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# An Analysis of Diversity in Nonhuman Animal Rights Media

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1                                   **An Analysis of Diversity in Nonhuman Animal Rights Media**

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4

5    **Abstract:** *Lack of diversity in the ranks as well as a failure to resonate with disadvantaged*  
6    *groups and other anti-oppression movements has been cited as one important barrier to the*  
7    *American Nonhuman Animal rights movement’s success (Kymlicka and Donaldson 2013). It is*  
8    *possible that social movements are actively inhibiting diversity in the ranks and audience by*  
9    *producing literature that reflects a narrow activist identity. This article creates a platform from*  
10   *which these larger issues can be explored by investigating the actual demographic*  
11   *representations present in a small sample of popular media sources produced by the movement*  
12   *for other animals. A content analysis of 131 magazine covers produced by two highly visible*  
13   *movement actors, PETA and VegNews, was conducted to demonstrate that activist*  
14   *representations in at least some dominant American Nonhuman Animal rights media are mostly*  
15   *white, female, and thin.*

16

17    **Keywords:** Gender, Race, Social Movements, Media, Animal Rights

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## An Analysis of Diversity in Nonhuman Animal Rights Media

### Introduction

In *Empty Cages: Facing the Challenge of Animal Rights* (2004), Tom Regan suggests that the two most pressing challenges facing the American movement for other animals are, first, its small membership and, second, its lack of public credibility. At a talk given at the University of Genoa in 1996, he specifies that these challenges entail both retaining existing members and recruiting new members (Regan 1996). Like many vegan scholars, Regan cites unfavorable public views about American Nonhuman Animal rights activism as a primary barrier against movement success. Attitude research supports this in demonstrating that non-vegetarians hold very negative views of vegans (Povey et al. 2001).<sup>1</sup> One poll reports that about 2/3rds of Americans view vegans unfavorably (Gutbrod 2013), while another reports that 30% of non-vegetarian online daters would not date a vegetarian (*Business Wire* 2012). Researchers in Britain have documented the tendency for mainstream media to portray vegans as ridiculous, hostile, angry, etc. (Cole & Morgan 2011), while in the United States, researchers find that Nonhuman Animal liberation efforts are frequently conflated with terrorism (Sorenson 2011).

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<sup>1</sup> While not all vegans are activists for other animals, and not all activists are vegan, this study explores Nonhuman Animal rights media which is grounded in ethical veganism (veganism that is engaged as a political action against speciesism). The Nonhuman Animal rights movement tends to situate veganism as an idealized lifestyle for advocates, meaning that anti-speciesist and vegan rhetoric often overlap. Therefore, the terms will sometimes be used interchangeably.

43 While negative representation is common, representation itself, however, is rare. For the most  
44 part, pro-animal messages are excluded altogether (Freeman 2009).

45  
46 In part, this adverse response likely manifests as pushback against anti-speciesist  
47 mobilization. The American Nonhuman Animal rights movement is a political movement that  
48 advocates for the reform of Nonhuman Animal use or its abolition. With trillions of Nonhuman  
49 Animals killed, tortured, or otherwise exploited annually across the globe, there is a principal  
50 focus on alleviating systemic speciesism with most movement actors promoting some type of  
51 dietary reform (Beers 2006). Although the movement hosts a variety of positions and continues  
52 to support grassroots efforts, it likens other modern social justice movements with its power  
53 centralized in professionalized non-profits, preference for moderated, reform-focused goals, and  
54 tendency toward organizational isomorphism (Author year). Over its two centuries of activity,  
55 the movement has generated considerable countermobilization from exploitative industries that  
56 seek to reframe anti-speciesist activism as volatile and illegitimate (Jasper and Poulsen 1993,  
57 Phelps 2007).

58  
59 While researchers speak mostly to stereotypes of activists for Nonhuman Animals as  
60 disturbed and violent, other identity markers related to race, gender, and class could be  
61 restricting the movement's growth. Scholars of the American movement find that activists are  
62 overwhelmingly women at about 80 per cent (Gaarder 2011). Most are middle-class and white  
63 (Maurer 2002, The Humane League 2014).<sup>2</sup> In advocacy spaces, it is often thin women who are  
64 used as movement representatives (Harper 2010) and women are also frequently sexually

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<sup>2</sup> Scholars acknowledge a distinction between those who advocate politically for Nonhuman Animal rights and those who are vegan or vegetarian for cultural or religious purposes.

65 objectified (Adams 2004, Gaarder 2011). PETA is most frequently criticized for regularly  
66 employing female sexual objectification as a tactic, but as a dominant presence in the American  
67 movement, it has normalized this tactic for many smaller activist groups as well (Author year).<sup>3</sup>  
68 Importantly, these representations are not a result of mainstream media bias, but are  
69 constructions of the movement itself, meaning that the movement could be unnecessarily  
70 aggravating these diversity problems identified by researchers. As will be discussed, poor  
71 diversity can discredit the movement, but also undermine coalition-building.

72

73         Given the possibility that exclusionary representations may alienate movements from the  
74 public and their pools of potential participants, this paper investigates how social movements  
75 might disadvantage themselves in their mechanisms of self-presentation. There are a number of  
76 ways that movements present themselves to the public, many of which must be filtered through  
77 mass media to find platform. This study will specifically explore a sample of some media that is  
78 produced by the movement itself (two leading magazine publications with large audiences), as  
79 the findings could be speak to a disconnect in the movement’s framework. This is a disconnect  
80 that is reasonably within the movement’s control to manipulate, and control is a precious  
81 advantage rarely afforded to movements when negotiating in mass media spaces.

82

83 This paper will first determine the importance of media as an agent of socialization and its  
84 relationship with social movements in a brief literature review. Social movements often prioritize

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<sup>3</sup> By way of example, PETA often employs nude or nearly nude Playboy models and volunteers to hold signs or hand out literature and food samples in public spaces. PETA’s “I’d Rather Go Naked Than” ad campaign, featuring pornified images of women, has been a primary tactic since the early 1990s. Smaller groups that have mimicked the PETA approach include Animal Liberation Victoria, Citizens United for Animals, Fish Love, and LUSH Cosmetics Fighting Animal Testing (author, year).

