

BETWEEN THE SPECIES

Evidence of Sexism and Male Privilege in the Animal Liberation/Rights Movement

ABSTRACT

Exploring sex ratios in AL/R organization leadership, the Hall of Fame, and the largest AL/R conference in the United States, provides evidence of sexism and male privilege in the United States AL/R movement.

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Prologue

In the spring of 2017 I set out to write an article about sexism in the animal rights/liberation movement. I created a survey on harassment and discrimination more broadly to gather information on the topic more generally. That initial article, once infused with survey information and testimonials from the newly launched CANHAD.org website on harassment and discrimination in social justice organizations, blossomed into five articles. With hind sight, it is important to note that the articles focus largely on animal welfare organizations:

1. "Sexism and Male Privilege in Social Justice Activism." *Green Theory and Praxis. Journal of Critical Animal Studies*. Submitted. March 2018.
2. "Harms of Sexism and Male Privilege in the Animal Liberation/Rights Movement." *Politics and Animals*. Under review. 2018.
3. "Patterns and Testimonials: Sexism and Male Privilege in the Animal Liberation/Rights Movement." 2018.
4. "Evidence of Sexism and Male Privilege in the Animal Liberation/Rights Movement." *Between the Species*. 2018.
5. "Turning Toward Change: Sexism and Male Privilege in the Animal Liberation/Rights Movement." 2018.

I thank the good folks at CANHAD.org for proofing each essay, and Carol Adams for commenting on several of these essays (despite her own busy writing schedule) and helping me to

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see that my one article was two, and ultimately (along with editors at *Animals and Politics*) that my two articles were still too long—and so they became five articles. Thanks also to Kadri Aavik Greta Gaard for feedback on the first essay. At Minding Animals 2018 in Mexico City, Greta Gaard offered a presentation on statistics and information from these five articles.

As I let go of this long and intense research and writing project, I wish to remind all readers that I stand firmly within the animal liberation community, and present this research in good will and with high hopes. The only way out of a cave is to turn toward the light.

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[W]omen are the crucial factor that keeps the movement running on a day-to-day basis. Yet they are not given equal say-so when it comes to day-to-day decisionmaking.
 —“SNCC Position Paper (Women in the Movement)”
 1964 in Sara Evans 1979, *Personal Politics*)

Introduction

It started with a few women speaking up, reporting a suggestive text message, an invitation to a hotel room, an unwanted touch under a table.
 —“Silicon Valley” 2017, *McClatchy Newspapers D4*

In the United States there is much talk of sexism and male privilege as movie producers and actors, politicians, techies, and radio personalities tumble from pedestals where they have been comfortably ensconced, sometimes for decades. They are falling from their lofty positions because women are coming forward to describe incidences of sexual assault that they have suffered at the hands of these men. As these scores of men fall from grace, how many women in cities across the country are wondering if—when—the empowered men in their community who have sexually exploited *them*, will have a reckoning?

There is much talk among my friends and colleagues of sexism and male privilege in the U.S. AL/R¹ movement.² Much

¹ A friend of mine pointed out that the organizations featured in this article are neither rights nor liberation organizations, but largely welfare organizations.

² Women can be rapists and lesbians can be batterers, but this article focuses specifically on what is dominant and mainstream. Nor do I accuse all men of sexual assault simply because they are men, or assert that all men share equally in male privilege. As one author states: “but let’s be realistic: distinct patterns of oppressive behavior and power still fall pretty predictably along gender lines. If gender-based organizing can help dislodge those

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talk draws us together, but we need more than a hunch—more than our individual, personal experiences—if we are to bring meaningful change. What concrete evidence might be presented with regard to the problem of sexism and male privilege in the animal liberation/rights (AL/R) movement in the United States? Good places to explore would likely include the sex ratio of leadership in some of the largest and strongest organizations, of those inducted into the animal rights hall of fame (as well as when they were inducted), and to speakers at the largest annual AL/R conference in the United States. All of this must be juxtaposed against an estimated 75/25 ratio of women to men in the movement (Adams 1995, 199; Adams 2016, 322; Jasper and Poulsen 1995, 502).

Evidence of Sexism and Male Privilege

...there was half a million dollars at stake, and she and her co-founders, who hadn't paid themselves a salary in more than a year, were bartending and working at coffee shops to make ends meet. "We were in a vulnerable positions . . . We were desperate for cash."

—“Silicon Valley” 2017, *McClatchy Newspapers D4*

Organization Leadership

When asked to describe the male leaders, she said they were “fairly competitive and domineering, and rather determined to impress people”

—Barbara Easton talking about social justice organization

patterns, perhaps we must embrace that contradiction and do our best to engage with it in all its messy complexity” (“Accounting for Ourselves” 35).

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leadership at a meeting in 1964, quoted in Sara Evans 1979,
Personal Politics 115

Despite the fact that studies indicate that women make better leaders (Paustian-Underdahl, Walker, and Woehr 2014, 1129), a circle of disproportionately powerful men in the AL/R movement control funds and organizations. These men tend to channel donations into a select few organizations, keeping the money among themselves and perhaps sharing with a few other organizations they favor. In the United States (and likely elsewhere), men in the AL/R movement hold much more than their fair share (which would be 25% at the most) of prominent leadership positions. Making matters worse, men in leadership positions tend to hire males to fill other high-level positions, creating an AL/R movement that is largely powered by women but run by men.

Many of these disproportionately powerful men³ come from privileged backgrounds, one indicator being their tendency to graduate from elite universities and colleges. These men have usually stepped into leadership positions at well-established

³ As I submitted this paper for review, in October 2017, Nick Cooney quietly left MFA with no prospects announced. Initially, his Wikipedia entry stated that he had left “for undisclosed reasons,” but that phrase quickly disappeared. As I finished final revisions in December 2017, Paul Shapiro also quietly left HSUS with no new prospects announced. As this goes to press in early February, a flurry of articles are exposing a plethora of accusations of sexual harassment at HSUS implicating Paul Shapiro and Wayne Pacelle. Within days (on February 2, 2018), Pacelle stepped down from his position as CEO of HSUS, which he had held since 2004. Major donor Jim Greenbaum, to his credit—and unlike other men of power listed here—has overtly expressed disillusionment with these organizations, and these men, and seems interested in finding out the truth.

