IDENTITY SHIFTING: PEOPLE FOR THE ETHICAL TREATMENT OF ANIMALS AND THE EROSION OF THE ANIMAL/HUMAN DIVIDE

by

WENDY ATKINS-SAYRE

(Under the Direction of John M. Murphy)

ABSTRACT

People for the Ethical Treatment of Animals (PETA), arguably the most successful animal rights organization, encounters a tremendous obstacle in selling the animal rights message to a broad audience. Faced with the entrenched belief in the nature/culture, animal/human divide, they are forced to chip away at those divisions using a number of different rhetorical tactics. This project argues that PETA pulls from different threads of identity arguments that appeal to a wide range of individuals. In arguing against animal testing, they use dissociation to create a corrupted and an ethical science and invite a reassessment of our understanding of animal identity. In many of their visual campaigns, PETA encourages identity-questioning by blurring the lines between human and animal and emphasizing shared characteristics. Other campaigns use intertextuality to develop a story that highlights shared substance between human and animal by comparing animal and human atrocities. This project concludes that identity rhetoric is a vital part of contemporary social movements and rhetorical studies must account for this change.

INDEX WORDS: Animal rights, People for the Ethical Treatment of Animals, PETA, Kenneth Burke, Dissociation, Hierarchy, Perspective by Incongruity,

Analogy, Intertextuality, Identity, Identification, Social Movement Rhetoric

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DEDICATION

For Gillian, the most passionate animal rights activist that I know.

ACKNOWLEDGEMENTS

When I began my search for a college and a major, it is not surprising that I had only vague ideas about what I wanted to do with my life. Seeking out all kinds of advice, I can remember asking my drama teacher what she thought my major should be when I began my academic career. She quickly responded "Speech Communication" because it would lead me to the law degree that I was half-heartedly convinced I wanted. It might not have been the most inspired way to find my calling, but her advice was certainly fortuitous. That fall I entered my freshman year as a Speech Communication major and now I graduate with my doctorate 15 years later.

My passion for rhetoric grew out of my experiences in a wonderful department. There were many people at Southwest Texas State University that helped shape who I am today. Wayne Kraemer was my debate coach for 4 years and somehow lived to talk about it. That debate experience was life-shaping (in too many ways to enumerate here!) and I thank Wayne for giving me that opportunity and for being a good friend. Dan Cavanaugh was my first college Speech teacher and his love of his profession (he once said to me, "How many people can honestly say that they love their jobs? I love doing what I do.") inspired me to begin the MA program at Southwest Texas. Roseann Mandziuk and Tom Burkholder both introduced me to rhetoric—and especially social movement rhetoric—and set me on the path to continue studying rhetoric through dissent. Roseann continues to be a wonderful mentor and friend. Tom helped my through the Master's program in many ways: as an advisor, a like-minded political refuge, and a friend. Both Roseann and Tom also heavily influenced my teaching styles. There are

many others at (now) Texas State that influenced me, but suffice it to say that I couldn't have asked for a better fit for my undergraduate and the start of my graduate education.

My time at the University of Georgia has been memorable in so many ways. It has been challenging beyond belief, but also rewarding. I spent many hours in Terrell Hall commiserating with good friends. Thanks go to Ashli, Tasha, and Kristy who were terrific listeners. I'd especially like to thank Ashli for keeping me sane through many of the stages of this program. Hopefully I never added too much to your stress levels!

I'd also like to thank my committee for pushing me on this project. I had both divergent *and* convergent comments from Drs. Clark, Condit, DeLuca, Dow, and Murphy that made me think more carefully about how to craft my arguments. Dr. Murphy has been my saving grace in this process. He was firm enough to ask those "When exactly will I see that?" questions and understanding enough to let me work within my own timeframe.

My friends have also inspired me to finish this journey. My good friend Shellie has been there for me since junior high. Thanks for being supportive for so many years. I've also made many good friends since moving to Decatur. All of my Agnes Scott buddies have only known me as a struggling grad student. Thanks to all of you for understanding exactly what I was going through.

Mom and Dad and the rest of my family have also been a terrific support network. Thanks for putting up with my crazy desires to be a student for so many years. Thanks especially to Mom and Dad for providing a wonderful home for me—one that created a love of reading, a desire to learn, and a passion for politics.

Making the decision to enter a doctoral program was, perhaps, too easy; completing it was another matter. There were many times over the past four years when I questioned my decision. I want to thank my family—Ward, Gillian, and Owen—for reminding me that they still loved me despite the "I have a paper to write… a class to attend…a class to prepare…reading to plow through…a long commute ahead of me" barrage of excuses. I know that the last few years have been hard on us, but we have emerged on the other side. Thanks to Gillian and Owen for understanding and being proud of me.

Ward, I can't begin to express what your support has meant to me. You, more than anyone else, helped me survive these last few years and all of the challenges that went with it. Thank you for being a terrific father, proofreader, sounding board, defender, and supplier of coffee—just to name a few important roles. You have been a wonderful partner.

PREFACE

At a recent conference, the subject of "telling the stories" behind your research emerged from the discussion. Although I knew that I had very clear reasons for being compelled to take up the animal rights issue in my research, I was not convinced that I needed to share my stories with the readers of my work. As I heard more stories about the interdependence of our lived experience and our work, however, I began to question the wisdom of "holding out," as it were.

Our research stories are important to tell, not only because they disclose the lenses through which we filter our readings and conclusions, but also, I think, because they remind us of the significance of our work. As Bonnie Dow (1996) writes, "The myth of the critic as a disinterested and wholly detached reporter has long since been deconstructed…" (p. xiii). If we are in the business of changing the world through the study of human symbols, then we should be comfortable explaining all of the reasons that we believe our research is important.

Concern for animals is something that has been a large part of my life. I have mourned the loss of family pets just as I have mourned the loss of family members. I have stood on the street with signs in hand protesting the use of animals in research. I have made the decision to become vegetarian and to raise my children vegetarian. I admit that this outlook on animals affects the way I read animal rights rhetoric. Closely reading all of the literature was painful for me, often leaving me in tears and struggling to understand why this issue isn't more important to more people.

Consequently, I feel that I have a vested interest in understanding animal rights rhetoric. I want to see the ultimate goal of creating a deeper understanding of animals reached. Although

this could be perceived as a potential blinder (and I have attempted to be very careful in this process), I also think that it makes me examine the texts more critically because I want them to successfully persuade others.

So I leave you with that understanding of my motivations for taking on this difficult and emotional topic. Your reading of the animal rights issue may be very different, but I warrant a guess that there will still be some moments when you question your stand in relation to animals. I hope that this project makes some headway in changing the way we think about animals and the way that we think about movement rhetoric devoted to that matter.

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CHAPTER 1

INTRODUCTION

They are best known for their media stunts, ranging from street protests, to unfurling anti-fur banners at Victoria's Secret shows, to launching shocking campaigns comparing animal consumption to the Holocaust, to sending out television advertisements only to have them "banned" from the airwaves. Their tactics draw attention to the animal rights movement, making People for the Ethical Treatment of Animals, or PETA, the most internationally recognized radical animal rights organization. As Michael Specter (2003) writes, "PETA's publicity formula—eighty percent outrage, ten percent each of celebrity and truth—insures that everything it does offends someone." But, as Ingrid Newkirk, co-founder of PETA, explains, they see these tactics as vital to the survival of the movement: "We are complete press sluts," she says, "It is our obligation. We would be worthless if we were just polite and didn't make any waves" (quoted in Specter, 2003). In fact, the organization was formed on the notion of "making waves." As a college student, Alex Pacheco visited a Canadian slaughterhouse and read Peter Singer's (1975) influential book, *Animal Liberation*, in the same year. In 1980, three years later, he and his friend Ingrid Newkirk created the organization devoted to fighting for the rights of animals. One of their earliest missions was to infiltrate a laboratory that was well known for its use of monkeys in scientific experiments. In 1981, Pacheco accepted a position in that laboratory (the laboratory of Edward Taub, chief experimenter at the Institute for Behavioral Research) in order to record the mistreatment of the monkeys (Francione, 1996). During the time that he worked in the lab, Pacheco documented the abuse of the monkeys and brought

scientific experts and veterinarians through the labs at night and on weekends in order to build support for his cause. He did not think that his work would lead to the first Supreme Court decision on the treatment of animals used for research, nor did he think that his efforts would lead to the establishment of the most influential and recognized animal rights organization. These actions and the events that they set in motion, however, led to a massive change in the direction of the animal rights/welfare movement and, eventually, to the ways in which we think about animals. In fact, PETA "makes waves" not only on the streets, but in our minds; their rhetoric troubles the distinctions that we so wholeheartedly make between human and animal.

PETA argues that "animals are not ours to eat, wear, experiment on, or use for entertainment" ("PETA's History"). Their causes include working for the rights of animals by opposing animal research, animal dissection, the wearing of fur, and the use of animals in circuses and rodeos, to name a few. As previously mentioned, the group gained notoriety when, in 1981, they became involved in the Silver Spring Monkey case that ultimately reached the Supreme Court in 1991. This was a crucial point in the animal rights movement because it "represented the first time a scientific researcher had been formally charged with cruelty to animals and became a PETA-driven *cause celebre* about the plight of 17 monkeys confiscated from the lab" (Simonson, 1996, pp. 188-189). Growing from a small, grassroots group to a large, celebrity-filled animal rights organization, PETA has gained a great deal of attention over the last few years. In 2004, PETA reported that its web site saw over 30 million visitors, the media department booked over 2,700 interviews, the group was mentioned in print over 11,000 times, and they were frequently mentioned on news and entertainment shows ("Annual Review 04"). Boasting over 750,000 members and a $15-29 million budget (depending on the source),

PETA has succeeded in making animal rights a frequent topic of discussion ("Annual Review 04"; Specter, 2003).

They have also had a number of major victories. They have been instrumental in the reform of animal testing for products, forcing such companies as Gillette, Avon, Revlon, and Estee Lauder to change their policies. They were victorious in the fight against General Motors to stop crash tests on animals ("PETA's History"). They have also targeted the scientific community in an attempt to change the ways that animals are treated in the laboratory. Consequently, PETA has become a major foe of the scientific world. Articles in *Science* (Teitelbaum, 2002a) and *Journal of the American Medical Association* (Vance, 1992) warn community members of the threat that the group poses to research, and groups such as the Federation of American Societies for Experimental Biology and the American Physiological Society warn members via email of the need to question donations to the United Way because it includes PETA in its list of nonprofit organizations (Teitelbaum, 2002b).

The other side of the campaign is targeted at consumers. PETA asks individuals to think about the products that they buy, the food that they eat, and the entertainment that they seek. Vegetarianism continues to grow, with over ten million Americans considering themselves vegetarians and over twenty million having "flirted with vegetarianism sometime in their past" (Corliss et al., 2002). Additionally, a 1995 Associated Press poll found that two-thirds of respondents agreed with the statement "an animal's right to live free of suffering should be just as important as a person's right to live free from suffering" (Jerolmack, 2003) and a recent study found that one-third of the respondents agreed that "animals should have the same moral rights that human beings do" (Jerolmack, 2003). Whether PETA alone is responsible for the change in the support of animal rights is impossible to assess, but the fact that it is the most prevalent,

cited, and vilified animal rights organization in a time when animal rights are increasingly supported is clear.

In fact, PETA has been so successful at spreading the animal rights message and changing minds about animal rights, that the Center for Consumer Freedom, an "Astroturf" (as opposed to grassroots because of their lack of *public* support; see Pezzullo, 2003) organization funded by the restaurant, alcohol, and tobacco industries, has centered many of its campaigns on undermining PETA's credibility (Warner, 2005). Using shocking quotations taken from some of PETA's leaders ("Even if animal research resulted in a cure for AIDS, we'd be against it" and "It would be great if all the fast-food outlets, slaughterhouses, these laboratories and the banks who fund them exploded tomorrow"), their advertisements and brochures claim that PETA is not only targeting children, but is also attempting to "indoctrinate children with its radical philosophy" (Center for Consumer Freedom). Given the amount of money and effort that is going into discrediting them, the success of the animal rights movement and PETA in particular is apparent.

Despite the success of the animal rights movement, we have not accounted for the rhetoric surrounding this change. With a few exceptions (Black, 2003; Olson and Goodnight, 1994; Simonson, 2001; Stewart, 1999), the social movement literature in the field of rhetoric has avoided the subject. There are many explanations for this void. First, because the animal rights movement is fairly young (beginning in the 1980s), research on the movement has been slow to develop. Second, the movement is other-directed (Stewart, 1999), focusing on defending the rights of animals and because animal rights are so controversial, there is disagreement about how seriously to take the movement. Third, like many new social movements, PETA has not focused on the use of speeches and the creation of a highly structured movement (although they have certainly evolved into just that). Instead, they have primarily used direct action, letters, boycotts,

and advertising to spread their message and create change. Consequently, those with an aversion to the study of visual rhetoric or image events (DeLuca, 1999b) find no reason to study the group.

Despite the dearth of rhetorical research on PETA and the animal rights movement this is a topic rich with possibilities. PETA has taken one of the most radical messages—that of questioning the lines between human and animal—and has successfully launched animal rights onto the American political spectrum. Their actions and campaigns over the last 25 years have aided in altering the way that animals are thought of and treated. PETA's achievements are noteworthy (and worthy of study) not only because of what they have accomplished for animals, but also what they have accomplished as a radical social movement.

PETA's campaigns are also notable, however, because of what they say about identification and the use of identity as a movement strategy. This undertaking (encouraging humans to see themselves as similar to animals) is not an easy one. It takes a great deal of, in Kenneth Burke's (1937) terms, "atom cracking" to create fissures in the ways that we define ourselves as separate from animals. This research will explore the ways that PETA rhetorically uses identity to create support for animal rights by undermining some identities and bolstering others. PETA encourages the questioning of identities by shifting and altering its own identities in different campaigns. At times, they take a more conservative route in dissociating "bad science" from "good science" and encouraging support of ethical science. In other campaigns, they take a bolder step in blurring the lines between human and animal subjectivities. In more radical campaigns, they work to transform the cultural images of human and animal.

Taken together, these campaigns suggest that PETA sees the concept of identity as key to creating support for animal rights. In a time marked by movements more concerned with

cultural changes—with issues of collective identity—than with economic or political goals, PETA serves as a prime example of this type of rhetoric. Given the current social movement landscape, the study of the specific rhetorical strategy of shaping and re-shaping identities is crucial. PETA serves as a good case study not only because of its continued attention to issues of identity, but because of the particularly difficult obstacle that it faces in encouraging people to question fundamentally their relationship to animals.

In the remainder of this chapter, I lay out the course of this project and explain the way that I see PETA strategically using a shifting identity. First, I briefly recount the history of the animal welfare/animal rights movement. Second, I discuss the obstacle that the animal rights movement faces with the nature/culture divide. Third, I discuss relevant literature on animal rights and social movements. Fourth, I discuss the importance of the concepts of identification and rhetorical invention in this study. Finally, I explain the case studies that I use to explore the concepts of identity in PETA's rhetoric.

History of the Animal Rights Movement

Animal Welfare

Although the start of the contemporary animal rights movement is generally dated to the 1970s, the philosophy underlying this movement and the animal welfare movement emerged centuries earlier. The heavy dependence on and close living quarters to animals led to concerns about the welfare of animals. At the beginning of the eighteenth century, there was talk of animal suffering, the end of vivisection (the dissection of live animals), the treatment of animals destined for slaughter, and various religious teachings on the treatment of animals (Guither, 1998). Rejecting the established words of Descartes, that animals were mere machines, individuals began questioning the treatment of animals. In 1789, Jeremy Bentham asked what

characteristics determine the right to humane treatment: "Is it the faculty of reason or perhaps the faculty of discourse…The question is not, Can they reason? nor Can they talk? but Can they suffer?" (quoted in Pollan, 2002). It was Bentham's philosophical questions that motivated others to work for animal welfare. The beginning of the animal welfare movement found its roots primarily in the educated and wealthy, those that were separated from the animal-dependent farming community (Guither, 1998). This is a characteristic that, for the most part, has not changed in modern times.

The momentum started by Bentham and others led to more formal animal welfare organizations. The first society for the prevention of cruelty to animals was created in London in 1824 and eventually became the Royal Society for the Prevention of Cruelty to Animals. This was the first organization to push for legislation in support of animal welfare (Guither, 1998). Although formal legislative work began in Great Britain in 1835, it was not until 1911 that Parliament passed the Protection of Animals Act, making it illegal to cause unnecessary suffering to animals.

Animal welfare was slower to spread in the United States. As early as 1641, in the Massachusetts Bay Colony, laws were passed in protection of animals. This is thought to be the first such law in existence, well before the nineteenth century laws passed in England (Francione, 1996). Despite the early recognition of animals, however, the U. S. animal welfare movement did not begin in earnest until 1866. In that year, the American Society for the Prevention of Cruelty to Animals was formed. The American Humane Society, another contemporary organization, was formed eleven years later. Support for animal welfare in the U.S. slowly began to grow over the years. 1958 saw the passage of the Humane Slaughter Act and the Animal Welfare Act was passed in 1966 (Francione, 1996). Despite this legislation, animals

continued to be used in research, factory farms flourished, and there were few regulations on the use of animals for sports and entertainment.

Animal Rights

Early animal welfare organizations were primarily concerned with the treatment of animals; it was not until the 1970s that animal liberation, or animal rights, came into the discussion. In 1975, philosopher Peter Singer wrote his ground-breaking *Animal Liberation*. In it, he argued that animals are not to be coddled and protected, but sentient beings that deserve consideration equal to those of human animals. Moreover, Singer argued that the separation we create between animal and human is not logical. For example, we frequently argue that animals do not have the same rights as humans because they are incapable of reason and communication. Singer pointed out the inconsistencies in that argument by noting the inability of mentally incapacitated humans and infants to do the same tasks. Instead, he argued, we should be truthful about the fact that we are guilty of speciesism—privileging the human race above all others. The writing struck a chord with activists who had been working to secure rights for African Americans, women, and students. Singer's argument extended the rights discussions that had taken place over the previous years to non-human animals (Pollan, 2002). Within five years of the publication of *Animal Liberation*, the largest, and most successful, animal rights organization was formed: People for the Ethical Treatment of Animals. In fact, the two founders of PETA, Alex Pacheco and Ingrid Newkirk, created the organization after reading Singer's book and discussing the impact that the philosopher's work had on their lives. Today, PETA requires employees and participants in the internship program to read Singer's tome and they offer it for sale in their catalogs and on the web site (Francione, 1996).

Beyond Singer's decisive work, Tom Regan has also made significant philosophical contributions to the animal rights movement. In his 1983 book, *The Case for Animal Rights*, Regan argues that because animals have rights, there are no circumstances in which humans have the moral capacity to take those rights away. Unlike the utilitarian Singer, who argued that there had to be an overwhelmingly good reason to use animals for our benefit, Regan argues from natural rights. He "unambiguously condemns the use of animals for food, hunting, trapping, education, testing, and research" because he claims that the rights view leaves no room for this action (Francione, 1996, p. 18). Although it is Regan who created a more thorough and uncompromising argument for animal rights, it is Singer who remains the accepted "'founder' of the modern animal rights movement" (Francione, 1996, pp. 51-52).

Differences in Philosophies

One of the primary splits in the animal movement is between those supporting animal welfare and those supporting animal rights. Animal welfarists generally argue that animals are sentient beings, deserving of some form of welfare. When pressed as to how animal rights compare to those of humans, however, welfarists maintain that human rights are more important. If the abuse of animals can be avoided and is not necessary for human well-being, then welfarists argue that it should be stopped. If, however, the use of animals is necessary for human interests, welfarists are comfortable trading animal rights for human rights (Francione, 1996).

The animal rights philosophy, on the other hand, argues that because animals are sentient beings, they deserve certain rights. In the case of Singer's (1975) interpretation of animal rights, animals do not warrant equal or identical treatment; rather animals deserve equal consideration. For example, Singer argues, because a dog cannot vote, it is "meaningless to talk of its right to vote" (p. 2). Other philosophies offered by animal rights supporters extend rights typically

reserved for humans (life, liberty, and the pursuit of happiness) to animals. PETA, for example, argues that "animals are not ours to eat, wear, experiment on, or use for entertainment" ("PETA's Mission"). They argue that humans do not have a right to dominate animals because they also have competing rights.

The animal rights/welfare movement is, consequently, often split over the appropriate ways to help animals. Many welfare groups are content with a paternalistic view of animals and the idea that we are morally obligated to help animals live a more peaceful and happy existence. Animal rights groups, however, face a tougher sell in arguing not only that animals should not be used for our purposes, but that we need to redefine the relationship between human and animal.

The Cultural Moment for Animal Rights

Despite the barriers, the animal rights message has faced a friendlier audience over the past few years. As with any movement, the animal rights movement grew out of the times. Although animal rights had been discussed for centuries, it was not until the last 35 years that the movement gathered strength and began to see successes. The question arises: What happened to make the animal rights movement possible? What was it about the cultural moment that made the movement more appealing? Certainly the publication of Peter Singer's (1975) *Animal Liberation* created an audience for animal rights, but other cultural characteristics influenced how the message was received.

There were, of course, multiple factors that contributed to the rise of animal rights. First, with increased urbanization came a shift in the way we viewed animals. No longer mere tools for farming or a source of food, animals were slowly invited into our homes. We began to shift the way we viewed animals—moving from seeing them as instruments of survival to companions. Today, pets are often treated as part of the family and the pet industry is a multi-

million dollar behemoth (Robertson, 2004). Thus, the shift in the place that animals have in our lives has altered our views on animals in recent history. Second, the climate of the tumultuous 1960s in the U.S. created the space that was needed to ask questions about multiple forms of oppression (Pollan, 2002). Civil rights, leftist, and women's rights rhetoric all questioned fundamentally our identities. Feminist rhetoric, in particular, challenged the nature/culture relationship, arguing that women were often equated with nature and compared to animals. That literature drew a connection between the treatment of women and animals (see, for example, Griffin, 1978). Thus, the cultural climate made it possible for animal rights rhetoric to emerge and to take hold. Despite changes in the climate, however, the movement faced an enormous obstacle in the nature culture divide. The next section will examine that divide more specifically.

The Nature/Culture Divide

The debate over the distinctions between nature and culture is one that continues to trouble us. "Nature" is generally separated from law, education, art, and so forth (Derrida, 1980; Ortner, 1996). But our ideas of nature are often rhetorically created. As Alexander Wilson (1992) writes, "Our experience of the natural world—whether touring the Canadian Rockies, watching an animal show on TV, or working in our own gardens—is always mediated. It is always shaped by rhetorical constructs like photography, industry, advertising, and aesthetics, as well as by institutions like religion, tourism, and education" (p. 12). Although many would argue that nature is indeed defined primarily by us, there are others who firmly believe that nature is inherently defined and separate from the human (cultural) realm. In fact, this separation could serve a strategic purpose. Coviello and Borgerson (1999) write:

> In Western patriarchal culture, dualisms play an important part in domination, oppression, and the discontinuity between humans and nonhumans, us and not-us. . . Entrenched in our society, traditional ontological dichotomies such as culture/nature, man/animal, subject/object, rational/irrational, white/black, and male/female maintain hierarchically ordered dualistic divisions of being and meaning.

The definition of nature and culture places them within a hierarchy and that placement determines the way we view both nature and culture. Culture is not only situated in a superior position to nature, there is also a desire to control nature. Sherry Ortner (1996) writes that:

> the distinctiveness of culture rests precisely on the fact that it can under most circumstances transcend natural conditions and turn them to its purposes. Thus culture (i.e., every culture) at some level of awareness asserts itself to be not only distinct from but superior to nature, and that distinctiveness and superiority rests precisely on the ability to transform—to "socialize" and "culturize"—nature. (p. 27)

Our belief in the separation and control of nature means that we have a vested interest in treating animals differently.

We go to great pains to define what we believe nature to be and that generally includes the notion that animals and humans are separated. This means that humans can "safely" remain in a realm outside of nature. It is not that we are uninterested in nature; indeed nature has become a commodity to be defined by companies (see Price, 1996). This challenge to the distinction between nature and culture is an important topic because if the two cannot clearly be separated (as once thought), this leads the way to investigating more concepts that have gone unquestioned (Derrida, 1980).

One of the ways that we distinguish between humans and animals (nature) is with a distinction between beings that can evolve beyond their bodies and those that can never achieve this. In other words, many argue that an animal cannot rise into the intellectual realm; animals are completely tied to their bodies, while humans are able to develop intellectually.[1] Susan Griffin (1978) writes:

> It is argued now that animals do not think. That animals move automatically like machines. . .And it is further argued that if animals could think, they might have immortal souls. But it becomes obvious that animals do not have immortal souls (and cannot think), since if one animal had an immortal soul, all might, and that "there are many of them too imperfect to make it possible to believe it of them, such as oysters, sponges, etc." (pp. 17-18).

Thus, the distinctions between humans and animals have been rationalized. Humans have gone to great pains to separate the two worlds. Many argue that these distinctions are only falsely created, however (e.g., Berger, 1980; Derrida, 1995; Price, 1996).

Distinctions Between Animal and Human Subjectivity

In fact, the images that we have of animals are primarily created by us; they do not necessarily reflect the real beings. Once we have created these images, we are reluctant to accept the real things. John Berger (1980), commenting on the reaction that we have to zoo animals, says that the animals do not normally meet our expectations. He writes, "The animals seldom live up to the adults' memories, whilst to the children they appear, for the most part, unexpectedly lethargic and dull" (p. 21). We are disappointed when the animals do not compare to those images that we have maintained for years. Jennifer Price (1996) argues that this is the

[1] Susan Griffin (1978) argues that women are generally seen as more closely tied to animals than men (p. xv). Thus, the same types of arguments are often made of women, according to Griffin.

case with all of nature. Looking at the popular Nature Company, she argues that the store attempts to present nature to us. The images that they present are not necessarily true to life. Rather, the store feeds to us the images of nature that *we* wish to have. If the false creation of nature is a problem, the separation that we create between animals (nature) and humans is even more damaging.

One way that that separation is created is by turning the animal into a spectacle. As Berger (1980) writes, "In the accompanying ideology, animals are always the observed. The fact that they can observe us has lost all significance. They are the objects of our ever-extending knowledge. What we know about them is an index of our power, and thus an index of what separates us from them. The more we know, the further away they are" (p. 14). In zoos and in water parks, we turn the animal into something to be observed and dominated. We are likely to claim that these environments actually allow us to get closer to animals and nature, however the use of the spectacle and the various barriers creates a chasm between human and animal. Susan Davis (1996), writing about Sea World, argues that:

> the transparent barrier of Plexiglas allows humans and whales to come close while keeping them separated. Since the nose-to-nose shot precedes and follows so many images of direct contact between people, and between people and animals, it seems to express a fantastic wish for a total merging with wild nature. . .Certainly the video shot [Davis is analyzing Sea World commercials] of children and whale separated but trying to touch each other implies that nature and wild animals constitute a world distinct from humans, one that humans should wish to approach more closely. (p. 211)

Although the desire to connect to animals seems to be apparent on the surface, the barriers that are always present prevent that connection from happening. Thus, even when it seems that

humans are attempting to break down the barriers between humanity and nature, the barriers continue to exist.

