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Special Issue:

Queer-Eco-Feminist Perspectives

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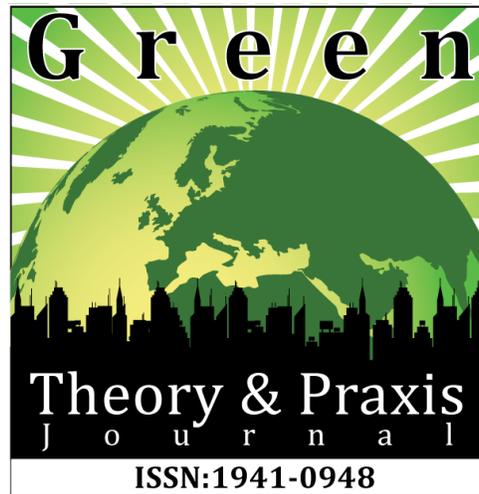
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Introduction: Queering the Ecofeminist Tradition

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This issue of *Green Theory and Praxis* came about as a response to conversations regarding whether ecofeminism had adequately engaged with queer theory and also the converse, whether queer theory has engaged ecofeminism. At times these two bodies of knowledge have heavily influenced one another but the potential of combining both fields has sadly often been overlooked. This issue seeks to bridge this divide. However, after receiving a variety of submissions we realized that for this edition to achieve our goal that it had to move away from just a queering of ecofeminism. Instead we realized that it needed to address the environmental justice and animal liberation movements more sweepingly.

Ecofeminism is a field of thought that arose to prominence in the late 70s (for a full history see Gaard, 2011; Salleh, 1997; Adams & Gruen, 2014; Warren, 1997). One of the central concerns

was how patriarchy effected the environment and women. The work that early ecofeminists undertook was very influential and much of it still resonates today. However, given the formative work that early ecofeminists, like Carolyn Merchant (1980), undertook to theorize the connection between gender oppression and ecological justice it is paramount to investigate these interconnections beyond the binary gender divide that many ecofeminists utilize for their analysis. Put simply,

much of feminist critique regarding war and violence focuses on ... the symbolic connections ... which inferiorizes women and nonhuman nature by naturalizing women and feminizing nature, ... [describing] women as cows, foxes, chicks, serpents, bitches, beavers, old bats, pussycats, cats, bird-brains, hate-brains. Sexist language feminizes and sexualizes nature: Nature is raped, mastered, conquered, controlled, mined. "Her" "secrets" are "penetrated," and "her" "womb" is put into the service of the "man of science." ... Language which so feminizes nature and so naturalizes women describes, reflects, and perpetuates the domination and inferiorization of both by failing to see the extent to which the twin dominations of women and nature (including animals) are, in fact, culturally (and not merely figuratively) connected. (Warren & Cady, 1994, p. 12)

Ecofeminists then contend that these metaphors use women as an “absent referent, [which causes] patriarchal values [to] become institutionalized in descriptions ... such as the ‘rape’ of the earth ... [by using t]he experience of women .. [as] a vehicle for describing other oppressions[, rendering] ... the material reality of violence into controlled and controllable metaphors” (Adams, 1990, pp. 42-43).

Sadly, this sort of analysis takes nature and womanhood as stable markers of analysis to the exclusion of trans bodies and queer theorizing by assuming a specific vision of women that need to be protected in defense of nature. It is precisely this realization that mandated our crafting of this special issue in order to evolve ecofeminism to better account for the diversity of gendered ecological identities that exist. Our hope is that this will orient environmental activism toward achieving total liberation.

To this end, it is worth noting how ecocriticism often attacks affluence and consumer culture through focusing on the identities of polluters. When doing so ecocritics connect an identity politics to a larger critique of environmental destruction that often demonizes those who don't live sustainable lives. Sadly, these approaches often scapegoat the way suburban mothers consume air conditioning or throw away edible food as waste (Engber, 2015). On the one hand, it is obvious that a Western-fuelled style of capitalism is driving the planet toward extinction through an unsustainable level of growth, such as the demand for factory farmed non/human animals, which is one of the leading causes of emissions, and atrocious labour conditions (Guardian, 2010). On the other hand, it is discerning that such critiques remain tied to specific incidences of overconsumption rather than the larger discursive universe. This over-determination of identity can be witnessed in some environmental justice and ecofeminist movements that rightfully point out that ecological collapse has a disparate impact upon marginalized populations and that affluent nations “consume ... 85 percent of the world's resources ... [and] produce 90 percent of its waste” (Thiele, 1999, p. 216). However, we argue that when these attacks on affluent consumption to save the environment get grafted onto static concepts of identity, such as gender, the results ultimately

only widen the net of bodies that become actively policed. This undermines social justice by placing the focus squarely on stable subjects without demonizing individuals who do not meet the white able-bodied norm of a heterosexual cis-male. When this happens individual actions become the focus of the debate instead of a larger structural critique that ultimately makes it harder to combat climate change while promoting liberation (Smith, 2012).

To be clear, our argument is not to deny the very real connections between affluence, environmental justice, and climate change. Rather, it is to argue that until the dominant framing of environmental discourse moves away from appeals to normative identity categories any individual policy or action will do little to aid the situation at best. As Flo (2012), a doctor and healthcare activist in Scotland explains, it can deepen divides between populations at worst because the individualized focus of environmentalism can cause an internalized form of ableism where people become defeated if they aren't able to live up to ecocriticism's call for a purity politics. Furthermore, within the ecofeminist movement itself, pronouns are often used to gender and sex the environment which forcefully plays upon dominant heteronormative tropes. These very dynamics enable environmental discourse to undermine the intent of its advocacy because it reinscribes anyone beyond a non-normative white cis-male as a possession to be used in the war against consumer culture and climate change. As a result, it becomes easy to throw the SUV-driving suburban mom under the bus for her consumption in environmental campaigns because she becomes part of the problem of overconsumption that ecoactivists attack. Likewise, saving the environment becomes a mission to protect that very same mother's children, and future generations, for those privileged enough to live, thereby ensuring the heteronormative matrix's survival (Edelman, 2004).

Sadly, the ecological gendering nature allows some primitivists, such as Deep Green Resistance, to denounce gender affirmation surgery as being an affluent form of technology that runs contrary to nature (Matisons & Ross, 2015). At the same time, it allows the United States to engage in military campaigns in the name of women's rights and equality through what Jasbir Puar (2007) calls homonationalism, which uses a sexual exceptionalism to decry gender discrimination beyond the US' borders while ignoring the same violence that exists domestically (p. 49-51). Ultimately, whether this approach is used by the far left or the far right, the results are the same because a paradigm of male/female is upheld to the detriment of all who don't fit within that definition. In regards to international policy, such calls get caught up with normative campaigns for human rights that allows for anything beyond the whitened norm of US-style democracy and capitalism to be expendable in the name of protecting it (Puar, 2007, pp. 5-7).

When ecocritics latch onto these same heteronormative tropes they partake in a similar sexual exceptionalism through demarcating the types of environments, species, and populations that deserve protecting in order to discipline the rest of world by weeding out all those who are unfit to reproduce. As a result, unfortunately,

ecocriticism tends to overlook how concern for the preservation and conservation of natural space has functioned as a biopolitical tool of the state in the twentieth century, specifically through the management of minority ethnic populations. ... In the rise of federal regulation of the environment and of human populations, raced and gendered identities occupy a

vexed position—being associated with nature itself as objects of management, as well as with the subjective domination of nature. (Tanemura, 2007, pp. 304-305)

To avoid such a failed managerial outcome, it is paramount to always be willing to expand the limits of debate, scholarship, and activism in order to open up old disciplines to new investigations and approaches in order to destabilize the normative institutions that otherwise oppressively maintain the framework for academic discussion. Ultimately, “much more attention must be paid to the positive identification between the environment and ethnic-identity formation that facilitates the state's production of an illusion of sustainable growth” (Tanemura, 2007, p. 306).

Another aspect of ecofeminism that has yet to be fully explored is in relation to transgender and intersex liberation is deconstructing the gender binary. As mentioned previously, ecofeminism has often assumed an essentialised gender. An example that is indicative of a larger trend can be found in Carol Adams’ (1996) discussion of a person called Dr. James Barry. She writes that

In 1865, Dr. James Barry died. Dr. Barry was an army surgeon for more than forty four years, a vegetarian, and someone brought up by ardent followers of Mary Wollstonecraft; it was discovered upon his death that Dr. Barry was a woman. Some who suspected all along that Dr. Barry was a women referred to the vegetarian diet as one of the signs of her gender as well as her fondness for pets. (p. 67)

Here Adams’ takes Barry’s genitals to assign Barry a gender. We of course do not know how Barry would identify if Barry had the language we use today. However, here the discussion should not center around Barry’s genitals, rather, it is important to note Adams’ perpetuation of a patriarchal gender binary system. In this assigning of gender, Adams aligns women with nature, with womanhood assumed via genitalia. Adams then decides on Barry’s gender and place Barry within the binary of male and female. She then asserts that Barry was born as a female, whatever this might actually mean, and thus, even after living as a man, Barry must be closely associated with nonhumans. This is again the impact of a type of feminism that sees women, and their bodies, as close to “nature.”

These assumptions are riddled throughout ecofeminism, which draws attention to a critique that has yet to be made in feminist-animal liberation, and which is one of the discussions we wish to open in this special issue. We refer specifically to a reliance on the notion of a shared “sisterhood” under patriarchy. This notion of shared sisterhood, as seen particularly in radical feminism, has been strongly critiqued. In brief, one of the most eloquent critiques of this discourse is by J. Rogue (2012), who notes the irony of feminism defining women *by* their genitals

If [being a woman] is defined as being in possession of a womb, does that mean women who have had hysterectomies are somehow less of a woman? Reducing gender to biology relegates the definition of ‘woman’ to the role of child-bearer. That seems rather antithetical to feminism. (2012, p. 29)

This critique of sisterhood, defined by genitals, under patriarchy often plays out in animal liberation theories that are grounded in feminism. Not only does such a feminism exclude

transgender people, but it fails to again centre the nonhuman animal who refuses to cooperate with human gender binaries.

Consequentially, this collection seeks to promote a larger discussion of how to bring diverging fields of thought together, through what some theorists have labelled intersectionality. Yet, as we see in Lisa Kemmerer's piece in this issue, even this term "intersectionality" is not widely agreed upon within the movement once theorists take into account the layered history of how various forms of oppressions have stacked together in relation to ecological concerns. Kemmerer, through the work of Patricia Hill Collins (2002), advocates for the use of "linked oppressions" in light of her discussion of some of the problematic ways intersectionality has been used by some animal activists and scholars. She also discusses a variety of tactics that activists can use to discuss the exploitation of animals without further perpetuating other forms of oppression. Kemmerer's insights link together the many ways white, heterosexual animal activists could and should consider their privileges in light of various structures of human oppression. This article considers a broad scope of issues within this concept of "linked oppressions", whilst advocating for animal liberation.

In other words, the "intersections" the map tells us is there simply aren't real because the territory we're on has no intersections. We are existing on one massive field labeled sub-human where these systems are fused together and embedded within the soil of the terrain. ... "The territory is this massive domain of Others, whose scope can only be grasped when we dig deeper to go beyond the constraints of the specific -isms and see ourselves as-following Frantz Fanon's words- damned beings by virtue of lacking a full 'human' status." ... These "isms" are expressions of being labeled "less-than-human." Therefore, this isn't just a race-based or gender-based issue, it's simultaneously one of species as well. If we're not organizing around this human/animal divide, then we aren't properly getting to the root of our oppression. (Kho 2016)

Therefore, this issue is designed less to build of cohesive singular narrative for how to organize human activism and scholarship in relation to the environment and more to demonstrate how the interweaving of oppressive power dynamics enables hegemonic institutions to perpetuate a legacy of discrimination against subaltern populations—both human and non/human alike. We believe this approach helps to formulate a transdisciplinary study of ecology that can effectively queer ecofeminism and advance the field forward so that it helps to realize total liberation for all instead of the biopolitical managerialism of sub-human.

In turn, whilst there is no cohesive set "feminism" or "animal liberation" theories, there is a large body of feminist anti-speciesist literature (for example: Donovan & Adams 2007; Gaarder, 2011; Harper, 2010; Kemmerer, 2010, 2012; Socha, 2012), which indicates that there is at least a portion of ecofeminism that can be redeployed positively. And, while these theorists and activists are all diverse in their approaches, feminist anti-speciesism does share some similar tenets that are useful in providing a layered analysis of oppression. In particular, there is a shared acknowledgement of patriarchy's role in the exploitation of non/human animals, particularly in relation to how female animals are exploited. At the same time, how they present their analysis and the ways to change patriarchal society vary greatly. For instance, *The Feminist Care Tradition in Animal Ethics* (Donovan & Adams, 2007) offers insight about the role an ethic of care has in relation to animals

whilst assessing how this is a role often undertaken by women. A different approach is found in *Sistah Vegan* (Harper, 2010) that contends non/human exploitation is at times inherently linked with racism and misogyny. The book also explores how vegan spaces are often not safe for women of color due to the racism that is present at many vegan events and academic conferences. This special issue aims not to validate one approach to non/human liberation and environmental justice but rather to widen the scope of analysis adopted by conservationists, activists, and scholars alike. To do so we found it necessary to include articles that expand their scope of analysis beyond patriarchy to include a larger critique of the heteronormative structures that effectively challenges the interlocking systems of domination.

In this regards, one of the most important voices in feminist animal studies and ecofeminism is Carol J. Adams, who argued in her 1990 book *The Sexual Politics of Meat* that there was a link between non/human oppression and the oppression of women within patriarchal culture. Adams (1996) states, “My endeavour in this book is... [e]xplaining how our patriarchal culture authorizes the eating of animals and in this to identify the cross-mapping between feminism and vegetarianism” (p. 13). Adams achieved this through her analysis of the absent referent mentioned earlier in regards to how ecofeminists have criticized environmental activism. She claims “animals in name and body are made absent *as animals* for meat to exist” (1996, p. 40). She states this is the same for women as they are objectified in order to be consumed. Among other arguments, she locates the similarity between non/humans and women in the absent referent, which is the language of sexual violence and meat eating. Sadly, Adams (1996) does not extend her argument to theorizing how even the category of “women” can turn trans bodies into absent referents. As such, she fails to posit her analysis within a larger discursive universe of identity politics that could extend her concept to a critique of how cisprivilege operates for white heterosexual men who abide by heteronormativity.

Following the publication of the *Sexual Politics of Meat*, Adams has consistently published and presented on similar topics, including her book *The Pornography of Meat* (2003), where she equates sex workers with non/human oppression. This culminates in her theorization of “anthropornography” that “is the depiction of nonhuman animals as whores” (2003, p. 109). Clearly, the use of the word whore is problematic at best, and deserving of its own in-depth critique. However, beyond that, one concerning element of Adams’ argument is her complete lack of engagement with sex workers themselves when theorizing their oppression. This is even more alarming given their growing presence in both feminist and queer organizing, as well as academic inquiry. Adams’ rigid reading of sexuality from a heteronormative vantage point undermines much of her scholarship in regards to non/human liberation and fighting oppression, even if her analysis of how advertising hypersexualizes women and non/human animals is correct. This issue is taken up by Elena Cohen in this collection in order to push such normative theorizing into accepting transdisciplinary approaches in order to be liberatory for people who express their sexuality, sex, or gender identity differently. It is surprising that those working around ecofeminism have not undertaken the task of engaging with sex workers. Yet it is reassuring that Cohen’s piece begins to fill this void in order to make the argument that there is radical potential in protesting with one’s body, which may or may not feel sexualized as a consequence. She highlights the lack of engagement with those who do protests like PETA’s “I’d Rather Go Naked” campaign, which is something that sex workers have been pointing out about their position at the table when discussing laws and theories pertaining to them. This speaking for people who use their bodies is highly

problematic, and yet generally not considered. While there is a risk that women who are naked in the name of advancing liberation can be co-opted, Cohen explains how it is possible to avoid such co-optation. She outlines a framework that goes beyond feminism to incorporate queer theory and the realities of everyday organizing on the streets.

Another example of how ecofeminist approaches can reinscribe heteronormativity, is a recent edited collection *Ecofeminism: Feminist Interaction with Other Animals and the Earth* (Adams & Gruen 2014), which brings together various academics across the field of ecofeminism whilst synthesising a new approach to the field. The first chapter, by Carol J. Adams and Lori Gruen, is an historical analysis of the ecofeminist tradition whilst being somewhat of a justification of its discourses. It makes the important distinction regarding the misrepresentation of ecofeminism, and candidly discusses much of the infighting. However, it does not offer extensive transgender theory in its pages and mostly double downs on the outdated limitations of ecofeminism instead of branching outward. Whilst lamenting the divide between transgender scholarship and ecofeminism, the text would sever much of the divide if it included these voices instead of continuing to assume the ability to theorize for people whom they are not. They do not take a position and instead opt to appear unbiased through assuming a guise of objectivity, even though their writing makes it clear that it is coming from their subjective position. In fact, holding to older ecofeminist traditions while clinging to an air of unbiased scholarship only further serves to seat them more firmly against sex workers and trans people because they deploy the same tactic of evoking nature and the virtues of femininity. This not only demonizes everyone who are determined unnatural but also clearly shows how such ecofeminist scholars give nothing more than lip service since they fail to substantially engage in debates over queer studies.

O’Laughlin’s piece in this collection seeks to rectify some of this gap. O’Laughlin critique of endocrine disruptor panics can be understood as an analytic to help concerned activists to better understand the realities of pollution and ethically act for justice. Alongside critiquing endocrine disruptor panics within a queer/trans framework, O’Laughlin also questions intersectionality and offers “assemblages” in an effort to open possibilities of engaging across scholarly disciplines and activist movements. The possibility of this is an attendance to the way that environmental activists can form more ethical relations with the planet. O’Laughlin offers this through a reading of how race, sexuality, and gender are utilized in scientific discourse without real concern for those humans and non/human animals being exploited by environmental injustice.

Of course, whilst trying to open a space for discussion around sex work, the environment and queer theory, we also need to grapple with the complexities of all work under capitalism and how it may cause certain individuals to be more readily compelled into potentially dangerous professions such as slaughterhouses, warehouse, and factory farm labor. JL Schatz’s piece captures this tension through an analysis of the restaurant chain Hooters and its relation to heteronormativity, non/human oppression, and US imperial ambition. By exploring how women and non/humans are consumed under capitalism, the article shows how the structural oppression of both women and animals is interlinked whilst reinforcing that this situation is not unique to Hooters. One of the important points that Schatz makes is the link between masculinity and militarism, which is used to control and oppress. Schatz ties this back to the oppression of women and animals through the use of heteronormativity that is upheld by institutions like Hooters, which constructs the very idea of what a woman is in the first place.

Therefore, in this collection we tackle the issue of ecojustice from a particularly queer vantage point even though much of queer theory has been slow to take up any questions of non/human liberation. Put simply, we believe that queer and “trans studies ... has the potential to offer this kind of counterhegemonic collective space to ... affirm the sacredness of life ... to one another as humans as well as to more than humans (land, animals, and so on) ... and commit to politicizing the social, environmental, and economic injustices that leave the most disenfranchised to endure disproportionately” (Young, 2014, p. 429). This can happen by reorienting the power of ecocriticism away from making specific identitarian appeals based upon governmental intervention to discursive points of entry into the topic of environmentalism. As such, it becomes possible to protect the environment not because it is “natural like a woman” just like it is possible to care about non/human animals not because of parallels with other human oppressions. To do so, there is an imperative prerequisite to adopt social justice into any call for environmental preservation before rushing toward policy solutions. Until environmentalism takes subaltern populations as subjects onto themselves instead of as a (human) resource to be protected and saved (for labor) ecocriticism will lose its ability to build the coalitions necessary to actually achieve its goals. By advancing environmental claims through singular notions of nature justify protecting only that specific conceptualization of the environment. When this happens the environment is preserved only in that one instance for the one specific population, which has been deemed worthy of getting saved. This merely widens the circle of compassion and at best draws new lines of inclusion instead of riding the circle altogether. This can be seen in the Paris Agreement where the agreed reductions still left millions of people at risk while acting only to protect a certain percentage of coastal populations (Center for International Environmental Law, 2015). Generally, when it is not about an individual instance of intervention there are more avenues of attack that can better undermine the heteropatriarchal structures that enable the destruction of the environment in the first place.