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organizations, or founded their own companies and organizations in the last decade. Consider these twelve examples⁴:

- Nick Cooney—Executive Vice President at Mercy for Animals (MFA), founder of The Humane League (THL), co-founder and Board Chair of The Good Food Institute (GFI), and co-founder and Managing Trustee of New Crop Capital (NCC), Animal Charity Evaluators (ACE) Animal Advocacy Research Fund Oversight Committee, graduate of Hofstra University (private);
- Wayne Pacelle—President and Chief Executive Officer of the Humane Society of the United States (HSUS) since 2004, previously Executive Director of The Fund for Animals (FFA), graduate of Yale (private, ivy league);
- Paul Shapiro—Vice President of Policy for HSUS, founder of Compassion Over Killing (COK), graduate of The George Washington University (private);

⁴List gathered by query from a handful of activist in the movement; I asked for a list of “men with disproportionate power” in the movement. I am quite sure that several similar lists and graphs could be made with other men from the movement, but this is merely a sample from activists who replied to my query. Information about these men was gathered largely from bios on their organization websites, but also from LinkedIn, the U.S. AR Hall of Fame website (<http://arconference.org/hall-of-fame.htm>) and (for some birthdates) from the Wikipedia list of animal rights activists. (https://en.wikipedia.org/wiki/List_of_animal_rights_advocates). Names listed according to frequency of mention in responses.

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- Josh Balk—Senior Director of Food Policy for HSUS, co-founder of Hampton Creek Foods (HCF) in 2011, previously an undercover investigator for COK, graduate of Keystone College (private);
- Josh Tetrick—CEO and co-founder of HCF in 2011, into which he invested \$37,000 of his private funds, graduate of Cornell University (private, ivy league institution), and University of Michigan Law School (public, top-tier law school);
- Bruce Friedrich—Executive Director of GFI, co-founder and Managing Trustee of NCC, previously Senior Policy Director for Farm Sanctuary, initially worked for PETA, graduate of Grinnell College, Johns Hopkins University, and Georgetown University Law Center (all private);
- Jon Bockman—Executive Director at Animal Charity Evaluators (ACE), previously founded and managed Justice for Animals and AllVeg Delights, manager at TAILS Humane Society, and Director of Operations at Oaken Acres Wildlife Center, studied at Northern Illinois University and Northwestern University Kellogg School of Management (public, top-tier business school internationally);
- David Coman-Hidy—President of THL, graduate of Emerson College (private);
- Nathan Runkle—1999 founder and ongoing Executive Director of MFA, co-founder of GFI;

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- Lewis Bollard, Farm Animal Welfare Program Officer at the Open Philanthropy Project, previously with HSUS, studied at Harvard and then at Yale Law School (private, ivy league);
- Michael Markarian—Chief Operating Officer of HSUS and President of the Humane Society Legislative Fund, previously president of FFA, co-founder of The Global Federation of Animal Sanctuaries, master's degree from the University of Maryland (private).
- Jim Greenbaum—Founder and Managing Director of The Greenbaum Foundation (GreenBF—major donor for MFA and THL), previously founder, chair, and CEO of Access Long Distance, graduate of University College London and University of Virginia (public, top-tier universities);

These men seem even more privileged and empowered than most white males—it appears that only one of these men was ever part of the movement outside of a leadership position, while 75% attended private higher education, and 25% attended elite law schools. Here are a few apparent details regarding these twelve men:

- there are eight founders/co-founders
 - both co-founders of GFI, NCC, and HCF are listed, and at least one of these founders is now employed in one of the other organizations listed;

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- Cooney founded/co-founded three organizations;
- Greenbaum and Runkle each founded two organizations;
- At least seven hold/have held highest leadership positions in one of the listed organizations;
 - Cooney and Greenbaum are strongly connected with five of these organizations;
- seven hold/held top positions (including founder) and/or are major donors with GFI;
- six hold/held top positions (including founder) and/or are major donors with HSUS;
- four hold/held top positions (including founder) and/or are major donors with THL;
- four hold/held top positions (including the founder) and/or are major donors with MFA;
- all of the top employees/donors of MFA are also with GFI;
- three top employees/donors of MFA are also with THL;
- three do not publically reveal their Board of Directors—THL, MFA, and GFI.
- two have worked for both HSUS and COK (including the COK founder);

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- two were previously top employee with Fund for Animals;

	GFI	THL	MFA	HSUS	NCC\$	COK	HCF	OPP\$	ACE\$
Nick Cooney	<u>F+</u>	F	VP		<u>F+</u>				Adv.
Wayne Pacelle				<u>CEO</u>					
Paul Shapiro	<u>Adv.</u>			<u>VP</u>		F			
Josh Balk	<u>Adv.</u>			<u>VP</u>		X	F		
Josh Tetrick							<u>F, CEO</u>		
Bruce Friedrich	<u>CEO</u>				<u>F+</u>				
Jon Bockman\$	\$	\$	\$						<u>CEO</u>
David Coman-Hidy		<u>CEO</u>							
Nathan Runkle	F		<u>F, CEO</u>						
Lewis Bollard\$	\$	\$	\$	<u>VP, \$</u>		\$		CEO	\$
Michael Markarian				<u>VP</u>					
Jim Greenbaum\$	\$	\$	\$	\$100,000					\$

This table depicts a male network of power and control in important AL/R organizations.

Key: Current positions held at time of research are underlined. **F** = founder or co-founder; **CEO** = Top Leader of an organization, including chief executive officers, presidents, executive directors, senior directors, chief officers; **VP** = second tier power positions including executive vice presidents, vice presidents, leader of a particular branch (such as strategy or policy); **Adv** = advisor; **X** = not a power position; **+** = additional leadership roles with the group; **\$** = donor organization; **\$\$** = where money is donated.