Domination of Animals

With a group that is defined into existence, separated, and turned into a spectacle, it is not difficult to take the next step: domination. The first step to this domination is a complete marginalization of animals. As Berger (1980) argues, zoos act to marginalize animals by putting them on display. Humans are then free to wander about looking at the animals, but in no way can the animals return their gaze (or the freedom of movement). It was the relationship between humans and animals, Berger argues, that allowed humans to define themselves as separate from animals by giving us something with which we could compare ourselves. The marginalization of animals by turning them into something to be gazed upon, has led to domination; it has allowed us to make animals the Other and to separate them from our world. It has ensured that animals remain in a separate realm.

The second way that humans have dominated animals is through their domestication. Berger (1980) describes the life of a pet:

> The small family living unit lacks space, earth, other animals, seasons, natural temperatures, and so on. The pet is either sterilized or sexually isolated, extremely limited in its exercise, deprived of almost all other animal contact, and fed with artificial foods. This is the material process which lies behind the truism that pets come to resemble their masters or mistresses. They are creatures of their owner's way of life. (p. 12)

This way of life serves to mold animals into what we need them to be: asexual, clean, nurturing, etc. They are forced to live in our worlds and become the animals that we want them to be.

Additionally, Berger (1980) and Jean Baudrillard (2000) both argue that the sentimentality that we have for animals shows how much we have come to dominate them. Berger, for example, points out the anthropomorphosis of animals (through cartoon and book characters, for example) and the ways that we have recreated those animals to fit into our worlds. Baudrillard makes a related argument, saying that when animals move into the realm of sentimentality, they do so only because they are deemed to be socially useless. He says, "In particular, our sentimentality toward animals is a sure sign of the disdain in which we hold them. . .It is in proportion to being relegated to irresponsibility, to the inhuman, that the animal becomes worthy of the human ritual of affection and protection. . ." (p. 134). In fact, that disdain allows us to comfortably dominate animals. Baudrillard writes:

> We take them for nothing, and it is on this basis that we are "human" with them. We no longer sacrifice them, we no longer punish them, and we are proud of it, but it is simply that we have domesticated them, worse: that we have made of them a racially inferior world, no longer even worthy of our justice, but only of our affection and social charity, no longer worthy of punishment and of death, but only of experimentation and extermination like meat from the butchery. (pp. 134-135)

It is the domestication of animals that creates a different type of domination. Forcing animals into our realm, under our conditions, means that they have lost any autonomy that they might have had.

We ultimately separate ourselves from animals (dominate them) by killing and eating them. Our consumption of their flesh is the clearest way to distinguish between the controller and the controlled. Jacques Derrida (1995) argues that this consumption is used to prove virility, in fact. As he writes, "The virile strength of the adult male, the father, husband, or brother. . .

belongs to the schema that dominates the concept of subject. The subject does not want just to master and possess nature actively. In our cultures, he accepts sacrifice and eats flesh" (p. 281). That which is in control, Derrida argues, defines the subject and in order to establish that humans are in control, we eat animals (see also Carol Adams, 1990). We consume them before they can consume us. The act of eating the animal completes the domination.

The ways that we distinguish between humans and nature, then, are apparent through the example of our relationships with animals. We define nature the way we want to see it and then reject the "real" nature. We also clearly distinguish animals from humans by turning animals into spectacles, thereby allowing humans to distance themselves from animals. Finally the domination of animals happens through their marginalization (brought about by turning them into spectacles), their domestication (keeping them in our homes and anthropomorphizing them) and through their consumption. In short, we expend a great deal of energy in maintaining the distance between human and animal, culture and nature.

Review of Literature

Animal Rights

Most of the research published on animal rights does not come from the field of rhetoric. Largely a philosophical question, the animal welfare/animal rights discussion has primarily centered on the ethical questions surrounding animals. Consequently, a number of works have traced the animal rights movement, followed the development of the philosophical arguments, or have offered new philosophical arguments for animal rights (see, for example, Armstrong & Botzler, 2003; Cohen & Regan, 2001; Francione, 1996, 2000; Guither, 1998; Regan 1983, 2003). Additionally, studies have emerged that attempt to explain how animal rights activists are portrayed (Kruse, 2001), to profile the animal rights activist (Jerolmack, 2003), and to explain

how animal rights arguments are constructed on the internet (Swan & McCarthy, 2003). By and large, the topic has remained unexplored until recent years. Despite its continued presence as a topic of interest and the continued growth of the movement, the movement as a whole has not been thoroughly explained in academic works.

More specifically, the rhetorical nature of animal rights rhetoric has not been explored. Perhaps the most cited account of this type of rhetoric is Olson and Goodnight's (1994) analysis of anti-fur campaigns. The authors explore the arguments that anti-fur activists developed in response to a robust fur industry and explain that the anti-fur movement used "untraditional and sometimes even 'counter-traditional' means of influence" to change the way that people thought of fur. Using shocking advertising and protest strategies, the movement brought attention to this issue and disrupted the association of fur with glamour and fashion.

Charles Stewart (1999), discussing the ego function of other-directed social movements, also used animal rights as a case study. Eschewing the notion that social movement rhetoric is always self-directed, Stewart argued that other-directed social movements (like animal rights, pro-life, and anti-apartheid groups) perform an ego function much like self-directed movements. Stewart examined animal rights rhetoric to find indications of ego-enhancing statements. Unlike other social movements, whose identity is formed based on the characteristics of the members (race, for example), other-directed movements, Stewart argued, formed an identity centered on the movement's goal. There are ego functions, he concluded, in being a part of an animal rights organization because the animal rights activist persona appeals to some individuals.

Peter Simonson (2001) offers an understanding of PETA's media campaigns based on a noise metaphor. Claiming that noise can be defined as "a loud sound, a sound that interrupts signalizing systems, or an aesthetically discordant sound" (p. 400), Simonson argues that

PETA's contemporary media campaigns serve similar functions. PETA hopes to interrupt established lines of thought about animals and to gather attention for the cause. Their use of celebrity, entertainment, music, and fashion cultures, he claims, has allowed PETA to spread its message.

More recently, Jason Edward Black (2003) argues that the theoretical groundings of the animal rights and right-to-life movements are similar. Beyond the obvious point that the rhetoric argues for the rights of "others," Black argues that the two movements create their arguments around the ideograph of "rights" and that dependence creates a shared philosophical underpinning, despite their surface differences.

Although these studies certainly make strides in explaining animal rights rhetoric, there are no large-scale studies of animal rights arguments. There are, however, compelling reasons to study this movement. First, given that the ethical and philosophical question of animal rights has been the subject of study for a number of years, it stands to reason that this is a question worthy of examination. For many who study animal rights from a philosophical standpoint, the issue is one of grave importance. Some compare the struggle for animal rights to that of civil rights and compare the treatment of animals to the treatment of Jews in the Holocaust (Patterson, 2002). Given the attention it has received as an ethical question and the significant growth of the movement, there is a strong need to better understand the rhetoric surrounding animal rights.

Second, the study of animal rights rhetoric may reveal significant information about the ways that we form our identities. As Stuart Hall (1996) writes,

> Above all, and directly contrary to the form in which they are constantly invoked, identities are constructed through, not outside, difference. This entails the radically disturbing recognition that it is only through the relation to the Other, the relation to what

> it is not, to precisely what it lacks, to what has been called its *constitutive outside* that the 'positive' meaning of any term—and thus its 'identity'—can be constructed. (pp. 4-5)

Understood through Jacques Derrida's (1982) notion of differance—that the subject is constituted through a deferral and a difference—identity is also defined as formed in relation to the other. In Kenneth Burke's (1950/1969) eyes, identity is formed around both who we choose to identify with and, consequently, those from which we divide away. Given this understanding of identity formation, the way we define ourselves in relation to animals affords a clearer understanding of identity formation because of the concept of the other. The nature/culture divide that is so prevalent in Western culture (Coviello & Borgerson, 1999; Derrida, 1980) remains a large part of our identity. Consequently, the radical animal rights movement attempts to encourage us to question who we are in relation to nature/animals. For these reasons, the animal rights movement, and more specifically the most successful conveyor of animal right rhetoric—PETA—deserves scholarly attention.

Social Movement Studies

Since the introduction of social movement studies to the rhetorical discipline, with Leland Griffin's (1952/2001) essay, theories about the nature of social movements and social movement rhetoric have varied radically. There have been loosely three phases of social movement studies—sociological studies, meaning-centered studies, and new social movement studies. The earliest studies of social movement rhetoric centered on the sociological or "Establishment-Conflict" model, attempting to explore questions about confrontations between agitators and the establishment (Murphy, 1992). Largely emerging in the 1960s, there were studies of the "rhetoric of the streets" (Haiman, 1967/2001) and confrontation (Scott & Smith, 1969/2001). Herbert Simons (1970/2001) shifted the focus of rhetorical social movement studies

to the function of social movements. It was his sociological idea of a movement, "an uninstitutionalized collectivity that mobilizes for action to implement a program for the reconstitution of social norms or values" (p. 35), that remained a central part of the field for many years. A number of studies after that explored the different rhetorical characteristics of social movements such as the ego function of protest rhetoric (Gregg, 1971/2001), the use of the diatribe (Windt, 1972/2001), radical versus conservative arguments (Scott, 1973/2001), and confrontation as a rhetorical form (Cathcart, 1978/2001). The limitations of the sociological model of exploring social movements became apparent, however, as other critics argued that the rhetoric was often lost in this discussion.

In an influential discussion about the direction of social movement studies, Michael McGee (1980/2001) argued against the acceptance of the definition of social movements as phenomena. Calling for a more meaning-centered approach to movement studies, he argued that movement studies should be grounded in language and that we should make claims about movements only insofar as we can show that they affect language. McGee (1980/1999) proposed ideographic analysis, a study of the development of key concepts, to trace changes in thought. Critics such as John Lucaites and Celeste Condit (1990/2000), for example, explored the use of the ideograph <equality> in civil rights rhetoric to show changes in the meaning of the term.

Despite McGee's call for a meaning-centered approach to movement studies and other arguments for a broader definition of movements (e.g., Sillars, 1980/2001), the functional/sociological social movement model has maintained a predominant place in the discipline (see DeLuca, 1999b, pp. 27-31, for a discussion of indications that this model remains the norm). Although social movement studies have often accounted for rhetoric within the

movement (e.g., what functions it serves, how it shapes the movement, what it says about the movement), we have not yet exhausted our understanding of the importance of rhetoric to social movements. DeLuca (1999b), for example, explicitly calls for a rhetorical theory of social movements, arguing that social movements are "changes in the meaning of the world, redefinitions of reality, with such realities always being constructed through the filter of rhetoric" (p. 36).

One of the primary reasons to change the way we approach rhetorical accounts of social movements is because movement studies need to be able to explain changing movement styles. So-called "new social movements" have changed the way we think about social movement theory in that it is more difficult and not as meaningful to talk about the necessary hierarchy of social movements or the stages of organization, for example. Instead, we should be more concerned with the social changes that occur as a result of a loosely formed movement. As Rimmerman (2002) writes, "The central goal of new-social-movement theory is to address the 'why' rather than the 'how' of social movements. As it does so, it attempts to link social movements to large-scale cultural or structural changes….At its core, new-social-movement theory emphasizes the importance of understanding identity in everyday life" (p. 11).

We no longer have only the hierarchically organized groups that rhetoricians discussed in the past. As DeLuca (1999b) writes, "For a variety of reasons, the new social movements do not focus on the distribution of material goods, the expansion of institutional political rights, and security, but rather thematize personal and collective identity, contest social norms, challenge the logic governing the system, and, in sum, deconstruct the established naming of the world" (p. 25). These movements are more likely to focus on grassroots mobilization (Mackenzie, 2004) and to fight for "symbolic and cultural stakes" (Bernstein, 2002a, p. 534); they are, in DeLuca's

(1999a) terms, “rhetorical achievements” (p. 345). As Gerard Hauser and Susan Whalen (1997) write:

> The conditions of postmodernity have invited fresh thought about a strong rhetorical theory. Conditions of diversity, pluralism, rapid technological innovation, social change, mass diffusion of information, and widespread interdependence have precluded the possibility of consensus based on shared assumptions. Instead, they have encouraged an environment of shifting political alliances. Under conditions that foster instability, rhetoric becomes the dominant democratic alternative to repression. (p. 121)

Thus, rhetoric and its understanding of identity formation, become central to understanding and changing our world.

It is the idea of identity and why social movements focus on shaping and shifting identities that this study explores. If contemporary movements are centered on issues of identification, there is an important need to understand how identity work can be used strategically. Before explaining the case studies that will be used to explore the strategy, I summarize some of the literature on the topic of identity and identification.

Identification as a Central Question

The concept of identification has a long history in the field of rhetoric, with Kenneth Burke’s contribution to our understanding of identification widely displayed in essays across the discipline. Burke (1950/1969) proclaimed identification and consubstantiality to be key ingredients of persuasion; in order to persuade an individual, you have to “talk his language,” or find common ground. Giving identification a central role in his explanation of rhetoric, Burke argues that persuasion rests on the ability to find commonalities. The “principle of courtship,” or “the use of suasive devices for the transcending of social estrangement” depends on the idea of

identification (Burke, 1950/1969, p. 208). Identification and courtship both imply a degree of division or mystery, and such division creates a call for rhetoric. As Burke (1950/1969) says, "But put identification and division ambiguously together, so that you cannot know for certain just where one ends and the other begins, and you have the characteristic invitation to rhetoric" (p. 25). Rhetoric, in order to create common ground, must envelop the audience and invite them into the message, making them feel as if they are "creatively participating in the poet's or speaker's assertion" (Burke, 1950/1969, p. 58). By talking "his language by speech, gesture, tonality, order, image, attitude, idea, *identifying* your ways with his," the rhetor appeals to the audience and creates a sense of shared identity (Burke, 1950/1969, p. 55; emphasis his). As Burke (1937) argues, it is only through identification that individuals participate in the social realm (p. 144). If the creation of a shared sense of identity is key to persuasion, this is obviously an area important to social movement theory.

Despite our frequent discussion of identification, however, we have yet to exhaust the topic. Nicola Evans (1998) argues that there is still much to learn about identity. She writes,

> Hall's own way of defamiliarizing identity is the deceptively simple suggestion that we shift focus from "identity" to examining the process of "identification," including both the way people are discursively interpellated into certain positions, and the process by which people are brought to invest in or contest their assigned positions. Turning the noun into a verb has the advantage of transforming identity into something more precarious and variable, making it seem less like a fully furnished house in which we simply take up residence. (p. 102)

The study of the ways that individuals actively choose to embrace particular identities is one which we have not fully explored. Stuart Hall (1996) is careful to point out that identification is

an ever-changing position. He argues, "It is not determined in the sense that it can always be 'won' or 'lost,' sustained or abandoned. Though not without its determinate conditions of existence, including the material and symbolic resources required to sustain it, identification is in the end conditional, lodged in contingency" (pp. 2-3). Although we frequently take note of what types of identities (the noun portion of identification) are embraced in rhetoric, we continue to struggle to understand the act of identifying.

This is particularly important because, as Evans (1998) argues, identity questions have become central to the political world. She writes,

> The quest for an identity is turning into an imperative. Since the end of the Cold War, identity has become a new way to do politics, and something new to do politics for. Nations are said to be in search of one; individuals nurture theirs; collectives of all kinds are encouraged to seek rights for their identity and defend it from the imprecations of others. More than a self-help fad or fashionable neurosis, identity talk is the language of multiculturalism and seems poised to become the currency of the public sphere. (p. 84)

It is this new public sphere that creates a need for a better understanding of how identities are formed and dissipated—how rhetoric shapes and distorts identities. As Hall (1996) explains, identities "are never unified and, in late modern times, increasingly fragmented and fractured; never singular but multiply constructed across different, often intersecting and antagonistic, discourses, practices and positions" (p. 4). Identities are formed in the moment and based on the "other"; they are formed "through, not outside, difference" (Hall, 1996, p. 4).

Given this understanding of the contingent nature of identities, it stands to reason that discourse pulls from different strands of identities and fixes them at a particular point in order to form a new identity. The question is how to create discourse that draws individuals to an identity

and encourages them to embrace it. Burke (1937, 1950/1969) provides a compelling answer to this question based on a rhetorical understanding of how individuals are called to particular identities. By inviting individuals through the use of symbols to identify with particular ideas, Burke argues that the rhetoric creates both identification and division. We define ourselves in relation to *and* opposition to others—both through perceived similarities *and* differences. Like other theorists of identity, Burke believes that identity is created through many competing identities; however, Burke is different in that he provides an explanation for how an individual *chooses* to embrace an identity based on the persuasiveness of the rhetorical appeals to identification. We are driven by a need to embrace identities, Burke (1966) argues, because we are in constant search of order. Identification and division allow us to place ourselves and others in a hierarchy, creating a sense of order. Burke's ideas explain why individuals might be open to questioning identities and their incentives for embracing and rejecting identities. Consequently, this study proceeds based on Burke's understanding of identification and asks questions about rhetorical appeals to identity.

How, for example, do social movements create an identity that appeals to individuals such that they are willing to fragment established identities in order to create new identities? More specifically, how does PETA create the needed identity to encourage a questioning of the lines between human and animal? This case (PETA's rhetoric) serves as a good example to explore the question of identity formation because of the lack of a clear sense of collective identity (given the other-directed nature of the general movement). Moreover, I argue that PETA plays with shifting identities in order to encourage others to question their own identities. Finally, PETA's rhetoric (building an identity apart from the culturally accepted nature/culture divide) provides a test case for how identities are formed in the absence of the obvious "other."

Identity Formation and Rhetorical Invention

If PETA primarily is focused on creating identity such that animal rights are a natural outgrowth, the question is how the group can form such an identity. The rhetoric does not create a new identity *per se*, but a newly *formed* identity. To explain, think of the limitations of rhetorical invention. As Campbell (1998) argues, originality is impossible because "discourse arises out of prior discourse…rhetoric emerges out of prior rhetoric" (p. 111). Invention, she argues, is not creating something new, but "coming upon," and weaving together past rhetoric in order to create different arguments (p. 111). Additionally, rhetors are constrained by a need to account for "received opinion," or *doxa*, in order to create compelling messages (Cox, 1990). In other words, if rhetors are limited by available arguments and histories, they are forced to take ideas and re-shape them to fit the moment. Invention, Campbell (1998) argues, "exploits the past…it is parasitic; it adapts, reframes, juxtaposes, associates, satirizes, reverses, ridicules, and appropriates dominant discourse, using and misusing every means by which meanings are corrupted and contested" (p. 112).

Similarly, because PETA is limited in its rhetorical invention and the identities that it can form through its rhetoric, it is forced to create newly *shaped* identities by bolstering and/or distorting others. They dissociate the "bad" uses of science from the "good" in order to form an identity of ethical, animal-friendly science. They emphasize the shared identities between human and animal in order to extend our moral community to include animals. PETA also recontextualizes human atrocities to encourage the same reading of the exploitation of animals. Given the limits of rhetorical invention, PETA encourages the formation of new identities through the development and/or subversion of other identities. Various identities are formed in PETA's rhetoric—changing based on the campaign—and individuals are invited to consider

those identities. The next section of this paper develops this argument more clearly by describing each case study (the different rhetorical strategies used by PETA) more specifically.

Precis of Chapters

Texts

For the purposes of this study, I focus on campaign materials that can be found on PETA's web site (www.peta.org) as well as a basic information packet sent by PETA upon request. Because of the changing nature of media, PETA has relied more heavily on its web site in the last few years, boasting 30 million visitors in 2004 ("Annual Review 04"). Taking full advantage of this medium, PETA posts all of its pamphlets, posters, billboards, stickers, radio and television advertisements, videos, and more on the site. They encourage visitors not only to read the material, but to distribute it for others to view. Additionally, PETA heavily relies on the web site as a launching pad for many of its campaigns. Some of their more recent campaigns were never printed in newspapers or on billboards. Instead, the web address was dispersed and viewers were drawn to the web site based on the controversy. Because PETA relies so heavily on its web site, an examination of the campaigns located there should be telling.

More specifically, for the first case study, a focus on PETA's portrayal of science, I focus on the animal research portions of the site (for example, PETA's animal experimentation fact sheets—found in the "Not Ours to Experiment On" section) in order to get a sampling of how PETA develops its arguments against science.[2] For the second case study, a focus on PETA's

[2] For this case study, I have focused on the following anti-animal research PETA texts: "Alternatives: Testing Without Torture," "Animal Experimentation: Sadistic Scandal," "Animal Research: Overview," "Behind the Beauty/Cosmetics Testing," "Cancer: Why We're Losing the War," *Compassionate Living*, "Did Your Food Have a Face," "Dissection: Lessons in Cruelty," "Endotrachael Intubation: Killing Cats & Kittens," "Genetic Engineering/Vivisection," "Government-Required Animal Testing: Overview," "Greenwash: History of the Campaign," "Health Charities: Helping or Hurting," "Lessons in Cruelty," "Monkey Torturer Picked to Run Primate Facility," "PETA's History: Compassion in Action," "Product Testing: Toxic and Tragic," "Stem Cell Research: Moving Beyond Vivisection," *Thistle's Story*, "Treat Each Frog Like a Prince," "What We Did to Rodney," and "Xenografts: Frankenstein Science."

visual campaigns, examples were taken from a variety of campaign sites within PETA's multimedia portion of the web site, including billboards and print advertisements.[3] Finally, for the intertextuality portion of the project, I have examined videos created by PETA, specific campaign web sites, and some campaign materials taken from the media section of the web site.[4] All together, I closely examined over 35 texts, but informally assessed a large portion of the web site. Although this project deals with only a small portion of the thousands of available texts produced by PETA, this selection of campaigns provides a thorough introduction to the arguments.

Focus of Research

One of the central questions that I want to answer in this project is how contemporary social movements use identity to create support among audiences. More specifically, in times defined by radical individualism, how do social movements continue to create a sense of identity among people who feel no compelling need to be a part of a particular group? The animal rights movement, and PETA in particular, faces a daunting challenge in not only attempting to create a collective identity in these times, but to do so with individuals who are only indirectly affected by the use of animals. It is what Charles Stewart (1999) calls an other-directed social movement—those movements that have at the center not individuals who are also active and central to the movement, but individuals who are acting on the part of others. The animal rights movement can offer no traditional concrete benefits to its members (e.g., laws and the benefits of laws, jobs, a support network); instead, what it offers followers is an identity. Activists become

[3] For this case study, I focus on the following texts: "Animal: a living being capable of feeling," "These babies miss their mother," "Calling all Children… Help me!", "Pity she didn't have this much space when she was alive," "Circuses are no fun for animals," "Imagine having your body left to science," "Even the most exotic animals don't belong behind bars," "Fur Bites," "Exotic Skins Belong in the Jungle—Not in Your Closet," and "People who are violent to animals rarely stop there."

[4] For this case study, I have focused on the following texts: *Rejected PSAs* video, the "Banned Ads Overview" online video, the "Holocaust On Your Plate" web site, and the "Nonviolence Begins at the Dinner Table" web site dealing with the Canadian pig farm slaughters.

a part of a particular community with a particular set of beliefs. The movement's goal is to then create a compelling image of this mindset in an attempt to attract more supporters. So how does such a radical movement, with other-centered outcomes, create the kind of support that it does? This project attempts to explain this phenomenon by exploring the rhetorical techniques used by PETA.

PETA's campaigns invite individuals to abandon the distinctions that they make between human and animal by toying with identity in their campaigns—questioning how different humans and animals are, highlighting the similarities between the two, and comparing human and animal life experiences. By asking these questions, PETA's campaigns encourage individuals to become more comfortable with the idea that animals should be treated with respect and given equal consideration.

In particular, PETA's rhetoric includes three strategies that are key to its campaign to change identities. First, PETA attacks the scientific arguments for the use of animals by dissociating "good" and "bad" science. Using logical, science-driven arguments and embracing the identity of supporters of an ethical science, PETA encourages others to identify with that position and to dissociate from "bad science." Second, PETA works to extend our moral community to include animals in their visual campaigns to blur the line between human and animal. Arguing that we cannot so easily separate the two, PETA shows that the more ethical position in the animal rights debate is to blur those lines and embrace the similarities between human and animal. Finally, in their more recent "image event" tactics, the group shows a more radical, vanguard politics, and encourages individuals to be more comfortable embracing the notion that humans and animals are more similar than different.

Before moving into the specifics of the case studies, I want to make a note about my approach to rhetorical criticism generally and how that affects this reading of PETA's rhetoric. As rhetorical critics, we can never offer a reading of a text that is absolute. Instead, we create a compelling reading—a rhetorical act in itself—and explain what we learn from that reading. As Bonnie Dow (2001) argues, "criticism in the artistic mode seeks to move us, to interest us, to create works that make us think about our world in new ways" (p. 347). In that same vein, I argue that rhetorical criticism seeks to understand rhetoric by pulling out threads of text, weaving them together, and creating an understanding of how those threads create a whole. In studying PETA's rhetoric, I do not claim to represent a reading that a typical audience member would have; to do so would be impossible and (even if it was possible) not particularly productive. Instead, I read PETA's rhetoric by paying attention to threads of arguments that are based on identity and pulling those threads together in order to explain how identity shapes the overall messages. I read the texts not as an audience member, but as a critic attempting to understand how the rhetoric functions. Given this understanding, I will next explore each of the case studies and then explain some of the questions that I seek to answer with the exploration of PETA's rhetoric.

PETA and Science

PETA's attacks on science take on a realm of arguments that cannot be ignored by the movement because the scientific mode has so much cultural resonance. As Lawrence Prelli (1989a) writes, science is "thought by many to be the pinnacle of human achievement. Conceptualized as a body of stable, certifiably 'objective facts' interrelated validity by rigorous logic, science is seen as promising progress in knowledge and in human control over the phenomena and forces of the universe" (p. 1). Although conceptions of science may be shifting

in contemporary times, the scientific topoi is still strong. To challenge the validity of science would be to disrupt a significant hierarchy, and, as Kenneth Burke (1935/1984, 1966), argues the disruption of hierarchies leads to a certain amount of guilt. Consequently, the attacks on science must carefully find a balance between critiquing the use of animal research and leaving room for belief in the scientific. If opponents of animal research cannot reject science as a whole, though, they can actively work to alter ideas of science and, in so doing, question their own relationship to the scientific world and to animals.

Dissociation provides one way to create distance between aspects of the same concept (in this case, science). Perelman and Olbrechts-Tyteca (1958/1969) define dissociation as a "desire to remove an incompatibility arising out of the confrontation of one proposition with others" (p. 413). When inconsistencies exist, dissociation allows us to rupture and divide the idea into two elements and speak of them as separate. Although the argument that some science is corrupt and invalid is potentially dangerous because of our deep-seated dependence on the scientific mindset, dissociation makes this division safer because it validates scientific standards. Supporting "good" science means arguing for a stronger, more credible, and more reliable science. Rejecting "bad" science does not mean a rejection of science as a whole, but the impure practices that have sullied the field. Dissociation allows a renewal and purification of the practice.

PETA manages this balance by demonizing the "bad" scientific world, arguing that not only is the science flawed (using scientific standards to make the argument), but animal testing is used for all the wrong reasons (sadism, money, laziness, speciesism, etc.). By developing alternative views of science, they provide a way for followers to reject the use of animals and embrace an animal-friendly research environment. They dissociate the "good" from the "bad," and make it much more appealing to identify with animal rights. Using Prelli's (1989b) notion

of scientific standards as rhetoric (the use of "universal" scientific standards to guard the image of science), I explore the ways that PETA creates a sense of dissociation—a drawing out of the "good science" from the "bad science." In so doing, PETA pushes its audience toward identifying with the "good science" and manages to maintain a sense of order.

