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Chapter Six

PETA and the Rhetoric of Nude Protest

Brett Lunceford

Public nudity as a form of protest has a long but rare history reaching back at least as far as Lady Godiva's storied ride.[1] Yet the amount of nudity in protest actions seems to have increased in recent years, and for some groups nudity itself has become the key focus. For example, Bare Witness, a group that spells out words such as "peace" and "no war" on the ground with their naked bodies, states that they are "using the power and beauty of our bodies to send out a message of peace."[2] World Naked Bike Ride claims to be the "world's largest naked protest against oil dependency and car culture in the history of humanity."[3] One woman in Greenwich Village protested the Iraq War by stripping naked to display "no war" and "stop the war," written on her body in red paint. She stated, "This is my only way to talk about my beliefs. It's a metaphor. When I am appearing naked, I have disarmed myself from any uniform because naked people, they never can make war."[4] In some cultures, public nudity is used as a shaming mechanism. In Nigeria, women "exposed their naked bodies, and most particularly their vaginas, to impose on oil company male dealers 'social death' through ostracization, which was widely believed to lead to actual demise."[5] In other words, these acts of public nudity were more than symbolic acts; rather, such acts can be seen as actual threats. These acts of public nudity are used as a last resort; community development scholars Terisa Turner and Leigh Brownhill note that in Africa "women who go naked implicitly state that they will get their demands met or die in the process of trying."[6] Whether functioning metaphorically or mystically, as in the case of the Nigerian women, the use of public nudity is a particularly interesting use of body rhetoric.

Some social movement organizations are incorporating nudity into their protest actions, and one organization that has made extensive use of this strategy is People for the Ethical Treatment of Animals (PETA). PETA

has long been known for its provocative protest tactics, and some of these campaigns have resulted in backlashes. For example, its "Holocaust on Your Plate" campaign, in which PETA juxtaposed images from Nazi death camps with animal mistreatment or farming with captions such as "to animals, all people are Nazis," was denounced by the Jewish community and the Anti-Defamation League.[7] Their "I'd Rather go Naked than Wear Fur" campaign features nude—but strategically covered—models, musicians, and actresses. The latter campaign has caused controversy among feminists who question whether the pornographic undertones do more to harm women than to save animals.[8] Moreover, some scholars suggest that PETA's tactics may be counterproductive; legal scholar Maneesha Deckha argues that "attention to objectification is important not simply because it may harm women, but because it undermines the posthumanist project in general that PETA seeks to advance."[9] In spite of potential backlash, PETA has continued its relentless pursuit of media attention through titillating campaigns that are largely disseminated through the mass media, billboards, and advertisements.

PETA has incorporated nudity into its protest actions to the point where it seems to be an essential tactic in its repertoire of strategies. For example, it recently released a "State of the Union Undress" video that features a well-dressed young woman who engages in a striptease as she delivers her speech in front of an American flag. The speech is intercut with applause and footage from the congressional floor during an actual Presidential State of the Union address. In the speech she states, "We will use all legal means at our disposal in ways that will capture the public's imagination, spur debate about animal rights, and encourage people to set aside their busy schedules just for a moment to consider the staggering number of lives at stake. Often this will mean taking our clothes off."[10] As she continues to remove her clothing, she speaks about PETA's campaigns, such as those against KFC and furriers. She concludes her speech completely naked, stating, "In our tireless quest to save these animals from exploitation, we promise that we will work harder, we will shout louder, we will push further, and we will get nakeder than ever before."[11] The video then cuts to scenes of animal experimentation and factory farms.

It is clear that PETA has a strong affinity for using nudity in its protest activities and advertising. Although scholars have examined PETA's advertising campaigns, campaigns that involve activists performing staged public protest actions, such as PETA's "Running of the Nudes" during the running of the bulls in Pamplona, Spain or public displays of women chained or caged to protest the treatment of circus animals, have received little scholarly attention.[12] In these campaigns, PETA demonstrates its commitment to the promise to get "nakeder than ever before." This essay examines PETA's display

of chained, shackled women and the Running of the Nudes to explore how public nudity functions rhetorically as a protest strategy. Although PETA's actions serve to attract media attention by providing media-friendly image events, my analysis suggests that these actions transcend mere shock value and spectacle. As critical theorist Guy Debord declares, "The spectacle is the acme of ideology."[13] Nude protest functions as a means for members of PETA to perform an ideology that equates humans and animals by providing a way for the protesters to become more animalistic by shedding their clothing and performing the animal role in the protest, e.g., playing the part of the bulls in the running of the bulls and the part of the caged animals in the circus. Moreover, these protests help to build cohesion and strengthen their collective identity by prescribing for PETA members the lengths to which they should go in defense of animal rights.

CHAINED WOMEN

One tactic that PETA uses to protest the treatment of animals is the public display of chained or caged women. These protests are often associated with the arrival of a circus. A *St. Louis Post-Dispatch* story describes one such street protest: "A few hours before the Ringling Bros. and Barnum & Bailey Circus opened a five-day run in St. Louis on Wednesday, a near-naked 18-year-old woman sat on a crowded downtown street corner, chains wrapped around her ankles, to protest what activists allege is the mistreatment of circus elephants. People stopped to stare and snap photos with cell phone cameras. It was 35 degrees in the sun, but a goose-bumped Amy Jannette said she'd sit there, 'For as long as I can.'"[14] But the final paragraphs of the article cast doubt on the efficacy of such a display, illustrating how revealing flesh can overshadow the message:

> On Wednesday, however, it was unclear how effective Jannette's protest was. Three men in dress shirts and ties walked by the near-naked woman and a large sign reading "Circus elephants: Shackled, lonely, beaten." Over lunch, they talked about what they had just seen. They wondered why she was out there.
>
> "You guys read the sign?" one of the men said.
>
> The other two just shook their heads.[15]

What must this tactic accomplish in order to be successful? After all, the news media covered the woman's protest and disseminated the message, even if those who were physically present ignored the message. Moreover, even if the message is ignored, these protest actions still seem to fulfill what rhetorician Richard Gregg refers to as the "ego function of the rhetoric of protest,"

in which "the primary appeal . . . is to the protestors themselves, who feel the need for psychological refurbishing and affirmation."[16] The woman can claim a moral victory as she demonstrates solidarity with the chained animals. She draws the attention of gawking onlookers with cell phone cameras and can reasonably believe that she is raising awareness of the plight of circus elephants. However, she asks nothing of the viewer. She functions not as argument but as statement and spectacle. Rhetorician J. Michael Hogan argues, "There is more to democratic persuasion—or at least there ought to be more—than making the news. Genuinely democratic discourse must not only attract media attention; it must empower citizens to act."[17] By adopting a strategy of spectacle, which, as Debord observes, "manifests itself as an enormous positivity, out of reach and beyond dispute," the protestor provides the concerned onlooker with no way to interact.[18]