85 media exposure to recruit new members, though, as previously mentioned, mass media can be an  
86 unreliable and sometimes dangerous tool (Gamson and Wolfsfeld 1993, Gitlin 2003). I will  
87 argue that, while it is known that mainstream media can work to a movement's disadvantage,  
88 movement-created media is also relevant to the conversation. Research indicates that  
89 representations in media can both inspire and demotivate. If the Nonhuman Animal rights  
90 movement is presenting a limited activist ideal-type, it may encourage participation from thin,  
91 white women, but deter potential participants from other groups, especially certain marginalized  
92 groups. For instance, poll research indicates that persons of color view vegans more favorably  
93 than whites (Gutbrod 2013),<sup>4</sup> but whites disproportionately identify as vegans in the United  
94 States. A failure to recognize diversity in representations, then, could represent an incongruence  
95 in claimsmaking, it could also represent a serious strategic oversight.

96  
97 A number of movement pundits have speculated on this weakness in addition to Regan.  
98 Kymlicka & Donaldson (2013), for instance, specifically cite the movement's failure to seriously  
99 embrace multiculturalism as an important political obstacle. Harper (2010) has also identified  
100 this shortcoming as a social justice issue, as entire communities of color have been alienated by  
101 the movement and ignored by Nonhuman Animal rights and vegan outreach efforts. There is at  
102 least some interest in improving diversity from an organizational standpoint, as evidenced by  
103 groups like VegFund which prioritize outreach in communities of color and the proliferation of  
104 multi-language outreach literature as published by groups like Vegan Outreach, Abolitionist  
105 Approach, and Food Empowerment Project. It is also evidenced by PETA's attention to ethnic  
106 enclaves in the United States (Drew 2010) and its establishment in other nations (PETA India,

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<sup>4</sup> Importantly, this data may be skewed due to the small response rate of non-white participants.

107 PETA Asia-Pacific, etc.). The Humane Research Council,<sup>5</sup> a research non-profit that works with  
108 Nonhuman Animal protection groups to improve efficacy, has also commented on the problem  
109 of activist homogeneity (Glasser 2014). Failure to diversify could have the effect of limiting  
110 participant numbers, skills and innovation, and access to other resource pools. Further, it runs the  
111 risk of hypocrisy in advocating for species-inclusive diversity, while simultaneously being  
112 unable to achieve human diversity in its own ranks. If only a particular demographic appears to  
113 support rights for other animals, a lack of diversity may also drain the movement's cultural  
114 capital. That is, a more diverse support for anti-speciesism may grant the position more  
115 legitimacy with the public and would improve the audience's ability or willingness to respond to  
116 outreach efforts (Einwohner 1999). In light of these criticisms, this study will illuminate  
117 demographic trends that exist in movement-produced media. To accomplish this, a purposive  
118 sample of exemplar cases was selected from two magazines that regularly feature human  
119 subjects, are relatively highly visible to the public, and enjoy predominance in the movement.

120

## 121 **Literature Review**

122

### 123 *Media, Power, and Vulnerable Groups*

124

125 Social movements are mindful of media because it has the power to, for better or for  
126 worse, shape attitudes and behaviors. The structure of media and the messages conveyed are  
127 frequently rooted in social inequality. Media and communications research demonstrates that  
128 media tends to reflect the epistemologies of those in power (Wilson & Gutiérrez 1995). In the

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<sup>5</sup> This organization has since rebranded itself as Faunalytics.

129 United States, this has generally meant a reflection of whiteness and maleness. As agents of  
130 socialization, television, magazines, music, and other forms of mass communication work to  
131 normalize existing power structures and encourage behaviors and attitudes that replicate those  
132 structures (Holtzman 2000). Not surprisingly, white men dominate as both media creators and  
133 media owners. White men also enjoy more representation and coverage within the media itself.  
134 Marginalized groups such as women and people of color occupy few powerful positions in the  
135 media industry (National Association for Multi-Ethnicity in Communications 2013), which  
136 translates to relatively homogenous productions that are more likely to reflect privileged  
137 populations. Likewise, when minorities *are* portrayed in mainstream newspapers, magazines,  
138 television shows, and movies, they tend to be cast stereotypically in ways that reinforce their  
139 inferior status (Baker 2005, Mastro and Greenberg 2000, Mastro and Stern 2003). More recent  
140 research suggests that stereotypical representation is declining, though underrepresentation  
141 remains pervasive (Monk-Turner et al. 2010).

142

143         The media has also maintained body image standards of thinness, sexuality, and beauty  
144 which negatively and disproportionately impact women. Research shows that women are  
145 increasingly sexualized in the media (Coltrane and Messineo 2000, Hatton and Trautner 2011). It  
146 has also been suggested that exposure to sexually explicit media could foster misogynist attitudes  
147 and increase men's aggressive behavior towards women (Kalof 1999, Lanis and Covell 1995,  
148 MacKay and Covell 1997, Malamuth and Check 1981, Mundorf et al. 2007, Ward 2002). The  
149 media's glorification of thin bodies and female sexualization is also linked to increased body  
150 dissatisfaction and decreased self-esteem among women (Aubrey et al. 2009, Groesz et al. 2002,  
151 Holmstrom 2004, Turner et al. 1997). Adding to this, weight discrimination is correlated with



152 hiring and promotional discrimination in the workplace and lower overall earnings, especially for  
153 women (Puhl et al. 2008, Zagorsky 2004). Therefore, while media is a social construction and  
154 may only depict ideations of reality, the consequences of these constructions are very real  
155 indeed. Through its ability to “maintain boundaries in a culture” (Shoemaker and Reese 1996:  
156 225), the media can both preserve power and entrench powerlessness.

157

158 *Social Movements, Media, and Motivation*

159

160         This relationship that exists between media, social problems, and power presents a  
161 challenge for collective behavior. Social movement theorists warn that the media, “[ . . . ]  
162 generally operate in ways that promote apathy, cynicism, and quiescence, rather than active  
163 citizenship and participation” (Gamson et al. 1992: 373). Certainly, agents of social change are  
164 aware of the role media plays in replicating social problems. Indeed, they often expend  
165 considerable effort working to counteract the media’s effects. Many times, this is attempted by  
166 infiltrating mainstream media sources (such as protesting with the intention of being covered by  
167 the news or writing letters to the editor of newspapers). In this way, media coverage is used to  
168 increase the movement’s visibility (Vliegenthart et al. 2005), diffuse claimsmaking, and recruit  
169 new members (Andrews and Biggs 2006, Gamson 2004, Sampedro 1997). Media representations  
170 can also be useful in fostering a movement’s identity and solidarity (Roscingno and Danaher  
171 2001).