The problem with the general attacks on science is that PETA is still locked into the scientific/logical mindset. They are forced to discredit every scientific study and method—to "out-science" science by arguing for more effective alternatives. This line of argument is difficult because they face a well-funded, highly credible scientific community that supports the use of animal testing. Additionally, they are met with counter-rhetoric that depends on the emotion-laden argument that animal testing prevents human suffering and saves human lives. Consequently, other rhetorical strategies based on pathos are common and necessary.

PETA's Use of the Visual to Question Lines of Separation

The second case study looks at the way that PETA uses pathos through the use of the visual to undermine our identities as separate from animals. PETA's use of eye-catching posters, flyers, billboards, and other forms of visualization are vital to the campaign for animals because they place startling images in our minds and, consequently, challenge our assumptions about animals. In addition to their on-site demonstrations and media campaigns, PETA relies heavily on its web site to spread the message of animal rights to a larger group of people. PETA uses images of abused animals, visual representations of animals' lives, humans dressed as animals, and other images to draw attention to the movement and to force a strong visual message into the minds of the audience members. The effect of these campaigns has been everything from laughter to shock to dismay.

The images that I examine in this chapter work through a strategy of paradox. Because of our deep-seated belief in the division between human and nature, we are shocked to see images of animals that look like us. The images catch our eye because they undermine our belief in the separation between human and animal. The ads both use the culturally created dualisms and undermine those dualisms at the same time, blurring the line between subjectivities by blending animal and human experiences and characteristics. The advertisements create a gap in identity by toying with human subjectivity.

Looking at examples of PETA's visual campaigns, I argue that the images of animals function in three ways. First, they emphasize the ways that animals experience similar emotions. The images show animals experiencing pain not only from experiments, but also from being separated from their families and being forced to perform for humans, for example. Second, they attempt to place us in the animal world by visually representing the conditions under which animals are forced to live and creating a perspective by incongruity. By presenting strong visuals and adding verbal descriptions, we are more likely to place ourselves in their situation, thereby questioning the way that animals are treated in comparison to human existence. Finally, PETA's advertisements make the final step in blurring distinctions between animals and humans, creating identification between the two. For example, many of their advertisements visually play with images of humans dressed as animals or animal images morphed into human images. Consequently, the hard line between human and animal that is culturally created is called into question.

PETA is able to undermine the separation between human and animal hierarchy by, first, creating a strong sense of consubstantiality between human and animal. Second, the visual rhetoric undermines the hierarchy because we are strongly moved by images of animals, because

we are less likely to question the validity of images, and because the arguments are visually appealing. Third, the use of pathos and ethics becomes a form of proof (see Farrell, 1993), asking viewers to use their own fears to understand the situation that animals face; it "constitutes sympathetic awareness of the *other*," in Farrell's words (p. 71). The emotional arguments serve to join human and animal. This strategy does not completely undermine the viewers' identities, but encourages a casuistic stretching. It "introduces new principles while theoretically remaining faithful to old principles" (Burke, 1937, p. 229). By visually emphasizing "human" emotions in animals and placing humans in the animal world, the advertisements create a sense of perspective by incongruity (Burke, 1937). As Dow (1994) argues, perspective by incongruity "can do more than test audience assumptions about their external world; it also can question fundamentally their identity in relation to that world" (p. 229). In this case, the strategy also questions their relationship to animals. Finally, the ads effectively toy with a shifting sense of identity by encouraging viewers to examine their relationships to animals.

These arguments provide advantages that the scientific/logical arguments do not. For example, a broad emotional argument that questions the line between human and animal has the potential to apply to multiple realms—the use of animals for research, as well as entertainment, food, etc. Thus, a well-developed argument along these lines gives PETA more power in solidly arguing against the use of animals for any reason. Second, PETA is able to move away from the limiting scientific mindset by focusing more on ethics. Thus, the scientific strength of animal testing no longer matters if it is ethically wrong to use animals. Finally, the scientific arguments are also limiting because they are based on a more paternalistic view of animals—that we must protect them. PETA's ethical arguments turn away from the paternalistic and argue that animals and humans are more alike than different.

PETA's Use of Intertextuality

Finally, in a third type of argument, PETA blurs the line of division between human and animal by confronting assumptions that we make about identity. Some of PETA's more recent and controversial campaigns appear to make a direct comparison between human and animal by telling animal stories through human atrocities. Although PETA, like all modern social movement organizations, must compete to find space on the public screen (DeLuca & Peeples, 2002), PETA's more shocking campaigns also push us to extremes in critiquing our identities. The campaigns are shocking not only because they compare human and animal experiences (thus, blurring the nature/culture divide), but are also controversial because they often use topics that are seen as "off limits." Both the Holocaust and a serial murder case, for example, were the target of two recent campaigns. In both cases, PETA drew on the history of these events to create a clearer image of animal (ab)use in the readers' minds.

PETA's "Holocaust on Your Plate" campaign created a great deal of controversy and media coverage. In it, the group compares the experiences of Holocaust victims to the terror that animals face every day because of human dietary choices. They placed 6x10 foot signs with graphic images in parks and on campuses, sent out news releases, and launched a "Holocaust on Your Plate" web site for this campaign (McDonald, 2003). Showing images of emaciated and frightened Holocaust victims on one side of the screen and caged chickens, starved cows, and crowded pigs on the other, the advertisements argue, "To animals, all people are Nazis." The Anti-Defamation League was quick to respond to the advertisements, proclaiming their horror over the idea that PETA would make this comparison (Anti-Defamation League; Katz, 2003; McDonald, 2003). The response both in the media and from groups such as the ADL was not surprising. Knowing the emotional response that many Americans have to images of the

Holocaust, PETA was sure to receive a great deal of coverage in a variety of media—on the internet, in newspapers, on television, and radio. Emotional responses to the campaign were so strong at points that the exhibit was vandalized and some of the activists were assaulted (Specter, 2003).

Another campaign compares the murders of twenty-seven women on a British Columbia pig farm and the slaughter of pigs for consumption. A full-page advertisement that PETA created never ran, but showed headlines from the murder case describing the brutal torture and murder of the victims who were drugged, slaughtered, and dismembered. Similarly, a PETA billboard showing a woman on one side and a pig on the other (proclaiming "Neither of Us is Meat") never appeared. Both ads were highly controversial, but a PETA spokesperson said, "The grotesque tragedy of these poor women is similar to what happens to chickens, pigs and other animals every day" (quoted in "Animal Rights Campaign," 2002). PETA asks individuals to consider why they are disgusted by the murder of the women and not the murders of thousands of animals, in this very fashion, every day. Needless to say, the advertisements were met with consternation. Newspapers chose not to run the advertisements and family members of the victims were outraged at PETA's use of the murders for their own purposes ("Animal Rights Campaign," 2002). Although the advertisements did not run, numerous articles discussed reactions to the campaign. Thus, PETA's message (animals and humans should be viewed and treated in a similar manner) was launched onto the public screen without much effort—monetary, action, or otherwise.

These examples serve as image events for PETA because the images produced by the group (in the form of print advertisements, billboards, and television advertisements) draw the attention of the media and spread their message to a wide audience; they allow PETA's message

access to the public screen. In both cases, the campaigns attracted more attention through the media coverage of reactions to the ads than through the advertisements themselves.

The success of these campaigns, measured to some capacity through the amount of public attention that they draw, can partially be explained through simple shock value. It is shocking to see these comparisons made and to switch roles with the animals. Additionally, the advertisements are successful because they play with our emotions; they draw on images of violence, murder, and genocide. They place shocking images in our minds and connect those images to an album of other images. This strategy might best be understood through the concept of recontextualization. Branham and Pearce (1985) argue that contextual reconstruction "occurs when a text appears in but alters the expectations in which it is understood and evaluated" (p. 29). The authors include in this conceptualization of recontextualization the subversion of images. In PETA's rhetoric, the text redefines the context by placing animals in the picture. It takes texts or narratives from the past and reinvents them, making them contemporary and refigured to parallel animal atrocities. Thus, humans and animals are treated alike in a Holocaust readings and women and pigs are both slaughtered on the farm.

The advertisements invite us to read animal atrocities through widely understood human atrocities. To that extent, they play up the intertextual meanings. Although original theorists of intertextuality (i.e., Kristeva, Derrida, Barthes) focused on the inherent intertextual quality of texts—the influence that texts have on one another—media critics such as John Fiske also point out the strategic use of intertextuality on the part of the author (Ott & Walter, 2000). Fiske (1987) defines intertextuality as both the idea that "any one text is necessarily read in relationship to others and that a range of textual knowledges is brought to bear upon it" (p. 108) and as the "stylistic device consciously employed by the author" (Ott & Walter, 2000, p. 430).

In PETA's rhetoric, the intertextual nature of the message makes it easier for the viewer to understand the intended meaning. More importantly, by reading the animal atrocities through the human atrocities, we are encouraged to challenge our identities.

The campaigns disrupt the nature/culture, animal/human hierarchy by telling the stories of humans and animals alongside each other. With the challenge to the hierarchy, however, there must be an attempt to reconstruct a new hierarchy. As Burke (1935/1984) argues, we are in constant search of order and guilt is created whenever hierarchies are called into question. The comparison of the animal and human stories, weaved together through intertextuality and contextual reconstruction, provides the needed restructuring and reordering that is necessary after disrupting the animal/human division.

Conclusion

Given these three case studies, I conclude that PETA's campaigns shift based on different appeals to identity in order to find the most effective argument in support of animal rights. The enormous rhetorical obstacle that PETA faces—the strong belief in the division between human and animal—forces them to resort to alternative means for creating support. One way that they create this support is by encouraging individuals to examine their identities. The three case studies highlight the ways that PETA encourages identity shifting. In the campaigns against scientific research on animals, PETA makes a conservative identity argument for dissociating "good science" from "bad science" and creating an identity that supports an ethical science. In the campaigns that center on the use of pathos, PETA shifts its own identity and forms an identity argument based on blurring the line between animal and human identity. Finally, the intertextual messages act as the most radical shift of identity by recontextualizing human

atrocities. A closer examination of these rhetorical strategies will parse out more of the specifics of the rhetoric.

More important, a study of PETA's rhetoric may lead to conclusions about the use of identity work on the part of social movements. Although PETA is not the only social movement organization focused on shaping and re-shaping identities (given the predominance of social movements focused on questions of culture), they are unique in that they are so dependent on creating a new identity in order to maintain support for their actions. By studying this particular example, I hope to add to our understanding of how identity is undermined and shaped through the rhetoric of social movements. I also aim to answer questions about what makes particular identities more appealing. Although there is no easy way to answer that question, a thorough examination of how identities are offered for the taking and how they are made to seem viable may get to some parts of that larger question.

CHAPTER 2

PETA, SCIENCE, AND IDENTITY: CREATING SPACE FOR AN ETHICAL SCIENCE

> *As Alex Pacheco was led from the front offices toward the monkey colony in the rear of the building the odor became almost unbearable, but even the stink of urine and animal waste didn't prepare him for what he would find on that sunny May morning in 1981. . .*
>
> *The deafening screams of 17 frenzied primates assaulted Pacheco as he crossed the threshold, but the sight overwhelmed him. Bloody stumps poked through the wire cages and it took him a moment to realize these had once been fingers. Oozing untreated wounds covered the limbs and torsos of many of the monkeys. Decaying bandages that appeared to have been applied weeks earlier hung in shreds from the arms and hands of others. . .*
>
> *How, Pacheco wondered, could any relevant experimental data come from this pathetic group of maimed creatures? (Guillermo, 1993, pp. 13-14)*

When Alex Pacheco, co-founder of People for the Ethical Treatment of Animals (PETA), worked his way into a volunteer job in an Institute for Behavioral Research primates laboratory, he set in motion a number of successful actions against animal research. His undercover efforts led to the eventual Silver Spring Monkey case heard by the Supreme Court. According to Guillermo (1993), this case "jolted the animal experimentation community out of its sleepy complacency and set the gears of change violently into action" (p. 11). It also represented a landmark win for the animal rights movement, paving the way for future successes.

PETA claims in their mission statement that "animals are not ours to experiment on" and they have overseen a number of victories against animal research since the Silver Spring Monkey case. In fact, PETA is widely known for their actions against the use of animals in science (Guerrini, 2003). Members of the scientific community often target PETA when discussing the implications of animal rights work on the scientific community (Morrison, 2002). PETA also highlights many of their successes in the scientific arena when enumerating their accomplishments. In their account of the history of the group, PETA claims as successes the

Silver Spring Monkey Case; the successful elimination of animal research at the University of Pennsylvania, Wright State University, Boys Town National Research Hospital, and other universities and laboratories; the decision by several cosmetic companies (Avon, Estee Lauder, Benetton, Revlon, and others) to stop testing on animals; and the end of the General Motors crash tests on animals ("PETA's History"). Needless to say, work against animal research remains a significant part of PETA's mission.

In studying PETA's rhetoric, it is essential to start with their attacks on science for two reasons. First, because they are widely known for this rhetoric (Finsen & Finsen, 1994; Francione, 1996; Guerrini, 2003) and highlight their battles with the scientific world in their own literature, a general study of PETA's rhetoric would not be complete without an account of their portrayal of science. Second, and more important, the attack on science represents a distinct kind of discourse for PETA. PETA's rhetoric is largely focused on changing ideas of both human and animal identity on a number of different levels; this particular segment of their rhetoric, however, is primarily concerned with changing ideas about animals. Before PETA can begin to encourage individuals to question their own identities, those individuals have to feel some sort of discomfort or uneasiness with their views of animals. One way to start this line of thinking is to call into doubt the use of animal research and animal identity. Although the focus of these messages is primarily on changing our view of animal identity, it also changes our concepts of our own identities. If we view animals as more similar to us, we can begin to develop a sense of identification with animals. Other campaigns focus more on shifting ideas about human identity, but the attacks on science begin the process of change by shifting our views of animal identity.

This chapter will look specifically at the rhetoric that PETA uses to attack animal research. I argue that through the use of dissociation, splitting "good" and "bad" science, PETA

is able to criticize science without completely moving away from the scientific mindset. This allows space for individuals to examine their views on animals while not discarding science altogether, but creating space for a more ethical science. There are limitations to this strategy, however, and I discuss the problems that this rhetoric can produce. In this chapter, I look first at the rhetorical obstacle that PETA faces with the dominant scientific mindset. Second, I explore the ways that PETA disrupts the science hierarchy. Third, I explain how dissociation can be used to overcome the dominant scientific obstacle. Fourth, I look more specifically at how PETA's rhetoric creates dissociation between good and bad science. I conclude with thoughts on what this use of dissociation does for PETA and discuss the limitations to this strategy.

The Scientific Mindset

One of the major obstacles that PETA confronts in questioning the validity of the scientific research on animals is the strength of the scientific ethos. Despite contemporary examinations of the rhetorical nature of science (especially Thomas Kuhn's (1962/1996) now famous work on the scientific paradigm), science and technology possess significant cultural resonance. An outsider questioning such an established institution meets an enormous rhetorical obstacle. Rhetoric that attacks the nature of animal research and presents the idea of a flawed science must find a way to break the image of this strong scientific ethos. It is this obstacle that PETA faces in attempting to change public opinion about animal research.

A body of research has been published over the last few years that examines the rhetorical nature of science. To say that science and rhetoric are even remotely linked is, for many, scandalous and counterintuitive. As Kenneth Burke (1950/1969) writes,

> The liberal is usually disinclined to consider such possibilities because applied science is for him not a mere set of instruments and methods, whatever he may assert; it is a *good*

> and *absolute*, and is thus circuitously endowed with the philosophic function of *God* as the grounding of values. His thinking thus vacillates indeterminately between his overt claims for science as sheer method, as sheer coefficient of power, and his covert claims for science as a substance which, like God, would be an intrinsically *good* power. (p. 30)

Science is seen as one way to discover Truth and often acts as a strong topoi in debates (Wander, 1976). As Helen Constantinides (2001) writes, "For one of science's most cherished ideals is its universal character: it both crosses national boundaries and discounts political agendas" (p. 61). One of the ways that science has gained this "universal character" is through its self-referentiality; it draws on internal standards to legitimate its power (Aronowitz, 1988). As Stanley Aronowitz (1988) writes,

> Taken together, scientific power becomes coercive in the same way that the belief in the deity was received truth (and in some places still is) of many nations. Just as God is taken as an axiom, so the four elements of scientific discourse [exclusion of qualitative, emphasis on empirical inquiry, value-free knowledge, emphasis of method] are generally beyond dispute in our world. (p. x)

By drawing on these axioms, scientific rhetoric creates a strong ethos, making it more difficult to question scientific conclusions.

Given this understanding of the power of the scientific, it is understandable why the scientific ethos also can be used rhetorically. For example, science has been used to bolster governmental programs, becoming "the superpower behind the superpowers" (Lessl, 1988). The scientific ethos has also been used rhetorically to create a credible persona using the aura of objectivity that science appears to bring with it (Lyne & Howe, 1990).

Thus, the scientific mindset continues to have a great deal of cultural resonance. Adding to the strength of this topoi is the adherence to the nature/culture divide (as discussed in the first chapter). Science is, after all, a way to tame nature. It provides the tools to control nature whether through an understanding of the way that nature works (a belief that knowledge is power) or through the actual control of natural processes (through medical advances and environmental policy, for example). To challenge the belief in the epistemological nature of science is to weaken the perceived division between nature and culture. Thus, there is more at stake in questioning science than merely losing some degree of knowledge. Any attempts to cast doubt on science must deal not only with a strong belief in science, but in the division between nature and culture.

This devotion to the scientific mindset makes investigating science difficult, but a growing body of literature asks questions about the scientific process. Thomas Kuhn's (1962/1996) *The Structure of Scientific Revolutions* began the examination of how scientific conclusions are reached. Arguing that scientific theories are developed not by a process of accumulation of ideas, but of a "winning over" of support for paradigms based on the strength of the argument, Kuhn's writing challenged the way academics thought about and talked about science and the development of scientific theories. Persuasion, Kuhn argued, is an important part of changing and maintaining science. Research in the area of rhetoric argues that the way science is discussed affects how it is perceived and believed. This work is important because, as Philip Wander (1976) argues, scientific ethos and the language that is bound up in that ethos is used by many rhetors to discuss, debate, and justify stances on a number of different important political issues.

Largely extending from the work by sociologist Robert Merton on the universal standards of science, many rhetorical scholars have discussed how those standards can be used rhetorically to construct scientific boundaries. Lawrence Prelli (1989b), for example, argues that scientific ethos is constructed around the norms of universalism (consonant results), communality or communism (shared research), disinterestedness (pursuing work without an agenda), and organized skepticism (suspending judgment in order to objectively view results). Prelli (1989b) states, "My contention is that when scientists resort to these common themes in discussing, justifying, or evaluating actions the alleged 'norms' and 'counter-norms' of science serve a *rhetorical* function, regardless of whatever other functions they might be said to serve" (p. 49). "Scientific ethos," he states, "is not given; it is constructed rhetorically" (p. 49). The norms are not necessarily rules; they are more likely to be rhetorical topoi that scientists use to justify the validity of their research or to question other research.

Charles Alan Taylor (1991) argues that rather than make the claim that science is rhetorical, it is more accurate to say that science consistently uses rhetoric to define itself. Specifically, he argues that scientists use rhetoric as a tool for demarcation—making an argument about what is and what is not science. As Taylor writes, "Science *is* what it is rhetorically demarcated and communally authorized to be" (p. 408). This rhetorical demarcation also acts to establish and maintain stability of the scientific hierarchy, guarding science's identity by reifying its strong ethos. Thus, the act of demarcation, largely accomplished through the norms that Robert Merton discusses, is a significant function of the scientific community. These discussions about the rhetorical nature of science have the effect of pulling away the curtain and revealing the internal, and highly rhetorical, workings of science.

Disruption of Hierarchy

The difficulty that PETA faces in casting doubt on the use of animals in research is related to this discussion of scientific ethos. Although PETA is forced to challenge the validity of the research as part of a larger argument against animal research, they must do so knowing that the underlying nature of the research—the quest for scientific knowledge—has popular support. Because of this belief in the scientific ethos, PETA walks a fine line in critiquing the practice of animal research. It is not possible to reject completely science—nor would PETA likely want to make that move—however, the argument that science is corrupt skates along that line of argument.

Consequently, PETA has to find a way both to critique science and maintain the space for a respect of the scientific mindset. Without creating that space, the rhetoric destroys a sense of order that is established by celebrating the stability of scientific knowledge. As Kenneth Burke (1966) argues, we are "Moved by a sense of order" (p. 15); we are in constant search of a hierarchy of sorts. The belief in the strength of scientific knowledge and the process that uncovers that knowledge is grounded in a well-developed and maintained hierarchy, as seen through the rhetorical work used to create scientific ethos. At the top of the hierarchy is scientific knowledge and other issues (scientific ethics and animal rights, for example) fall lower in the hierarchy.

Burke (1935/1984, 1966) argues that hierarchy is a natural part of our existence; it is a characteristic unique to symbol-using animals. Through the development of the negative, a concept solely created by language, it becomes possible to distinguish between individuals and their actions (Burke, 1952, 1966). Language also creates the ability to establish a valuation of people and actions, allowing the creation of social classes and the hortatory (Burke, 1966). As

William Rueckert (1963) argues, Burke's ideas of hierarchies are defined very broadly: "In the most general sense, hierarchy is any kind of order; but more accurately, it is a kind of graded, value-charged structure in terms of which things, words, people, acts, and ideas are ranked" (p. 131). These hierarchies are developed and reified in a constant search for order (Burke, 1966).

Hierarchies, Burke (1950/1969) argues, are not stable, but constantly changing. "To say that hierarchy is inevitable is not to say that any particular hierarchy is inevitable; the crumbling of hierarchies is as true a fact about them as their formation. But to say that the hierarchic principle is indigenous to all well-rounded human thinking, is to state a very important fact about the rhetorical appeal of dialectical symmetry" (Burke, 1950/1969, p. 141). With hierarchy comes guilt; "Those 'Up' are guilty of not being 'Down,' those 'Down' are certainly guilty of not being 'Up'" (Burke, 1966, p. 15). Guilt is only a natural outgrowth of hierarchy, according to Burke (1935/1984; see also Burke, 1961):

> But our stress upon "totality" of enmity as a cure for the malaise of fragmentation should not be allowed to conceal our major point: That "order" *as such* makes for a tangle of guilt, mystery, ambition ("adventure") and vindication that infuses even the most visible and tangible of material 'things' with the spirit of the order through which they are perceived. (p. 288)

With a constant search for order, a "hierarchic psychosis" (Burke, 1935/1984), any disruption of that order creates guilt.[5]

In order to create a sense of redemption, or a reification of order and hierarchy, Burke (1935/1984) explains that there must be a symbolic move to restore order. This happens through symbolic victimage (scapegoating) or mortification (self-punishment or sacrifice), the "choice of

[5] William Rueckert (1963) notes that Burke's concept of guilt is an "all-purpose word for moral guilt, all kinds of tensions, and any uneasiness from whatever cause" (p. 131).

a sacrificial offering that is correspondingly absolute in the perfection of its fitness" (Burke, 1935/1984, p. 284; see also Burke, 1961). That sacrifice allows for a sense of redemption, or a "moment of stasis, the still moment following the fusion and release of a symbol-induced catharsis, or the still moment of vision when, after the furious activity of dialectic, a fusion at a higher level of discourse takes place to produce a perceived unity among many previously discordant ideas and things" (Rueckert, 1963, pp. 137-138).

In the case of PETA's critique of animal research, we see a similar progression, in that PETA is disrupting the hierarchy of knowledge by disputing the validity of scientific claims based on animal research. With the disruption of this hierarchy, and the guilt that comes from that disruption, PETA is called upon to create a sense of redemption. This is partially seen through the development of the image of the corrupt science; archaic science and its followers become the scapegoat. The redeemers are those reformed scientists and supporters of a more modern, liberal science that is founded on ethical practices. Thus, PETA's rhetoric seems to work in two ways: through the disruption and restoration of hierarchies more broadly, and more specifically, through the use of dissociation to disrupt the hierarchy. It is to that concept that I now turn.

Dissociation

Given the established hierarchy that PETA faces, they must find a way to disrupt that order without creating a great deal of disorder; dissociation makes that move possible. The idea of dissociation provides a way to separate different facets of a concept. For example, it may explain away inconsistencies by compartmentalizing conflicting thoughts about concepts, policies, people, and so forth. It allows one, for example, to support a policy that may *appear* to be flawed; in *reality*, it is strong (Jasinski, 2001). Chaim Perelman and Lucie Olbrechts-Tyteca

(1958/1969) define dissociation as a "desire to remove an incompatibility arising out of the confrontation of one proposition with others" (p. 413). It allows us to deal with the "cognitive dissonance" that is caused by the "tension generated by contradictions and inconsistencies in our belief or in our experience of the world" (Jasinski, 2001, pp. 175-176). In other words, when inconsistencies exist, we can rupture and divide the idea into two elements and speak of them as separate. Dissociation alters the way that we perceive an idea. It

> assumes the original unity of elements comprised within a single conception and designated by a single notion. The dissociation of notions brings about a more or less profound change in the conceptual data that are used as the basis of argument. It is then no more a question of breaking the links that join independent elements, but of modifying the very structure of these elements. (Perelman & Olbrechts-Tyteca, 1958/1969, p. 412)

Perelman and Olbrechts-Tyteca (1958/1969) focus specifically on the tensions between "appearance" and "reality" and how the dissociation of the two allows a revaluing of one over the other, without completely rejecting the other part. As John Murphy (2004) argues, "They exist on different levels; thus, the incompatibility can be resolved. Significantly, however, it does not eliminate either one. Both remain, but assume revised places in an altered scheme of reality" (p. 148). Importantly, dissociation can have a longstanding rhetorical effect. But, as Roger Stahl (2002) is careful to point out,

> We must not make the mistake of limiting the scope of dissociation to just another rhetorical 'technique' in the toolbox of argumentation. Certainly dissociations can and do function conspicuously, especially in their initial formation. However, since dissociation is in the business of managing relationships between terms, it tends to solidify, through repeated use, into a kind of metaphysical sediment. (p. 453)

Thus, the act of dissociation does not merely act as a quick rhetorical strategy; it also has the potential to alter our understanding of the nature of concepts.

Dissociation has the advantage of manipulating hierarchies without completely rupturing the order. Rather than attempting to displace completely a concept (science) from the hierarchy, dissociation allows for a breaking apart of the concept ("good" versus "bad" science) and then reorders the parts. Given this understanding of dissociation, it is clear that its use to question established institutions is valuable; PETA's rhetoric does this in scrutinizing the validity of science.

More specifically, PETA's rhetoric begins to cast doubt on science by carefully labeling scientific research on animals as a type of "bad" or impure science. Much of their campaign materials emphasize the flawed nature of animal research, the alternative incentives for animal research, and the uselessness of the research. The message that comes out of this discourse appears to be a direct attack on the scientific world more broadly. Their rhetoric also emphasizes alternative sciences and the benefits of those practices. Thus, the dissociation becomes apparent when developing the starkly different image of science as portrayed in the rhetoric.