But spectacle may be enough in today's media-saturated environment, where sound bites stand in for argument. Jannette's protest action is ideally suited to meet the constraints of sound-bite news. This is likely by design; members of PETA have repeatedly demonstrated their media savvy. One example of this can be found in a media event in which PETA co-founder and president Ingrid Newkirk and another member of PETA lay in makeshift coffins in the middle of Times Square. The *New York Times* noted that, "Ms. Newkirk, 56, was technically not nude, in the nude sense of the word. She wore white underpants, white stockings so thin you could see goose bumps, and white, flower-shaped pasties over her nipples, though not for the square inch of warmth they provided. A veteran activist, she later explained that the media would not use a picture 'if it has a nipple.'"[19] PETA seemingly understands what it must do to both attract and keep media coverage. It realizes the limits of the news media and is careful to keep media events within prescribed boundaries. Rhetorical scholar Peter Simonson notes that what makes PETA and other animal rights organizations distinct from the long tradition of concern for animal welfare is the media context in which current organizations exist.[20] Simonson further explains that PETA has been adept at inserting itself into popular culture, including music, fashion, and their own print outlets aimed at the true believers. He writes, "Entertainment cultures and their media include plenty of distortions, but they are also the symbolic worlds that many of us happily inhabit, as advertisers know too well. In claiming these worlds for their moral crusade, PETA is reminding us that democratic politics needs its popular pleasures."[21] In short, PETA creates a sustained, all-encompassing media presence that allows it to disseminate its message; integrating its political message with popular culture allows for the widest possible diffusion through the largest array of outlets.

PETA seems to recognize that protest can function as entertainment and spectacle. If part of that spectacle involves a bit of flesh and eye candy, so be it. Journalist John Elvin writes, "Most of the naked protestors say there's nothing suggestive or erotic in their behavior; they are just doing what comes naturally, or they are playing the part of dead bodies that result from war. A glance at PETA's calendar website provides assurance that animal-rights protestors are not so purist in their justifications."[22] PETA plays with the erotic charge that can come from seeing vulnerable, mostly naked women immobilized by chains or cages. As such, it protests the exploitation of animals through the exploitation of women. Rhetorician Edwin Black argues that rhetorical discourses imply an ideal auditor, for whom the discourse is designed, and this implied auditor can often be linked to a particular ideology.[23] Who then, is the ideal viewer of this spectacle? Two possibilities that stand out are those who would be aroused by such a scene and those who would be repulsed.

There can be no doubt that arousal is part of the spectacle; the spectacle could just as easily have been performed by a clothed protester. The choice to be partially disrobed is a conscious decision that adds little to a message such as: "Circus elephants: Shackled, lonely, beaten."[24] Concerning the fetishistic element of the caged woman, one allusion that cannot be lost on such a pop-culture literate organization as PETA is the connection to the "women in prison" movie genre.[25] But if arousal is the end result, does this actually help disseminate its message? With arousal as enticement, the ideal viewer would be drawn to the flesh, but as her/his eye lingered on the scene s/he would also take in the message. The viewer would then make the connection between caged women and caged animals. Yet, two of the men who witnessed Jannette's protest completely missed the point of the act, likely more interested in the display of her flesh than the symbolic act that was taking place. Perhaps one reason for this is the unpredictable quality of erotic emotions. Those who are aroused by the sight of a caged, vulnerable woman may be aroused by the fantasies invoked, yet these fantasies may range from a desire to save the woman from captivity (the preferred reading from the standpoint of PETA) to the more troubling desire to contain and control women through shackling, caging, and publicly humiliating them. Thus it is difficult to predict the likely response of an ideal viewer who requires arousal as incentive to observe the protest.

We can gain some insight into how nudity and sexual appeals work as persuasion by examining studies in advertising.[26] Advertising and marketing researchers Jessica Severn, George Belch, and Michael Belch found that "the use of sexual appeals . . . seemed to detract from the processing and retention of message arguments."[27] They found that brand recall was not affected, but

recall of copy was hindered.[28] So it seems reasonable to concede that people may remember that the protester was involved with PETA, assuming that the logo is prominently displayed. However, in many of these actions, the woman holds a small paper with a slogan such as "Wild animals don't belong behind bars," with a small logo. Although in many cases the protesters are identified as PETA activists, in the case of Jannette's protest mentioned above, two of the three men that witnessed her protest did not even notice the sign and wondered what she was doing.[29] Therefore, even the brand can be overshadowed at times by the display of nudity. Moreover, marketing scholars Claire Sherman and Pascale Quester found that "adverts for products exhibiting greater congruence with nudity were more effective in creating positive attitudes and greater purchase intentions."[30] This may prove problematic for PETA, because animal rights and erotic displays are not generally connected in the mind of the general public in the same way as perfume and sexuality.

Viewer response to nudity may also depend on the viewer. Business scholars Jaideep Sengupta and Darren Dahl found that "consumers who have favorable affective reactions toward sexual stimuli—such as those who possess intrinsically positive attitudes toward sex per se—should evaluate sex-based ads positively in comparison to nonsexual ads, whereas the reverse should be observed for those with relatively unfavorable affective reactions toward sexual stimuli."[31] The gender of the viewer also plays a role in how such advertisements are viewed. Marketing scholar Michael LaTour found that "in terms of ad response, a nude model wins the popularity contest with men but not significantly more than women's feelings about a semi-nude model."[32] Perhaps part of this can be traced to how men and women view the display of female nudity. Sociologist Beth Eck states, "When women view the seductive pose of the female nude, they do not believe she is 'coming on to' them. They know she is there to arouse men."[33] Thus women may have a cynical view toward such displays and may see them as cheapening the message through sexual appeals to men. Eck's research suggests that, "for women, female nudes are objects to be studied, viewed, judged, and, above all, used as a comparison for the self."[34] As such, these displays are an invitation for women to consider their own appearances in comparison to the protester rather than an opportunity to reflect on the plight of animals. This may explain some of the consternation of women who decry the fact that the women that represent PETA are almost universally young, slim, and attractive.[35]

As evidenced by the advertising studies discussed above, PETA's nude campaigns are probably not effective in changing people's minds or even in getting audiences to engage in deliberations about PETA's messages. Yet PETA seems to buy into the conventional wisdom that "sex sells," despite the possibility that this strategy may backfire. Perhaps this type of ideal viewer

represents PETA's view of the media and what gets their attention, as well as the attention of the general public, which at times seems fixated on sex. Thus, this ideal viewer requires spectacle—preferably of a sexual nature—to even pay attention to PETA.