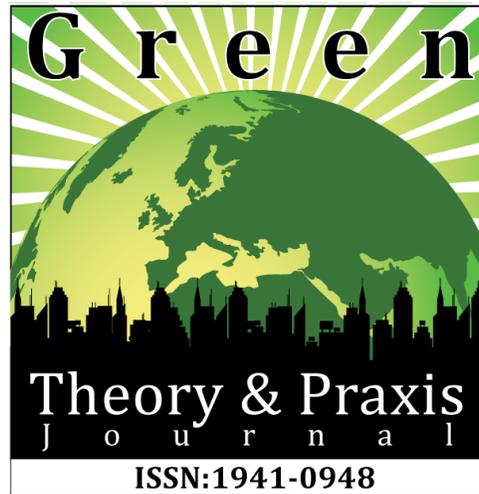
Ultimately, we believe that the papers brought together here offer provocations that have yet to be made across both queer theory, ecofeminism, and critical animal studies. These provocations offer a way to move forward in what could be more in depth discussions of interlinked oppressions that seek radical liberation without excluding those who do not fit the initial scope of activism and scholarship. Overall, we hope that this issue culminates in the future development of a truly transdisciplinary field that seeks not just non/human liberation, feminism, or queer liberation, but a truly radical form of total liberation by never putting up limits to academic inquiry. It is a hope that these can all be part of the same struggle. Until all are free, none are free. Environmental justice is a necessary component in assuring the total liberation necessary to transform our world and prevent otherwise looming ecological disasters such as climate change.

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I'd Rather Go Naked: Sexual Dissent and Queer Resistance in PETA Campaigns

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Abstract

Over the past forty years, the links between the oppression of women and of nonhuman animals have been eloquently and frequently elucidated, growing in scholarly perception to the point where the two systems of oppression now seem intuitively linked, as part of a field referred to as “eco-feminism”. Yet, tensions persist at the intersection of feminism and speciesism. One major site of debate amongst those advocating for nonhuman animals is the sexual tactics of the People for the Ethical Treatment of Animals (PETA). As is developed throughout this piece, there is a consensus among many feminists that PETA’s demonstrations and advertisements are sexist and not consistent with opposing patriarchy. Pushing back against this conclusion, which this article argues is a conflation of sexuality and sexism, this article articulates how expressions of sexuality can be valuable forms of political expression. Specifically, this article explores how sexual protest in public can be(come) a strategy of resistance and queer culture making, as well as a form of sexual

dissent. In short, this article argues that, instead of being denounced by feminists as sexist, PETA's sexual protests can be seen as making positive contributions to queer politics.

I'D RATHER GO NAKED: SEXUAL DISSENT AND QUEER RESISTANCE IN PETA CAMPAIGNS

Introduction

Over the past forty years, the links between the oppression of women and nonhuman animals have been eloquently and frequently elucidated, growing in scholarly perception to the point where the two concepts now seem intuitively linked, as part of a field referred to as “eco-feminism” (Adams & Gruen, 2014). Yet, tensions persist at the intersection of feminism and speciesism. This article will focus on one major site of debate amongst those advocating for nonhuman animals: the sexual tactics of the People for the Ethical Treatment of Animals (PETA). As will be developed throughout this piece, there is a consensus among many feminists that PETA's demonstrations and advertisements are sexist and not consistent with opposing patriarchy.

In one infamous example, PETA features Pamela Anderson in a bikini, marked like a nonhuman animal meant for human consumption, with the accompanying text that “All Animals Have the Same Parts.” This advertisement has been the subject of intense feminist critique, for example as objectifying women and perpetuating patriarchy (Norton, 2015; Klein, 2010; Perrot 2013). The advertisement was even banned in Montreal, as local officials deemed it “sexist,” stating, “It is not so much controversial, as it goes against all principles public organisations are fighting for in the everlasting battle of equality between men and women” (“Pamela Anderson's Nearly Naked Ad Banned in Canada,” 2010). Anderson herself commented, “How sad that a woman would be banned from using her own body in a political protest over the suffering of cows and chickens” (“Canada Smacks Down PETA and Pamela Anderson,” n.d.). One self-described feminist blog deemed this Anderson “running her mouth,” and that Anderson's actions “hurt other women” (“Canada Smacks Down PETA and Pamela Anderson,” n.d.). In response to the Canada ad controversy, a PETA vice president countered: “I think that city officials are confusing ‘sexy’ with ‘sexist’” (“Canada Smacks Down PETA and Pamela Anderson,” n.d.). There is a conflict here, reminiscent of the debate over censorship and pornography, which warrants further examination: a woman who says she has been prohibited by the government from using her own body for political ends, against a string of feminist commentators who agree with this prohibition.

This article delves deeper into whether “sexy” has been conflated with “sexist” when analyzing PETA's tactics. Further, it questions if these two concepts are disentangled what that does to the acceptance of PETA as sexist. To do so, this article will argue how expressions of sexuality can be a valuable form of political expression. A major part of this will be distinguishing “nudity” and “sexuality,” as the two concepts may overlap, but are different in ways significant to their uses as tools of activism. As will be explained further below, displays of “nudity” have been seen as legitimate means to express opposition, while displays of “sexuality,” such as Pamela Anderson's advertisement, have been seen as part of heteronormative patriarchal structures. For example, there has been a strikingly different response to a recent protest in advance of the U.S. 2016 Republican National Convention, in which 100 nude women were photographed together. This protest, as

opposed to Anderson's, has been applauded as bringing a "central message of feminism" (Romano, 2016). Indeed, an article in advance of the photo shoot began, "Calling all feminist activists" (Frank, 2016). This article argues that sexuality, like nudity, can have valuable political functions.

In so locating sexuality as a legitimate tool for activism, this article pushes back against the conflation of sexuality and sexism. This article explores how sexual protest in public can be (come) a strategy of resistance and queer culture making, as well as a form of sexual dissent. In short, this article argues that, instead of being denounced by feminists as sexist, PETA's sexual protests can be seen as making positive contributions to queer politics.

Sexuality and Sexism in Animal Activism?

Nude and sexual bodies as parts of protest have a long history, dating back at least to Ancient Greece and Lady Godiva (Lunceford, 2012). The first contemporary nude protest was the Aba Women's Riots of 1929, in which Nigerian women protested British colonialism by demonstrating with their breasts uncovered (Bianco, 2015; Ochelle, 2015). Recently, there has been a flurry of academic and popular attention to nude and sexual protest. In an age of FEMEN and Pussy Riot, at least two complete volumes and numerous articles have been published recently, exploring the role (in their words) of "nudity" and protest (e.g., Alaimo, 2010; Eileraas, 2014; Lunceford, 2012; Maier & Rudbeck, forthcoming; and Misri, 2011).

The forthcoming volume edited by Silvia Maier and Jens Rudbeck, titled *Women, Nudity and Social Protest*, includes chapters on women's use of "nudity" in peace protests in Africa; gender, the body (specifically bare breasts) and extractive development in Bontok and Kalinga, Cordillera, Philippines; sexuality, cyberspace, and transnational feminist body politics; nudity in contemporary Danish protests; SlutWalks and the privilege of nudity; nude women protesting in India; Pussy Riot and the branding/marketing of feminist movements; FEMEN and the "sextremism of Amazon warriors;" and a piece I authored on PETA's advertisements and demonstrations as forms of sex work. Additionally, FEMEN and Pussy Riot have published their own volumes detailing their use of "nudity" and/or "sexuality" in protest (FEMEN 2014; Pussy Riot 2012). These works show a tremendous variety of theoretical approaches and are nearly always global and/or transnational in their scope, although most focus exclusively on cis-women's bodies. They also show that the contemporary terrain of women's body activism in the forms of sexual and nude protest is a site of incredible variation, contestation, and an intimate part of the dialogue about neo-liberalism and globalization.

One major and continued site of contestation around sexual activism, debated a decade before the emergence of FEMEN or Pussy Riot is PETA and their live demonstrations and celebrity print advertisements. Along with non-sexual or nude print media and in-person demonstrations, PETA uses sexualized images of people, often celebrities, in print and video advertisements that appear in many countries. They also have semi-clothed volunteers participate in live demonstrations around the world. PETA is currently the largest nonhuman animal advocacy organization in the world and has major offices in the United States, United Kingdom, the Netherlands, France and India, as well as sister organizations of PETA Latino and PETA Asia-Pacific ("About PETA"). An overwhelming majority of both the members and leaders of PETA around the world are women, and PETA itself was co-founded by a woman, Ingrid Newkirk (2011, p. 67). Newkirk (2011)

explicitly identifies as a feminist, and has published on how she sees nonhuman animal oppressions as related to other forms of oppressions (p. 65-67). For example, Newkirk (2011) states that she personally hates being identified as a “woman,” and that she thinks “compartmentalization,” be it as a woman or man, human or animal, is “the root of all evil,” having “contributed enormously to discrimination” (p. 65). Newkirk (2011) finds issue with the term “woman” as it is tied by many exclusively to sex, and specifically reproductive organs, which has led to the subjugation of female human and nonhumans as “baby incubators, the carriers of men’s seed- not equals, but vessels, defined by our sexual organs” (p. 65). Newkirk (2011) points out that the vast majority of all factory farmed animals in the world are women, treated in the most horrifying ways because of their reproductive systems, and that therefore “almost everyone [she] works *for* is female” (p. 65). Therefore, Newkirk (2011) states that her central goal in her advocacy is that “we reject all classifications as much as we possibly can and demand to be part of something bigger, members of the community of all living beings” (p. 66). In sum, the co-founder and president of PETA, who is responsible in a direct and daily way for the tactics of the organization, expresses the same strategic and practical concerns of the interlocking oppressions of sexism and speciesism as other contemporary feminist animal activists (Kemmerer, 2011). Further, many of PETA’s campaigns, including the Pamela Anderson advertisement, specifically focus on the treatment of female animals in ways that draw attention to the similarities between discrimination against women and how female animals are mistreated in ways that relate to their gender. PETA has sent letters to those criticizing sexual ads, arguing that PETA believes their ads to be explicitly feminist:

As an organization staffed largely by feminist women, we would not do something that we felt contributed to the very serious problems that women face. Our demonstrations and models choose to participate in our actions because they want to do something to make people stop and pay attention. We believe that people should have the choice to use their own bodies to make social statements, and that there is nothing shameful or “wrong” about doing so. ... We feel that all people should be free to use their minds *and bodies* as political instruments to bring attention to animal suffering like this, and we appreciate any effort to help those who have no voice. (Perrot, 2013)

Yet, despite PETA’s insistence that it is a feminist organization working to help female animals, it has often been accused of being sexist due to its use of sexual advertisements and demonstrations in order to promote their animal liberation agenda. There are countless websites, articles, and book chapters devoted to PETA’s “sexism” (Craft, n.d.; Glasser, 2011; Lunceford, 2012). Any Internet search of “PETA and sexism” comes up with thousands of blogs and sites denouncing PETA as sexist. Indeed, a review of these academic and popular literatures indicates that PETA’s sexism is a given and objective fact with no room for debate. The person to whom the above-described statement was sent replied on their blog that

PETA clearly shows its colors in this text. They are for cheapening women and it is disguised as empowering them. That has nothing to do with being a feminist but everything to do with wanting to please the patriarchal and sexist dominant thinking. Women who “approve” of this do so within the context of a patriarchal thinking and they are as brainwashed as their male counterparts. (Perrot, 2013)

Similarly, Emily Gaarder's work, *Women and the Animal Rights Movement*, dedicates an entire chapter to "using sex(ism) to sell animal rights," in which she breaks down the opposition by her interviewees to PETA's sexualized tactics into five main categories, which are also representative of the more general feminist literature as regards to PETA (2011, p. 117-147). Specifically, she argues that PETA's tactics (1) are demeaning to women, (2) personally insulting to the women activists interviewed, (3) are not consistent with fighting objectification, (4) are not effective, and (5) damage the animal rights movement (Gaarder, 2011, p. 120). These interviewees felt that PETA was inconsistent, capitalizing on the oppression of women in a patriarchal society in order to stop the oppression of women (Gaarder, 2011, p. 121). Most assumed that people would just look at these women and not see any of the messages behind these images. For example, one interviewee remarked "do they really think they're going to get a bunch of jocks to go vegan just by showing a naked woman" (Gaarder, 2011, p. 122)? It is important to note here is that Gaarder does not interview anyone involved in sexual protest or PETA. Ultimately, Gaarder's work and others criticizing PETA for objectifying women do not consider the views of the sexily protesting women who are supposedly at the forefront of this "exploitation."

PETA's sexual tactics are not without their defenders. However, in the works of those complicating the feminist tirades against sexual protests, there is a lack of distinction between *nude* and *sexual* protests, which has repercussions for the arguments advanced. Stacey Alaimo, for example, forcefully argues that some naked protests by women "seek to contest 'the parameters of the political domain,' by exhibiting and thus seeking an ethical recognition of the vulnerable, interwoven, human and non-human flesh" (2010, p. 31). Thus, it is not solely an issue of nudity being an effective way to draw attention. Instead, Alaimo (2010) concludes that

the naked protests do something more. They embody an urgent sense of conviction, as well as an alternate ethos that acknowledges not only that discourse has material effects but that the material realm is always already imbricated with, and sometimes against, the discursive, however veiled corporeality may be. (p. 32)

Yet although Alaimo refers to these protests as "nude" and "naked," she analyzes several protests, including ones by PETA, that were not completely nude, and devotes an entire section to "performing pro-sex environmentalism," without discussing these bodies as sexual.

Similarly, in writing on the "Hooters for Neuters" campaign, in which servers for Hooters, a restaurant chain built on the double entendre of breasts and owls, advocated for neutering of cats and dogs, Julia Urbanik (2009) fails to distinguish the *sexuality* of this campaign from the *nudity* of other forms of women's "body activism" that she compares it to. In arguing for the transgressive possibilities of the Hooters campaign, Urbanik (2009) references several highly-controversial animal advocacy campaigns done by the "Vegan Vixens," the "Suicide Girls," and the "Barbi Twins," all of whom Urbanik (2009) sees as "choosing a self-defined empowered sexuality as an explicit part of their animal advocacy work" (p. 50-51). As Urbanik (2009) notes, these advocacy campaigns by groups and people who are known publicly as posing for Playboy, posting pornographic pictures of themselves on the Internet, or just working at Hooters, were sharply criticized. Indeed, the backlash to these sexual political campaigns reached the point where Los Angeles Animal Services was forced to publicly declare that they would not accept any funds raised for them through the Hooters for Neuters campaign (Urbanik, 2009, p. 46).

Yet Urbanik (2009), in trying to defend this *sexual* activism, references two groups that use *nudity* in their campaigns and that have been seen as legitimate in ways that Urbanik's sexual examples have not. For example, Urbanik (2009) discusses a California organization, "Breasts not Bombs," who are dedicated to empowering women to "speak out for a world that remembers what is sacred and honors the mothers," and who "bare their breasts in public," they argue, in order to "speak about the vulnerability of humanity and the earth," as well as "Unreasonable Women Baring Witness," which has "used nudity to protest the war in Iraq" (p. 51-52). In so doing, Urbanik (2010) joins Alaimo (2009) in attempting to counter critiques of sexual protests by referring to nude and non-sexual protests, which are seen as more legitimate and less troubling from a feminist perspective. Yet the move to garner legitimacy for sexual protests by analogizing them to nude ones is a poor fit: sexual protests do not show the same vulnerability and masked corporeality as nude protests. However, this does not mean that sexual protests are not politically valuable. Instead, the rest of this article aims to fill this lacuna by advancing a justification for *sexual* protest, which focuses on the sexual aspects, and does not try to legitimize sexiness through a conflation with nudity. A focus on the sexual aspects of sexual protests shows that this form of activism may be able to contribute to queer theory, and in particular theorizations of resistance.

Queer Culture Making, Resistance, and Sexual Dissent

Looking to insights from queer theorizations provides many avenues for analyzing sexual protests. One avenue through which sexuality as a form of protest might be understood is queer theory. Queer theory has been particularly attuned to conceptions of space, and the ways in which "public" spaces can be sites of conflict, contradiction and resistance. Particularly influential on queer conceptualizations of space is Lauren Berlant and Michael Warner's work on "Sex in Public" (1998). Writing within a larger project of "queer culture building," or the "the changed possibilities of identity, intelligibility, publics, culture and sex that appear when the heterosexual couple is no longer the referent or the privileged example of sexual culture," Berlant and Warner discuss how public spaces can fit into this project (1998, p. 548). Through displays of sex in public, social meanings can be transformed such that sex is de-coupled of both the heteronormative conventions of (male-female) intimacy and of that of monetary exchanges, such as pornography (p. 565-66).

PETA's advertisements and live demonstrations do this work of disassociating sex in public from intimacy or money. Pamela Anderson and the activists standing nude or in sexy costumes in the street for PETA enact different things from heterosexual couples and sexiness-for-money, such as exotic dancing or other forms of sex work. Instead, these activists are being sexual in public for politics. Hence, through these ads and demonstrations, politics (and specifically the political concern for the oppression of nonhuman animals) replaces heteronormative intimacy and monetary exchanges as a referent for sexual culture. In this way, PETA's campaigns can be seen as providing new referents of sexual culture and thus tools of resistance, de-coupled from couples and re-associated with politics and activism for social change.

This is not to imply that other forms of sex work are without political value. Indeed, PETA's ads have been linked to sex work in ways that are dismissive of both. For example, one interviewee in Gaarder's (2011) work states that, in regards to PETA's sexualized tactics, "when it comes to things like stripping or prostitution, you're looking at a lot of the issues of class and economics

and what women are forced to do in order to make a livable wage” (p. 123). Gaarder (2011) interprets this as meaning that “[w]hile women may ‘choose’ to display or sell their bodies (whether for economic survival or a political cause), the movement lacked a more complex understanding of women’s sexual agency and empowerment in a patriarchal society” (p. 123). Gaarder’s (2011) interpretation here is similar to the arguments of those opposed to sex work, for example Christine Overall’s (1992) assertion that prostitution is wrong because “it is women’s servicing of men’s sexual needs under capitalist and patriarchal conditions” (p. 724). It is striking that there are so many similarities between anti-sex work sentiments and the critiques of PETA because the men and women in these advertisements and demonstrations are unpaid volunteers who are using their bodies sexually for explicitly political reasons. These are crucial factors that one would think would disassociate PETA from (other) sex work. Therefore, while not seeking to disparage more conventional forms of sex work, the political aspects of PETA’s sexual activism provide additional tools that include a different, possibly queer, way of being sexual in public.

PETA’s sexual activism can also be understood as a form of sexual dissent. Central to the analysis in Lisa Duggan and Nan Hunter’s *Sex Wars* (2006) anthology is the concept of “sexual dissent,” which for them “invokes a unity of speech, politics and practices, and forges a connection among sexual expressions, oppositional politics, and claims to public space” (p. 5). For Duggan (2006), sexual representations do not merely reflect pre-existing identities, but can themselves construct identities. In this way, public expression of sexuality is a political act, and regulating/restricting these expressions are forms of *political* repression (p. 5). Therefore, their strategy becomes one of advocating for expanding the right to sexual dissent, as opposed to appeals for protecting privacy or ending discrimination. Through this framework, Duggan (2006) sees the work of anti-pornography feminists, and their alliances with conservative groups, as “political repression masquerading as a safety patrol” (p. 10). Similarly, Hunter (1993) argues elsewhere that we should move away from invoking concepts of identity, privacy, speech, and equality, and instead focus on defending the right to public political sexual expression.

PETA’s advertisements and demonstrations invoke this unity of speech, politics and practices central to sexual dissent. The ads and demos are simultaneously sexual expressions, oppositional politics, and claims to public space. That PETA’s tactics are sexual has been developed above. The politics are oppositional, in that they advocate concern, rights and liberation for nonhuman animals, a position that contests the social, ethical and political acceptability of killing and exploiting animals in nearly every contemporary society. These advertisements and demonstrations claim public space: literally on the streets, on large billboards, in glossy magazines otherwise unconcerned with animal rights (or often politics at all). As such, under the concept of sexual dissent, participating in a sexy ad or demonstration for PETA is a political act. Furthermore, efforts to ban these ads are a form of political repression. Prohibiting these ads and demos because they “discriminate” against women is an example of political repression masquerading as safety patrol. Instead, as PETA’s ads and demos do this work of sexual dissent, we should focus on defending this public political sexual expression.

In sum, queer discussions of PETA’s ads should recognize the ways in which they de-associate sex in public from intimacy and money, and relate it to politics as a form of sexual dissent. PETA’s campaigns and advertisements may be egregious to non-oppressive queer theorizing in many ways. However, PETA’s potential contributions to a queer political future should be recognized.

Understanding PETA's sexual protest as legitimate and radical demonstrates how other sexual protests can also be valued for (instead of in spite of) their sexuality.

