industrial scale 'factory' conditions. The Society, therefore, encourages, for those who choose to eat meat, the selective consumption of locally raised products from animals kept on small to medium-sized family farms."

Here, HSUS not only suggests that people can survive without meat, but also recognizes meat consumption is a choice rather than a necessity.

This new perspective carries over to their public documents. For example, the 1984 Winter issue of *HSUS News* features the article "Farm Animal Welfare: New Directions and Developments." In the article, readers are told:

> If you buy meat products, first ensure that your diet is not indirectly supporting the inhumane rearing of farm animals, buy only products from animals that have been raised under more humane conditions and received good care during the growing period prior to slaughter, or during their productive lives on the farm.

A *Close-up Report* from September of 1984 tells readers:

> If you choose to leave meat in your diet, buy only locally raised, transported, and slaughtered meat. Such animals have, quite probably, suffered less during the transport process. You will help to keep local farmers in business and reduce the numbers of animals forced to endure cruel long distance travel.

The most important word in each of the statements is *if*. HSUS is clearly turning taken for granted notions about meat eating on their head. They work from the presumption that a person will not eat meat, rather than the presumption that they will. Here they are working to disrupt the suppressed premise that eating meat is necessary. In so doing, they block the enthymeme that allows meat eating to occur without objection.

HSUS continues to challenge taken for granted notions concerning the necessity of meat eating and even promote vegetarianism as exemplified by several of their more recent public documents. In an article about modern pig farming found in the Spring 1996 issue of *HSUS News*, readers are told they can "replace the meat in their diet with non-animal foods (All kinds of meat substitutes, including imitation bacon and sausage, are available)." Another example can be found in a letter to the editor of the *Akron beacon journal* entitled "Eating Meat Means Animals Suffer Needlessly." After relating the cruelties involved in modern farm conditions, Mary Finelli of HSUS writes "They (animals) are treated as mere commodities rather than as perceptive creatures capable of suffering. And it is unnecessary cruelty. Although eating meat may be traditional in this country, it is not necessary. The U.S. Department of Agriculture even acknowledges in its official dietary guidelines that a vegetarian diet offers excellent health benefits." Dr. Fox echoes this when he asserts the belief "that becoming a vegetarian or even halving one's consumption of meat will be harmful to one's health is a myth perpetuated by the livestock and meat industries" (*HSUS News*).

During the 1980s, HSUS was also affected by PETA's discourse concerning the power of compassionate consumption. While more progressive staff at HSUS like Dr. Michael Fox made some connection between consumption and activism in the anti-veal campaign, the organization did not fully embrace this wider view of their audience until the mid-1980s. In 1987 they launched a "Breakfast of Cruelty" boycott

on pork and egg producers. As they note in the 1987 Spring issue of *HSUS News*, "In a move intended to force pork and egg producers to abandon their cruel production practices, The HSUS has resorted to consumer power, urging our members to avoid bacon and egg breakfasts in protest." In the 1987 Summer issue of *HSUS News* more information on the boycott is offered. Here, readers are told about responses from United Egg Producers and the National Pork Producers Council. They're told "we must now keep pressure on both pork and egg producers to improve conditions for millions of hogs and hens - not just talk about it. It's more important than ever for members to boycott the breakfast of cruelty until real progress has been made toward adopting humane reforms industrywide!"(p. 25).

This new way of envisioning the power of the public is apparent in revisions HSUS made to their *Statements of Policy* in 1991. Replacing the title "Livestock and Poultry Practices" with "Farm Animals and Eating with Conscience," HSUS moves away from a vague commitment to fight farm animal cruelty to a specific consumer oriented campaign approach:

Considering all the aforementioned abuses of animals and the environment, it is the policy of HSUS to promote eating with conscience which embraces the three R's - reduction, refinement, and replacement. Reduction means reducing the consumption of meat and other animal-based foods by those who choose to eat them. Refinement means eating products only from animals that have been raised, transported, and slaughtered in a humane husbandry or

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sustainable agricultural system that does not abuse the animals.  Replacement

means eating no meat or other animal based foods, thereby avoiding the

suffering involved in the use of animals to provide food.

The commitment to the 3 R's remains a strong component of HSUS' current farm

animal campaign.

The importance of the compassionate consumer is also evident in many of

their public documents.  Members are clearly told their consumer choices matter.  In

the 1992 Winter issue of *HSUS News*, Dr. Michael Fox writes:

It is now widely recognized that what we buy at the grocery store and put into

our mouth has more ramifications for the natural world -- the environment and

the animal kingdom that sustains it -- than anything else we do.  Just as food

has been used as an effective political weapon for centuries, so it can have

profound political and socioeconomic consequences in the modern world.

Americans have the luxury of choice in the marketplace and responsibility to

choose wisely and compassionately . . . ..  With the support of consumers, the

much-needed revolution in American agriculture will be won" (p. 26).  In a

later article about dairy cows (*HSUS News*, 1995) readers are told "How we

spend our money on food directly influences how food is produced and how

animals are treated.  Even the smallest of efforts is important.  Consumer

power can create a better future for farm animals, for humane farmers and

ranchers, and for ourselves (p. 24).

Finally, a fact sheet produced in September 1999 reminds people:

> Every time you eat, you make a dietary choice that affects the ways animals are raised for food. As consumers opt for products from more humanely raised animals and for alternatives to animal products they send a message to producers, retailers, restaurant owners, and other food service providers that a humane diet can be profitable for everyone.

In looking at a variety of documents created by HSUS for their farm animal campaign from 1970 to 2000, one can discern a notable difference between their strategic approach prior to the early 1980s and their approach after that time. Prior to 1982, the organization not only refrained from blocking the enthymeme concerning meat eating, but also participated in the assumption that meat eating was a necessity. In addition, they approached their audience in a narrow frame, disregarding the potential power of the consumer. Following the emergence of PETA and the introduction of a discourse that openly challenged the right of humans to eat animals, HSUS broadened their arguments. While they never fully embraced vegetarianism, they came to recognize it as an important choice in enacting a more compassionate relationship with other animals. Even as the organization refrains from making arguments directly about the right of animals not to be eaten, they begin to promote the possibility of vegetarianism. In the years after 1982, HSUS began to disrupt the taken for granted notion that people had to eat meat, as well as expand its conception

of the audience in order to benefit from the connection between activism and consumerism.

Similar to the fur campaign, these new challenges and counter-arguments not only problematized the necessity of meat eating, they also set the stage for more progressive arguments challenging the existing relations between humans and animals. In the last several years, HSUS has designed a series of fact sheets and press releases detailing the ways in which farm animals act in ways typically reserved for human beings. They create an identity for farm animals through noting the way in which cows mother their calves or chickens socialize. These types of arguments clearly begin to widen the sphere of identification and challenge animals' status as property. In these materials one can see the move to humanize animals. Farm animals are portrayed as having family structures, food preferences, and many other components of their lives that are similar to human beings. These documents mark the introduction of more direct arguments for recognizing the rights of animals.

The move on the part of HSUS to embrace vegetarianism as a compassionate choice seems to be making inroads in general public opinion and consumer behavior. Anecdotally, there are myriad signs that the veggie lifestyle is gaining footing in American society. A few months ago Burger King introduced its first veggie burger, following a similar move by Dairy Queen. The media is also exploring the topic of vegetarianism. A recent provocative article in the *New York Times Magazine* (April 7, 2002) traced the life of a beef cow from birth to the weeks before slaughter,

prompting PBS and NPR to talk about the problems associated with the meat industry and the viability of a vegetarian diet. The July 15th, 2002 issue of *Time* featured a veggie sandwich and the question: Should You Be A Vegetarian? In the article they suggest that more people are "going veggie" everyday and for some very compelling reasons. Recent polls seem to confirm this noting that meatless meals are on the rise both at home and in restaurants. For example, in a 1991 Gallup poll 20% of those asked said they looked for vegetarian options when eating out. In addition the number of people identifying themselves as vegetarians has steadily increased from 1.2% in 1978 to around 5% in 1997 (Roper poll). All of these trends suggest that vegetarianism is indeed becoming an attractive dietary choice.

The Laboratory Animal Campaign: From Support of the Scientific Community to Skepticism

Vivisection, the scientific word for experimentation on living animals, has been a common practice in this country and Europe since the late 1800s. Laboratory research of this type is conducted by private pharmaceutical companies, private and state universities, and a variety of federal government agencies such as the Department of Defense and the Department of Agriculture. One of the largest institutions involved in such research is the National Institute of Health (NIH). NIH oversees the allocation of federal funds for medical research. The biomedical research industry, which is founded largely on vivisection, is a multibillion dollar industry involving research conducted by scientists operating in a variety of

capacities.  Some animals commonly used in biomedical research are dogs, cats, primates, rabbits, hamsters, and mice/rats.  While many estimates show the numbers of animals (excepting mice and rats) used in research within the U.S. has declined by 50% since 1968, figures for 1995 show that close to 14 million animals are still being used in U.S. research facilities.

Because vivisection occurs in a number of different settings and is used towards a number of different ends, it is often difficult to address practices in a specific manner.  Bernard Rollin offers one of the most succinct category systems for the use of the animals in research.  He divides them into the following six categories:

1) Basic biological research with little concern for the practical application.

2) Applied basic biomedical research -- the formulation and testing of hypotheses about diseases, dysfunction, genetic defects, new therapies, and treatments.

3) The development of drugs and therapeutic chemicals and biologicals.

4) The testing of various consumer goods for safety, toxicity, irritation, and degree of toxicity.

5) The use of animals in educational institutions and elsewhere for demonstration, dissection, surgery practice, induction of disease for demonstration purposes, and high school science projects.

6) The use of the animals for extraction of products -- serum from horses, musk from civits, cats, and other products.

For the purposes of this dissertation, I will focus on what has commonly been referred to as medical research or categories 1-3.

Anti-vivisection societies have existed for almost as long as there has been vivisection. Several societies were formed in the United Kingdom as early as the mid-1800s. The campaign against animals in laboratory research has always been a very controversial one. Animal protectionists argue that biomedical research often causes great pain to the animals utilized. They also point out that such research can involve animals typically regarded as our companions: cats and dogs. It can also involve very intelligent animals such as primates. Although the animal protection movement has skillfully employed images of these animals during experimentation and has been effective in causing notable public outcry, proponents of animal use in laboratory research have generally been more effective in arguing that the use of animals remains essential. This effectiveness is evidenced by public opinion polling that consistently finds the majority of the American public in favor of animal experimentation for medical research purposes.

During the 1970s, HSUS refrained from fully pursuing a campaign on behalf of laboratory animals. The few materials they did create advanced arguments concerning the humane treatment of animals during their lives in the laboratory and objected to any outright cruelty in experiments performed on them. In this period of time, they limited their questions to how animals were being used rather than whether they should be used in the laboratory setting. They accepted the prevailing norms

labeling animal experimentation as legitimate and the scientific community as credible. When PETA emerged within the movement, they made the plight of laboratory animals their primary concern. Ultimately, they objected to vivisection because they believed humans had no right to make other animals suffer and die solely for possible benefit to humankind. Leaders like Ingrid Newkirk often commented that when it came to pain there was no difference between a boy and a mouse - both were capable of feeling it and we had a duty to both not to inflict it upon them. While PETA made some arguments on this basis, they were often denounced and dismissed with the cry that human health and medical progress was far more important than the lives of the animals used in experimentation. Their more frequent arguments against vivisection challenged animal experimentation not only on the basis of cruelty but also in terms of its merits and the motivations of scientists. Their rhetoric blocked the enthymeme allowing animal experimentation to proceed without public debate.

They also introduced two effective counter-arguments. First, they argued animal experiments were illegitimate because they were often unnecessary, repetitive, inaccurate, costly, and outdated. Second, they suggested the scientific community was not wholly credible because they often ignored alternatives and were motivated by non-scientific interests. In analyzing HSUS documents from the 1980s and 1990s, I argue similar challenges and counter arguments can be found. Below I will present the approach taken by HSUS in their campaign for laboratory animals during the

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1970s. I will compare that to their approach taken after the emergence of PETA in order to demonstrate this important rhetorical shift.

*HSUS 1970 - 1980*

Throughout the 1970s, HSUS ran a very limited campaign concerning the use of animals in medical research. In fact, there was only one substantial article regarding the issue in *HSUS News* from 1970 to 1977 and only a handful from 1977 to 1980. In addition, there were very few other types of materials such as brochures, fliers, and pamphlets created on the topic during this time. There is no doubt that part of the reason for the organization's relative silence on this issue is its controversial nature. In 1975, the organization did draft a policy statement regarding "Animals in Biomedical Testing and Research." The statement recognizes the benefits of animal experimentation for mankind, while seeking to promote the humane treatment of laboratory animals and the pursuit of alternatives to animal use in medical research:

> The Humane Society of the United States recognizes that uses of the animals and biomedical research, testing, and the production of serums and drugs are many and varied and many animals so used are not subjected to painful procedures. It recognizes that benefit for mankind has been achieved through scientific research on animals and this research or experimentation is not likely to end in the foreseeable future. The Society believes, however, the number of animals used in genuinely painful experiments and production

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techniques is steadily increasing and many thousands of other animals used in painless experiments need protection in the laboratory.

In keeping with concerns over the humane treatment of laboratory animals, HSUS pursued a small number of legislative ends in the early 1970s. Specifically, the organization supported bills preventing trafficking in stolen pets for use in research, as well as improvements in laboratory living conditions. For example, in a flier produced by the organization, the organization argued against the Posage Bill because it lacked criteria to determine the standards of transporting and caring for animals prior to experimentation. A bill they did support in 1970 is detailed in *HSUS News*. The article relates how animal protection organizations, including HSUS, are optimistic about bill HR 13957 which would extend current legislation protecting animals in laboratories to "include all warm-blooded animals during their entire stay in the research facility." In a four-page document made available to the public, HSUS argues stronger legislation is needed to reduce pain and distress in laboratory animals. Specifically, they cite problems with the housing of animals and the supply of laboratory animals.

While attempting to address the issues of cruelty and laboratory animals, HSUS wished to make clear to its members and the public that it was not an anti-vivisection society. In fact, the organization constantly reminded its members of the scientific advances made possible by animal experimentation. In a series of letters addressed to members and representatives from the media, HSUS president, John

Hoyt, asserts that while not all animal experimentation is valuable, "it cannot be denied that there has been significant knowledge and value derived from such research. Anyone who denies that fact is certainly out of touch with reality" (03/10/72). This letter exemplifies the early position of HSUS: a commitment to reducing pain and distress for laboratory animals, while not questioning the use of animals in experimentation.

In the mid and late 1970s, HSUS continued to pursue a very limited laboratory animal campaign. While the organization lobbied for a few pieces of legislation, they where involved only slightly in public education on these issues. At the same time, however, some within the organization were putting a wider variety of questions to animal research. Two articles printed in the Winter, 1976-1977 and Spring 1977 issues of *HSUS News* demonstrate this move. The first article, entitled "What Price Suffering?" was written by freelance writer Jack Ben-Rubin. In the article he suggests that while "no other activity today receives more moral and financial support than scientific research" there may be limits to what can be done in the name of science. Ben-Rubin contends that because taxpayers support experiments such as the one done on the sexuality of cats at the American Museum of Natural History in New York City, the museum should be able to explain the merits of their research to the public. After detailing the experiment that has been in process for over 15 years, the author points out the cruelty of the experiment may be too severe to allow it to continue, even if it can be shown to be useful.

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In the second article, Dr. Michael Fox revisits the experiments at the American Museum of Natural History.  The article is a synthesis of Fox's thoughts on the "friendly and open discussion with Drs. Aronson and Nicholson" who have been conducting these experiments.  In a philosophical vein, he asks whether the quest for knowledge is a sufficient reason for performing animal experiments.  While he acknowledges "many breakthroughs have been made by sheer coincidence or by the integration of a vital bit of information gathered years before" he questions the "unqualified right of a scientists to do what he chooses with animals" (pp. 17-18).  In these two documents we see the very beginning of a different type of question being posed to animal experimentation.

*PETA 1980-1990*

From the very first moment of PETA's campaign on this issue, they introduced arguments that suggested animals had the right not to be experimented on. They believed this right could not be ignored even if such experimentation would improve human health.  While these arguments greatly broadened the challenges available to the larger movement, they quickly made the groups vulnerable to opposition.  Scientists and their supporters created materials suggesting animal rights activists would allow the death of sick children in order to protect mice and rats.  In order to prevent outright rejection of their arguments, PETA mixed their rights based contentions with more practical concerns.  Their most effective challenges disrupted the enthymeme and the taken for granted notions that animal experimentation was a

legitimate practice and the scientific community was credible. They broadened the challenges to animal experimentation from those concerning how animals were used, to larger ones about whether there were conditions under which they should not be used at all. They offered counter-arguments against animal experimentation by suggesting the practice was illegitimate on a number of fronts and often motivated by self-interest, laziness, and fear. An example of this approach can be found in the newspaper coverage of one of their first demonstrations. Here, PETA representatives point out how the National Institute of Health continued "even the most meaningless and bizarre experiments with animals" and that the disregard researchers showed towards animals has "gone on to corrupt much of medicine to the detriment, in many instances, of humans requiring health services" (*Montgomery Journal*, 1981).

Throughout their campaign, PETA combined existing arguments about cruelty with other oppositions concerning the merits of animal experimentation. Examples of this approach abound. In a brochure entitled *The issue: Animal experimentation*, PETA contends "contrary to what most of the general public thinks, the bulk of animal experimentation consists of duplicative, painful, costly, and unnecessary forms of research." In another brochure entitled *Stop animal torture*, readers are told "the great majority of animal testing is not for medical progress, is repetitive, abusive, and absolutely immoral." In a final piece entitled *The facts about animal experimentation*, PETA argues:

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Animal experiments *curtail* medical progress; old, animal based vaccines allowed viruses to cross the species barrier, drugs tested 'safe' in animals have had mild to fatal side effects in humans, and procedures first tried on animals have often delayed treatments by leading researchers in the wrong direction because of the physiological differences between the animal models and human patients. Continuing animal tests keeps scientists from developing safer and saner research practices.

PETA often uses the testimony of doctors and scientists to support their claims that animal experimentation was illegitimate. PETA's fact sheet *Drug testing: Pain, not gain*, argues "many physicians and researchers publicly speak out against the use of these outdated studies." They point out how "unreliable animal tests not only allow dangerous drugs to be marketed to the public, but may also prevent potentially useful ones from being made available." In seeking to stop experiments in which dogs, pigs, goats, and monkeys were to be shot in bullet wound experiments, PETA quotes doctors such as Donald E. Doyle to argue the experiments are not useful. PETA also utilized scientists to talk about experiments conducted at the University of Oregon. As PETA relays in their material, Dr. Ned Buyukmihci found there was "absolutely no clinical application" to the research after reviewing the experiments.

One of the most effective early strategies utilized by PETA to demonstrate use of animals in laboratory research was not legitimate was to act as a go-between for

the Animal Liberation Front (ALF), which illegally entered laboratories to liberate animals and collect documents and video footage of animal experiments. In a series of examples from raids on the U.S. Navy Medical Research Center in Bethesda, MD to the head injury experiments conducted at the University of Pennsylvania, PETA acted as the spokesperson for this undercover group. In addition to displaying photographs of animals that were slated for experimentation and eventual death, PETA would detail the experiments in which the animals were to be used. For example, in *PETA News* an article tells readers how Vanguard (a dog) was "scheduled to die in a deep sea diving chamber experiment that has been repeated for over 40 years, at a cost of thousands of animal lives and hundreds of thousands of tax dollars" (1982, p. 1). PETA urges readers to write letters to the Secretary of Defense asking "what specific benefits have been obtained for human beings and what they're looking for now after all of these years of repeated tests."

In addition to creating arguments to demonstrate the illegitimacy of animal experimentation, PETA also suggested the scientific community lacked credibility. They often cited their lack of interest in alternatives and their self-interest as evidence of why the public should be wary of their claims on behalf of animal experimentation. In documents produced by the organization, PETA charges:

> the vast majority of live animal experiments are totally unreliable. . . . So test
>
> results based on their reactions are terribly misleading. . .. But more
>
> importantly, live animal experiments are simply unnecessary. Because new

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technology offers us many experimental resources that are far cheaper, more exact, and more humane. . . . The fact is, most scientists simply cling to familiar habits out of inertia or vested interest and they keep right on churning out the same duplicative research year after year . . . while you and I pay for it" (PETA mailer, 1985).