172

173         However, a large body of research has demonstrated that the media actually tends to  
174 work *against* social movements by distorting their message or otherwise casting them in an

175 unfavorable light (Amenta et al. 2009, Gamson et al. 1992, McCarthy et al. 1996, Oliver &  
176 Maney 2000). That is, movements usually do not enjoy the power to frame their message to their  
177 liking in elite-controlled spaces. This is the case for the Nonhuman Animal rights movement as  
178 explored above. Concerned with bias, movements may seek to produce their own media, with the  
179 hopes that their message can be consumed without corruption. Or, if excluded from mainstream  
180 spaces altogether, movements produce their own media to create a platform where otherwise  
181 there is none (Downing 2001). For instance, many organizations create leaflets, magazines, and  
182 videos that are hosted on the internet or public broadcasting stations, podcasts and radio shows,  
183 newsletters, websites, and social networking sites. In fact, the advent of the internet has been an  
184 especially useful and low-cost venue for movements with little resources or platform (Earl and  
185 Schussman 2003).

186

187         While mainstream media outlets can be hit-or-miss for social movements, the power of  
188 media to motivate participation and draw resources is unmistakable. News coverage was a major  
189 source of information about protests during the Civil Rights movement (Andrews and Biggs  
190 2006). Radio programs fostered solidarity for textile workers in the US South, enabling powerful  
191 strikes (Roscigno and Danaher 2001). Photography has been creating awareness and inspiring  
192 action for a litany of social issues including slavery, immigrant labor (Doherty 1976), and  
193 Nonhuman Animal exploitation (Jasper and Poulsen 1995). Hence, media can draw attention to a  
194 social problem, recruit new participants, and create a movement identity. It is this identity that  
195 helps to maintain participation and attract new recruits.

196

197           Because identity is so essential to growing and maintaining movement participation, a  
198 careful construction of that identity would presumably exist as a high priority goal. A welcoming  
199 and encouraging identity can become a powerful tool in a movement’s repertoire. Research  
200 indicates that marginalized groups can be motivated by “role models” that are seen to represent  
201 them. For instance, female college students can be inspired to overcome gender barriers  
202 associated with particular careers when they have access to female faculty members as role  
203 models (Bettinger and Long 2005, Lockwood 2006). Likewise, the ill-effects of internalized  
204 racism can also be mitigated by a positive role model. The election of President Obama has been  
205 cited as a significant boost to the self-efficacy and academic performance for students of color  
206 (Marx et al. 2009).<sup>6</sup> In other words, when marginalized groups have someone to look to that  
207 looks like them, they are apt to feel included and can gain a sense of agency. Advertisers that are  
208 eager to appeal to a larger audience and increase product consumption have capitalized on this  
209 response that representation can bring (Cortese 2008). The “pinkification” of “gender neutral”<sup>7</sup>  
210 or otherwise masculine products to appeal to female-identified consumers is one example of  
211 appealing to identity to affect purchasing behaviors (Paoletti 2012). While corporations may seek  
212 to increase minority agency in order to facilitate their ability to consume values and purchase  
213 products, social movements might want to invoke that agency towards collective action. A  
214 movement identity that largely reflects the markers of privilege could be acting as a major  
215 disincentive to those excluded from that ideal type.

216

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<sup>6</sup> Much of this research speaks to the “stereotype threat,” whereby stereotypes are internalized by marginalized groups. This is thought to negatively impact their attitudes and behaviors to the effect of fulfilling the stereotypes (Steele and Aronson 1995).

<sup>7</sup> Many times “gender neutrality” centers boys and men as the default for humanity.

217           Recall that diversifying representations is a worthy goal for social change actors, as it can  
218 earn a wider audience and increased resonance. This position derives, to some extent, from  
219 Crenshaw’s (1991) intersectional perspective. Intersectionality understands various forms of  
220 oppressions to be deeply related by mechanism and rooted, often, in the same beginnings. A  
221 social justice framework that is non-intersectional, it is thought, fails to sufficiently imagine the  
222 structure of oppression and unnecessarily alienates demographics from one another.

223

224 Alienation not only complicates coalition building (Ferree and Roth 1998), but it also stunts  
225 motivation at the individual level. Media researchers Wilson & Gutiérrez (1995), for instance,  
226 emphasize that the presence of representation can increase behavior change: “Media have their  
227 greatest effect when they are used in a manner that reinforces and channels attitudes and  
228 opinions that are consistent with the psychological makeup of the person and the social structure  
229 of the groups with which he or she identifies” (44). In other words, media efficacy can be  
230 improved with adequate representations of audience members. While this research speaks to  
231 commercial interests, it could have implications for social change actors as well. I would suggest  
232 that social movement media operates similarly to that of advertising because it is generally  
233 intended to gain support and financial contributions from its audience. Media produced by  
234 movements is intended to build solidarity and encourage participation, but in the  
235 professionalized social change space, media also becomes an integral part of an organization’s  
236 successful business model. Advocates working in non-profits and agencies in the areas of  
237 domestic violence, rape, and prostitution have noted increased pressure to frame their literature  
238 in corporate terms, describing their constituents as “clients” and their services as “products”  
239 (Bierria 2007, Graham 2014). Likewise, major Nonhuman Animal rights organizations in the

240 United States also regularly include fundraising themes in their media. Some organizations  
241 dedicate over a quarter of their media space to rallying financial support of this kind (Author  
242 year [forthcoming]). Keeping in mind these relationships between media, representation, and  
243 behavior change, it is worth considering that social movement media which routinely features  
244 white, female subjects will attract support primarily from white women. For the American  
245 Nonhuman Animal rights movement, repeated portrayals of thinness and sexualization could be  
246 an attempt to “sell” the movement to women socialized to value and seek out that thinness and  
247 sexualization. However, these identities are only obtainable for a select few. Women of color, for  
248 instance, are often excluded from white-centric ideals of sexuality (Collins 2004).

249

250         Again, one of the most pressing challenges for social movements is motivating and  
251 sustaining mobilization. Activists and other participants are essential to movement success as  
252 sources of tactical innovation, leadership, organization, money, time, and other resources.  
253 Because movements rely on a variety of resources and must usually appeal to a large segment of  
254 the population to succeed, diversity among the ranks is often desired. Movements actively use  
255 media to construct reality through their claimsmaking and identity maintenance. As feminist  
256 theorist bell hooks (1994) stresses, what media portrays is no accident. Media creators are  
257 actively working to tell a particular story. This study will contribute some part of what story is  
258 being told in the Nonhuman Animal rights movement.