Experiences of Sexual Protesters

As noted throughout this article, the experiences of those participating in PETA's sexual ads and demonstrations have not been solicited and when offered have been silenced and called hurtful to women, as in the case of Pamela Anderson. I have participated in protests with PETA as a volunteer since October of 2010. To date, I have participated in approximately thirteen demonstrations with PETA, nine of which I consider sexual. When volunteering in this way with PETA there are many opportunities for sustained interactions between other protesters, organizers for PETA, local activists, members of the press, and the local public. As I participated in these demonstrations, I took note of how I felt, how those protesting with me discussed how they felt, general conversations before, during, and after the protests, any major occurrences during the demonstrations, reactions by people at the demonstrations, and media coverage after the demonstrations. In analyzing feelings and protest through my own experiences, I follow the methodologies of scholars such as Mel Chen (2012), who incorporate auto-ethnographic approaches to theorizing affect and emotion.

Nearly every experience reported to me has been positive from people protesting sexually, which affirms the argument that PETA's public protests can amount to a queer form of resistance. One protester, who I had known to be a dominatrix and I assumed was very comfortable with her sexuality, noted that she used to be very body conscious and doing naked demonstrations really helped her confidence. This person, who has participated in approximately 50 sexual protests, stated that being naked in public helped her accept her body despite occasional negative comments from people passing by or the media. Once she was naked in public and saw that nothing bad happened, she became a lot more comfortable and felt, in her words, empowered. She stopped wearing t-shirts to the beach. Although she still has insecurities, they do not bother her as much. Without doing sexual protests for PETA, she does not think she would have ever had the confidence to be comfortable enough with her sexuality to be a sex worker.

Another relevant experience is that of a woman I was in a sexual protest with, in which we were painted like tigers and otherwise wore only underwear, pasties, and high heels. A vegan woman of color, this protester had recently given birth to a child, and needed to have the body paint applied to her breasts last, so that she could pump breast milk for child. She had never participated in a sexual protest before. Unsolicited by me, she talked about how she had not felt comfortable in her own body for the past year, and saw this opportunity to be sexual in public for a political cause she was dedicated to, which could give back to her the confidence she had before pregnancy. She was so excited to be both a new mother and a sexy activist.

A third encounter is a protest I participated in with a woman who had done sexual protests with PETA many times in her early 20's, but had not participated in one since the birth of her son seven years before. She agreed to participate because another volunteer in the area had to cancel the night before, and PETA was desperate for a local volunteer for the next day's action. This protest involved being painted like the earth, and wearing only heels and underwear. Initially, this person was uncomfortable being naked, and asked that the body painter pay special attention to covering

her stretch marks from her pregnancy. She was also concerned that the sign she was holding would be able to cover her stomach area. By the time of the demonstration, on a very busy corner in downtown Philadelphia, this person described feeling relaxed and confident. Afterwards, she shared many photographs of herself from the demonstration on her social media, including ones with her sign to the side and her stomach uncovered, and has since participated in additional sexual demonstrations with PETA.

While participating in sexy demos with PETA, I have felt that I was performing an act of political resistance. I remember vividly how I felt my first protest with PETA, walking up to Lincoln Square, outside of the same hall where I had graduated law school the previous year, with just a robe on and underneath body paint, pasties, panties, and heels higher than I would usually wear. The moment I took my robe off and the protest began, I was nervous and excited. It felt like I was doing something *wrong*. Over the course of the hour-long demonstration, I became increasingly more comfortable. With every protest I participate in, being sexual in public feels like less and less of an event to me. I stand, march, and even ice skate in skimpy undergarments while members of the public pass me. I sometimes feel sexy, and other times I feel cold or hot or silly. Always, though, I feel like I am providing a new referent for what being sexual in public means.

These few accounts only begin to explore the possibilities of culture re-definition and resistance made possible through sexual demonstrations organized by PETA. From my years of being in sexual protests, I have had many more relevant conversations and experiences: the woman whose boyfriend said he would break up with her if she was in a sexual demonstration (and who did the demonstration anyway); how the same protest in different public locations has such different reactions and feelings associated with it; how sexual protests with men feel; and so on. These experiences deserve a longer treatment elsewhere.

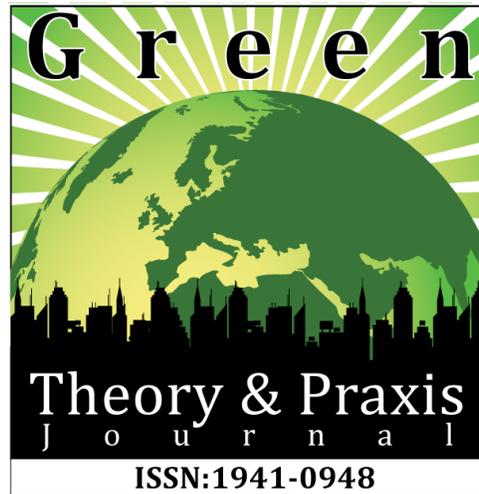
It should be noted that I am not omitting negative stories, of the people who hated being sexual in public. Although I am certain that some PETA volunteers have felt harmed by sexual protests (or that they cause harm), my own personal experiences, and those experiences related to me, have all ranged from neutral to very positive. The people I have protested with consistently speak of feeling like they are engaged in a valuable form of activism when being sexual for PETA. As argued above, I believe part of this feeling comes from our collective work queering what being sexual in public means. For us, in those moments, sex in public meant being against the oppression of nonhuman animals. Experiences of those protesting confirm that sexual activism can be a tool of resistance, and that the value in these types of protests should be recognized.

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Interrogating Ecofeminisms: Reading Endocrine Disruptor Panics as Assemblages

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Abstract

This article intervenes in the fields of queer ecologies and feminist environmentalisms as to deconstruct normativity in endocrine disruptor panics. It asserts that concerns about the increasing discovery of endocrine disruptors in U.S. waterways are a touchstone for human anxieties about sex, gender, and sexuality norms and a site of conflation of the three. It contributes to environmental feminist scholarship by arguing that assemblages are a useful supplement to intersectionality in the face of these panics, allowing for rich analysis of scientific literature and popular media engaged in these discourses. Assemblages, more explicitly than intersectionality, recognize that categories such as sex, sexuality, and gender are nuanced and dynamic, they facilitate a broadening of scope to recognize the interconnectedness of systems of oppression that might not be readily apparent, and they centralize intimacy as a starting point for change. Assemblages assert that it is crucial to attend to the lived experiences to understand the nuances of subjectivity and experience while also remaining critical of identity politics. Attending to the lived

experiences of intersex people, for instance, may mean recognizing that preoccupation with intersex traits might not be the most significant trait to focus on if activists are concerned about the wellbeing of both humans and nonhumans alike. At the same time, assemblages recognize that these subjectivities are slippery and fluid. Assemblages are important in that they encourage a broadening the scope of endocrine disruptor panics to examine other systems of oppression that exist in tandem, for instance the commodification of nonhuman animals and the role of animal agriculture. Lastly, assemblages are useful because they encourage recognizing embodied vulnerability and fostering intimacy among environmental activists and their nonhuman companions.

INTERROGATING ECOFEMINISMS: READING ENDOCRINE DISRUPTOR PANICS AS ASSEMBLAGES

Introduction

In his 2010 TED Talk, researcher Tyrone Hayes reported his startling findings to hundreds of spectators: “We were surprised that when we exposed frogs to low levels of [the common pesticide] atrazine, 0.1 parts per billion, that it produced animals that look like this,” he said, pointing to an image of a frog with multiple sets of testes and ovaries. “This is just NOT NORMAL” he said, “even for amphibians!” He laughed heartily and the audience laughed, too. With this gimmicky slide, Hayes is doing more than just making his research interesting for the lay public. He is fanning the flames of society’s anxieties about intersex conditions.

Scientific and popular culture discourses alike have pathologized animals who have genitals, gonads, and/or chromosomes that are not distinctly male or female (a condition known as “intersex”), particularly when they have been exposed to chemicals and toxins known to disrupt hormonal and reproductive systems in the body. These animals have been discussed as “freaky” frogs, “mutant” fish, and alligators with “teeny-weenies” (Environmental Working Group, 2009; Schweber, 2014; Dunn, 1998). Scientists have grown preoccupied with the presumed negative sexual effects of endocrine disruptors: decreasing sperm count of males globally and decreasing male to female sex ratios (Dunn, 1998; Environmental Working Group, 2009; Schweber, 2014). As queer ecologists assert, the disproportionate attention to sex and reproduction effects of endocrine disruptors demonstrates a fixation with maintaining norms of sex, gender, sexuality, and ability (di Chiro, 2010; Kier, 2010).

This paper takes recent queer ecology and feminist environmentalist work as a starting point to deconstruct normativity in endocrine disruptor panics. It responds directly to intersectionality as a hallmark ecofeminist methodology by helping its participants to recognize the co-constitution of women’s oppression and environmental degradation (Twine, 2010; di Chiro, 2010; Adams and Gruen, 2014). First formally articulated by legal scholar Kimberlé Crenshaw in her 1989 article “Mapping the Margins: Intersectionality, Identity Politics, and Violence Against Women of Color,” intersectionality asserts that systems of oppression and discrimination are overlapping based on sociocultural categories of race, gender, and class, among others. Ecofeminist organizing has long taken intersectionality as its starting point, pushing masculinist environmentalist projects to think not just about questions of anthropocentrism but also androcentrism, how environmental degradation is wrapped up in systems of domination of women (Lee-Lampshire, 1996).

Intersectionality has also served to benefit the framework of queer ecologies to attend to the intersections of gender, sexuality, and species; as well as in the organizing of environmental justice activists who refuse to prioritize gender or sexuality over questions of race and class (Gaard, 1997; Mortimer-Sandilands and Erickson, 2010; Taylor, 2014).

Despite the ongoing usefulness of intersectionality, however, there is room to improve the framework. Unlike intersectionality, which relies on a static conception of identity, I propose the framework of assemblages, a framework that can work in conjunction with intersectionality to attend to the different elements that create social phenomena and recognize that these are moving and changing over time. This framework, first posited by Gilles Deleuze, Felix Guattari, Michael de Landa and, ultimately, Jasbir Puar, is a multifaceted reading practice that pays attention to the way parts interact to create something new that is irreducible and, I argue, helps broaden one's scope to recognize the way that multiple systems of oppression collude and collide (Deleuze and Guattari, 1987; Puar, 2007; De Landa, 2011).

Moreover, assemblages are useful to think about intimacy across species in environmentalist discourses because they recognize the agency emerging from nonhuman entities. On this, Puar writes that assemblages

de-privilege the human body as a discrete organic thing [emphasis added]. As Haraway notes, the body does not end at the skin. We leave traces of our DNA everywhere we go, we live with other bodies within us, microbes and bacteria, we are enmeshed in forces, affects, energies, we are composites of information[.] ... Assemblages do not privilege bodies as human, nor as residing within a human/animal binary. Along with a de-exceptionalizing of human bodies, multiple forms of matter can be bodies (Puar, 2011, p. 57).

Following Puar, then, I focus on the assemblages of endocrine disruption across species. I assert that nonhuman animals enact resistance in the face of toxicity, sometimes in subtle ways and recognize these agencies can help to foster transspecies intimacies.

In short, I argue that assemblages are useful for three primary reasons: (1) they recognize that categories such as sex, sexuality, and gender are nuanced and dynamic, (2) they facilitate a broadening of perspective to recognize the interconnectedness of systems of oppression, and (3) they centralize intimacy as a starting point for change. In this paper, I critique endocrine disruptor panics and argue that using assemblages as an analytic can help concerned activists to better understand the realities of industrial pollution and more ethically act for justice.

Background

First, it is important to provide some context on these endocrine disruptor panics. Due to limited scope in this paper, I will focus on the specific effects of endocrine disruption discourses in the United States. In the early 2000's, wildlife scientists across the US dissected fish and frogs and noticed an increasing frequency of males that had eggs in their testes. Scientific and news articles pathologized these animals and speculated that this might be due to increased levels of endocrine disruptors in the water. Endocrine disruptors, which can be either natural or human-made, are known to interfere with the body's endocrine system and can have adverse effects on the

developmental, reproductive, neurological, and immune system in both humans and nonhuman animals (National Institution of Environmental Health Sciences, 2015). Synthetic endocrine disruptors produced by humans include Bisphenol A (BPA), phthalates in plastic wrap made from PVC, food containers and children's toys, and estrogen supplements for Hormone Replacement Therapy, or those used in birth control pills (Environmental Working Group, 2009). Although the effects of endocrine disruptors are varied, US public discourse has disproportionately focused on the development of intersex traits in fish, frogs, and alligators as a means to speculate that humans, too, might be affected by endocrine disruptors.

Critiquing Static Norms of Sex, Gender, & Sexuality

I turn now to critique the discourses' articulation of sex, gender, and sexuality in endocrine disruptor panics order to argue that an assemblage framework can help us to think more ethically about environmental toxins. Though sex and gender are often used interchangeably in popular culture, the two are distinct. Sex refers to the biological makeup of a being (falling loosely into the category of "male," "female," or "intersex") whereas gender is signified by a person's identity with masculinity and/or femininity. Because both sex and gender are seen as binary, contemporary Western societies presume that "normal" beings are born either male or female, and that male-bodied people will identify as men. Both male- and female-bodied beings are presumed to be heterosexual, both human and nonhumans, unless it is an irregularity. However, human and nonhuman animals exist in a diversity of sexualities and genders, as queer ecologists have noted (Mortimer-Sandilands and Erickson, 2010).

Unfortunately, the scientific and popular discourses around endocrine disruptors do not provide this kind of nuance. Endocrine disruptor panics have become a touchstone for human anxieties about non-normativity of sex and sexuality. This is evident in the anxiety-laden language that blogs and news articles have used to report it. For instance, frogs with eggs in their testes have been described as "freaky" frogs or "Mr. Moms," as homosexual, or even as incestuous if intersex males from the same birth group engage in sexual relations with one another (Sutton, 2009; Raloff, 2010; Hayes, 2010). Journalists have responded to this data by asking worriedly if humans, too, will become intersex as a result of exposure to atrazine.

As one of the foremost researchers on frogs and endocrine disruption, Tyrone Hayes has headed research on the detrimental effects of the common pesticide atrazine. After joining the consulting firm EcoRisk in 1997, Hayes notified the producer "Syngenta" (then "Novartis") that atrazine was having significant effects on frogs. However, Hayes received resistance from the company and was asked not to publish his findings (Slater, 2012). Starting in 2002, Hayes nonetheless began publishing his findings that atrazine demasculinised frogs exposed to low doses of the pesticide at any life stage. He gave a public lecture in 2007 entitled "From Silent Spring to Silent Nights" and co-presented a TED Talk in 2010, entitled "The Toxic Baby," with consumer advocate and filmmaker Penelope Jagessar Chaffer. As of mid-2016, "The Toxic Baby" had received over 398,000 views on the TED Talk website. Hayes' work has continually been taken up in environmental protection efforts, specifically in blogs and news media that address the negative effects of pesticides. It has been given new attention due to the continuing backlash from Syngenta for his publication of the research (DemocracyNow!, 2014). His work has recently been used by the Save the Frogs Campaign, which seeks to extend rights to amphibians via conservation legislation and the creation of frog ponds (2013).

In presenting his work to the public, Hayes describes how he observed frogs developing intersex characteristics after exposure to low levels of atrazine. However, Hayes does not communicate the fact that certain frogs are more susceptible to endocrine disruption and that not all frogs will respond to endocrine disruptors by developing intersex traits. Hayes also neglects to clarify that frogs must generally be exposed to pesticides during a *specific* window of time during development in order to develop intersex traits and that, for instance, frogs migrating through a pesticide-heavy area may not be reproductively affected (Bahamonde et al., 2013). In other words, not all frogs may develop intersex characteristics from endocrine disruptors, even if exposed to high levels. Hayes' framing of endocrine disruptors as freaky and scary, however, obscures this reality.

One of the more concerning oversights in Hayes research and public lectures is the lack of discussion of context on what constitutes common versus atypical intersex traits. This troubles other researchers, such as Storrs-Méndez and Semlitsch, who argue that developing eggs in one's testes is a normal part of gonad development in frogs (Du Preez, 2005; Storrs-Méndez and Semlitsch, 2010). The specific time that the testicular oocytes are present depends on the rate of maturation of each species, with *b. americanus* toads showing low testicular oocytes in juveniles (at 166 days) and higher rates of testicular oocytes in gray treefrogs (*h. versicolor*) at the same juvenile stage of 124 days (Storrs-Méndez and Semlitsch, 2010, p. 64). Failing to recognize that oocytes are common in male testes signifies a continued propensity to think through sex as a rigid male/female binary, constructing anything else as abject. Perhaps in their anxiety about the prospect of increasing rates of intersexuality, news sources and researchers have fallen into the trap of overgeneralizing, presuming that intersex traits develop the same way across species. For instance, Hayes' work has been lumped together with Lou Guillette's work on alligators, David Skelly's work on frogs, and Vicki Blazer's work on fish (Zimmer, 2011). Though it can be useful to think across species, these journalists and researchers neglect to communicate that findings of intersex animals are only relevant in gonochoristic species, species who are traditionally born as either male or female. In his TED Talk, for instance, Hayes fails to point out that many species—most of which are fish—live exclusively as intersexed, and that fixating on the intersex traits of a single species as a pathology should not and cannot be generalized to all species (Roughgarden, 2004).

Looking at the sexes of vertebrates as an assemblage, instead, recognizes that sex is species-specific. Assemblages help us to think more dynamically about categories we have perceived as stable. Assemblages encourage us to see sex as existing on a spectrum, as scholars such as Roughgarden and the Intersex Society of North America (ISNA) have advocated (Roughgarden, 2004; ISNA, 2008a; ISNA 2008b). Through assemblages, we see that sex is not only species-specific but also temporally specific, developing differently based on the time during which a being has been exposed to chemicals. Storrs-Méndez and Semlitsch (2010) encourage a dynamic reading of endocrine disruptors when they argue that “[o]ur data illustrate the importance of understanding gonad development over time, as opposed to a snapshot in time, when investigating the effects of contaminants” (p. 64). Seeing a species' sex as static and “normally” binary would not be able to assess the ways that frogs' sexes change over time. As these researchers make apparent, it is only by assessing the effects of endocrine disruptors over the course of a frog's life cycle that we can accurately assess their effects. Moreover, there are many intersex frogs that exist in areas low in

levels of endocrine disruptors. Similarly, Storrs-Méndez and Semlitsch (2010) argue that “abnormal gonads” are also present in control groups of the toads and tree frogs in their endocrine disruptor experiments, indicating that endocrine disruption is not the only cause of intersexuality.

The arguments that we make as environmental advocates should be more accurate lest we obscure the reality that many animals, human and nonhuman, are intersexed. In order to act ethically, it is crucial to attend to the lived experiences of animals exposed to endocrine disruptors to gain a more accurate understanding of the phenomenon. Because this is much easier to do in humans, it is worthwhile to begin there.

Many intersex people resist pathologization of their bodies and radically embrace the perceived abjectness of the term “hermaphrodite.” For instance, the Intersex Society of North America newsletter from 1994 to 2003 entitled “Hermaphrodites with Attitude” signifies a reclamation of the stigmatized term, not only a disidentification with the term *hermaphrodite* but a simultaneous refusal of the norms through the use of the word “attitude” (ISNA, 2008). In response to the new categorization of intersex as a “disorder of sex development,” members of the Organization Intersex International protested with posters that contested the DSD nomenclature, declaring “Sorry, We’re Not Disordered,” while another sign contained a “Warning” sign and skull and crossbones placed next to text that read: “DSD: Death to Sex Differences. DSD = Eugenics, DSD = Heterosexism, DSD = Transphobia, DSD = Homophobia” (Rubin, 2012, 902). Though not all intersex people understand their bodies as antinormative, antinormativity marks many intersex people’s lived experiences.

Attending to the lived experiences of intersex humans also means recognizing that preoccupation with intersex traits might not actually be the most significant point to focus on if activists are concerned about the wellbeing of both humans and nonhumans alike. For instance, Giovanna di Chiro (2012) argues that

the media fixation on gonadal deformities and sexual/gender abnormalities as the most treacherous concern ends up perilously de-emphasizing and, in fact, naturalizing and normalizing the many other serious health problems associated with POPs [endocrine disruptors], which are on the rise: breast, ovarian, prostate, and testicular cancers, neurological and neurobehavioral problems, immune system breakdown, heart disease, diabetes, and obesity. (p. 202)

Several of the frogs that Hayes studied who had oocytes in their testes were still capable of reproduction. This is significant because human fears of intersexuality are often grounded in the fear of losing the capability to reproduce because many people with intersex traits are infertile. Attending to the other effects of endocrine disruptors, such as the decreased immune systems that some fish have experienced, will more ethically attend to the health priorities of humans and nonhumans in the face of pollution (Schweber, 2014).