The other ideal viewer of this scene is one who would be repulsed by such a display. Such repulsion would likely come out of pity rather than disgust. The sight of a helpless, vulnerable woman spurs a desire to protect and release her. This action elicits a powerful rhetorical connection between the vulnerability and imprisoned existence of the animals and that of the protester. The display of women in cages is a pitiful sight that invites the viewer to transfer this pity to the animals that are likewise caged. The ideal viewer would note the similar state of the caged or shackled protester to that of the circus animal and make the mental connection that just as humans should not be caged or shackled for our amusement, animals likewise should be free. However, the extremity of the sight may impede the viewer from making this connection. The nakedness of the protester presents a level of exposure that moves the audience to discomfort rather than sympathy; the level of pity that the scene stimulates becomes too much to bear. As such, the desire to protect and release the woman is given only to the protester and this desire overwhelms the ability of the audience to feel the same emotions for the animals that the protesters represent. As philosopher Joseph Libertson writes, "Nudity is a manifestation which is 'too manifest,' an appearance of that which should not have appeared—an impudency which shocks, and a vulnerability which inspires a pity that becomes desire."[36] Again, images of nudity fail to persuade.

But there is another audience here that is not external. Perhaps these actions are directed at a group other than the general population. Gregg notes that one aspect of the ego-function of rhetoric "has to do with *constituting* self-hood through expression; that is, with establishing, defining, and affirming one's self-hood as one engages in a rhetorical act."[37] Thus, by participating in these actions, protesters provide a model of what it means to be a member of PETA. They display a level of commitment that transcends that required in other social movement organizations. Debord argues that "the individual who in the service of the spectacle is placed in stardom's spotlight is in fact the opposite of an individual. . . . In entering the spectacle as a model to be identified with, he renounces all autonomy in order himself to identify with the general law of obedience to the course of things."[38] PETA members are invited to experience the suffering and humiliating existence of animals in a personal way. By disrobing and placing themselves on display, they demonstrate that they are willing to go through discomfort, both physical and psychological, to draw attention to the plight of animals.

This can be seen in slogans such as "we'd rather go naked than wear fur." It is not enough to simply believe it; a true believer must also demonstrate it by physically disrobing and participating in displays of public nudity. Although these displays may do little to alter the public mind, directed inwardly they define the level of commitment required of protesters and serve as a call to action for PETA members in general.

THE RUNNING OF THE NUDES

The running of the bulls takes place during the festival of San Fermín in Pamplona, Spain. This event was introduced to the English-speaking world largely through Ernest Hemingway's book *The Sun Also Rises*.[39] The bulls are run through the town on the way to the arena in which the bullfights will take place. Spanish scholar Timothy Mitchell writes, "The 'running of the bulls' in Pamplona is only the most famous example of what takes place in hundreds of folk festivals throughout both Castilles, León, La Mancha, Extremadura, Aragon, and Valencia, where communities ostensibly pay homage to their patron saints by stampeding and harassing bovids before slaughtering them and partaking of their flesh."[40] The running of the bulls is now firmly entrenched in popular culture as a display of bravery or drunken stupidity, depending on how the imagery is employed.

PETA draws attention to the opposition to bullfighting by staging a mock running of the bulls using nude activists. Participants in the "Running of the Nudes" wear the traditional red scarves of those who run with the bulls, fake bull-horns, and perhaps underwear (many are not actually nude, but some of the women are topless). Many carry placards that read, "stop the bloody bullfight" or "bullfighting" with the circle and slash motif. Some have slogans written on their bodies. The website for the Running of the Nudes describes the event this way: "Just two days before the first bull run, hundreds of activists—most wearing little more than a red scarf and plastic horns—ran through the streets of Pamplona for the annual 'Running of the Nudes.' Compassionate and fun-loving people from around the world met in Pamplona for the run to show the city that it doesn't need to torture animals for tourism."[41] And tourism is a serious consideration in this protest. Journalist Hilliard Lackey notes that the protest has an economic impact that enables authorities to overlook the illegal aspect of the action: "Authorities, however, are putting forth some semblance of a prohibition against nudity. Nevertheless, tourist dollars keep getting in the way. Tourism is the lifeblood of this area of Spain. The Running of the Nudes uprising—while illegal and uncouth—brings in a few more millions."[42]

Although the website includes bullfighting facts and a store to buy merchandise, the focus is on the sexiness of the runners. For example, there is a "Sexiest runner spotlight" and a page describing some of the "sexy runners" that participate. In fact, much of the site seems focused on the sexiness of the participants. On the page describing some of the participants, PETA makes the following appeal for joining the action: "How about slipping into something more comfortable—like your birthday suit—and joining us for this festive, cheeky event which is full of babes, not bulls? Speaking of babes, check out the profiles and pics of these hot-to-trot hotties you could be partying with in Pamplona!"[43] The profiles feature photographs and a short biography, complete with "hobbies," "turn-ons," and "turn-offs," that resemble a centerfold profile. Unlike the chained-women protest actions, the Running of the Nudes is a mixed-gender event. However, PETA's focus is still heavily slanted toward the women; of the 10 profiles listed, seven are female and three are male, all are attractive, and all but one are 29 or younger with the oldest being a 33-year-old woman.

In the videos of the action, there is a carnivalesque atmosphere.[44] There are banners and balloons and plenty of flesh. The participants seem to simply mosey down the street, in contrast to the frantic pace of the running of the bulls. The prurient interest is also present; one reporter states, "One observer might have the best advice so far: 'Forget the bulls, chase the nudes.' Surely, it is better to run behind just one Coppertone señorita than to run in front of a hundred enraged bulls."[45] In news reports, PETA reinforces the idea that the Running of the Nudes is meant to be a fun event. A PETA member recruiting participants in Covington, England, states, "Most people don't realise the bulls are running to the death in the other one. We've been recruiting people all month and our race is just a fun event."[46]

Protesters make a direct connection between their own nudity and the welfare of animals. One protester states, "I'm always proud to bare a little skin if it means helping animals keep theirs," echoing a common slogan from PETA.[47] However, others recognize that the message comes at personal expense. An 18-year-old woman, who describes herself as "shy and retiring," states, "I am taking part in this to attract attention about the cruelty to the bulls. If I stood with a placard which said this was cruel nobody would take much notice. If I have to take my clothes off to get the message across, then so be it."[48] This raises a significant question concerning the action's effectiveness and the desired outcome. If passersby are unwilling to consider arguments concerning the cruelty of bullfights made by a clothed woman, are they any more apt to consider these arguments from a naked woman? What then is taking place and what kind of response is invited by such an act? The protest action seems geared to generate publicity and allows PETA access

to the media through which it can explain why it is protesting the running of the bulls and the institution of bullfighting in general. In short, the action provides a platform that PETA may otherwise have lacked from which to disseminate their message.