259

260 *The American Nonhuman Animal Rights Movement*

261

262           As previously discussed, the American Nonhuman Animal rights movement has been  
263 soundly criticized for its homogenous membership as well as its failure to adequately address  
264 vulnerable human communities (Harper 2010). For one, the movement is comprised mostly of  
265 women, though this is likely due to a historical association between women, care-taking, and  
266 nature (Adams and Donovan 1995, Author, year). However, the movement demonstrates distinct  
267 race and class patterns as well, as it is comprised by mostly white and middle-class participants  
268 (Maurer 2002, The Humane League 2014). Lundblad (2013) has speculated that concern for the  
269 welfare of other animals was historically grounded in constructions of racial inequality and white  
270 supremacy. That is, following the abolition of slavery in the United States, African Americans  
271 were no longer characterized as docile and obedient servants, but became aggressive beast-like  
272 sub-humans devoid of moral character. In colonized regions, the United States and Britain also  
273 worked to construe non-white status with a predisposition towards Nonhuman Animal cruelty, a  
274 discriminatory tactic that is evidenced in many anti-cruelty laws of the 19<sup>th</sup> and 20<sup>th</sup> centuries  
275 (Deckha 2013, Wilson 2009). Caring about other animals became a “white thing,” yet another  
276 status marker that worked to legitimize white rule and naturalize non-white inferiority.

277

278           While these associations have long histories, they are not completely invisible as there  
279 has been some degree of negotiation with identity in advocacy spaces over the years. Men tend  
280 to occupy many leadership positions and dominate theory production within the American  
281 movement, but Nonhuman Animal advocacy remains sharply associated with femininity  
282 (Gaarder 2011, Luke 2007). Indeed, plant-based diets and compassion for Nonhuman Animals  
283 have been marked as effeminate, which is thought to be a major impediment to recruiting men  
284 (Adams 2004, Luke 2007). Theoretically, opening up the movement to more men could lend

285 Nonhuman Animal advocacy the legitimacy it needs to increase resonance. Activists have been  
286 keenly aware of this, and often lift men to visible, more prestigious positions and downplay  
287 feminine attributions in favor of more masculine ones (Groves 2001, Hall 2006). As part of this  
288 appeal to patriarchy, female advocates are frequently sexualized (Adams 2004). Hoping to  
289 increase resonance with men under the mantra “sex sells,” more and more organizations are  
290 relegating female participation to strip shows and soft-core pornography (Author year). This  
291 bargain with patriarchy has been extremely off-putting to many women who view this posturing  
292 as threatening, insulting, or counterproductive (Deckha 2008, Gaarder 2011, Glasser 2011).  
293 Thus, women may dominate the American movement in both membership and the public’s  
294 imagination, but men enjoy considerable control over the movement’s decision-making and  
295 framing. As yet, there is no evidence to suggest such a strategy has increased male membership.  
296 Indeed, one study that analyzed the tactics of People for the Ethical Treatment of Animals  
297 (PETA) concludes that using sexualized images of women actually *reduces* support for ethical  
298 campaigns (Bongiorno et al. 2013). It is also worth considering that these tactics may be  
299 solidifying male dominance and marginalizing female participation in advocacy spaces (Author  
300 year).

301

302         The movement’s saturation with white privilege has created a similar effect among  
303 communities of color. Nonhuman Animal advocacy’s strong association with whiteness has been  
304 cited as a major deterrent to demographics of color (Harper 2010). Unfortunately, the movement  
305 has aggravated this reaction by maintaining racist stereotypes about people of color and their  
306 supposed tendency towards cruelty (Glick 2013). Furthermore, several organizations stubbornly  
307 reproduce offensive and insensitive campaigns and tactics (such as the appropriation of slavery

308 and Holocaust language and imagery), despite growing criticism from communities of color  
309 (Socha and Blum 2013, Kymlicka and Donaldson 2013).

310  
311 Harper (2010) also notes the American movement’s tendency to celebrate idealized  
312 vegan body types. In an attempt to brand Nonhuman Animal advocacy and veganism as chic,  
313 healthy, and slimming, thin bodies predominate in advocacy spaces and promotional materials.<sup>8</sup>  
314 Harper notes that many bodies of color do not fit within that idealized type. Indeed, she suggests  
315 that these ideal types are not only slim, but often white, to the effect of further deepening the  
316 association between whiteness and a “cruelty-free” lifestyle. While body type and race cannot be  
317 separated, it is also important to recognize the classist implications of excluding larger body  
318 types. Lower socioeconomic status is directly linked to obesity (McLaren 2007). For that matter,  
319 the body-centric approach to veganism is sizeist in presuming that being bigger is inherently bad  
320 and unhealthy. As Harper’s work documents, framing veganism as something for skinny and  
321 wealthy white people can be off-putting. For those already active in the movement, this constant  
322 affront on body weight has been alienating to vegans of size (Heather 2011).

323  
324 Viewing veganism as a means for achieving the “perfect” body treats obesity as an  
325 individual problem rather than a structural one. This is detrimental to social justice advocacy as  
326 individualizing obesity (as a matter of personal choice and personal failure) is known to increase  
327 weight stigma (Puhl and Heuer 2010). In turn, this stigma is often psychologically damaging to  
328 people of size. It is also known to both *support* and *increase* weight-gain behaviors. It could be  
329 the case, then, that the individualized approach to veganism which frames it as a means to lose

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<sup>8</sup> See Dr. John McDougall’s 2008 essay “The Fat Vegan” in the *McDougall Newsletter* 7 (12) for an example of how thinness is encouraged as a positive representation of the vegan movement.



330 weight could be aggravating stigma, thus having the opposite effect on larger individuals by  
331 repelling them rather than inviting them. In addition to race and class implications, recall that an  
332 unrealistically thin and sexualized identity is also linked to the societal devaluation of women.  
333 Social movement media that engages in sexualization and the normalization of thinness,  
334 therefore, might stunt recruitment *and* contribute to inequality. If countering inequality is integral  
335 to that movement's goals, this could be particularly contradictory and problematic.