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For a closer look at just one of these organizations and how it functions to direct funding to a small network of men and their organizations (included in the above list), consider Animal Charity Evaluators (ACE), where Bockman is executive director. ACE states that one of their goals is to “influence donations” (“Giving Metrics” n.p.). Toward this end, ACE publishes a very fancy pamphlet (somewhat annually), disseminated among AL/R activists (such as at the annual FARM conference). Their flier encourages people to donate to a few very specific AL/R organizations. ACE asserts that their recommendations for Top Charity organizations are based on well-defined methods of assessment, but this does not appear to be the case (Harrison n.p.). As it turns out, among thousands of possible animal organizations, ACE has fully evaluated less than two dozen AL/R organizations by the end of 2017 (Chaifetz n.p.), this despite having been founded in 2012. Here are ACE’s Top Charity recommendations (posted in December unless otherwise noted):

- 2017: The Good Food Institute, The Humane League, and Animal Equality
- 2016: The Good Food Institute, The Humane League, and Mercy For Animals
- 2015: Animal Equality, The Humane League, and Mercy For Animals
- 2014: Animal Equality, The Humane League, and Mercy For Animals
- May 2014: Mercy For Animals and The Humane League

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- 2012 The Humane League and Vegan Outreach
(Stuessy 2017, n.p.)

With the same organizations featured again and again, it is easy to become suspicious—especially when one knows something of the disproportionately powerful males listed above. ACE repeatedly promoted Mercy for Animals and The Humane League (Cooney is involved with both). The Good Food Institute is a sister organization to MFA—again Cooney is involved with both, as is Runkle (Bowie n.p.). GFI was announced as a Top Charity *the very year it was founded*; it is difficult to imagine how GFI could have proven to be one of the most effective organizations when it was just hatched, and when it emerged into a movement with literally thousands of organizations, some of which have been around for decades (and yet have not been reviewed by ACE).

ACE's 2013 Humane Education Study lists The Humane League as a cooperating organization, and Bockman and Cooney were both speakers at ACE's 2016 Symposium on Multidisciplinary Research in Effective Animal Advocacy. Additionally, Cooney is on the Oversight Committee for ACE's Animal Advocacy Research Fund, which provided funds to Mercy for Animals (Chaifetz n.p.). Moreover, thirteen of the AL/R organizations evaluated by ACE appear to have someone on the inside who has a *personal* connection with someone at ACE—most often Nick Cooney (Chaifetz n.p.). Indeed, ACE was recently exposed by SHARK (Showing Animals Respect and Kindness) for promoting organizations connected with Nick Cooney (Chaifetz n.p.).

Indeed, it appears (and I have heard) that *ACE was conceived of and funded by powerful men inside the very organizations*

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that are repeatedly given Top Charity accolades. Those picking up the expensive-looking ACE flier would have no way of knowing that ACE's intent is to channel money into specific AL/R organizations that happen to be run by disproportionately powerful men in the movement, while appearing to be independent, dispassionate evaluators. ACE recommendations seem to have much more to do with AL/R male networks, and amassing power in the hands of a few, than with effective anymal⁵ advocacy.

There is yet more. The founder of ACE (Eitan Fischer) is now listed as an employee at Good Food Institute. ACE is a spin-off of The Animal Welfare Fund (AWFund), which appears to be a branch of the Open Philanthropy Project (OPP) ("Animal Welfare Fund" n.p.). Bollard, who was previously with the Humane Society of the United States—where five of the twelve disproportionately powerful men currently work—is head of OPP's

⁵"Anymal" (a contraction of "any" and "animal," pronounced like "any" and "mal"), refers to all individuals who are of a species other than that of the speaker/author. This means that when human beings use the term, they indicate individuals from every species except *Homo sapiens*. If a chimpanzee signs "anymal," or a parrot speaks the word, individuals of every species (including human beings) are indicated except chimpanzees and parrots, respectively. Using the term "anymal" avoids the use of

- "animal" as if human beings were not animals;
- dualistic and alienating terms such as "non" and "other"; and
- cumbersome terms like "nonhuman animals" and "other-than-human animals."

See Kemmerer, Lisa. "Verbal Activism: 'Anymals?'" *Society and Animals* 14.1 (May 2006): 9-14. <<http://lisakemmerer.com/Articles/anymal%20article%20Jan%202016.pdf>>

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Farm Animal Welfare giving program. Not surprisingly, OPP has channeled millions of dollars into The Humane League and Mercy for Animals, and lesser (but still very large sums) into The Good Food Institute, HSUS, Compassion over Killing, and ACE (“Grants Database”). The only other AL/R organizations that I see that are similarly funded by OPP is Animal Equality (5.5 mil) and Humane Society International, of which HSUS is an affiliate (3.4 mil), and to a lesser extent Compassion in World Farming (2.6 mil) and World Animal Protection (\$1 mil). The Greenbaum Foundation (GreenBF) does not list amounts, but also prominently lists GFI, THL, MFA, HSUS, and ACE as beneficiaries (“Animal Advocacy and Plant Based Nutrition”).

Grant Orgs.	GFI	THL	MFA	HSUS	COK	ACE\$
ACE\$	\$0.3 mil	\$0.5 mil	\$1.5 mil			
GreenBF\$	\$	\$	\$	\$0.1 mil		\$
AWFund\$	\$1.15 mil	\$3.33 mil	\$4 mil	\$1.5 mil	\$0.5 mil	\$0.18 mil
OPP\$	\$1 mil	\$5 mil	\$3.5 mil	\$0.5 mil	\$0.5 mil	\$0.5 mil

This table shows how money is kept within a few organizations founded by and/or run by disproportionately powerful men in the movement.

Male networks consolidate power and privilege in the hands of a few men who are already powerful and privileged in the AL/R movement. Compassion Over Killing was founded and initially run by one of the men in this powerful network of AL/R leaders (Shapiro), but COK has been run by a woman since 2005 (“Erica Meier”). Among direct action organizations on the above list, COK has been granted considerably less

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funding than any other, and has never been featured by ACE. What exactly is the sex ratio of leadership in organizations featured above,⁶ and how does this compare with other organizations—especially those founded and/or run by women? In exploring leadership, it is important to remember that the only position that really matters is the one at the very top.

HSUS: Top five employees are all male; of 21 “leadership” employees listed, twelve (57%) appear to be female, but key decision-making power rests in the hands of a handful of men at the top.

- Hampton Creek Foods (HCF): Of eight executive staff, only one (12%) appears to be female; of five board officers, two (40%) appear to be female (one is the secretary); of eleven board directors, three (27%) appear to be female. Of 24 highest-level employees, six (25%) appear to be female.
- Mercy for Animals (MFA): Top four employees are male; of 46 employees listed, 29 (63%) appear to be female.
- The Humane League (THL): Top employee is male; of 45 employees listed, 29 (64%) appear to be female.