In another brochure on alternatives to the use of animals in experimentation, PETA suggests in many cases experiments or tests can simply be eliminated. They maintain that often in animal experiments "the only motivations are undirected curiosity and a desire to have the article published, a grant funded, or promotion awarded, with little if any consideration given to the suffering of the animal or the actual value of the experiments. In a 30 second radio spot designed by the organization, listeners are told "more people live off research today than benefit from it." Finally, they suggest pharmaceutical companies experiment on animals not to further human health, but "as a defense against possible lawsuits" and because they are unwilling to share information about the latest developments in their field.

PETA's campaign on behalf of laboratory animals challenged the practice of animal experimentation in ways that shifted the activity from generally accepted to largely controversial. While maintaining some arguments advanced from a rights perspective, they blocked the enthymeme that allowed such experimentation to proceed without debate and opened up discussion on whether animals should be used in medical research. They argued animal experimentation should not be conducted

when it was for illegitimate reasons or the researchers involved lacked credibility. They also offered evidence demonstrating the many problems associated with animal experimentation and the self-interest of animal researchers. In the years following the introduction of such challenges and counter-arguments, HSUS began to adopt some of the same rhetoric.

*HSUS 1980-2000*

One of the clearest ways to track changes in HSUS' approach to arguing against animal research is to look at their *Statements of Policy* over time. In 1975, the organization drafted a policy statement concerning the humane treatment of animals in the laboratory setting. While it acknowledges animals can be treated cruelly and carelessly in research contexts, it does not question the legitimacy of animal experimentation or the credibility of the scientific community. There is a marked shift in HSUS' perspective by the mid-1980s. In the 1987 revised version of the statements, HSUS states: "The Humane Society of the United States recognizes that benefit for both animals and mankind has been achieved through some scientific research and testing on animals, but that the advancement of medicine and human health has also been hindered by an overemphasis on such animal research." It goes on to contend "millions of laboratory animals suffer severely and needlessly" and "toxicity tests on live animals, to test the safety of serums, drugs, cosmetics, and other chemicals, are often unreliable, inaccurate, and unnecessary." They also argue

"scientists and facilities using experimental animals should be held strictly accountable for their care and use."

In another revision dated 1989, HSUS becomes even more direct. They argue "the status quo relating to the use of animals in research and testing is unacceptable" and "many animals continue to be subjected to procedures that are painful or scientifically questionable." They continue by saying, "an overreliance on animal subjects in research and testing can hinder the advancement of health, safety, and knowledge." By 1997, HSUS had made accountability one of their key two-year goals in dealing with animal research issues.

This shift in approach can also be found in the public literature distributed by HSUS in the early 1980s. These materials challenge existing notions of animal experimentation, as well as argue the practice is often illegitimate and many researchers involved lack credibility. In April of 1981, the Humane Society released a *Close-up Report* on lab animals and alternatives. In the first page of this report they suggest while some experiments "may form the basis of an important scientific breakthrough, it is not unusual to find pointless, repetitious procedures causing severe pain and suffering to the animals." They continue by noting "we believe many of these experiments are performed without justification, or any real cause to believe they will yield any significant or useful information for the betterment or protection of human or animal lives." They also list several examples of experiments that have yielded no useful information.

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Later that year, PETA brought public attention to the lives of laboratory

animals when one of its founders, Alex Pacheco, revealed the horrendous treatment of

animals in a laboratory located in Silver Spring, MD.  Having been recording the

mistreatment while undercover, Pacheco was able to build a solid case against

specific researchers and their abuse of primates.  His diaries and photographs shocked

and angered the American public.  HSUS could not help but respond to this case.  In

the Fall 1982 issue of *HSUS News* the organization featured a special section on

laboratory animals.  The final article in this section was entitled "Animal

Experimentation: How Necessary - And How Moral?"  The article begins:

> Laboratory animals are used for a variety of purposes, their exploitation,
>
> suffering, and death being justified as contributing to the greater good of
>
> society.  However, as will be shown, the apparently altruistic public concern
>
> of the biomedical research industry is losing its credibility for many reasons.
>
> The value of animal 'safety' tests, the relevance of animals 'models' of human
>
> diseases, and the arguments given by scientists to justify their wholesale
>
> exploitation of animals are questioned on many counts.  These questions and
>
> shortcomings cast serious doubt on the extent of the contribution of animal
>
> research to the greater good of society" (p. 30)

The article then goes on to demonstrate the ways in which animal testing is clearly

problematic.  It concludes by warning

the doors have been closed for too long, by such organizations as the National

Society for Medical Research, in order to protect vested interest rather than

scientific freedom.  But keeping the doors closed now is to be out of step with

the times.  Now is the time for dialogue, otherwise the biomedical research

community as a whole may suffer the consequences of the growing public

disillusionment with science and medicine.

In a similar article appearing in the Spring 1984 issue of *HSUS News*, Dr.

John McArdle argues psychological experiments on animals should be challenged.

Throughout the article he demonstrates the psychological differences between

animals and humans, arguing these differences make such experimentation invalid.

He also believes some animal researchers pursue unnecessary experiments.

McCardle cites the example of Roger Ulrich who "repeatedly forced two animals to

fight one another.  He now admits to conducting studies that were essentially

redundant and useless."  McCardle concludes the article by saying now:

> we can actively question the validity of psychological research secure in the
>
> knowledge that none of its apologist can successfully defend it from animal
>
> welfare claims and concerns.  In the near future, we will be speaking out more
>
> specifically, both to our members and the general public, on how scientific
>
> abuses in psychological testing can be stopped and, and eventually, halted
>
> completely.

This article was the basis for a June 1984 *Close -up Report* suggesting "once scientists are forced to stop their capricious, destructive tampering with animals minds, responsible researchers can devote themselves to finding the true causes and cures of human mental illness."

The clearest example of the HSUS invalidating animal experimentation can be found in the Summer 1989 issue of *HSUS News*. Here, Dr. Brandon Reines relays "a new view of animal research questions its scientific value." In the article, Dr. Reines lists a variety of different examples where medical researchers and organizations such as the National Institute of Health have falsely attributed medical advances to animal experimentation. For example, he details the research conducted in developing the anti-leukemia drug nitrogen mustard. He suggests animal experiments did not help to test hypotheses, but rather dramatize them so tests could be conducted on human beings. He makes the same argument for tobacco tests that he contends could not be accurately conducted on animals and therefore held up "public health actions against cigarette smoking for more than a decade." He quotes scientist Dr. Irwin Bross as saying "the biomedical differences between human and animal tissues are simply too great. When they started making beagles smoke cigarettes in the late '60s, I wrote a letter to the *Buffalo Courier* pointing out how foolish it was. I'm no animal lover, but it was a real waste of money."

HSUS' other forms of outreach, such as brochures and fact sheets, also took a more skeptical approach to the value of animal use in science during this time, often

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directly challenging the legitimacy of the practice.  In a 1986 fact sheet titled *Alternatives*, readers are told "although animal research may have scientific merit in some cases, it is also painful or stressful to animals, costly, time-consuming, and often unlikely to improve human health."  In addition, the public is told "the perpetuation of many traditional animal tests has less to do with protecting the public health than it does with providing manufacturers with a defense against product liability claims, providing political protection to regulatory agencies, or simply maintaining the status quo."  Finally, in a letter to the editor of the *Washington Post* (3/31/90) Brandon Reines, Associate Director of Laboratory Animals Department at HSUS, argues against the view animal experiments are essential to making progress in medicine.

HSUS' current campaign clearly continues to question the merit of many animal experiments.  A recent example of this approach was the organization's targeting of NASA's BION experiments proposed in 1996.  When HSUS learned of the tests that would send monkeys into space, the organization determined these experiments were needless and therefore lobbied to stop them.  In a press release entitled "U.S. House of Representatives Grounds Needless BION Experiments with Monkeys," Dr. Martin Stephens of HSUS applauded the decision saying "we already possess abundant scientific and practical information about the effect of space flight on people . . . this set of experiments promised to contribute no new significant information to our understanding."  Another example of this approach can be found in

a letter to the *Washington Post* editor (9/21/95) in which Jonathan Balcombe, a staff member at HSUS, describes how a lot of money is wasted on animal research. He offers several examples: "cats deafened to study brain waves ($2,018,000); Labrador retrievers' ankles destroyed to study bone mass ($350,000); baboons burned in near boiling water to see how it affects liver function ($280,000)." He goes on to say, "One can cite thousands of other examples of painful, expensive, and dubious experiments. . . .. Once people know what's going on, they'll be in a position to see that it is the reliance on animals, not the imposition of regulations, that is impeding scientific progress" (A23).

In the early years of their campaign concerning laboratory animals, HSUS limited their focus to challenging the overtly cruel treatment of animals in the laboratory setting. They left unexplored and unasked larger questions regarding the conditions under which such use should be prohibited. When PETA emerged, they greatly broadened the available challenges to vivisection by arguing from a rights perspective. While they decided to combine these more radical arguments with those objecting the current context of use for laboratory animals, they were instrumental in challenging existing norms that assumed the legitimacy of animal experimentation and the credibility of the scientific community. They developed counter-arguments stating animal experimentation was problematic because it was unnecessary, repetitive, inaccurate, costly, and outdated. They also demonstrated that the scientific community often operated from self interest rather than for the good of science. This

approach suggested animals should not be used in experimentation when the research was questionable or the researcher lacked credibility. Documents such as HSUS' *Statements of Policy, HSUS News*, and various pamphlets and brochures demonstrate HSUS adopted the same approach in the 1980s. Texts written during this later period offer many of the same challenges and counter-arguments. These texts provide evidence of the possibility of PETA's rhetorical influence on HSUS' laboratory animal campaign.

While HSUS' current lab animal campaign has yet to present many direct arguments that seek to widen the sphere of identification, new approaches signal that other organizations in the movement are creating these more progressive arguments. For example, many of the challenges to the use of lab animals have focused on primates. Because these animals are highly intelligent and similar to human beings in many ways, some activists including Jane Goodall and Peter Singer, are seeking to extend rights to primates. The Great Ape Project is an organization devoted to "the extension of the community of equals to include all great apes: human beings, chimpanzees, gorillas, and orang-utans." Some of the rights they strive for include 1) the right to life, 2) the protection of individual liberty, and 3) the prohibition of torture (www.grteatape.com). I believe the Great Ape Project is clearly seeking to establish the rights of apes based on a perception of these animals as subjects. Such a perspective could only be articulated after PETA advanced arguments against vivisection on the basis of rights rather than utilitarianism.

Evidence of shifts in public opinion and behavior regarding medical testing on animals is a bit more difficult to obtain.  As I mentioned at the beginning of this section, proponents of animal testing have arguments that strongly resonate with the public.  But evidence of slight shifts in support can be found.  For example, while animal testing had an approval rating of 84% in the 1940sobtain.  As I mentioned at the beginning of this section, proponents of animal testing have arguments that strongly resonate with the public.  But evidence of slight shifts in support can be found.  For example, while animal testing had an approval rating of 84% in the 1940s, that approval had dropped 10-20% by the early 1990s (Plous, www.altweb.jhsph.edu/meetings /pain/ plous.htm).  In addition, whistleblowers at major research facilities like Oregon Health Science University have led to sharp attacks in the media and public outcry against unnecessary and outdated experiments. It is not uncommon for such institutions to lose government grants or private donations.  The slight erosion of support for animal testing and the outcry against certain wasteful practices may very well be tied to arguments made on behalf of HSUS and PETA concerning the legitimacy of animal testing.

<div align="center">Conclusion</div>

In this chapter, I have analyzed three major campaigns pursued by HSUS from 1970 to 2000.  I have examined the rhetoric produced by the organization both prior to and following the introduction of a more radical discourse into the movement by PETA.  In each case, I have found evidence of specific shifts in HSUS' rhetoric

<div align="center">147</div>

between these two periods. By considering notable shifts in light of the particular objections raised through enthymematic blocking and counter-arguments advanced by PETA from 1980 and 1990, I have tried to demonstrate rhetorical influence. While PETA may have hoped to transform the rhetoric of the movement from arguments based on utilitarianism to those based on rights, they were able to achieve a smaller but important shift. HSUS embodies this shift. They narrow the contexts in which it is justifiable to use animals by introducing new criteria for consideration beyond humane treatment.

In the case of the fur animal campaign, PETA's introduction of new oppositional arguments concerning whether killing animals for their fur was a justifiable use helped HSUS to broaden their own campaign. They shifted from offering limited challenges about the cruelty of obtaining certain pelts, to absolute challenges condemning fur production and consumption as totally unjustifiable. In the case of the farm animal campaign, PETA's more radical rhetoric objecting to the taken for granted notions concerning the necessity of meat eating and the limited power of organizational members seems to have influenced the later discourse of HSUS. The more moderate organization, which originally accepted these notions without challenge, presented several counter-arguments promoting vegetarianism and the power of compassionate consumption by the late 1980s. Finally, in the lab animal campaign PETA's dissent to assumptions about the legitimacy of animal experimentation and the credibility of the scientific community made research on

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animals a much more controversial topic than it had ever been. Their suggestions that animal experimentation was often unreliable, outdated, and inaccurate, as well as their allegations that scientist were often acting from self-interest, can be found in the later materials produced by HSUS. This approach widened the rhetoric of the organization and allowed it to scrutinize the biomedical research industry in ways that were previously impossible.

The findings from the analysis of these three campaigns suggest that HSUS, as an example of a more moderate organization, could very well have been influenced by the emergence of the more radical organization PETA and the rhetoric it introduced into the overall movement. The shifts in HSUS' rhetoric offer larger challenges to our society's use of animals. In narrowing the conditions under which animals may be used without objection, the movement creates more fertile soil for future arguments. These arguments may very well seek to change the status of animals as property and eliminate the hierarchy in which human beings are assumed to be above animals. By challenging assumptions and opening debate, organizations within the movement begin the long process of widening the sphere of identification and perhaps one day arguing for the rights of animals.

CHAPTER 5: NEW CHALLENGES TO OUR USE OF THE EARTH:

REARTICULATING OUR RELATIONSHIP


Like the animal protection movement, the environmental advocacy movement

must wage battles on a number of different fronts.  The movement's scope is broad,

from local grass-roots campaigns to international concerns and from endangered

species to the depletion of the ozone layer.  Many environmental advocacy

organizations prioritize a few specific issues or limit their scope to local and regional

events.  Other organizations like the Sierra Club and Earthfirst! address a wider

variety of issues and work in a number of different locales.  The Sierra Club is able to

take such an approach by working with various chapters throughout the country in

addition to maintaining national offices in California and Washington DC.  The larger

offices set national campaign priorities while assisting with and responding to

campaigns conducted by local chapters.  Earthfirst! also works in a number of

different regions within the country.  As a "disorganization," they carry out

campaigns through an informal network of affinity groups.  These groups consist of

individuals who affiliate themselves with the goals of Earthfirst! and therefore

orchestrate and participate in specific campaigns.

In order to limit the scope of this chapter, I will focus my attention on three

issue campaigns identified by both the national office of the Sierra Club and the main

organizational tool of Earthfirst!, *The Earthfirst! Journal*.  These campaigns,

concerning dams, logging, and grazing may be pursued by different tactics at different times, but the central issues they focus on have continued to be of interest to both organizations. For the purpose of clarity, I will refer to Earthfirst! as an organization and the people who campaign in the name of Earthfirst! as supporters or members. I will also limit my attention to the three campaigns as they concern public projects, rather than private. That is to say, I'll address logging and grazing on public lands only, leaving issues of private land management aside.

Following the same approach I utilized in Chapter Four, I will examine each campaign separately and chronologically. After introducing each issue, I will demonstrate specific changes in the rhetoric of the Sierra Club over time. Like the shifts analyzed in the animal protection movement, changes in environmental discourse also challenge assumptions about the ways in which resources are used. However, while the animal protection movement was found to be generally broadening their challenges from those solely concerning cruelty to those concerning questions of necessity and legitimacy, shifts in the environmental advocacy movement are not as easy to generally classify. Earthfirst! introduces a radical rhetoric which suggests the Earth and all living things on it have some rights, but they are taking a more varied approach in presenting new challenges. Therefore, in this chapter, I will note the different kinds of shifts in challenges and counter-arguments for each specific campaign. I will also discuss briefly how they provide the foundation for more progressive arguments that directly seek to expand the realm of

identification. I will use textual evidence to suggest the more radical rhetoric of Earthfirst! may play a role in influencing the rhetoric of the Sierra Club on the three issues of dams, logging, and grazing.

<div style="text-align:center">The Dam Campaign – From Prevention to Removal</div>

Americans began building dams early in the 19th century. These dams, constructed in the New England region, were originally used to harness the power of nearby rivers. Later, dams were built across the country, not only to increase power supply, but also to store water, irrigate croplands, ease navigation, and provide flood control (*Sierra Club Bulletin*, July/August 1983). Since the early days of dam building, their popularity has fluctuated. They are most often favored during oil shortages and by regions seeking greater autonomy over energy production and distribution. Those who favor dam building are quick to note dams are better alternatives to burning fossil fuels because they do not create the air pollution and long-term environmental damage of mining. They also cite the other benefits of dams: their use of a renewable energy source and the low cost of the energy supply once the dam has been built.

While dams have had a number of advocates over the years, they have also had their fair share of opponents. As Harvard Ayers points out, those in opposition to dams generally cite at least one of the following five concerns: 1) in creating a reservoir, dams quickly and dramatically alter habitat; 2) dams also alter habitat by diverting water above the reservoir and channeling water below it; 3) dams prevent

migrating fish from moving upstream; 4) dams alter the aesthetic nature of the landscape through construction of needed support materials such as roads and powerhouses; 5) dams can pose safety risks to the communities situated below them if they were to break (*Sierra Club Bulletin*, July/August 1983). Other arguments against dams include the cost of dam construction and the loss of recreation on wild rivers.

The Sierra Club's own history is closely tied to the issue of dams; the most famous battle in Sierra Club history was a battle over a dam. John Muir, founder of the Sierra Club, began his fight against the damming of the Toulumne River in 1901. He argued the awe-inducing Hetch Hetchy Valley would be drowned and lost forever with the building of the dam. Muir protested against the dam for more than 12 years until Woodrow Wilson approved the dam in 1913.

Exactly half a century later, the second famous battle over a dam in Sierra Club history began. In 1963 the Bureau of Reclamation proposed building two dams on the Colorado River in the Grand Canyon. The Sierra Club reacted by taking out full-page ads opposing the project in a variety of major newspapers. The advertisement urged readers to contact their congressmen and senators in protest. While the Sierra Club was able to stop the dams, the campaign cost them their tax-exempt status because the IRS ruled the organization had violated their nonprofit terms by lobbying. In addition, the organization allowed for the damming of Glen Canyon, which is regarded as a very controversial compromise.

While the Sierra Club clearly opposed the building of particular dams, they did not, in the 1970s, challenge those dams that were already built. Their discourse during that time was limited to opposing the construction of certain dams. By not challenging those already in place, the organization did not block the enthymeme allowing constructed dams to exist without controversy. They accepted the taken for granted notion that once a river was being used as a resource, it would be used for that purpose indefinitely.

When Earthfirst! was founded one of their first goals was to undo a dam. They saw the rivers as living beings that deserved to run wild and dams as the shackles that robbed them of their freedom. From a biocentric perspective, the rivers had the right to run without interference from humankind. Earthfirst! members believed the interference dams created could be undone. They worked to block the enthymeme and disrupt the assumption that once a river was harnessed for use by human beings, it would always play that role. While they believed in the right of the river to run free, they recognized this argument would not be effective on its own. It was too radical to be understood or accepted by the general public in the 1980s. As a result, they presented several counter-arguments demonstrating the benefit of dam removal including the restoration of scenic areas and the positive impact on struggling salmon populations. These same challenges and counter-arguments are found in later Sierra Club materials. While the more moderate organization did not forefront arguments based on the rights of rivers, they did adopt broader arguments

against the continued use of particular dams.  Below, I argue it was not until

Earthfirst! put a "crack in Glen Canyon dam" that the idea of partially or totally

removing existing dams became part of the Club's campaign against dams.  The

rhetoric of Earthfirst! allowed the Sierra Club to challenge dams in broader ways and

explore the possibility of undoing damage that was already done.