336

337         Given this gendered and racialized context, it is fair to suggest that, while mainstream,  
338 elite-controlled media certainly disadvantages social movements, social movements *themselves*  
339 could play a major role in limiting their resonance. Speaking directly to these issues as  
340 manifested in *VegNews*, a magazine sampled in this study, sociologist Bob Torres explains:

341             Because of the often exclusive focus on some of its practitioners, this brand of veganism  
342 will never be able to make real connections with other movements or forms of  
343 oppression. It must first slough off its latent desires to normalize classist and racist  
344 domination through the promotion of a lifestyle and matching consumer goods that are  
345 impossible or difficult for most people to accrue. (2006: 137)

346

347 Class and consumerism are not included in this study, but Torres' observation of constricting  
348 identities dominating Nonhuman Animal rights media spaces is relevant to the relationship  
349 between movement diversity and success. This study seeks to explore gender, race,  
350 sexualization, and body type representations in some prominent media produced by the  
351 American Nonhuman Animal rights movement. Thus far, I have argued that, because media  
352 plays a powerful role in constructing identity and motivating attitudes and behavior, how a  
353 movement presents itself to its constituents is an important variable in social movement success.  
354 While a movement may have little control over mainstream media bias, it *does* have control over  
355 its own media. How a movement chooses to mobilize its self-produced media resources is likely

356 correlated with resonance, membership, available resources, and goal attainment. Because this  
357 content analysis is exploratory only, it cannot speak directly to the relationship between identity  
358 representation and social movement success. However, it can provide important implications for  
359 social movements based on preexisting research that demonstrates the media's clear correlation  
360 with social attitudes and behaviors. This study will provide an important first step in this inquiry  
361 by calculating the actual representation of various identities in some particularly visible  
362 Nonhuman Animal rights media spaces.

363

## 364 **Methodology**

365

366 To explore identity representation in Nonhuman Animal rights spaces, a content analysis  
367 was conducted using two leading American publications in the American Nonhuman Animal  
368 rights movement: *VegNews* and PETA's *Animal Times*. These two publications were chosen  
369 because they are widely distributed, regularly feature human subjects on their covers, and have a  
370 back catalog large enough to facilitate analysis. Many other publications mostly picture  
371 Nonhuman Animals or have short publication histories. *VegNews* has about a quarter of a million  
372 readers and is sold in major grocery chains, natural food stores, and bookstores. PETA mails  
373 issues of *Animal Times* to all paying members and associates, a number well over 3 million.<sup>9</sup>  
374 Both magazines feature celebrities, models, and activists as cover subjects. For this study, only  
375 American magazines were explored. This may reasonably speak to the Western Nonhuman  
376 Animal rights movement in general, but further demographic research in other Western countries

---

<sup>9</sup> Unfortunately, I was unable to obtain demographic information regarding readership, as PETA does not make this information available. *Animal Times* has an international readership, but it is produced in America and prioritizes Western culture. *VegNews* explicitly states on its website that reader information is never shared.

377 and also non-Western regions would be appropriate for future studies. Also better suited to future  
378 studies would be additional interviewing to ascertain the actual impact magazine covers are  
379 having on the audience. For the purposes of this study, content analysis was decided to be most  
380 economical and appropriate as the goal is to initially determine the diversity of media subjects in  
381 the sample, while later studies could determine the actual impact of that diversity.

382  
383         Movements produce a wide variety of media, but magazines were chosen for their  
384 visibility and influence in public spaces. Magazine covers are convenient in terms of availability  
385 to the researcher and the consistency among units, but they are also frequently used as units of  
386 analysis by social scientists because industry treats them as a sales tool. Researching the  
387 gendered impact of body type portrayals on magazine covers, Malkin, Wornian, & Chrisler  
388 (1999) explain that the information displayed on covers are usually all a viewer has time to  
389 process. Their purpose is to influence quickly and persuade consumers to purchase them. While  
390 *VegNews* is not associated with a Nonhuman Animal rights organization (though it has a clear  
391 anti-speciesist agenda) and PETA's *Animal Times* is distributed primarily to paying members  
392 (though magazines are intended to be shared and they are also promoted on PETA's website),  
393 both still likely play a role in influencing movement recruitment. While not fully representative  
394 by any means, both magazines are highly visible and represent major actors in the movement.

395  
396         Change makers understand that prominent media of this kind can have tangible influence  
397 over demographic representations off the printed page. Advocates for yoga as a means of  
398 healthfulness, self-empowerment, and decolonization, for instance, have pointed to the  
399 dominance of white-centric, thin women in yoga magazines as one reason for lack of diversity in

400 Western practice (Barcelos 2011, Park 2014). Magazines have also been studied by  
401 psychologists as they are thought to influence dissatisfaction with physical appearance and  
402 problematize eating behaviors (Morry and Staska 2001), sexual socialization and self-concept  
403 (Beggan and Allison 2003). Magazine covers in particular act as “windows” to the content  
404 inside, and are carefully constructed to draw on particular psychological mechanisms to attract  
405 attention, disseminate information, facilitate a particular feeling, and encourage viewers to  
406 purchase (Held 2005). Magazine covers are considered rather unique in their ability to convey a  
407 particular mood and bring prominence to a particular narrative or concept (Spiker 2003).

408

409         With the exception of covers that did not feature human subjects, 149 subjects from 131  
410 magazine covers between 2000 and 2012 were analyzed (47 subjects from *Animal Times* and 102  
411 subjects from *VegNews*). As only two magazines were included, this would challenge the  
412 generalizability of the results. Again, major magazines that fail to regularly feature human  
413 subjects were excluded from the study, but opening up the sample to include other species or  
414 non-animal subjects like food would improve representativeness. Arguably, nonhuman subjects  
415 might circumvent gender, race, and size privilege and may be more welcoming to marginalized  
416 demographics. However, this gender, race, and size “neutrality” as it were would likely still run  
417 the risk of maintaining the stereotypical activist identity as the unspoken default in a space  
418 known to have problems with inequality, as frequently happens with manifestations of “gender  
419 neutrality” and “color-blindness.”

420

421         Another limitation is the inherent subjectivity of coding identity. This analysis was able  
422 to draw on preexisting coding standards for sexualization (Hatton and Trautner 2011) and body

423 type (Johnson 1990). The body type coding scheme utilized is rather straight forward as it  
424 utilizes visual representatives and brief text descriptions of five possible body types for the  
425 researcher to compare with the subject in question. However, the sexualization coding was  
426 particularly complex, with points assigned to number of items that, cumulatively, form a  
427 sexualized image.<sup>10</sup> This could include parted lips, sexually suggestive text, self-touching,  
428 revealing clothing, or the display of the entire body (as opposed to just the face). For instance,  
429 PETA's Fall 2007 issue of *Animal Times* features a woman looking over her bare shoulder with  
430 parted lips. In this unit, enough indicators are present to code this image as sexualized. PETA's  
431 Winter 2008 issue of *Animal Times* features a recumbent nude woman partially covered by chili  
432 peppers. She is self-touching, posing in a sexually suggestive manner, and has the majority of her  
433 body exposed. The text assigned to the image reads, "THAT'S HOT!" In this instance, enough  
434 indicators are present that this subject would be coded as hyper-sexualized.