Bad Science/Good Science: PETA's Use of Dissociation

PETA has two distinct images of science in its rhetoric targeted at a broad audience. When discussing the use of animal testing and research, they portray science as evil, self-serving, and ineffective. PETA argues the research being conducted is problematic, that the scientific ethos of the research should be questioned, and that the language that is used to discuss animal research creates an environment that is more conducive to this "corrupt" science. The second image of science, however, is positive because PETA uses science to bolster its arguments and begins to develop the idea of an ethical science. It is this juxtaposition of images that allows for

the image of science to split. Rather than viewing one complete image, the portrayal of two sciences (good and bad, pure and impure) creates a sense of dissociation. This section will explore PETA's messages by first focusing on the negative portrayal of science, second, discussing the shift in language that PETA promotes, and , third, focusing on PETA's more positive portrayals of science. Finally, it will draw some conclusions about the nature of the rhetoric that PETA produces.

Vicious Vivisectors: Science as Evil

In arguing against the use of research on animals, PETA uses scientific standards to explain how science has failed to meet its own standards. In the case of PETA, those rhetorical topoi are used both to discredit some scientific research and bolster their own research. This is an important part of the rhetoric in that it begins the process of "cracking apart" the strong image of science, thus allowing an image of a flawed science to emerge. In forming this image of science, there is a sense of the destruction of the pure image of science; it creates a rupture in the hierarchy. In other words, if science is believed to be free of corruption, following a flawless scientific method, the idea that there are problems with animal research and that there are alternative reasons for conducting the research starts to chip away at the objective image of science. PETA's rhetoric depends largely on scientific norms to question the objectivity of animal research.

The first way that PETA draws on these scientific norms is to discredit the scientific ethos of the research. The portrayal of the evil scientist, common in PETA's rhetoric, describes the scientist designing and implementing experiments on innocent animals, with no productive outcome. Throughout their rhetoric, PETA highlights examples of the scientist's failure to meet scientific norms. Specifically, they argue that researchers (frequently just referred to as

vivisectors when they are being vilified) do not meet the norms of universalism and disinterestedness.

Universalism implies more than just consistent results; it also implies that the scientist conducts careful and accurate research. As Charles Alan Taylor (1991) writes, universalism "most directly relates to the material practices of science and, as such, promises to more clearly illuminate the close relationship between those material practices and implicit discourses of demarcation" (p. 409). In other words, the material practices, the methods used by scientists, are discussed in order to separate "good science" from "bad science." The research, according to the universalism standard, should be "reflections of orderly natural processes. . .untainted by the particularistic interventions of individual scientists" (Taylor, 1991, p. 409). It is this benchmark that PETA uses to question the scientific ethos of animal research.

One of the main arguments that PETA uses against animal experimentation, for example, is that the results discovered using animals are not extendable to human subjects or even other animals. They claim the research is not universal because the results cannot be repeated in human subjects, the subjects with which science is supposedly concerned. In one animal research factsheet, PETA argues:

> Diseases that are artificially induced in animals in a laboratory are never identical to those that occur naturally in human beings. And because animal species differ from one another in many biologically significant ways, it becomes even more unlikely that animal research will yield results that will be correctly interpreted and applied to the human condition in any meaningful way. ("Animal Research")

The language in this particular passage is worth mentioning. Note, for example, that they appear to use scientific language in order to discredit the research. The diseases are "artificially

induced," not "naturally occurring"; the "animal species" vary in "biologically significant ways"; the research will not "yield results" that can be "correctly interpreted." PETA disputes the validity of the research, but they do so in such a way that the questions that they raise are more likely to be taken seriously. They point out the "enormous physiological variations" between animal and human bodies ("Animal Experimentation") and argue that animals react to disease in very different ways ("Cancer").[6] To build this argument, PETA lists numerous examples of experiments that have failed to replicate the same results in humans. They also argue that the research itself cannot be replicated in similar or even the same animals: "The results of the eye irritancy tests are questionable, as they vary from laboratory to laboratory—and even from rabbit to rabbit" ("Product Testing"). Elsewhere, they note the problems with animal dissection, pointing out that the animal bodies that students work on are significantly different than human bodies ("Endotrachael Intubation").

Moreover, PETA questions the validity of animal testing by claiming that this failed research might send scientists in the wrong direction ("Animal Experimentation"). Quoting one scientist, PETA argues that animal research is "misleading," and animal tests "have done nothing but confuse and mislead" researchers. This scientist concludes that "animal tests are a fraud" ("Cancer"). Animal studies "divert precious resources away from truly life-saving efforts to treat disease" ("Xenografts"). PETA writes, "In many cases, animal studies do not just hurt animals and waste money; they harm and kill people, too" ("Animal Experimentation"). Not only are the tests flawed, PETA argues that animal testing hinders progress. Science becomes polluted, spoiled, and contaminated with the use of animal research and this pollution makes the stability of science in the knowledge hierarchy more questionable.

[6] This is an interesting move considering the disappearance of discussions of differences between human and animal in other campaigns.

Using Taylor's (1991) idea of universalism, PETA's rhetoric also questions the ethos of the scientific research by questioning its overall quality. PETA refers to animal experimentation as "archaic" ("Cancer"), "unreliable. . .weak" ("Product Testing"), "easily manipulated" ("Greenwash"), "useless" ("Treat Each Frog"), and something that happened in a "less enlightened time" ("Thistle's Story"). Animal testing fails to meet scientific standards, PETA argues, and is not even expected to do so. They write, "No animal test in use today has ever been properly scientifically validated according to internationally agreed-upon criteria, a fact that calls into question the reliability, accuracy, and relevance of animal-test results as predictors of possible human-health or environmental hazards" ("Government Required"; See also "Greenwash"). In general, PETA maintains that there is no good reason for animal experimentation because testing can often happen without animals and the research that is conducted on animals is unreliable. These arguments begin the process of dissociation by pointing out the flawed nature of a science that depends on animal rights. This, in turn, creates a sense of rupture in the hierarchy by challenging the quality of scientific findings.

In addition to casting doubt on the universalism of the research, PETA also argues that there must be some other reason for the continued use of animal experimentation. This leads to the idea of disinterestedness. Taylor (1991) defines disinterestedness as "less a unique characteristic of individual scientists than a manifestation of institutional control. At base, the norm excludes ostensible bias and selfish motivations from the research activities of scientists" (p. 404). In PETA's rhetoric, the use of animals in research is portrayed as motivated less by a desire for knowledge than by sadism, curiosity, a need for publications, legal protection, concerns about cost, and aversion to change. Here the agency shifts, placing blame on the scientist rather than on the institution.

Researchers, for example, are portrayed as being oddly interested in harming animals. The research is referred to as torturous, sadistic, and murderous; dissection is called "animal abuse" ("Dissection"; "Monkey Torturer"). Scientists (or vivisectors) choose to use animals that are "less 'cute,' because, although they know these animals suffer just as much, they believe people won't object as strenuously to the torture of a pig or a rat as they will to that of a dog or rabbit" ("Animal Experimentation"). Scientists make cold, deliberate decisions that allow them to continue their cruel experiments, PETA argues.

In one Action Alert (a protest tool that they use to encourage members to flood offices with letters, phone calls, and emails), PETA targeted a researcher at Emory University. Stuart Zola, a PETA nemesis, is well known for his monkey experiments. In the Action Alert, titled "Monkey Torturer Picked to Run Primate Facility," PETA says, "Zola, who is neither a medical doctor nor a veterinarian, has spent the better part of his career drilling holes into primates' skulls." Aside from the fact that PETA seems to imply that the only people qualified to run experiments are veterinarians and medical doctors, they also suggest that this researcher is solely motivated by his desire to torture animals. This example certainly denounces the ethics of the research.

In fact, PETA concludes, "The reality is that much of this research is little more than curiosity-driven cruelty" ("Animal Research"). Shifting the agency back to the institution, they explain that part of that curiosity can be accounted for by the intense push for publications at universities and research centers: "The growing trend toward curiosity-driven research is largely a product of today's 'publish or perish' research environment, in which scientists are recognized for the number of research papers they publish rather than the contribution that each study makes to the advancement of science or medicine" ("Animal Research"). Thus, the focus of the

research is not on making significant advances, but on feeding into a corrupted scientific institution that has placed a priority on quantity of publications over quality (including ethics).

Additionally, PETA argues that legal and monetary issues motivate researchers. They say, "But many companies continue to test products on animals because they use the vague results in court in order to help protect themselves from consumers harmed by their product" (*Compassionate Living*). In some cases, PETA claims that researchers alter their interpretations of study results in order to meet their needs. For example, PETA explains that if companies are told that their product causes cancer in animal experiments, they are likely to argue that the results are not the same for humans. If, however, they conduct research on animals in order to defend their product, they are likely to say that the results can be applied to humans ("Greenwash"). These ambiguous research findings symbolize the true corruption of science, according to PETA, showing the infiltration of alternative motivators (money and legal standing) rather than a true commitment to the search for knowledge.

Researchers also make the decision to experiment at the urging of companies hoping to save money, PETA argues. In the case of cosmetic companies, for example, animal testing is less expensive then human testing ("Animal Research"; "Product Testing"). PETA writes that many research choices are made based on determination of cost: "The fact that the species most often used in laboratory experiments are chosen largely for nonscientific reasons, such as cost and ease of handling, casts further doubt on the validity of this research" ("Animal Research"). PETA argues that organizations such as the American Heart Association, the March of Dimes, and the Red Cross all conduct animal research because there is money to be made in the research. They argue that although the organizations are no closer to curing diseases and/or already have enough research, they must continue conducting tests in order to bring in more

money. One of the easiest ways to do so, and to show a need for more support, is to conduct additional animal research ("Cancer"; "Health Charities"). There is an entire industry, PETA argues, that survives on the use of animals: "It is not surprising that those who make money experimenting on animals or supplying vivisectors with cages, restraining devices, food for caged animals…and tiny guillotines to destroy animals whose lives are no longer considered useful insist that nearly every medical advance has been made through the use of animals" ("Animal Experimentation").

Finally, PETA makes the argument that researchers continue to test on animals because of an unwillingness to change. Animal research is still seen as a necessary step in the research process, whether for legal reasons, attempts to hold down cost, or other reasons. Citing several cases where animal research is used to prove uncontroversial claims (for example, that smoking causes cancer and that blindness alters brain development), PETA argues that the experiments "have no practical benefit to anyone" ("Health Charities").

Through the use of the rhetorical topoi of universalism and disinterestedness, PETA begins to undermine the legitimacy of animal research. In questioning the validity of the research being conducted and the alternative reasons for choosing animal research, there is a sense of a corrupted science—a science that does not follow the norms established by centuries of scientific discourse. Moreover, PETA argues that the language used to discuss the research creates the needed environment for a corrupt science. The next section will look more specifically at that language.

Changing "Animal Harvesting" to "Torturous Killing"

One of the goals of the animal rights movement is to change the way that we think about animals. This, of course, is no easy feat because of a well established body of discourse that

guards the boundaries between human and animal, culture and nature (as discussed in Chapter 1). One of the battles that PETA and other animal rights organizations face is industries (meat, animal research, and others) that have "taken the face off of" the animals. For example, in encouraging a vegetarian lifestyle, one of the obstacles that PETA faces is pushing people to remember that the slice of beef wrapped in cellophane is not merely food, it was once a part of a living, breathing cow. As PETA frequently asks, "Did your food have a face?" ("Did your food have a face?"). The purpose of this message is to bring the focus back to the animal so that it can no longer be considered mere food. Similarly, the campaigns that focus on changing ideas about science argue that the scientific world has forgotten that the "subjects" being used in animal research are feeling animals.

One of the ways that desensitization can happen is through the language that we choose to use. The discussions about nuclear capabilities, for example, were made easier by the creation of "nukespeak"—a type of language that both used common, domesticated language to discuss complicated technology (e.g., calling atomic bombs "Fat Man" and "Little Boy" and referring to "clean" and "dirty" bombs) and that used "bureaucratized" language that mystified the technology (e.g., acronyms and "collateral damage" to refer to unintended loss of life). Nukespeak stifles public debate over the uses of nuclear weapons because it makes nuclear weapons more benign by using domesticated language to discuss it and makes it more difficult to discuss nuclear weapons because of the bureaucratized language (Schiappa, 1989).

Similarly, language used to discuss animal research minimizes discussion about the practice. Animals are either discussed in such a way that they are "folded into" the normal tools and apparatuses of the scientific method or they are discussed amidst the complicated language of scientific tests. One study of the rhetoric of scientific reports of research conducted on

animals found that many times the death of animal was obscured by using euphemisms (e.g., referring to the "sacrifice" or "harvesting" of animals). This choice of language minimizes the death of the animal. As the authors note, "Using euphemisms for death, not mentioning it at all, and circumlocutions all have the effect of reducing the impact on the reader. The death of the animal is somehow downplayed; it has to be actively read into the text by the reader" (Birke & Smith, 1995). The authors also mention the vague terms used to label animals being used in research (e.g., "analytic animals," "preparations," "animal models") and the use of the passive to downplay the agency that the scientist has in animal experimentation (e.g., "the animals were injected," "When the nerve was crushed repeatedly. . .") (Birke & Smith, 1995). PETA's rhetoric pulls back that veil of normalization and bureaucratization by choosing more descriptive language to describe animal research and by showing explicit images of animal research.

PETA describes animal research as cruel ("Dissection"; "Lessons in Cruelty"), torturous killing ("Animal Experimentation"), and abusive ("Animal Research"). Animals used in the experiments are victims ("What We Did to Rodney") and are described by more specific language (e.g., "animals such as birds, dogs, fish, guinea pigs, mice, rabbits, rats, and even monkeys. . ." ["Government Required"]), lest we forget that experimentation takes place on more than just "lab rats."

More important, PETA gives vivid descriptions of the experiments, taking away the veil of the bureaucratic language. For example, describing the process in which animals are collected and prepared for dissection, they write, "Many of the cats are still moving when workers pump formaldehyde into their veins. They clench their paws as the chemicals surge through their bodies. They are then stored and eventually packaged and shipped to schools all around the country" ("Thistle's Story"). In another example, they describe the effects of animal research on

the animal: "In these tests, animals. . .are forced to swallow or inhale massive doses of a test substance—which can cause severe abdominal pain, paralysis, swelling and ulceration of the skin and/or the eyes, convulsions and seizures, and bleeding from the nose, mouth, and genitals—before they are poisoned to death or killed by the experimenter" ("Government Required"). In these examples, the language creates a clearer image of what it means to experiment on animals. The reality—far from the clinical, clean version of a standard image of animal research—is difficult to read.

This is made even more difficult by focusing in on particular stories. For example, in two featured articles, PETA tells the story of animals that experienced research firsthand. "What We Did to Rodney" tells the story of a "tall, gangly, flea-bitten shepherd mix" that is sold to a laboratory for experiments at a veterinary school. The story, told as a personal narrative by a "reformed researcher," tells of the experiments that they conducted on Rodney: a neutering that took three times longer than normal, an "abdominal exploratory" that led to opened sutures, a purposely broken leg to be repaired with a steel pin. Despite all of the tests, the storyteller says, "He was always happy to see us—tail thumping wildly against the walls of his small steel cage" ("What We Did to Rodney"). At the end of the story, the author explains his change in attitude about animal research: "One afternoon we put him to sleep. As the life drained from his body and his eyes lost their focus, my attitude toward animal research began to change" ("What We Did to Rodney"). Similarly, "Thistle's Story" focuses on a kitten that was spared being embalmed and dissected because of his rescue ("Thistle's Story"). Thistle, PETA writes, is "like any other young cat: He loves games and attention. He races madly around the room, ending with a flying leap onto someone's lap. . .But you could say he is an especially charmed cat because Thistle was rescued from a biological supply company by an undercover investigator"

("Thistle's Story"). These stories work in significant ways to alter the way we think about animal research.

Specifically, the stories and the anti-animal research literature in general put a face on the "research subjects"—both figuratively and literally. Figuratively, the stories are told in such a way as to force the connection between the "subject" and particular animals. Details like Rodney's wagging tail and Thistle's races around the room remind readers of animals that they have encountered. In fact, individuals might place the faces of their own pets on those of Thistle and Rodney. The stories work metonymically by placing the faces of Rodney and Thistle on animals that are particular to the reader. This strategy allows PETA to overcome the problem of consumers forgetting that the animals that are used in animal experimentation are similar to the animals that they know and love.

These messages also literally put faces on the subjects. In the articles about Rodney and Thistle, there are pictures of both of the animals placed alongside the gruesome descriptions and images of the experiments that they either suffered through or narrowly escaped. "Thistle's Story" shows an image of Thistle sleeping while snuggled safely inside a blanket; this image is juxtaposed with a picture of a row of cats that have been prepared for shipping and dissection and a single kitten that is pinned on its back and prepared to be dissected. "What We Did to Rodney" includes an image of a cat with its head cut open and a contraption cemented into its brain, a close up of a monkey held in place with steel bolts through its head, and a puppy curled up in its cage with half of its skin missing. A genetic engineering public service announcement shows a scientist leaning over a struggling monkey, strapping it into a chair and preparing to conduct research on the frightened animal ("Genetic Engineering"). Another public service announcement aimed at consumers of cosmetics makes the connection between animals more

explicit. The advertisement opens with a woman laying on a chaise lounge while peacefully petting her cat. The camera then pans up to her eyes and the narrator says, "Behind the beauty, lies the beast." With the next shot, we see animals in a laboratory: rats and rabbits struggling to stand up and a caged white cat (remarkably similar to the cat on the woman's lap) with incisions on its head appears to shiver. The last shot shows the cat on the woman's lap and the narrator says, "Please, buy cruelty free" ("Behind the Beauty"). Thus, the faces of the cats appear to be morphed into one; one cat is spared the experimentation, while the other is not. The woman, who is wearing cosmetics, may have to confront a contradiction in treating one cat well, while participating in the mistreatment of the other cat as a consumer of products tested on animals.

By working to alter the language that we use to speak of and think about animals as well as changing the images that we have of animal research, PETA's rhetoric urges us to confront the ethical problems with studies on animals. Instead of viewing this research as a normal part of science, there is more room to question the need for this practice. Schiappa (1989) concludes that "nukespeak requires critical inspection because. . .it functions strategically to avoid and constrain deliberation over matters of public importance" (p. 254). Similarly, PETA's rhetoric on animal research acts as a "critical inspection" of the ways that we dismiss animal research as normal in our language. This strategy also fits into the larger goal of dissociation in pointing out the corrupted parts of science.

In questioning the practice of animal research (and science more broadly) and the use of language that leads to a corrupt science, PETA destabilizes the strength of the scientific topoi. There is a danger of disrupting an established hierarchy, which Burke (1935/1984, 1966) argues can lead to a sense of imperfection and guilt. With this guilt, a sense of tension over the disruption, comes a need for redemption. Dissociation lessens the danger in claiming the

corruption of an established institution such as science, but the guilt still emerges. Although PETA's rhetoric creates an image of a corrupt science, it leaves room for an ethical, more humane science that can create a sense of redemption and a restoration of hierarchy. The next section will develop this idea by looking at the use of rhetoric to build an alternative image of science.

Reformed Researchers and an Ethical Science

Frequently juxtaposed with this negative image of science is the image of the good and virtuous scientist and a more humane scientific community. Often this comes in the form of a reformed scientist, but more frequently this positive image of science is shown in PETA's use of research to bolster their own arguments and in the image of an alternative science. In this case, there is an embrace of the scientific.

PETA uses multiple scientific studies to support, for example, the health benefits of a vegetarian diet and of exercise or to talk about alternatives to animal experimentation. Although they reject science in some cases, they also are forced to defend their positions with the science that they reject. There is no discussion of the validity of this research, however. John Lyne and Henry Howe (1990) explain a similar situation with the rhetoric of E. O. Wilson, the prominent sociobiologist. They argue that Wilson uses a thin veil of science (scientific ethos) to support his arguments. They write, "So, for instance, the strategy of 'speculation' gives Wilson rhetorical license to invoke science while remaining insulated from technical criticism. The other flank is protected too, because the scientific ethos is used to thwart critical evaluation by philosophers" (p. 145). Like Wilson, PETA is able to use the scientific image to generate credibility for arguments. This type of support material is necessary in order to normalize the rhetoric and, as Prelli (1989b) argues, to establish ethos.

The emphasis on an alternative, more ethical science in PETA's rhetoric creates an image of concern for the future of scientific research. For example, PETA spends a significant amount of time explaining alternatives to animal product tests and dissection ("Alternatives"; "Animal Research"; "Cancer"; "Government Required"; "Stem Cell"; "What We Did to Rodney"). Research conducted with alternative tests is more "humane" ("Thistle's Story"), forward thinking ("Alternatives"; "Animal Research"; "Government Required"), "innovative" ("Alternatives"), modern ("Stem Cell"), and sophisticated ("Cancer"), according to PETA. They conclude, "Human health and well-being can best be promoted by adopting nonviolent methods of scientific investigation and concentrating on the prevention of disease before it occurs, through lifestyle modification and the prevention of further environmental pollution and degradation" ("Animal Research"). Alternatives to animal testing are "critical to the advancement of medicine" ("Animal Research"). The language found in PETA's literature makes an argument for the rescue of science, a reestablishment of science in the hierarchy. The institution, they argue, needs to be advanced by moving away from the misleading, archaic, inhumane, and unreliable animal experiments. Indeed, it is the future of the institution (and of human health) that depends on the elimination of animal research.

In addition to a general description of a more humane science, PETA also spends a great deal of time discussing the reformed scientist and the part that those individuals play in the transformation of science. This can be very powerful, considering these scientists were once a part of the contested system. In one instance, a veterinarian tells of his gruesome experience with animal experimentation in veterinary school. He concludes:

> I am a scientist weaned on the scientific method. . . .But after 15 years in the veterinary profession, I now believe there are moral and ethical considerations that outweigh

> benefits. Because we happen to be the most powerful species on Earth, humans have the ability—but not the right—to abuse the so-called "lower" animals. The ends do not justify the means. ("What We Did to Rodney")

In this example, even the scientific method seems to be under attack. The insider is able to question the scientific norms and those questions are stronger because of his position in the scientific world.

In another example of a "reformed" insider, Charles Mayo is used as an authority. The founder of the Mayo Clinic is quoted by PETA as saying, "I abhor vivisection. It should at least be curbed. Better, it should be abolished. I know of no achievement through vivisection, no scientific discovery, that could not have been obtained without such barbarism and cruelty. The whole thing is evil" ("Animal Experimentation"). Mayo's words are harsh, which allows PETA to make a strong argument by turning scientists against this type of science. In both examples, PETA clearly denounces the ethics of science. Using the words of the scientist, the strongest testimony available, PETA forces the audience to consider its own trust of the scientific institution. As Thomas Lessl (1988) notes, when insiders are called upon to critique science, they "have a disruptive potency greater than, not merely different from, that of the external enemies of a social institution" (p. 20). The power of this testimony, then, is in the reformed researchers' association with the scientific world. Their words are more harmful than all of PETA's rhetoric.

This particular strategy, the use of the reformed scientist's testimony, serves two purposes. The first is to discredit current scientific practices. The second purpose, however, is to maintain some positive images of science through the use of reformed scientists. In other words, PETA is not completely rejecting the scientific world. Indeed, by embracing the positive

aspects of science, PETA can remain close enough to the scientific word in order to justify the scrutiny of scientific ethos. Although the negative images that PETA uses undermine the current research practices, the positive images allow PETA to remain a part of the scientific world and to help reconstruct the hierarchy. They are then able to participate in discussions on future research. PETA positions itself to be able to tell others in the scientific field to seek change. Moreover, the use of the scientific allows PETA to pull from that institutional ethos. It provides the type of evidence that most audiences expect and, in fact, desire in the case of medical conclusions.

The rhetoric that PETA produces, however, calls that scientific ethos into question. In this search for change, PETA promotes a purer science and places itself within the scientific community, but in a protective position, assuming a "priestly voice." As Lessl (1989) argues, bardic rhetoric is grounded in equality, speaking from among the people. Priestly rhetoric, however, speaks from a higher position to the people below. As Lessl (1989) says, "Most fundamentally, the bard's communication is lateral, extending across the well-traveled highways of a cultural milieu. . . The rhetoric of the priest is largely vertical, descending from above as an epiphanic Word, filled with mystery and empowered with extra-human authority" (p. 185). PETA seems to have chosen a priestly voice in its arguments for the sanctity of science. With their call for universalism and disinterestedness in scientific research, they call for a purer, more reliable form of science. In doing so, they place themselves inside the general scientific community, but acting in an authoritative role—as a protector of a pure science. Lessl (1989) writes:

> The priest, similarly, is an interpreter rather than an inventor but draws on constructing his peculiar kind of rhetoric from the symbolic resources of the institution he represents.

> Herein lies the authority of the priestly voice. The public scientist as priest brings interpretations of established theory and method to the general community, serving the rhetorical purposes of the scientific community so long as these popular renderings show some degree of fidelity to scientific orthodoxy. (p. 186)

This rhetorical placement of PETA's voice affords a critical position because PETA can denounce current scientific practices by calling forth the idea of the scientific ethos. They make a plea for a more ethical and reliable type of research by placing themselves above the scientific community. They carefully maintain some ties to the scientific world, using the voice of "reformed" scientists and scientific research to back up their own conclusions. Through the use of the priestly voice, PETA's rhetoric attempts to persuade the audience (members and potential members, scientists and non-scientists) to believe that the changes in research must happen in order to purify the scientific community.

Thus, Prelli's (1989b) notion of the rhetorical uses of scientific ethos explains how PETA's rhetoric alters notions of science. Because of the strength of the scientific institution—the resonance of the mantra of scientific progress and its placement in the hierarchy—PETA must be careful in attacking animal research and the scientific method. Dissociation allows for a splitting apart of science. This creates a science that has been corrupted by an unethical and unreliable practice; those practitioners and supporters of this corrupt science become the scapegoat. What must be protected (by rejecting animal research) is a purer science that remains focused on the advancement of science for the protection of human health. This creates a sense of redemption. Although PETA challenges the institution (thus pointing out imperfection), they reestablish its importance by highlighting the need to oversee reform of science. Another way that PETA's rhetoric creates dissociation in separating good from bad science is through

messages that change the images that we have about animal research and the language that we use to talk about animal research. Through a push to use more "realistic" language to discuss animal research and the animals that are used and an attempt to create vivid images of the research, PETA's rhetoric creates a stronger image of a corrupt science.

Conclusion

The rhetoric that PETA produces against animal testing creates dissociation in two ways. First, there is a focus on the validity of the research conducted on animals. PETA argues that the science is flawed, scientists have ulterior motives for the research, and the language that is used to discuss animal research creates an environment that is more conducive to this "corrupt" science. Second, there is a development of a purer, more ethical science. This science is led by reformed researchers and supporters who are concerned with the ethical well-being of the field. This "splitting-apart" of science allows for a repudiation of the corrupt research without the more threatening prospect of disrupting science as a whole. Because of the value that is placed on the scientific world, it is not likely that individuals would completely reject science or all testing for products, medicines, procedures, etc. PETA, of course, has never called for anything as radical as a complete rejection of science. The perception on the part of the scientific community, however, is that they are arguing against the entire scientific process. In a speech before the Association for Research in Otolaryngology (and highlighted on the Americans for Medical Progress web site), Adrian Morrison (2002) outlines the grave costs of animal rights work: "millions of dollars in direct damage to research facilities," individual suffering due to targeting by animal rights groups and suffering as a community because of the fear of being the next one to be targeted, increased bureaucracy for research, misleading and unflattering media representations of science, and "meddling with the scientific process" by politicians who have

been swayed by animal rights rhetoric. Consequently, PETA has to be careful about the ways that they go about attacking animal research. Dissociation allows PETA to appear to remain safely in the scientific mindset (at least by the general public) by appearing to criticize only a part of science—the corrupted part—that must be changed. This places PETA in a better position (and allows the use of the priestly voice) because it suggests that they are concerned about the future of science and have a vested interest in creating a safer, more reliable science. The rhetoric uses casuistic stretching, where "one introduces new principles while theoretically remaining faithful to old principles" (Burke, 1937, p. 72); science is reformulated to seek knowledge while also remaining committed to ethics.