*The Sierra Club 1970-1980*

In the 1970s, the Sierra Club was pursuing its dam campaign from policies

established in the 1950s.  Some of these policies include a 1951 prohibition on dam

building in national parks and a 1957 statement that the Club "opposes in principle

the sacrifice for water power purposes of any area that has been dedicated for scenic

resource preservation."  These policies are balanced by a reluctant acceptance that

there are "facilities which cannot be prevented," to which the Sierra Club can only

propose optimal standards for consideration (*The General Policy on Dams in*

*National Parks, National Monuments and Wilderness Areas*, 1957).

During this period, the Sierra Club campaigned against a number of specific

dams.  In a review of organizational positions issued from 1970 to 1980, there are

approximately 50 dam projects the Club formally opposed.  The Sierra Club raised

opposition to dams from Texas (Cooper Dam) to West Virginia (Davis Power

Project) and from California (New Melones Dam) to Wisconsin (La Forge Dam).  In

crafting position statements against specific dams, they often cited the value of the

land to be lost as a result of the dam and the costs associated with building dams.  For

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example, in opposing the construction of the Brushy Creek Dam in Iowa the organization argued "the dam and lake would destroy about 500 acres of mixed hardwoods and substantial agricultural lands. . . the valuable wooded areas and croplands, a beaver dam, wildlife habitat, Indian mounds, and historical sites should not be flooded" (*Position statement*, 05/06/78).  In their campaign against the Stonewall Jackson Dam in West Virginia, they accused dam advocates of "distort(ing) figures in favor of construction of the project" and argued the Army Corps should "carry out an accurate environment and economic re-evaluation of the proposed Stonewall Jackson Dam Project" (*Position statement*, 03/29/80).

The campaign against a number of dam building projects is also evident in the Sierra Club's public materials.  Throughout the 1970s, the organization created both general and specific materials for the public regarding dams and the fight against them.  In the early 1970s, the organization produced a booklet entitled *How to Save Your River: A citizens' guide to water projects*.  In the pamphlet they suggest "citizens can organize to halt a destructive dam, canal, channelization, or other water project proposed by federal agencies like the Army Corps of Engineers, the Bureau of Reclamation, or the Soil Conservation Service."  In another piece, *Citizens Alert*, readers are told "you have a unique opportunity to prevent unnecessary dam building, canal digging, and channelization in the years to come and promote the establishment of parks and the preservation of wild and scenic rivers and valuable wildlife habitat."

The Sierra Club also produced materials for specific campaigns. From 1973 to 1977, the Club joined forces with 12 other national conservation organizations to produce a public report entitled *Disasters in Water Development*. They identified 17 water projects that they targeted as being particularly environmentally destructive. From this list, they developed campaign materials against many of these projects. For example, in opposition to the O'Neill Unit-Norden Dam on the Niobrara River in Nebraska, the Sierra Club produced a fact sheet regarding the increasing costs of the project and safety issues. They encouraged both their members and local citizens to contact their federal representatives in protest.

In arguing against the New Melones Dam, the organization created mass mailings asking for donations towards the campaign and for petition signature gathering. The enclosed petition states "I hereby request abandonment of the New Melones Dam as presently proposed by the Corps, the careful consideration of alternatives, and reordering of priorities relative to the Stanislaus that serves vital ecological and social needs." Finally, the *Sierra Club Bulletin* (October, 1975) featured an article entitled "Dickey-Lincoln: Large dams, large promises, and even larger debts." In the article, readers are told a variety of promises associated with the building of the Dickey-Lincoln Dam in Maine are false. They explain why the dam will not bring jobs, flood control, or cheap power.

While there were some notable successes such as Hells Canyon in the Sierra Club's fight against dam projects in the 1970s, there were also a number of failures.

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Often times, the Sierra Club was forced to accept compromises that ignored or only minimally addressed the organization's concerns.  For example, in 1973 the Army Corps of Engineers proceeded with a plan to build a dam in Iowa, with the Sierra Club only able to secure some protections for the nearby Ledges State Park.  By January of 1980, the Stanislaus River in Northern California was dammed by the New Melones Dam with almost no concern for the ecological and recreational impact of the project.

Despite the building of many controversial dams the organization objected to, there is almost no evidence of arguments for the removal of existing dams in the Sierra Club literature of the 1970s.  Except for one article found in the *Sierra Club Bulletin*, the organization during the 1970s confines their arguments to proposed projects, rather than those already in existence.  It is not until Earthfirst! dramatically introduced the possibility of razing dams that the Sierra Club began to challenge existing assumptions about the ongoing use of some rivers in their campaign against dams.

<center>*Earthfirst! 1980-1990*</center>

Earthfirst!, like the Sierra Club, has often stood in opposition to a variety of dam projects.  In fact, from 1980 to 1990 the organization took a stand against a number of specific dams such as the dams proposed for Dinkey Creek in California and the Big A Dam sited for the West Branch of the Penobscot River in Maine.  Several headlines in the *Earthfirst! Journal* throughout this time period note the threat

of dams to wild rivers and their surrounding habitats and wildlife. While the organization pursued its campaigns against dams with an eye towards those that might be built in the future, their focus from the very beginning was on the destruction of those that already existed. They looked upon those dams as acts of violence to a living being and their removal as an act of justice. They challenged their continued use and offered counter-arguments suggesting the benefits of dam removal.

In the spring of 1981, seventy-five people associated with Earthfirst! demonstrated at the Colorado Bridge near Glen Canyon Dam. While security was focusing on the larger group, five individuals left the protest and headed to the center of the dam. Once there, they unfurled a giant banner portraying a black crack. From a distance, it appeared that the Glen Canyon dam had been cracked. The choice to "crack" Glen Canyon Dam was significant for two reasons. First, it was striking in its similarity to passages in Edward Abbey's *The Monkeywrench Game* that discuss the bombing of Glen Canyon Dam. The action at the dam suggested Earthfirst! would engage in the kind of radical activities proposed in Abbey's book. Second, in its first public appearance the group made the political statement that dams could be undone and therefore challenged existing norms surrounding continued use.

The organization made dams, particularly dam razing, a top priority early on. They challenged the assumption of the permanency of dams through a number of

channels.  Shortly after their action at Glen Canyon, they launched a petition drive to

have the dam removed.  The petition reads:

> the construction of Glen Canyon Dam and filling of Lake Powell on the
>
> Utah/Arizona border is probably the single most destructive project to the
>
> environment ever undertaken in the United States.  It destroyed an
>
> incomparable area of red rock canyon wilderness.  We, the undersigned
>
> citizens of the United States of America, hereby petition our elected
>
> representatives in Congress to pass legislation directing the breaching of Glen
>
> Canyon Dam and the draining of Lake Powell to allow the Colorado and San
>
> Juan rivers to cleanse their canyons and begin to recreate their wilderness
>
> (*Earthfirst! Journal*, December 1981).

In a subsequent issue of the *Earthfirst! Journal*, the group discusses the progress of

their petition drive.  They argue that while petitions are starting to come in, "if we are

to have any impact with our campaign, the trickle needs to become a full-fledged

spring runoff flood -- of signatures that would do the old wild Colorado justice!"

(May 1981, p. 2).

In addition to writing petitions, the group used various activities to gain

significant media attention for their campaign to have Glen Canyon Dam destroyed.

In 1983, when various officials gathered to hold a birthday party for Lake Powell and

the Glen Canyon Dam, Earthfirst! protested the event and held a wake for the

Colorado River.  They also rented a small plane and flew a banner reading

"Earthfirst! Free the Colorado!" (*Earthfirst! Journal,* June 21st, 1983). Articles in the group's newsletter remark on their successful garnering of media attention for these types of actions.

Another campaign the group pursued in the name of destroying existing dams was the campaign to free the Elwha River running through Washington State. In conjunction with the creation of buttons and other materials around the campaign, individuals affiliating themselves with the organization dumped paint down the face of the dam in an attempt to re-create the crack at Glen Canyon. The statement issued by Washington Earthfirst!ers argued:

> the dams on the Elwha stand as monuments to human folly and greed and as tombstones to the river's legendary salmon runs and the vision they represent of a river forever wild and free. Our words and symbolic crack are a reaffirmation of that vision and an inspiration for those who dare to dream of a once again free-flowing Elwha. The dams must come down! (*Earthfirst! Journal*, Sept. 23rd, 1987).

The language choice in this example aptly demonstrates Earthfirst!'s view not only that humans have no right to use rivers for their own benefit, but also that rivers are similar to humans in their desire to be free and wild.

In addition to these major campaigns, Earthfirst! lent their support to a variety of other battles and approaches concerning the removal of dams. For example, when Don Hodel, Secretary of the Interior, contacted the Sierra Club with the proposal to

remove the infamous O'Shaughnessy Dam which drowned Hetch Hetchy Valley, Earthfirst! was both skeptical and hopeful.  During his visit to Hetch Hetchy, the group held banners asking "What's up your sleeve Hodel?" at the same time they asked Hodel to pose holding an Earthfirst! T-shirt.  The group also took advantage of the publicity opportunities to pitch their Dam-A-Year project that advocated removing a major dam each year.  Finally, Earthfirst! supplemented their direct action appeals with more traditional forms of objection.  For example in the Sept. 22nd, 1990 issue of *Earthfirst! Journal*, readers are told they can impact the relicensing process for dams and are instructed in how to challenge the relicensing of dams in their area.

Having raised challenges to the assumption that dams were permanent structures and that dammed rivers would always be used by humans, Earthfirst! members sought to advance counter-arguments illustrating the benefits of dam removal.  Their most common arguments they  used were an aesthetic one concerning the restoration of beautiful places currently under water, and the return of wild and noble rivers.  For example, Dave Foreman, one of the organization's founders and leading voices, wrote a short piece on razing Glen Canyon Dam in the March 20, 1982 issue of the *Earthfirst! Journal*.  He suggests "Glen Canyon Dam is more than the most obnoxious dam in the United States.  It is more than the destroyer of Glen Canyon.  It is a symbol of the industrialization of the American Wilderness.  It is a

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rallying point for Earth lovers everywhere.  And it is a dream.  A dream that one day

we shall see the mighty Colorado River floating free through it once more."

In the campaign against the Elwha dams other counter-arguments are put

forward.  In the August 1st, 1987 issue of the *Earthfirst! Journal*, readers are told the

organization has "called for the swift removal of two major dams which have

shackled the glacial torrents for over half a century.  Although it's extremely rare for

large dams be removed, a few factors combine to make the Elwha dams ideal

trendsetters"(p. 8).  The group suggested the dams be removed because they prevent

salmon from swimming upstream and because they are structurally unsound.  These

arguments, particularly those concerning salmon, are found extensively in the later

discourse of the Sierra Club.


*Sierra Club 1980-2000*

Throughout the 1980s and 1990s, the Sierra Club continued to oppose specific

dam projects.  Many of the fights they had begun in the 1970s were coming to a

close, the vast majority of them in favor of the dam builders.  As I noted earlier, the

Stanislaus River in California stopped flowing when the floodgates of the New

Melones Dam closed on New Year's Eve in 1980.  Other smaller dams were also built

throughout the country despite protests.

During this time new battles were also waged - some were successful, while

many others were not.  Some examples of specific campaigns during this time include

those against the dam in Brumley Gap, Virginia and the damming of the river running through King's Canyon in California.  While the organization enjoyed a successful campaign in Virginia where the local people were effective in their protest, the dam in California remained a threat.  In the January/February 1987 issue of the *Sierra Club Bulletin*, readers are told "hydropower developers in California's Central Valley are planning to drown one of the nation's grandest river canyons -- all for a drop in the energy bucket.  It is the latest threat to a spectacular area that was first defended by John Muir" (p. 39).  They are also told the only way to save King's Canyon is to list it as a river in the National Wild and Scenic Rivers System - a strategy conservationists were employing quite often throughout this time.

In addition to informing the public about proposed dam projects the organization opposed, the Sierra Club also began to talk about the problems associated with existing dams in the mid 1980s.  For example, in a *Sierra Club Bulletin* article entitled "The Drowning of Coyote Gulch," James Coogan explains how the Glen Canyon Dam has done unexpected damage to the surrounding area.  Specifically, he argues maps by the Bureau of Reclamation and U.S. Geological Survey incorrectly showed Rainbow Bridge and Coyote Gulch would not be affected by water from the newly created Lake Powell.  He informs readers these surveys were wrong and waters from Lake Powell have begun to erode Rainbow Bridge and spill into Coyote Gulch.  He argues "unless some kind of restraint begins at Coyote Gulch, the path may soon be cleared to industrialize the area around Escalante "

(September/October 1981, p. 27).  By suggesting already existing dams were problematic, these articles signaled a subtle shift in the Sierra Club's approach to their campaign against dams.

In the late 1980s, evidence of a more direct shift in the Club's approach began to surface.  Through a variety of channels, they began to challenge some existing dams.  By 1987, Earthfirst! had been arguing for the dismantling of dams for more than six years.  As I noted earlier, one of their most symbolic victories occurred when Secretary of the Interior, Don Hodel, suggested that the O'Shaunessy Dam be razed and the Hetch Hetchy Valley be restored.  In that same year the Sierra Club passed a resolution calling for Hodel  "to undertake immediately a feasibility study leading to a recommendation for draining Hetch Hetchy Reservoir and restoring Hetch Hetchy Valley."  In conjunction with this policy, Carl Pope, Director of Conservation, wrote an article in the November/December 1987 issue of the *Sierra Club Bulletin* titled "Undamming Hetch Hetchy."  Here, he examined possible reasons for Hodel's uncharacteristic proposal, as well as the actual possibilities of removing the O'Shaunessy Dam.  He concludes the article with a clear sense removal of the dam could occur.  He notes:

> it is important to understand the restoration of Hetch Hetchy will be a long-term project.  The Department of the Interior's study process will include the Sierra Club and other interested parties (among them the city of San Francisco).  Such a study will determine the cost of restoring Hetch Hetchy;

then the slow process of building public support for a specific plan will begin (p. 38).

In the years following 1987, the Club created other materials proposing the total removal of certain dams and the partial removal and bypass of other dams. Over time it became clear the most effective counter-argument to maintaining all existing dams was the impact dams have on fish populations. As a result, the Sierra Club began to put forth arguments for the razing or at least bypassing of key dams currently preventing fish from spawning, particularly those found on the Columbia and Snake Rivers. In 1993, John Daniel wrote an article in the March/April issue of the *Sierra Club Bulletin* chronicling the building of dams on rivers, various attempts at mitigating the damage done to salmon populations, and finally exploring future solutions to the problem. He notes the Sierra Club, along with 26 other conservation and fishery groups, argues for the drawing down of the Snake River reservoirs and the use of existing bypasses during the spring migration. While their suggestion is not one of permanent removal, it is temporary removal, allowing the river to run free for over two months.

Following this article, new and more radical proposals regarding the dams were advocated by the Sierra Club. For example, in a brochure entitled "Wild America," readers are told about the power of the Columbia River before it was dammed and the devastating impact of the dams on the wild salmon population. They are told rather frankly that "the only hope for their recovery is to restore 140

miles of free-flowing river by removing the earthen portions of these dams."  In

another brochure entitled "Do or Die: For Snake River Salmon and Steelhead,"

readers are informed "the four federal dams on the river's lowest stretch just don't

make sense" and "If the dams stay, salmon go extinct."  Here again, while the Sierra

Club prefers to talk about dam bypass rather than dam destruction, the results are the

same - the river runs free.

There can be no better example of the broader perspective embraced by the

Sierra Club in this later time period than an article written by David Brower in the

March/April 1997 issue of *Sierra Club Bulletin*.  Here, Brower, who was forced into

the compromise drowning Glen Canyon, writes about the possibility of reversing the

mistake made close to 25 years ago.  He argues "we can drain Lake Powell and let the

Colorado River run through the dam that created it, bringing Glen Canyon and the

wonder of its side canyons back to life.  We can let the river do what it needs to do

downstream in the Grand Canyon itself" (p. 42).  While Brower argues for tunnels

under the dam rather than dam destruction, the dam is effectively abandoned, left

solely as a "tourist attraction, like the Pyramids, with passersby wondering how

humanity ever built it, and why" (p.42).  Examples like this one demonstrate how the

Sierra Club uses some of the same language as Earthfirst! to talk about the river as a

living being.

Through analyzing various materials created by the Sierra Club over time, I

am able to note an important addition to their arguments regarding dams.  While the

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organization limits their arguments to preventing the construction of dams through

the 1970s and early 1980s, they expand their challenges and counter-arguments to

include the removal of existing dams in the mid-1980s.  This shift follows the

blocking of enthymemes and disruption of assumptions regarding existing dams by

the more radical organization, Earthfirst!.  By cracking Glen Canyon Dam and later

the Elwha dams, Earthfirst! demonstrated the campaign against dams should not be

limited to proposed projects.  They also introduced effective counter-arguments about

the benefit of removing some dams.

Throughout their campaign regarding dams, both Earthfirst! and the Sierra

Club sought to broaden the public's identification with wild rivers and scenic places

in a number of ways.  Though the majority of their arguments sought to problematize

the use of existing dams under certain conditions, they also argued against dams using

the language of freedom and loss.  In the article "Let the river run through it," (1997)

David Brower talks about the *execution* of Glen Canyon in 1963.  He recounts how

the dam "choked off the flow of the canyon's cartoid artery, and from that moment the

canyon's life force ebbed quickly" (p. 42).  This language is similar to that used by

Earthfirst! as they argued to *free* the river and *unshackle* its torrents.  While this

approach played a minor role in the campaign, it works to create similarities between

the human condition and the condition of the wider environment.  It demonstrates

how the movement rearticulates natural resources as living beings who may have

rights humans are ethically bound to recognize.

The argument on behalf of the Sierra Club to remove or at least bypass particular dams has gained a lot of public currency in the last few years. This is particularly true of dams associated with declining salmon populations in the Northwest. While the White House did not back proposals for removal of the Snake River dams in 2000, support for this action could be found both at high levels of Oregon state government and on the part of everyday Oregonians. Governor John Kitzhaber drafted a plan to save the salmon which prominently featured dam removal. His plan was supported by over 200,000 Americans offering public comments on the issue. In addition, a poll of Oregon voters found that 59% were in favor of dam bypass within the next five years if salmon populations continued to decline(Environmental News Service, July 2000). Opposition to existing dams found both in the general public and in state government suggests that the Sierra Club's new arguments are resonating in the public sphere.

The Logging Campaign: From Suggestions For Forest Practices To A Ban On Cutting Old-Growth

Logging has been an integral part of American life since the settlers first came to the continent. Settlements on the East Coast and demands in Europe for lumber meant that Eastern forests were extensively logged. The forestland was cleared to plant crops and the materials were used for building construction and energy production. Later, as settlers moved across the country to the West Coast, logging continued unabated and unregulated for quite some time. It was not until the middle

of the 19th century that any public discourse began to surface about conserving

American forests.  In 1849 the Department of the Interior was set up to inventory and

manage the country's natural resources.  Close to 30 years later, Congress authorized

the creation of Yellowstone as the first national park and quickly passed legislation

prohibiting the unauthorized cutting of wood on federal land.

Although the government was beginning to take some interest in forest

preservation, the end of the century witnessed unprecedented wood harvesting with

no concern for sustainability or reforestation.  It was not until Gilford Pinchot created

the U.S. Forest and began applying a scientific approach to forestry that some

consideration was given to improving logging practices.  Pinchot, operating under the

great conservationist Teddy Roosevelt, oversaw the creation of many new national

parks and the regulations concerning logging on federal lands.  While forest

management was officially begun during this period, it is important to remember

Pinchot's sense of its purpose: "The forests are to be used by man.  Every other

consideration comes secondary" (Kline, 1997, p. 58).

As more virgin forest land was acquired by the federal government and

unsustainable logging practices were taking their toll on private lands, timber interests

began to set their sites on logging the federal forests.  As a result, the amount of

timber harvested from public lands dramatically increased in a short period of time.