435

436 Without a pre-existing template of this kind for gender and racial identity, gender and  
437 race categories were ultimately up to the researcher's discretion. The fluidity of both gender and  
438 race can make identification challenging. While the entirety of the content analysis was  
439 conducted by the primary researcher, a secondary researcher was enlisted for the purposes of a

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<sup>10</sup> Hatton & Trautner's scheme allows for 23 total points on a sexualization scale. These are grouped into sections on clothing and nudity, touching others or self-touching, pose, position of mouth, exposure of breasts, chest, genitals, and buttocks, nature of accompanying text, head vs. body shot, demonstration of a sex act, and sexual role play. Each of these sections accounts for a number of possible indicators that can count towards a point. If five or more points are scored, the image is considered sexualized. If 10 or more are present, it is considered hyper-sexualized.

440 reliability check.<sup>11</sup> There was 82 per cent agreement on a 10 per cent sample, with much of the  
441 disagreement involving difficult to identify or ambiguous racial identity.<sup>12</sup>

442

## 443 **Results and Discussion**

444

445         The content analysis conducted here seems to support existing research and speculations  
446 regarding the demographics of the American Nonhuman Animal rights movement. Out of the  
447 149 subjects analyzed, 87 per cent are white, 60 per cent are female, and 93 per cent are thin.  
448 Thirteen per cent are sexualized. *VegNews* and *Animal Times* present an image of Nonhuman  
449 Animal advocacy that is relatively privileged and not especially diverse. Again, this content  
450 analysis did not explore how the audience might be interpreting these media patterns, but they do  
451 align with previous observations that the movement is not adequately presenting itself as a  
452 diverse space.

453

### 454 *Gender*

455

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<sup>11</sup> The secondary researcher enlisted for reliability check is a coauthor for a similar study on social movement media that compares data in this study to that of comparable social movements. The researcher is therefore familiar with the study and sampling method. Unfortunately, the identity of the secondary researcher overlaps considerably with that of the primary researcher. Both identify as white cis-gender American women in their early thirties. Due to the similarities in identities, any diversity of interpretation would be limited.

<sup>12</sup> The 10 per cent sample was chosen randomly from each magazine sample. Because race resists categorization and the coding disagreement spoke to racial ambiguity, the researchers were not able to agree on a means of clarifying race categories. No major changes were made to the categories utilized by the primary researcher other than a slightly stronger reliance on the “other/unknown” category.

456 While women comprise 80 per cent of the American movement (Gaarder 2011), they comprise  
457 only slightly more than half of the magazine subjects (Table 1). Men maintain a sizable presence  
458 of 40 per cent. Again, such a small sample size will grant only limited generalizability, but the  
459 patterns identified by previous research in the movement may put the findings into context. This  
460 disproportionate representation of men in the sample could reflect the privileged status men  
461 enjoy in general, or, it could reflect the movement's tendency to elevate men and disassociate  
462 from stereotypes of femininity. Alternatively, it may simply be indicative of the Nonhuman  
463 Animal rights movement's attempt (or at least these editors' attempt) to be more inclusive to  
464 men. While combating stereotypes about Nonhuman Animal advocacy as a strictly female  
465 interest is useful for diversifying the movement's ranks, advocates should also be concerned  
466 about aggravating sexist attitudes and strengthening patriarchal control over the movement. It is  
467 certainly puzzling that men are the only movement "minority" that is overrepresented in the  
468 context of the actual numbers in the ranks, whereas people of color and people of size in the  
469 sample do not experience the same. So, rather than an example of successful diversity in  
470 representation, this could simply reflect male dominance. Interviewing in follow up studies could  
471 enlighten these findings.

472

473 *Race*

474

475 Gender imbalance may not clearly surface, but the racial imbalance is far more prevalent.  
476 African Americans comprise around 13 per cent of the US population (US Census Bureau 2012),  
477 but only 7 per cent of the magazine sample population (Table 2). Hispanic and Latin@s  
478 comprise 17 per cent of the US population, but less than 1 per cent of covers. Asians are

479 relatively well represented in the sample at 4.7 per cent, considering they make up around 5 per  
480 cent of the US population. These numbers reflect findings from movement surveys that report a  
481 white majority (Maurer 2002) and also support Harper’s (2010) observations regarding the  
482 “whiteness” of advocacy spaces. However, representativeness among whites and Asian  
483 Americans might also align with Jasper’s (1997) theory of post-citizenship mobilization,  
484 whereby groups that are better integrated in a given society are thought more apt to participating  
485 in collective behavior that seeks to improve the condition of others. Some vegan advocates of  
486 color might disagree with the presumption that the disenfranchised are uninterested or  
487 uninvolved in Nonhuman Animal rights work. An online advocacy project known as  
488 *#BlackVegansRock: 100 Black Vegans to Check Out* showcases an extremely diverse group of  
489 Black identified vegans from various backgrounds, professions, and interests. As the author  
490 explains, people of color want to be involved and many *are* involved, but the white-led  
491 movement impedes on their visibility. Efforts to increase visibility in independent spaces like  
492 *#BlackVegansRock* seek to overcome “the routine exclusion of black folks” (Kocięda 2015).

