GENDER, CLASS, AND SOCIAL MOVEMENT OUTCOMES
Identity and Effectiveness in Two Animal Rights Campaigns

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Animal rights organizations in the United States are predominantly female and middle class. What are the implications of the composition of these groups for animal rights activists' abilities to achieve their goals? In this article, the author examines the role of class and gender in the outcomes of an anti-hunting campaign and an anti-circus campaign waged by one animal rights organization in the Seattle area. The article shows that hunters make classed and gendered attributions about the activists, whereas circus patrons do not view activists in terms of these statuses and end up taking their demands more seriously. It is suggested that an "identity interaction" between the activists' class and gender identity and that of their targets helps to explain these different reactions. The analysis also highlights the role of emotion in social movements, especially the ways in which targets perceive and react to activists' emotional displays.

Described as a "moral crusade" (Jasper and Nelkin 1992), the U.S. animal rights movement calls for an end to cruelty toward animals and for compassion to all living things. With ideological links to the antivivisection movement led by members of the upper class in Victorian England (Ryder 1989), as well as by the contemporary American feminist and environmental movements (Adams 1990; Donovan 1990), it is perhaps not surprising that the animal rights movement is overwhelmingly female and middle class (Jasper and Nelkin 1992; Sperling 1988). Reporting on two 1985 surveys conducted by *The Animals' Agenda*, one of the largest publications devoted to animal rights issues, Greanville and Moss write that "at all levels of participation, from rank-and-file to staff, informational and leadership positions, women constitute the single most important driving force behind the animal rights

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phenomenon" (1985, 10). In addition, a 1991 readers' survey conducted by the magazine found that 82 percent of the respondents had some college education, while 39 percent reported incomes higher than $50,000 (Orlans 1993, 54). Another survey of 402 participants at the 1990 National March for Animals in Washington DC found similar results: Eighty percent of the respondents were women (Plous 1991). Nationally representative data also show that women are more likely to support animal rights issues than are men (Peek, Bell, and Dunham 1996).

In this article, I examine the implications of class and gender for this movement's effectiveness. I ask: What role, if any, do gender and class play in animal rights activists' ability to achieve their goals? In doing so, I look at class and gender as more than descriptors of the activists themselves but as broader systems that shape the ways in which activists are evaluated by members of the public and specifically by those targeted by the protest activity.

In what follows, I compare the outcomes of two campaigns waged by one animal rights protest organization. I argue that gender and class shape the ways in which campaign targets react to protest activity and that these responses can help explain the campaigns' differential outcomes. Specifically, I suggest that "identity interactions" between the gender and class identities of the activists and their targets shape these responses by making those identities more or less relevant to the protest situation. In addition, the targets' use of class and gender markers in response to protest activity highlights the role of emotion in social movement dynamics, especially as it relates to movement outcomes.

GENDER, INTERACTION, AND SOCIAL MOVEMENT OUTCOMES

My argument draws on the theoretical perspective on gender known as "doing gender" (West and Fenstermaker 1992, 1995; West and Zimmerman 1987). This ethnomethodological approach sees gender not as an attribute of individuals but as "an emergent feature of social situations [and] an outcome of and a rationale for various social arrangements" (West and Zimmerman 1987, 126). According to this view, prevailing ideas about gender and gender differences structure human interaction by holding individuals accountable to these ideas. It is important to note that interacting individuals need not purposely act in gendered ways to be seen as such; as West and Zimmerman write, "a person engaged *in virtually any activity* may be held accountable for performance of that activity as a woman or a man, and their incumbency in one or the other sex category can be used to legitimate or discredit their other activities" (1987, 136; emphasis added). Gender, then, is "the activity of managing situated conduct in light of normative conceptions of attitudes and activities appropriate for one's sex category" (West and Zimmerman 1987, 127). By "doing gender," or acting in ways that are accountable to ideas about gender, individuals both re-create and legitimize the overarching gender system: Gender and gender differences are enacted, seen as "natural," and reinforced.