While almost no trees from public forests were used in 1900 for timber, 15% of the

lumber supply came from these lands in 1950 and up to 40% came from them in 1970

(*Sierra Club Bulletin*, December 1971).  Even though large timber companies owned vast tracks of private land, they quickly came to prefer the older trees on public land and the logging subsidies provided by the federal government.  Such subsidies include road building and fire protection, as well as purchase prices below market value.

While conservationists have been concerned with logging practices on both private and public land, they have focused most of their attention on the logging of public lands.  Historically, conservation organizations have generally accepted the need for logging on public lands and the economic value of cutting old growth.  At the same time they try to monitor and restrict certain logging practices and specifics of the harvest such the amount and kind of trees felled each year.  Environmentalists have consistently objected to cutting practices such as clearcutting and slash and burn.  More recently, they have also challenged the cutting of logs near streams and the logging of areas considered important habitat for endangered species.

The Sierra Club has long held an interest in forest preservation.  One of John Muir's first publications advocated for the preservation of forests.  Throughout their history, the Club has fought for wilderness designation and other types of federal protections for forestlands.  They have advocated for the passage of legislation establishing several national forests and parks such as Redwoods National Park, and against legislation such as the National Timber Supply Act that attempted toextend logging on public lands.

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In the 1970s, the Sierra Club was clearly dedicated to forest preservation and strong regulations on logging public lands. In these early years they focused on improving forest management practices. They did not question the right of human beings to use the needed resources of the forest as long as they did so sustainably. While they believed in a multiple-use approach to forests, they generally accepted the cutting of older, first growth trees because of their higher economic value. When Earthfirst! began their forest campaign they took a very different approach. They saw the forests and individual trees as living beings. They were particularly adamant that very old trees had the right to be left undisturbed. They believed that right should not be compromised to satisfy the wants of human beings. In challenging the logging of these older trees, they blocked the enthymeme that allowed the logging of old growth to proceed without controversy. They argued certain trees, those that were particularly old, should not be cut despite their economic value. They offered counter-arguments suggesting the trees were more valuable standing than as lumber. The Sierra Club later took up this rhetorical approach. Several materials created by the Club in the 1980s and 1990s argue for the value of our ancient forests outside of economic considerations. Below I will track the evolution of these new challenges and counter-arguments.

*Sierra Club 1970-1980*

The Sierra Club relied on both existing and newly created policies and positions concerning forests throughout the 1970s. In 1969, the Club created a policy

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that sought to balance their general approval of logging on public lands with their concern for environmental integrity. The policy reads: "the Sierra Club favors the principle that the nation should seek to obtain the optimum yield of quality wood products from public forests {but} the public forests are not to be regarded as merely wood factories" (*Policy statement*, 05/03/1969).

In more specific campaigns, the organization also opposed certain logging practices. For example, in 1975 the organization took a position against the Sixth Rivers National Forest Timber Management Plan because it ignored multiple use management and sustainable yields (*Position statement*, 12/14/1975). In 1976, the organization also opposed the Forest Service's logging practices which converted "national forest lands from natural hardwoods to even-aged pine for the purpose of maximizing timber output to the detriment of recreation, wildlife, watershed and other uses" (*Position statement*, 09/05/76). Similar policy and position statements can be noted in the late 1970s. In 1979, the Sierra Club issued a position statement declaring it would bring suit against the federal government when they allowed logging practices which ignored the concept of sustainable yield (*Position statement*, 09/08/79).

The policy and position statements crafted within the organization during this time affected and guided their public documents. For instance, in December of 1971, the *Sierra Club Bulletin* featured an article entitled "Responsible Forestry," which explains to readers how timber interests continue to push for more extensive yields

from public lands and why such unsustainable yields were being allowed.  The article

ends by urging readers to support federal legislation preventing clearcutting and

requiring public lands be logged sustainably.  In the March 1972 issue of the *Sierra*

*Club Bulletin*, another article details current logging practices and their environmental

impact.  The article, "High Yield Forestry: A new assault on our forests," explains the

dangers of high yield forestry including the loss of jobs and the increased possibility

of flooding.

In line with their campaign approach and in response to the detrimental

logging practices of the timber companies, the Sierra Club created public documents

defining the characteristics of excellent forestry.  The document begins: "The Sierra

Club encourages the use of selection systems of forest management on commercial

forest lands, and discourages even-age management.  It supports forest practices that

promote and maintain a mixture of species and ages of trees, but it opposes

monoculture.  It has faith in the natural forest, but is skeptical of the artificial forest.

It expects our public agencies to practice excellent forestry on our public commercial

forest lands, and it supports such measures as will promote excellent forestry on

private commercial forest lands" (*Sierra Club Policy Paper No. 2*, 1976).  In

conjunction with issuing public policy statements, the organization also encouraged

members and the general public to lobby against federal legislation such as the New

Timber Supply Act, as well as make formal comments on forest management

practices that promote multiple use forestry and sustainable yields.

The Sierra Club's rhetoric remains focused on general forest practices during their specific campaigns. For example, in trying to protect the newly created Redwood National Park, organizational leaders wrote press releases and articles in the *Sierra Club Bulletin* about the damage nearby logging operations could do to the forest. While they speak briefly about the "extraordinary beauty and unique quality of Redwood National Park" in one press release, they devote much of the release to the specific practices they oppose. They detail the problems with clearcutting and characterize it as "the most destructive logging operation known to man. Over 80% of the surface in these logged areas is disturbed, at places with earth cuts 20 to 30 feet deep and wide. Such disturbances on the unstable steep slopes of the redwood country causes disastrous erosion, stream sedimentation, avalanches, landslides and mudslides" (*Press release*, 09/24/1971).

During the 1970s, the Sierra Club focused their attention on trying to manage how trees were logged. Operating wholly from a perspective that defined trees as resources for human beings, they accepted without challenge the belief that the trees which were most economically productive would be logged. As a result, they did not use their campaign to question the logging of old growth or craft arguments on why it should be left standing. It was not until Earthfirst! suggested very old trees should not be logged that the Sierra Club took up this same position.

*Earthfirst! 1980-1990*

The image of Earthfirst! is so closely tied to the magnificent trees of the Northwest it often comes as a surprise that the group's roots are in a much different landscape.   As Chant Thomas notes in the March 20th 1987 issue of the *Earthfirst! Journal*, "it took a place as incredibly wild, as amazingly unique and as severely threatened as the Kalmiopsis (in Oregon) to lure the still- embryonic Earthfirst! movement out of the Rocky Mountains and over to the continent's western edge in early 1983" (p. 1).  During this time, the organization mobilized to protest the building of the Bald Mountain Road in the Kalmiopsis Wilderness Area.  They engaged in seven direct actions and eventually were successful in a suit against the road building activities.  These actions served as the foundation for a larger campaign in the Northwest forests that would include protests at Millennium Grove, the Sinkyone, and Brietenbush.  Members of Earthfirst! tied themselves to trees, spiked trees, and put their bodies between trees and logging equipment because they believed the old trees were more valuable standing than they were as lumber.

Earthfirst! began their campaign with a discourse that challenged prevailing norms concerning old growth.  Operating from a perspective in which trees, particularly old trees, had inherent value and the right to exist without interference, they objected to a view in which older trees were more valuable as lumber because of their quality and size.  They contended old-growth trees of the Northwest should not be cut specifically because of their older age.  In objecting to the accepted practice of cutting such trees, they rearticulated economic priorities as wrong and those who

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pursued them as greedy. They also rearticulated the trees as living, ancient beings that deserved respect. Much of their language choice portrayed the trees as subjects who had "witnessed history" or "lived in peace."

In the June 21st, 1985 issue of the *Earthfirst! Journal* readers are informed about current plans to cut old-growth in British Columbia. These plans are compared to the destruction of other forests throughout history and readers are told:

> We can guess that whatever motives possessed them to so abuse the land on which their lives depended were no different than the motives of the large timber corporations which are presently at work destroying the last of the old growth in the Pacific Northwest (p. 1).

This same perspective is offered in regard to government officials who support logging old growth. The *Earthfirst! Journal* describes Oregon's Senator Hatfield as a "timber pimp." They relay how a bill he proposed "released the West's largest and most diverse old growth conifer forest to the timber beasts (March 20, 1987, p. 1). Earthfirst! maintains their position against putting economic concerns first in logging old-growth throughout their campaign. In the May 1st, 1989 issue of the *Earthfirst! Journal* they challenge Willamette Industries logging in the North Santiam River watershed. They accuse the corporation of "annihilating" an old growth stand and acting as a "timber machine" (p. 6).

In challenging economic priorities and attempting to limit the types of trees that could be logged, Earthfirst! created counter-arguments which highlighted the

importance of age. This approach is evidenced by numerous writings in the

*Earthfirst! Journal*. For example, one writer, David Baron, describes his experience

with the trees:

> I hiked the trail winding up from the Illinois River through chaparral of
>
> manzanita and madrone, rising through tanoak and Bigleaf Maple to the
>
> majestic old-growth Douglas Firs, into a forest primeval with moss and
>
> lichen-covered stones, into a cathedral of mighty trees older than the Sistine
>
> Chapel (*Earthfirst! Journal*, May 1, 1987, p. 1).

From the beginning of their campaign, the group exemplified the age of the

trees in their public discourse by keying on the phrase *old growth* that was largely

unknown to the general public in the early 1980s. In the May 1st, 1983 issue of the

*Earthfirst! Journal* an article titled "Kalmiopsis Blockade Begins" tells readers "The

Forest Service is an outlaw agency. If we don't stop them in the Kalmiopsis, there

won't be any old growth forest left on the Pacific Coast outside of currently

designated wilderness and parks" (p. 1). Members of the organization are also quoted

as saying "we're here to stand with the big trees" and urging the formation of affinity

groups dedicated to "saving old-growth forest everywhere" (p. 1). In the June 20th,

1984 issue of the *Earthfirst! Journal* several more references to old-growth are made.

In addition to an article entitled "Cathedral Forest Action Group Fights For Oregon

Old Growth," there is the Cathedral Forest Wilderness Declaration which begins, "the

last significant stands of Oregon old-growth cathedral forest are being destroyed" and

a fact sheet on old-growth which explains that while only 1% of Oregon's forest had been logged by 1900, 66% of it had been logged by 1946 (pp. 4-5). In addition to discussing old-growth in their newsletter, the organization staged rallies and gatherings in the name of old-growth (*Earthfirst! Journal*, November 1, 1984) and called for a national old growth campaign (*Earthfirst! Journal*, March 20, 1985).

In the summer of 1985, Earthfirst! began a campaign of treesitting in the Willamette National Forest in hopes of "interfering with logging operations and bearing witness to the destruction of the most magnificent coniferous forest the world has ever known" (*Earthfirst! Journal*, August 1, 1985, p. 1). They also began using the term "ancient." This word, closely tied to our society's value system concerning age, encapsulated their argument and appeared to resonate well with the public. "Ancient" can be found in several different issues of the *Earthfirst! Journal* starting in 1985. In the June 21st, 1985 issue, an article entitled "Forestcide in Middle Santiam" offers the story of several protesters who "have diligently worked to preserve the ancient, old-growth forest of the Middle Santiam." These activists recount how it felt to recognize that "a pristine old-growth forest was being destroyed" and recall their sense of fear and sadness when "an ancient fir crashed down close" (p. 2). In another issue, readers are told how "Ancient Cedars Face Saw in Washington" (*Earthfirst! Journal*, June 21st, 1986, p. 8). The article notes the threatened grove "has remained undisturbed by fire and windstorms since about 2000 BC" Finally, an article in the September 22nd 1989 issue details how legislation

introduced by Oregon Senator Mark O. Hatfield "will spell doom for what remains of the Pacific Northwest ancient rainforests" (p. 1).

Earthfirst! quickly came to see the fight for the Northwest old-growth forest as their most important struggle. As Reed F. Ness summarizes "Old growth. Only wilderness, wildness, freedom, naturalness, biodiversity, and Earth itself compete as Earthfirst! ideals. They are essentially all the same, of course, and all are endangered. But no battle is more urgent, or more fierce, than the defense of the old-growth forest of the Pacific Northwest" (*Earthfirst! Journal*, November 1, 1988, p. 9). They sought to open debate on the use of old growth forests by offering new challenges and counter-arguments. The Sierra Club recognized the power of this new rhetoric and gradually incorporated it into their own campaign.

*Sierra Club 1980-2000*

Throughout most of the early 1980s, the Sierra Club remained focused on the particulars of general forest management practices rather than challenging economic priorities or highlighting the importance of age. This did not go unnoticed by those at the *Earthfirst! Journal*. As early as 1983, the beginning of the Kalmiopsis campaign, an article in the newsletter suggested the local chapter of the Sierra Club felt they "received very little club support at the state and national levels on such an important issue" (p. 7). But the Sierra Club could not ignore the rhetoric of Earthfirst!'s campaign indefinitely. Five years after the original article complaining about a lack of interest on the part of the Sierra Club, the organization's rhetorical approach

changed in notable ways.  This shift is evidenced in an article written by Mitch

Freedman in the December 1988 issue of the *Earthfirst! Journal*.  The article entitled

"Old Growth Strategy Revisited," suggests that "old-growth, or 'ancient forests' . . . is

a national issue" (p. 7) and discusses the future role of the grassroots organizations

and the national groups, concluding with the decision to form a coalition around the

issue.

Prior to this shift, the Sierra Club's continuing interest in trying to influence

general logging practices can be seen in their wording of a number of public

documents concerning forest planning.  For instance, in early 1980, the Sierra Club

sent out a mailer entitled "National Forest Alert: Administration proposes drastic

changes in forest management rules."  This document addresses the organization's

concerns over plans by the new Assistant Secretary of Agriculture to severely weaken

environmental regulations.  In July of 1983, the Sierra Club also sent out information

on their conservation priorities, one of which was National Forest and BLM planning.

They urge members to contact their representatives, as well as "participate in the

planning processes, comment on plans for public lands in their region, develop

wilderness proposals, and build political strength."

A turning point in focus was signaled when an important article appeared in

the January/February 1986 issue of the *Sierra Club Bulletin*.  The article was titled

"The Rise and Demise of Forest Planning" and its byline read: "The dream: to

produce long-term plans for the wise management of the national forests.  The reality:

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scores of roadmaps to resource abuse" (p. 40).  The article chronicles how

environmental groups tried and failed to work with the Forest Service and the ways in

which the agency has consistently ignored forest management practices advocated by

conservationists.  The tone is one of frustration - "long-term forest planning today is

too big, cumbersome, serious.  The matrix of plans being framed for the next half-

century could be the last for some of America's most pristine forest lands - their big

trees gone, their beauty and wildlife forever impaired by the time the agency gets a

second chance" (p. 40).  The article concludes with the sentiment that the public

agencies will probably have to be sued in order to assure good forest practices.

     This 1986 article signals a shift away from a focus on forest management

practices.  But what discourse would fill the vacuum that was created?  In the

July/August 1987 issue of the *Sierra Club Bulletin* readers are given their first

glimpse of the organization's new rhetoric.  In this issue, Keith Ervin writes an article

about "The Shrinking Province of the Primeval."  He explains how "for uncounted

centuries this old-growth forest stood free of the marks of man.  Now it is being

broken into pieces by roads and timbering" (p. 39).  The article details the destruction

of the old-growth Northwest forests and their age and grandeur.  He concludes by

arguing:

     these forests offer more than commercial timber, clean air and water, habitat

     for wild game, and spawning grounds for salmon and steelhead.  The

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unspoiled woods speak to something deep in the human soul. . . .the sense at

once of antiquity and timelessness - all are part of old-growth (p. 45).

This new rhetoric clearly keys on the importance of age and challenges other

priorities that would lead to the destruction of old-growth.  It also hints at the

possibility of non-use value in association to old-growth.

By the early 1990s, the organization was crafting and publicizing conservation

policies that specifically addressed old-growth forests.  They also employed the term

"ancient" in many of their internal and public documents.  In 1991, the Board of

Directors created a policy specifically concerning ancient forests.  This policy

suggests the organization consider "the protection of these ancient forests as one of

our basic goals."

Arguments for the protection of old-growth and a shift in priorities which does

not privilege economic concerns can be found in many of their public documents.

For example, in a 1990 election platform sent to political candidates, the Sierra Club

asserted "remaining areas of ecologically significant old-growth forest must be

permanently protected.  Our goal is the preservation of ancient forests and the

maintenance of a sustainable forest industry" (p. 3).  In a fact sheet outlining the

Sierra Club's 1991-1992 National Conservation Campaigns, ancient forest protection

is listed first.  Readers are told "ancient forests of Washington, Oregon, and

California are among the most biologically diverse and threatened ecosystems on

Earth.  Some of the world's largest trees are found here: massive hemlocks, cedars,

spruce, sequoia, and firs.  But our ancient forest (also known as old-growth forests) are falling daily to the chainsaw" (p. 1).

Other public materials created during this time also key on the non-economic values associated with old-growth.  For instance, in a January 1991 flier on ancient forests, the Sierra Club recounts the grandeur of the Northwest old growth forests and then argues  "We must permanently protect our remaining ancient forests....  These forests are a part of our country's national trust.  We must not be silent while the fate of our ancient forest hangs in the balance."   In another flier from that year, readers are told "in destroying old growth... we destroy our heritage."

The organization continued to focus on old-growth forests throughout the 1990s.  The public was told to "Stop the destruction!" of America's ancient forests in 1992 by appealing to President Clinton.  In 1993, the Sierra Club constructed a variety of public documents urging members and the general public to oppose President Clinton's Option 9 which they felt left ancient forests vulnerable by creating a system of "reserves" in which logging would be allowed to continue (*10 Percent and Counting: Last stand for ancient forests?,* 1993).

Perhaps most interesting is the role old-growth played in the Sierra Club's decision to take a controversial stand against commercial logging in April of 1996.  In a recent four-page brochure entitled "Logging Our Legacy," the organization explains their position by noting that "Just 4 percent of our old-growth forests are still standing, but 75 percent of those that remain are part of the national forest system.

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Our forests are more than trees; they are complex, fragile ecosystems. Some 10,000 different plants and 3000 kinds of fish and wildlife - including 230 endangered species - rely on national forests for habitat. As our wilds disappear, so does our wildlife. That's why the Sierra Club is calling for an end to commercial logging on our national forests" (p. 3).

In addressing the issue of forest protection, the Sierra Club began by working within the taken for granted notions about logging and established priorities. While trying to reform the way in which logging occurred, they did not challenge economic priorities that dictated the cutting of old growth trees for greater profit. When Earthfirst! emerged they argued that the trees were valuable outside of economic considerations. They suggested, in fact, the trees were more valuable standing than they were as lumber. These arguments were grounded in the belief that trees were living beings entitled to certain rights and had value outside of their usefulness to human beings. They portrayed those interested in the economic value of the trees as greedy and offered counter-arguments about the value of these old trees and the majesty of their age. By the late 1980s the Sierra Club was following suit. They crafted several arguments that reorganized existing priorities concerning old growth. While they did not embrace arguments against logging that were premised solely on the inherent value of the trees, they did broaden their conception of use value and therefore their objection to the logging of old-growth.

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The campaign against logging old-growth forests began by questioning whether very old trees should be cut even if immense profit could be gained. Arguments that supported leaving the trees uncut because of their immense age are rather progressive arguments. They clearly seek to compare the value we assign to age in our own species with that of other species - namely certain types of trees. In arguing for the protection of trees based solely on the majesty of their age and the respect we should have for such age, environmental advocates broaden the realm of identification. When people begin to view the age of trees as a relevant factor in whether they should be logged, they are considering aspects of inherent value in addition to those of use value.

There are many signs that the public's position on logging, particularly logging on government land, has dramatically changed in 30 years. In the early 1970s many people were unaware that the practice was a common one. The Sierra Club and other organizations raised public awareness of the issue greatly in the last 10 years. In recent years, there has been growing support for even the most radical positions. A 1996 Lake Research poll found that over half of the respondents favored ending all commercial logging on federal land. A similar poll conducted by the Forest Service found that only 18% of those polled felt that resource extraction should be the highest priority of the organization. Support for an end to commercial logging on federal lands is also gaining support in both the Congress and the Senate.