⁶ This information was found on their respective websites October of 2017: http://www.humanesociety.org/about/leadership/?credit=web_id93480558, <https://www.specialtyfood.com/specialty-food-association/about-us/association-reps/>, <https://www.mercyforanimals.org/about>, <https://thehumaneleague.org/our-story/>, and <http://www.gfi.org/our-team>, <http://www.newcropcapital.com/>

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- Good Food Institute (GFI): Top employee is male; of 39 employees listed, 22 (56%) appear to be female.
- New Crop Capital (NCC): Top four employees (managers) are men, of seven employees, only one (14%) appears to be female.
- Animal Charity Evaluators (ACE): Top employee is male; of eight board members, only one appears to be female (12%).

How do these leadership and employee sex-ratios compare with those of AL/R organizations run by women?⁷

- Animal Equality (AE): CEO is female, of 14 core leaders, nine identify as female (64%);
- Compassion Over Killing (COK): *female* CEO, of 20 employees listed, 14 (70%) are female—a ratio that nearly matches that of women activists in the larger movement;
- A Well-fed World (WellFed): of eight employees, six (75%) appear to be female; of 12 on the Board of Advisors 50% appear to be female (also positive—high ratio of people of color);

⁷ Again taken from respective websites October of 2017: <http://cok.net/about/staff/>, <http://awfw.org/team/>, <https://www.peta.org/about-peta/work-at-peta/jobs-employees/jobs-employees-leadership/>, <https://veganoutreach.org/key-personnel/>

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- People for the Ethical Treatment of Animals (PETA): President and Vice President are both female, and of six listed in leadership positions, only one appears to be a man (83% female);
- The Food Empowerment Project (FEP) has three staff—all appear to be female—seven on the board of directors, of which six appear to be female (86%), and eleven on the advisory board, of which ten appear to be female (also positive—high ratio of people of color);
- Vegan Outreach (VO): CEO is male, president is female; of seven on the executive committee, five (71%) appear to be female; of 28 key staff, 20 (71%) are female; there are six on the board of directors, four (67%) of whom are women.

	Men	Women
NCC	6	1 (14%)
HCF	18	6 (33%)
GFI	17	22 (56%)
HSUS	9	12 (57%)
MFA	17	29 (63%)
THL	16	29 (64%)
AE	5	9 (64%)
COK	6	14 (70%)
VO	2	5 (72%)
WellFed	2	6 (75%)
PETA	1	5 (83%)
FEP	0	3 (100%)

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This table shows sex-ratios of the highest level of employees listed in each organization. Groups with a female at the helm are in **bold**.

Vegan Outreach is included as a bridge organization—one that was started by two white men but now has significant diversity. Animal Equality, A Well-fed World, and Food Empowerment Project are similarly known not only for helping to cure the problem of male leadership in a woman-powered movement, but also for working against the well-earned insult to the AL/R movement, “animal whites.”

Animal Rights Hall of Fame

We have to figure out how to double the number of women.
—“Silicon Valley” 2017, *McClatchy Newspapers* D4

Examining the Animal Rights Hall of Fame (The Hall), created and run by Farmed Animal Rights Movement (FARM), reveals much about sexism and male privilege in the U.S. AL/R movement. Men are inducted into The Hall more often and at a younger age—with fewer accomplishments—than women, and the methods of those honored by induction into The Hall are sex-biased toward males.

The Hall is US-based, and currently includes only these individuals with (sometimes estimated) years of birth listed:⁸

⁸ People are voted in by speakers at the annual Animal Rights Conference, but I do not know when this began. Noticeably, at some point there was a shift to only one person inducted each year, and perhaps this voting practice began at that time.

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- 2000: Cleveland Amory (1917), Howard Lyman (1938), Ingrid Newkirk (1949), Peter Singer (1946), Henry Spira (1927)
- 2001: Gene Baur (1962) and Lorri Houston (circa 1960?), Jim Mason (1060s?), Alex Hershaft (1934), Alex Pacheco (1958)
- 2002: Karen Davis (1944), Shirley McGreal (early 50s?), Paul Watson (1950)
- 2003: Rod Coronado (1966), Elliot Katz (circa 1934?)
- 2004: Bruce Friedrich (1969), Laura Moretti (circa 1955?)
- 2005: Matt Ball (1968) and Jack Norris (1967), Gretchen Wyle (1932)
- 2006: Steve Hindi (1953 or 1954), Ben White (1951)
- 2007: Kevin Kjonaas (cira 1978?), James LaVeck (circa 1970?) and Jenny Stein (circa 1980?)
- 2008: Paul Shapiro (1979)
- 2009: Nathan Runkle (1984)
- 2010: Zoe Weil (early 60s?)
- 2011: Carol J. Adams (1951)

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- 2012: Joseph Connelly (1960s?) and Colleen Holland (late 1990s?)
- 2013: Erica Meier (late 1970s?)
- 2014: Jon Camp (late 1970s?)
- 2015: Josh Balk (1979)
- 2016: Tom Regan (1938) (“U. S. Animal Rights Hall of Fame”)⁹

Speakers at the annual Animal Rights National Conference usually vote from two or three candidates that are pre-selected by a Hall of Fame committee at Farm Animal Rights Movement (FARM). This committee has been exclusively male until recently, and remains majority male (private phone call).

First, it is worth noting that those inducted into The Hall are blindingly white. With the application of remedial math skills, the above list from The Hall also proves to lean heavily toward men: Men are inducted more often than women, and men who are comparatively new to the movement are inducted before women who are quite experienced. Out of 35 individuals listed, eleven (35%) are women—in a movement that is at least 75% female. Ten people were inducted in the first two years, but only two women. The first year the award was given (2000), some of the most famous pioneers were honored, but only one woman was included—despite the fact that many of the movement’s most important early activists were women. Ingrid Newkirk—

⁹ Seven of these hall-of-famers openly credit the conference with inspiring their activism, suggesting some interconnections in how candidates are chosen (“Legacy”).

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one of the most famous and best-known AL/R activists in the world—was the only woman inducted in 2000.