493

#### 494 *Body Type*

495

496 Imbalance was also indicated in the shapes of the subjects. While vegans and vegetarians  
497 on average tend to weigh less than their flesh-eating counterparts, some research indicates that as  
498 much as 29 per cent of plant-based eaters are considered overweight or obese (Newby et al.  
499 2005),<sup>13</sup> but the magazines overwhelmingly depict thin figures, with persons of size representing

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<sup>13</sup> This study included only women, who are more prone to weight gain. This figure also includes semi-vegetarians, which likely inflates percent overweight or obese. Another British study that looks only at obesity (rather than obese *and* overweight individuals) reports that 3 per cent of



500 less than 1 per cent of subjects (Table 3). The sample, therefore, does not reflect the average  
501 body in the public, nor does it reflect actual diversity in the ranks. Importantly, many of the  
502 subjects included in the study were headshots only, meaning that they were coded as the default  
503 of “fit and thin” unless their face showed evidence of more weight. Not all individuals can be  
504 differentiated by weight based on facial structure. Regardless, the number of subjects who are  
505 clearly not “fit and thin” according to the Johnson (1990) coding scheme is extremely small. This  
506 pattern is understandable given the association between veganism, weight loss, and the socially  
507 constructed ideal of a “healthy” body weight. The movement is likely drawing on the appeal of  
508 thin privilege to entice new members, but the lack of body type diversity in Nonhuman Animal  
509 rights media could be unwelcoming to persons of size and could very likely aggravate inaccurate  
510 or offensive stereotypes about weight and health. It is also worth noting that there are few  
511 muscular subjects as well (all of whom are male). This may be indicative of the feminization of  
512 veganism and vegetarianism. Plant-based eating is often constructed as appropriate for women  
513 because it is associated with weight loss and compassion for Nonhuman Animals.<sup>14</sup> On the other  
514 hand, “bulking up” and weightlifting is seen as a masculine endeavor and does not appear to  
515 enjoy the same degree of prominence in the claimmaking featured in the sample.<sup>15</sup>

516

517 *Sexualization*

518

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male vegan participants and 5 per cent of female vegan participants were considered obese (Key and Davey 1996).

<sup>14</sup> See Alicia Silverstone’s (2009) *The Kind Diet: A Simple Guide to Feeling Great, Losing Weight, and Saving the Planet* and Rory Freedman and Kim Barnouin’s (2005) *Skinny Bitch: A No-Nonsense Tough-Love Guide for Savvy Girls Who Want to Stop Eating Crap and Start Looking Fabulous!*

<sup>15</sup> At this time I am not aware of any research that would confirm this observation, but it is offered as a general reflection on subject representations in the sample.

519 In addition to restrictive portrayals of body types in the sample, the presentation of those bodies  
520 could also inform the magazine's appeal, as well as convey its attitudes toward women. Though  
521 the Nonhuman Animal rights movement has been heavily criticized for its reliance on sexualized  
522 images of women (Adams 2004, Deckha 2008, Gaarder 2011, Author year), the vast majority of  
523 magazine covers (87 per cent) do not portray a sexualized subject (Table 4) and there was little  
524 evidence to support sexualization is an increasing trend. Of the 13 per cent that is sexualized,  
525 only about 1 per cent of this is hyper-sexualized. This study utilized the coding methodology of  
526 Hatton & Trautner's (2011) survey of *Rolling Stone* covers which finds a pattern of increasing  
527 sexualization across the decades, with 83 per cent of women (and 17 per cent of men) sexualized.  
528 At least compared to the popular music scene, Nonhuman Animal rights magazines in this  
529 sample are relatively subdued. Given the movement's heavy use of nudity to attract membership  
530 in print campaigns and public demonstrations in spite of research that demonstrates the repellent  
531 effect it has, the lack of sexualization on magazine covers is good news for a movement that  
532 values effective outreach. However, inequality of representation is still present. As consistent  
533 with other analyses of sexualization in the media, the overwhelming majority (88 per cent) of  
534 sexualized subjects in the sample are female (Table 5). Furthermore, 37 per cent of subjects of  
535 color are sexualized, compared to only 10 per cent of white subjects (Table 6). Only two subjects  
536 were coded as hyper-sexualized, both are persons of color. While this number is far too small to  
537 be statistically significant, this could be indicative of racial stereotypes regarding persons of  
538 color and hyper-sexuality (Adams 2004, Collins 2004) and could be worth investigating in future  
539 research. Print campaign advertisements and public demonstrations where nudity is most  
540 notoriously observed would likely offer a more appropriate sampling pool for exploring  
541 intersections in race and sexualization.

542

543 Although the findings do not suggest that sexualization is as prevalent on magazines covers as  
544 might be expected, the relationship between sexualization and activist mobilization commands  
545 careful consideration nonetheless. Recall that research has shown that female sexualization is  
546 increasing in other media spaces (Coltrane and Messineo 2000, Hatton and Trautner 2011), and  
547 that these images have been linked to sexist attitudes and behaviors (Kalof 1999, Lanis and  
548 Covell 1995, MacKay and Covell 1997, Malamuth and Check 1981, Mundorf et al. 2007, Ward  
549 2002), self-objectification, and low self-esteem (Aubrey et al. 2009, Groesz et al. 2002,  
550 Holmstrom 2004, Turner et al. 1997). The Nonhuman Animal rights movement and the mediums  
551 that represent it might consider avoiding this trend if the hope is to remain welcoming to  
552 marginalized groups and to avoid eroding the agency and self-efficacy of female-identified  
553 advocates. The sample in this study may have used nudity in moderation, but it appears to be  
554 more heavily utilized in negotiations with mass media where movement actors have to contend  
555 with gatekeeping. In these cases, nudity is used as a means of soliciting attention in order to  
556 overcome the mass media's underrepresentation of social movement activity.

557

### 558 **Alternative Approaches**

559 Einwohner (1999), Kymlicka & Donaldson (2013), and the Humane Research Council (Glasser  
560 2014) point to the American Nonhuman Animal rights movement's failure to engage  
561 multiculturalism as a political obstacle to achieving legitimacy for anti-speciesist claimsmaking.  
562 Harper (2010) furthers that this phenomenon is also an ethical problem for the vulnerable human  
563 groups who are marginalized from advocacy spaces and ignored by outreach efforts. This study's  
564 findings can offer some clarity to this concern with homogeneity. Recall that representation in

565 media facilitates agency and behavior change (Wilson and Gutiérrez 1995), a relationship that  
566 should interest any social movement interested in success. An analysis of *VegNews* and *Animal*  
567 *Times* demonstrates that this motivating and advantageous multicultural representation seems to  
568 be lacking in at least some major Nonhuman Animal rights media spaces.

569  
570 Given these results and the implications they could have for movement efficacy, it is worth  
571 addressing some possible means of improving diversity in social movement media. Though  
572 *VegNews* and *Animal Times* are especially visible and likely have greater influence, alternatives  
573 do exist in the form of grassroots and small non-profit outreach efforts. Harper's Sistah Vegan  
574 Project,<sup>16</sup> for instance, regularly attracts people of color and other demographics marginalized  
575 from mainstream Nonhuman Animal rights spaces. Harper's project entails books, blogs, videos,  
576 conferences, webinars, lectures, and social media networking to increase diversity of interests  
577 and widen the circle of vegan and anti-speciesist community. Importantly, she also presents  
578 veganism as a multi-issue political effort. Rather than focusing on veganism as a means of  
579 achieving an idealized weight, she rejects the notion of a "perfect" body and demonstrates that  
580 veganism is an effective means of enacting the decolonization of vulnerable groups. Instead of  
581 billing veganism as a means to get skinny and sexy, she presents it as a means of liberating  
582 oppressed groups from animal-based diets that are relics of colonization, enslavement, and  
583 violence against humans and nonhumans alike.