Moreover, PETA's critiques on science, although they disrupt the hierarchy of scientific ethos, allow for a reestablished hierarchy based on a pure, ethical science. Although the challenge to science creates a sense of disorder by disrupting the knowledge hierarchy, redemption and reestablished order are provided in the form of the impure science as a scapegoat and the ethical science as a savior of science. The reestablished hierarchy places universalism and validity of research above tradition; disinterestedness above corruption; humane and honest language above deceptive language; modernity above archaic tradition.

In short, PETA's messages work with the audience to create the space needed to believe in, work for, and demand a more humane and ethical science. Individuals can still believe in the value of science (in fact, can believe that they are more concerned about the future of science than those in support of animal research) and have room to criticize a practice that is still largely accepted. Based on PETA's claims that non-animal based research is more innovative and reliable, PETA and supporters of its viewpoints become stewards of science, leading the way to a modern, liberal science.

Significantly, this framework leaves another important opening for the audience: it leaves space for individuals to support or become involved in the animal rights movement without completely altering their identities in order to make room for those types of beliefs. Joining the fight for a more ethical science can mean anything from believing that animals are like humans to believing that although there are no similarities between humans and animals, there are other important reasons to support changed scientific practices.

If making the decision to support or join a movement means making changes in your identity, then this is an important part of understanding how messages work. In this case, PETA's campaigns against animal testing do not require a significant shift in identity in coming to the decision to support this position. In terms of identification, however, this is an important step because if an individual makes a decision to align with a movement or a particular organization on an issue, they have chosen to share some qualities with a group; they have become more consubstantial with the movement.

At the same time, there are three main limitations to this message for PETA. First, the arguments against science take place safely in the scientific realm. In other words, much of the rhetoric that is specifically directed at attacking science argues against animal research through the rhetorical use of scientific standards. This means that PETA is constantly forced to build up arguments that attack particular types of research and that support alternatives to animal research. This is difficult, given the constantly changing nature of the scientific community. It also means that PETA is forced to create a large number of very specific arguments against each type of study. The difficulties of this particular strategy are similar to those that the supporters of U.S. woman's suffrage faced. Some suffrage supporters made the decision to focus on a national suffrage amendment, realizing the difficulty of fighting a battle that was different in each state

and that would, potentially, take more resources and time. There are advantages to the state-by-state strategy in that supporters could start to chip away at states that were swinging in their direction and that were weaker on the suffrage issue. Similarly, PETA's rhetoric attacking science often chooses to go point by point. They are forced to build strong logical arguments that attempt to show the dangers in animal research on the future of science. These arguments are difficult to make, however, because they are often refuted by the scientific community. Scientists can merely make a claim based on ethos, arguing that they are more capable of guarding the boundaries of science. As Mark Bernstein (2002b) argues, the attack on the validity of animal research is a mistake for the movement:

> These, I suggest, are bad tactics. There are several reasons for this, but the most important one is that it yields the impression, intended or not, that were the science good, the vivisector would morally win the day. Bad science, when conjoined with the intentional infliction of pain and suffering, may well be immoral. But this should not even give the appearance of suggesting that good science, when performed as vivisectors routinely practice it, is *moral*. (p. 523)

The arguments against "bad science" are risky because they form the grounds of the debate in the scientific realm, not the ethical realm. That can only mean that PETA faces a difficult struggle in attempting to win the argument.

Second, because there is so little at risk in terms of identity in deciding to support the fight against animal research, there is little movement that occurs in changing the boundaries between human and animal. None of the anti-animal research advertisements analyzed in this research, for example, make any radical claims about the similarities between humans and animals. Ingrid Newkirk is infamously quoted as saying, "A rat is a pig is a dog is a boy.

They're all animals" (Morrison, 2002). These thoughts are absent from the messages attacking science. This partially can be explained by the practical nature of the rhetoric. Frankly, there is no need for the rhetoric to convince people that humans and animals are identical in order to gather support in a fight against animal testing; rather the argument can rest on a shared understanding of pain. PETA merely needs to pull at the heartstrings of individuals and convince them that better alternatives to animal testing exist to gather support for the cause. It is when PETA tries to support a vegetarian/vegan lifestyle or convince people to stay away from zoos that they are forced to delve into the area of human/animal identity.

Third, the message found in the anti-animal research rhetoric focuses on altering notions of science and, perhaps, creating more identity between human and animal. That relationship, however, is still safely in the paternalistic realm. In other words, individuals can feel the need to take care of these animals just as they would their own pets or a stray dog found on the street; they do not need to concede rights. This paternalistic mindset does not go far enough for other campaigns because it does not leave room for the argument that animals should be treated like humans. For example, many in the animal welfare movement maintain a paternalistic stance in arguing that we have a responsibility (as advanced beings) to care for animals in a humane way. Because some welfarists may be comfortable distancing themselves from animals (and this is certainly possible with the paternalistic mindset), the argument can be made that some animal research is necessary if it is in the best interest of humans and if the animals are treated as well as possible while they are being tested. Because the paternalistic mindset creates a limited space for arguing in support of animal rights, PETA makes more radical appeals to identity. The next two chapters will address the other choices that PETA makes in attempting to break down the animal/human divide.

CHAPTER 3

IDENTIFICATION, PATHOS, AND THE VISUAL ELEMENT: CHANGING IMAGES OF ANIMALS AND HUMANS

Images of monkeys, cats, and dogs with metal bars protruding from their heads, of dissected cats and mutilated mice and rabbits, of terrified circus animals and distressed zoo inhabitants have become staples of PETA's campaigns. Descriptions of animal tests and the mistreatment of animals are often difficult to stomach. Some of the descriptions of animal testing in the previous chapter, for example, were graphic enough to create images even without the accompanying photographs. The visual element of PETA's advertisements, however, creates an additional layer of meaning. The simplicity, quickness, and power of the image makes the animal rights message easier to convey and, in some cases, more effective.

PETA works from the belief that animals are feeling beings that deserve respect and equal consideration. Their media campaigns have grown out of that concept. It is not surprising, then, that PETA's advertisements undermine established notions of subjectivity. Those campaigns are shocking not only because of the images, but also because they contest a fundamental relationship: that of animal to human. Although many people argue that humans are separated from animals by their subjectivity, PETA is founded on the idea that animals also possess subjectivity.

PETA's advertisements use the visual element to question the distinctions that we make between animals and humans, nature and culture. Because we normally distinguish between the two, the advertisements are jarring because they play on our expectations. The ads catch our eye

because they question our belief in the separation between animal and human. Using the culturally created dualisms and undermining those dualisms at the same time, they blur the line between subjectivities by blending animal and human experiences and characteristics into one, making the struggle for animal rights into a struggle for all living beings. By using this strategy, they open gaps in identity that allow for profound changes in notions of animal and human identities.

The previous chapter posited that the arguments that PETA makes directed against the scientific world are rhetorically limited. Because PETA's rhetoric against animal testing remains in the scientific realm (arguing for a stronger science devoid of animal testing), there is little room for changing notions of animal/human relations. It does little, for example, to discourage the use of fur. In other words, for many of PETA's other goals (animals are not ours to eat, wear, use for entertainment, etc.), PETA must work to change human assumptions about animals. In a response letter to an article critiquing one of PETA's campaigns, a PETA senior writer explained: "In fact, our ultimate goal is apolitical. . .we seek an evolution in the societal view of animals from *zoe* to *bios*, that is, the elevation of our concept of animals as beings who merely live to beings who share with humans 'the form or manner of living particular to a single individual or group'" (Guillermo, 2004, p.1). PETA's attempts to alter the way we view animals—moving from a view of animal as *zoe* (being alive) to *bios* (having a life)—is a move to view animals as more consubstantial with humans. Although the focus of these messages is primarily on changing our view of animal identity, it also changes our concepts of our identities. If we view animals as more similar to us, we can begin to develop a sense of identification with animals. The attacks on science begin the process of change by questioning our views of animals, but other campaigns focus more on shifting identities within the audience.

Many of PETA's campaigns focus more on logical arguments (e.g., arguments against animal research, for a vegetarian diet, or arguments against the exploitation of animals); however, the rhetorical strategy of questioning identity is based on emotional appeals. It asks audience members to question the created gap between humans and animals. By motivating audiences to blur those lines of separation, PETA succeeds in a number of areas. For example, they no longer need to prove that animal experimentation is not scientifically necessary if the ethical argument means that we should not have the option of using animals for our own purposes. The argument is a difficult one to win, however, because the discussion over the distinctions between nature and culture, animal and human, has a long history.

As discussed in the first chapter, there is a strong belief in the division between nature and culture. That division is particularly guarded when it comes to animals and humans. There is an odd dichotomy where we both embrace animals by bringing them into our homes, lavishing them with quality food, bedding, and even clothing, and, in many cases, make them an extended part of our families. At the same time, we also eat meat, visit caged animals in zoos, watch trained animals in circuses, hunt animals in the wild, and so forth. The domination of animals maintains human privilege in the hierarchy. That domination happens in a variety of ways; separation into cages, abuse, exploitation, and consumption all establish that humans have power over animals. The few laws that protect animals from human abuses do so based on a paternalistic rationale (i.e., "we should protect innocent animals") rather than on ethical grounds.

With the division between human and animal so firmly entrenched in our identities, it is a daunting task for PETA to build identification between human and animal. Based on religious (the Judeo-Christian belief in dominion over the animal kingdom) and cultural beliefs, this separation is not only theoretically founded, but practically experienced. As Burke (1935/1984,

1966) argues, we constantly experience life through a desire for order and hierarchy; disruption of that order creates guilt. PETA's attempts to alter the hierarchy of nature over culture, human over animal are thwarted by decades of tradition and continued efforts to dominate animals.

Although the divide between human and animal exists, there are tensions in that dichotomy. Despite efforts to maintain distance between human and animal, scientific research continues to uncover the vast similarities between the two. Only one percent of our genome is different than chimpanzees and we share thirty-one percent of our genes with yeast (Shreeve, 2005). Making this differentiation more problematic is the creation of chimeras ("an organism assembled out of living parts taken from more than one biological species" [Shreeve, 2005]), which are increasingly being used in scientific research. The use of chimeras has created ethical debates even in the scientific world, with those questioning the use asking how far we can push the boundaries between human and animal. As one Stanford physician stated, "'Human appearance is something we should reserve for humans. Anything else that looks human debases the coinage of truth'" (quoted in Shreeve, 2005). It is easier to maintain cultural boundaries between species, to continue to reinforce the hierarchy that supports that distinction, than to confront difficult questions about similarities. As Shreeve concludes, "Our minds have evolved to be hypersensitive to the borders between species, just as we see a rainbow as composed of six or seven distinct colors when it is really a continuum of wavelengths of light."

What PETA must do in order to make those borders fade away is to emphasize the shared qualities between human and animal. Because of the hierarchical rigidity, however, they have to work to undermine and restructure without completely disrupting the order. There are three strategies that are most apparent in their visual campaigns: identification, casuistic stretching, and perspective by incongruity. This chapter examines how PETA's rhetoric begins to critique

that line of division between animal and human by, first, discussing the strategy of disrupting hierarchies through the use of identification, casuistic stretching, and perspective by incongruity. Second, I touch on the use of visual rhetoric as a particular tool for persuasion. Third, I explore some of the campaigns that PETA has created, commenting on the specific rhetorical strategies that they use to erode the animal/human divide. Finally, I draw some conclusions about PETA's use of identification, visual rhetoric, pathos, and playing to multiple subjectivities to confuse human and animal identities.

Disruption of Hierarchies Through Identification, Casuistic Stretching, and Perspective by Incongruity

As discussed in the previous chapter, we are drawn to order and hierarchy. Given that the nature/culture distinction is so firmly grounded, the rhetorical strategies used to disrupt that hierarchy must invite individuals to abandon established order to create a new hierarchy. Identification, casuistic stretching, and perspective by incongruity work to alter perceptions of reality. Kenneth Burke once described identification as a key component of "new rhetoric," moving away from the "deliberate design" of persuasion and moving toward the "partially unconscious factor in appeal" found in identification (Day, 1960, p. 270). Identification, Burke (1950/1969) argues, is the idea of creating a sense of consubstantiality (a shared sense of substance) with another. He writes, "You persuade a man only insofar as you can talk his language by speech, gesture, tonality, order, image, attitude, idea, *identifying* your ways with his" (p. 55). Burke (1950/1969) describes identities being maintained within the individual; that is, the individual is composed of multiple identities and it is those identities that allow for identification with others. He writes, "In being identified with B, A is 'substantially one' with a person other than himself. Yet at the same time he remains unique, an individual locus of

motives. Thus he is both joined and separate, at once a distinct substance and consubstantial with another" (1950/1969, p. 21). The individual, Burke argues, has the ability to "*identify himself* with B [the other] even when their interests are not joined, if he assumes that they are, or is persuaded to believe so" (1950/1969, p. 20). Thus, Burke's concept of the individual allows for multiple identities contained within a person; rhetorical messages can make appeals to different threads of identities in order to create identification. Identification is a form of "hailing" individuals to identities and it takes place not just in one or two messages but in a "rhetoric of socialization" (Charland, 1987, p. 138).

Identification is particularly important to Burke's development of a theory of rhetoric because he sees identification as part of the larger process of creating order. We are "Moved by a sense of order," Burke (1966) argues, and "Goaded by the spirit of hierarchy" (p. 15). It is through the use of symbols that we can begin to make sense of the world by placing things into categories and hierarchies. Identification allows for the creation of order by creating a feeling of social order. Rhetoric is used to overcome the natural division or estrangement that occurs among humans and identification is the primary means through which a semblance of unity is created. This sense of unity creates a more ordered society; it is a place where (ideally) every being has a place, whether desirable or not.

Burke's concept of identification likely was limited to communication that occurs between humans, given his definition of "man." In that definition, Burke (1966) separates humans from other beings by their abilities to use, make, and misuse symbols. This concept leaves room, however, for the creation of consubstantiality between two beings, one of whom may not be human. Identification is the "process whereby a condition of impossibility (the irreducible estrangement of the individual) is dialectically transformed or sublated into a

condition of possibility (sociality) by way of rhetoric" (Biesecker, 1997, p. 48). This coming together of two disparate groups is possible because of the increased feeling of consubstantiality, which Burke (1950/1969) describes as experiencing (or believing to experience) "common sensations, concepts, images, ideas, attitudes" (p. 21). It is through this perceived common experience that individuals are likely to believe that they share something in common with the other—that they have common fears, concerns, beliefs, and desires. Although humans and animals do not share a symbolic system, PETA uses imagery and depiction to move the audience's view of animals from *zoe* (being alive) to *bios* (having a life). Ultimately, the intent of the messages is to convince the audience that they have something in common with the animals.

Alas, this feeling of consubstantiality is not easily achieved. Although we are, as Burke argues, driven to order and hierarchy, we also face a society that is divided. In fact, identification and division are inherently linked. As Burke (1950/1969) writes:

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

That division is particularly apparent with the introduction of mystery, as when different cultures come together or when "different *kinds* of beings are in communication" (Burke, 1950/1969, p. 115).

This sense of estrangement is particularly apparent with the example of human and animal relations. Although we work to maintain a difference between animal and human, nature and culture, we are also strangely drawn to create a sense of unity between the two. It is this

confused dialectic of division and unity that PETA plays off of in their campaigns. With the attacks on science, the rhetoric is focused on changing images of animals; however, many of PETA's campaigns focus on fundamentally altering the relationship between humans and animals, redefining both at the same time. These campaigns attempt to build a sense of identification and consubstantiality such that we are no longer comfortable with the use of animals for food, research, entertainment, and clothing. Significantly, with an increased sense of consubstantiality with animals, the hierarchy that separates nature and culture, human and animal is called into question; this disruption of the established order creates the needed gap for PETA to encourage the acceptance of animal rights.

Casuistic stretching also affords some space for challenging established hierarchies. As Burke (1937) argues, casuistic stretching allows for the introduction of new ideas, although it maintains the appearance of also "remaining faithful to old principles" (p. 72). This allows for the questioning of culturally established borders without causing a serious disruption of order because it merely allows for the slightest of changes in the way we view ideas. For example, it allows PETA's advertisements to cast doubt on how solid the lines between human and animal identity are without completely crossing over those lines. Readers of the text can interpret this question as conservatively or as liberally as they are comfortable doing. The stretching of the concept, however, allows an opening for a disruption of hierarchy.

Perspective by incongruity introduces another way to begin changing established ways of thinking (Burke, 1935/1984). Unlike casuistic stretching, however, perspective by incongruity can lead to profound changes in the way we view the world. Burke's idea of taking a thing "from the context in which it was habitually used and applying it to another" (p. 89) in order to point out similarities and differences affords a way to invite individuals to rethink their

established beliefs. Describing the effects of perspective by incongruity, Karen Whedbee (2001) writes: "By violating our expectations and introducing ambiguity into our vocabulary, perspective by incongruity serves as an 'opening wedge' that fractures our sense of how the world does and ought to function. It generates a kind of identity crisis that subsides only when meaning settles down once again to a fairly stable new orientation" (pp. 48-49). That "new orientation" indicates not only a reestablished hierarchy of ideas, but also the potential for an altered identity. By shifting "accepted meanings or pieties through comparison, re-classification, and re-naming" (Dow, 1994, p. 229), we are not only able to see our world in a new light, but to imagine our changing role in that world. As Dow (1994) writes, perspective by incongruity "can do more than test audience assumptions about their external world; it can also question fundamentally their identity in relation to that world" (p. 229). Burke (1935/1984) refers to perspective by incongruity as "rebirth" or a "process of conversion" (p. 154), indicating the potential that this concept has for creating change within individuals.

Taken together, these three rhetorical strategies provide strong tools for forcing a disruption and reordering of hierarchies. All three have the potential to create a desire for individuals to examine their own identities and those of others. The next section will look more specifically at the medium that PETA uses to create messages that incorporate these strategies.

PETA's Visual Rhetoric

Facing an increasingly mediated society, PETA has learned to make appeals largely based in the visual. As Peter Simonson (1996, 2001) argues, PETA learned early in its existence how much more successful they could be with a celebrity touting an animal rights message or by making protests into a media event. Through their popular compilation albums, naked super models speaking out against fur, and their glossy magazines (*Animal Times* and *Grrr!* [for kids]),

PETA has gained a great deal of attention for the animal rights message. These same strategies are used today, but PETA has added a sophisticated web site and shock-inducing media campaigns to the mix.

Previous scholarship commenting on PETA's use of the visual explores the arguments that anti-fur activists developed in response to a booming fur industry. Kathryn Olson and G. Thomas Goodnight (1994) explain that the the anti-fur movement used "untraditional and sometimes even 'counter-traditional' means of influence," displaying gruesome photographs and arguments that worked to disrupt the way we think of animals (p. 270). PETA gained ground with this campaign, as celebrities flocked to the organization to take part in the anti-fur message. As Dan Mathews, Director of Campaigns for PETA during the anti-fur campaign, argued, "We've made it almost fashionable to stand up for animals now" (quoted in Olson and Goodnight, p. 264). PETA has also successfully used celebrities to bring attention to the fight for animals through the use of music, entertainment, and fashion (Simonson, 2001). Because traditional means of gathering attention for an issue (i.e., through news-based institutions) have become harder to utilize due to an over-saturation of news events (DeLuca & Peeples, 2002), PETA turns to alternative methods for their campaigns.

One strategy that PETA uses to gather attention in a media-saturated culture is visual rhetoric. Their advertisements attempt to capture viewers and make them engage the content. In some cases, they use photographs of animals with pleading eyes that pull on the emotions of the viewer. In other cases, they use brutal images of animals being experimented on, abused, and slaughtered. They also use visual rhetoric to encourage us to examine our perceptions of reality. Images are particularly effective in challenging identity because they can be manipulated to emphasize different characteristics. In this case, the images make the line between human and

animal hazy. Although most of those advertisements are accompanied by words that add to the message, the visual remains the focus of the message.

Visual rhetoric has received more attention in the last few years, gaining ground not only in rhetorical studies, but also in other disciplines (Finnegan, 2004). With a more mediated world, notions of the public sphere are beginning to change and movements are forced to draw the media's attention to create a stage for their message. It is spectacle that not only attracts the media, but also makes a statement. As DeLuca and Peeples (2002) write:

> On today's public screen corporations and states stage spectacles (advertising and photo ops) certifying their status before the people/public *and* activists participate through the performance of image events, employing the consequent publicity as a social medium for forming public opinion and holding corporations and states accountable. Critique through spectacle, not critique versus spectacle. (p. 134)

This shift in rhetorical strategies has not gone unnoticed by critics. DeLuca and Peeples (2002) note the use of the "public screen" by World Trade Organization protestors in Seattle. DeLuca (1999b) explicates the use of spectacle, or image events, by the environmental movement. Hariman and Lucaites (2002, 2003) and Taylor (2002) point to the iconic photograph as a defining point of our culture. As Hariman and Lucaites (2003) write, "The daily stream of photojournalistic images, while merely supplemental to the task of reporting the news, defines the public through an act of common spectatorship" (p. 36). These images, as well as images from movement campaigns, shape the way we view our world and ourselves. DeLuca and Peeples (2002) and DeLuca (1999b) point out that social movements have begun to use and depend upon the visual element to create their message. For that reason, rhetorical critics have expanded the field to include a broader study of visual rhetoric. As Cara Finnegan (2004) points

out, however, visual rhetoric should be seen "as a *project of inquiry*, rather than a product" (p. 244). She explains that in rhetorical studies,

> Analysis of the artifacts of visual culture involves attention to visual images, but such attention would not stop at the limits of the artifact, nor would it become mired in overwrought distinctions between text and image. Rhetorical analysis of visual culture should recognize the influence of visual artifacts and practices, but also place them in the contexts of their circulation in a discursive field conceived neither as exclusively textual nor exclusively visual. (pp. 244-245)

In light of these comments, I choose to study PETA's messages with an emphasis on the visual meaning, but also read those texts with the discursive in mind. The study of PETA's campaigns adds to the understanding of visual rhetoric by exploring the ways that one group has used the visual element to challenge some underlying assumptions about "humanity." Like other forms of visual rhetoric, PETA's campaigns shape our views of the world (our relationship with animals) through images.

Using Images to Challenge Notions of Identity

Animals Experiencing "Human Emotions"

One way that PETA invites viewers to reassess animal identity is through the emphasis of "human-like" emotions in animals. The advertisements invite viewers to shift their views of human and animal identities as being fundamentally separate. Through a casuistic stretching of the idea of moral community, animals are invited to become a part of this community. For example, PETA anthropomorphizes the animals in order to emphasize how similar animal and human experiences are. Knowing how willingly humans accept anthropomorphized images of animals (Berger, 1980; Baudrillard, 2000), the group uses this strategy to attract our attention

and then question our assumptions. In some of PETA's campaigns, they use animal photographs that evoke an emotional response. In one popular poster, there is an extreme close up of a Dalmatian dog with its tongue pointed toward the camera (as if poised to lick) and large eyes focused on the viewer. The animal is looking back at the viewer, returning the gaze, doing what Berger (1980) says animals do not normally have the chance to do. The picture is accompanied by words that could just as easily be used to define "human": "animal (an-i-mal) n. a living being capable of feeling."[7] PETA's message asks us to consider whether animals are as different as we think. The ad takes a common image, that of a tongue-lolling dog, but the combination of the close up with the accompanying words confounds our interpretation of the image; it questions how different "living beings," be they human or animal, really are. It also encourages a belief that rather than being something unique to humans, feelings are a part of being alive. Thus, animals and humans share fundamental characteristics.

In another advertisement, two baby raccoons appear to be desperately clinging to each other for comfort; the raccoon on top has one of its arms over the other raccoon and their heads are close together. Again, the words accompanying this image reinforce the immediate interpretation: "These babies are missing their mother. Is she on your back? DON'T WEAR FUR!" In this case, not only do the animals appear to be frightened and seeking comfort from each other, but they are also depicted as having family bonds and experiencing emotions that humans also experience over separation from their mother. The language in the ad, "babies" and "mother," does not distinguish human from animal. The ad blurs the line between human and animal experiences; the loss of family becomes a shared experience. In fact, we are invited to

[7] Interestingly, another advertisement takes these same words and places it next to an image of a child hugging a chicken. The child smiles at the camera and lovingly places her head on the head of the chicken. The word "animal" is highlighted, asking the reader to focus on the "obvious" animal in the picture. The words "a living being capable of feeling," however, direct us to the child who appears to be the one expressing feelings in the image. Thus, the vague meaning of animal is made even more apparent in this advertisement ("Animal. a living being").

read the animal experience through our own experiences with family loss, creating a shared bond between all beings.

In another poster (see Figure 1), a baby tiger seems to scream for freedom. It is shown, again at an extreme close up, with its eyes squeezed shut, head pointed back slightly, biting the bars of its cage. The tiger appears to be experiencing a great deal of pain because of its imprisonment. The words below the picture read, "Calling all children…help me! Don't go to the circus." In this advertisement, the baby tiger calls out to human children for help. There is an implied similarity, a likeness, between the animal that calls for help and the human that is being called. Like the dog and raccoon photographs, the viewer is invited to believe that life experiences are similar for all living beings. It requires a stretching of the reader's understanding of how animals experience confinement; what might have been an unquestioned form of entertainment (a night at the circus) becomes a form of endorsed imprisonment.

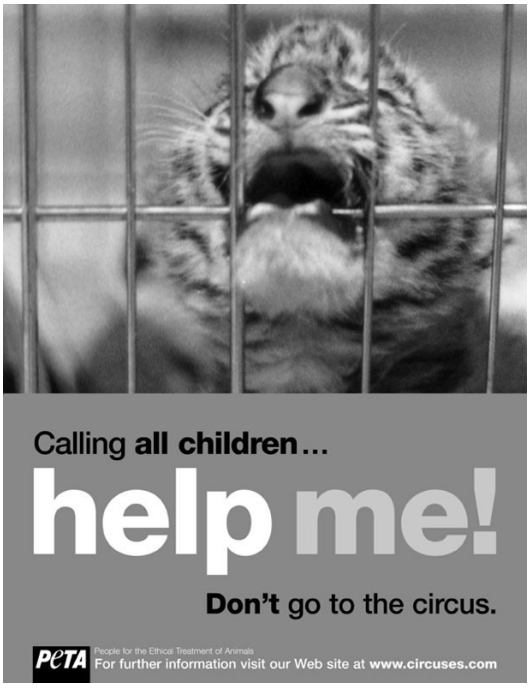

Figure 1. Anti-circus advertisement emphasizing the human-like emotions of the animal.