Assemblages: Power as Polyvalent, Institutions of Violence as Interconnected

Reading phenomena as assemblages not only allows activists to trouble static and normative assumptions circulating in endocrine disruptor panics. Assemblages also encourage zooming out to recognize that other elements affect endocrine disruptor panics. In this section, I seek to broaden

the scope to examine how the commodification of other nonhuman animals affects frogs' exposure to endocrine disruptors. Broadening this scope also helps move the conversation to recognize the systemic environmental racism at hand in the US, where humans are currently negatively impacted by endocrine disruptors rather than just hypothetically in the future.

In focusing on pesticides as threats to the wellbeing of fish and frogs, environmental activists and researchers fixate on only certain kinds of endocrine disruptors, losing sight of other natural sources of endocrine disruption. For instance, since 1996, the Environmental Protection Agency's (EPA) Endocrine Disruptor Screening Program worked in conjunction with the Safe Water Drinking Act and the Food Quality Protection Program to ensure that the endocrine disrupting chemicals are regulated. However, while the program tracks synthetic chemicals known to be endocrine disruptors, it does not trace naturally occurring estrogen and testosterone, such as the large quantities of hormones in agricultural runoff (Blazer, 2014). In theory, this waste is monitored under the Clean Water Act, but large agricultural organizations often obtain exemptions (EPA, 2015). As filmmakers Kip Andersen and Keegan Kuhn demonstrated in their recent documentary *Cowspiracy* (2014), the environmental effects of livestock agriculture are rarely discussed in environmental advocacy work by mainstream organizations. Failing to account for the significant role that animal agriculture plays in global warming is a significant oversight.

As Andersen and Kuhn note, Concentrated Animal Feeding Operations (CAFOs) used for meat production produce 1.4 billion tons of waste annually, with 7 million pounds of excrement being produced every minute. Many CAFOs store this waste in holding wells that, if not properly lined, can seep into groundwater. The Food and Agriculture Organization notes that water contamination can be direct, through seepage from failed storage facilities or through depositing fecal waste in freshwater (FAO, p. 136). It can also occur indirectly through surface runoff and overland flow (FAO, p. 136). Waste from animal operations includes naturally occurring hormones, synthetic steroid hormones, and antibiotics, all of which can have endocrine disrupting properties (EPA, 2012).

This is significant when CAFOs, such as those in North Carolina, use hog waste as fertilizer and spray it on large plots of grass on their property. These operations have been known to cause its to enter the water supply and have detrimental health effects on the nearby residents, who are primarily low-income people of color (Keller, 2014). In 2014, Earthjustice, the North Carolina Environmental Justice Network, Rural Empowerment Association for Community Help, and Waterkeeper Alliance filed a civil rights complaint with the EPA, arguing that the hog waste in North Carolina was egregiously harming people of color to the point that it infringed upon their civil rights (Wotus, 2015). Although the EPA sought to settle the claim, the organization also proceeded to allow representatives from the North Carolina Pork Council and the National Pork Council to be a part of the settlement conversation, intimidating and shutting down those residents and activists who had initially filed the complaint (Waterkeeper Alliance, 2016). Despite intimidation, North Carolinians have continued to seek legal reparations from hog farms, as evidenced by the two dozen lawsuits launched against hog farms in the state in 2015 (Henderson, 2015). In short, despite the pronounced effects of agricultural waste on people of color, most environmental protection efforts on the issue of endocrine disruption have ignored the role of animal agriculture and focused on synthetic chemical producers.

Why hasn't animal agriculture been addressed in most conversations about endocrine disruption? Perhaps this has to do with the fact that livestock, to many people, are an invisible product to be consumed rather than agential beings capable of resistance. An assemblage reading of the situation, however, might lead us to consider nonhuman agency: What if instead of reading livestock as product to be prepared into food, we read their estrogen-filled fecal runoff as a means to undermine concentrated animal feeding operations? This is in line with Jane Bennett, who argues that assemblages have the power to "undo the conceit that humanity is the sole or ultimate wellspring of agency" (2010, p. 30). Assemblages help environmental activists recognize that humans are not agentially supreme and that other nonhuman animals are worthy of attention.

However, attending to the worthiness of nonhuman animals, assemblages encourage thinking beyond overly simple strategy efforts, such as single-issue legislation. For instance, although the Save the Frogs Campaign has recognized the importance of animals affected by estrogenic compounds, there are limitations with their legislation orientation. Researcher Tyrone Hayes has become a spokesperson for this organization, emphasizing the importance of lobbying for legislation to "protect amphibian populations and to promote a society that respects and appreciates nature and wildlife" (Save the Frogs, 2013). Though the organization is involved in a variety of other tactics in order to advocate amphibian protection, legislation appears to be one of the major foci of the organization. In this project, we see that rights-based frameworks address subjects that are ultimately disconnected from others. In other words, a single legislation to grant amphibians legal protection as endangered subjects does not address the fish that inhabit the same pesticide-filled waters or address the livestock in large agricultural operations whose fecal waste contains high levels of naturally occurring estrogen in the first place. As Save the Frogs and environmental reform efforts demonstrate, legislation is only able to address a small fraction of the problem and, in so doing, maintains that we should see the world in terms of discrete and disconnected subjects.

Just as environmental activists focus only on certain industrial productions of toxicity, many whitewash the environmental destruction that endocrine disruptors enact and ignore the environmental racism of pesticide production and usage. For instance, Ah-King and Hayward (2013) note that toxicity is disproportionately concentrated in developing countries where chemicals such as DDT are not yet banned. Similarly, Vanessa Agard-Jones (2014) notes that the pesticide *kepone* continues to be used in Martinique on banana plantations to prevent banana borer weevils, even though crop dusting is illegal in the European Union. Further, despite the fact that *kepone* is internationally recognized as a carcinogen and has been linked to prostate cancer and male infertility, banana producers in Martinique have been able to apply for exemptions as part of the island's status as an "overseas department" and increased pressure to produce bananas due to the region's tropical climate (Agard-Jones as cited in Goetz, 2014). Fear of harmful chemicals in the Global North, such as countries like the US, is marked by significant privilege, as many of them, such as DDT, have been banned while continuing to be used in other less wealthy countries. Legal efforts to ban pesticides in certain countries may actually have negative repercussions on countries in the Global South who often bear the burden of producing crops with these pesticides after they have been banned in the Global North. Ultimately, thinking through assemblages means attending to the fact that endocrine disruption is a marker of current systemic inequality that cuts across different systems of power. They help activists and researchers to recognize that endocrine disruption is marked by hierarchies of power in a global economy which affect not only sex and gender norms but also species and racial formations.

Fostering Queer Intimacies

Assemblages also attend to the way that we, as environmental activists, can form more ethical relations with one another and our nonhuman companions on the planet. Hayes gives us a kernel of potential as to how we might foster intimacy across species.

Hayes refers to the frogs he studies as “*my frogs*,” as if he is the caretaker and guardian of these frogs. In his TED Talk, he projects the image of a frog with two testes full of eggs and says: “My wife tells me there is nothing more painful than childbirth, but I would guess that a dozen chicken eggs in my testicle would probably be somewhere... in the top five” (Hayes and Chaffer, 2010). Hayes makes an absurd comparison, exaggerating the frog’s potential discomfort by comparing frog oocytes in frog testes to the much larger *chicken* eggs in human testes. Making the parallel comparison that “it might be uncomfortable to have human eggs in my testes” would not have the same effect since human eggs are quite small in proportion to human testes. Though problematic in its pathologization of intersexuality, this exaggeration shows Hayes’ active imagination of what intersex parts might feel like for a frog and the discomfort that results on his part. In his effort to prevent the demise of frogs, though, Hayes routinely immerses “his” frogs in toxic chemicals and dissects them for the so-called greater good. It is difficult to assert that the intimacy he fosters with these frogs is ethical. After all, these frogs are largely serving the needs of humans, either acting as sentinel species for human endocrine disruption risk or as test subjects. So although Hayes is questioning the wellbeing of “his” frogs, he is also reinforcing his dominion over them.

Looking in terms of assemblages means thinking about other modes of response to endocrine disruption. One possibility is a recognition of our “obligation” to other beings, both human and nonhuman, and recognition of our shared “creatureliness,” as Anat Pick (2011) would say. This is what Pick (2011) calls attending to the bodily and embodied shared vulnerabilities of humans and nonhumans alike. This obligation must move beyond attempting to protect a species without attention to the fact that individual animals are sentient and worthy of life. Thinking through shared precarity and obligation to one another can be a dynamic engagement that moves beyond specialized and narrow rights-based frameworks, recognizes multiple systems of oppression, and forces us to recognize the dynamism of bodies and identities around us and within us. For instance, given Hayes’ extensive findings about endocrine disruption in frogs, why can the focus not shift towards new needs that intersex frogs might have? Moreover, it seems ethically questionable to exploit frogs for the sake of easing human anxiety about a trait that is already commonly occurring in humans. It also behooves cisgender and non-intersex humans to recognize that endocrine disruptor panics objectify and pathologize intersex people needlessly.

Following the growing work of intersex activists and scholars, thinking through intersex as an assemblage can help us to recognize that having intersex parts might even be a positive trait in fish, frogs, and humans. Bailey Kier (2010) argues for embracing our “shared transsex” with nonhumans, a term “that is about queering ideas of re/production, and refers to dynamic ecosystemic relations of multiple ‘bodies,’ energies, and things—animals, humans, lakes, plants, uranium, etc.—which compose broader economic re/productive relations and energies of the bioscope” (p. 299). Kier contends that endocrine disruption might actually be a means of seeing the way that humans and animals are interconnected, and suggests that perhaps fish developing intersex traits merely demonstrates that they are evolutionarily hardy, with many still being able

to reproduce despite their intersex physiologies. “[W]hat would it mean,” Kier suggests, “to imagine that transgender fish might just in fact be the ‘fittest’ in the dance of life and death that is survival” (2010, p. 316)? Assemblages create space for multiple contradictory affects—here on the one hand, the fear and anxiety about environmental destruction and, at the same time, the excitement about frog and fish potential, the admiration of the “dance of life and death” (Kier, 2010, p. 316).

Assemblages help to bridge the divides that have formed between environmental justice activists, ecofeminists, deep ecologists, and critical animal studies scholars. After all, assemblages note that no single system of oppression is more significant than another. Rather, they work together dynamically to create networks of violence. Just as endocrine disruptors and the panics that surround them harm nonhuman animals, so too do they harm people of color, such as Hayes as a researcher or banana producers in Martinique (Agard-Jones, 2014). Examining one’s shared creatureliness with humans and nonhumans does not flatten systems of power but rather forces us to centralize the voices of intersex people, people of color affected by toxicity, and nonhuman animals. Attending to shared creatureliness forces us to engage these issues simultaneously. Though there is no neat and tidy answer as to how we can address endocrine disruptors critically and ethically, it is clear that our approach must include recognizing the dynamic ways that traits such as gender and sex operate. This requires us to trace the intersecting systems of violence that operate under the surface of what seems to be a simple issue by prioritizing the voices of marginalized people’s experiences, and aiming to foster more ethical modes of intimacy.

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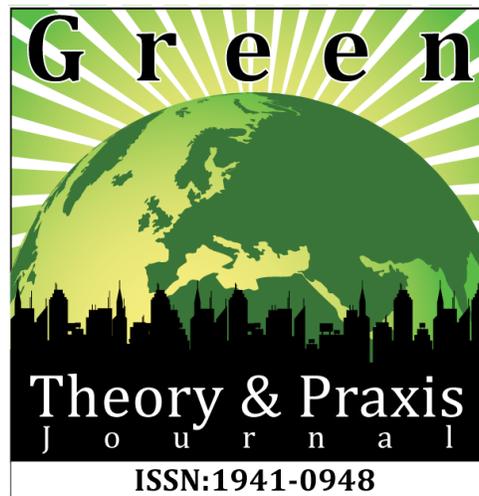
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The Gendering of Eco-Militarism: How to Waitress for a Real Man and Save the World by Destroying It

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Abstract

This essay argues that the restaurant chain Hooters not merely a clever marketing idea that packages the dead animals they serve with the sexual objectification of the women who serve them. Rather, Hooters participates in a heteronormative worldview that perpetuates environmental destruction, militarism, and sexism around the world. When deconstructing the homonationalism inhering in Hooters, I contend that we must adopt a queer approach to theorizing because feminism remains ill-equipped to unravel the many intersecting oppressions that occurs as a result of the restaurant chain.

To prove my argument, my essay begins with a general description of Hooters, a background on factory farming's relationship with climate change, and how discourse operates to construct an exclusionary worldview. After providing an overview, my essay delves into the specifics of the restaurants marketing practices, treatment of employees, and their public service initiatives. In

doing so, I examine first-hand accounts of working at Hooters as well as how the chain is perceived in the public eye and in the media. From there I show how these accounts reproduce a heteronormative culture at large in which women become objects to be consumed in a similar way as the animals who are served on the plates. I take this a step further when I show how Hooters' "Operation Let Freedom Wing," which brought Hooters models to Iraq to increase the morale of US soldiers, consequentially forces an Americanized version of sexuality on the world. To do so, I use Jasbir Puar's notions of homonationalism to demonstrate how the US uses a sexual exceptionalism to excuse homophobia and sexism at home while supposedly promoting gay and women's rights abroad.

Ultimately, my essay concludes by showing how consumption in of itself is a political act and that going out to eat is never a neutral event. The value of recognizing this is that it shifts the terrain of resistance from a top-down form of governmentality to a bottom-up approach that situates its resistance within the discursive universe that serves as the foundation to electoral politics to begin with.

THE GENDERING OF ECO-MILITARISM: HOW TO WAITRESS FOR A REAL MAN AND SAVE THE WORLD BY DESTROYING IT

The insidious nature of the interconnection between various forms of oppression, both human and non/human alike, are often obvious but worth noting just the same. The restaurant chain Hooters is one such example. The growing global franchise profits from directly linking the objectification of women with serving the dead bodies of factory farmed animals. The chain requires its waitresses to wear skimpy outfits while serving chicken's wings and other animal parts in a sports bar environment, furthering the very environmental destruction that goes along with factory farming. The chain describes their waitresses as "the quintessential, all-American "Girl next door," while "building on Hooters' legacy of hot wings ... [to] aggressively elevat[e] ... the experience to the top of the food chain" as part of "the American way" (About Hooters, 2016). Hooters' playful gestures in marketing between their owl logo, a woman's chest, and a chicken's breast makes it even more obvious how the "sex appeal" the restaurant promotes is tied to the heteronormative practices that allow them to market themselves as a "family" "neighborhood" place (About Hooters, 2016). In other words, despite its explicit sexuality, Hooters can serve as a location for a child's birthday party in America because the restaurant uses the norm of heterosexuality to market itself as a wholesome family experience through the normative tropes it serves. At the same time, Hooters can deflect to its owl to render absent its employees and the individuals who give up their lives for the company's bottom-line.

To go a step further, Hooters has been known to make light of its violence in relation to non/human animals with billboard signs asking, "If we aren't supposed to eat animals then why are they made of meat?" They also brush aside their legal challenges of employment discrimination and sexual harassment as "frivolous lawsuits" that are "nefarious," and which they claim "have[n't] put a dent in our ability to provide some good, old-fashioned fun" (About Hooters, 2016). This good old-fashioned fun comes at the expense of anyone needed to be dismembered or objectified in the name of profit. Of course, Hooters doesn't see it that way. Instead, they ask, "And really, what is so offensive about an owl, anyway?" Again, to answer, this essay will argue that it is how they use

the owl to render absent the non/humans slaughtered to feed the patrons of an establishment that profits on using the referent of women for the purpose of objectification that serves as a basis for militarism and environmental destruction. While it is beyond the scope of this paper to get into the catastrophic effects industrialized animal agriculture is having on the environment, it will suffice to say that

the human appetite for animal flesh is a driving force behind virtually every major category of environmental damage now threatening the human future – deforestation, erosion, fresh water scarcity, air and water pollution, climate change, biodiversity loss, social injustice, the destabilization of communities and the spread of disease. (Freeman, 2010)

Sadly, many take Hooters at its word since Hooters is not an exception but rather a reflection of the larger discursive universe that links women's bodies with dead animals to construct a heteronormative fantasy of service that comes at the cost of the planet. Thus, when making the choice to consume, it is important to not see Hooters just as a metaphor for an owl but also as a literal manifestation of the hegemonic institutions that further social and ecological injustice.

To be clear, this is not to say that people don't freely decide to work for Hooters, or are unaware that the wings they eat were once living creatures. Rather, it is to say that the representational and marketing tropes Hooters deploys enables its success precisely because of unequal conditions that discriminate against the subaltern. This instance is illustrative of the larger cycles that trickle up from everyday interactions into environmental policy. As Timothy Luke (1999) puts it,

To move another step beyond Foucault's vision of human bio-power, adjustment of the accumulation of environmentalized plants and animals to that of capital is necessary to check unsustainable growth. Yet, in becoming an essential sub-assembly for transnational economic development, ecological techniques of power rationalize conjoining 'the growth of human groups to the expansion of productive forces and the differential allocation of profit', inasmuch as population ecology, environmental science and range management are now, in part, 'the exercise of bio-power in its many forms and modes of application.' ... Ultimately, it suggests that we cannot adequately understand governmentality in present-day regimes, like the United States of America, without seeing how many of its tactics, calculi or institutions assume 'environmentalized' modes of operation as part and parcel of ordinary practices of governance. (pp. 150-151)

To put it simply, the everyday acts that allow for the environment to be destroyed through heteronormative structures that enable the exploitation of subaltern subjects serves as the constitutive foundation to the very institutions that enact environmental policy. Failing to attack the larger discursive foundations to environmental destruction that appears in mundane and obvious examples like Hooters will ultimately render any policy change useless insofar as the profit-motivate of accumulation will remain untouched due to the overwhelming bio-political emphasis on governing institutions, which are often unable to inspire social change.

April Pederson (1998), a former waitress of Hooters, when writing a book about her experience working at promotional events explained that the “girls are exploited everywhere” (p. 37). Naturally, she does go on to say this is only exploitation “in the nicest sense of the word ... [and that] radical feminists ... still can’t figure out that the girls choose to work at Hooters” (Pederson, 1998, p. 37). Nevertheless, it is apparent that the employees well-being is not the industry’s primary concern. It is also clear that April’s choice to work for Hooters wasn’t unimpacted by the patriarchal structures of society since she only did it after leaving her previous job testing soil and “bituminous products ... [with a] nuclear technology certificate” (Pederson, 1998, pp. 6-7) because of rumors from her male co-workers regarding “how much money the waitresses made” (p. 37). In short, society made clear to April that it valued her body and looks more than her nuclear technology certificate and anything else she could contribute. Ultimately, socioeconomic structures help provide the basis to coerce individuals to make choices out of capitalist pressures to survive even when they might prefer to do otherwise. These pressures then enable sexuality to become a commodity that instrumentalizes women and non/human animals in a similar way it utilizes immigrant labor in the slaughterhouse. In other words, while systems of commodification make exploitation an inevitable consequence of labor, marginalized populations have less power to negotiate with institutions and managers about the very conditions they find themselves in. This is not to haphazardly parallel two oppressions to pit them against each other. Instead it demonstrates how the commodification of labor refuses to recognize its object as having value outside of its ability to be exploited for profit. Consequentially, the commodification that results by selling one’s body any number of ways reproduces a Westernized idea of achieving empowerment through capital at the expense of the environment. For those in marginalized positions, the sacrifices made working at Hooters or in a factory farm cannot be understood independently from the growing economic divide that is increasingly driving environmentally destructive practices that sacrifices the periphery (Clark 2012).