A second woman, Lorri Houston, was honored the second year, but she entered the AR Hall of Fame partnered with a male activist—as do three of the eleven women listed. Houston’s biography indicates that she is a “lifelong activist,” while the man she is inducted alongside, Gene Bauer, is “an activist, best-selling author, and president of Farm Sanctuary” (“U. S. Animal Rights Hall of Fame”). The second pair inducted was James Laveck and Jenny Stein. Laveck conducted interviews for Tribe of Heart’s documentaries, and his biography notes that in his twenties he traveled “across India, counseled inmates in the county jail, tutored pregnant teens” and now “also lectures and publishes” (“U. S. Animal Rights Hall of Fame”). Meanwhile, Jenny Stein, who appears to be about a decade younger than Laveck (“U. S. Animal Rights Hall of Fame”), “directs, shoots, edits, and scores Tribe of Heart’s films”—there is no mention of travels, publishing, speaking, or tutoring pregnant teens (“U. S. Animal Rights Hall of Fame”). Finally, we come to the duo of Joe Connelly and Colleen Holland. He “is the publisher of *VegNews Magazine*,” while she is the “co-creator” but only the “Associate Publisher” (“U. S. Animal Rights Hall of Fame”). At the time, he held the reins of power at *VegNews*, and appears to be considerably older (perhaps by as much as thirty years) than Holland. In comparison with Holland, Connelly’s biography indicates a significant (privileged) history: He “owned and operated Play It Again Records... for 15 years” and founded “the Syracuse Area Vegetarian Education Society” (“U. S. Animal Rights Hall of Fame”). Houston, Stein, and Holland were inducted in The Hall along with men whose biographies are longer and stronger than theirs. Moreover, the men appear to be significantly older in two out of three cases. In the final in-

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stance, the man appears to be the woman's boss. Would these women be in the FARM AL/R Hall of Fame without the men they entered with? Why were these women chosen instead of independent women who have made great contributions to the AL/R movement?

Birthdates (some are estimates) provide additional insights. In the third year of The Hall, two of the movement's most successful, long-term female activists were inducted alongside a male who is a decade younger than they are. In the next three years, a handful of much younger males were voted in, again alongside women who are considerably older. It appears that Laura Moretti would have been an activist for almost forty years when she was inducted into The Hall in 2004 ("An EVEN Exclusive Interview" n.p.)—and she appears to be about fifteen years older than the man inducted that same year. Gretchen Wyle looks to be more than thirty-five years older than the two men who receive the award with her in 2005. Between 2007-2009 another series of very young males were honored. In 2010 and 2011 two very long-term female activists were inducted into what was otherwise looking like a college fraternity club.

Checking dates, ages, and sex-ratios of those inducted into The Hall indicates that female activists must work for a comparatively longer period of time if they are to be worthy of admittance to The Hall. Consider the two women inducted in 2010 and 2011: Zoe Weil and Carol Adams. Zoe Weil created the Humane Education movement, is an author and well-known speaker, and has been an activist for about forty years. Similarly, Carol Adams has been foundational to drawing connections between sexism and speciesism as both a well-known author and speaker. She has been an activist for about fifty years, decades longer than men who received the award in earlier years.

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Looking at their accomplishments (and not their sex) these two women belonged among those inducted into The Hall in the first few years—if not the first year.

The Hall demonstrates that the FARM committee, and likely also speakers who vote from a couple of options provided, show male bias, honoring more men and comparatively younger men before honoring long-term activists who are women. It also demonstrates that those who found organizations and/or engage in direct action are likely to be honored rather than those who engage in research and writing, lobbying, or education and outreach (ignoring not only women, but many men in the movement). By definition, empowered males (especially those with elite educations) are more likely to be in a position to found and run organizations (De Welde 2003, 77), and those who identify with male gender roles are more likely to engage in direct action—especially illegal actions or physical confrontation.

Tactics are gendered (Yulia 2010, 630). Direct action is gendered male, and in the U.S., currently carries greater social capital than other methods (Kemmerer, “Sexism and Male Privilege” 21-24). Forms of activism considered prestigious, carrying comparatively high social capital, tend to be dominated and controlled by males (Eschle 2005, 1751; Conway 2011, 225). Men who engage in actions considered manly, such as aggressive direct action (Kevin Kjonaas, Paul Watson, and Rod Coronado for example), or founding and leading an organization (Elliot Katz, Paul Watson, Steve Hindi, and Matt Ball for example), are well represented in The Hall. Activists in The Hall tend to be known for methods that are classically male, including sinking ships (Rod Coronado), ramming illegal whaling boats (Paul Watson), facing down hunters at the wrong end

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of a gun (Steve Hindi), and doing jail-time for activism (Paul Watson, Kevin Kjonaas, and Steve Hindi). Any preference for tactics and aggressive group founders will favor men, especially privileged, empowered white men, who are more likely to have the resources, skills, and self-confidence on which such actions tend to depend. Moreover, they are unlikely to worry about the safety concerns that occupy women in a rape culture¹⁰ such as that of the United States.

In contrast, note that Tom Regan, one of the most important thinkers of the movement, was not admitted into The Hall until 2016, just before passing, when his health was failing. Similarly, soft-spoken Michael Budkie, co-founder of Stop Animal Exploitation Now! (SAEN!), has been repeatedly passed over. Budkie and his partner of many years, Karen Budkie, have been effectively working against animal experimentation for at least thirty years. While Michael has been nominated several times, *Karen has been completely overlooked each time despite Michael's repeated request that she be included* (personal Facebook message). Michael states that Karen is (and has always been) just as central to SAEN! as he has been (Budkie). In 2014 Michael Budkie was crowded out by Jon Camp, some twenty years younger, who had just become known for disseminating many leaflets as an employee of Vegan Outreach.

¹⁰ A rape culture is “a complex of beliefs that encourages male sexual aggression and supports violence against women” (Buchwald, Fletcher, and Roth ii). In the United States, roughly every 2.5 minutes someone “is sexually assaulted” and one in six women have been raped or have experienced an attempted rape (Valenti 64.) In rape cultures, men tend to view women as “existing for male use and male gratification” (Fisher 36) and fear of rape and rape itself “are a means of social control” (Buchwald, Fletcher, and Roth 3). In rape cultures like that of the United States, women are “used to feeling unsafe” (Valenti 63).