The anthropomorphosis of animals serves an important function because it invites viewers to think about the distinctions that they have so readily made. Animals in these ads are made to appear more human, experiencing emotion (happiness, loss, pain) in a way in which we can relate by stretching our understanding of animal identity. If viewers are drawn into pictures that appear to show animals experiencing human emotions, can they, in good conscience, continue to believe that animals and humans should be separated? The effect of these campaigns is to force people to confront their assumptions about human and animal identities. Knowing that humans typically try to "humanize" animals, they take our expectations and toy with them in order to change our perspectives. By emphasizing the shared experiences that humans and animals have, the advertisements create a sense of consubstantiality. Beyond the words of the ad, we can relate to the expressions of joy or pain that the pictured animals convey. The advertisements defy the expected dualisms (human and animal, culture and nature) by violating those expectations. They use the dualisms to draw the viewer in, but undermine those dualisms through their messages and, consequently, serve to undermine the established hierarchy. Although there are shifts in the hierarchy, PETA's messages primarily serve as a type of casuistic stretching in that our concept of human identity is only slightly shifted in order to make room for animal identity. Whether through the innocuous images of Dalmatian dogs or the shocking images of animal pain (or the numerous other advertisements like this), PETA uses the visual element to create discomfort with traditional notions of human and animal identity.

Placing Us in the Animal's World

The message that animals experience human emotions begins to erode the barrier between subjectivities. PETA also attempts to encourage viewers to experience the animal world. Faced with descriptions of animals' lives, habitats, and descriptions of pain, viewers are

invited to identify with their treatment and to see animals as consubstantial. For example, one advertisement shows a small open microwave with the body of a chicken that is prepared to be cooked inside of it. The words below the image say, "Pity she didn't have this much space when she was alive." Later in the advertisement, PETA explains, "While alive, each McDonald's chicken is provided with less space than the size of this piece of paper. McDonald's buys eggs that come from hens who are crammed into small wire cages, stacked up in buildings with thousands of other birds. They are unable to stretch a wing or to stand on solid ground" [original emphasis]. The advertisement is accompanied by an 8 ½" x 11" sheet of paper with these words centered on the page: "This sheet of paper is larger than the space your Chicken McNuggets had while they were still a living chicken." This advertisement shows the extremes of PETA's argument that we share substance with animals. Even with something as seemingly removed from human existence as the chicken, PETA attempts to create identification. First, the visual representation (the size of the paper and the image on the paper) invites us to imagine what animals experience. Second, by asking us to imagine living in that space, we are reminded that the McNuggets are not merely food, but were once animals. As Carol Adams (1990) explains, the advertisement brings the absent referent (animal) back into the meat equation. The language in the ad (referring to the chicken as "she" and "chickens who") makes no distinction between animal and human and replaces the removed "meat" with a living being.

In other advertisements, PETA is more explicit about appealing to emotions and inviting viewers to experience the animal world. In a brochure discouraging people from supporting circuses, PETA shows a bear behind bars with a forlorn look on its face, elephants being prodded and forced to perform, and monkeys dressed as humans. The words read: "Imagine being stolen from your family and taken to a strange place where people beat and starve you. They make you

perform stupid, scary acts over and over until you learn that if you jump through a flaming hoop or stand on your head, they might stop hitting and hurting you. . . And you know you never get to see your family again." The words explicitly call for viewers to place themselves in that position—to imagine the pain. In fact, the language is carefully crafted to allow a reading of this scenario through the human experience. Similarly, a brochure denouncing animal research shows kittens piled up in a cage and a monkey hooked up to machines (see Figure 2). It says, "Imagine having your body left to science. . .while you're still in it." Again, the language leaves room for the reader to imagine this happening to a human. Both of the advertisements work in two important ways. First, the source of these narratives can be read as coming from the animals. Thus, the animals themselves are constructing these vivid descriptions and making connections to the human world. By placing these words in the mouths of animals, we can view animals as capable of creating thoughts and using speech. Moreover, we can view animals as capable of judging our actions. Second, the ads bring us into the animal experience using explicit descriptions of what the animals encounter. By doing so, the ads make connections to viewers by emphasizing the shared sense of emotions.

Like the appeals to an understanding of the human characteristics of animals, these ads turn the tables and make viewers experience the animal world. Although the animal and human experiences may be different (because of discrimination and a hierarchy that privileges humans), we share the emotional response to pain, loss, and suffering. The visual element is strong because it *shows* animals experiencing pain and suffering. The words ask viewers to go beyond feeling sorry for the animals; instead, they ask them to imagine being in that situation, to *identify* with the animals. Explaining pathos, Thomas Farrell (1993) argues that emotional appeals can be

used to appeal to the judgment of the audience. Pity, for example, can be used to create identification and can be seen as a form of proof (p. 70). Farrell writes, "More than simply a

Figure 2. Anti-animal research brochure urging the viewer to imagine being in the animal's world.

spontaneous awareness of what is happening to an *other*, there is a doubly reflexive move, from awareness of our own emotion (fear) to a recognition of what may be involved when it is others who are suffering" (p. 71). This appears to be the strategy at work in these advertisements. The primary purpose of the ads is not to create compassion for the animals (although that is part of the message), but to transform how the audience thinks about animals and humans. The advertisement would not be emotionally disturbing if we believed animals to be mere beings—*zoe*—unfeeling and unlike ourselves. Because we are open to the idea that animals share some characteristics with us (e.g., joy and pain, need for companionship and entertainment, as

evidenced by the booming pet industry [Robertson, 2004]), these images disturb us. In particular, these images are troubling because of our own experiences; we know pain and suffering and project our own emotions onto animals. This creates a sense of identification because of the perception of shared life experiences and, importantly, it emphasizes the shared cultural experience.

PETA's "role swapping" interrupts our pious lines of thinking that humans are human and animals are animal. By placing animals in human situations and vice versa (disrupting the traditional hierarchy), PETA uses that assumed incongruity to invite viewers to question those assumptions. In the case of PETA's campaigns, the shock of the role reversal, made even more powerful by the visual element, creates the needed mindset to push viewers to change their beliefs about animal research, the use of animals for entertainment, the use of animals for food, and so forth. The new perspective, created through the incongruous image of a human experiencing the animal world, allows the "opening wedge" into inviting animals into our moral community. In the end, although scientists may argue that there are benefits to animal research or individuals may argue that there is entertainment value in circuses and zoos, it is hard to make arguments for those activities if you begin to believe that animals and humans are not significantly different and that you would not want to be treated in such a manner. In short, an increased sense of consubstantiality serves to interrupt the hierarchical division between human and animal.

Breaking Down Barriers

With the emphasis on human characteristics and similarities in experiences, PETA sets the stage to suggest that humans and animals may not be as different as we think. The final step is to show humans and animals blended together, to make it harder to distinguish human

experiences from animal experiences (and vice versa). In a series of advertisements, PETA shows humans that appear to be animals. The ads invite identification by emphasizing shared visual characteristics, but also create incongruity by combining human and animal. For example, in one anti-zoo advertisement (see Figure 3), a woman is shown covered with stripes, her hair shaped into what appears to be ears, and her face makeup creating an "animal-like" look around her eyes. She is behind bars, in a bed of straw, with a chain draped in the background. Her toes extend through the bars, hinting at the freedom that can be found on the other side. The words below the picture say, "Even the most exotic animals don't belong behind bars." The woman in the picture effectively takes on an animal persona, leading viewers to deal with the incongruity of seeing a woman/tiger behind bars.

Figure 3. Anti-zoo advertisement emphasizing the animal-like nature of humans.

Another advertisement (an anti-fur ad) shows a man with stripes painted on his naked body. His face appears between the bars of the cage he is in, mouth opened as if poised to bite.

His hand extends out of the cage and appears claw-like near the words “fur bites.” In a third example of this type of advertisement, a woman in a snakeskin design body suit is draped over a log in what appears to be a jungle. Her body is placed on the log such that she appears to have a snake body (face down on the log and one leg hidden). The words above her say, “Exotic skins belong in the jungle—Not in your closet.” All three advertisements use perspective by incongruity to create a sense of unrest with how we define human and animal and how we use those definitions to justify actions.

There are two reasons that these particular advertisements are effective in creating space for a questioning of human and animal relations. Beyond the initial shock value to the seemingly naked bodies in the photographs, the advertisements are successful because the blend of human and animal visuals is jarring. The surprising nature of the photos and the incongruity between the body of an animal and the head of a human invite the eyes to linger on the advertisements. In fact, one advertisement (see Figure 4) makes that message more explicit. The advertisement shows a picture of a dog’s head with the area around the eyes torn away. In place of that missing section, there is a photograph of human eyes. With the two pictures combined, it appears that there is a complete picture; dog and human are combined to make one photograph. Below the picture are these words: “People who are violent to animals rarely stop there. Studies show that people who abuse their pets are likely to abuse their kids. So if you see an animal mistreated or neglected, please report it. Because the parent who comes home and kicks the dog is probably just warming up.” Not only are the photographs combined, but PETA claims that animals and humans experience similar abuse; they emphasize the shared cultural experience of violence. As Whedbee (2001) writes, perspective by incongruity creates “a kind of identity crisis” (pp. 48-49), and this disruption of the hierarchical belief that humans are different than animals can create an

"opening wedge" (pp. 48-49) in our perspectives. Although the images are combined, there is still a recognition of the difference between human and animal through the tear marks that appear on the page. The ad both emphasizes the similarity and the difference. It paradoxically pulls us in through our belief in the difference between the pictures and our understanding of the similarities.

Figure 4. Anti-violence against animals advertisement blurring the line between animal and human.

A third explanation for the effect of the visuals of the blend of human and animals is the play on other characteristics. For example, both the woman/tiger and woman/snake are scantily clad (if not naked) and attractive. In one ad, the woman is behind bars and in both they are made to appear exotic (both ads even use the words "exotic") and erotic. Not surprisingly, feminist critiques of this type of advertising criticize the portrayal of women as animals (see Adams, 2003

and “Do Feminists,” 1995, for example). Similarly, the man that appears as a tiger behind bars is also Black, calling forth images of the “Black man as savage” that could easily be critiqued based on race. In both cases, reaction to the image (and also the treatment of animals) may be connected to our response that it is wrong to portray people—in fact, all living beings—in this way. Thus, there is a chance of backlash in response to advertisements that cross boundaries in such a way. The ads also can be read, however, as creating multiple layers of meaning, playing on the viewers’ reactions; if the viewer reads the ads as sexist or racist, the mistreatment of animals might be more easily placed within the web of oppressions. Pulling on the established beliefs of some of its viewers, the ads might push that logic in encouraging them to reject the use of animals for entertainment or clothing.

The advertisements effectively begin to break down the distinctions that are often made between humans and animals. Visually, they force the viewer to confront the idea that humans can easily slip into the animal realm with a bit of make-up, some props, and a few tricks of the camera. More important, they ask viewers to confront their beliefs about animal and human distinctions. They ask us, “If humans can so easily slip into this realm, how can we differentiate so resolutely between the two?” By forcing these types of questions, the ads highlight consubstantiality between human and animal, encouraging a casuistic stretching of what it means to be a feeling being.

In short, all of these visual campaigns trouble the distinctions that we make between human and animal. They make appeals to our emotions by asking us to account for “human-like” animal emotions. They also ask how we would feel if we were in these positions (i.e., losing our mothers, locked behind bars, forced to perform, etc.). Finally, they make the last move and overtly blur the lines that are drawn between human and animal by visually troubling

that line. Although the discursive portions of the messages are important, it is hard to deny the power of the visual element in this case. The ad may claim that animals are sad when their mothers are killed for their fur, but the image of the frightened baby raccoons reinforces that message. What sets these examples apart is the challenge that they pose not only to different forms of animal (ab)use, but the challenges that they make to the distinctions that we have established between human and animal identity.

The advertisements also emphasize shared characteristics through a focus on animals' abilities to use what Aristotle argues are fundamental human capacities. The abilities to feel (pathos), reason (logos), and judge character (ethos) lead to the argument that rhetoric is based on appeals to those capacities (Cooper, 1960). If appeals to logos, pathos, and ethos define human communication, an attempt to show animals engaging in those appeals creates the impression of a shared substance between human and animal. Thus, when the animals in the advertisements appear to make emotional appeals to us through their pleading eyes, their screams for help, their compelling narratives, we are drawn into these messages based on a shared (or assumed to be shared) understanding of pain, loneliness, and longing. When the animals' narratives make connections between their experiences and human experiences, this is a logical comparison that appears to come from the mouth of an animal. When the animal appears to return the gaze, they judge our actions and character and make appeals to our understanding of good character. In the end, what these advertisements imply is that animals have the self-reflexive ability to feel, think, and judge. Thus, the ads blur the line between human and animal and undermine our understanding of human and animal identity by extending the realm of communication to animals.

Conclusion

In order to question further the relationship between human and animal, PETA must do more to meld human and animal, culture and nature; they must destabilize the hierarchy that places humans above animals. The attacks on science do some of this work by creating the space for a more ethical science and a concern for animals used in testing. The limitations to this argument prevent PETA from using similar arguments against the use of animals for entertainment, food, clothing, etc. Through their visual ads, PETA brings humans and animals more closely together by troubling the mainstream distinction between the identities. PETA both directly and indirectly posits that animals are feeling, thinking, and judging beings, like humans. Through the use of identification arguments, casuistic stretching, and perspective by incongruity, the advertisements challenge the human/animal relationship. Specifically, PETA blurs these distinctions using four strategies: emphasizing the consubstantiality of humans and animals, using visuals to emphasize shared characteristics, focusing on emotional and ethical arguments, and using shifting notions of identity to encourage the questioning of the distinctions.

Burke's idea of identification is best tested in the most extreme cases. The goal of creating identification between human and animal, thus breaching the nature/culture divide, is a daunting task. As Burke (1950/1969) argues, where there is division, there is a need for rhetoric to recreate a sense of order and hierarchy. PETA's ads create a strong argument for the necessity of overcoming this division and often do so by appealing to viewers' emotions. Burke's (1950/1969) idea of consubstantiality as experiencing (or believing to experience) "common sensations, concepts, images, ideas, attitudes" describes the appeals that PETA makes in these ads (p. 21). By attempting to persuade viewers that animals share characteristics with humans (pain, sadness, frustration, fear, etc.), attempting to place us in the animal realm by describing

what the animals confront on a daily basis, and visually blurring the lines between human and animal, PETA makes the case that rather than viewing animals and humans as completely separate, we should consider all of the similarities. Moreover, identification is created through the suggestion that animals share the fundamental capacities to feel (pathos), think (logos), and judge (ethos). This extension of our understanding of uniquely human characteristics to animals allows a crucial disruption of the hierarchical separation of human and animal.

The argument that humans and animals share important characteristics is particularly important for the support of animal rights because it moves away from the paternalistic mindset that the attacks on science promotes. In other words, when PETA asks supporters to speak out against animal rights based on the idea that we should protect animals from cruel experimentation because we have a duty to protect innocent animals, there are limitations to that argument. Specifically, this allows individuals to continue to view themselves as superior to animals because they must protect the animals. If the argument is made that animals used for consumption or maintained in zoos are treated well, there is no need for that protection. If, however, the argument is made that animals and humans share important characteristics, if a sense of identification is built between the two, there is a need to reject the use of animals for testing, as well as for food, entertainment, and clothing. Thus, the creation of identification between humans and animals makes a stronger case for animal rights.

Second, the use of the visual is an important choice for the group. Whether through the use of images of human-like animals, animal-like humans, or animals suffering, audiences are more likely to stop and consider the message. Much of the appeal can be attributed to the shock-value that these images contain; the message is disseminated because of the means. PETA uses visual rhetoric to its advantage to re-construct our opinions of animals and nature. The messages

that PETA sends through its images are, in some cases, more effective than words could be in forcing us to confront our assumptions about animals. There are several reasons that the visual element is particularly important in disrupting established notions of animal and human identity. First, the visual can tap more quickly into the emotional response. Without reading a word of the advertisement, there is a message that is conveyed about the rights of animals. Although explicit descriptions of animal testing can be effective, the visual element allows for a clearer, more gut-wrenching and disturbing message. Second, there is a faster message in the visual. Although you can toss aside the word-heavy PETA brochure, the images found within the ads might remain lodged in your mind. Third, as Hariman and Lucaites (2003) argue, we think of images as "clear windows on reality"; even when we want to reject an image as false, it is more difficult than merely rejecting words. Fourth, the use of the visual works well with the strategy of paradox. In other words, it is easier to have messages that play on old and new identities in an image than to try to create a discursive message that does the same thing. In short, visual rhetoric is an important element in the argument in support of animal rights.

A third way that these campaigns blur the lines between human and animal is through the use of pathos. Although the campaigns examined here confront the distinctions between animal and human identity, this is not PETA's only rhetorical strategy. Many of their campaigns purely appeal to logic in questioning the usefulness and validity of animal research or questioning the nutritional value of milk, for example. There are limitations to those arguments because scientists and industry leaders are likely to (and do) respond with well-funded research in opposition to PETA's claims. In this case, PETA is forced to "out science science"—a battle that is easily lost. With the move to contest identities, PETA shifts the debate to the ethical realm. Here, they can move away from evidence and toward pathos. The debate no longer takes

place in laboratories, but takes place in the minds of all viewers. This is particularly difficult for the scientific world to respond to because they are not as skilled at making ethical arguments and are forced into a realm in which they are not necessarily comfortable. Additionally, the argument that animals and humans are more alike than different allows the group to focus on one specific message, instead of having to build a number of different individual arguments. The campaigns that question identity are more fruitful for PETA because they give the group the advantage of persuading individuals to change their overall assumptions about animals. It is important to note, however, that emotional and logical appeals do not have to be mutually exclusive. As Farrell (1993) argues, emotional appeals often lead to a judgment by the audience. Although the appeal may begin at the emotional level, identification can be used as a form of proof in building the argument that animals should have rights. Thus, emotional and logical appeals can work together to create a stronger message.

Fourth, PETA takes advantage of the multiple subjectivities that its audience is likely to assume. These shifting identities allow PETA to use a strategy of paradox—using an appeal that both confirms one identity while undermining another. The ads assume that viewers will be drawn into the message because it assaults their identity as human/not animal. In fact, the image is *only* effective if viewers initially adhere to that distinction. In other words, if the viewer already believes animals and humans are alike, it would not alter their beliefs, but might confirm previously held beliefs. At the same time, the ads work to undermine that distinction and create a new identity. The ads use the tension between nature and culture, animal and human to create a crisis in identity. The distinction between human and animal subjectivity is troubled by PETA's campaigns that use perspective by incongruity to alter beliefs. This strategy, Burke (1935/1984) argues, should be used in "experimentally wrenching apart all those molecular

combinations of adjective and noun, substantive and verb, which still remain with us. It should subject language to the same 'cracking' process that chemists now use in the refining of oil" (p. 119). PETA creates this "cracking process" by challenging some of the assumptions that we make about subjectivity. In other words, the focus of this rhetoric is on creating change within the individual in order to create change in the world. If PETA persuades viewers to embrace a subjectivity that is connected to, not divided from animals, they are much more likely to change general views about the rights of animals. PETA's strategy is noteworthy in that their focus is on changing identities in order to make changes in the system. Although this is not the only social movement organization using this strategy, it is one of the most visible examples of a rhetorical campaign focused on shaping and reshaping subjectivities. PETA's strategies indicate a shift in rhetorical strategies for future social movements given our changing assumptions about identity.

The campaigns focused on blurring the lines between human and animal do more than questioning our ideas about identity. Using the visual to create a rupture in identity, PETA's advertisements encourage the development of a more ethical individual opposed to oppression on many levels, including the oppression of animals. The focus of the anti-science rhetoric is on the development of an ethical science and the respect of animals, but the campaigns that undermine the animal/human divide push the questioning of identities even more. These ads ask the audience to invite animals into their moral community, creating casuistic stretching (adding to our identities), rather than a complete rupture of identities. This is a particularly important characteristic of PETA's rhetoric to explore because, as Maurice Charland (1987) notes, we "must be mindful not only of arguments and ideographs, but of the very nature of the subjects that rhetoric both addresses and leads to come to be" (p. 148). In the case of PETA's rhetoric, there is a clear attempt to create a changed subject.

Thus, the advertisements examined in this chapter serve as good examples of PETA taking the next step in blurring the line between human and animal and creating new identities. There are advantages to this type of appeal and the advertisements allow PETA to begin to push individuals on their understanding of human and animal identity and to eschew the hierarchy. In order to make their ultimate argument, that animals should not be *used* for any reason, that they, in fact, have rights that should guarantee them equal consideration, PETA must push the argument even more. In the next chapter, I will examine campaigns that make the argument that animals and humans are alike.

CHAPTER 4

READING ANIMAL ATROCITIES: THE INTERTEXTUAL NATURE OF PETA'S MESSAGES

In 1995, American milk processors introduced the now famous "Got Milk?" campaign. Showing a number of famous individuals sporting the milk mustache, the advertisements argued for the health benefits of drinking more milk. In addition to winning a number of advertising awards, the campaign also succeeded in significantly boosting milk sales (Elliott, 1996). PETA knew that it needed to create an equally catchy counter-campaign against the consumption of cow's milk. The result was a highly controversial media event that, like many of PETA's recent tactics, attracted media attention. Rudy Giuliani, Mayor of New York at the time and darling of the Republican party, had just announced that he was battling prostate cancer. Knowing that a stab at Giuliani would bring a flood of responses, PETA made a spoof ad with Giuliani sporting a milk mustache and asking, "Got prostate cancer?" In response, Giuliani held a press conference where he denounced the ad and happily gulped down glasses of milk. Although PETA's ad was excoriated by several sources, because most articles had to explain *why* PETA would create such a campaign, attention was focused on PETA and its message. As Karen and Michael Iacobbo (2004) write, "Before PETA pulled the ads, their mission was accomplished. The controversy resulted in an avalanche of press stories and more than 75,000 hits to one of PETA's many Web sites: www.dumpdairy.com. Newkirk called the campaign hugely successful" (p. 200). Moreover, Newkirk noted that the campaign cost next to nothing because the billboard companies refunded the money for the ads after pulling them down and the

controversy was spotlighted in national newspapers for free (Lueck, 2000). This formula for publicity is certainly appealing: national attention with little monetary cost.

In recent years, PETA has overseen a number of similar campaigns. The group takes on a highly controversial issue (painful histories like the Holocaust and serial murders or the use of taboo topics like serious illnesses and sex), builds a campaign around the topic, sends out news releases describing the campaign, and then watches as the outrage erupts and the news coverage begins. In some cases, the ads never run because they are so controversial that no one will agree to show them. In other cases, they may have a short run before the complaints begin and the ads are pulled. This is a formula that has worked well for other grass roots organizations such as MoveOn (the left-wing, grassroots political group of the 2004 presidential election) which submitted a controversial Super Bowl advertisement only to have it rejected by the network (Rutenberg, 2004). Regardless of the immediate reaction, the mission is accomplished both through the actual advertisement and, more important, through the controversy that swirls around the group after the campaign is launched.

As I have argued in previous chapters, PETA attempts to alter animal and human identities through their various campaigns. The attacks on science primarily focus on shifting our ideas of animals and encouraging us to see animals as a part of our moral community, while maintaining a distance between human and animal. Other campaigns (primarily visual) blur the boundaries between human and animal by emphasizing shared characteristics. Although these tactics are effective in chipping away at established notions of human identity, the animal rights movement must use a more radical approach to identity shifting if major changes in the treatment of animals are to occur. The limitations of the anti-science arguments are grounded in the underlying paternalistic framework that limits the amount of identity shifting that needs to

happen in order to believe the arguments in the campaigns. Although the visual campaigns do more to push the boundaries between human and animal identity, it is possible to see similarities in human and animal without feeling that animals should be treated equally. This chapter will examine PETA's most radical campaigns—those that make clear challenges to the animal/human divide by comparing animal and human atrocities—and draw conclusions about what human identity this begins to develop.

The perspective-changing aspects of many of PETA's recent campaigns push individuals to question their identities in relation to animals. In these campaigns, the intertextual nature of the message is emphasized, encouraging viewers to read the treatment of animals through human atrocities. Calling forth images of the Holocaust in one campaign and a Canadian serial murder case in another, PETA equates the treatment of animals and humans and creates a compelling argument for the wholesale rejection of violence. These campaigns break from the more benign advertisements that merely question our relationship to animals; these advertisements sometimes place violent images in front of our eyes or reference painful histories and make no excuses for drawing comparisons between human and animal suffering. As Ingrid Newkirk said, "Our non-violent tactics are not as effective. We ask nicely for years and get nothing. Someone makes a threat and it works" (quoted in Berman, 2003). Although PETA itself rarely takes part in threats of violence, they do increasingly turn to more violent images and messages to send stronger messages about the importance of animal rights.[8]

More important, PETA's messages that call forth images of human suffering in order to stimulate an understanding of how animals suffer also create a more conducive environment to blur the differences between human and animal experiences. The advertisements draw on our

[8] It should be noted, however, that PETA is often accused of being intimately (if not officially) involved in the Animal Liberation Front, an animal rights organization that frequently turns to threats and direct actions (Berman, 2003). PETA also targets individuals with threats of boycotts, "playful" harassment, and public humiliation.

understanding of and our emotional responses to atrocities that have been experienced by humans. These appeals are effective (or at the very least, disturbing) partially because they are inexplicable instances of violence. We do not attempt to justify the Holocaust, nor do we attempt to justify serial murders. Although we are likely to explain a human need for the consumption of meat, when framed in a "Holocaust-like" argument, it makes that snap response of arguing that animals are mere "supplies" much more difficult to make. Thus, the more radical, confrontative style of advertisements forces viewers to justify their beliefs about animals.

DeLuca and Peeples (2002) note the changing political environment and the effect that this has had on rhetoric. Forced to find time on the "public screen," PETA has to create continually new campaigns that attract the necessary media attention and quickly spread their message. The group is certainly known for its use of image events. Activists interrupt a Victoria's Secret show to bring attention to animals rights, people dressed as chickens dance outside of fast food restaurants, and hecklers stand outside of circuses shouting at circus-goers, just to name a few of PETA's recent tactics (Specter, 2003). As Michael Specter writes, "The group's tactics are often repulsive, but it has a Barnum-like genius for attracting attention" (p. 54). The controversial campaigns are more likely to find their way to the public screen and to create discussion.

The tactic of creating controversial campaigns stretches the definition of "image events," as used by DeLuca (1999b) and DeLuca and Peeples (2002), but follows a similar pattern. While their research focuses on the activity of a group of people (e.g., Greenpeace activists taking on massive whaling ships or World Trade Organization protesters smashing in Starbucks windows), PETA also participates in image events that primarily take place in print. Recent campaigns, especially television spots and billboards, have attracted attention before they ever appeared

widely before the public. PETA has a short video on their web site ("Banned Ads Overview") and a video that they distribute (*Rejected PSAs*), for example, devoted to the television advertisements that have been "banned from television." With each "ban," a flurry of newspaper and magazine articles follows explaining the advertisements and the reasons they were prevented from airing. In other cases, billboards, traveling displays, and news releases have stimulated this reaction. Without ever buying a moment of airtime, placing a print ad in a newspaper, or directly reaching a great number of viewers, PETA's message is disseminated through the public screen.