PETA has seized on other opportunities to gain publicity by inviting government officials to participate in the Running of the Nudes. A short article in the *Columbus Dispatch* notes, "A biography of [Donald] Rumsfeld reveals that he once participated in the bull run. 'I invite you to tip the scales back a bit by coming to Spain to participate in the Running of the Nudes—also called the Human Race—an alternative to the cruel spectacle that occurs three days later,' PETA President Ingrid Newkirk wrote. No word on whether Rumsfeld plans to participate."[49] This provides an opportunity to gain some publicity while also providing the media with a lighthearted story, complete with amusing mental imagery.

In contrast to the chained-women protests, the Running of the Nudes succeeds in making its statement, partly by getting the attention of the media in a comical manner. Once PETA has the attention of the media, it is able to make short statements concerning its objections to bullfighting. The Running of the Nudes is much less confrontational than other PETA actions. Moreover, the participation of both women and men, as well as the large number of participants in the protest, removes some of the charges of simply exploiting women for PETA's cause. In a mass protest such as the Running of the Nudes, it is more about a moving mass of flesh than the display of a few choice specimens of female nudity as is seen in the chained-women displays.

The Running of the Nudes seems to function as a much more effective protest than the case of the caged women, at least in getting the general public to pay attention to the message, because the nudity does not overshadow the message itself. Perhaps this stems from the mode of participation. Rather than standing in symbolically for the circus animals that would be abused, the protesters in the Running of the Nudes stand in as humans in the place of humans. Observers are able to see the protest for what it is—raising a serious concern while still poking fun at humanity. In the Running of the Nudes the spectacle enhances the message, where in the case of the caged women the spectacle becomes the message.

THE RHETORICAL FORCE OF NUDE PROTEST

How best to get one's message into the public arena is a persistent concern in social movement protest. Sociologists Pamela Oliver and Daniel Myers note that "the link between public events and the public sphere is the mass media," and observe that "usually, a major goal of a public event is to attract the attention of the mass media, for only through the mass media can people communicate beyond their immediate social setting."[50] One effective way to do this is to stage what rhetorician Kevin DeLuca calls "image events": "In today's televisual public sphere corporations and states (in the persons/bodies of politicians) stage spectacles (advertising and photo ops) certifying their status before the people/public *and* subaltern counterpublics participate through the performance of image events, employing the consequent publicity as a social medium through which to hold corporations and states accountable, help form public opinion, and constitute their own identities as subaltern counterpublics. Critique through spectacle, not critique versus spectacle."[51] In the case of PETA, it is clear that spectacle plays an important role in constituting identity and gaining access to the mass media. Of course, the more extreme the action, the more likely it is to wind up on the evening news or in the newspapers.

However, the question remains of whether the cost of nude protest actions outweigh the benefits of gaining the attention of the media and an otherwise apathetic public. This is especially problematic when considering the use of the female body in these actions. Although scholars such as Deckha and rhetorician Lesli Pace attempt to "identify moments of resistive agency" in some of PETA's campaigns such as the "I'd Rather Go Naked than Wear Fur" campaign, such arguments do not seem to hold up quite as well in the case of the caged women.[52] In her discussion of PETA's advertising, Deckha writes, "Through animalizing the bodies of consenting women (women as foxes), the ad attempts to make present the absent referent of those beings whose bodies are rendered completely abject and object in the constitution of human subjects."[53] In the case of the caged woman, the woman stands in for the absent animal, but fails to do so convincingly to the observer—she is still very much a naked, vulnerable, caged *woman*. This is problematic because, as Deckha observes, "Any campaign that relies on standard representations of women that associate them with and even reduce them to their bodies continues the very same logic of commodification and objectification that is used against animals."[54] She continues, "Reducing women to their bodies in a context of animality, whether by presenting them as sexualized 'bunnies' or 'foxes' or simply connecting their sexualized bodies to the idea of animals, solidifies the trajectory of thinghood. All the usual suspects of things, rather than persons, are still aligned: women, body, animals."[55]

Feminist critiques of PETA campaigns that employ the sexualized female body note these messages reinforce the objectification of women, a critique that holds true for the caged women. However, this is less evident in the case of the Running of the Nudes, which seems to take a more gender-neutral approach.

Perhaps one way that PETA can engage in erotically charged protest while avoiding the critique that they are merely objectifying women is to use both sexes in similar ways. Deckha notes that when PETA uses male nudity, it is comedic or nonsexualized, with the exception of black males and white males appearing with white women.[56] In the case of the Running of the Nudes, both sexes are used in ways that are simultaneously comedic and sexual, although as mentioned previously the emphasis remains tilted toward the sexual desirability of the female body.

On a practical level, PETA's strategy of nude protest seems to function well, if for different reasons, depending on the audience. The displays of chained women provide a powerful means of building a collective identity centered on the suffering and humiliation of animals. As a means of gaining access to the public consciousness, however, these actions seem too extreme and invite incredulous gawking rather than serious reflection on the issue at hand. Even if the mental image of the naked, chained woman remains (and it likely will), the reason for her bondage will likely be shortly forgotten, if the viewer ever even realized the cause. This raises questions concerning the efficacy of such extreme tactics. Research by persuasion and social influence scholars Joseph Scudder and Carol Bishop Mills examined the effects of shocking advocacy videos from PETA and found that it can raise the credibility of animal rights organizations and lower the credibility of animal processing plants.[57] Yet they are silent on whether this actually translated into a desire to pay more attention to where their meat comes from or whether they would stop eating meat. Changes in belief do not necessarily translate into changes in behavior; as social theorist Jacques Ellul observed, "there is not necessarily any continuity between conviction and action."[58]

The Running of the Nudes seems to function as a more effective means to gain access to the public consciousness. The core factor contributing to this is the playful tenor of the protest action. This event is less confrontational both physically (it takes place before the annual running of the bulls rather than during the event) and emotionally (there is no confusion of desire). The protesters state that this is meant to be a fun event and the images seem to reinforce this; the naked protesters seem to be having a good time. This stands in stark contrast to the tactics used in the displays of chained women next to a sign reading "Shackled, lonely, beaten." Thus, despite the even more dire occasion of bullfighting—the bulls *will* be killed; the circus at least has incentive to keep their animals alive—PETA is able to gain access to the media and make statements concerning the inhumanity of bullfighting without appearing self-righteous or strident.

In both of these actions PETA is able to disseminate a message mainly by getting the attention of the media. This is an indictment not only of the media

but also of the general population. If observers are unwilling to listen to arguments concerning matters of public concern unless they are presented in the guise of spectacle, this does not bode well for the current state of the public sphere. As one observant protester states, "If I stood with a placard which said this was cruel nobody would take much notice. If I have to take my clothes off to get the message across, then so be it."[59] In their quest to gain access to the public sphere, members of PETA may see little alternative to participating in image events designed to shock or titillate the public. As such, ethical judgments must be tempered with rhetorician Franklyn Haiman's assertion that "perhaps the best one can do is to avoid the blithe assumption that the channels of rational communication are open to any and all who wish to use them."[60] If the only means of gaining access to the public sphere is through spectacle, one can hardly be blamed for employing image events as a means of disseminating one's message.