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U.S. National AL/R Conference

This entire year has just been an awakening.
—“Silicon Valley” 2017, *McClatchy Newspapers D4*

As with the FARM hall of fame, the annual FARM Animal Rights National Conference (AR + the year of the conference = AR2017) reveals sexism and male privilege, though in this case through allotment of speaking positions, including specific types of talks (plenaries versus panels) and times and days. In this case sexism and male privilege even outweigh the effects of guaranteed speaking spots for Gold Sponsor organizations, four out of five of which had female leaders (which means a female CEO who, in most cases, occupied all or most of the speaking assignments allotted)—even this does not level the playing field.

Spokespersons tend to hold comparatively high levels of power and social capital (Conway 2011, 227; Kemmerer 2018b, 17, 20). Nonetheless, most conference attendees likely assume conference speakers have earned the right to claim the podium—that they have been chosen on the basis of merit. Unfortunately accomplishments are not the only criteria for gaining speaking engagements at the movement’s largest U.S. conference, a conference that attracted nearly 2000 people in 2017 (“AR2017 Report”).

Many speakers are also conference sponsors, which means they paid FARM, the organization that puts on the conference, thereby “sponsoring” the conference and also guaranteeing certain privileges. There are four conference sponsorship levels on the program. Only FARM, the organization that puts on the conference, is a Platinum Sponsor. Three sponsorships are available to other organizations: Gold (\$7,500), Silver (\$4,500),

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and Bronze (\$1500) (“You’re Invited” 2017, n.p.).¹¹ All sponsors are promised the opportunity to increase their “visibility within the movement,” but only Gold and Silver sponsors are guaranteed speaking engagements (“You’re Invited” 2017, n.p.). The following “package” was purchased by Gold Sponsors at AR2017 (“Sponsorship” 2017; “You’re Invited” 2017, n.p.).

Gold Sponsorship Package (\$7,500)

- Three prime exhibit tables (or equivalent space)
- Ten full registrations & banquet tickets with VIP seating
- Full-page full-color ad in the AR2017 program booklet
- **A welcoming slot at the opening plenary**
- **Placement of up to three qualified speakers in appropriate sessions**
- **A special lunch session** organized by you
- Prominent link throughout the AR2017 website
- Listing in all printed AR2017 promotional materials
- Display of your logo during plenary sessions and on a special welcome banner

¹¹ There is also a commercial sponsorship, but this does not seem relevant to the topic at hand.

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- Promotion on FARM’s social networking sites and newsletters:
 - Three customized images on AR2017 Facebook event page
 - Three customized images on FARM’s Facebook fan page (330,000+ followers)
 - Tag on FARM’s Instagram & Twitter (75,000+ followers). (“You’re Invited” 2017, n.p. bold added, except for the heading)

Speaking engagements are the biggest difference between sponsorships (Gold, Silver, and Bronze): Gold sponsor are guaranteed five speaking engagements, including a plenary position and a special lunch audience. Silver sponsors are guaranteed only two session—no welcoming plenary spot, no lunch audience. Bronze sponsors are offered no speaking engagements (“You’re Invited” 2017, n.p.). This indicates that money (in the form of Gold sponsorships) plays an important role in determining some of the people who will speak (and where, and when) at the annual U.S. AL/R conference. While this information is by no means concealed, nor is it anywhere clearly stated that there has been an exchange of money between certain organizations, and this affects the line-up of speakers. As one has been to scores of conferences, I am more familiar with venues where the conference pays speakers (for their time and expertise), rather than the other way around.

Knowing this, cash payments *could* outweigh sexism and male privilege in the speaker line-up at the FARM Animal Rights National Conference, *especially given that four out of five Gold Sponsor organizations are run by women*, and or-

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ganization leaders often speak for their organization. Furthermore, as documented above, organizations run by women tend to have more women employed, increasing the likelihood that Gold Sponsors who provide speakers might bring females into the speaker line-up.

Unfortunately, the speaker sex-ratio at AR2017¹² was nowhere close to the sex-ratio of the larger AL/R movement. Recall that there are roughly three women for every one man in the movement—at least 3/4 of the movement is composed of women. At AR2017,¹³ 92 women were accepted as speakers in comparison with 65 men (157 speakers), which means that 59% of accepted speakers were women (roughly 60/40 split). This ratio represents the larger movement even less with regard to numbers of talks given: Women filled 114 panel spots; men filled 97 panel spots (211 total panel spots). Women were assigned to about half of the available panel positions (54%), indicating that fewer (privileged) men were assigned to speak more often.

Moderator positions help shape the picture. When women are assigned as moderators, rather than as speakers, females will have more visibility *but less voice*—moderators offer no content of their own. Out of ten listed panel moderators for AR2017, eight were women; of 61 moderated panels (not counting plenary moderators), only five were moderated by men. Indeed, this significantly increased female panel visibility at AR2017 *without providing substantive speaking engagements*

¹² Information on AR2017 is taken from the conference program (accessed November of 2017): <http://arconference.org/images/files/AR2017Program.pdf>.

¹³ The program is available here: <http://arconference.org/images/files/AR2017Program.pdf>.

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for women. Rap sessions are the one exception—the one venue where moderators have a chance to say something, to lead discussion, to actively participate. Moderators at rap session introduce the topic, then guide/lead and respond to those present. Men were chosen 2/1 as moderators for rap sessions at AR2017.

Compared with crowded panels situated in small rooms, where every panel competes with four other panels that run simultaneously, plenary speaking events are the Chao Cheese of any conference—at plenaries there is only one scheduled speaker at any given time. Except for Saturday evening (which is banquet, auction, and awards night), every plenary has one panel of three or four speakers, and on both Thursday and Friday nights there is also a keynote speaker.

The first plenary, Thursday evening, was devoted largely to Gold Sponsors (as it is every year), each of whom had five minutes to introduce their organization.¹⁴ After that, a panel of three speakers took to the stage to talk about the history of the movement; each speaker was allotted ten minutes.¹⁵ Of these, only one panelist was female, a 3/1 ratio favoring men. The featured speaker, a man, took the rest of the evening—nearly an hour. *He was the only solo keynote at AR2017.* Figuring time allotted—a critical detail where speaking is concerned—one female speaker was allotted only ten minutes, while men col-

¹⁴ Organization leaders usually take this spot. Exceptions at AR2017 were MFA, where Cooney took the Thursday welcome spot instead of Runkle, and PETA, where another representative spoke instead of Newkirk. PETA/Newkirk cannot reasonably be compared with the newer Gold Sponsor organizations and their leaders/spokespersons.