This chapter will examine two cases of this type of campaign (the "Holocaust on Your Plate" and the Canadian serial murder campaign) and explain how the intertextual nature of the messages creates a space for profoundly challenging human and animal identities. First, I discuss the nature of intertextuality and recontextualization and its potential for identity work. Second, I discuss the two campaigns more specifically, exploring the intertextual aspects of those advertisements. Finally, I draw conclusions about the potential for intertextuality in drawing PETA closer to its goal of breaking down the barriers between human and animal.

Redefining the Hierarchy: Contextual Reconstruction and Intertextuality

The challenge with redefining a hierarchy, as discussed in previous chapters, is in the consequences. In disrupting a hierarchy, there is a need for a satisfying resolution to the disruption. Burke (1935/1984) argues that this disruption (or impurity) creates a certain amount of guilt that may be minimized through the process of redemption. Although this often takes the form of a scapegoat, there must also be a clear re-ordering of the hierarchy once that disruption has taken place. One way to create a sense of security and order is to explain the unknown (the renewed order) through comparison. When we compare two or more things, we also judge those things in relation to one another and create new hierarchies in the process. Comparison often

takes place in the form of an analogy, where we "make the unknown comprehensible by reference to the known" (Measell, 1985, p. 67). Although analogy as a form of reasoning has been viewed with distrust, theorists like Perelman and Olbrechts-Tyteca (1958/1969) have advanced the idea that analogy can be crafted such that, more than merely providing ornamental descriptions, the comparison provides a directed reading of the unknown (see also Measell, 1985). Consequently, argument from analogy can be used to not only explain the unknown, but to provide a way of shaping and influencing views of the unknown. In fact, if the analogy is carried out to the end, it creates a new structure of reality by redefining both concepts. In this case, Perelman and Olbrechts-Tyteca (1958/1969) argue that the analogy becomes meaningless because of the restructuring.

Analogies can be briefly developed or can be extended, drawing forth a number of parallels between stories or histories. Weaving two texts together takes some effort, however, and two strategies make this task easier: contextual reconstruction and intertextuality. In defining the relationship between text and context, Robert Branham and W. Barnett Pearce (1985) examine those texts that appear to redefine the context in which they appear. Arguing against Bitzer's idea of the "fitting response" (1968/2000) as an overriding theory of rhetoric, the authors argue that "not all texts are conventional, not all contexts are stable, and not all situations imply recognizable techniques or consensual standards of interpretation" (p. 19). Some texts "change the context in which they occur to one in which they might 'fit'" (p. 19). Contextual reconstruction "occurs when a text appears in but alters the expectations in which it is understood and evaluated. Such messages exploit the inherent instability between texts and contexts. . ." (p. 29). The subversion of images, for example, might be used to create a different understanding of the image, the current text (message), or the current context. The use of texts to

redefine context is a powerful rhetorical tool because it provides the ability to alter the way a text is read. I argue that the text can be used to not only redefine the context of the message, but also the context of the history that the text calls forth. In using a history or narrative that is recognizable to the audience, the text can take that history, place it within another context, and redefine the meaning of the history. This is a case of comparison that does more than make an analogy as an example; it is a case of using analogy to attempt to alter fundamentally the way we view both the historical case *and* the contemporary case. The argument is a difficult one to make, but other techniques such as intertextuality, make the alternative readings more feasible.

Original theorists of intertextuality (i.e., Kristeva, Derrida, Barthes) focused on the inherent interrelated quality of texts—that is, the way that texts are built upon each other and that audiences read texts (in fact, create texts, in Barthes's eyes) with and through other texts. For Barthes, focusing on the intertextual nature of the text means the death of the author. The power of the text is found in the reader, who approaches the text in very different ways (Allen, 2000). As Allen (2000) writes, "intertextuality reminds us that all texts are potentially plural, reversible, open to the reader's own presuppositions, lacking in clear and defined boundaries, and always involved in the expression or repression of the dialogic 'voices' which exist within society" (p. 209). Fiske (1989) goes as far as arguing that texts cannot have meaning without being interpreted through other texts. He writes that "texts are activated, or made meaningful, only in social relations and in intertextual relations. This activation of the meaning potential of a text can occur only in the social and cultural relationships into which it enters" (p. 3). In other words, we naturally make comparisons between texts. In order to understand texts, we compare them to and read them through other texts.

As another aspect of intertextuality, media critics such as Fiske also point out the strategic use of intertextuality on the part of the author (Ott & Walter, 2000). Intertextuality is both the idea that "any one text is necessarily read in relationship to others and that a range of textual knowledges is brought to bear upon it" (Fiske, 1987, p. 108) and as the "stylistic device consciously employed by the author" (Ott & Walter, 2000, p. 430). Intertextuality can effectively lead the audience to a particular reading of the text through an explicit comparison to other texts. If we relate to the original text, if we have formed a sort of coherent cultural understanding of the original text, we are more likely to approach the new text in a particular way if the intertextual nature of the text is apparent. As Ott and Walter (2000) argue, intertextuality "is not only a marker of cultural identity, but also an opportunity to participate in community" (p. 441). It creates a sense of "self-satisfaction" because we "get" the cultural reference. As a rhetorical strategy, intertextuality can build a sense of identification because of this recognition of a shared understanding of a text.

Thus, comparison, and more specifically analogy, can be used to create an understanding of the unknown and to re-create a sense of order when a hierarchy has been challenged. Contextual reconstruction and intertextuality both clarify and strengthen the analogy, giving the comparison "presence," in Perelman's (1982) sense of the term. As Perelman (1982) explains it, presence means that the concept is made real and remains on our minds beyond the rhetoric; "What is present for us is foremost on our minds and important to us" (p. 36). This effect can be created through repetition or the use of detail, developing a sense of presence by placing vivid images in our minds and making connections to other concepts. Without presence, the discourse (the comparison or the analogy) seems merely ornamental (Perelman, 1982). We are able to develop the discourse, create presence, through our understanding of the original context and

texts. Through contextual reconstruction and intertextuality, the discourse becomes more vivid because of the connections that we make to the "known." In the case of PETA's messages, the advertisements draw forth strong emotions based on past histories. At the same time, they recontextualize those histories, making them recognizable in modern practices. The next section of this chapter will explore the use of comparison as a tool for re-creating hierarchy and understanding by examining the specific messages that PETA created to alter our understanding of animal (ab)use by comparing cases of genocide and serial murder to the slaughter of animals.

Holocaust on Your Plate

In 2003, PETA announced a campaign to encourage a vegetarian/vegan lifestyle that was certain to create controversy. Using a history that is nearly sacred, PETA used the story of the Holocaust to change the way that we view the treatment of animals. The controversial "Holocaust on Your Plate" campaign[9] compared the experiences of Holocaust victims to the terror that animals face every day because of human dietary choices. The campaign highlighted the words of Nobel laureate Isaac Bashevis Singer: "In relation to them, all people are Nazis; for the animals, it is an eternal Treblinka" (Iacobbo & Iacobbo, 2004). PETA placed a series of eight 60 square foot posters with graphic images in public spaces (parks, campuses, and squares), sent out news releases announcing the purpose of the campaign, and launched a "Holocaust on Your Plate" web site to accompany the campaign (McDonald, 2003). Showing images of emaciated and frightened Holocaust victims on one side of the screen and caged chickens, starved cows, and crowded pigs on the other, the advertisements argued, "To animals, all people

[9] The "Holocaust on Your Plate" web site is no longer publicly available. The text that I reference in this chapter was provided to me via a personal communication with Matt Prescott, Senior Campaign Coordinator for PETA (June 15, 2005). All "Holocaust on Your Plate" posters were downloaded from the PETA website before they were removed.

are Nazis" (see Figure 5 for one example). In a news release, PETA (2003) explained the intent of the campaign:

> The goal of PETA's ad…is to stimulate contemplation of how the victimization of Jews, Gypsies, homosexuals, and others characterized as "life unworthy of life" during the Holocaust parallels the way that modern society justifies the abuse and slaughter of animals. Just as the Nazis tried to debase Jews—by forcing them to live in filthy, crowded conditions; tearing children away from their mothers; and killing them in assembly-line fashion—innocent, intelligent, and feeling beings of other species are, in today's concentration camp-like factory farms, stripped of all that is enjoyable and natural to them and treated as nothing more than meat-, egg-, and milk-producing "machines." ("Ad Asks Viewers")

The connection that the group makes between human and animal is explicit in these words. The fear, frustration, anger, and sadness that these beings experience are shared.

Not surprisingly, shock and anger greeted the campaign. Protests against it were so vehement at points that the exhibit was vandalized and some of the activists were assaulted (Specter, 2003). The Anti-Defamation League (ADL) was quick to respond to the advertisements, proclaiming their horror over the idea that PETA would make the comparison to the Holocaust ("ADL Denounces"; Katz, 2003; McDonald, 2003). One writer announced that PETA "has finally and unequivocally come off the rails" (Smith, 2003). The response both in the media and from groups such as the ADL could have been (and most likely was) predicted by PETA. Knowing the emotional response that many Americans have to images of the Holocaust, PETA was sure to receive a great deal of coverage on the internet, in newspapers, on television, and on the radio.

Figure 5: PETA's "Holocaust on Your Plate" campaign.

The Campaign

The "Holocaust on Your Plate" campaign took place in many locations. Originally, the campaign appeared as a series of eight large panels that were placed in heavily populated areas. At these events, individuals walked past the panels and were then handed brochures explaining the campaign. Not surprisingly, PETA gained most of its attention via the accompanying web site (www.masskilling.com; the web site has been altered since the original campaign). A flood of news releases, newspaper articles covering the campaign, and emails spread the message that PETA was making shocking claims on their web site. The text on the opening page of the web site explained one way to read the campaign:

> If we are revolted by comparisons between the plight of the animals and the plight of human victims of oppression, it can only be because we are not yet prepared to accept our own role in the animals' fate. It is easy to condemn barbarity when it is separated from

> us by distance and time. But what about violence that we are a part of, that we support financially every time we sit down to eat? If we accept that it is unnecessary and wrong, then we must do something about it. ("Holocaust on Your Plate")

The campaign literature acknowledges the difficulty of the message. In explaining the necessity of this comparison, however, PETA explicitly argues that human and animal oppression are linked.

The eight panels that accompany this text continue with this line of thought. Each panel is split in half, showing a recognizable Holocaust image on one side, and an image of animals (cows, pigs, and chickens) on the other (as in Figure 5). The images of the Holocaust appear in black and white, of course, but the images of the animals stand out because they are presented in color. Although the ads include color, the images are notably dreary, with the color spectrum hovering around shades of grey with splashes of muted reds; both the black and white and color photos express the tragic nature of the images. There is also parallelism between all of the photographs. In each poster, both photos have a similar placement of the subject and angle of the camera. As seen in Figure 5, the lines of the shelves appear to run together, making it appear that the humans and animals are being contained in the same space. In one other poster (see Figure 6), emaciated Holocaust victims stand naked next to an image of an emaciated cow. In both photos, their ribs are painfully apparent.

Across the top of each of the panels is a phrase that provides a lens through which to read both the image of the humans and animals. The phrases, written in all black capital letters across a bright red banner, include: "WALKING SKELETONS," "THE FINAL INDIGNITY," "THE ROAD TO HELL," "MASS MURDER," "BABY BUTCHERS," "TO ANIMALS, ALL HUMANS ARE NAZIS." The final two panels provide more text to explain the comparisons.

The phrases on each of the panels are obviously significant as some of them are exact phrases that were used to describe the Holocaust ("walking skeletons," "final indignity," and "road to hell") and the others are strong enough to elicit responses to memories of the Holocaust. The comparison between the Holocaust and animal treatment is developed through the visual element of the advertisement. The use of repetition, as Perelman (1982) argues, is a vital part of creating presence. The repetition throughout the panels of the advertisement—the similarity in layout through color and placement and choice of images—and in the sheer number of panels (and therefore comparisons) develops a compelling analogy.

Thus, the images and the words work together to paint a grisly image of the animal farming industry. In some of the panels, being confronted with a pile of animal corpses alongside a familiar image of Holocaust victims stacked up in piles creates a reaction to the overwhelming sense of death and a loss of respect for life. Other panels emphasize the appalling conditions that animals face when kept on a factory farm, for example (see Figure 6). This image falls alongside the horror of the Nazi death camps and the environment that Holocaust victims and survivors faced.

Clearly the message that is created through these posters is disturbing. Being confronted with images of suffering and death is almost guaranteed to create a response of some sort. The question is whether the images of the animals alone would have been as effective. PETA has had some success with "exposing" the images that come from laboratories, behind the scenes at circuses, and slaughter houses, for example. However, the strength of these posters (and the campaign in its entirety) can be attributed to the intertextual nature of the messages.

Figure 6: A panel from the "Holocaust on Your Plate" campaign.

Reading the Campaign

The advertisements speak not only through the shocking nature of the images, but through the haunting history of the Holocaust—a history that we choose not to forget. The analogy, if it has presence, has the potential to draw on strong emotions. If the story of the Holocaust is timeless, PETA links the issue of animal rights to those eternal images and makes the suffering of all beings a timeless issue. As Barbie Zelizer (2001) writes, "Through films, television, cultural artifacts, art, comic books, and photographs, the Holocaust's visualization is so prevalent that it has become an integral part of our understanding and recollection of the atrocities of World War II. It is difficult to contemplate the Holocaust without traces of familiar visual images coming to mind" (p. 1). In fact, images of the Holocaust are such an integral part of American society that those images have become symbolic of general suffering and pain and a struggle to understand evil. This is the connection that PETA's ads make—they pick up the

thread of suffering that is found in the Holocaust history and weave it into contemporary times, recontextualizing the images and creating a strong analogy.

When PETA weaves these stories together the combined narrative becomes richer, with both of the individual stories playing off of and building upon each other. We know the story of the Holocaust and its aftermath, but we are not as familiar with the story of factory farming. Although we recognize the horrors of exterminating children, we are less likely to agree that it is wrong to kill piglets for consumption. Placed alongside each other, however (see Figure 7), the two stories work together, creating an analogy with presence. The image of the children in the concentration camp behind barbed wire is a reminder of the horrors of mass extermination and the killing of innocent beings. With the parallelism of the image of piglets crammed into a cage and being readied for eventual slaughter, the message becomes complete. Based on the idea that the Holocaust has been universally condemned for its evil intent, the message works syllogistically. If the Holocaust was horrific because of its use of mass extermination (just to pick one thread of this argument out), and the slaughter of animals looks hauntingly like the Holocaust (based on the images), then animal consumption should also be condemned. Thus, the analogy between human and animal suffering is developed through the images and the text and leads to the conclusion that the contemporary Holocaust, unlike the historical Holocaust, can be halted.

The story of the aftermath of the Holocaust becomes a part of the analogy. Although we knew about some of the atrocities taking place in Germany, we did not take action fast enough to prevent the massive loss of life. Since that event, we have struggled to deal with the guilt of ignoring the signals that something horrific would soon take place and the guilt of choosing to

ignore the problem. In the contemporary case, we are asked to confront the horror that animals face and prevent their deaths before we have to deal with the guilt. In the final poster of the

Figure 7: Panel 5 of the "Holocaust on Your Plate" campaign.

eight-panel display, there is a close-up shot of a calf with its head sticking out between bars; a yellow tag with the number "5669" emblazoned on it is attached to its ear. Beside the picture is a quotation taken from German philosopher Helmut Kaplan: "Our grandchildren will ask us one day: Where were you during the holocaust of the animals? What did you do against these horrifying crimes? We won't be able to offer the same excuse for the second time, that we didn't know." The conclusion that is drawn from the comparison of both cases is that we have an opportunity to atone for those mistakes that we made in the past. The advertisements recontextualize the Holocaust, making it a contemporary problem with a contemporary solution. The original history leads us to the necessary conclusion in a way that the images of animal

atrocities alone would not succeed in doing. Thus, both texts (the story of the Holocaust and of contemporary animal treatment) work together to create a clear conclusion.

There are dangers to this type of representation, however. The use of Holocaust imagery has been the subject of much research (see, for example, Bernard-Donals, 2004; Zelizer, 1998, 2001). Zelizer (1998) argues that continual use of Holocaust imagery empties out the images of meaning. She writes, "For the photos—as powerful vehicles of memory about atrocities—reconfigure what is seen versus what is remembered. Their overuse may create a situation in which much of the public is content *not* to see—looking so as not to see, and remembering so as not to forget" (p. 213). Others, like Andrea Liss (1998) and Nathan Snaza (2004), argue that the use of Holocaust photographs transforms the Holocaust into a dangerously clear narrative that can be understood and, potentially, explained away. Snaza argues, "That is, the risk faced by making the Shoah [Holocaust] intelligible is that it becomes an advertisement, something that circulates in the already existing capital without any recourse to questioning or undermining the system" (p. 12). Snaza concludes that PETA's use of Holocaust imagery alongside images of animals going to slaughter risks the same fate.

I disagree with this point, however. Both Liss and Snaza's arguments rest on the assumption that photographs simplify our understanding of events. There is plenty of evidence that images, in fact, may complicate our understanding of our world. As Kevin DeLuca and Anne Demo (2000) write, "…photographic seeing not only records events and experiences, but also establishes a habit of viewing that transforms the very experience or event into a way of seeing" (p. 244). Not only can the photographs themselves create a "way of seeing" the event, they can also be used in a larger message to create a particular viewpoint. The photographs of the Holocaust serve as a documentation of the event, but they can also serve rhetorical ends that

do not necessarily take away from their meaning (see Finnegan, 2003). As Kathy Guillermo (2004) writes in response to Nathan Snaza's criticism of PETA's exhibit:

> …I am heartened by much of what concerned him [Snaza]—that he was troubled by it for various reasons, that he thought about it for many days, and that he worries about the importance of tactics and is often irritated by those of PETA. PETA certainly could not confine our public efforts to "acceptable" photographs that are in and of themselves abhorrent. We could have avoided the entire controversy. But we would rather "trouble" people in the hope that they may consider that there is not a hierarchy of suffering. (pp. 1-2).

As Guillermo argues, the advertisements have the potential to complicate the way we think about the treatment of animals. By making connections to suffering in different beings, extending the story of the Holocaust to the treatment of animals, there is space for a profound shift in the way that we think about justice more broadly. This is an argument that is consistent with many of PETA's campaigns in which they argue that the creation of a better, more peaceful world can only happen with a commitment to justice for humans and animals (for example, their campaigns that link animal abuse with domestic abuse). Although the dangers that Zelizer (1998) mentions (that the overuse of Holocaust images can empty them of history) are still present, there is also the chance that in "filling in the blanks" of the animals' stories (either reading from a supportive or attacking standpoint), we attempt to recall the specifics of the story of the Holocaust.

The example of the "Holocaust on Your Plate" campaign provides a case for how texts can work together, can be read with and against each other, to craft a strong message. In this case, the resonance of the Holocaust story fills in the story of factory farming. At the same time, the advertisements recontextualize the Holocaust, making it a modern day story and a horror that

continues to exist. The analogy has presence *because* of the way the texts build off of one another, wavering back and forth between old and new, black/white and color, human and animal. The analogy between the Holocaust and the slaughter of animals alters, as analogies with presence will, the way we read the animal existence. It asks us to rethink our treatment of animals in light of the parallels between human and animal treatment that are emphasized in the campaigns. Of course, the story of the Holocaust is one that is often used to discuss any perceived horror. As Zelizer (1998) argues, the language of the Holocaust frequently is used to bring forth images of mass injustice. PETA uses this same formula in other campaigns, however, as seen in their use of a Canadian serial murder case to spread the animal rights message. That campaign should be analyzed in order to extend the understanding of analogy in PETA's rhetoric.

Neither of Us Is Meat

In 2002 and 2004, PETA faced controversy when they placed newspaper advertisements and billboards (one in Toronto, the other in Edmonton) referencing a series of murders in Canada. In February of 2002, pig farmer Robert Pickton was accused of kidnapping 15 "drug-addicted prostitutes" from "Vancouver's seedy Downtown Eastside" and murdering and dismembering them on his farm (Moore, 2002). Originally charged with two counts of first-degree murder, the numbers slowly crept up. In May of 2005, a total of 27 first-degree murder charges were brought against Pickton. With over 61 women missing from the downtown Vancouver area, the number of charges is expected to continue rising. With the numbers as they are, Pickton's case is the largest serial killer investigation in Canadian history ("Missing Women," 2005), assuring the attention of the region. PETA took advantage of this story by incorporating an animal rights message into the headlines that haunted Canada.

The first campaign, launched in November of 2002, was a full-page advertisement that was scheduled to run in two Vancouver newspapers, but ultimately was rejected by the papers because it stirred such controversy (C. Holbein, personal communication, September 24, 2004). That advertisement shows headlines from the murder case describing the brutal torture and murder of the victims who were drugged, slaughtered, and dismembered. The main text of the advertisement reads as follows:

> British Columbia…They were drugged and dragged across the room…Their struggles and cries went unanswered…They were slaughtered and their heads sawed off…Their body parts were refrigerated…Their bones were discarded. It's still going on. Please remember that this scenario is reality for more than 640 million sensitive individuals who lose their lives every day in this country for nothing more than the taste of "meat." (C. Holbein, personal communication, September 24, 2004)

Although the text of the advertisement does not directly reference the Pickton murders, the message was clear to readers who had been inundated with details from the cases. As a PETA spokesperson said, "The grotesque tragedy of these poor women is similar to what happens to chickens, pigs and other animals every day" (quoted in "Animal Rights Campaign," 2002). PETA asks individuals to consider why they are disgusted by the murder of the women and not the murder of thousands of animals, in this very fashion, every day. Needless to say, the advertisements were met with consternation; family members of the victims were outraged at PETA's use of the murders for their own purposes ("Animal Rights Campaign," 2002). Although the advertisements did not run, numerous articles discussed reactions to the campaign. Thus, PETA's message (animals and humans should be viewed in a similar manner) was launched onto the public screen without much effort—monetary, direct action, or otherwise.

In 2004, with the Pickton case still in the news, PETA pushed forward a billboard campaign (see Figure 8) showing a frowning young woman (reminiscent of the descriptions of the murdered prostitutes) on one side and a smiling pig on the other ("Nonviolence Begins at the Dinner Table"). In between the pictures, it read, "Neither of us is meat," with arrows pointing toward both images. The billboard also came on the heels of an announcement that many of Pickton's meat products that were given to family and friends may have contained human remains (Perkel, 2004). Explaining the advertisements, campaign director Bruce Friedrich stated, "Canadians who are shocked at the thought that they may have eaten human flesh should think about the fact that there appears not to be a difference in taste between pig flesh and human flesh…A corpse is a corpse, whether it formerly belonged to a pig, a cow, a chicken, or a human" (quoted in Perkel, 2004).

Figure 8: Canadian billboard.

Reading the Campaign

Serial murders are guaranteed to attract attention, making their way into the news and drawing a large following. The focus is largely due to, in Philip Simpson's (2000) words, "a larger cultural fascination with violent crime in general and serial killing in particular" (p. 1). In

fact, we often blur the line between fact and fiction, drawing real serial killers into fictional accounts of violence and making comparisons between real and fictional killers in the news (Simpson, 2003). Although the fascination with serial killers is partially due to spectacle, Simpson (2000) argues that we are drawn to these stories because of a "human need to personify free-floating fears, aggravated by the perplexing indeterminacy of the postmodern world, into a specific, potentially confinable, yet ultimately evil, threat" (p. 2). Given the attraction that we have to these stories and the connection to the meat industry (with the pig farm connection), PETA's campaign drew an audience and stirred significant controversy.

The analogy that PETA crafts in this campaign, comparing the murder of women to the killing of animals, is a difficult one to make. Like the Holocaust comparison, for a person to accept the conclusions of the comparisons they have to agree that they are partially responsible for the murders. The analogy has to be developed in such a way as to invite the audience to consider the similarities between murder of humans and slaughter of animals.

The newspaper advertisement effectively creates presence for the analogy between human and animal murder using the descriptions of the treatment of the murder victims. The words ("They were drugged and dragged across the room," "They were slaughtered and their heads sawed off," "Their body parts were refrigerated," etc.) enumerated the parallels between the treatment of both the women and the animals. The descriptions created a vivid picture of what happened to the women, but then created perspective by incongruity by shattering that image and replacing it with the images of a slaughterhouse with the last few words of the ad ("Please remember that this scenario is reality for more than 640 million sensitive individuals who lose their lives every day in this country for nothing more than the taste of 'meat'"). Thus,

the comparison is meant to be more than ornamental; it is meant to create a solid association between murder and the slaughter of animals.

Similar to the "Holocaust on Your Plate" advertisements, the strength of these ads also lies in the intertextual nature of the message. In this case, the story of the serial murders, fresh in the readers' minds because of the daily barrage of details, was read against the idea of slaughtering pigs. In fact, the billboard does not even mention the murders, but the subtle clues (the age of the woman, the way she is dressed, and the previous newspaper campaign based on these events) signal that PETA is alluding to the serial murder story. Read together, the way that the women were treated "as animals" is emphasized. The horror of their treatment, a treatment that was discussed in gruesome detail in the newspapers, is highlighted by the pig pictured next to the woman. More important for PETA's message, the comparison of the killing of woman and pig emphasizes the brutality of slaughtering pigs. We are asked to read the slaughter of pigs (and other animals) through the human atrocity, making it more likely that we will come to a conclusion about the violent nature of *both* acts. Once again, the advertisement works syllogistically to suggest that all murder is wrong. Because the advertisement argues that the serial murder victims and the slaughtered animals were treated in the same way (drugged, killed, and dismembered) and that the treatment constitutes murder, the conclusion has to be a condemnation of both acts.

The advertisement also recontextualizes the Pickton murders by placing that history within the story of the ongoing slaughter of animals; it takes a narrative (the murders) that is told as if it is unique and places it within a context (the slaughtering of animals) that is based upon the continual use of "murder" as a tool. Thus, the stories (that of Pickton's victims and animal slaughter) work together in important ways to make a stronger message. The analogy is

developed through the emphasis on the similarity between the experiences of the murder victims and the animals. We are then asked to change the way we view animal slaughter in light of the parallels. Similar to the Holocaust advertisements, both stories build off of one another to fill in the blanks and create a clearer picture of how an act this atrocious might occur. More important, both campaigns create the space for considering the similarities between human and animal.

Conclusion

If one of PETA's primary goals is to break down the barrier between human and animal, the strategy of making explicit comparisons between animal and human mistreatment, creating a sense of identification between the two, does much to make that division more ambiguous. This formula of using human atrocities to explain animal atrocities has been repeatedly used by PETA for spreading the animal rights message. In addition to the two highly publicized and discussed campaigns examined above, PETA also attempted to air a "Turkey Terror" advertisement that posed a "turkey terrorist" in a grocery store, holding the employees and customers hostage unless they agreed to "go vegetarian" ("History of PETA's Banned Ads"; "Turkey Terror," 2002). Similarly, an advertisement showed a woman being beaten with a club, only to have her fur coat stripped off her back with the voiceover asking, "What if you were killed for your coat?" The ad never aired because of reaction to violence post-September 11th ("History of PETA's Banned Ads"); however, newspapers covered the pulled ads and PETA received coverage of the issue without ever paying to put the ads on television. Importantly, the advertisements make the audience start with the assumption that animals and humans are more similar than different.