Extreme protests grow out of extreme ideologies. Research by political scientists M. Kent Jennings and Ellen Andersen suggests that "the strength of ideological orientations . . . proved to be a strong corollary of attitudes about disruption. Even in a group of activists with decidedly liberal leanings, the intensity of those leanings pushed in the direction of support for confrontation."[61] PETA evidently sees its cause as a literal matter between life and death. As such, it is not enough to simply believe in its cause; PETA is an organization that asks its members not only to do something but also to be something. To fully subscribe to PETA's ideology goes beyond opposition to animal cruelty; one must also become a vegetarian, eschew products made with animal products, oppose vivisection and animal experimentation, and oppose the use of animals in entertainment. Members of PETA share a common vision of what one should eat, wear, and believe. In this sense, eating and dressing are rhetorical acts that help define PETA's members. With this in mind, Jennings and Andersen's research suggests that PETA members would support extreme tactics of confrontation and protest.[62] As such, it comes as little surprise that they would engage in strategies such as nude protest, which is both taboo and confrontational.

Perhaps one reason for the power of this strategy lies in its resistance to co-optation; the strategy of nude protest will not likely be used by any opposition groups against them. Because of the strong taboo against public nudity in American culture, nudity is unlikely to be used by any but the most extreme, dedicated organizations. As such, social movement organizations that occupy more extreme ideological positions will likely maintain a relative monopoly on the tactic; it is unlikely to be used by those seeking to maintain the status quo. PETA can use this strategy as a badge that illustrates members' bravery as well as their progressiveness. This is similar to rhetorician Haig Bosma-

jian's assessment of the use of obscenity by the New Left in the 1960s: "The shouting of the obscenities may be the youths' vehicle for demonstrating their sexual, social, and political liberation. . . . The liberation may in the end be illusory, but for the moment the youthful demonstrators see it as real."[63] Because public nudity transgresses societal norms, PETA is able to define it is a brave act, rather than mere exhibitionism or perversion as acts of public nudity are done in the name of a greater good, despite oppositional claims that such tactics are degrading.

Public nudity is unsettling both because it is unexpected and because of the strong taboo associated with it. In some ways it functions much like the diatribe. Rhetorician Theodore Windt explains that "the diatribe is to rhetoric what satire is to literature. Each attempts to reduce conventional beliefs to the ridiculous, thereby making those who support orthodoxy seem contemptible, hypocritical, or stupid. Each seeks laughter, but not for its own sake. Rather, laughter serves as a cleansing force to purge pre-conceptions about ideas, to redeem ignored causes, to deflate pomposity, to challenge conventional assumptions, to confront the human consequences of ideas and policies."[64] Poking fun at a revered custom, such as the running of the bulls, allows PETA to draw attention to its cause while associating it with another, more well-known event. Adding the element of nudity to the protest invites the viewer to laugh at the ridiculous scene, yet in doing so, the viewer may see the ridiculous nature of the running of the bulls as well. Raising the level of discomfort through nudity is a powerful way to make an argument, because there is no way to argue with nudity; the observer is psychologically knocked off balance and assumes a defensive stance from the beginning. To witness such a spectacle is to giggle the uncomfortable laugh of one who sees that which should not be seen. Those who have seen or heard of the Running of the Nudes will associate it with the running of the bulls; the two will be forever linked in the public mind. This strategy of linking events can function as the first step in redefining the protested event, which is an important function for any social movement.

Part of the power in PETA's use of public nudity lies in the symbolism it evokes. In her discussion of Amerindians' use of animal parts, archeologist Chantal Conneller writes, "people take on the animal habitus in order to enter into a particular set of relationships with the world."[65] A similar impulse seems to be at work in the actions of PETA protestors. By removing their clothing, activists are symbolically becoming more animal-like. They have stripped away the civilizing garments of civilization and come closer to their "natural" state. By stripping off their clothing and chaining and caging themselves, they experience the world as naked, chained, caged animals experience it. DeLuca, in his discussion of Earth First! activists, writes, "Perched

high in the Douglas fir, the protester sees the world from the tree's point of view and 'becomes' the tree. Rendered relatively immobile, his movements are limited to the swaying of the tree. The protester, like the tree, depends on nourishment to come to him. Finally, their fates are intertwined as the protester depends on the tree for support and shelter while the tree depends on the protester's presence to forestall the chainsaw."[66] In their discussion of becoming-animal, cultural theorists Gilles Deleuze and Félix Guattari write, "You do not become a barking molar dog, but by barking, if it is done with enough feeling, with enough necessity and composition, you emit a molecular dog."[67] PETA activists do not simply portray animals; they symbolically *become* animals.

Such symbolic acts of becoming animalistic constitute a powerful rhetorical strategy, albeit mostly self-directed. By complicating the performance of "humanity," PETA activists transgress expected modes of behavior and draw attention to themselves. This seems to be an end in itself in PETA's constant quest for media exposure. But this strategy also functions as a way to distinguish PETA activists from the rest of "humanity." Becoming animalistic enables them to demonstrate solidarity with their nonhuman allies and helps the protesters constitute themselves though the rhetorical act. Rhetorician Maurice Charland notes that, "ideology is material because subjects enact their ideology and reconstitute their material world in its image."[68] Through nude protest PETA enacts an ideology that considers animals to be equal to humans by becoming more animalistic, thus reinforcing beliefs iconically. In this mode of being, PETA is better able to speak on behalf of those who have no voice.[69]

PETA's acts of nude protest, then, fulfill two rhetorical functions. First, these help to galvanize the movement by providing its members opportunities to prove their devotion to the cause by stripping naked and displaying themselves in public. As members break this taboo they become symbolically more animalistic, which provides them with a different kind of viewpoint from which to protest on behalf of animal rights. It is easier to sympathize with animals when you have become more animalistic, if only for a short time. Second, the protests act as image events that draw media attention to their cause. PETA seems to come from the school of thought that any publicity is good publicity. Once PETA has the attention of the media, it is able to disseminate its message more effectively. Nudity is the loss leader that draws the media consumer into the marketplace of PETA's ideas.

Body rhetoric can be a potent force in social movement rhetoric. Seventeenth-century philosopher Baruch Spinoza stated, "No one knows in what way and by what means mind can move body," but I argue that it is equally difficult to know how the display of the body can move the mind.[70] Deleuze

observes, "A body affects other bodies, or is affected by other bodies."[71] The only thing for certain is that the display of the body will affect others physiologically and emotionally; the precise nature of that effect is, however, uncertain.[72] We respond to the body because it is often used in a symbolic manner. Cultural theorist and critic Kenneth Burke reminds us, for example, that humans "by nature respond to symbols," and that persuasion can also be directed toward the self, as well as others.[73] By mobilizing the bodies of PETA activists and encouraging them to become more animalistic through display of their naked bodies, PETA orchestrates an act to which viewers cannot help but respond while simultaneously directing persuasion toward the activists themselves as they perform—and reinforce their belief in—their ideology.