This destructive outgrowth begins through the normalizing representations Hooters uses through its objectivizing appeal that is clearly not without consequence. Carol Adams (1990), points out how the very logic of objectification

permits an oppressor to view another being as an object ... [and] then violate ... this being by object-like treatment[, as in] the rape of women that denies women freedom to say no, or the butchering of animals that converts animals from living ... beings into dead objects. This process allows fragmentation, or brutal dismemberment, and finally consumption. While the occasional man may literally eat women, we all consume visual images of women all the time. Consumption is the fulfillment of oppression, the annihilation of the will, of separate identity. (p. 47)

In regards to Hooters, this socialization simultaneously constructs a distinct vision of femininity that recreates feminine individuals as “stripped of their own intrinsic powers and meanings ... [as they become] perceived solely in their ‘useful properties’ ... they may possess for subjects” (Slater, 1997, p. 102). This is why Hooters markets the breasts and thighs of its waitresses as much as it does its prime cut of animals because both are objects reduced to the use-value of Hooters’ profits. Again, Hooters is not an exception. In fact, much of the advertising industry utilizes there same “patterned displays of gender roles ... [that represent men] as taller or larger than women ... or

overarching their wives and children ... in a typical display of ... paternalism ... [while] women kneel, lie, curve in some way or simply smile[, thereby reinforcing] ... the passivity of women and the activity of men as a gender ideal” (Edwards, 2000, p. 69). For Hooters this means that while some “girls can walk through ... [Hooters’] door and start training that day, ... other girls can expect to return for two or three interviews ... [since] the manager isn’t sure if the girl is attractive enough” (Pederson, 1998, p. 5). This could go so far as to include testing a girl “to see whether ... [she] would be comfortable in such a skimpy uniform ... [by having her] try it on and walk around in front of the owners” (Pederson, 1998, p. 7). Not only does this interview procedure actively commodify these women as a “nicely packaged product,” and normalize them into a process of objectification that is proposed as liberating, but it also reinscribes gender roles into a larger community (Pederson, 1998, p. 4). As a result, “although young ... affluent women with ... good looks may enjoy the sense of power ... they may gain[,] ... older, poor, economically dependent, emotionally committed or simply less pretty women may well feel excluded ... [and] derided” (Edwards, 2000, p. 135). In other words, the “opening up [of] new horizons of sexual freedom ... in some respects actually extended and intensified the sexual exploitation of women” (Osgerby, 2001, pp. 146-147). This happens by recreating a normalized space for them to be objectified through heteronormative figurations that ultimately undermine any space for liberation.

It is worth noting that the slaughterhouse practices that provide the flesh Hooters survives on upholds not just masculinity in abstract but rather a distinct construction of masculinity that’s grounded on racist precepts that surround beauty, employment, and equality. It should come as little surprise that “eighty percent of slaughterhouse jobs are held by immigrants, men of color, and women ... [who have] the highest rate of injury of all jobs” (Adams, 2003, p. 50). Nor should it come as a surprise that when Hooters Magazine (2004) published their international swimsuit pageant that less than ten percent out of all 103 participants were anything but white, with only two African-Americans both appearing in the back row of the contestants shot, which foregrounded the overwhelming whiteness of what it means to be a Hooters Girl (p. 14). Meanwhile, US meat consumption participates in an international economy that is “widening the absolute gap between the rich and the poor nations of the world” (Meadows et al, 1998, p. 19), whereby affluent countries view non-affluent nations as things to consume. At the same time the consumption of meat by affluent nations at large perpetuates starvation throughout the world based on socio-economic conditions that are racialized. Indeed, “if Americans were to reduce their meat consumption by only 10 percent for one year, it would ... [be] enough to feed 60 million people ... [since] the food wasted by animal production in the affluent nations would be sufficient, if properly distributed, to end both hunger and malnutrition throughout the world” (Singer, 1990, p. 167). In fact, “studies conducted for both the World Bank ... and Great Britain’s Department for International Development ... have shown that the spread of factory farming is harming the poorest people, including those in developing countries, especially indigenous communities, by increasing food and water scarcity” (Gorski, 2013, p.10). Perhaps this is why people choosing to live “less consumptive lives ... [are] tending to[ward] vegetarian diets” (DeGraaf et al, 2001, p. 182), and why it is that looking out for non/human rights is also a matter of anthropocentric responsibility as well.

Naturally, the choices available to each vary and not everyone has a choice to live less consumptive lifestyles through vegetarian diets, in a similar way as not everyone can afford not to work at Hooters or in a factory farm. To this end, even April (1998), who gives a positive review of her

experience, writes that after working a shift she would remove her “shoes as soon as ... [she] got through the door [at home, and would] ... crawl around on the floor[,] ... and hang both legs on the crisper shelf” to sooth her pain from having to run around “for six or seven hours sticking chicken meat in everybody’s face” (1998, p. 8). Putting aside the fact that April was reduced to hanging her body in a similar refrigeration unit as the chickens waiting to be served, the consequences of this for women is clear. April remarks that while “most of the girls [who work at Hooters] are just genetically rigged to be thin ... [some have to] spend grueling hours at the gym ... or in aerobic classes ... [and become] paranoid [enough of losing their job that they] ... drop ... weight in a week” (1998, p. 17). The resulting effect normalizes everyday standards of femininity that produce unrealistic heteronormative expectations that results in increased rates of anorexia, bulimia, depression, and suicide. At the same time normalizing this sexualization of women as a family form of entertainment furthers the ability for “companies selling beauty products ... [to] target ... younger and younger girls” (DeGraff et al, 2001, p. 55) who are meant to look the Hooters girl next-door that iconically represents America. Ultimately, Hooters feeds off these marketing techniques of beauty as much as it contributes to them since both promote a hierarchical arrangement between men, women, non/human animals, and the environment at large.

Furthermore, the tropes that objectify the meat of non/humans in the case of Hooters promotes an exclusionary form of heteronormativity that goes beyond reproducing just sexism alone. Therefore, it is important to move beyond an exclusively feminist analysis to fully understand the layers of power. To this end, when April (1998) notes in her account that “there’s not ... a good description of the average person who walks through ... [Hooters’] door except that it’s usually male” (p. 24), there is a clear sense that this so called average man is in no sense every man. Not only does it ignore the presence of lesbians who are known to patron the establishment but it also assumes a binary system of sex that posits male and female as stable. In fact, one of their bathroom door signs that was popular in the early 2000s showed a stick figure urinating while standing up with the words “most men” written below to jokingly indicate that it was not a space for trans and disabled men who had to sit down to pee. All jokes aside, the sheer homophobia is even more telling when April (1998) explains how she “could never understand how any two same-sexed persons could believe they have a ‘real’ traditional relationship ... [and would never be willing] to extend men any rights to rationalize falling into bed with each other for any circumstances ... [since they are merely a] sacrilegious bunch of heathens” (pp. 206-207). Beyond the explicit heterosexism lingering behind this image of what it means to be a man, Hooters champions itself over its ability to supposedly fulfill every man’s desire through either sports, meat, or the waitresses who know “how to smile and fetch beer for a bunch of guys” (Pederson, 1998, p. 8). At the same time, April (1998) explains that the most important thing that this average guy can do if he wants to date a Hooters Girl is to prove that he can be “a good steady income for her” (p. 209). Her suggestion is that if you want to date a Hooters waitress you should leave big tips creates a construction of masculinity that is tied to the traditional notion of being a breadwinner, which causes him to sell his body for labor in the hopes to get a date after paying to eat dead bodies. In the end, any liberatory potential of sexuality gets distorted into a commodity that becomes interchangeable with labor through heteronormative interpretations that dictate different and distinct roles for men and women. Therefore, it is less a problem of selling sexuality than it is a problem of how that exchange can normalize a heterosexist vision of reality that consequentially marginalizes all who don’t neatly fit the binaries set up by the system.

In fact, Hooters's ability to sell itself as a wholesome American enterprise is premised precisely upon its ability to construct sex, gender, and sexuality in heteronormative ways. This happens, in part, through Hooters' appeal to sports, which is why a Hooters Magazine (2004) claimed that "2 out of 2 experts agree Hooters is football" since they claimed they literally were football in the same way Hooters is merely an owl. This connection of masculinity with football and the sexual objectification at Hooters creates a world where the arena of sports can serve as a justifying backdrop for social engagement at the site of consumption. In turn, this allows for "a homosocial arena in which the values of ... manhood ... [can] be acted out and celebrated ... [through] spectator sports ... [that are] championed as ideal vehicles for the development of both physical prowess and moral fiber" (Osgerby, 2001, p. 22). To this end, Bill O'Reilly in 2013 defended a middle-school football coach's decision to take his twelve-year old team to Hooters to celebrate a win. In the same interview segment, he decried allowing transgender students to use any bathroom beyond the biological sex they were assigned by stating "if you're born a boy you stay in the boy's locker room" (Powell, 2013). When Alan Colmes pointed out, "One is taking a 12-year-old to see 'T and A,' and the other is someone who happens to be of indeterminate gender because that's the way they're built. It's a different thing," O'Reilly replied, "If the guy goes into the girls' locker room, there's going to be what you just described! ... They don't have chicken wings but—it's called a locker room for a reason" (Powell, 2013). To O'Reilly, Hooters serves as a litmus test of manhood since anyone born a man would naturally objectify women in a locker room just as they would a waitress at Hooters. The question of not being a real enough man vanishes against the backdrop of sports since the assumption these middle-school boys were interested in playing football meant they would naturally be interested in going to Hooters. Ultimately, these constructions allow Hooters to not only give men a space to reaffirm their masculinity but also a place to recreate it as definitively heterosexual.

Again, it is not inconsequential that the backdrop to this is the slaughter of non/human animals. "Hooters was not making a casual reference when it reminds us that ... football is important to men because it seems to be an all-male pursuit ... with its high male status ... and acceptable ... violence ... [that] allows for dominance bonding whether in steakhouses ... or at sports bars[, teaching] ... men to love men and to hate women ... [as well as] love steaks and ... hate vegetarians" (Adams, 2003, p. 34). In a sense, the very ideology of Hooters makes this hatred explicit by serving up chicken while celebrating a pigskin being tossed around at the same time the wait staff is visually consumed. Indeed, "the literal evocation of male power is found in the concept of meat [through] ... visions of meat-eating football players ... [who] drink beer because it's a man's drink, and eat steak because it's a man's meal ... [with] a whole terminology ... that reflects this masculine bias ... [that believes] eating those large slabs of bleeding meat" (Adams, 1990, pp. 33-34) will somehow reaffirm one's manhood.

Of course there is nothing new to the connection of sports, manhood, and the nation-state in America. No doubt, the very notion of manhood has been used to create the representation of men that the United States connects back to a display of dominance through the allure of democratic capitalism. Put simply, the United States' very notion of the American way of life remains firmly affixed to a heteronormative order that Hooters is as much of a product of as they are a participant. Within the US there has been a belief "that 'American superiority in the Cold War rested not on weapons, but on the secure, abundant family life of modern suburban homes' ... [that] possessed symbolic connotations [of a] reassuring universe of station wagons, backyard barbecues[,] ...

Little League ball games ... [and the] virtue of American free-market capitalism” (Osgerby, 2001, p. 64). In fact, throughout both the Cold War and the War on Terrorism, which poses itself as an endless war to protect civilization,

images of affluent suburbia ... [are] pivotal to the ideological strategies through which American capitalism assert[s] ... its claims to economic and moral supremacy ... [that can] reign-in and safely corral the cultural changes perceived as threatening [to] the social order. For women this mean[s] ... conformity to an ideal of home-making domesticity ... [while] men ... also [find themselves as] objects of containment ... [through] an equally powerful ideology of family-oriented masculinity. (Osgerby, 2001, p. 67)

To be clear, these connections are anything but neutral because they perpetuate an ideology of containment whereby other nations—and non-normative family structures—remain threatening to the wholesome purity the United States presents itself as when policing the world to ensure a future. The great irony that the cost of this illusion of security is the virtual disregard for the environmental impact of US affluence and consumption.

Once again, Hooters is not alone in its production of an exceptionalist logic that forwards Cold War thinking long beyond the collapse of the Soviet Union. For example, in a similar, yet opposing way, women’s ability to work at Hooters is spun as liberating at the same time the burka is constructed as oppressive in US media accounts. Meanwhile, gay rights in the United States is used as a symbol to champion its respect for human rights across the globe, so long as those human rights conform to the US martial norms that are envisioned in traditional heterosexual relationships (Puar, 2007, pp. 30-32). In the end, both the media and US policy continue to demonize difference while expanding who is included within the privileged circle of civilization based upon their proximity to a whitened heterosexual norm. Individual instances, like Hooters, preconditions subjects to give their lives over to a larger capitalist endeavor even while that endeavor demeans them and threatens the planet’s ecological existence. To put it simply,

U.S. nationalism relies so heavily on homophobic demonization of sexual others, the argument that homosexuality is included within and contributes positively to the optimization of life is perhaps a seemingly counterintuitive stance. Nonetheless, ... that some or certain homosexual bodies signify homonormative nationalism—homonationalism—is in no way intended to deny, diminish, or disavow the daily violences of discrimination, physical and sexual assault, familial ostracism, economic disadvantage, and lack of social and legal legitimacy that sexual others must regularly endure ... due to the undesirability of their race, ethnicity, religion, class, national origin, age, or bodily ability. It also may be the case ... that the United States is exceptional only to the degree to which, globally speaking, it is unexceptional ... [since it] has investments in being exceptionally heteronormative even as it claims to be exceptionally tolerant of (homosexual) difference. (Puar, 2007, pp. 10-11)

Consequentially, the patriarchal constructions that justify the objectification of women by men serve as an overriding lens that enables US foreign policy to tap into a homonationalism whereby

the government can legitimize military intervention in the name of family values, human rights, and democratic capitalism. This can be seen in how the US has increasingly militarized its police using leftover equipment from foreign wars to disrupt protestors expressing outrage at the continual shootings of black lives by police (Cohn 2016). Meanwhile, it enables a system of collateral damage with drone strikes that are praised for saving the lives of US soldiers that are more important than the unintended casualties for a military operation.

Minimally, it is clear that “the contemporary state system is not an adequate framework within which to solve ecological problems ... [and that] the ... international system ... requires a fundamental restructuring if it is to overcome our contemporary environmental dilemmas” (Tickner, 2014, pp. 61-62). Put plainly, the more state systems seek to manage the environment through its logic of containment and objectification—which at best sees nature as something to be protected via reserves—it continues to ignore the hierarchal violence that ensures any such policies ultimately destroy what they seek to preserve. Revealing how these systems of power operate in their everyday formulations, such as Hooters, helps to destabilize the normalizing power such discourse has. As such, it is important to remember that the idea of justifying oppression in the name of preserving or helping is not new. Neither is the idea of objectifying individuals for entertainment. The very essence of zoos that imprison non/human animals ‘for their own good’ is part and parcel of this logic insofar as it is often coded in a discourse aimed to protect species from extinction. In doing so civil society is willing to sacrifice the rights of the individual for the supposed good of the species. This is the same mentality that justifies the collateral damage of US military intervention in the name of gay or women’s rights while killing homosexuals and women. Ultimately, this “contemporary ecological crisis stems from a historically expansive state system and a growth-oriented capitalist world economy, and from an ideology that believes that both nature and women can be exploited for human progress” (Tickner, 2014, p. 63).

However, as mentioned previously, such an ideology goes far beyond merely exploiting women and nature for human progress from a domestic context alone. As Paul Rutherford (2000.) explains, biopolitics is therefore inherently linked to the ... administration of populations ... and [the] management of the environment in which those populations exist and upon which they depend. Such a conclusion is implicit in ... not only the disciplining of individuals and populations, but also, necessarily, a concern with the administration of ‘all the conditions of life’ as represented by the environment. ... Ecology and environmental management can also be regarded as expressions of biopolitics, as these originate in, and operate upon, the same basic concerns for managing the ‘continuous and multiple relations’ between the population, its resources and the environment. Contemporary ecological discourse, in other words, is an articulation of ... the relationship between the social body and the biological species body ... [with] specific regulatory controls aimed at the population, albeit from a somewhat different perspective. (pp. 44-45)

Thus, it becomes essential to look at the regulatory environment that surrounds ecological decision making since the everyday interactions people have with their social environments necessarily implicates the ecological world in which they live. By altering the discourses that heteronormatively construct the world it becomes possible to channel the nodes of resistance that happen where the loci of power often operate invisibly. In fact, if rather than looking toward top-down solutions to environmental problems we look at the everyday formulations in front of us we

will be better equipped with the tools to fight back against the systems that exploit marginalized populations—human and non/human alike.

As a consequence, it is worth returning to the example of Hooters in elaborating the heteronormative background the serves as a basis for US military action and environmental exploitation to demonstrate. When returning to this example it shouldn't be surprising to learn that in addition to breast cancer awareness that Hooters also donates much of its charitable time to support the military while championing "the American way" (About Hooters, 2016). However, Hooters does not stop at just raising money for the military. Rather, during the most recent war in Iraq, Hooters used its profits from their swimsuit calendar sales to bring the Hooters Girls back for a second "Armed Forces Entertainment event ... dubbed *Operation: Let Freedom Wing* ... to entertain the troops and boost morale ... [since] sleeping in tents beside your gun ... every night ... doesn't sound like an ideal way to spend the Holiday" (Hooter Magazine, 2004). The connection between guns, manhood, and imperialism becomes even more explicit when Sergeant Mercado stationed in Camp Cooke, Taji, Iraq wrote in thanks for the first Let Freedom Wing operation in Hooters Magazine's special military appreciation issue (2004), "I am writing to thank you for bringing a little taste of home out here. ... The Hooters Calendar Girls brought up my morale and reminded me of the nice things we have at home (in the US). ... The things that you are doing reminds me of the reasons why I serve this great nation and the people in it" (pp. 57-58). It is also why Captain Rice of the 82nd Airborne Division can give thanks for the "package ... [Hooters] sent" and why a returned soldier can claim he "trained ... [his kids] well" when "they requested a 'Boy's Night Out' ... specifically ... [at] the Hooters Restaurant on Battlefield Blvd" (Hooters Magazine, 2004, p. 59). The fact that men teach their sons in the United States to eat dead animals while objectifying women as a reminder of how the war in Iraq is supposedly liberating the Iraqis not only replicates a gendered body politic but also violently constructs what it means to be a man, and have women know their place as "packages" to be "sent" abroad to represent the image of "home" and "train" a new generation of men to grow up knowing what it means to be a man. It also entirely ignores the culture or desires of the individual Iraqis with the assumption they would naturally want the same freedom that Americans enjoy at Hooters in the United States.

A couple points of interest arise from the above. First, the title of the operation, "Let Freedom Wing," not only makes explicit that this freedom is not meant for everyone because it's predicated on the death of chickens, whose wings are taken in the name of freedom. Second, as these chicken's loss of life is placed in the foreground, the lives of the women who went overseas to raise troop morale are rendered invisible as they become reduced to their use-value of being objectified. This is why the "most appreciated part was the post show autograph session when the girls patiently sat" (Hooters Magazine, 2004, p. 51) since it demonstrated how America had sculpted women complacent enough to sit still on command as a form of freedom. No doubt, this is the very reason Commander Griffin, stationed at Shshbaz Air Base in Jacobabad, Pakistan, was able to applaud the Hooters Girls as "the best deployment yet" (Hooters Magazine, 2004, p. 56). Third, as this affluence is exported abroad to countries around the world it not only globalizes a capitalist value system that privileges the sheer accumulation of wealth to the detriment of both the environment and the intrinsic value of others, but also further normalizes a patriarchal sense of gender relations. Of course, according to Hooters this is what America's "women's rights movement ... guarantees women" (About Hooters, 2005). No doubt, having the right to sell one's body is the very definition of a capitalist notion of freedom, which claims to give women a collective voice within the logic

of market based consumption so long as they commodify themselves for the good of the body politic and heteronormativity.

Perhaps even more alarming than how this gendered image comes to define the nation abroad is how it continues to reassert a limited vision of gender, sex, and sexuality among individuals within the US as well. This happens by forcing women to conform to a Hooterized construction of femininity. In turn, while Hooters may not appear outwardly family-oriented, it describes itself as a “neighborhood place” that attracts female patrons as well as numerous family gatherings and children’s birthday parties. The result imposes a heteronormative notion of the family while continuing to sexualize young girls while becoming “a totem of modernity and progress ... [that poses the US] as a promised land ... of economic prosperity ... [and] democratic freedom” (Osgerby, 2001, p. 65). To Hooters, this allows women of the world the freedom of being objectified as democratic capitalism intended. Put simply, despite the fact that sex, gender, and sexuality operate differently around the world, Hooters assumes a singularized concept of family and entertainment that then uses the United States’ imperial presence to promote that image across the world. This is no better summed up than on the back cover of the Hooters military appreciation issue (2004) that featured US soldiers standing in front of a picture of Saddam in an occupied building holding up a sign that read, “Next Site for Hooters, Iraq.” The fact that this image concluded the magazine is perhaps the perfect metaphor for the end point of US imperial ambitions insofar as it makes explicit America’s desire to conform the world to its heterosexualized imagination.