The campaigns also serve as image events for PETA because the images produced by the group (in the form of print advertisements, billboards, and television advertisements) draw the attention of the media and spread their message to a wide audience; they allow PETA's message

access to the public screen. In both cases, the campaigns attracted more attention through the media coverage of reactions to the ads than through the actual advertisements. That these campaigns receive so much public attention can partially be explained through simple shock value. It is troubling to see these comparisons made and to switch roles with the animals. Additionally, the advertisements play with our emotions, drawing on strong images of violence, murder, and genocide; they place shocking images in our minds and connect those images to an entire album of images. These campaigns are also disturbing because they question the distinctions that we have carefully drawn between human and animals. They compare the pain that animals experience to humans, place animals in human roles, and challenge the assumed distance between animals and humans. In short, they make us confront the brutality of animal exploitation and question the difference between violent acts against animals and humans. The advertisements serve the purpose of getting "screen time" for the group, but also send a strong message in support of animal rights.

At the same time, these campaigns, and others like them, are heavily criticized. The "Holocaust on Your Plate" campaign, for example, was denounced by the Anti-Defamation League and reports frequently mentioned negative reaction to the campaign ("Group blasts," 2003; McDonald, 2003). The Canadian serial murder campaign drew similar criticism. Denouncers of PETA's campaigns frequently ask how far the group will go before deciding that they have crossed the boundaries of acceptability. That PETA draws such heated criticism of their campaigns points to some limitations to this strategy. Although the group receives attention and, thus, screen time, they also must battle serious criticism. Moreover, by receiving negative attention, the group risks activating counter-movements that may arise or be reenergized because of the publicity. To some degree, this is a consequence that radical social movements inherently

face; by pushing the boundaries, groups are always going to be criticized. It is too soon to determine if PETA faces any long-term consequences from these campaigns, but one year after their appearance, PETA showed no drop in membership, income, or news coverage ("Annual Review 04"). The negative reaction to these campaigns must be weighed, however.

The overriding message that these campaigns send is the comparison between human and animal. Using the examples of human atrocities, the advertisements build the analogy between the treatment of animals and the treatment of humans. The comparison is made clear in several ways. First, PETA has to make the comparison appear to be more than merely ornamental; the analogy has to have presence in order to encourage viewers to alter the way they view animal and human identity. Although the "Holocaust on Your Plate" campaign was more explicit, both campaigns enumerated the ways that the actions against humans and animals were similar. The use of intentionally vague descriptions of the state of the subject ("Walking skeletons," "Their struggles and cries went unanswered") and the actions taken against the subject ("Mass murder," "They were slaughtered…") emphasizes the similarities between the atrocities. In other words, if the same language can be used to describe both acts, there must be a strong comparison between the two. The visual similarities, the parallelism between human and animal images, also adds to the analogy by playing to our trust in images. The comparison then creates an alternative structure of reality, changing the way we view both human and animal. As Perelman and Olbrechts-Tyteca (1958/1969) argue, in explaining one concept in relation to another, both concepts can be redefined.

The comparison is also developed through the use of contextual reconstruction and intertextuality. In all of these advertisements, the text redefines the context by placing animals in the picture. It takes texts or narratives from the past and reinvents them, making them

contemporary and re-figured to parallel animal atrocities. Thus, humans and animals are treated alike in a Holocaust reading and women and pigs are both slaughtered on the farm. Although the stories are from the past, the texts weave together past and present, making the history come alive in the present. The Holocaust and the Canadian serial murders are no longer behind us; they are taking place today in a different context. Contextual reconstruction adds another layer to the comparison by creating the parallels between past and present.

Moreover, intertextuality provides an additional layer of meaning by weaving multiple stories together, going beyond recontextualization and emphasizing the similarities in the stories. Intertextuality explains the unknown by telling the story of the unknown through another text, potentially leading to a particularly strong conclusion. If we have reached a conclusion about the first history (i.e., the Holocaust should have been prevented), then in telling the two stories together, we are more likely to reach a similar conclusion in the contemporary example. By recontextualizing the original text (story or history), we see the contemporary parallels of that history. The narrative aspect also becomes a part of the outcome. Because we are familiar with the history, we know the outcome of the contemporary story when the texts are tied together. With the conclusion known, there is also a sense of identification and satisfaction in being able to complete the contemporary story. Through intertextuality and recontextualization, the audience is more likely to begin to understand the stories of the animals. By taking the familiar narrative (whether it is a widely known story like the Holocaust or a more localized story of human atrocity) and connecting it to a story that we are unlikely to know (or unlikely to want to know)—the treatment of animals—PETA makes it possible for the audience to pick up on the larger animal rights message and to read it in a different light. Of course the audience may reject the connection, but the message makes them work to do so.

Despite the strength of the comparison, there are limitations to analogies that have to be considered. First, the comparison has to be carefully chosen so as to appeal to the audience. As Perelman (1982) writes, a comparison may be "inadmissible because it is shocking to common sense" (p. 118). For many viewers, comparing the slaughter of animals to that of humans is unthinkable. This is especially true in the case of the Holocaust, which is often viewed as a singular and unparalleled event. Second, Perelman and Olbrechts-Tyteca (1958/1969) argue that there is "no whole to any analogy" (p. 385)—we can use as much or as little of the comparison as we would like. The danger in carrying out the comparison too far, however, is that the analogy can always be extended and defeated by a critic. Although the comparison to the Holocaust can create a compelling argument, the comparison also leaves room for the critic to question the similarities and consequently to defeat the larger argument. Thus, the use of analogy needs to be carefully considered.

Analogy, however, is an obvious choice for PETA because they are ultimately concerned with making an analogy between human and animal experiences meaningless. In other words, in order for an analogy to make sense, the concepts being compared need to be different or, in Perelman and Olbrechts-Tyteca's (1958/1969) terms, "belong to different spheres" (p. 373). It makes no sense, for example, to make an analogy between two similar gun control laws. Although a comparison of the specifics of the law might create some insight, this becomes an argument by example or illustration, not an argument by analogy. This limitation highlights an inherent tension within analogy, suggesting that although the intention of comparison is to bring out the "thisness of a that, or the thatness of a this" (Burke, 1945/1969, p. 503) if that comparison is carried out to the end, the analogy no longer works (Perelman & Olbrechts-Tyteca, 1958/1969). Like the idea of the negative or that of identification and division, we need the

opposite to exist so that we may define "the other." This is not to suggest that analogy is not a good argument choice, but to highlight the potential structure that it builds if it works effectively.

For example, if PETA achieves its primary goal and creates an understanding of the similarities between human and animal, they make the analogies that are created in the campaigns examined in this chapter less meaningful. Until that assumption is realized by a majority of the people, however, PETA's comparisons craft a particular understanding of the world by creating a comparison that asks us to consider reading animal atrocities through those human atrocities with which we are familiar. This reading forms an identity on the part of the viewer that is connected to and formed through their understanding of animal identity. In other campaigns (those examined in the previous chapters), the advertisements disrupt identity—they question our treatment of animals and our assumptions about the differences between human and animal. The campaigns examined in this chapter appear to craft identities based on an assumed sharing of life experiences. They do more than ask questions or disrupt identities; they create an identity that rejects violence aimed at all living beings and embraces a respect for all life. More important, the analogy creates identification between human and animal, redefining both in terms of the other. Without claiming that humans and animals are alike in every way, the differences are collapsed when it comes to feeling pain; emotion becomes a shared experience that defines all living beings. What was once believed to be uniquely human is extended to animals.

By creating this different understanding of identity—undermining our concept of human and animal identity—PETA's advertisements face the risks involved in disrupting the hierarchy. After all, if their messages merely serve to disrupt that hierarchy without providing some resolution or redemption, then they run the risk of creating guilt without providing a way out of that guilt. By weaving the stories of human and animal atrocities together, PETA's ads not only

disrupt the hierarchy by suggesting that human and animal suffering are joined, but the ads also imply a solution to this suffering. Based on readings of the Holocaust and the Pickton murders, the solution to these atrocities (in a simplified form) would have been more careful attention to the existence of suffering. In other words, if we had investigated the situation in Germany earlier, based on reports of human suffering, we might have prevented further suffering. Similarly, had British Columbia police been more concerned about the steady disappearance of prostitutes, later murders might have been prevented. As in those cases, if we turn our attention to the suffering that animals encounter on a daily basis, we are more likely to begin to change our views of and use of animals. Although the hierarchy that places humans above animals is disrupted, an alternative understanding (one that places animals and humans on a similar level) is put into place through the analogies that create an alternative understanding of human and animal relations. We are offered the possibility of redemption and, thus, restored order through the rejection of the (ab)use of animals. If we stop eating meat, we prevent the modern Holocaust. By comparing the identity work that appears in PETA's campaigns against animal research, the use of the visual to blur the lines between human and animal, and the use of intertextuality to change the way we read the use of animals, we see different levels of altering identity. The use of human stories to explain animal stories is the clearest example of PETA attempting to break down the culturally created barrier between human and animal. By introducing the notion that animals experience fear and pain in a manner similar to humans, that we experience similar atrocities, and that we have the ability (and the right) to prevent suffering of all kind, the advertisements make some of the strongest arguments in support of animal rights. The next chapter will look more carefully at the similarities and differences between the different

arguments that PETA makes in these campaigns and will draw conclusions about the use of identity work in animal rights rhetoric and, more broadly, in social movement rhetoric.

CHAPTER 5

CRAFTING NEW IDENTITIES IN SOCIAL MOVEMENT RHETORIC

When Ingrid Newkirk famously quipped that "When it comes to feelings like hunger, pain, and thirst, a rat is a pig is a dog is a boy" (Specter, 2003), she provided a much-quoted statement that is often used to represent the radical nature of PETA's philosophy. The quotation also summarizes a strand of argument that runs throughout many of PETA's campaigns. Although their messages change depending on the issue, much of their rhetoric is centered on encouraging individuals to examine the way that they view animals, the way that they view themselves, and the way that they lead their lives based on those views. PETA's mission statement is very simple: "Animals are not ours to eat, wear, experiment on or use for entertainment." In order to persuade people to believe this statement, they have to inspire a change in identity. This is, of course, a task that requires a carefully crafted rhetorical message. It is a message that, according to Burke (1937, 1950/1969), must draw individuals to identify with the message and the messenger, but must not rupture the order that comes from our understanding of the world.

PETA and other animal rights organizations face tremendous obstacles in trying to overcome the nature/culture divide. As I have argued in previous chapters, there are many reasons that we adhere to that dichotomy, including a need to be in control of nature and to define ourselves in opposition to nature. What becomes obvious after an examination of PETA's campaigns is that they make attempts to overcome this dichotomy in varied ways. In the anti-animal research campaigns, PETA tends to take a more conservative stance, asking us to adjust

the way we view animals, but not the way we view ourselves. In many of their visual campaigns, they begin to blur the lines between human and animal and ask us to alter the way we define each separately. In some of their more recent campaigns, however, PETA has pushed the envelope by breaking down the barrier between human and animal and pushing us to reject violence directed at both humans and animals. A comparison of these campaigns shows a spectrum of different arguments and strategies. This chapter will focus more specifically on explaining the differences between those positions and the implications of the strategies. First, I discuss the shifting nature of PETA's rhetoric and how the campaigns work as a whole to move audiences away from the animal/human divide. Second, I discuss the implications of this case study on our understanding of identity and social movement studies more broadly.

PETA and Identity Rhetoric

The spectrum of identity arguments that PETA could potentially invent is wide. After surveying a large number of PETA's animal rights campaigns, it is clear that there is no single stance on the issue of animal and human identity in their rhetoric. Instead, they pull from different strands of arguments at different times. As is often the case with effective rhetoric, they adapt the message to the audience, the subject, and the occasion. Depending on the degree to which they need to move the audience on the animal/human divide, the messages craft different degrees of challenges to human identity. There is a marked difference between the types of campaigns examined in this research and those differences are best explained through the identity work that they do.

First, like many of the animal welfare arguments of the past, the campaigns that argue against the use of animals in science are based on the assumption that animals are feeling beings, like humans, and deserve protection. Knowing the strength of the scientific mindset, however,

the advertisements effectively use dissociation in order to split apart the corrupted science (that science that has no regard for animals) and an ethical science. Individuals can maintain their belief in the value of science (in fact, can become committed to saving science from the corrupting nature of animal research) and support the rights of animals without altering their own identities. The anti-animal research campaigns primarily take a paternalistic approach to animals by making appeals to viewers to provide protection to animals because of their privileged positions. In other words, the paternalistic mindset is founded on the idea of difference; if animals and humans are truly equal, there is no need for one to protect the other. Thus, the animal/human divide is left untouched by these arguments because there is no requirement to redefine either one. These campaigns set the ground for future animal rights messages, however, because they encourage individuals to think about the ways that animals are treated and invite animals into our ethical community.

It is the campaigns that use the visual to blur the lines between animal and human that open up the possibilities for more radical questions. In those campaigns, we are drawn to confront the division that we create between human and animal when images question how different animals and humans are. By emphasizing the emotions that animals and humans appear to share, inviting us to identify with the mistreatment of animals, and then visually blurring the lines between animal and human (emphasizing the way we look the same), PETA pushes us to examine not only our views on animal identity, but on our own identity. These messages are more confrontative, attempting to undermine our understanding of our place in the world, but allow us the space to consider the similarities between human and animal without swallowing whole the animal rights pill. Using identification, casuistic stretching, and perspective by incongruity, the advertisements attempt to make us uncomfortable with the way

we view our world. Thus, these types of campaigns take PETA closer not only to asking individuals to invite animals into our ethical community, but seeing animals as sharing some substance with humans.

If the ultimate message that PETA wants to make, however, is that animals deserve rights equal to humans, they must succeed in taking the final step of encouraging people to view animals as equals. In order to give animals equal consideration to humans (if not always equal treatment; see the discussion of differences between P. Singer and T. Regan's positions on animal rights in Chapter 1), we must be convinced that animals have similar life experiences, that they have similar needs, and that they share some significant substance with humans. The last set of campaigns studied here—those that emphasize the similarity of animal and human atrocities using analogy and intertextuality—make those arguments. By explaining the mistreatment of animals in terms of culturally-defining human atrocities such as the Holocaust and a highly publicized serial murder, PETA forces viewers to explain their reluctance to opposition to violence against all living beings. These campaigns push beyond the lines of challenging the human/animal divide and make an explicit argument for the shared substance of humans and animals. With this rhetoric, PETA comes closest to a pure argument for animal rights, making the case for equal consideration of human and animal.

It would be inaccurate to portray these campaigns and their different underlying identity stances as being progressive. In other words, the arguments are not presented chronologically, with the anti-science campaigns only appearing earliest in the group's history and the more radical intertextual messages appearing only most recently. As it happens, this is partially true. PETA originally focused most of its attention on animals used in research and now seems to

have turned its attention to the more intertextual messages.[10] However, the different types of arguments ebb and flow, with PETA plucking from different strands of rhetoric as necessary. It is, of course, only natural for the group to select the most efficacious argument for each situation. If they can convince individuals to change their actions without going through the difficult process of altering identities, then they are likely to do so. In a campaign focused on eliminating Spain's (in)famous running of the bulls, for example, PETA does not attempt to convince viewers that the bulls are like humans and need to achieve equal status. Instead, this campaign, mainly targeted at young viewers, attempts to gain support for a cruelty-free "running of the nudes"; they encourage supporters of animal rights to flood the streets of Spain wearing no clothing. They make supporting animal rights "cool" instead of righteous ("Running of the Nudes"). In this case, if they can achieve the end goal—decreasing public support for the running of the bulls—with less resistance, they are likely to take that path. Consequently, it is likely that even a cursory glance at PETA's rhetoric will find many philosophical inconsistencies. Indeed, PETA has been criticized in the past by animal rights activists who argue that PETA harms the movement more than it helps it by creating inconsistent and fleeting campaigns that go for the "quick fix."

Nevertheless, whether consistent or not, PETA's campaigns work as a whole to challenge either subtly or overtly the culturally created divide between human and animal. This is not an easy feat given the enormous obstacle that PETA faces with the entrenched beliefs in the nature/culture divide. In order to change the way we view ourselves in relation to nature and the way we define ourselves, PETA (and the entire animal rights movement) must create an

[10] Recently, PETA launched a major campaign comparing the treatment of animals to the practice of slavery. Like the Holocaust campaigns, the images are split between human slaves and confined animals. Like other similar messages created by PETA, this campaign was immediately attacked as reprehensible and major new sources discussed the controversy ("PETA Launches Animal Liberation Project").

argument for re-examining identities. All three of the campaign types examined in this research show that PETA's advertising focuses on this task, but goes about achieving that goal in different ways. The anti-animal research campaigns create a split in identities, asking individuals to see the difference between blind support for all science and the support of an ethical science. Those campaigns do not require a shift in the way the audience views animals because they can be both a protector of animals (nature) and safely be in the realm of culture. In the visual campaigns examined in this research, the advertisements do more to blur the lines between human and animal identity. There is no radical push for a redefinition of human and animal, but there are arguments for eliminating the barrier that we place between the two. It is the campaigns that use intertextuality as a primary tool that make the most aggressive argument for a redefinition of the two and, thus, create the needed condition for shifting identities. All of these different tactics are necessary in the effort to change the way society thinks about animals and their rights.

Finally, it is important to note the uniqueness of this particular case in terms of identification. As Burke (1950/1969) defined it, identification involves creating a feeling of shared substance between the rhetor and the audience. What makes this case—PETA's rhetoric—different is that the rhetor (PETA) is attempting to build identification between the audience and an other—animals. To some degree, the rhetor is erased from this equation; because of mediation, the audience sees a message (albeit created by PETA) that appears to come straight from the animal. Thus, PETA's approach to creating identification is a casuistic stretching of Burke's ideas. To some degree, this is true of any "other-directed" movement where the rhetor must speak for the "voiceless." PETA's case pushes this situation a bit more, however, in speaking for an other that can never have a voice. This case study thus extends our understanding of how identification can be used.

Identity and Social Movements

The study of PETA's rhetoric leads to broader questions about the role of identity work in social movement rhetoric. This study shows that identity and hierarchy are closely tied to one another. In other words, in negotiating and embracing different identities, there's also a natural process of ordering and reordering, defining and redefining. This is consistent with Burke's (1950/1969) ideas of hierarchies—that they are a fluid and unstable work, constantly changing. Along those same lines, it is important to note that multiple identities may be created within rhetoric and that social movements might strategically use multiple identities to create support for their goals. New Social Movement literature has noted the significance of identity, but I argue that a movement can offer multiple identities and those identities are necessarily intertwined in particular hierarchies. This, I think, is important specifically for the study of social movement rhetoric—a rhetoric that may be multi-faceted and pragmatic. What I conclude from this study is that identity work can, indeed, be very productive for social movements. Specifically, there are three important conclusions that can be drawn from this study. First, hierarchy and identity are interdependent. Second, multiple identities may be formed with social movement rhetoric. Third, we need to reexamine the usefulness of identity rhetoric as a social movement strategy.

Hierarchy and Identity

There is much to be learned from the ways that rhetoric attempts to hail individuals to identities, creating a compelling reason to embrace one set of identities while eschewing others. Burke's (1937, 1950/1969) views on identification provide an understanding of the ways in which PETA's appeals might succeed. In their campaigns, they attempt to create new hierarchies, displacing humans from the privileged position at the top of the hierarchy, and bringing animal

and human identity closer together. Because this is such a contentious task, with the potential to rupture the hierarchy completely without rebuilding order, PETA must go about changing minds on animal rights very carefully. Through a number of different rhetorical strategies—dissociation, casuistic stretching, appeals to identification, perspective by incongruity, analogy, and intertextuality—they manage to pose questions about identity without completely overturning order. In their most radical campaigns (those in which they challenge human identity most significantly) the advertisements reconstruct a hierarchy or a way to view identity through the use of analogy. They challenge the divisions between human and animal by altering the way we view those identities. At the same time, they provide a new way to approach the identities through analogies. For example, the comparison of animal slaughter to the slaughter of humans in the Holocaust disrupts our way of thinking about these events as dissimilar. The comparison also gives us a way to understand this new animal identity, asking us to draw the same conclusions about animal slaughter that we have drawn about the Holocaust. In this case, PETA takes radical steps to undermine human identity, but they disrupt order and reestablish a hierarchy at the same time.

These tactics highlight the interdependent nature of identity and hierarchy. In this case, the hierarchy that places humans above animals must be disrupted in order to persuade individuals to support animal rights. Consequently, the way individuals define themselves and their relationships with animals creates a particular kind of hierarchy. Simultaneously, the way the hierarchy defines humans and animals affects the identity that humans embrace. Identity and hierarchy feed off of each other and define each other. That these two concepts are related is consistent with Burke's (1950/1969) concept of the two. If identity is determined based on identification—the feeling of consubstantiality with a person or a group—then the way that you

choose your identity creates a hierarchy. By identifying with some, you also divide away from others. That process of joining and dividing naturally creates a valuation between people and concepts. The relationship between identity and hierarchy is, thus, important to keep in mind when evaluating social movement rhetoric.

Multiple Identities

The second conclusion to be taken from this project is the concept of multiple identities in social movement rhetoric. What should become obvious after examining the campaigns highlighted in this project is that PETA invites individuals to embrace a number of different identities. In other words, the group does not attempt to develop only one identity centered on animal rights; instead, they create many roles for animal rights activists. PETA argues that you can get involved in animal rights in a number of different ways; choosing different products, boycotting particular businesses, placing a bumper sticker on your car, and taking part in a protest are all defined as participation. There is no end to the ways that individuals can get involved in the movement and to the philosophies that individuals can ascribe to in deciding to become involved. In order to support anti-animal research projects, for example, individuals can maintain a belief in a separation between animal and human or they can believe that animals and humans both deserve rights. This diversity of beliefs might be interpreted as being philosophically unsound or "selling out" in order to gather supporters. There is a more meaningful explanation of this strategy, however. As a part of the animal rights movement, PETA is invested in attracting the greatest number of supporters. Providing multiple identities to their audience makes it likely that more people will find their way into supporting the organization.

This contradicts what we have theorized that social movement rhetoric must do in order to create identification. We generally think of movement rhetoric as addressing and forming a *particular* audience. Michael McGee (1975/1999) speaks of "the people"—the idea that when we address audiences, we create a "mass illusion" of a "collective force which transcends both individuality and reason" (pp. 343, 345). We speak of an audience as if it is one and often make appeals to that mythical audience. But, as McGee argues, there is no "real" audience, only the audience that we create in bringing multiple people together through rhetoric. Yet, McGee speaks as if social movements generally call forth *one* audience, *one* identity. Likewise, Maurice Charland (1987) explores the concept of constitutive rhetoric through the example of the *peuple québécois*—an identity that was created through the Quebec independence movement and founded on the idea of a single, unified group. The "Red Power" movement created an audience of empowered Native Americans (Lake, 1983/2001). The "Black Power" movement served to energize African-Americans in the 1960s (Stewart, 1997/2001). The examples are numerous and they show that social movements generally attempt to create a unified audience that is focused on similar issues and defined on similar grounds.

PETA's rhetoric seems to bring about multiple audiences. It invents the audiences that are most valuable, including a wide range of philosophies. This strategy is consistent with thoughts about rhetorical invention. As Karlyn Kohrs Campbell (1998) argues, rhetors can never create original rhetoric, they can only invent newly reformed rhetoric by weaving together arguments that have been made in the past. Likewise, rhetoric cannot craft completely new identities, but must pull from different strands, creating a pastiche of different identities that appeal to individuals. By creating a number of different identities, PETA is then able to pick and choose their arguments, bringing together multiple identities for different audiences. This

strategy is, therefore, noteworthy because of the deviation from most of the conclusions that we have drawn about audience.

Identity and Social Change

Finally, this project leads to conclusions about how identity rhetoric can successfully lead to social change. Many dispute the usefulness of identity arguments for motivating change. Bonnie Dow (1996), for example, argues that feminist identity politics, when it becomes solely concerned with "selling" the feminist identity, leaves a shell of a movement behind. The focus shifts to the individual at the expense of the social collective. With the animal rights movement, however, both types of arguments must be made. In other words, for some animal rights positions, individuals must change the way they see themselves and/or animals (although that new identity can be radically different for each individual) before they choose to take action on the part of animals. Although some animal welfare positions (like a concern for the treatment of animals without a rights argument) do not call for identity shifting, radical animal rights arguments have to motivate a reassessment of animal and human identity. This is not unlike the civil rights movement and Black Power; audiences had to see themselves as agents of change before they were able to fully engage in social change. Unlike the civil rights movement, however, the animal rights movement is concerned with changing both the audience's identity and that of the object of the movement—the animals.

By creating multiple identities, PETA is also more likely to succeed in pulling together a wider range of supporters. To be an animal rights activist, according to PETA, can mean many things. Thus, it is easier to define yourself as an activist, easier to consider yourself a part of the movement, and, thus, more likely that change will come from a larger force. Although there may be problems with philosophical inconsistencies, there is a greater chance that involvement by

more people will lead to changes in the ways that animals are treated. Whether individuals are drawn to a boycott of Wet Seal (a clothing company that recently agreed to stop selling fur in response to PETA's boycott) because of a commitment to animal rights, because of a particularly heart-wrenching image, or because it is "cool" to boycott with PETA, the end effect is still the same (see "Wet Seal Pledges No Fur This Fall"). Although there are limitations to identity rhetoric, there are cases where the identity work becomes a vital part of the movement.

Conclusion

The broader question that is addressed in this project is the role that identity rhetoric plays in contemporary social movements. As I argue in Chapter One, contemporary social movements are often more concerned with shaping and altering identities—working through individuals—rather than attaining broader political or economic goals through legal changes. PETA and the animal rights movement provide a clear example of this focus because the acceptance of the movement's goals and beliefs means a shift in identities for the converts to the movement. As Nicola Evans (1998) writes, future research on identity needs to focus on an understanding of "the way people are discursively interpellated into certain positions, and the process by which people are brought to invest in or contest their assigned positions" (p. 102). More specifically, in order to understand contemporary social movements, we must understand the role that identity plays in creating social change. A focus on this role, as Gerard Hauser and Susan Whalen (1997) argue, provides "a sudden opening, an occasion for an elaboration of the rhetorical consciousness of social movement actors and activity specific to the characteristics of the new movements that remain undertheorized in work done by communication scholars to this point" (p. 127). The focus of this research project, tracing the different ways that PETA encourages the shifting of identities, attempts to answer this call. We are far from understanding

the intricacies of identity work in relation to social movements and the role that rhetoric plays in that process. Social movement research needs to continue to explore the implications of identity work and specifically the role of rhetoric in identity formation, noting both failures and successes in an attempt to create a cohesive understanding of how contemporary social movements go about shifting identities.

This project was begun with many questions in mind. It was first stimulated by a desire to understand how animal rights rhetoric, and more specifically the rhetoric of People for the Ethical Treatment of Animals, attempts to change the way we view animal rights. I teased out PETA's sources of invention in order to draw conclusions about rhetorical strategy. Second, it was a project more broadly interested in the role that identity work plays in animal rights rhetoric and rhetoric more generally. Finally, it was concerned with adding to our understanding of identity work in social movement rhetoric. Although it is only one example of the significance of identity work in contemporary social movement rhetoric, it provides a unique understanding of how rhetoric can be used to shift identities even in the most extreme circumstances. There is still much to be learned about how we can go about creating social change and radically altering world views. It is my hope, however, that this research adds a grain of understanding to that process so that we may continue to find ways to improve our world.

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