584

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<sup>16</sup> <http://www.sistahvegan.com>

585 Likewise, the Food Empowerment Project seeks to ground vegan outreach efforts in the larger  
586 framework of social justice.<sup>17</sup> Food Empowerment outreach materials are bilingual, with a  
587 primary emphasis on the issues facing Hispanic communities in the United States and  
588 communities of color living in developing nations. The project offers a vegan retention program,  
589 a library of traditional Hispanic recipes that have been veganized, and a monthly newsletter. The  
590 newsletter is intended to improve vegan retention by speaking to those topics that resonate with  
591 poor communities and communities of color, issues that are largely ignored by the  
592 professionalized Nonhuman Animal rights movement. VINE Sanctuary offers another important  
593 alternative, focusing on the LGBTQ community and actively seeking to ally veganism and anti-  
594 speciesism advocacy with other social justice efforts.<sup>18</sup>

595

596 Should any of these entities reach the commercial success of PETA and *VegNews* and begin  
597 publishing sophisticated print periodicals, perhaps their commitment to diversity would  
598 materialize in the human representations illustrating their magazine covers. Alternate vegan  
599 narratives and diverse identities have great potential to expand advocacy ranks. Unfortunately,  
600 those organizations that are attempting to do so are relatively small, resource-poor, and quite  
601 powerless in the larger social movement space. As such, none of the aforementioned  
602 organizations have a sizable presence in the American movement, and they lack mainstream  
603 representation via glossy magazines. These organizations are small and under-funded, meaning  
604 that they do not produce material that would be comparable to the scale and prominence of  
605 PETA or *VegNews*. Nonetheless, the content of their work does demonstrate potential for  
606 informed media creation.

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<sup>17</sup> <http://www.foodispower.org>

<sup>18</sup> <http://www.vine.bravebirds.org>

607

608 **Conclusion**

609

610 The results of this study indicate that thin, white women are the most commonly represented in  
611 popular vegan media. For a social movement that has been highly criticized for ostracizing  
612 underprivileged groups and potential allies (Socha and Blum 2013, Kymlicka and Donaldson  
613 2013, Author year 2016), these trends identified should be cause for concern for social justice  
614 movements. Because the media constructs both reality and the imaginable, social change actors  
615 may benefit from acknowledging how their own media may be influencing participation. While  
616 activists and organizations have very limited control over mainstream media coverage of their  
617 social movement activities (and much of that coverage tends to be negative or neutralizing),  
618 movements *do* have control over their own media. If the American Nonhuman Animal rights  
619 movement seeks to increase its diversity, it should begin to reflect that desire in media  
620 representations. PETA and *VegNews* would be good candidates for leading this change. Diversity  
621 in the ranks is an essential component for growth and alliance building. The Nonhuman Animal  
622 rights movement is a relatively under-resourced movement that enjoys little positive media  
623 coverage. Self-produced media is one of the few areas the movement does have control over and  
624 could easily improve.

625

626 The small scale of this study leaves many questions and merits further study on a number of  
627 points. First, despite the small sample size, it is notable that sexualized and hyper-sexualized  
628 subjects were more likely to be persons of color. Of the 19 persons of color coded in the study, 6  
629 were also coded as sexualized or hyper-sexualized. Additional research would be useful here to

630 explore how sexist and racist stereotypes may be reinforced in movement cultures by its media.  
631 As it stands, those non-white and non-thin body types that do land covers exist in this sample  
632 only as tokens. That is, their representation is small, and, according to Harper's thesis, likely  
633 very superficial. Without media that seriously embraces and explores experiences outside the  
634 white, thin, female default, even occasional representation will be rendered meaningless. For  
635 instance, if people of color (African Americans, Hispanics, Asians, etc.) are to be included on  
636 covers, whiteness would be replicated nonetheless if the magazines themselves continue to focus  
637 on white values, experiences, and interests. In many cases, people of color were presented on  
638 covers as charity cases, particularly as those in need of food and disaster relief.<sup>19</sup> Likewise, if  
639 these magazines were to feature persons of size on covers, only to replicate sizeism and thin  
640 privilege in the body of the magazine, the cover's potential to foster diversity is likely nullified.  
641 This extends beyond the magazine rack to advocacy spaces in general. In addition to  
642 discouraging minority participation, tokenistic representations may also work to reinforce  
643 stereotypes (Cortese 2008). The movement must do more than symbolically include diverse  
644 persons; it must actively seek to address and embrace a diversity of perspectives, interests, and  
645 experiences as well.

646

647 Diversifying magazine content, then, is only the first step in dismantling hindering and  
648 unwelcoming stereotypes about Nonhuman Animal advocacy. Social movements battle with  
649 existing power structures for the right to construct reality, but they must also conduct that battle  
650 internally. Fortunately, there are some important grassroots efforts to remedy this shortcoming.  
651 As we have seen, the Food Empowerment Project works to fill the gap between vegan outreach

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<sup>19</sup> *VegNews* 2000, November/December (3); *VegNews* 2001, February (5); *Animal Times* 2005, Fall.

652 and underserved communities, particularly the Latina/Latino community. Harper's Sistah Vegan  
653 Project also gives platform to women of color, women of size, queer women, and other  
654 marginalized groups. Movement organizers could benefit from cooperating with these grassroots  
655 efforts to improve resonance and identify problematic representations. Likewise, additional  
656 research to test what impact these demographic trends are actually having on viewers would be  
657 invaluable. Additional research could illuminate this possibility by perhaps surveying those who  
658 have been exposed to movement-produced media using interviews or focus groups. It may also  
659 be helpful to understand the ways in which movement leaders and professionalized organizations  
660 conceptualize both diversity and the challenges to achieving it. Finally, in depth analysis of anti-  
661 speciesist media that explores the *content* of magazines (and other mediums) can offer a more  
662 nuanced understanding of identity politics and indicate areas that could be improved. This may  
663 be particularly relevant for analyzing issues surrounding cis-normativity and heteronormativity,  
664 as a cover image may not be as forthcoming on some identity representations.

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