Although nude protest is becoming more common, it will likely remain the province of only the most liberal and extreme groups. However, it may be these groups that most need such protest strategies. PETA's message of veganism and animal rights is incompatible with the status quo of American and British society. In order to reach the public, it must find a way to package its message in a manner that causes the general public to listen. PETA has learned well the power of spectacle in our media-saturated society, recognizing that naked protesters will always draw both a curious crowd and an interested media that thrives on the reporting of image events. So long as we all keep looking at the spectacle, PETA will have great incentive to supply us with something to look at.

Chapter Seven

Biting Back at the Empire

The Anti–Greyhound Racing Movement's Decolonizing Rhetoric as a Countermand to the Dog-Racing Industry

Jason Edward Black

On November 8, 2008, the voters of Massachusetts passed Question 3—alternatively known as the Greyhound Protection Act—which effectively ended the statewide practice of greyhound racing and pari-mutuel gambling related to the racing industry. The Act's declaration of purpose indicated that "the citizens of Massachusetts find that commercial dog racing is cruel and inhumane" and that it should therefore be "prohibited in the commonwealth."[1] The campaign to end greyhound racing through the ballot initiative was led by a number of groups—from mainstream animal protectionists like the Humane Society of the United States, the Animal Rescue League of Boston, and the Massachusetts Society for the Prevention of Cruelty to Animals, to more activist-oriented animal rightists such as Massachusetts-based Grey2K USA and the national Greyhound Protection League. The effort was the culmination of some ten years of dissent and came in the wake of an earlier public rejection of a proposed ban in 2000. The Greyhound Protection Act failed in 2000 by less than 2 percent because of a SLAPP (or Strategic Lawsuit Against Public Participation) launched by Wonderland Dog Park. The dog "park" filed spurious lawsuits against Grey2K USA on the eve of the election to sway voters. The campaign was marred in the eleventh hour "by a host of legal issues, accusations of defamation, and finger pointing" and failed, not on these merits or legal ills, but because a wealthy corporation was able to "chill the free speech of the ordinary citizens" advocating for the ban.[2] The 2008 "victory for the greys" passed by a margin of 12 percent and represents a pivotal moment of reform, as it avenged the 2000 loss and, as Grey2K USA exalts, was the "first time in history that dog tracks have been closed down by citizen vote."[3]

Part of the successful rhetoric of the Greyhound Protection Act's proponents involved situating (albeit not overtly) the racing industry as a colonizing

61. See Kathryn Paxton George, *Animal, Vegetable, or Woman? A Feminist Critique of Ethical Vegetarianism* (Albany: State University of New York Press, 2000), 7–10.

62. Matt Flanzer, "Dream a Little Dream (& Save the World Too)," *VegNews*, July/August 2009, 38.

63. Colleen Patrick-Goudreau, "Rhetoric Revolution," *VegNews*, March/April 2009, 62.

64. Michael Pollan, *In Defense of Food: An Eater's Manifesto* (New York: Penguin, 2008), 34.

65. Patrick-Goudreau, "Rhetoric Revolution,"62.

66. Bowers et al., *The Rhetoric of Social Agitation and Control*, 24.

67. bell hooks, *Feminist Theory: From Margin to Center* (Boston: South End Press, 1994), 17.

68. Kenneth Burke, *A Rhetoric of Motives* (New York: Prentice Hall, 1950), 27.

69. Burke, *A Rhetoric of Motives*, 27.

70. Vetra Taylor and Nancy E. Whittier, "Collective Identity in Social Movement Communities: Lesbian Feminist Mobilization," in *Waves of Protest: Social Movements from the Sixties*, ed. Jo Freeman and Victoria Johnson (Lanham, MD: Rowan and Littlefield, 1999), 170.

71. Taylor and Whitter, "Collective Identity," 174–5.

72. Taylor and Whitter, "Collective Identity," 175.

73. Taylor and Whitter, "Collective Identity," 175.

74. hooks, *Feminist Theory*, 31.

CHAPTER SIX

1. Like all folklore, the story of Lady Godiva is a pastiche of fact and fiction with no authoritative account. According to legend, Lady Godiva rode through the streets of Coventry, England as a means of persuading her husband, Leofric, Earl of Mercia, to stop taxing his subjects oppressively. He issued the challenge that if she would ride through the streets of Coventry naked, he would relent, believing that her piousness would prevent her from performing such an act. After issuing a proclamation that everyone should remain in their houses with the shutters and doors closed, she embarked on her ride. Because of this act, Coventry was freed from paying the tax. According to some versions of the legend, one person, a tailor named Tom, looked out and was struck blind, which spawned the notion of "peeping Tom." See Dorothy Appleton, "Lady Godiva," *Dawn*, no. 36 (2000): 12; H. R. Ellis Davidson, "The Legend of Lady Godiva," *Folklore* 80, no. 2 (1969): 107–21; and E. Sidney Hartland, "Peeping Tom and Lady Godiva," *Folklore* 1, no. 2 (1890): 207–26.

2. Bare Witness, "Bare Witness Peace," 2003, http://www.barewitness.org (accessed March 23, 2007).

3. World Naked Bike Ride, "World Naked Bike Ride (WNBR)—I See Painted Naked People on Bicycles!" December 22, 2006, http://www.worldnakedbikeride.org (accessed March 23, 2007).

4. Anthony Ramirez, "War Protester in Village Takes Her Cue from Lady Godiva," *New York Times*, August 10, 2005.

5. Terisa E. Turner and Leigh S. Brownhill, "Why Women Are at War with Chevron: Nigerian Subsistence Struggles against the International Oil Industry," *Journal of Asian and African Studies* 39, no. 1–2 (2004): 67. Although not explicitly defined in the article, "male dealers" seem to be the local Nigerians that were complicit in oil company operations.

6. Turner and Brownhill, "Why Women Are at War," 71. See also Phillips Stevens Jr., "Women's Aggressive Use of Genital Power in Africa," *Transcultural Psychiatry* 43, no. 4 (2006): 592–99.

7. See Cathryn Bailey, "We Are What We Eat: Feminist Vegetarianism and the Reproduction of Racial Identity," *Hypatia* 22, no. 2 (2007): 41; Brian Delevie and Isshaela Ingham, "Unconscionable or Communicable: The Transference of Holocaust Photography in Cyber Space," *Afterimage* 31, no. 6 (2004): 7.