Such a shift during the last 30 years signals the success of a strong forest campaign which emphasizes the non-resource value of trees.

<center>The Grazing Campaign: From Partners to Adversaries</center>

Cattle and sheep ranchers first came to the open range of the West after the Civil War. Within 20 years of their arrival, the large number of grazing animals were taking their toll on the land. By 1930 the situation was dire. Ranchers agreed to the Taylor Grazing Act in 1934 - effectively putting public range land under federal regulation. The U.S. Grazing Service, precursor to the Bureau of Land Management (BLM), created a permit system and collected fees from ranchers grazing in the public domain. These fees were often minimal, making them attractive to ranchers. In addition, the government provided free services such as range improvements and predator control.

After the establishment of the BLM, demands on public grazing lands continued to grow, with many areas be overgrazed perpetually. From the 1950s to the 1970s, the BLM tried to balance the interests of the ranchers with plans to help recover the public range, but they were often unsuccessful. In the 1970s, environmental studies began to demonstrate grazing was ecologically harmful, not only to the range, but also to wildlife and fisheries. As a result, the Federal Land Policy and Management Act was passed, allowing the public to submit formal comments on grazing issues and recognizing a multiple use perspective on the management of federal land. Since that time, battles have been raging between

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ranchers, the BLM, and environmentalists.  The most famous of these, the Sagebrush

Rebellion, was played out in the 1980s.  Leaders of the Rebellion lobbied to have

federal lands transferred to the control of state governments.  In so doing, they hoped

to remove many of the regulations on grazing activities.  While the Sagebrush

Rebellion ultimately failed, it signaled the rising tension over grazing issues.

The Sierra Club has maintained a moderate interest in the issue of grazing

since the 1970s.  As numerous studies began to demonstrate grazing produced broad

and long-term negative environmental impacts, the organization became more

outspoken against certain grazing practices.  In the 1970s the Sierra Club limited their

objections to the ranchers themselves.  They did not block the enthymeme or

challenge the assumption that government agencies like the BLM and the Forest

Service were working to protect public lands in the interest of the citizens.  In fact,

they often lauded these organizations and treated them like partners in their grazing

campaign.

From very early on Earthfirst! took a different approach.  They saw the range

lands as wild places which should not be altered by the grazing patterns of domestic

animals.  While they believed in the value of the range and in its right to grow wild,

they created arguments against grazing which they felt would better resonate with the

public.  They argued the BLM and the Forest Service were acting in favor of ranching

interests to the detriment of the public good.  They challenged the taken for granted

notion that these agencies were acting on behalf of the public.  They offered an

alternative perspective that portrayed the BLM and the Forest Service as supporters of unregulated ranching and wasters of taxpayer money. They identified many examples of the agencies' disregard for the concerns of environmentalists and the ways in which ranchers were being subsidized by the government. These arguments broaden the available challenges to the use of range land by suggesting the land should not be used if the managing public agencies are not actively working to protect it. In the late 1980s, the Sierra Club appears to offer some of these same challenges and counter-arguments. They portray the federal agencies as opponents rather than partners. They advance counter-arguments accusing the agencies of mismanagement of the land and subsidizing of the ranching industry. Below, I will demonstrate these important shifts in rhetorical construction from the 1970s to 2000.

*Sierra Club 1970-1980*

Throughout the 1970s, grazing received minimal attention from the Sierra Club both in terms of policy development and public material. For the most part, the organization generally saw grazing on public lands as both necessary and acceptable. In 1976, the Club adopted a general policy on agriculture that included meat production and grazing concerns. The policy begins: "properly regulated stock grazing is an acceptable activity on many of those public and private lands which are suitable for sustained yield forage production" (p. 9). The policy concludes that grazing is preferable to other types of meat production systems such as feedlots and factories.

The relationship between the BLM and the Sierra Club in the 1970s was generally a good one.  Personal correspondences between BLM representatives and Sierra Club representatives in 1973 reveal an open dialogue between the two.  For example, while the Sierra Club was interested in eliminating commercial grazing in Yosemite, they recognized and appreciated the BLM's reduction in such grazing.  In 1976, the Sierra Club and the BLM were in agreement over several pieces of legislation.  Both supported aspects of Senate Bill 2555 which sought to establish a national range land rehabilitation and protection program.  Later that year, both opposed a bill introduced by Rep. John Melcher of Montana that would create a grazing advisory board consisting largely of ranching interests.

During the 1970s, the Sierra Club blamed overgrazing and its destructive environmental impact squarely on the ranchers, not the BLM.  This is evident in their public documents.  For example, in an article in the *Sierra Club Bulletin*, readers are given a history of grazing on the western rangelands and its impact on wildlife populations, particularly the bighorn sheep.  They note the grazing that began in earnest after the Civil War quickly led to forest destruction and the exploitation of public land.  Overgrazing caused grassland to be replaced with sagebrush that bighorn sheep and other wildlife do not eat.  In addition, lost grasslands increase the possibility of flooding and reduce the water table.  Readers are then told ranchers "view the public lands with what amounts to a proprietary interest" (p. 7).

The Sierra Club's public documents on grazing during this period are few, but they reflect a good working relationship between the Sierra Club and the BLM. An article in the *Sierra Club Bulletin* entitled "Pastures of Hell" uses the testimony of a BLM representative to make the organization's point concerning the Challis Planning Unit of the Bureau of Land Management on the East Fork of the Salmon River:

> The public lands of this area, and particularly those along the East Fork, are among the most abused lands I have seen in my entire professional career. Grazing pressure has reduced the lands along the river to almost a 'bare-ground' status . . .. Here also erosion is evident, topsoil has been lost, meadows have been beaten into the ground, water is polluted, and exceedingly beautiful country has been diminished in its beauty and appeal (p. 6).

They also note an internal memo at the BLM referred to "grazing induced erosion" as "this nation's biggest source of resource deterioration and environmental degradation" (p. 9). The author of the article then focuses his attention on vilifying the ranchers who have caused this destruction.

Another article entitled "The Public Domain" explains the vast and unique management responsibilities of the BLM. Readers are told in aggregate the BLM oversees more than 800 million acres of federal lands. They are also informed the BLM

> has suffered since the beginning from an overdose of neglect. It is understaffed, underfunded, and underpowered. Moreover, it is crippled by the

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fact that it has never been given any clear idea of how it is supposed to go

about its business . . .. Deprived of clear goals, adequate financing, needed

staff, police power, and the ability to either formulate policy or suitably

regulate what little policy exists . . . the BLM has been powerless to give the

public domain the care it needs (*Sierra Club Bulletin*, November/December

1973, pp. 6-7).

This article basically explains and excuses the agency from any neglect or

wrongdoing on its part - reasoning that it cannot do what it should do in terms of

grazing management.

The examples offered above demonstrate the Sierra Club rhetorically created a

positive relationship between themselves and the BLM during the 1970s. They did

not challenge assumptions about the motivations of the industry. This approach

began to change in the 1980s and 1990s. The organization began to offer broader

arguments in these later years. They maintain overgrazing and the resulting

environmental damage was caused not only by greedy ranchers, but also by the

agencies that mismanaged the land and subsidized the industries. In so doing, they

broaden the available reasons to challenge grazing. They are able to offer wider

objections to the practice by suggesting the overseeing agencies are not acting on

behalf of the public. This rhetoric is quite similar to the rhetoric introduced by

Earthfirst! in the early 1980s.

*Earthfirst! 1980-1990*

From the very beginning, Earthfirst! employed rhetoric which blocked the enthymeme allowing government agencies to manage public lands without scrutiny because of an assumed credibility and interest in the public good. Instead of taking for granted these agencies would act as trustees for the public lands, they approached them from the assumption that they were part of the problem, rather than part of the solution. They crafted counter-arguments suggesting the agencies mismanaged the land and subsidized the ranchers. These challenges made grazing a controversial practice.

Earthfirst!'s negative perspective on federal agencies was not limited to the grazing campaign. In their logging campaign, for example, there are numerous examples of their outspoken distrust and dislike for the Forest Service. They called Forest Service employees "Freddies" (Forest Rape Eagerly Done and Done In Sequence) and constantly warned radical environmentalist not to trust them. They scheduled a National Day of Protest against the Forest Service arguing "we all know what the Forest Services has done in recent years. They will continue their insane policies until there isn't a wild tree left . . . unless we put them in line" (*Earthfirst! Journal*, December 22, 1987). In February of 1988, the first page of their newsletter contained the headline "Stop the Forest Service" and a picture of the grim reaper wearing a cloak labeled U.S. Forest Service. The article suggested the Forest Service is

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in cahoots with loggers, oilmen, ranchers, resort owners, ORVers, and nearly

anyone bent upon destructive exploitation of our 190 million acre National

Forest System.  In the United States of America today, the agency is the

primary force behind the destruction of wilderness ecosystems and healthy

habitat in general" (p. 1).

Earthfirst! employed the same type of rhetoric in their publications regarding

the BLM and grazing.  They used a variety of rhetorical tactics to undermine their

audience's confidence in the public agency.  For example, in a few articles they

renamed the agency the Bureau of Leasing Management, instead of the Bureau of

Land Management.  Evidence of this tactic is primarily found in 1982 when several

copies of the *Earthfirst! Journal* referred to the agency in this way.  The first example

is found in the June 21st, 1982 issue of the newsletter where an article on the agency

is entitled "Bureau of Leasing Management."  Another example follows several

months later in the November issue with the article "New Mexico and the Bureau of

Leasing Management."  Such renaming suggested the agency is more interested in the

leases and the money they generate than they are in protecting the land.

Earthfirst! offered two consistent counter-arguments to recast the image of the

BLM.  They accused the BLM of mismanagement of the land in favor of ranching

interests and of misusing taxpayer money in the form of ranching subsidies.  They

argued the BLM mismanaged land in several issues of their newsletter.  In the article

"Something Rotten in Utah: The BLM," Clive Kincaid asserts the agency's office in

Utah created false wilderness inventories in order to collect leases from private interests and reduce the amount of protected public wilderness. Earthfirst! blamed the agency for deliberately confusing the public and presented comments from an agency staff member alleging "The Manager's deliberate scheme is to bury the public record in so much bureaucratic bullshit that nobody will ever figure it all out" (*Earthfirst! Journal*, November 1982, p. 1).

In another article dated August 1st, 1984, Denzel and Nancy Ferguson contended:

> government agencies charged with administering public lands, while clearly violating the public trust, are skirting the law and disregarding the wishes of Congress. . . . The BLM and Forest Service seem to define range management as 'red meat production' and multiple use as 'sharing a campground with a cow' . . . given the traditional bias of the administrative agency towards cows and cowboys, a great deal of litigation may be required to bring management into conformance with congressional wishes (pp. 14-15).

Later articles maintain this same approach towards both the BLM and the Forest Service. The front page of the February 2nd, 1989 issue of the *Earthfirst! Journal* features an article titled "A National Livestock Refuge System?". The article accuses the Forest Service of putting grazing interests ahead of wildlife conservation interests on National Wildlife Refuges. The author of the article, Dale S. Turner, argues the Forest Service is fighting to maintain the status quo of keeping cows in

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refuges.  He points to the Forest Service memo which suggests "refuges with the potential for increasing grazing activity should immediately initiate provisions for increasing grazing in accordance with guidelines outlined in the Refuge Manual" (p. 5).  Similarly, a 1990 article concerning the Whitehorse Butte Allotment relays how despite evidence of negative environmental impacts from livestock grazing, particularly in terms of water supplies, "the BLM refused to even consider the option of eliminating livestock grazing and instead proposed major changes in the range management of the Whitehorse Butte allotments in an effort to accommodate grazing while alleviating some of the worst abuses" (*Earthfirst! Journal*, June 21, 1990, p. 11).

The second counter-argument used by Earthfirst! is the BLM wastes taxpayer dollars to subsidize ranchers.  They offered a wide variety of statistics to support their position.  For example, one journal article reveals that in 1984, it cost ranchers about $1.37 a month to graze one cow and her calf on public lands compared to about $6 - $10 on private lands.  In fact, the Oregon Natural Resources Council estimated when other types of assistance such as predator control and fence building are included, American taxpayers pay an average of $14 in subsidies per animal grazed on BLM land in some states (*Earthfirst! Journal*, Aug. 1, 1984).  In subsequent articles, readers are told a "permitee's payment does not even come close to covering the federal government costs associated with administration of the grazing lease, much

less reimbursements to the taxpayer for ecological cost of livestock grazing" (*Earthfirst! Journal*, June 21, 1990, p. 11).

In order to most clearly and succinctly communicate their message about subsidies and grazing, Earthfirst! began employing the term "welfare ranching." They use this term in several issues of their newsletter as well as in their demonstrations and banners. In 1987, members of Arizona Earthfirst! rallied against welfare ranching. They targeted a state representative because of "his blind dedication to the destructive welfare ranging industry" (*Earthfirst! Journal*, December 22 1987, p. 11). In January of 1989, members of the Colorado Earthfirst! unfurled a huge banner in downtown Denver which read "Livestock Destroy Our Public Lands: Stop welfare ranching" (*Earthfirst! Journal*, February 2 1989, p. 1). The group returned again in January of 1990. As Mike Stabler notes in the *Earthfirst! Journal*, activists spent much of their time shouting " 'Livestock off public lands!,' right under the welfare ranchers noses" (February 2, 1990, p. 1). In addition to using the concept of welfare ranching in their public discourse, Earthfirst! also supported legislation which would end subsidies to ranchers. In August of 1987, they asked readers to contact their representatives and ask them to "support legislation raising public lands grazing fees at least to market values" (p. 7).

Earthfirst!'s grazing campaign introduced new challenges into the environmental movement's discourse. By challenging the credibility and interest of the federal agencies once assumed to be partners with those in the movement, they

blocked existing enthymemes and broadened the arguments against grazing. In

demonstrating how the agencies mismanaged land and subsidized ranchers,

Earthfirst! was able to more effectively debate the use value of land for grazing.

Using claims of mismanagement, they were better able to problematize the practice of

grazing and work towards its elimination in certain contexts.

*Sierra Club 1980-2000*

In the early years of the 1980s, the Sierra Club maintained their policies on

grazing management with a focus on multiple use and sustainability. Their policies at

this time did not address or critique the specific practices of the government land

management agencies. By the mid-1980s, however, the Sierra Club began to make

important changes in their grazing policy and public campaign materials. They

introduced new objections to some of the federal agencies' decisions and questioned

their motivations. For example, in May of 1984, the Sierra Club brought suit against

the BLM's new regulations because they "fail to retain sufficient public control over

grazing on public lands . . ." (*Position statement*, 05/06/1984, p. 9). Again, in August

of 1986, the Club took the BLM and the Forest Service to court in California in order

to challenge "the use of below market value grazing fees on Bureau of Land

Management and Forest Service lands" (*Position statement*, 09/14/1986, p. 9).

The shift in perspective indicated by these policy and position statements can

also be found in their more public documents. In their 1984 election platform

directed at political candidates, they argue:

strong, competent management is needed to protect and restore the
environmental quality and productivity of the public range lands.  To
accomplish this, public land grazing practices must be reformed.  The range
resources must be managed as a public trust, eliminating such subsidies as less
than fair market grazing fees and encouraging broad public participation in the
planning and monitoring of grazing use (p. 8).

By 1990, the language chosen by the Sierra Club for their election platform was also
much more direct.  They asserted "the agencies charged with this great land trust, the
Interior Department's Bureau of Land Management (BLM) and the Agricultural
Department's U.S. Forest Service (USFS), have all too frequently abused their charge.
. . .. America's public land trust has been grossly mismanaged and abused" (p. 2).
The belief that the BLM and the Forest Service were mismanaging rangelands and
perpetuating subsidies for ranchers on public land contributed to the Sierra Club's
decision in 2000 to redraft their conservation policy concerning grazing on federal
land.  The new policy states: "commercial grazing is not appropriate on federal public
lands except where it is shown by science that some grazing is needed to achieve
ecological objectives."  Such a shift in policy demonstrates how the new arguments
concerning mismanagement on the part of federal agencies enabled the Sierra Club to
make greater demands and more directly challenge current grazing practices.

Changes in the organization's perspective towards the BLM and the Forest
Service between most of the 1980s and later dates can also be found in the *Sierra*

*Club Bulletin* and other materials directed at the general public. During the early years of the 1980s, the Sierra Club was still generally supportive of the agencies. For example, in the January/February 1980 issue of the *Sierra Club Bulletin* readers are told "in an attempt to improve the condition of its lands and to protect its resources, the BLM has been revising its management plans. For many areas the agency has demonstrated a need to cut back grazing, and it wants to reduce the number of livestock and the length of the grazing season" (p. 30). In the May/June 1980 issue of the *Sierra Club Bulletin* the problem of overgrazing is put squarely on the shoulders of "local cattle interests" rather than the agencies. Finally, the 1985 article entitled "Herds, Herds on the Range," notes how the BLM is to blame for its "indifference to grazing abuse on federal lands" (p. 43) but urges readers to support the BLM and the Forest Service.

These examples stand in marked contrast to materials developed in the early 1990s. In 1990, the Sierra Club devoted several articles in the *Sierra Club Bulletin* (September/October) to the issue of grazing. In the lead article, "Thoroughly Cowed," readers are told:

America's land managers continued to cede control of our rangeland to the livestock industry. This lack of federal backbone, more than anything else, has made activists angrier and more desperate than they were a decade ago: even the most patient are calling for revolutionary changes in the way the

agencies do business, while the impatient are calling for the outright abolition of livestock from the public lands (p. 37).

A 1991 document describing current Sierra Club campaigns asks the question "Bureau of Land Management: Friend or foe of wilderness?". The document suggests that because the BLM has allowed such activities as grazing and mining in wilderness and their recommendations "have frequently been suspect," the Sierra Club must find alternatives to BLM wilderness proposals.

In addition to talking about issues of mismanagement by the BLM and Forest Service, the Sierra Club also began to talk about the misuse of taxpayer money through subsidies in the early 1990s. In an explanation of campaign priorities for 1992, readers are reminded:

Ranching is another traditional Western industry that poses a threat to the national integrity of our public lands. Over 12,000 ranchers run their livestock on nearly 145 million acres of BLM lands. Though ranchers pay a fee to graze their livestock on public lands, the price is about one-quarter what they would pay for the same amount of forage on private land. Environmentalists believe the discounted fee encourages overgrazing and other abuses of public lands (p. 6).

In an article from the September/October 1990 issue of *Sierra Club Bulletin*, information very similar to that provided by Earthfirst! regarding grazing subsidies is presented. Taking the same example of Whitehorse Butte used by Earthfirst!, the

author explains how the public foots the bill for improvements such as pipelines, while receiving only half of the money raised from grazing fees. Other costs include stock ponds, herbicide, spraying and land clearing. These costs can add up to more than $500 million annually (*Sierra Club Bulletin*, September/October 1999). In another example, the Sierra Club created a postcard for the general public to send to their representatives. In it they portray the legislation H.R. 2493 as a bill that "would force the taxpayers to continue footing the bill for the abusive overgrazing practices of the corporate livestock industry on public lands."

Perhaps the most detailed analysis of rancher subsidies is offered in the 1997 report "Wildlife Need Wild Places" jointly authored by the Sierra Club and U.S. PIRG. Under the heading of "Taxpayer-subsidized logging, grazing and mining" we're told:

> the most widespread of federally subsidized, private commercial practices on public lands is livestock grazing. In exchange for feeding their livestock on public rangeland, ranchers pay only a fraction of what they would if their animals were grazing on private property. Like logging and timber roads, grazing is also a big money loser for the federal government. According to a 1992 House Government Operations Committee study, the federal government has lost $1.2 billion since 1985 because of low-cost grazing fees. In 1996, the Bureau of Land Management spent $77 million to operate its grazing programs, but collected only $25 million in grazing fees. Other costs

associated with grazing programs, such as brush and predator control and other assistance programs, increased the total annual taxpayer handout to over $200 million (p. 2).