If this violence of “sexual expression ... [as] a guardian of ... democracy originally established by America’s founding fathers” (Osgerby, 2001, p. 142) hasn’t already made itself explicit, the description of these “hearty Hooters” (Hooters Magazine, 2004, p. 49) girls ready for consumption no doubt will. Indeed, at their military tour they came “sporting Hooters latest Military appreciation uniform, featuring camouflage ... shorts and a tank top with the line ‘Weapons of Mass Distraction’ on the back” (Hooters Magazine, 2004, p. 49) while the Hooters’ promoted girl band UC3 sang “Anywhere USA,” one of their newest hits that literally figures the US as anywhere. It is interesting to note that the reason the band’s title is UC3, according to its fan listserv, is because “you see three of them,” once again putting the objectification of women at the center of what defines their existence. Beyond the band itself, the image of the objectified status of women as a weapon is highlighted because their slogan directly places women as the object of “distraction,” and of lesser concern than the more important affairs of the masculinized state. Perhaps this is why so many young women in the US are sent home from school because what they wear is determined to be too distracting to their male peers, whose education seemingly matters more (Bates, 2015). These two things are not unrelated since “the level of weaponry as well as the militaristic economic priorities are products of patriarchal culture that speaks violence at every level” (King, 1998, p. 435) and can be seen in everyday life subordinating anyone defined as outside the heteronormative masculinized self. Hence, “because such weaponry does not exist apart from a contempt for women and all of life” (King, 1998, p. 436), the pleasure the soldiers stationed in Iraq expressed with the potential opening of a Hooters in Kuwait cannot be taken lightly or merely laughed off as the boys just being men. If nothing else, the sexual abuse that took place in the Abu Ghraib detention facility, where Iraqi detainees were degraded and molested, is a hideous and concrete consequence of this Hooterization of the globe that solidifies the belief that

anything constructed as other can be dominated and consumed through processes of feminization and dehumanization.

By going beyond a strict focus on state policies in order to theorize the discursive backdrop of how ecocriticism operates it allows for a transformative approach that fosters resistance. Sadly, there is “an implicit and almost universal assumption ... that the problem under discussion has a technical solution” (Hardin, 1998, p. 23) so that as environmental problems mount we continue to look toward technology and government and ignore more direct means of intervention. Thus, it is paramount to investigate how we are individually situated within the consuming Hooterized logic of affluence. Again, while it is beyond the scope of this paper to get into the details in its entirety, it is worth reminding readers that factory farms

in the United States, farm animals produce 2 billion tons of manure a year ... and half of ... the waste does not return naturally to the land ... [since] until fertilizer gets more expensive than labor, the waste has very little value [to factory farmers, causing] ... the manure that should restore the fertility of our soils ... [to] pollut[e] ... our streams and rivers. ... [Worse still is that] nearly half of Central America’s tropical rainforests have been destroyed, largely to provide beef to North America. ... If the clearing continues ... [countless species] will be pushed to extinction ... [and] increased runoff [that] leads to flooding ... [will occur while releasing] the carbon [from the forest] into the atmosphere in the form of carbon dioxide ... [that will intensify] the greenhouse effect ... [and raise the sea level by melting the polar ice caps,] affecting 10 million people ... [and] the very existence of some low-lying Pacific island nations. (Singer, 1990, pp. 168-169)

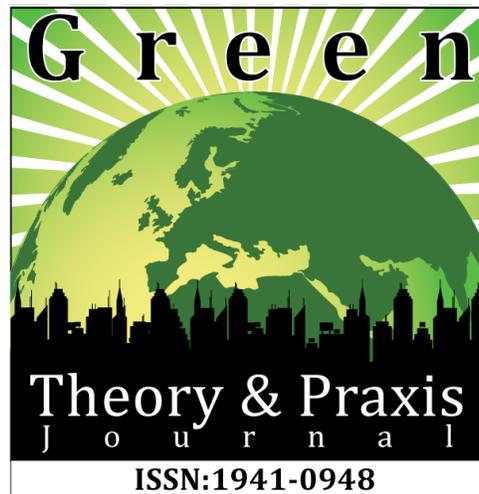
Consequentially, the decision to go to Hooters and grab a burger is not merely symbolically violent but is, “quite literally, gambling with the future of our planet ... for the sake of hamburgers” (Singer, 1990, p. 169) and some sexualized buns. When attention is paid to the interconnections of these discursive entry points into ecology and policy it becomes possible to expose the global dynamics at play that foster a heteronormative consumption whose imperial ambitions threatens the planet through the objectification and subordination of all that is different.

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Investigating Intersections: Exploring the Growth and Expansion of Anymal Liberation

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Abstract

Anymal liberation now attracts scholars and activists from around the world. Anymal studies has gone international, and has expanded tremendously, with a variety of interdisciplinary conferences and journals reflecting this growth. Anymal activism is also growing in numbers and strength. With so much growth and expansion, it has become necessary to clarify borders and distinguish between new and expanding connections, affiliations, and intersections—especially intersections. This paper explores anymal studies/liberation affiliations and interconnections with an eye to providing a measure of clarity regarding these many new affiliations and “intersections,” and critically examines the use of “intersectionality” in anymal studies and among anymal activists.

INVESTIGATING INTERSECTIONS: EXPLORING THE GROWTH AND EXPANSION OF ANYMAL LIBERATION

Anymal liberation has finally come into its own, attracting thousands of scholars and activists in nations around the world. Anymal studies is a “rapidly growing interdisciplinary field” (Human-Animal Studies, 2016) that has expanded tremendously in the last few decades. According to the *Animals and Society Institute*, college programs in anymal studies have sprung up across fifteen countries. Among the twenty-four journals listed by the *Animals and Society Institute* (HAS Links, 2016), only two have been around for more than a dozen years, eight have been publishing for about ten years, six emerged in the last 4-6 years, and six came into existence only in the last two years. At the time I looked (spring 2016), *Animals and Society Institute* also listed three conferences in the area of anymal studies over the next four months—with six in just one spring month. This plethora of conferences no longer focuses on anymal ethics, but represents an array of new affiliations across disciplines. Conferences carry titles such as “Animals Under Capitalism: Art and Politics,” “Being Interdisciplinary in Animal Studies: A Post Graduate Symposium,” “Intervening with Children who Witnessed or Engaged in Animal Abuse,” “Intersectional Justice: Towards a Whole Earth Community,” and “Animal Biographies—Recovering Animal Selfhood through Interdisciplinary Narration?” (“Events” At *Animals and Society Institute*). Journal titles overlap with law, environmental studies, political science, biology, and so on (HAS Links, 2016). Tapping into this growth and expansion, major presses such as Brill, Routledge, and Columbia now offer lines of books in anymal studies.

Anymal activism is also expanding and flexing newfound muscles, perhaps best evidenced by new vegan alternatives. Some 33 percent of consumers in the United States “frequently go meat free” (Miller, 2015), and due to the splendors of supply and demand, companies have responded by producing a host of vegan alternatives. Vegan food alternatives have expanded beyond hamburgers and hotdogs to provide a wide range of previously unavailable possibilities that are nothing short of delicious, including “shrimp,” sour “cream,” and “chicken.” Vegans have recently been offered amazing alternatives like Field Roast’s Chao Slices and Gardein Golden Fishless Filets, which won the Best New Product award for *Better Homes and Gardens* in 2015 (Awards, 2016; Miller, 2015), and Follow Your Heart just released the first VeganEgg, which seems sure to win at least one award in 2016. This shift is also evidenced by consistently growing attendance at what is currently the largest annual US conference on anymal concerns and anymal advocacy, put on by the Farm Animal Rights Movement (FARM). In 2016 this conference drew 1,700 people from “42 U.S. states and 18 other countries including Australia, Belgium, Brazil, Canada, China, Colombia, Denmark, Germany, Greece, India, Israel, Mexico, Russia, Thailand, and United Kingdom” (AR 2016 Report, 2016).

With so much growth and expansion, it is a good time to sort out some of these new and expanding connections, affiliations, and intersections—especially intersections. I have heard the term “intersections” used a great deal in anymal advocacy and anymal studies, often to denote several completely different phenomena. For example, I have heard the term used to describe overlap with other academic fields, common concerns across social justice causes, and shared roots of oppression. In this paper I explore these various anymal liberation affiliations and

interconnections in the hope of providing a measure of clarity about these new and growing “intersections.” I also critically examine the expanding, random, and it would seem largely uninformed application of “intersectionality” among anymal activists and those in anymal studies.

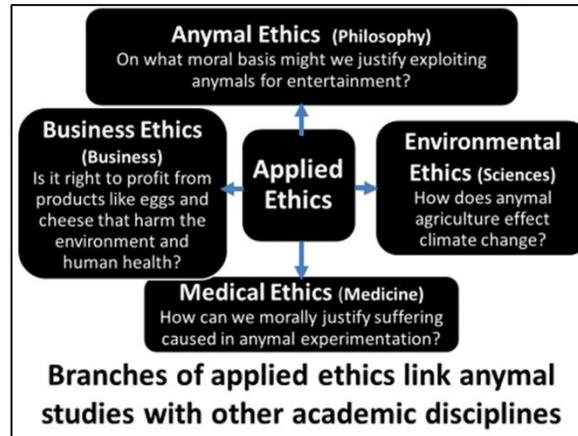
As a matter of sensitivity to those who are reading challenged, graphs accentuate and clarify the written word. Additionally, I use “anymal,” a contraction of “any” and “animal” (pronounced like “any” and “mal”), to refer to *all* animals who are of a species other than that of the speaker/author. This means that if a human being uses the term, all species except *Homo sapiens* are indicated. If a gorilla or chimpanzee, for example, signs “anymal,” all species (including human beings) will be included except either gorillas or chimpanzees, according to the “speaker.” I use this term because, as I argue previously (2006, p. 9-14), “anymal” avoids:

- using “animal” as if human beings were not animals;
- dualistic and alienating references such as “non” and “other”; and
- cumbersome terms such as nonhuman animals and other-than-human animals.

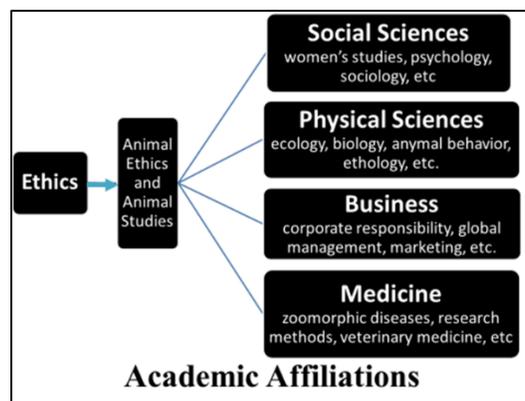
Academic Affiliations

Anymal studies now draws scholars not just from ethics, but from a variety of disciplines (HAS Links, 2016). These cross-discipline intersections, or academic affiliations, are critical to cross-fertilization—scholars apply their specific areas of interest and expertise to anymal studies, delving into such diverse and specialized topics as post-traumatic stress disorder in elephants (a specialty of Gay Bradshaw) and anymal emotions (a specialty for Marc Bekoff). Academic affiliations also inspire special issues in academic studies journals: the *Journal of Critical Animal Studies* ran an issue on *Women of Color in Critical Animal Studies* (8:3 2010) and *Green Theory and Praxis* is preparing this issue on Queer Theory and Ecofeminism (10:3, 2016). Such special issues underscore the expanded reach of contemporary anymal studies.

Contemporary anymal studies took root in ethics, a specialty field in the discipline of philosophy, in the works of such well-known scholars as Peter Singer (*Animal Liberation*, 1975) and Tom Regan (*The Case for Animal Rights*, 1985). Anymal ethics is now a well-established subject, and remains one of the most vital academic affiliations within anymal studies. Applied ethics is also one of the strongest connections across academic disciplines, intersecting with the work of scholars and students in fields such as medicine (medical ethics), business (business ethics), and environmental studies (environmental ethics).



Ethics remains the seed and the taproot of animal studies, but ethics is now one of many academic affiliations in relation to animal studies.



Animal studies scholars and animal activists have a much richer and wider understanding of the expanse and depth of the problem of animal exploitation thanks to these many growing academic affiliations. Whether recording prairie dog communication, critically examining media depictions of companion animals, or noting connections between cissexism and speciesism, such cross-fertilization challenges scholars in a variety of disciplines and strengthens animal studies. Academic affiliations are important both for camaraderie and shared commitment, as well as because of the critical tensions that animal issues provoke in affiliated fields of study, which are appropriate and important in any academic setting. In light of these proliferating academic affiliations, it is increasingly important that scholars in the field of animal studies understand other social justice causes, including the politics of identity.

Activist Channels

The field of ethics (especially moral theory) undergirds animal liberation and provides the seed and taproot for animal studies. Ultimately, effective animal activism rests on an often unnoticed shared moral framework—a generally accepted moral imperative that we ought not to cause suffering and premature death if we can avoid such actions without causing similar outcomes, and also the general sense that it is important to maintain moral consistency. For centuries moral philosophers have been aware that “there can be no moral justification for refusing to take . . .

suffering into consideration” (Singer, 1989, p. 8). Not surprisingly, even without formal education in ethics, human beings tend to be sensitive to the moral weight of harming other living beings, and we tend to recoil when confronted with suffering—especially severe suffering caused by wanton disregard, such as that exposed by undercover agents on factory farms and in animal labs and zoos.

This moral inclination—our general distaste for suffering—is evidenced by polls. An article titled “Global Polls Reveal Consumers Worldwide Want an End to Animal Testing for Cosmetics,” notes that animal testing “can cause pain and suffering to animals and it is not worth causing this kind of suffering just to test the safety of cosmetics, especially when there are safe ingredients already available” (Global, 2016). Another poll titled “Public Lukewarm on Animal Rights” actually indicates that the U.S. public engaged with this poll is red-hot against industry practices that cause misery to animals—“96% of Americans” agree that animals “deserve at least some protection from harm and exploitation” (Moore, 2003). A 2015 Gallop Poll indicates that more than 33 percent—more than one third of respondents—feel that animal rights should be *on a par* with human rights. Meanwhile, very few people in the United States—3%—“believe animals require little protection from harm and exploitation” (Rifkin, 2015).



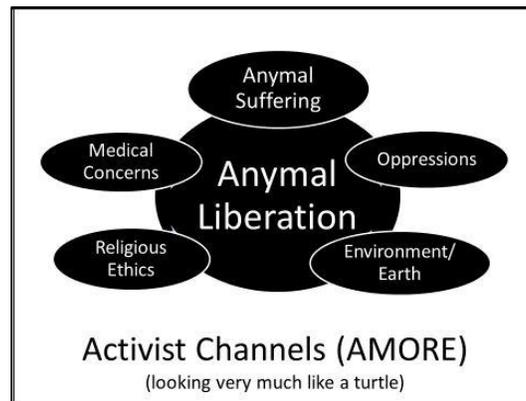
We also share a commitment to consistency in ethics, especially with regard to words and deeds—people tend to be decidedly unimpressed with hypocrisy. We do not generally admire those who speak much of the virtue of simplicity while driving an expensive car, who spend much breath espousing abstinence while mating with random available sexual partners, or who treasure freedom while enslaving others. Those who object to causing egregious suffering when such sufferings might be avoided, when confronted with the reality of factory farming, for example, often recognize that they need to go vegan if they are to be true to their personal moral convictions. This shared moral framework—our generally accepted moral sense that we ought to avoid causing suffering and premature death, and that we ought to maintain moral consistency—encourages each of us to make choices, as a matter of personal integrity, that do not cause suffering and premature death.



How could anymal activists inspire change in the absence of this shared moral foundation on which we build arguments and on which pleas for compassion rest? Yet activists tend to be unaware of the essential moral framework on which their work rests, a framework that is essential to bringing the changes that advocates hope to inspire. And while anymal activists may have good reason to feel that humans are, overall, completely indifferent to ethics, this is certainly not the case. Our collective dependence on shared morality and a commitment to moral consistency becomes obvious when we meet someone who does not (or pretends not to) share this fundamental moral framework. In such instances, someone might express complete indifference to the sufferings of sows in farrowing crates, or to the premature deaths of veal calves. Or they might express complete indifference to maintaining any sort of consistency between their words, understandings, and deeds. Activists who continue such a dialogue are generally wasting their time because those who profess not to care about suffering, and who do not admit to valuing life, will not be inspired to change when confronted with information about health concerns, world hunger, environmental degradation, and so on. *In the absence of this often undetected underlying moral commitment, there is simply no basis for concern, and no incentive for change.*

Anymal advocacy is *utterly dependent* on this moral common denominator. When people of conscience are confronted with images of an elephant being beaten by a trainer, a bobcat caught in a leg hold trap, or a downed cow in the dairy industry being pulled to slaughter on a chain, they tend to feel sadness and moral indignation, which can motivate both lifestyle changes and activism. Understanding the importance of this shared moral framework can help anymal activists to identify likely channels for advocacy. “Activist channels” might be used to designate other social justice causes that share overlapping concern with anymal advocacy. To remember primary concerns associated with anymal exploitation, including three key areas of overlap with other social justice causes, I use the acronym AMORE (“love” in Italian):

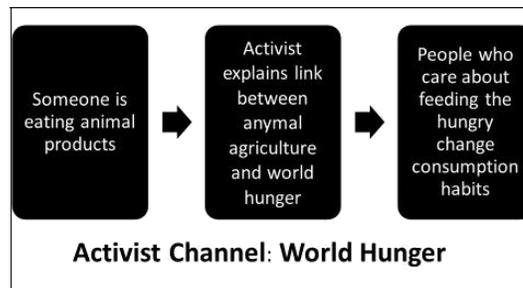
- **A**nymal suffering (homeless pets, anymals in labs, chickens in battery cages, and so on)
- **M**edical concerns (heart attacks, obesity, cancers, and so on)
- **O**ppressions (sexism, racism; poverty and world hunger; worker’s rights; and so on)
- **R**eligious Ethics (love, compassion, mercy, simplicity, reincarnation, and so on)
- **E**nvironment/**E**arth (deforestation, freshwater depletion, climate change, and so on)



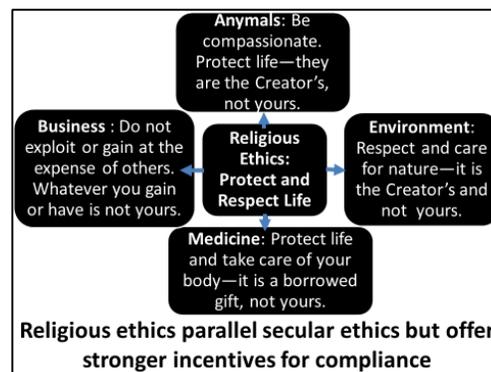
Medical concerns (AMORE: M for Medical)—especially diet and nutrition—are of increasing interest in light of rising costs of health care, and growing problems associated with diet, such as one in six children suffering from obesity—“[c]hildhood obesity is a serious concern in the United States,” (“Childhood Obesity”; “Childhood Overweight”). As it turns out, dairy, eggs, and meat are associated with the industrialized world’s leading killers, including heart disease, cancers, and strokes (“Leading,” n.d.). For those focused on human health in wealthy nations, and the soaring costs of medical care, dietary choices are a very important matter. Additionally, factory farms have proven ripe for zoonosis (diseases that can transfer from anymals to human beings, like bird and swine flu). A journal titled *Zoonoses and Public Health* has been around since 1954 (*Zoonosis*, 2016), and a quick Google search reveals that there is a noteworthy list of new books on the topic of intraspecies disease (*Amazon.com*, n.d.). Activists committed to public health or to fighting the growing cost of medical care constitute one of four key activist channels.



The third activist channel is composed of those working on behalf of oppressed peoples, whether against poverty or on behalf of worker’s rights (AMORE: “O” for oppression). Those working against hunger, once informed that 70% of U.S. grains and 60% of EU grains are fed to farmed anymals, are likely to agree that it is unethical “to feed grain to farmed animals . . . given that 854 million people worldwide suffer from hunger on a regular basis” (Kemmerer, 2014, p. 9). Those concerned about worker’s rights will likely be horrified to learn details of injury rates, neglected trainings, and a lack of insurance or medical leave offered to those working in slaughterhouses and on factory farms (Eisnitz, 2007, pp. 269-275).



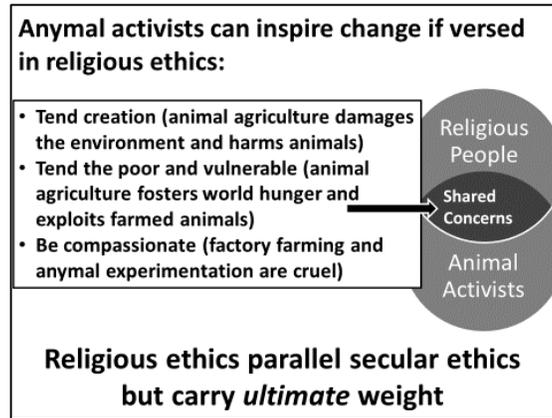
Though religions do not constitute a social justice movement per se, the message of animal advocacy is also likely to resonate with people who are sincere in their religious convictions (Kemmerer, 2012, p. 282). When asked which religions were the most animal-friendly, animal activist and scholar Paul Waldau (2007) replied, “All the ones that are listening to their heart” (p. 31). In key ways, religious ethics parallel secular ethics, likely because religion “forms and shapes the morality of any society” (Rivas, 2014, p. 58). For example, both religious and secular ethics encourage service, compassion, respect for life, and integrity—core elements of animal liberation (Rivas, 2014, p. 35 and 37; Kemmerer, 2012, p. 279).