8. See Lesli Pace, "Image Events and PETA's Anti Fur Campaign," *Women & Language* 28, no. 2 (2005): 33–41.

9. Maneesha Deckha, "Disturbing Images: PETA and the Feminist Ethics of Animal Advocacy," *Ethics & the Environment* 13, no. 2 (2008): 55. See also Laura K. Hahn, "I'm Too Sexy for Your Movement: An Analysis of the Failure of the Animal Rights Movement to Promote Vegetarianism," in this volume; and Wendy Atkins-Sayre, "Protection from 'Animal Rights Lunatics': The Center for Consumer Freedom and Animal Rights Rhetoric," in this volume.

10. People for the Ethical Treatment of Animals, "PETA's State of the Union Undress," http://www.peta.org/feat/stateoftheunion/f-stateoftheunion.asp (accessed January 16, 2008).

11. People for the Ethical Treatment of Animals, "PETA's State of the Union Undress."

12. Jill Howard Church, "A Whopper of a Campaign," *The Animals' Agenda* 21, no. 3 (2001): 10; Merle Hoffman, "Do Feminists Need to Liberate Animals, Too? Carol Adams Sees Feminism as a Visionary Philosophy That Includes Stewardship of the Earth," *On The Issues* 4, no. 2 (1995): 18–24, 54–56; Mark Hudis, "PETA Picks a Pic of Naked Pop Star," *MediaWeek* 5, no. 13 (1995): 44; Andrew Linzey, "Good Causes Do Not Need Exaggeration," *The Animals' Agenda* 20, no. 1 (2000): 24–25; and Peter Simonson, "Social Noise and Segmented Rhythms: News, Entertainment, and Celebrity in the Crusade for Animal Rights," *Communication Review* 4, no. 3 (2001): 399–420.

13. Guy Debord, *The Society of the Spectacle*, trans. Donald Nicholson-Smith (New York: Zone Books, 1994), 151.

14. Todd C. Frankel, "Activists, Circus Take Wraps Off Feud over Animals' Treatment," *St. Louis Post Dispatch*, November 17, 2005.

15. Frankel, "Activists, Circus Take Wraps Off Feud over Animals' Treatment."

16. Richard B. Gregg, "The Ego-Function of the Rhetoric of Protest," *Philosophy & Rhetoric* 4, no. 2 (1971): 74.

17. J. Michael Hogan, *The Nuclear Freeze Campaign: Rhetoric and Foreign Policy in the Telepolitical Age* (East Lansing: Michigan State University Press, 1994), 187.

18. Debord, *The Society of the Spectacle*, 15.

19. Dan Barry, "In Times Sq. These Days, Naked Ladies Have Causes," *New York Times*, November 23, 2005.

20. Simonson, "Social Noise and Segmented Rhythms," 402.

21. Simonson, "Social Noise and Segmented Rhythms," 416.

22. John Elvin, "Tough Times for Buff Protests," *Insight on the News* 19, no. 5 (2003): 17.

23. Edwin Black, "The Second Persona," *Quarterly Journal of Speech* 56, no. 2 (1970): 112.

24. Frankel, "Activists, Circus Take Wraps Off Feud over Animals' Treatment."

25. For more on the "women in prison" genre of movies, see Suzanna Danuta Walters, "Caged Heat: The (R)Evolution of Women-in-Prison Films," in *Reel Knockouts: Violent Women in the Movies*, ed. Martha McCaughey and Neal King (Austin, TX: University of Texas Press, 2001): 106–23.

26. In this section, I will review several studies concerning sex and/or nudity in advertising, but for a meta-analysis of this literature, see Tom Reichert, "Sex in Advertising Research: A Review of Content, Effects, and Functions of Sexual Information in Consumer Advertising," *Annual Review of Sex Research* 13 (2002): 241–73.

27. Jessica Severn, George E. Belch, and Michael A. Belch, "The Effects of Sexual and Non-Sexual Advertising Appeals and Information Level on Cognitive Processing and Communication Effectiveness," *Journal of Advertising* 19, no. 1 (1990): 22.

28. Severn, Belch and Belch, "The Effects of Sexual and Non-Sexual Advertising," 21.

29. Frankel, "Activists, Circus Take Wraps Off Feud over Animals' Treatment."

30. Claire Sherman and Pascale Quester, "The Influence of Product/Nudity Congruence on Advertising Effectiveness," *Journal of Promotion Management* 11, no. 2/3 (2005): 80.

31. Jaideep Sengupta and Darren W. Dahl, "Gender-Related Reactions to Gratuitous Sex Appeals in Advertising," *Journal of Consumer Psychology* 18, no. 1 (2008): 73. For the most part Americans in particular have a love/hate relationship with nudity and sexuality. In a study that used in advertisements a woman in a swimsuit, a topless model, and a nude model, Sid Dudley found that "the advertisement featuring the nude model was viewed as the most offensive, immoral, unethical, and exploitative." Such an attitude would affect how the observer views the display. Sid C. Dudley, "Consumer Attitudes toward Nudity in Advertising," *Journal of Marketing Theory and Practice* 7, no. 4 (1999): 92.

32. Michael S. LaTour, "Female Nudity in Print Advertising: An Analysis of Gender Differences in Arousal and Ad Response," *Psychology & Marketing* 7, no. 1 (1990): 78.

33. Beth A. Eck, "Men Are Much Harder: Gendered Viewing of Nude Images," *Gender & Society* 17, no. 5 (2003): 706. For more on the impact of gender on the viewing of sexual advertising, see Richard Elliott and others, "Overt Sexuality in Advertising: A Discourse Analysis of Gender Responses," *Journal of Consumer Policy* 18, no. 2/3 (1995): 187–217; Marilyn Y. Jones, Andrea J. S. Stanaland, and Betsy D. Gelb, "Beefcake and Cheesecake: Insights for Advertisers," *Journal of Advertising* 27, no. 2 (1998): 33–51.

34. Eck, "Men Are Much Harder," 698.

35. See Nikki Craft, "PETA: Where Only Women Are Treated Like Meat," 2001, http://www.nostatusquo.com/ACLU/PETA/peta.html (accessed January 18, 2008); kitchenMage, "Dear PETA, Women Are Animals Too . . . ," October 22, 2007, http://blog.kitchenmage.com/2007/10/dear-peta-women.html (accessed January 18, 2008); Pace, "Image Events and PETA's Anti Fur Campaign."

36. Joseph Libertson, *Proximity, Levinas, Blanchot, Bataille, and Communication* (The Hague: Martinus Nijhoff, 1982), 223.

37. Gregg, "The Ego-Function of the Rhetoric of Protest," 74.

38. Debord, *The Society of the Spectacle*, 39.

39. See Donnovan Andrews, "Bullish Steps," *Black Enterprise* 32, no. 10 (2002): 114.

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41. People for the Ethical Treatment of Animals, "Running of the Nudes: Out with the Old—in with the Nude!" http://www.runningofthenudes.com (accessed January 18, 2008).