During the 1970's and early 1980's, the Sierra Club looked to the BLM and the Forest Service as partners in their work on grazing issues. They accepted the taken-for-granted notion that these agencies managed the land in the interest of the public good. As a result they looked to the agencies to manage grazing and protect the land in the public interest. When Earthfirst! was formed in the early 1980's, they wanted the wild lands to remain free. While they argued in some of their materials for the inherent value of the range, they also developed less ideologically radical arguments to block the enthymeme which allowed federal management of public lands to proceed without debate. In their discourse they challenged the assumptions of the agencies' credibility by putting forth two counter arguments: the agencies mismanaged the land and the agencies provided subsidies to ranchers at the expense of taxpayers. Beginning in the late 1980's signs of these objections and counter arguments can be found in the policy and public documents of the Sierra Club. While the moderate organization does not directly advocate for the rights of the range land, over time they do broaden their challenges indicating that the public cannot rely on the agencies. These new challenges open up greater debate about grazing practices within the public sphere. Such a shift in argument may indicate rhetorical influence

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whereby Earthfirst!'s rhetoric in the grazing campaign affected the discourse of the Sierra Club.

Unlike the other environmental campaigns I considered here, those leading the grazing campaign have yet to create arguments that directly seek to increase identification between the natural world and human beings. Recent votes by Sierra Club membership did not favor a ban on grazing. It may very well be the case that those within the more moderate organization have yet to identify the ways in which range land can be valuable outside of use considerations. Until such arguments are found, the movement will have to challenge grazing in terms of misuses such as ineffective management practices or expensive subsidies.

The anti-grazing campaign has also been slower to gain the public's attention. Interestingly enough, one of the ways in which the public has been exposed to the issue is through discussions of federal agency mismanagement. Public opinion as well as court cases seem to signal a shift in perception of the federal agencies overseeing America's rangeland. For example, federal Judge William Dwyer noted a continual and purposeful refusal to enforce and comply with laws concerning the environment. This position is echoed by the public which in survey after survey doubts that agencies such as the BLM and the Forest Service act independently from big business. Even employees of these agencies have their doubts. In a poll of New Mexico state employees affiliated with agencies overseeing environmental regulation, 68% felt that management would not stand up against special interests

(www.fguardians.org/frontline/ ofront88.htm).  Figures like this reveal a growing skepticism of these agencies - a skepticism the Sierra club has been promoting in the last several years.

<div align="center">Conclusion</div>

In this chapter, I have analyzed three major campaigns pursued by the Sierra Club from 1970 to 2000.  Looking at the rhetoric chronologically, I was able to demonstrate changes in the Sierra Club's discourse following the emergence of Earthfirst! and the introduction of their more radical rhetoric. While the more moderate organization rarely used direct arguments premised on a belief in the inherent worth of the Earth or the rights of all things living, they did broaden their challenges to the contexts in which these things could be used.  Even as the rhetorical shifts of the Sierra Club are more varied than those associated with HSUS, important changes can be found in each specific campaign.  My analysis of materials constructed by the Sierra Club after the emergence of Earthfirst! reveals the use of similar challenges and counter-arguments over time.

In the dam campaign, Earthfirst! challenged assumptions that once a river was dammed, it would remain dammed and used as a resource indefinitely.  Their arguments for the removal of certain dams opened up debate on whether existing dams should remain in place.  In the years following the introduction of Earthfirst!'s new rhetoric, the Sierra Club also began to challenge the damming of certain rivers and constructed similar counter-arguments about the negative impact on pristine

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places and salmon populations.  In the forest campaign, Earthfirst! introduced a very

different conception of value in old growth trees which challenged existing norms

concerning the importance of economic value.  The group's argument that very old

trees were of more value standing than they were as lumber was echoed by the Sierra

Club beginning in the mid 1980's.   Finally, in the grazing campaign, Earthfirst!

blocked the enthymeme which allowed the role of government agencies such as the

BLM and the Forest Service to remain uncontested.  They challenged the credibility

of these agencies claiming they mismanaged public lands and subsidized ranchers.

My analysis demonstrates how the Sierra Club uses this same approach in the later

materials of their own grazing campaign.  Between 1970 and 2000, they shifted the

perspective of their relationship with these agencies from partner to adversary and

thereby broadened the controversy over grazing on public lands.

The findings concerning these three campaigns suggest the Sierra Club did

indeed shift their rhetoric over time.  Because these shifts can be tracked

chronologically in conjunction with the emergence of Earthfirst! I believe there are

signs of rhetorical influence by this radical organization on the Sierra Club.  Two of

these campaigns, those against dams and grazing, challenged the conditions under

which humans could use the earth and its resources.  They argue that a resource

which is currently being used does not have to be used indefinitely and that

environmental resources should not be used when they are overseen by agencies that

do not act in the public interest.  In the logging campaign the environmental advocacy

groups take a different approach.  They argue against the cutting of certain types of

trees based on the value of their age.  They seek to shift the reigning priorities from

economic to non-economic in our use of resources.  All three campaigns problematize

current norms concerning the use of the earth and its resources.  In so doing, they

begin to widen the sphere of identification.

CHAPTER 6: THE IMPACT OF RADICALIZED RHETORIC ON MATERIAL

RESOURCES


In Chapter Four and Five, I argued the introduction of new challenges and

counter-arguments into the animal protection and environmental advocacy

movements influenced the discourse of long-standing and more moderate

organizations.  While such influence is important to note in and of itself, shifts in

discourse create an additional set of questions that must be addressed.  These

questions involve the material resources of the moderate organizations and how

changes in their rhetoric may impact such resources over time.

In this chapter, I will expand my investigation from a consideration of intra-

movement rhetorical influence to one of material impact.  Specifically, I will look at

trends in the key resources of both HSUS and the Sierra Club from roughly 1970 to

the present.  Recognizing these moderate organizations generally made greater

demands for change during this time, I will explore whether such shifts affected their

material resources.

As Herbert Haines points out in *Black Radicals and the Civil Rights*

*Mainstream 1954 - 1970*, there are five areas where one could investigate the "gains

or setbacks which might occur for moderate organizations as a result of more militant

activities" (1988, p. 5). These areas are public awareness, public definition and redefinition, access to decision-makers, goal attainment, and outside resource support. Each of these areas could be analyzed in connection to the animal protection and environmental advocacy movements. For example, a basic search on Lexis-Nexis reveals popular publications covered the issue of protests over fur much more extensively in the 1990s than they did in the early 1980s. My analysis uncovered 12 articles from 1980 to 1981 using the terms *fur* and *protest*. A search for the same terms from 1990 to 1991 returned 163 hits. Such a finding suggests public awareness about the challenges to fur increased as the mass media offered more coverage of the issue.

Public definition and redefinition can be traced in campaigns like the logging campaign. As the public came to use the terms "old-growth" and "ancient" they began to redefine logging in more complex ways. Instead of defining it solely in terms of resource use, they defined these very old trees as majestic and worthy of respect. I could also examine access to decision-makers. In both the laboratory animal campaign and the campaign against dams, the movements gained greater access to decision-makers like government officials at specific times. When PETA unveiled the video footage of the University of Pennsylvania lab stolen by the ALF, several groups in the movement were asked to meet with Senators and Senate staff on the topic. When Earthfirst! began calling for the removal of Glen Canyon Dam, Dan Hodel, Secretary of the Interior, met with Sierra Club leaders to talk about possible

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strategies.  Finally, measuring goal attainment can be done to a certain degree for each campaign.  For instance, polls recording the number of vegetarians living in the U. S. suggest the number has been steadily increasing over the last two decades (www.vrg.org).

There are other important factors Haines does not include in his list.  Scholars who examine social movements from a RM perspective often cite the social climate and emerging political opportunities as key considerations in a movement's material success.  Movement leaders who act strategically can capitalize on external events, particularly negative ones that highlight the group's message.  For example, when video footage revealed some fur garments manufactured in China and sold in The U.S. contained the pelts of cats and dogs, HSUS used the opportunity to promote the organization and their anti-fur campaign.  Shifts in the more traditional political sphere can also positively impact the material condition of an organization.  Newt Gingerich's environmental policy, laid out in the "Contract with America," was instrumental in galvanizing the public and increasing both membership numbers and financial contributions to environmental organizations.  Of course, the opposite can be true as well.  Often when the public believes the administration is working to protect animals or the environment, the public may be less forthcoming with material resources.

Even though each of these areas can be measured to some extent, the most objective and consistent calculations can be done in terms of outside resource

support.  Material resources may be considered the most important measurement because they are so critical in achieving even the most basic aims of the organization, including rhetorical aims.  As Zald and McCarthy (1977) point out in their early theorizing about resource mobilization, "SMOs must possess resources, however few and of whatever type, in order to work toward goal achievement" (p. 22).  They go on to suggest such achievement is ultimately "a function of the resources controlled by an organization" (p. 22).  Without material resources, organizations like HSUS and the Sierra Club cannot deliver their messages to members or the general public.  They must be able to purchase advertisement space and media time to reach their desired audience.

While there are a number of different types of resources, there are two specific ones scholars operating within the resource mobilization (RM) paradigm identify as being key factors in attributing to an organization's success.  The first is financial resources.  The second is supportive individuals.  While financial resources are easily defined as cash, stocks, etc., the productive relationships between SMOs and supportive individuals are varied.  Zald and McCarthy provide an important distinction between people who believe in the goals of the organization (adherents) and those who provide resources for it (constituents).  For the purposes of this chapter, I will focus exclusively on constituents who identify themselves as members of the organization.  These individuals can provide a variety of resources including basic membership dues, time, and expertise.

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Much of the work done on radical flank effects focuses on the ways in which the existence of radical groups impacts the material resources of more moderate groups. While this chapter rests on the evidence of rhetorical influence and asks more nuanced questions regarding material impact, earlier research does shed some light on the two general types of effects: positive and negative. Haines (1988) suggests positive effects occur when the moderate organization's resources increase in response to the emergence of a radical flank. In the same vein, he argues negative flank effects occur when the moderate organization's resources decrease in response to the emergence of a radical flank. Applying Haines' basic positive/negative distinction to my own investigations, I posited there are at least two ways in which the observed rhetorical shifts could affect the material resources of HSUS and the Sierra Club. On the one hand, the shifts might negatively affect the organizations' resources when people chose not to affiliate themselves or financially support the organization as it pushed for greater degrees of change. On the other hand, the shifts might positively affect the organizations' resources as people compared the rhetoric of HSUS and the Sierra Club with the much more radical rhetoric of PETA and Earthfirst!. Those able to offer resources to the movement might decide the more moderate organizations could be more effective or might identify those organizations as more closely aligned to their own perspectives.

In order to investigate the material impact of shifts in the rhetoric of HSUS and the Sierra Club following the emergence of PETA and Earthfirst!, I obtained both

membership and financial data from these organizations.  This information was taken

from a variety of sources.  Financial information on the organizations was often listed

in specific issues of the newsletters, but on occasion was found in other materials

such as presidential reports and annual reports.  Membership information was more

difficult to obtain.  While the Sierra Club kept such records in their development

office, the staff at HSUS was kind enough to compile this information for me upon

request.  While I was unable to get a full set of records on these resources at either

organization, my data set is mostly complete.  Specifically, I was able to analyze

HSUS' financial statements from 1975 to 1999 and their membership data from 1976

to 2000.  I also analyzed the Sierra Club's financial statements from 1970 to 1999 and

their membership data from 1970 to 1997.

Having collected and analyzed this information, I created appropriate graphs

to display my findings.  I used bar graphs to demonstrate membership trends in both

organizations.  Because membership in HSUS expanded so greatly from 1976 to

2000, I decided to break the graphs into two parts to best demonstrate this remarkable

trend over time.  In portraying shifts in revenues for both organizations, I utilized a

line graph, clearly demarcating the specific revenue for each year.

It is important to note there are certain limitations to the investigation I

undertook.  The most obvious one is the impossibility of demonstrating shifts in an

organization's rhetoric are the sole factors in an increase or decrease in their

contributions or membership numbers.  An organization might see increased revenues

for very different reasons such as a large bequest or grant. They might gain members because of improved outreach, rather than more progressive rhetoric. In considering the time period I focused upon for this project there are a number of important alternative explanations for increases in organizational membership and money. First, from 1970 to 2000 environmental and animal issues became much more prominent concerns in general. As a result, a number of groups increased their material resources. Second, larger economic trends in the country in the early 1990s saw sharp growth in almost all sectors. With the average American having more discretionary income at hand, there would be an increased likelihood of paying membership dues and/or making financial contributions. Finally, general upward population trends allowed for there to be a larger pool of possible members and contributors.

Having suggested these possible alternative influences, it seems to be only commonsensical that we would expect an organization's membership and revenues to consistently decline over time if their messages were not well received. Conversely, if their new rhetoric was perceived negatively, we would not expect an increase in their resources.

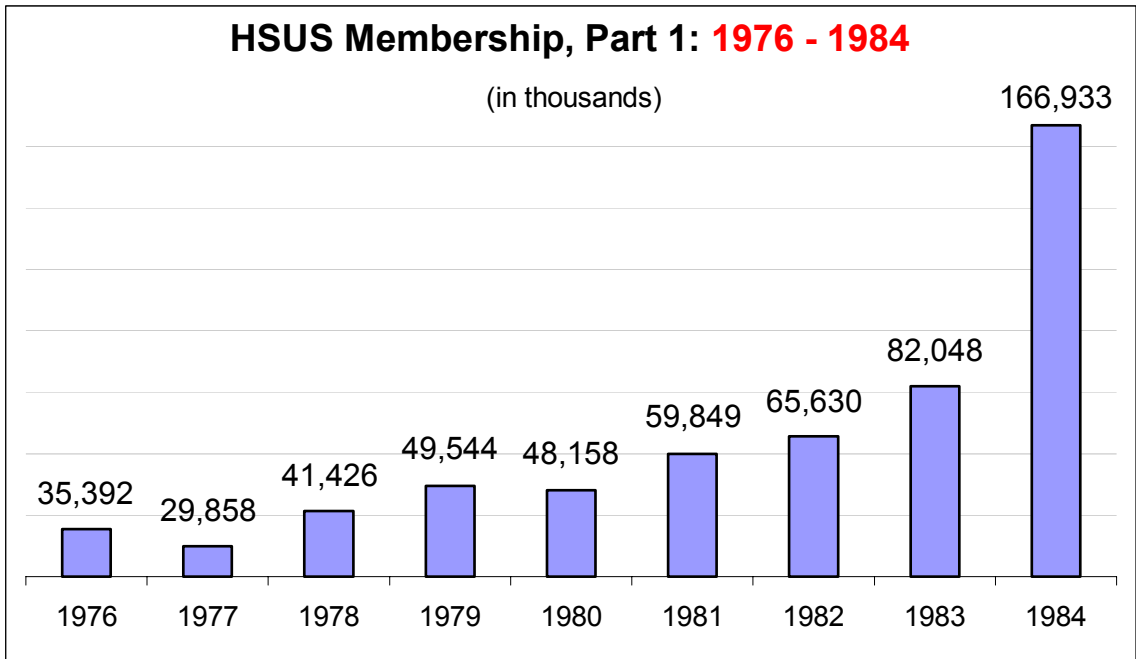In the pages that follow, I take up each organization separately, first considering their membership numbers and then their financial data. I present the graphs as a synopsis of my basic findings before turning to my analysis. I conclude

by tying together the evidence of rhetorical influence and the impact on material

resources in order to suggest an overarching positive effect.

See Graphs Beginning on Next Page

Findings

<u>HSUS</u>

**HSUS Membership, Part 1: <span style="color:red">1976 - 1984</span>**

(in thousands)

| Year | Value |
|------|-------|
| 1976 | 35,392 |
| 1977 | 29,858 |
| 1978 | 41,426 |
| 1979 | 49,544 |
| 1980 | 48,158 |
| 1981 | 59,849 |
| 1982 | 65,630 |
| 1983 | 82,048 |
| 1984 | 166,933 |

# HSUS Membership, Part 2: 1985 - 2001

(in thousands)

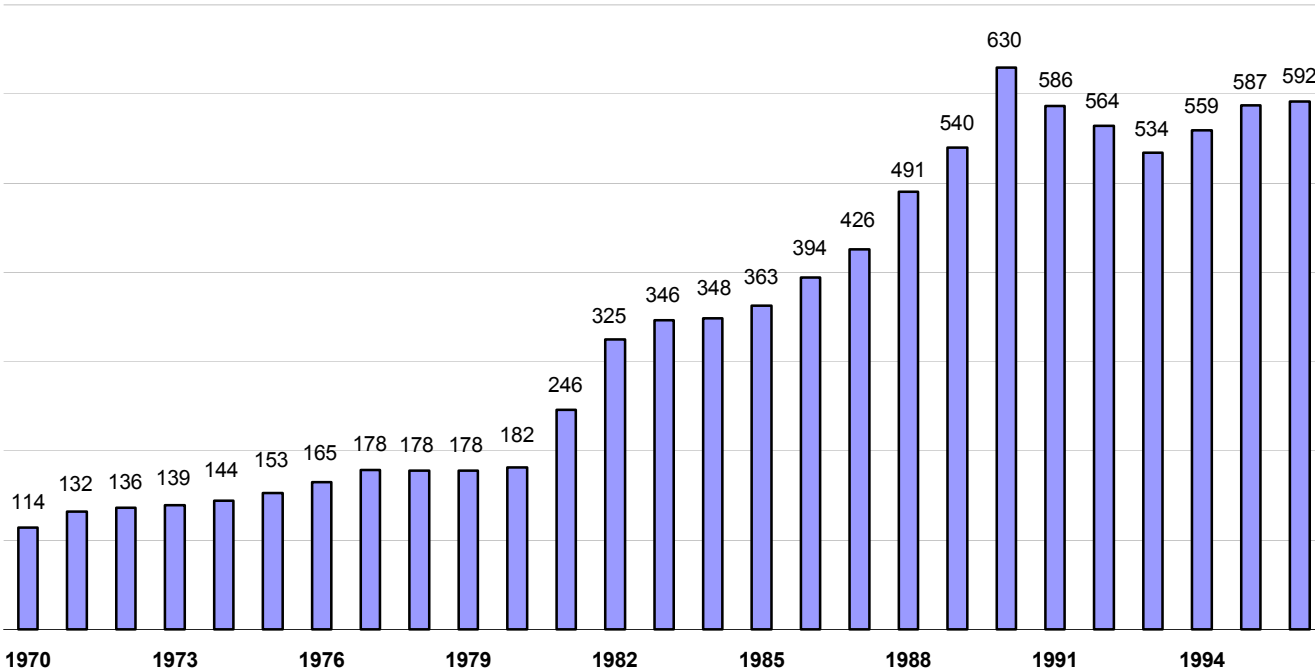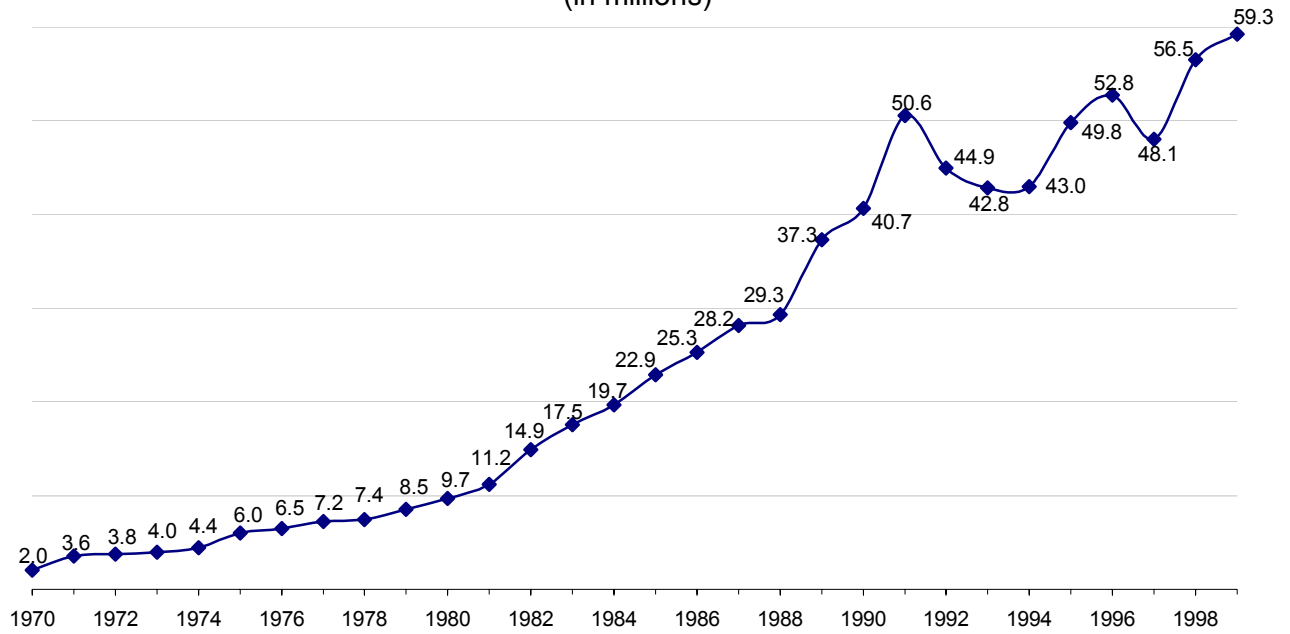| Year | Members |
|------|---------|
| 1985 | 371 |
| 1986 | 441 |
| 1987 | 588 |
| 1988 | 782 |
| 1989 | 955 |
| 1990 | 1123 |
| 1991 | 1292 |
| 1992 | 1634 |
| 1993 | 1862 |
| 1994 | 2201 |
| 1995 | 2557 |
| 1996 | 3640 |
| 1997 | 5766 |
| 1998 | 6352 |
| 1999 | 7328 |
| 2000 | 7006 |
| 2001 | 6909 |
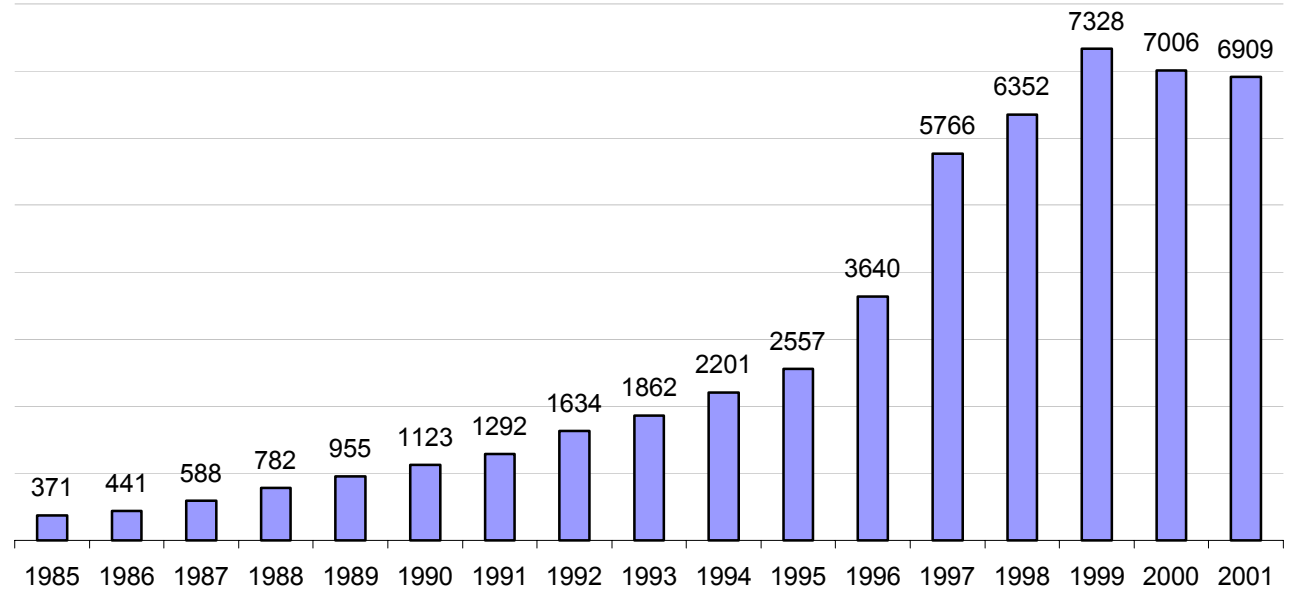
# HSUS Revenues, 1975 - 1999