In comparison with secular ethics, religious ethics tend to carry more weight. For example, some religions (including Christianity and Islam) teach that ethics shape the difference between salvation and damnation. Muhammad is reported to have said, “If anyone wrongfully kills [even] a sparrow, . . . he will face God’s interrogation” (Haq, 2003, p. 149). Religious traditions (such as Hinduism and Buddhism) rooted in karma teach that moral indifference is likely to lead to suffering and misery because any pain caused to other beings “will have to be suffered by that human being later, either in this life or in a later rebirth” (Jacobsen, 1994, p. 289). Indian traditions also teach that adherents might gain favorable rebirth by practicing *ahimsa*, by doing what “is good for all creatures” (O’Flaherty, 1988, p. 124).

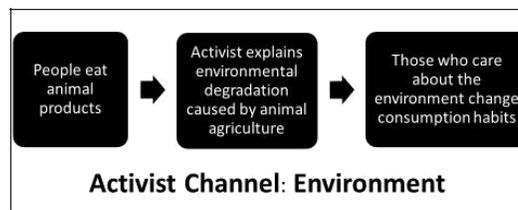
Because the stakes are so high when dealing with religious ethics, approaching the faithful can be extremely effective for inspiring change. In turn, working at the intersection of religious commitment and animal liberation requires a bit of specialized knowledge—activists need be versed in basic religious moral teachings. (See Kemmerer, *Animals and World Religions*, Oxford UP, 2012.) With this information in hand, an activist’s task is simple: Explain that the consumption of animal products, for instance, is a luxury among privileged peoples such as those in the European Union and the United States, and that such a diet perpetuates gross suffering and massive premature death and causes considerable environmental degradation, while preventing basic sustenance from reaching the mouths of the poor. Those who are sincere in a faith that is

rooted in compassion, sharing, simplicity, and/or humility—ethics that are foundational in every major religion—are compelled by such new information, at a minimum, to ponder what they put in their mouths. Additionally, they are likely to discuss this new information with others who share their faith, perhaps inspiring others to rethink consumption habits in order to avoid wasting grains by cycling them through farmed animals.



Those concerned about forests, waterways, and wildlife—and oftentimes human suffering caused by environmental degradation—provide the final activist channel (AMORE: E for Environment).

There is nothing so damaging to Earth as our habit of eating anyman, and as a matter of consistency—as a matter of personal integrity—environmentalists ought to be vegan (See Kemmerer, *Eating Earth*, Oxford UP, 2014 and Oppenlander, *Comfortably Unaware*, Langdon Street, 2011). When environmentalists of integrity come to understand the link between anyman agriculture and climate change or between anyman agriculture and freshwater reduction, for example, they have every reason to unite against the meat, dairy, and egg industries



Social justice advocates fighting causes that intersect with animal liberation, easily remembered with the acronym AMORE, can become worthy allies because they are already activists who care about bringing change. Sometimes, when they come to understand how other social justice issues overlap with animal liberation, they will add animal advocacy to their social justice work, at least in some measure. I have bumped into a number of very strong and worthy animal advocates who started out in other social justice movements.



Activist channels provide more likely ground for change because they provide a confluence that unites the concerns of animal advocacy and the concerns of other social justice activists. Knowing this, animal activists can choose to work at these junctures, focusing on overlapping concerns such as environmental human health, world hunger, worker’s rights, and environmental degradation (AMORE). Activists from other social justice causes who are not yet vegan, for example, perhaps an environmentalist or someone working to combat world hunger—if they are sincere in their concerns and *if* they are open to new information—can become powerful allies both because they are already activists and because they are already committed to a cause that is worsened by animal agriculture.

Stacked Exploitations and Linked Oppressions

Writing about the lives of Black (holding with Crenshaw's term) women in 1989, African American legal theorist and distinguished Professor of Law at UCLA, Kimberlé Crenshaw (1989), put the term "intersectionality" on the map by providing a graphic example of what this term describes. Intersectionality was coined to describe the plight of individuals who hold more than one attribute against which others tend to be prejudiced, in the case of Crenshaw's research, being Black and female. Crenshaw (1989) noted that the legal system treated these attributes as if they were separate and distinct, but in fact they exist together in the lives of individuals, compounding prejudice and difficulties likely to be associated with prejudice. Crenshaw (1989) offered this example: U.S. anti-discrimination laws protect *either* minority races *or* women, *but not women of minority races*. Consequently, if a company fired all African-American female employees, and those employees filed a discrimination lawsuit, they could find no justice through U.S. anti-discrimination laws *so long as Black men or Caucasian women were still employed* (Crenshaw, 1989). In the words of Crenshaw (1991), "the intersection of racism and sexism factors into Black women's lives in ways that cannot be captured wholly by looking at the race or gender dimensions of those experiences separately" (p. 1244).

Women of color simultaneously experience prejudice against women and prejudice against people of color. Crenshaw's work (1989) graphically exposed the intersectional nature of racism and sexism—these two factors (being black and female) compound the miseries that prejudice brings on the lives of Black women. It is as if a woman of color were standing in the middle of a traffic intersection where she can be hit simultaneously by the misogyny-truck and the racism-truck. And if she has other unjustly denigrated attributes, she can be hit from yet other angles: If she is a lesbian, she can be hit by the heterosexism-truck, if she is older, the ageism-truck, and if disabled, the ableism-truck. Such an individual is, indeed, standing in the middle of a congested and high-risk intersection, where prejudice and oppression are likely to encroach from all sides.

This, then, is the context of intersectionality as coined and developed by African American scholars and activists. At some point, animal activists (such as myself) started to apply the term intersectionality to speciesism in a variety of novel ways, often with little or no understanding of the term's original meaning and purpose. Most commonly, this term is coopted to describe sexism expressed across species and speciesism expressed across sex. For example, both farmed animals and women are denigrated and sexually exploited, as evidenced by images of cow-women and woman-cows.



Other times this term is used to describe academic affiliations in reference to points at which different fields of study intersect with anymal studies, such as the crossroads of ethics and biology: Ethicists explain why sentience is always morally important while biologists explain how we know that anymals are sentient. Still other anymal activists apply “intersectionality” in a way that seems to better reflect this term’s original use, exploring compound oppressions in anymals. For example, I live with a pit bull mix, Woggie (aka Rose), who is both black and female, who had much trouble finding a home. Shelters tend to struggle to home dogs who are black indicating that adopters in our culture tend to have a measure of prejudice against black “pets,” termed “black dog syndrome” (Amanda, n.d.). Additionally, in the days when one could adopt an unneutered cat or dog, females were harder to home because they menstruate, because of the additional cost of spaying, and because of the fear of unwanted offspring. The unscrupulous adopter might well conclude that, by adopting a male dog or cat, they could avoid the cost of neutering without dealing with the complications of menstruation or pregnancy.

Did Woggie, suffer the effects of intersectionality as described in Crenshaw’s work? No. Comparing prejudice against Black *people* with prejudice against black *fur* is an equivocation of the term “black”—Black in reference to African American heritage entails much more than surface color. Moreover, racism is far more insidious and complicated than a preference for a particular fur color when adopting a dog or cat. Similarly, a human preference for male dogs as pets is nothing like intraspecies sexism and misogyny in human beings. Such misuse of “intersectionality”—largely by privileged scholars and activists—has no doubt been hurtful to at least some people who have personally experienced the ravages of sexism and racism overlapping in their experience of prejudice, and has no doubt been a frustration for those who understand the meaning and original application of intersectionality. Furthermore, in a dualistic, hierarchical, racist, sexist, speciesist society, it is ill-advised to compare the oppression of a marginalized person or persons with the oppression of yet more marginalized anymals. This is nowhere more true than when privileged people speak to people from marginalized communities about speciesism. In such cases “the otherness of nonhuman animals” (Scholtmeijer, 1995, p. 234) may be perceived as likely to pull marginalized people further “down into a condition of defeat” (ibid.) alongside anymals. Marginalized, oppressed people in speciesist societies tend to be offended when compared with pigs, chickens, or cows for good reason. Indeed, animalizing women and people of color is not

uncommon (Adams, pp. 45-46). Whether or not anymal activists are happy about this reaction, it is a reality, and offending marginalized peoples is not likely to improve the situation for any of those who are marginalized—including anymals.

This leads to a further point as regards word use and sensitivity to marginalized, oppressed peoples. Not only should privileged anymal activists stop misappropriating the term intersectionality, we ought to stop using analogies such as those of slavery and rape when describing anymal abuse. Bringing up the topic of slavery in a room dominated by Caucasians calls attention to visible racial difference, and is likely to alienate an already marginalized minority in the anymal liberation community. This is true no matter how nuanced that conversation might be, at least in part because “slavery” references just one *historic* manifestation of a many-faceted, painful, *ongoing* problem—systemic racism. Referencing racism as if it were only situated in our (embarrassing and ugly) past, belies the truth, while such references of race and oppression actually reinforce difference, highlight privilege, and further marginalize those who are already marginalized. Such analogies are micro-aggressions—and “micro” as used in this term by no means implies small or insignificant.

As a Caucasian, I perhaps best understand how such references might feel via my own reaction to the analogy of rape when used by men. Men have no reality with rape as experienced by women—not that men are never raped, only that their experience of rape, because of male privilege and power, cannot be that of women, who are systematically disempowered, objectified, sexualized, and exploited. For those identified as women, rape almost always entails physical force from an empowered male and is accompanied by the dreaded possibility of pregnancy. Additionally, fear of rape does not generally shape where men go, or when, or whom they trust, how they feel about their bodies, or whether or not they are able to enjoy sex. And “rape” is much more likely to be a trigger for women than for men. Referencing rape reminds women of their jeopardized safety in relation to that of men. It reminds women of their physical wounds in a misogynist culture, of every negative sexual encounter they ever suffered, and of male privilege. (Such a reaction may also be suffered by those who are transgender, with the additional weight of transphobia.) Through this lens I can better understand how the analogy of slavery, when used by Caucasians, is likely to offend people of color, and why such references are micro-aggressions—though by no means small. For these reasons, comparing one form of oppression to another (through the use of analogies such as slavery and rape) is likely to alienate the very people anymal activists and scholars hope to work with in our struggle for anymal liberation.

While it may be easy for anymal activists to draw analogies between anymal exploitation and other forms of oppression, such comparisons drawn by the privileged are just one more manifestation of racism and/or sexism. As anymal activists, our intent is presumably to reduce suffering in the world and work with others to achieve total liberation for all living beings. Choosing analogies that remind “others” of their disempowered status, or of the many pains they have suffered as targets of prejudice, works against both goals. Instead, such analogies are likely to cause yet more suffering, and are therefore morally objectionable. On all counts, privileged anymal liberationists

ought to avoid such comparisons, and any others that are likely to offend and alienate marginalized and/or disempowered peoples. Whether or not these comparisons seem apt or effective, comparing a black dog with a Black woman, forced pregnancy with rape, and anymal agriculture with slavery is highly likely to offend. For a privileged person to risk offending those who are already disenfranchised by using what they figure to be a powerful analogy in the hope of reducing suffering and bringing positive change is absolutely not an acceptable, reasonable, or enlightened approach. Further, if anymal advocates genuinely believe that oppressions are interconnected, then activists ought to be willing to alter language as a matter of sensitivity to oppressed and marginalized human beings—especially given that anymal activists would like others to alter much more pervasive and foundational behaviors on behalf of anymals, such as diet. Those who stand within disempowered communities referenced by such analogies are, of course, free to decide whether or not they would like to use these analogies, but those outside of these communities must not. As one woman speaking to other women, with regard to the use of rape, I advise against the use of this analogy/term given the likelihood of further harming those who are already painfully wounded. Especially given that, it is easy to find other ways of describing such exploitation of anymals, for example by replacing “rape” with forced impregnation, which is actually a more accurate description. Moreover, analogies are not necessary to outreach because the extensive sufferings of anymals stand quite well on their own.

Similarly, if people from marginalized or oppressed communities object to the (mis)use of “intersectionality” by privileged anymal activists, then the privileged ought to choose another word. Indeed, a lively discussion has ensued as to whether or not anymal activists ought to use the term “intersectionality” (Martindill, 2015). Continuing to use a term that was coined by Black scholars (to describe oppressions that Black women face) to reference anymal suffering and exploitation *even after people inside communities of color have clearly stated their objections to such use*, is not acceptable.

At the end of the day, there is much that privileged people need to understand about prejudice and privilege—not just to be good activists, but to be good citizens. There is—and should be—a steep learning curve for comparatively privileged anymal activists who endeavor to work against multiple forms of oppression. There certainly has been for me. I speak from experience when I note that, even before we fully understand why—even if we never understand why—we ought to honor and respect the voices of those within prejudice-targeted communities. Furthermore, oppressed populations are not responsible to explain privilege to privileged activists, or to explain why they find certain comparisons or terminology offensive. Maybe we will come to understand why, but even if we do not, privileged activists with integrity cannot willfully choose to use offensive, hurtful analogies or terms in the name of justice and liberation.

Patricia Hill Collins (2002) discussed intersectionality as a “micro-level process” describing how individuals and groups occupy “a social position *within* interlocking structures of oppression” (p. 82, italics added). She introduced the term “interlocking systems of oppression” (Collins *et al*, 2002, p. 82) to explain overarching mechanisms that undergird oppression, social structures that

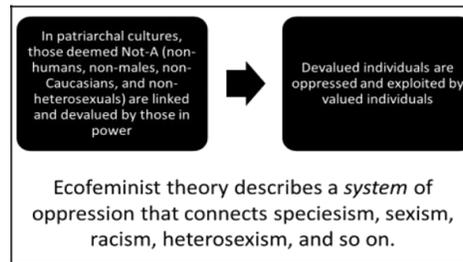
engender, for example, racism *and* classism *and* heterosexism. Intersectionality (on a micro-level) and “interlocking structures of oppression” (Collins *et al*, 2002, p. 82) (on a macro-level), shape and drive oppression.

Patricia Hill Collins’ (2002) conception of “interlocking structures of oppression” shares key elements with ecofeminists, who note that “major systems of oppression are interlocking” (Combahee, 1977, p. 38). Ecofeminism offers a variety of paradigms that describe how diverse prejudices and oppressions are interconnected, such as false value dualisms and hierarchy. Carol Adams labels these fabricated dualistic categories “A” and “Not A” (Adams, 2003, p. 50).

False Value Dualisms	<u>A</u>	<u>Not A</u>
	Male	Not Male
	Reason	Without Reason
	Abled	Not Abled
	Spirit	Not Spirit
	Heterosexual	Not Heterosexual
	Controlled	Not Controlled
	Caucasian	Not Caucasian
	Light	Not Light
	Civilized	Not Civilized
	Human	Not Human
	Mind	Not Mind

The “A” category contains the preferred model, the prototype. Those in the “Not A” category are denigrated in relation to the A category—man over woman, human over chicken, Caucasian over those of Latin American viewed as instrumental—means to the ends of those in the A category. In order to uphold this decent, and hetero over queer. Those in the Not A category are also associated with one another and power-over structure (and the short-term advantages of exploiting others) those in the A category “maintain a strong distinction and maximize distance” (Plumwood, 1991, p. 23) between A and Not-A groupings and individuals.

False value dualisms lead to oppression. “Ecofeminists see the oppression of women, people of color, children, lesbians and gays and the destruction of nature as linked and mutually reinforcing because of a system of domination that is legitimized and perpetuated by various institutions such as the state, the military, religion, the patriarchal family, and industrial capitalism” (Heller, 1995, p. 351).



Employing Ecofeminist philosophy, it is easy to see speciesism, racism, sexism, classism, heterosexism, and so on, stemming from the same underlying *system* of oppression that stems from and shapes our larger worldview, which is rooted in false value dualisms and hierarchy. These “isms” are therefore “linked oppressions.” Linked oppressions are a social phenomenon that stems from and reinforces a particular worldview, such as that of false value dualisms.

Note that many on the Not A side are burdened with more than one “Not A” attribute. If we return to the case of Woggie, we can better understand why she lingered at the shelter: She suffers from several burdens, aversions, discriminations—whatever we might like to call a tendency toward negativity with regard to a particular attribute. Woggie is not white (as distinct from but I some ways connected with Caucasian and prejudice against blackness), not male, not human, and viewed as not rational or of God/spirit (because she is not human) and not civilized/tame (because she is a pit-bull). Five Not A attributes and their accompanying prejudices were stacked against her as she looked hopefully out from her cage, and these stacked discriminations compounded to make her life more difficult and her adoption less likely. For example, dogs like Woggie have been,

- as females, exploited for reproductive biology, to produce fighting dogs;
- as pit-bulls, banned from certain “civilized” areas;
- as anymals, owned as property and granted no rights of their own;
- and as anymals, euthanized because they were viewed as having no significance or value of their own.

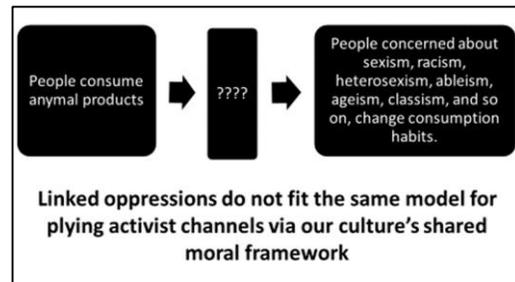
Stacked prejudice and stacked exploitations are experienced by individuals.

Consider a second and more generic example—a random Holstein cow (a breed most often exploited for dairy in the United States). She suffers from at least three stacked discriminations: not human, not male, and not rational, and as with Woggie, based on these stacked aversions or prejudices, Holsteins suffer from stacked exploitation: As an anymal she is owned as property and is assumed to have no right to life or liberty; viewed as an irrational anymal, she is granted no innate value as an individual and so is killed for her flesh; and as a female she is exploited for her reproductive biology (veal calves and cow’s milk). The plight of Woggie and that of Holstein cows demonstrate how stacked discriminations result in stacked exploitations.

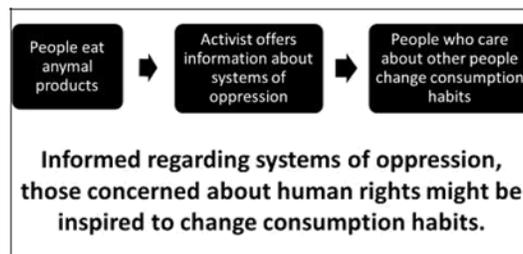
To relate this back to activist channels and ethics, recall the importance of our shared moral framework for social justice advocacy.



When we apply this to linked oppressions, note that this model does not appear to work.



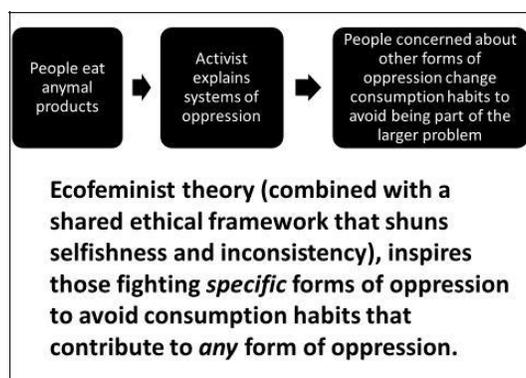
The model does not appear to work in such instances because of what is commonly referred to as “the invisibility of privilege” (Salamon, 2006; Yancy, 2004; Sullivan, Shannon, & Tuana, 2007; Harper, 2010). Luckily, theories that expose systems of oppression, such as Collins’ explanation of “interlocking structures of oppression” and ecofeminism’s false value dualisms provide the necessary connection.



Understanding systems of oppression leads to the conclusion that liberation movements *are all inextricably bound together*—if oppressions are linked then liberation is linked. This means that *effective social justice advocates must avoid feeding into one form of oppression while fighting another*. Activists hoping to liberate pigs and pullets ought to avoid contributing to sexism and racism, ageism and classism, ableism and heterosexism. And those working against environmental racism or poverty ought to avoid oppressing anymals—which requires that sincere environmentalists go vegan. In light of interlocking oppressions, social justice activists must take

a stand on behalf of *all* who are oppressed if they hope to liberate *any* who are oppressed (Kemmerer, 2011, pp. 7-16).