¹⁵ I was the female speaker, and I lobby every year to be allowed to talk about philosophy and the AL/R movement, even though I am a professor of philosophy focusing on animal ethics.

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lectively were granted more than an hour at the first plenary. The moderator was also a man.

Friday morning—the best morning plenary with regard to attendance—produced a panel of four, again revealing a 75/25 percentage split favoring men, with a male moderator (Coman-Hidy from Silver Sponsor organization, The Humane League). The most desirable plenary is likely Friday evening (largest audience). Friday provided a panel of four, with only one woman, followed by two female keynotes, one of whom was Newkirk of Gold Sponsor organization, PETA.¹⁶ This gave a 50/50 split, but men were allotted only 20 minutes, while women had more than an hour. There were two moderators on Friday evening: A woman (from Gold Sponsor, Compassion Over Killing) and a man. On Friday night, sponsorships mattered.

The Saturday morning plenary suffers from low attendance because so many people stay up late on Friday night. Saturday morning's plenary had a female moderator and began with two women who have been in the movement for about thirty years. Their talks were titled "reflections"—which does not give credence to the work these women have done. (Titles such as "Thirty Years of Sexism" and "Twenty-seven Years for Chickens" would have been more appropriate, but the former topic does not seem to be permitted at the FARM conference.) Each of these powerhouse-women of the movement was allotted *just ten minutes*, and they were placed in the first slot, before most people had arrived. A panel of three followed, including one

¹⁶ If I were to guess, PETA did not pay FARM, but rather was paid by FARM and still gifted sponsorship because Newkirk is a very big-name speaker, and I am guessing she comes with a price. In all instances, especially with big-name speakers, it is impossible to know what arrangements were made beyond those visible through sponsorship contracts.

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man. The Saturday morning plenary was 80% female, and the audience was small, especially at the outset.

Saturday evening offers a banquet, an auction, and annual awards. On this evening two women moderated (one from Gold Sponsor Compassion Over Killing, the other a long-term friend of the organizer) (“Alex Hershafth”).¹⁷ After dinner, Alex Hershafth, the conference organizer, offered a “Conference Report” (note that he did not offer “Conference Reflections”), then a man and a woman ran the auction, and three men (one a Gold Sponsor from Mercy for Animals) and one woman (Gold Sponsor from Compassion over Killing) handed out awards. All told, excluding moderators, five men and two women participated, with the main talk being offered by a man. Including moderators, the sex ratio was 5/4, with a male giving the only scheduled talk.

There is no plenary on Sunday morning, but there is a final plenary on Sunday afternoon, starting at five pm, when many people have already left the conference. This panel had no moderator listed, and featured only Gold Sponsor organizations (Mercy for Animals, Compassion Over Killing, and A Well-fed World), for a ratio of 2/1 favoring women.

In summary, the first three (most desirable) panels featured eight men but only three women. The next two (less desirable) plenary panels featured two women and one man. The total for plenary panels is 10/7 *favoring men*. Men were disproportion-

¹⁷I know this from being in the movement for a very long time, but reference Victoria Moran’s April 17, 2013 Tweet, retweeted by Hershafth (“Alex Hershafth”): “Just spoke w/Alex Hershafth of @FARMUSA. Such a pleasure to hear the voice of someone I’ve admired like the dickens for over 30 years.”

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ately given these prime speaking spots—and they were given more plenary spots *despite* the mitigating effects of Gold Sponsorship. In addition to the five minutes that every Gold Sponsor organization enjoyed at the Thursday evening plenary (leaving PETA/Newkirk out of the equation), only two female Gold Sponsor organization leaders were assigned *one* plenary panel position each (Compassion Over killing and A Well-fed World). Additionally, three sponsor organizations' leaders moderated plenary events (43% of plenary moderators). Two female Gold Sponsor leaders were assigned one plenary moderator position each (again, COK and WellFed), and one organization leader (COK) handed out an award at the banquet. The single Gold Sponsor organization with male leadership from the above list of disproportionately powerful men was granted *two* plenary panel positions. The only male plenary moderator was from a *silver* sponsor organization (one of the disproportionately powerful men—Coman-Hidy from The Humane League).

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Here are the figures for Gold Sponsor organizations at AR2017, from best represented to least represented organization, including one Silver Sponsor organization at the bottom of the list.¹⁸

Sponsors F = female CEO	Total # of speakers	Plenary panels	Plenary other	Panel spots	Panel moderators	Panels moderated	Lunch audience
MFA (Gold)	11	3	1 award giving	11	1	5	X
PETA (Gold) F	10	2	keynote	6			
WellFed (Gold) F	1	2	1 banquet moderator	3			X
COK (Gold) F	3	2	1 Fri pm moderator 1 award giving	2			X shared
AE (Gold) F	6	1		4			X shared
THL (Silver)	7		1 Fri am moderator	9	1	6	

Comparison of what various sponsors enjoyed at AR2017, *including* five minute Thursday welcome.

This compiled information is striking. The only Gold Sponsor with male leadership (MFA) claimed *eleven* non-plenary

¹⁸ There will likely be a margin of error in figuring so many names, affiliations, and speaking slots, but these figures certainly provide strong insights into who speaks at the movement's largest U.S. conference, and why. I invite others to do their own figuring: <http://arconference.org/images/files/AR2017Program.pdf>

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panel positions—*more than the next three Gold Sponsor, female-run organizations combined* (Cooney and Runkle among them). Although The Humane League (male leadership, Co-man-Hidy) was only a Silver Sponsor, they outpaced all female-run Gold Sponsors by bringing to the conference:

- *nine* non-plenary panelists (providing as many panelists as the three female-run organizations listed directly above *combined*)
- *seven* speakers (outpacing all but one female-run, Gold Sponsor organization—PETA, and I note that PETA cannot be compared with younger organizations), and
- *six* moderators for non-plenary panels.

No other Silver sponsor was offered anything like this type of representation, nor even Gold Sponsor, female-run organization. It is especially striking how much visibility The Humane League was provided in comparison with Animal Equality—for \$3,000 less invested. Why was Animal Equality (with speakers from Mexico, Spain, Italy, and more) treated so badly in relation to other Gold Sponsor organizations?