(in millions)
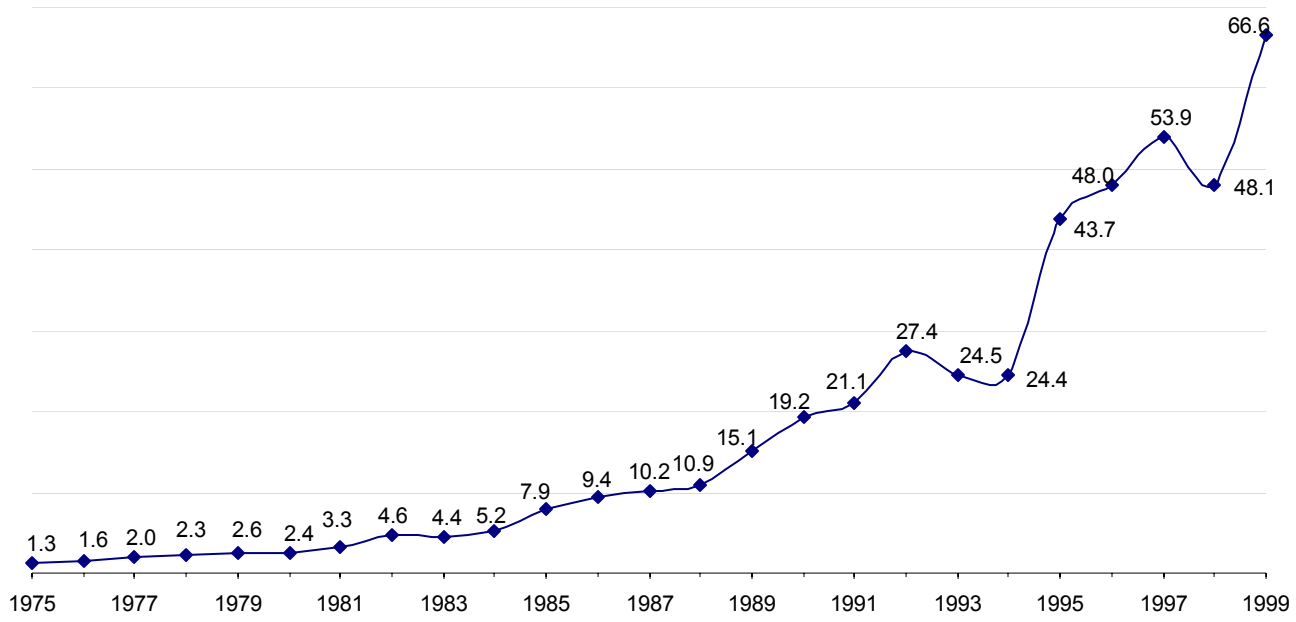
# Sierra Club Membership, 1970 - 1997

(in thousands)

# Sierra Club Revenues, 1970 - 1999

(in millions)

Looking at the findings in aggregate, a general upward trend is easily noted.  For both organizations, on both measures of resources, the trend is one of steady increase over time.  Taking up each graph individually, we can see the specifics of this growth.  For HSUS, membership increased dramatically over time.  This increase can be found even prior to the emergence of PETA and their introduction of broader challenges.  As the graphs reveal, the membership of HSUS increases from 35,000 members to 48,000 members between 1976 and 1980.  While this is a significant increase, the period of time between 1980 and 1990 registers much more dramatic growth.  The number of members in 1990 is close to 25 times the number of members in 1980 (48,000 to 1.12 million).  This growth continues, at a reduced rate and with some slight decline, up until the present.  As of 2001, HSUS reported having close to 7 million members.

In considering HSUS' revenue from 1975 to 1999, there is also a general trend of growth, albeit less dramatic.  From 1975 to 1980, the organization almost doubled its revenues from $1.3 million to $2.4 million.  In the decade following 1980, when the organization first began to shift its rhetoric, the revenues increased from $2.4 million to $19.2 million.  This clear growth mirrors the increase in membership numbers for the organization during this time period.  From 1990 to 1999 the organization continued to see overall growth, most notably between 1994 and 1997.  The major differences between 1998 and 1999 may be attributed to large bequests and may therefore be anomalous.

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Turning my attention to the Sierra Club, I noted general increases in both their members and their revenues. From 1970 to 1980 the organization saw slight but sustained growth from around 114,000 members to 182,000 members. Like HSUS membership growth is much more dramatic onwards from 1980. From 1980 to 1990 the organization more than tripled its membership, growing from 182,000 members to 630,000 members. It should be noted that 1990 was a record year for organizational membership, following 1990 the number of members remained around 550,000 until 1997.

The Sierra Club's revenue, in line with the persistent trend, saw a general increase throughout the period of 1970 to 1999 with the more dramatic increases being found after 1980. Specifically, the revenue of the Sierra Club increased from $2 million in 1970 to $9.7 million in 1980. From 1980 to 1990 the organization went from a $9.7 million in revenue to $40.7 million in revenue - increasing by four times its original amount over the decade. Finally, from 1990 to 1999 the organization witnessed less steady growth, with some dramatic rises and falls, but overall increased revenues from $40.7 million in 1990 to $59.3 million in 1999.

## Analysis

In looking at the data concerning both membership numbers and financial contributions, I quickly established that even with slight deviations, the resources of HSUS and the Sierra Club increased over the period of time considered. More specifically, the data demonstrate the increase in resources is most dramatic after

shifts in their own rhetoric reveal a more progressive and broader position for both organizations.  In general, the noted increases in both revenue and membership numbers are less pronounced from 1970 to 1980, than they are from 1980 to 2000. This data suggests at the same time HSUS and the Sierra Club were broadening their arguments, they were receiving more resources both in terms of members and revenues.

A closer look at each organization's resources from 1970 to 2000 reveals the important relationship between time period, the organization's discourse, and available resources.  As noted previously, HSUS enjoyed general increases in both their membership numbers and their financial resources over time.  While slight increases are recorded for the time period from 1970 to 1979, the most dramatic increases occur in the mid-1980s and mid 1990s.  During this time, HSUS was shifting their rhetoric in three of their most prominent campaigns.  They were broadening their arguments in relation to fur, suggesting that all fur, not only the fur from wild-caught animals should not be worn.  They were suggesting more dramatic solutions to help farm animals, specifically arguing that vegetarianism was a viable option.  Finally, they were disrupting the enthymeme that allowed animal experimentation to continue on the basis of scientific credibility.  All of these positions create the picture of a more progressive organization with a broader agenda than they had in the 1970s.  My analysis demonstrates how this new rhetoric did not

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negatively impact HSUS' material resources, and may indeed have contributed to their increase.

These findings are in line with information gathered during on-site interviews with HSUS staff. Several of the people I spoke with recognized the increase in both members and financial support over time. While some staff members attributed these increases to more discretionary income or the "wills of little old ladies," others took a broader view. Dr. Michael Fox felt the public was developing a greater sense of compassion and connection as a result of new arguments articulated by the animal protection and environmental advocacy movements. As a result, they were affiliating with and supporting the more moderate organizations they could better identify with as they took small steps towards changing their perspectives. Rachel Querry, a public relations officer, noted the public might be more willing to support HSUS because they better sought to balance traditional ways of thinking with the new ideas of the movement. She cited an example of the organization using both the accepted term *owner* and the term which rearticulates the relationship - *guardian* in regard to the animals we keep as pets.

But not all staff members believed increases in members and contributions could be traced to the effective introduction of new arguments or the broadening of compassion. Dr. Randall Lockwood, a senior staff member working on the links between violence to animals and violence to people, suggested most HSUS members are not fully aware of the organization's positions or wide scope of campaigns. He

thought a sizable number of constituents "think we're an organization protecting dogs and cats. They don't know we are promoting alternatives to dissection or lobbying for farm animals - and we don't go out of our way to tell them." He argued some ambiguity was good for the organization. It helped to increase their support.

The Sierra Club's resources also generally increased over time. Similar to HSUS, they saw much more dramatic growth between the periods of 1980 - 1990 and 1990 - 2000, than they did between 1970 and 1980. Also similar to HSUS, the Sierra Club was broadening and radicalizing their rhetoric in three important campaigns. First, they were introducing new arguments into their campaign against dams - not only were they arguing against proposed dams, they were arguing for the removal of existing dams. Second, they were arguing for a re-orientation of priorities in the logging campaign that suggested trees could be more valuable standing than as lumber in some instances. Finally, they were arguing government agencies were not allies, but rather adversaries to environmentalists pursuing the grazing campaign. Like the shifts in HSUS rhetoric, these changes suggest broader challenges and counter-arguments. Also like HSUS, the shifts do not appear to hurt the organization's material resources. They may actually benefit the organization materially.

Interviews with Sierra Club staff allowed for greater discussion about the relationship between their broader discourse over time and increases in their material resources. Both Gene Coan and Michael McCloskey offered brief commentary on

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the subject. McCloskey noted how over the last thirty years competition for members and dollars has increased dramatically. At the same time, however, so has media coverage and, as a result, public awareness. He felt the more moderate groups like the Sierra Club attracted a different constituent base than the radicals like Earthfirst!. He argued that the broadening of arguments in the organization often reflected research into the priorities of potential constituents. When the Club was well aligned with the public's priorities it would see increases in both affiliation and contributions. Gene Coan felt increases in material resources could very well be tied to the emergence of more radical groups. He believes "groups with reasonable, achievable objectives somewhat to the 'left' of the Club can result in synergy for both the Club and our objectives."

As noted earlier, material resources, and particularly membership, can be attributed to a number of different sources or reflect larger general trends. What is so intriguing about my findings concerning membership in both HSUS and the Sierra Club, is that they demonstrate increases during a time period that other scholars have noted an overall decline. In 1999 Robert Putnam published his controversial, but well documented work asserting that Americans are not the "joiners" they use to be. Putnam's research demonstrated a decline in membership for a number of groups including religious, civic, and political parties. He also found that more informal associations like bowling leagues were losing members. These results led him to raise the alarm concerning a decline in America's social capital. Putnam's research

suggests a downward decline in membership and offers evidence to bolster my claim that rhetorical shifts perhaps influenced membership in the moderate organizations I examined.  In fact, these organizations were able to increase membership numbers at a time when similar organizations suffered declines.

## Conclusion

While these findings shed a revealing light on the relationship between a moderate organization's radicalized rhetoric and its material resources, they also provide evidence of more basic radical flank effects.  Herbert Haines' work (1988), the only study to directly measure radical flank effects, suggested the emergence of radical organizations within the civil rights movement had positive material effects on several moderate organizations within the movement.  He measured a number of areas where gains and losses could be noted, including outside support.  He concluded moderate organizations generally gained outside resource support following the emergence of more radical organizations.  My own findings are in line with his.  Following the introduction of PETA and Earthfirst! into the overall movement, HSUS and the Sierra Club witnessed growth in material resources.  Like Haines, my study reveals positive flank effects for the more moderate organizations.

In addition to offering further support to Haines' conclusions regarding overall positive flank effects resulting from the emergence of radical groups in particular movements, these findings address the question of radicalized rhetoric and its impact on the material resources of moderate organizations. Taking the data displayed above

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and the analysis from Chapters Four and Five, there are two important points to be made in this regard.  The first of these is from 1970 to 2000 the moderate organizations, HSUS and the Sierra Club, changed their discourse in ways which made it more similar to the rhetoric of the radicals.  The radicals could have affected the types of arguments presented by the moderate organizations and in a larger sense the positions they held.

The second point is that from roughly 1970 to 2000 the same moderate organizations enjoyed an increase in their resources, both human resources and financial resources.  These findings seem to suggest moderate organizations can demand greater changes without sacrificing their material resources.  In fact, while one cannot demonstrate causality, the noted increases, especially those between 1980 and 1990, seem to suggest such radicalizing may have a positive impact on the material resources available to such organizations.

These findings are noteworthy because they offer clear evidence moderate organizations can make their positions broader and more progressive without negative material impacts.  Perhaps it was because supporters genuinely agreed and identified with the new positions of HSUS and the Sierra Club.  Perhaps it was because these organizations offered a moderate alternative to the newly emerging radical voices.  Either way, the material resources of these organizations increased at the same time they broadened their arguments.

CHAPTER 7: WHAT THE FUTURE HOLDS - NEW DIRECTION FOR

RESEARCH AND THE MOVEMENTS

In my dissertation I endeavored to investigate the possibility of intra-movement rhetorical influence. Specifically, I analyzed the rhetoric produced by both moderates and radicals in two social movements chronologically. Such an approach allowed me to determine the discourse produced by moderates both prior to and following the introduction of more radical rhetoric on the part of newly emerging groups. My analysis revealed moderate rhetoric shifted in notable ways from 1970 to 2000. Because of the timing of such shifts, I believe there is evidence that intra-movement rhetorical influence is indeed a possibility. Further analysis also revealed such shifts did not negatively impact the material resources of the moderate organizations. In this conclusion, I will briefly review each chapter, suggest the importance of this work both inside and outside academe, and finally, explore fruitful avenues for future research.

Chapter Summary

Chapter One introduced the central questions guiding this dissertation, explained the importance of such questions and provided the reader with an overview of the project. Beginning with the macro question, how do social movements change, I attempted to answer two specific questions: (1) Does the rhetoric introduced into a

social movement by more radical groups offer a possible explanation for shifts in the rhetoric of more moderate organizations?  (2) If moderate groups do employ more progressive rhetoric over time, how does this alter their material resources?  I sought to answer these questions through engaging in a comparative historical analysis.  I argued my analysis would be beneficial to those studying social movements, as well as those participating in them.  Specifically, I suggested my work could help reinvigorate an interest in social movements on the part of communication scholars and provide important bridges both between rhetoric and organizational communication and the two dominant theoretical paradigms of social movement study: resource mobilization and new social movement theory.  I also contended the project could foster better understanding between radicals and moderates in the same social movements, allowing the movement to develop a more united front.

Chapter Two situated the work by offering an extensive literature review of research conducted in both sociology and communication studies.  After reviewing the three theoretical paradigms guiding social movement work in sociology: classical, resource mobilization, and new social movement theory, I turned my attention to research on radical flank effects and frame disputes.  These areas of literature offered the strongest foundation for my own inquiries.  Having established the import of sociological research on this work, I focused on research conducted within the discipline of communication studies.  I reviewed the theoretical developments offered by major theorists in this area - Andrews, Cathcart, Stewart, Simons, and McGee.  I

also examined the limited amount of literature concerning the rhetorical dimensions of radicals and moderates. Finally, I demonstrated the importance of Gramsci's work on hegemony and counter-hegemony for this project. Before concluding my literature review, I summarized the research conducted in both sociology and communication studies pertaining to the environmental advocacy and animal protection movements.

In Chapter Three I began by offering a historical framework for both the animal protection movement and the environmental advocacy movement. Such a broad perspective placed my case study organizations in the wider context in which they exist and interact. I also offered a short synopsis of the ideological underpinnings that differentiate radicals from moderates in both movements. These ideological differences play a role in the rhetorical choices I focus on in chapters four and five. Having begun with this wider lens, I continued with a narrower focus on the specific organizations I selected to analyze. I included information on the organizations such as their mission statements, membership numbers, and organizational structure. With a strong context in place, I turned my attention to the data collection and methodology. I offered details about the investigation and selection of archival data, as well as explained my approach to this type of rhetorical criticism.

Chapter Four, the first of my case studies, examined the possibility of rhetorical influence by radicals on moderates in the animal protection movement.

Dividing the chapter into three different issue campaigns, I looked at the rhetoric produced by both the Humane Society of the United States and PETA in a chronological manner. I selected the fur animal campaign, the farm animal campaign, and the lab animal campaign as the three focal campaigns for the chapter. I then divided my analysis of the organizations' rhetoric into three distinct time frames: HSUS 1970-1980, PETA 1980-1990, and HSUS 1980-2000. This arrangement allowed me to trace and demonstrate the possibilities of rhetorical influence over time. For each campaign, I was able to note rhetorical shifts on the part of the moderate following the emergence of the more radical organization and the appearance of their more radical rhetoric. While the more moderate organization did not fully embrace the foundation for much of this new rhetoric (the philosophy that animals have rights) such radical rhetoric could very well have a hand in the expansion of their challenges to the current uses of animals.