As noted, anymal activists engaging at the confluence of activist channels need only understand how anymal exploitation overlaps with a particular social justice concern, such as human health or environmental degradation, for example, in order to discuss anymal exploitation with omnivores. In contrast, those engaging with religious communities must additionally have a fair understanding of the basic religious ethics of those they hope to influence: Buddhist ahimsa to engage with Buddhists, service and humility to engage with Christians, and so on. Yet more is required of those engaging with “linked oppressions” (social justice activists fighting racism, sexism, ageism, ableism, heterosexism, classism, and so on). Such activists must understand systems of oppression—without this additional knowledge there is tremendous risk of inadvertently reinforcing privilege and oppression (systems of oppression).



Those engaging with linked oppressions must also be sincere in their concern for other oppressed groups and not only their concern for anymals. Early anymal activists—myself included—tended to be privileged and narrow, with a limited understanding of other social justice concerns. There were, of course, a few bright lights in the movement (such as Marti Kheel, Greta Gaard, & Carol Adams), who demonstrated an awareness of linked oppressions early on. Sadly, such informed individuals were few and far between, and remain a small minority in the animal liberation movement to this day.

Ecofeminist analysis, especially when combined with a commitment to moral consistency, inspires a commitment to help any and all oppressed groups. That said, expecting activists to thoroughly understand important contemporary nuances and in-depth history of all oppressed groups is unreasonable—though it would certainly be ideal. Linked oppressions and moral consistency *do* require that *all* social justice activists *aspire to prevent all forms of oppression*. This means, for example, that feminists who are in a position to do so ought to go vegan to align with the cause of anymal liberation. Anymal activists who are in a position to do so ought to defend the rights of trans individuals and buy minimally packaged, organic food (using cloth bags) in order to preserve and protect the environment. Environmentalists ought to go vegan and hire leaders who are women

and people of color. *All* advocacy organizations ought to have leaders who stand within marginalized communities—such as those identifying as lesbian, Native American, female, trans, differently abled, and so on. Those identifying among the oppressed ought to feel free to claim spaces where they can meet without oppressors, and those in the movement who are overtly insensitively to others and/ or who exploit and harm women (most often it is women within the movement, and is therefore very noticeable) ought to be overtly shunned and rejected—at a minimum, they ought to be denied access to positions of power, including leadership of any kind and speaking engagements. In light of linked oppressions, effective advocacy requires leadership by the marginalized. This diversity of backgrounds, knowledge, traditions, customs, beliefs, and ideas ought to shape and reshape activist strategies, methods, and goals. The voices of the marginalized and the oppressed ought to ring from megaphones and podiums, while those who are comparatively privileged listen and learn. If we intend to stand against linked oppressions, the privileged must stand down.

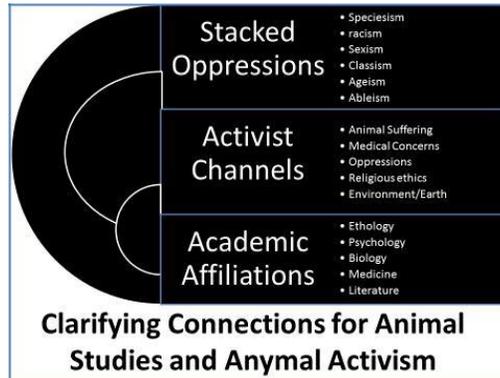
It is now clear that fighting for one's pet cause (pun intended) while fostering other forms of exploitation is not only narrow and selfish, but ultimately ineffective. In light of linked oppressions, privileged activists must be sincerely interested in dismantling larger systems of oppression and in helping to bring equality to all oppressed groups, both as a matter of strategy (one cannot prevent speciesism while fostering sexism or racism, for example), and as a matter of personal integrity (living up to our own understanding of linked oppressions). I again remind that tapping into the sufferings of humanity with the sole intent of bringing change for animals (without compassion for those approached—without intent to also relieve *their* suffering)—or worse yet for self aggrandizement, including access to sexual opportunities—is selfish, insensitive, myopic (in other words, immoral) and cannot ultimately result in the total liberation that is necessary if we are to free anymals from the cruelties of humanity.

Cross-fertilization

Of course the world of academics and activists is intertwined. For example, where would anymal activism be today without moral foundations developed by Peter Singer and Tom Regan? How would we understand interlocking oppressions without the work of Collins and ecofeminists? Scholars provide activists with information that is vital to the cause of liberation in key areas such as ethics, biology, and sociology. In addition, scholars are sometimes activists. On learning about anymal exploitation or linked oppressions, academics sometimes go vegan, engage in direct action, and/or found educational nonprofit organizations on behalf of anymals.

Activist channels (AMORE) rest on theories and subject-specific information		
	Helpful theories	Subject-specific examples
Anymal Suffering	Ethical theories (utilitarianism, rights theory)	On what basis might only humans hold a right to life?
Medical Concerns	Medical Ethics ("Do no harm")	Flesh, dairy, and eggs are linked with heart disease and cancers.
Oppressions	Ecofeminism (systems of oppression)	Animal abuse is linked to domestic violence.
Religious Ethics	Religious Ethics (ahimsa, service, compassion)	Elephants in zoos suffer from chronic foot problems.
Environment	Ecofeminism and/or Environmental Ethics	Hunting, linked with constructs of manhood, damages ecosystems.

In return, anymal activists provide scholars with essential information, such as undercover footage, which informs dialogue in ethics, literature, and law. Such graphic visuals sometimes motivate scholars to activism—or they can motivate activists to become scholars, as I did many years ago. Both activists and scholars validate and inspire one other—on a daily basis, I am inspired and motivated by the works of scholars and activists alike.



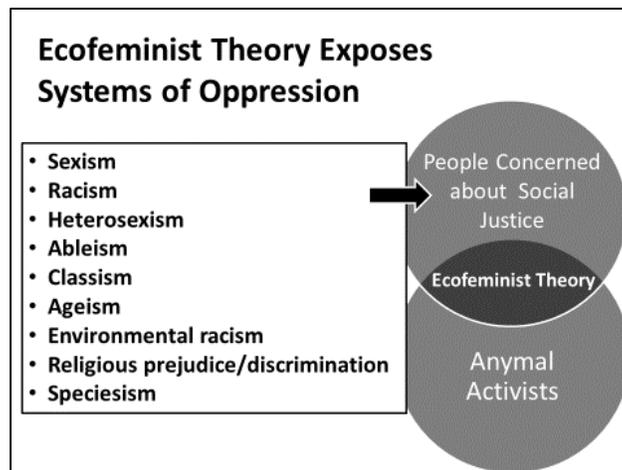
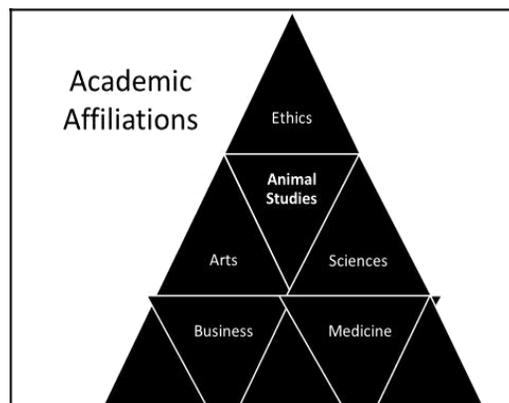
Conclusion

Anymal studies has grown tremendously in recent years, overlapping with other fields of study to create a host of academic affiliations, and is now recognized as overlapping with other prejudices to create stacked exploitations in the lives of individual. The denigration and exploitation of anymals is also linked to other forms of oppression, such as racism, transphobia, sexism, classism, and ableism, as evidenced by Ecofeminism. Choosing terms that distinguish clearly between these various areas of growth and interconnected phenomenon is increasingly important if anymal activists and animal studies scholars are to communicate effectively and respectfully.

Understanding false value dualisms helps to visually demonstrate why anymals, alongside disempowered human beings, suffer from stacked denigrations that lead to stacked exploitations. This has led at least some dedicated anymal activists to learn more about privilege and prejudice, and to change behaviors accordingly. Grasping linked oppressions (and just being a decent person in general) requires privileged anymal activists to be more informed (and concerned) about an

array of social justice issues, which in turn requires that anymal activists be more thoughtful and sensitive when choosing words and using analogies.

In light of stacked prejudice and exploitation and linked oppressions, those who are privilege in relation to others in the movement need to quit taking up more than their fair share of space and power. Perhaps most obviously, men in the movement need to quit objectifying and exploiting women, as most commonly evidenced by language choice and through their serial sexual relations—especially with women who are significantly younger. In a world where white male domination replicates existing structures of power and reaffirms systems of oppression, mimicking and reaffirming sexism, racism, and other “isms” that are common in the larger culture destroys the hope that anymal activists must necessarily hold for reshaping our relationship with anymals, the earth, and one another.



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Reclaiming the University: A Review of *Policing the Campus: Academic Repression, Surveillance, and the Occupy Movement*

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RECLAIMING THE UNIVERSITY: A REVIEW OF *POLICING THE CAMPUS: ACADEMIC REPRESSION, SURVEILLANCE, AND THE OCCUPY MOVEMENT*

Introduction

The United States is in the midst of a worsening crisis of democratic legitimacy. Wealth and income inequality are at historic levels, perhaps more severe than at any other point in our history (Kishore, 2013; 2014). Research has concluded that political decision-making power is wielded

almost exclusively by wealthy elites, while the average citizen has virtually no input (Gilens & Page, 2014). Our community police forces are inheriting billions of dollars of military equipment, which they regularly use to suppress dissent and to kill civilians, with black bodies bearing the brunt of the violence (Chen, 2014). Our government has passed numerous laws and colluded with communications and technology corporations with the intent to surveil our every thought and movement (Boghosian, 2013). Journalists and whistleblowers who expose official corruption and illegal activity are being prosecuted harshly and in record numbers (Greenwald, 2015; Rottman, 2014). These conditions are part and parcel of the socio-economic-political logic of neoliberalism and the ruling class' avaricious desire to eviscerate the welfare state and completely privatize any remaining institutions that serve the public good. Critical commentators have referred to the US as a corporate oligarchy under which the populace is cowed into submission by the increasing precarity of their economic livelihoods and fear of police state violence.

Review

It is within this culture of greed, violence, and above all, fear, that *Policing the Campus: Academic Repression, Surveillance and the Occupy Movement* analyzes current conditions within higher education. Editors Anthony Nocella and David Gabbard have assembled a hard-hitting, detail-rich volume, bookended with a provocative preface by renowned author and journalist Christian Parenti, and a strong closing chapter by Henry Giroux, one of the foremost scholars of critical pedagogy. The book describes the specific ways neoliberalizing government and corporations have infiltrated and put higher education institutions under siege in an ongoing effort to privatize them to suit their ideological needs while extracting maximum profits. What makes this book so urgent is the belief, held by many, that higher education remains a central site for instilling critical thinking skills and preparing the populace for informed and active participation in democratic decision making. bell hooks argued, as quoted by Van Heertum, "the classroom remains the most radical space of possibility in the academy" (p. 67). It is precisely this radical potential that the powerful wish to extinguish.

The book is organized into three thematic sections. Part I: Campus Police looks at how campus police and university administration work to quash student dissent and limit academic freedoms. Part II: The Surveilled Campus discusses the many technologies and strategies used to monitor, put fear into, and silence students and faculty. Part III: From Defending Public Education to the Occupy Movement is a call for broad-based mobilization and coalition building among Occupy, students and faculty. Despite being arranged in such a way, the themes do bleed considerably into one another, as it is impossible to discuss one without including the others.

Part I: Policing

The university, despite its long record in helping to create the technologies and weapons used by the police and military, has not always been as heavily policed and weaponized as it is currently. Throughout the 40s there really was no such a thing as campus police as we would currently

recognize them. Today's heavily policed campus is the result of a backlash, in the first instance, to the student movement of the 60s and early 70s. A second and more ominous turn has occurred in the political climate post September 11. Now we are seeing police armed to the teeth with all manner of weapons, exhibiting no compunction in using them against peacefully protesting students. The cover of the book clearly demonstrates one such incident as Officer Pike of the UC Davis campus police very casually sprays weapons grade pepper spray directly in the faces of nonviolent seated protesters. It would seem, as put by Brucato and Fernandez, "the chickens are literally coming home to roost" (p. 82).

As the first few chapters lay out, the reasons for such excessive and unwarranted use of force are manifold. Universities are governed by regents, trustees, and boards of directors that consist of a revolving door of members of government and corporate executives. More than ever, the university is woven into the needs of major corporations and government agencies, with partnerships and endowments that make the university in some cases the mere research and development arm of their operations. It is in this way that the university is construed as private property instead of public, and it is this newly regarded private space that needs to be so brutally policed. Those who govern the university fear that dissenting, activist students may reveal uncomfortable truths about what is going on behind closed doors, beyond public scrutiny. They also worry that their brand image or that of the sponsoring corporation may be tarnished or that they might be perceived as unable to control their own students. It is crucial for the perceived legitimacy of existing power relations to remain unquestioned. Policing the university is meant to enforce a rigid insider/outsider – deserving/underserving dichotomy in which students of color and community members are often categorized as inherently violent threats and suffer disproportionately at the hands of campus police. This is part of the gatekeeping function of the university, which we will turn to again later. The end result of all this policing is the limiting of free speech and the criminalization of dissent, a dangerous arrangement for democracy.

Campus policing does not only target students, nor is it an activity conducted solely by campus police. Kim Socha, in chapter four, extends our conceptualization of policing to include Policed Pedagogy. This is defined as teaching "under external repressive and controlling conditions and influences...which prevents silences, represses and controls teachers from being free to do their jobs as they best see fit" (pp. 40-41). This type of policing is performed primarily by lavishly paid, high-level administrators who, having shamelessly internalized the free-market mantra of cutthroat individualism, wish to control and dictate education and the curriculum. Policing of this sort is done in order to neutralize any dissenting voices and critical thinking that pose a threat to the profit-making and ideological agenda of those corporations and national security agencies that have established business and research partnerships with the university. As part of a deskilling process, contract faculty may have little to no input in what they teach as books and lesson plans are preselected and/or written for them by senior faculty, administration, or in some cases, corporations themselves! This undemocratic centralizing of control contributes to a climate of fear,

compounded by the threat of dismissal, a very real possibility for the one third and over two thirds of part-time/contract faculty at four-year institutions and community colleges respectively. The chapter by Madeloni exemplifies this as she lost her job for taking a stance against corporate encroachment at her institution.

Part II: Surveillance

Part two examines the ways that fear is used as an operative mechanism to control faculty and students, not by the overt actions described above, but by the more insidious and covert surveillance techniques and technologies used against them by campus police and administrators. Surveillance of dissenting discourse, and infiltration of activist groups are nothing new, the powerful have used these tactics for generations - COINTELPRO is but one disgraceful instance. The "Student Activism Response Team", established at UC Davis purportedly to protect students, is a current iteration. The difference, today, is the advanced technology at the disposal of the powerful to more effectively conduct expansive monitoring of activity. Surveillance is an endemic problem for students and faculty. For instance, third parties can easily breach the privacy of electronic communications. In chapter seven, Brucato and Fernandez explain how the exponential increase in the number of surveillance cameras on campus, combined with access points requiring some form of identification, increasingly biometric, allow for constant and virtually uninterrupted monitoring of students on some campuses. These technologies help to reinforce the insider/outsider divide that positions the university as a private space of privilege and profit generation, as community members are unable to gain access to the facilities. The fact that this level of surveillance has gone virtually unquestioned is testament to the effectiveness of fearmongering related to the attacks of September 11 and the real, but exaggerated threat of potential campus shooters. We must question the claim that this is done for our own good, and instead identify this monitoring as the circumscription of our freedoms that it is.

Habituation to these intrusions begins at a very early age, as Kaltefleiter carefully details in chapter eight, with technologies such as RFID tags being attached to schoolchildren in order to monitor their every movement. Through this long-term behavioral conditioning we become a society that is prepared to either control others, or more likely, be controlled. I am reminded of the way circus elephants are trained to submit to their captors: as young elephants they are kept in place by a chain attached to a strong stake driven deep into the ground. By adulthood it possible to use a simple rope instead. Through learned helplessness they have lost any impulse to challenge the rope that binds them, they acquiesce completely regardless of whether the stake is firmly planted in the ground.

As might be expected, this section of the book is heavily infused with Foucault's writings on surveillance and the panopticon. The ideas expressed are easy to follow, even for readers without a background in Foucault's work. Van Heertum, in chapter six, advances our understanding of surveillance society by introducing us to the concept of the synopticon. He expands on Foucault's

analyses by describing how we have morphed from a society that is surveilled by a central observer, to one where we have been conditioned to surveil one another. The end goal is to instill fear, self-regulation and internalization of existing power structures in the hopes of inducing behavioral modification. An example of this is when students at UCLA were offered money by an outside organization to record and report on lectures given by professors there. In effect, this policing of behavior and speech heavily curtails or even silences dissent and academic freedom. Non-tenured professors are most affected, as they fear their contracts may not be renewed if they somehow step out of line.

Chapter nine by DeMuth and Pellow in this section gave me reason for considerable self-reflection. The authors argue that academics who do research on social movements have a responsibility to share resources, create an environment of mutual knowledge creation and exchange, and to work together towards mutually beneficial goals. I worked as a research assistant for the first two years of my PhD, gathering information and conducting interviews with women on their specific roles and experiences within the Occupy Movement. It was empowering on an intellectual level to have confirmation, counter to what was being reported by corporate media, that Occupy did have specific, tangible objectives. Nevertheless, the study was very much a one-way exchange in which the principle investigator became the sole beneficiary, in the form of conference presentations and journal articles. There was only information gathering, never any sharing of resources, exchanging of knowledge, or movement towards achieving common goals. Despite our research team's political affinity with Occupy, we never provided any real benefit to their movement. Demuth and Pellow paraphrase Foucault, "knowledge of a population leads to power and control over that group" (p. 127). That being the case, we might as well have been conducting intelligence gathering for the state.

Part III: Occupy, and Concluding Thoughts

Policing the Campus provides a comprehensive and cogent, critical analysis of the myriad forces working against the liberatory potential of the university and those students and faculty striving for that ideal. The book goes beyond analysis, however. It is a powerful, empowering, and fearless call to action that provides examples, guidelines, and strategies on how to fight back against oppressive, undemocratic forces. In the opening chapter, Del Gandio calls for critical democracy that "tends towards a more direct, participatory democracy" (p. 12) to replace our deficient, moribund representative democracy. In chapter thirteen, Thomson and Abrams, co-founders of Occupy Colleges, share what they've learned about solidarity, autonomous organization, consensus, direct action tactics, effective use of social media, and resisting police violence, which they have garnered through their involvement in various student activist organizations. Stephens, in chapter twelve, devotes six pages to a twenty-point plan for faculty, students, and administrators with integrity, delineating what they can do to fight back against repression, abusive authority, injustice, and subversion of democracy. In the final chapter, Giroux suggests that faculty build coalitions with and learn from student members of Occupy. He envisions faculty support to include

inviting Occupy members to speak to their classes and applying pressure to faculty unions to provide student activists with financial and media resources.

The book provides examples of courageous and selfless faculty such as chapter contributor, Barbara Madeloni, who despite being untenured, took a stand against corporate encroachment and the system of “accountability” and surveillance at her institution for which she lost her job. She prioritized the greater good, arguing, “...if I find myself thinking that I live in a world where it is too dangerous to speak out, that is when I absolutely must speak out” (p. 63). In chapter eleven, Augusto and Setele share the actions of fearless professors at UC Davis, including untenured Professor Nathan Brown, who wrote an open letter to Chancellor Katehi, demanding her immediate resignation for her role in ordering in the police who ultimately attacked peaceful protesters with weapons-grade pepper spray. These inspirational faculty, seemed to be channeling the message and spirit of the famous, and still very relevant speech given in 1964 by the political activist Mario Savio:

There's a time when the operation of the machine becomes so odious, makes you so sick at heart that you can't take part! You can't even passively take part! And you've got to put your bodies upon the gears and upon the wheels, upon the levers, upon all the apparatus – and you've got to make it stop! And you've got to indicate to the people who run it, to the people who own it – that unless you're free the machine will be prevented from working at all!! (www.savio.org)

As is made clear throughout, we must not stay silent in these dark times. Stephens, borrowing from Martin Niemöller’s ominous poem, concludes her chapter with the following:

First they came for the anarchists, but I’m not an anarchist, don’t know any anarchists, and don’t really understand them...Then they came for the journalists, and there was nobody left to tell me what was happening. Then they came for the theologians and philosophers, and I had no one left to help me understand. And now I’m sitting in this cell, wondering how much longer I can stand the loneliness—in this nightmare of grief and loss, that’s the hardest thing to bear. (p.183)

I wholeheartedly agree with her concluding exhortation: “Let’s get engaged, colleagues. We must. We really, really must” (p.183).

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