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By drawing attention to the ways in which the gender system affects human interaction, this perspective helps to clarify the dynamics of social movement activity and particularly social movement outcomes. Many discussions of social movements focus on protest activity itself: what protesters do and the processes that lead them to take action. Yet, it is equally important to understand the ways in which others make sense of and react to the activity. Taking a more explicitly interactive approach to social movements is especially useful for studies of movement outcomes because those outcomes—changes in behavior, policy, cultural norms or attitudes—are all a product of movement outsiders witnessing and reacting to the protest activity. More broadly, if protesters and their targets see each other as "doing gender" and use ideas about gender to evaluate and make sense of each others' actions, whether those activities are purposely geared toward gendered issues, then gender (along with other systems with which it is intertwined, such as race and class) is fundamental to understanding social movement outcomes. The following analysis illustrates this process more clearly.

Using two animal rights campaigns as my cases, I show how gender and gender identity structure the interactions between animal rights activists and their targets, thereby shaping the ways in which those targets respond to the protest activity. In accordance with current scholarship that has emphasized the need for understanding the ways in which gender is shaped by other systems (Hill Collins 1990; hooks 1984; West and Fenstermaker 1995), my analysis also focuses on the role of class and class identity in these two campaigns. As I explain later, given that my respondents did not make explicit statements about race in their assessments of the protest activity, my analysis of the effects of race are much more limited; nonetheless, I offer some general suggestions about the role of race in the outcomes of these campaigns as well.

DATA AND METHODS

My analysis is based on a comparison of two protest campaigns waged by members of the Progressive Animal Welfare Society (PAWS), a nonviolent animal rights organization in the Seattle area, between 1990 and 1994. I compare PAWS' protest campaigns against hunting and against circuses that use performing animals. My data include organizational records, such as newsletters and transcriptions of public hearings, observations at PAWS meetings and protest events, a brief survey of those in attendance at two Seattle-area circus performances, and in-depth interviews with both PAWS activists and the targets of their activities.

For a period of nearly 3 years I attended monthly PAWS meetings, taking notes on my observations and typing up field notes within 24 hours. I also attended a number of protest events, taking notes in the same fashion. The activists were aware of my activities and research interests. In all instances, I attempted to write down as many of my observations as possible, including verbatim quotes from the conversations that I participated in as well as those that I witnessed. This process generated

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95 single-spaced pages of notes. For those events at which I could not be present, I used information from newspaper accounts and other organizational records as well as interviews. I also used these data sources to supplement my observations of those events that I did attend. Finally, I conducted semistructured interviews with 14 PAWS activists, 11 women and 3 men.[1] These interviews averaged two hours in length and were tape-recorded and later transcribed.

A great deal of my analysis rests on additional data from hunters and circus patrons, members of the two groups that were targeted by the campaign activity. I conducted a nonrandom survey ($N = 57$) of those in attendance at two different Seattle-area circus performances at which PAWS held demonstrations, one in July 1994 and one in September 1994. Seven of the circus patrons surveyed (6 women and 1 man) also agreed to be interviewed. In addition, I used transcriptions from public hearings on hunting regulations, at which both PAWS activists and hunters were present. I was also able to conduct in-depth interviews with 13 hunters (11 men and 2 women) who were present at those hearings. These interviews averaged one hour in length and were tape-recorded and later transcribed.

During my field work, I was open about my research interests: I told all of the people with whom I had contact, activist and target alike, that I was doing research on the animal rights movement and its outcomes. I believe that this honesty about my research interests helped me to develop a rapport with my respondents. Many of those individuals that I approached with surveys or otherwise contacted for interviews were initially hesitant to participate in the research without first "knowing which side I was on." This was especially true of the hunters. Yet, by presenting myself as a researcher with an academic interest in the animal rights conflict, I hoped to be able to create a situation in which respondents could talk freely about the issues at hand without being made to feel defensive about their views. Judging from the reactions of my respondents, I was fairly successful in this regard; in fact, many indicated to me that they appreciated being able to "tell their side of the story." I use pseudonyms when referring to respondents in the text.