In the fur animal campaign, I demonstrated the broadening of arguments on the part of HSUS. After PETA challenged all aspects of fur production and consumption HSUS took an abolitionist stance as well - arguing the wearing of fur was shameful. In the farm animal campaign, I suggested HSUS' later rhetoric which served to block the enthymeme concerning the necessity of meat eating and focused on the power of the consumer, emerged only after PETA's discourse employed these rhetorical approaches. Finally, in the lab animal campaign, I explained how HSUS' rhetoric, which questioned the credibility of animal researchers and the legitimacy of

animal experimentation, arose after similar challenges and counter arguments were articulated by PETA.

Chapter Five was arranged in a very similar manner to Chapter Four. Again, I divided the chapter into three distinct issue campaigns and examined the rhetoric of both the Sierra Club and Earthfirst! in a chronological manner. For each campaign, I focused on shifts within the discourse created by the Sierra Club over time and attempted to trace these to rhetoric produced by Earthfirst! Similar to the animal protection movement, the more moderate group, the Sierra Club, did not come to fully embrace or articulate a view of the Earth as having rights. They did, however, develop broader, more substantial challenges to the current contexts in which the Earth and other living things are used as resources by human beings.

The campaigns I selected for this chapter were the dam campaign, the logging campaign, and the grazing campaign. In the campaign against dams, I demonstrated how the Sierra Club's arguments broadened from 1970 to 2000. They came to include not only opposition to proposed dams, but also arguments for razing dams. I suggested Earthfirst!'s campaign, which began with the cracking of Glen Canyon Dam, may have influenced the organization. In the logging campaign, I highlighted how the Sierra Club shifted from trying to reform forest practices to advocating a ban on logging old-growth trees following Earthfirsts!'s campaign. Their arguments reframed the logging debate to include non-economic priorities. Finally, in the grazing campaign, I noted that while the Sierra Club portrayed the government

agencies of the U.S. Forests Service and the BLM as allies throughout the 1970s, their later rhetoric seems to mirror that of Earthfirst! which portrays these organizations as adversaries.

Having establishing the possibility of rhetorical influence by radicals on moderates, Chapter Six addressed the second research question of the project. Recognizing the moderate organizations in my case studies generally broadened their demands over time, this chapter explored whether such shifts affected their material resources during that same time period. Focusing on membership numbers and financial resources, I investigated trends in these resources from roughly 1970 to 2000. I operated on the supposition this radicalized rhetoric would have had a negative effect if resources declined over time, and a positive impact is they increased. My analysis revealed how the overall impact was positive for both moderate organizations. In general, both their membership and their financial resources increased during the time frame I considered. I concluded the chapter by noting such analysis offered clear evidence moderate organizations could make their positions broader and more progressive without negative material outcomes.

## Importance of this project

In the first chapter of this dissertation, I suggested the research I was undertaking could impact both those studying and those participating in social movements in a number of important ways. Reflecting on the completed project, I believe this will indeed be the case. For those studying social movements, this

dissertation demonstrates the continuing value of such pursuits and the productive

links in communication theory between rhetoric and organizational communication.

It also offers a perspective on social movement research that combines the power of

both the resource mobilization paradigm and the new social movement paradigm.

For those participating in social movements, this dissertation presents an alternative

and perhaps more generative view of relations between moderates and radicals.  It

interrogates the simplistic view of such relations as wholly negative, suggesting

instead that both moderates and radicals can enjoy gains from their coexistence.

Below I will expand upon the ways in which this project contributes to both theory

and practice.

As my literature review reveals, communication scholars have had a fickle

relationship with social movements since the 1960s.  Their interest has generally

waned in the last two decades, as other types of rhetors have captured their attention.

I believe this shift is quite unfortunate.  In my dissertation, I have endeavored to make

evident the value of social movement research to the discipline from several angles.

First, I have demonstrated the myriad ways in which social movement rhetoric offers

scholars rich material to explore.  While there has been much contention over whether

social movement rhetoric is a unique form of rhetoric, there can be no doubt that it

engages a different set of questions than other types of discourse.  This is particularly

true of inter-organizational rhetoric that, as my literature review reveals, is an area of

research greatly in need of further exploration.  Scholars can not only explore

questions of influence, they can also examine the rhetoric of coalition building, as well as the public discourse organizations create regarding their interrelationships. Second, as I will elaborate on below, social movement rhetoric provides a strong example of the ways in which discourse and material ends interact and affect one another. Because social movements are dependent on material resources, their rhetorical choices cannot be examined without concern for practical ends. Scholars who approach their research with an appreciation for both discourse and material reality will find social movement research very fruitful.

In addition to demonstrating the value of social movement research for communication scholars in general, this dissertation furthers the relationship between rhetoric and organizational communication. While forefronting the rhetorical relationship between moderates and radicals, this dissertation also highlighted the importance of organizational considerations. First, the decision to explore rhetorical shifts in terms of specific issue campaigns demonstrated the role of organizational structure in message creation. Often times, a small group of people were assigned to specific issue campaigns, influencing the rhetoric those campaigns produced. Second, the decision to consider the interrelationship between discourse and material resources in Chapter Six, is quite similar to several approaches in organizational communication. Organizational communication scholars often interrogate the ways in which organizational discourse interacts with material ends. Finally, through my research for this dissertation I discovered the important and prevailing belief in

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moderate organizations that shifts in their rhetoric were often explained by shifts in personnel. That is to say, when employees with a more radical ideology entered the organization, they often had an enormous impact on the organization's rhetoric over time. This finding, which I will further explore below, strongly suggests changes within the organizational environment can greatly influence organizational rhetoric.

In terms of the broader study of social movements conducted within both communication studies and sociology, this dissertation offers an important example of research that engages both the resource mobilization paradigm and the new social movement paradigm. There are two research questions that guided this project. The first investigated shifts in discourse in line with concerns articulated by the new social movement paradigm. The second addressed shifts in material resources which has long been the focus of the resource mobilization paradigm. By putting these two questions in play with one another - asking if rhetorical shifts impact material resources - I demonstrated how the paradigms can and should be used together to most productively examine social movements. The shortcomings of each paradigm can be overcome when scholars are willing to combine the most useful tools from each in building the theoretical foundation for their investigations.

For those participating in social movements, this dissertation is also valuable. For as long as social movements have had both moderate and radical organizations, there has been tension between them. These tensions come from competition over scarce resources, differing ideologies and tactics, and a resulting fear that the

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existence of one is preventing the other from realizing their goals. References to such tense relations were commonplace during my interviews, with both radical and moderate organizations making note of them. For example, Mike McCloskey, former executive director of the Sierra Club, notes in his oral history "people in the radical camp have cast themselves as overt critics of mainstream groups. Their stock and trade is to berate us and claim that we are sellout groups" (1997, p. 187). Another example comes from Lisa Lange at PETA who explained how HSUS typically distanced themselves from PETA, particularly in regard to their tactics.

While both movements have a significant number of people who feel there is "room for everybody" and accept the need for a diversified approach, the gut reaction on the part of some people closely tied to the movement is often negative. This dissertation challenges that feeling. It demonstrates how the existence of radicals and moderates operating within the same movement can benefit both types of groups and the movement as a whole. Moderates can benefit from the more progressive discourse created by the radicals in a number of ways. First, the more radical organizations provide new issues, arguments, and rhetorical tools that the moderate organizations can incorporate into their own campaigns. As discussed in Chapter Four and Five, the moderate organizations often do not fully adopt the more radical discourse. Instead, they blend it into their previous rhetoric creating a more progressive stance, but one still distinctive from that of the radical's.

Taking new stands and using new approaches is beneficial to the moderates because it prevents them from becoming mired in the status quo or being ineffective in gaining public attention and support. Additionally, the existence of radicals may be beneficial to the material resources of moderates. As Chapter Six detailed, the moderates were able to generally increase their material resources even as their rhetoric became more progressive. Herbert Haines argued this may be the result of movement supporters choosing to align themselves with moderates, rather than associate themselves with the more radical positions that have newly emerged. The cumulative findings of this dissertation strongly suggest moderates enjoy a number of benefits from the existence of their radical counterparts.

While the focus of this project has been shifts in moderate discourse, there can be no doubt radicals also benefit from the existence of moderates. Radical rhetoric that may appeal to a small group of supporters has historically been less effective with those in power. Even as direct actions and demonstrations may secure temporary or individual changes, more sweeping measures require legal cases and/or changes in legislative policy. Radical organizations are often unwilling or uninterested in participating in these arenas. This dissertation suggests radical rhetoric may lead to such changes once moderates incorporate it into their own campaigns. In many instances, these campaigns eventually embrace the goals of the radicals and even use their language. The moderate organizations then advance the goals of the radicals using their extensive material resources to achieve them. A good

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example of this is the recent campaign on the part of the Sierra Club to end

commercial logging.  While the Sierra Club did not embrace this view as late as 1995,

they eventually decided on the more radical position originally articulated by

Earthfirst!.  While it is not always the case, this dissertation suggests often the

relationship between moderates and radicals can produce ends desired by both camps.

Overall, the findings of my dissertation indicate social movements can make

greater strides when they are composed of both moderates and radicals.  Over time

the discourse of the movement becomes more progressive and material resources

grow.  The emergence of radical voices appears to energize and expand movements,

despite the tensions that may be more closely felt by those participating in them.

Members and leaders of organizations situated in either the radical or moderate camp

should take a broader view of the movement and their relationship with one another.

Such a view could allow the groups to work together more productively and engage

in dissent and objection with those in power, rather than with one another.

<div align="center">Alternative Influences: Future Directions</div>

In this project, I examined only one possible influence on shifts in the rhetoric

of moderate social movement organizations - the emergence of more radical

organizations and their progressive discourse.  As I became involved in the analysis,

and particularly as I conducted my interviews, it became clear there were other

influences at work as well.  While the scope of this dissertation prevented me from

fully investigating each of these alternative influences, I would like to discuss each of

them here briefly.  In this section, I will lay out other potential sources of influence, namely the influence of individual employees within the organizations, the influence of organizational members, the influence of the media, and the material influence of radical organizations.

One of the most intriguing routes of influence was suggested early on in my interviews at HSUS and surfaced again when I turned my attention to the Sierra Club. Leaders at HSUS generally acknowledged the organization was influenced to a degree by the rhetoric of the more radical organization PETA.  But these leaders also felt shifts in their discourse over time could be attributed to internal changes, specifically the hiring of more radically minded staff members and changes in the ideology of existing staff members.  Dr. Michael Fox was often cited as an example of an influential person within HSUS whose more progressive thinking affected campaign rhetoric and goals, especially in relation to farm animal issues.  When interviewed, he acknowledged he was often in the position of "moving the organization along" and had pushed the organization to take stronger stands on both farm animals and lab animals.  Staff members I spoke with also mentioned the impact of new employees.  Several years ago, PETA relocated operations from the Washington D.C. area to Norfolk, Virginia.  Several of their employees who decided not to make the move were hired by HSUS.  This influx of more radical personnel, particularly campaign staff, greatly affected the rhetoric of the organization.

Interviews and newsclips collected during my analysis of the Sierra Club's

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rhetoric from 1970 to 2000 also revealed the possibility of this type of influence. The Sierra Club has had a number of more radical voices over the years, some already established in the organization and others new to it. David Brower was well known as a long-term progressive influence in the Sierra Club. Not only did he lead the fight to save Dinosaur National Monument in the 1950s, he was the instigator behind the print ads concerning the damming of Grand Canyon. His views, particularly those on dams, had a sizable effect on the organization until his death in 2000. Another example involves Earthfirst! co-founder Dave Foreman. When Foreman left Earthfirst! he took a seat on the Sierra Club's Board of Directors. From this position, he continued to advocate his deep ecology views, as well as instigate and support more radical positions such as the draining of Lake Powell. He brought his radical rhetoric to the organization, influencing it from within. More recently, the Sierra Club witnessed an internal revolt when a more radical sector of the Board of Directors challenged the organization's moderate stance on several issues. The group, led by Chad Hanson and self-named the John Muir Sierrans, sought to radicalize the organization's discourse and encourage the Club to act more progressively. These examples demonstrate how internal shifts can affect the rhetoric of moderate organizations over time.

Another source of influence may come from the organizations' members. Members may be indirectly influential when the organization makes rhetorical changes because they believe their members are in favor of these changes. Mike

McCloskey alludes to this in his oral history when he remarks that polls in the late 1980s concerning members' views led to an approach which highlighted deep ecology to a greater degree in some of the organization's campaigns. Members may also be directly influential. Such influence is felt when they contact the organization urging them to take certain positions or focus on specific issues. For example, throughout the late 1970s and early 1980s HSUS was contacted by members demanding the organization take an anti-vivisection stance, as well as members who wanted vegetarianism to be promoted. The Sierra Club also hears from its members. The Club has an unusual organizational structure that allows its members to have direct influence on campaigns through petitions. While members are not in a position to select specific rhetorical tools, they are able to vote on the adoption of policy statements. For example, members recently voted not to take a stand on grazing which would have prohibited all grazing on federal lands. Such examples demonstrate the possibility of both direct and indirect influence on the part of members.

Throughout my data collection, the question of media influence also remained an important one. My investigations revealed there was little to suggest the media were in a position of direct influence. That is to say, they rarely assumed the role of creating new issues or arguments, nor did they encourage the moderate organizations to employ new rhetorical tools through their own discourse. The media did appear to have an indirect influence, however. Many internal documents from the moderate

organizations reveal organizational leaders were aware of news values and these values were considered in campaign planning. For example, the Sierra Club was aware old-growth trees, perhaps more than any other icon, made for good pictures and therefore an increased likelihood of media coverage. This recognition may have influenced their decision to focus on that issue to the degree they did. A similar type of influence could very well be a part of noted shifts in HSUS' rhetoric as well.

Finally, interviews and archival data suggest radicals may have been influential in more material ways. The entrance of new organizations into movements once dominated by the moderate organizations created a fiercer sense of competition. This competition was played out over a host of valuable resources from members to media hours. Interviews at both HSUS and the Sierra Club suggested such competition encouraged the moderates to adopt positions and messages that might resonate with those inclined to support the radicals. This competitive atmosphere also led to competition among moderates. Mike McCloskey notes "groups are constantly repositioning themselves on the spectrum, trying different things. There's also competition within the mainstream groups now, in terms of attracting followers, and money, and publicity" (1997, p. 188). Comments such as this one indicate the rhetoric of the moderates may shift not as a result of the rhetoric of the radicals, but as a result of their potential strain on finite resources.

In addition to research on the alternative sources of influence I have discussed above, there are other fruitful avenues of inquiry born from my investigations. First,

my analysis of the rhetoric of PETA as an example of the radical arm of the animal

protection movement revealed sophisticated rhetorical strategies that warrant closer

consideration.  Quite similar to other progressive movements pursued throughout the

nineteenth and twentieth century, such as the abolitionist movement, the women's

movement and the pro-life movement,  the animal rights movement is arguing for a

shift in our treatment of animals premised upon a redefinition of animals as subjects.

While they often mix these more progressive perspectives with challenges to use

value based on such concerns as cruelty, lack of necessity, and illegitimacy, it is this

redefinition which has truly radicalized the terms of debate.

In a future article, I plan to explore the existing literature on similar rhetorical

strategies used by other social movements before demonstrating how the animal

rights movement argues for the subjecthood of animals.  I have already begun to

collect important examples of this strategy.  In addition to documents created by

PETA, I intend to analyze materials produced by other animal rights organizations

including deeper analysis of the rhetoric associated with The Great Ape Project, In

Defense of Animals (IDA), and Animal Rights America.  Each of these organizations

has crafted campaigns based upon and advocating for the rights of animals.  They are

attempting to directly rearticulate the relationship between humans and animals.  For

example, IDA has worked with state and local governments to change the language of

their statutes from "pet owner" to "animal guardian" through their campaign entitled

"They are not our property, We are not their owners."  Such an approach clearly opens all kinds of possibility, including the future establishment of legal rights.

Second, while I have focused my attention on questions of intra-movement rhetorical influence in this project, my findings offer a new set of questions concerning influence and the general public.  Although these questions are perhaps even more intriguing and vital, they must be addressed by a very different research project.  The issue of intra-movement influence can be examined through archival analysis and rhetorical criticism.  Shifts in the attitude, values, and behaviors of the public, however, require a different lens for analysis.

Other communications scholars, particularly those interested in persuasion, may best be equipped to conduct this research.  Studies that surveyed members of the general public or conducted focus groups would be able to ascertain current perspectives on animal protection and environmental advocacy issues.  Many important questions have yet to be posed regarding the effectiveness of the types of campaigns I've examined here.  While the public may be more cognizant of the issues covered in these campaigns, have they adopted attitudes and values that would cause them to support particular pieces of legislation or buy certain products like faux fur or recycled paper?  Have their own views been broadened by the wider challenges and counter-arguments articulated by the animal protection and environmental advocacy movements.

In my own future research endeavors, I hope to work with persuasion scholars in the pursuit of tentative answers to these fledgling questions. Currently, I am beginning to examine the effectiveness of the animal protection campaign promoting vegetarianism. Collaborating with researchers and focus group facilitators, I am trying to ascertain what motivates people to adopt a vegetarian diet as well as identify perceived obstacles on the part of those who are not vegetarian. This research extends my interest in intra-movement influence to influence occurring in the larger public sphere.

<div align="center">Current Context</div>

My period of analysis for this project, 1970-2000, can be considered a relatively brief one for two movements with long histories and certain futures. As my analysis revealed, the context in which these movements take place is constantly shifting. This is no less the case for the two year period between 2000 and 2002. In that short period of time many changes, both on the national and international front, have affected the animal protection and environmental advocacy movements.

On the national front, changes in the executive branch of our government have replaced an administration at least somewhat supportive of progressive movements (particularly the environmental movement) with one that is openly hostile to them. As President Reagan's appointment of James Watt to the Interior Department galvanized the environmental movement in the early 1980s, President Bush's policies retreating from arsenic restrictions in drinking water, roadless area protection, and the

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Kyoto air accords have similarly reinvigorated factions of the environmental movement. The events of September 11 have had innumerable effects on these movements as well. From the renewed pressure to open the Arctic National Wildlife Preserve to increased use of the term "terrorist" in reference to animal rights groups, the terms of debate have been notably altered.

On the international front protests continue in regard to the WTO, and the bitterness over NAFTA festers. During this same time, animal protection measures such as a ban on gill nets that drown dolphins have become challenges in the global marketplace and effectively labeled trade barriers. In response, the animal protection movement and the environmental advocacy movement have been building international coalitions to confront these new developments. There have been widely covered protests from Seattle to Geneva.

The most intriguing aspect of social movements is that they indeed exhibit continual motion. They change. They are continually adapting to contemporary conditions including the emergence of new arguments and more radical ideologies. Thirty years from now the current discourse may very well have affected consumer behavior and public policy. If the current discourse is effective, tangible social change will occur. The Snake River dams may be breached. Old Growth may stand unmolested. Large swaths of public grazing lands may be cattle free and regenerate their native prairie grasses. Similarly, consumer demand may drive the market permanently toward synthetic fabrics over fur apparel. Veggie burgers may be as

common as Big Mac's.  Animal experimentation may be a last resort rather than a

thoughtless first choice.  But the work will not be done.  In 2030 new challenges will

arise, and movement leaders will advance new arguments to confront these hurdles.

The new arguments may begin as whispers on the margins of the movement, but in

time they will guide the movement and the public toward greater social

transformation.

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<u>Communication, 61</u>(1), 66-121.

VITA


Courtney Lanston Dillard was born in Palm Beach, Florida on February 19, 1971, the daughter of Anne Lanston Dillard and Rodney Jefferson Dillard.  After completing her work at St. Timothy's School, Stevenson, Maryland in 1988, she entered Vanderbilt University in Nashville, Tennessee.  She spent her senior abroad at the University of Leeds and graduated in 1992.  Prior to entering the University of North Carolina - Chapel Hill for her M.A., she worked with various non-profits throughout the U.S. and Africa.  She completed her M.A. at UNC in 1995.  After taking a year off to volunteer with Americorps, she entered the University of Texas at Austin in 1997 to obtain a Ph.D.


Permenant Address: 1200 S. Flagler Dr., West Palm Beach, Florida 33401

This dissertation was typed by the author.