Though The Humane Society of the United States and The Good Food Institute were not sponsors of any kind, HSUS provided *three* speakers, who were all given strong Saturday speaking spots. (Shapiro claimed a morning plenary panel position, and non-plenary panel position; Balk was a non-plenary panelist.) Friedrich of the Good Food Institute spoke on four non-plenary panels—equivalent or better than each female Gold Sponsor organization. This is a remarkable number of panels at a conference where it is extremely difficult to gain

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even one speaking spot, and where so many volunteer speakers (most of whom pay at least some conference fee) are turned away. Stop Animal Experimentation Now! apparently bought only a Thursday evening spot among Gold Sponsor organizations.

Finally, the organization that runs this AL/R conference, FARM, provided *eight* speakers who filled *fourteen* panel spots, *six* plenary spots (a few of which were business oriented) and perhaps most importantly, three “panels” with only one speaker assigned. This final privilege allowed one speaker—the conference organizer—fifty minutes, adding up to a total of 2.5 hours. Additionally, the conference organizer filled fully half of FARMs fourteen panel spots and half of FARMs plenary spots—he was listed to speak thirteen times, including airtime at three out of four evening plenaries.

Sponsors	Total # of speakers	Plenary panels	Plenary other	Panel spots	Panel moderators	Panels moderated	Lunch audience
FARM-speakers	7	6	1 moderator	11 plus 3 solo “panels”		1	

Do conference attendees assume that speakers are chosen based on merit? Would participants prefer that several organizations work together to make decisions regarding speakers for this huge AL/R event to reduce the effects of cronyism? Have the movement’s female leaders learned that the only way to get the microphone is to become a Gold Sponsor—which would explain the disproportionate representation of female-run organizations among Gold Sponsors?

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Unfortunately, privilege breeds wealth (De Welde 2003, 77). Only highly successful AL/R organizations can buy their way into speaking positions at the annual AL/R conference. While sponsorships shifted speaker sex-ratios at AR2017 in a more female-friendly direction, *the sex-ratio of speakers does not begin to approach that of the larger movement*. Nor are any paid-for slots likely to aid female-run organizations more than male-run organizations.

Looking back to AR2012, the sex-ratio was 46 women to 39 men—54% were women. AR2012 was separated into topic tracts, and the only category where females outnumbered male panelists was in the “campaigns” category—there were twice as many women panelists in that realm. Men overwhelmingly led discussion sessions, and dominated panels focused on tactics, which is not surprising given the gendered nature of tactics, and the sexist nature of our culture (Kemmerer, “Sexism and Male Privilege” 7, 21-24). Men at AR2012 held almost twice as many evening plenaries speaking spots (20/12)—women held *just 37%* of plenary speaking positions.

At least 15 years ago feminists in the AL/R movement voiced their concerns about sexism and male privilege at the FARM conference. AL/R activists were confronting conference organizers just after the turn of the century, because conference organizer/s favored male speakers, and refused to allow topics such as sexism in the movement. Unfortunately, the annual FARM Animal Rights National Conference reflects the problems of the larger movement, and this conference is frequently “derailed by accusations of sexual misconduct” (Blum 2013, 256). Women have learned to gather in private spaces, where they can discuss the ongoing problem of sexism and male privilege in the AL/R movement.

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Conclusion

Soon more women came forward. Allegations of sexual harassment multiplied, sweeping through... like a powerful storm that in a few short weeks had cost multiple high-level... CEOs their jobs, and shaken the [movement] to its core.
—“Silicon Valley” 2017, McClatchy Newspapers D4

Examining key organizations and leadership, the highest accolades, and speakers at the largest conference, provides hard evidence for assessing sexism and male privilege in the United States AL/R movement. This data reveals the following:

- A circle of disproportionately powerful men control key organizations.
- These disproportionately powerful men work together to keep donations in their organizations.
- Males in leadership positions tend to hire males in other leadership positions (despite the fact that the AL/R movement is largely powered by women).
- A male dominated committee in a male-controlled organization chooses annual candidates for possible induction into the AR Hall of Fame.
- Men are inducted into the The Hall more often and at a younger age (with fewer accomplishments) than women.
- Criteria for honoring those inducted into The Hall appear to be sex-biased toward males.

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- Favored speaking times and days at the largest United States AL/R conference in 2017 (and 2012, and likely every year) were disproportionately assigned to men.
- Woman-run Gold Sponsor organizations at AR2017 were not granted the same privileges as the one male-run Gold Sponsor organization—or necessarily even the same privileges as a Silver Sponsor male-run organization.

Unfortunately, this data points clearly to sexism and male privilege in the AL/R movement, at least in the United States. I don't imagine that all of the men-of-power in the movement have intentionally dominated resources, hired other men to hold leadership positions, or created a male network to consolidate their powers. *But it is now painfully clear that some men most certainly have purposefully done all of this—and much more.*

As I prepare to submit this paper, I bump into more ugly truths from the AL/R movement. Each journal where I might submit comes with some brand of sexism—an editor who is a perpetrator, a journal manager who overtly denounces feminists, a journal published by an organization where leadership has proven unsafe for women. And then there are the concerns of lawsuits from angry men in powerful positions—how much do I dare to say? This is a woman-powered movement, but it is not a woman-safe movement, and it is even less a feminist-safe movement.

Sexism and male privilege in the AL/R movement harm individuals, and they are self-defeating. If scholars who point to systems of oppression are correct, there can be no libera-

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tion without total liberation (Kemmerer 2018a, 15-20). In other words, if men in the movement are going to insist on protecting their privilege and behaving in a sexist manner, they are wasting their time chattering about animal liberation. At some point I cannot help but wonder—are these disproportionately powerful men sincere animal activists, or have they merely found a convenient path to power and prestige? Have these disproportionately powerful men simply discovered an additional expression for their privilege, one conveniently lined with women (who are mostly young)?

History has shown many times over that leaders do not willingly give up power and privilege. Across thirty years, men in the AL/R movement—all of whom benefit from sexism and male privilege—have shown no signs of change, of giving up their power and privilege, or even sharing with the many women who do the bulk of the work of the movement.

If disproportionately powerful men—and the above list is only partial—are interested in animal liberation, this article makes clear a few things that must change. Still, I don't expect to see any of these men willingly back down from their well-padded pedestals. But the truth is that pedestals are exposed and narrow, and when pushed, easily tumble.

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