42. Hilliard Lackey, "Running of the Bulls and Running of the Nudes, Intriguing Options," *Mississippi Link*, July 6–12, 2006.

43. People for the Ethical Treatment of Animals, "Running of the Nudes: Out with the Old—in with the Nude! // Next Year's Race // Look Who's Running," http://www.runningofthenudes.com/look_whos_running.asp (accessed January 18, 2008).

44. I use the term "carnival" much as literary critic Mikhail Bakhtin does: "Because of their obvious sensuous character and their strong element of play, carnival images closely resemble certain artistic forms, namely the spectacle." Mikhail M. Bakhtin, *Rabelais and His World*, trans. Hélène Iswolsky (Bloomington: Indiana University Press, 1984), 7.

45. Lackey, "Running of the Bulls and Running of the Nudes, Intriguing Options."

46. "All the Nudes That's Fit to Print," *Coventry Evening Telegraph*, June 23, 2006.

47. Bill Radford, "Bullfight Protester Goes Bare; Woman with Local Ties Works for PETA," *The Gazette* (Colorado Springs), June 25, 2005.

48. "Emma to Bare All for Naked Truth over Cruelty to Bulls," *Journal* (Newcastle-upon-Tyne, UK), June 19, 2006.

49. Andrew Sterling, "Director Offers Version of the Hole Truth," *Columbus Dispatch*, May 20, 2005.

50. Pamela E. Oliver and Daniel J. Myers, "How Events Enter the Public Sphere: Conflict, Location, and Sponsorship in Local Newspaper Coverage of Public Events," *American Journal of Sociology* 105, no. 1 (1999): 38, 39.

51. Kevin Michael DeLuca, *Image Politics: The New Rhetoric of Environmental Activism* (Mahwah, NJ: Lawrence Erlbaum Associates, 1999), 21–22.

52. Deckha, "Disturbing Images," 60. Pace also notes that "PETA's ads work simultaneously with and against the system." Pace, "Image Events and PETA's Anti Fur Campaign," 38.

53. Deckha, "Disturbing Images," 59.
54. Deckha, "Disturbing Images," 55.
55. Deckha, "Disturbing Images," 55.
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57. Joseph N. Scudder and Carol Bishop Mills, "The Credibility of Shock Advocacy: Animal Rights Attack Messages," *Public Relations Review* 35, no. 2 (2009): 162–64.
58. Jacques Ellul, *Propaganda: The Formation of Men's Attitudes*, trans. Konrad Kellen and Jean Lerner (New York: Knopf, 1965), 28.
59. "Emma to Bare All for Naked Truth over Cruelty to Bulls."
60. Franklyn S. Haiman, "The Rhetoric of the Streets: Some Legal and Ethical Considerations," *Quarterly Journal of Speech* 53, no. 2 (1967): 114.
61. M. Kent Jennings and Ellen Ann Andersen, "Support for Confrontational Tactics among AIDS Activists: A Study of Intra-Movement Divisions," *American Journal of Political Science* 40, no. 2 (1996): 331.
62. Jennings and Anderson, "Support for Confrontational Tactics," 331.
63. Haig A. Bosmajian, "Obscenity and Protest," *Today's Speech* 18 (1970): 11.
64. Theodore Otto Windt Jr., "The Diatribe: Last Resort for Protest," *Quarterly Journal of Speech* 58, no. 1 (1972): 8.
65. Chantal Conneller, "Becoming Deer: Corporeal Transformations at Star Carr," *Archaeological Dialogues* 11, no. 1 (2004): 43.
66. Kevin Michael DeLuca, "Unruly Arguments: The Body Rhetoric of Earth First!, ACT UP, and Queer Nation," *Argumentation & Advocacy* 36, no. 1 (1999): 13.
67. Gilles Deleuze and Félix Guattari, *A Thousand Plateaus: Capitalism and Schizophrenia*, trans. Brian Massumi (Minneapolis: University of Minnesota Press, 1987), 275.
68. Maurice Charland, "Constitutive Rhetoric: The Case of the *Peuple Quebecois*," *Quarterly Journal of Speech* 73, no. 2 (1987): 143.
69. For more on the idea of PETA serving as a voice in defense of (and in place of) animals, see Jason Edward Black, "Extending the Rights of Personhood, Voice, and Life to Sensate Others: A Homology of Right to Life and Animal Rights Rhetoric," *Communication Quarterly* 51, no. 3 (2003): 323, 327.
70. Baruch Spinoza, *The Ethics; Treatise on the Emendation of the Intellect; Selected Letters*, ed. Seymour Feldman (2nd ed.; Indianapolis, IN: Hackett, 1992), 105.
71. Gilles Deleuze, "Ethology: Spinoza and Us," in *The Body: A Reader*, ed. Mariam Fraser and Monica Greco (New York: Routledge, 2005), 58.
72. Although I could find no studies that measured physiological response to the unexpected viewing of a live, nude body, in Western culture it is difficult to separate nudity from the erotic. Thus, I make this claim based on studies conducted by cognitive scientists and psychologists that suggest that erotic stimuli have a variety of possible effects on the viewer. Some of these researchers also note that intervening variables can affect how one responds to erotic stimuli. See Giulia Buodo, Michela Sarlo, and Daniela Palomba, "Attentional Resources Measured by Reaction Times Highlight Differences within Pleasant and Unpleasant, High Arousing Stimuli," *Motivation & Emotion* 26, no. 2 (2002): 123–38; C. Jiao et al., "Alterations in Grip Strength During Male Sexual Arousal," *International Journal of Impotence Research* 18, no. 2 (2006): 206–09; S. W. Kim et al., "Brain Activation by Visual Erotic Stimuli in Healthy Middle Aged Males," *International Journal of Impotence Research* 18, no. 5 (2006): 452–57; Cindy M. Meston and Boris B. Gorzalka, "Differential Effects of Sympathetic Activation on Sexual Arousal in Sexually Dysfunctional and Functional Women," *Journal of Abnormal Psychology* 105, no. 4 (1996): 582–91; Ion G. Motofel and David L. Rowland, "The Physiological Basis of Human Sexual Arousal: Neuroendocrine Sexual Asymmetry," *International Journal of Andrology* 28, no. 2 (2005): 78–87; Harald T. Schupp and others, "Brain Processes in Emotional Perception: Motivated Attention," *Cognition & Emotion* 18, no. 5 (2004): 593–611; and Mark Spiering, Walter Everaerd, and Erick Janssen, "Priming the Sexual System: Implicit Versus Explicit Activation," *Journal of Sex Research* 40, no. 2 (2003): 134–45.
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CHAPTER SEVEN

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