ASSESSING PROTEST EFFECTIVENESS

Assessing social movement outcomes is necessarily difficult due to the broad range of effects that movements can have. Following Burstein, Einwohner, and Hollander (1995), my discussion of the success of PAWS' circus and hunting campaigns focuses on the extent to which activists achieved their stated goals with respect to particular targets. Yet, dichotomous assessments of "success" or "failure" cannot capture the complexities and realities of ongoing political struggles. Instead, movement outcomes are best thought of as a process, consisting of partial advances and incremental steps toward some overarching objectives. Building on the work of Gamson (1990), Schumaker (1975), and Burstein, Einwohner, and Hollander (1995), I operationalize goal attainment in terms of the following stages: (1) *contact*, some sort of direct communication between the protesters and their target,

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such as a letter or phone call; (2) the target's *acknowledgment* of the protesters as valid and relevant actors with regard to the issue; (3) *consultancy*, wherein protesters are invited to give input on an issue centrally related to the protesters' concerns; (4) *concessional claim*, in which some promise is made to act in accordance with the protesters' demands; (5) *concessional change*, in which the target group or institution changes its behavior in the direction desired by the protesters; (6) *desired change*, meaning that the target does exactly what the protesters want; and (7) *desired outcome*, which involves the realization of the movement's overall goal (i.e., the targets' actions bring about the social change that activists seek).[2]

Although they do not compose an interval-level measure, these stages can still be used to gauge movement achievement. Protest efforts that achieve a higher stage, at any given point in time, can be said to be more effective than those at a lower stage. One important advantage of these stages is that they are not issue specific and can therefore be used to compare different movements or different campaigns within a movement. I use these stages to assess the relative effectiveness of PAWS' circus and hunting campaigns between 1990 and 1994.

THE CIRCUS CAMPAIGN

PAWS activists' grievances against circuses focus on the treatment of the performing animals. Activists claim that animals are made to do unnatural acts, such as walking on hind legs and jumping through rings of fire; furthermore, they frequently charge circuses with cruel training practices, such as the use of beatings, whips, and electric prods. Ultimately, activists hope to convince circuses to discontinue their animal acts. The main focus of the campaign, however, was to educate circus patrons about circus animal cruelty with the aim of reducing attendance at performances. The targets of the campaign, therefore, were those who attended circuses, as opposed to circus owners or employees.

One main tactic of the campaign was to hold demonstrations outside of circus performances. In most cases, activists stood outside of the arenas, distributing flyers and carrying signs. Some protesters also called out to patrons, saying things like, "Your ticket promotes cruelty" and "Circus animals are sold into slavery, so if you support slavery, go on in." In addition to these public demonstrations, the circus campaign was also waged on paper. Activists wrote letters to the editors of local newspapers describing circus cruelty and encouraging readers not to attend circuses featuring performing animals. In February 1993, PAWS also sent letters to 201 Seattle-area elementary schools that had received free tickets to an upcoming circus. These letters described PAWS' position against circuses and asked the schools' staff not to distribute the tickets to students. Two of the schools that received letters did decide to withhold tickets; in addition, one entire school district decided to distribute the tickets but included "a note alerting parents to the animal-welfare controversy" (Ho 1993, B1).

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Since activists had face-to-face encounters with circus patrons at demonstrations and their letters were read by at least some of the local schools to which they were sent, the circus campaign achieved the contact stage. The campaign also achieved acknowledgment at a 1994 circus performance with the reading of an announcement over the public address system before the performance began. As Danielle, a patron in attendance that day, described it,

> They made that announcement during the—prior to the performance. That there are activists out there, and they may try to stand up and stop things, or who knows what. They said . . . "There may be somebody in here who's an activist wanting to say something or do something." . . . [Then] they said, "So, if they want to say something, if they want to do something, we need to have you do it now, before anybody gets on stage. We will give you time to say what you want to say." . . . It was well thought out and it sounded like it was accounting for everybody's fun and safety. And it sounded pretty respectful to the activists.

Because the activists staged their protest outside of the arena in which the performance was held, they did not hear the announcement and therefore did not take the stage when invited to do so. Although this opportunity was not acted on, the existence of the announcement indicates that those who made the statement felt that the activists' presence was meaningful and their arguments were worthy of attention.

Some patrons at that performance acknowledged the activists as well. As Penny, one of those in attendance that day, said,

> I guess when I think protester I think "extremist." So I was being pretty cautious. And I did pay attention to how the animals looked because of that. You know, the bears came out, and I thought, well, they look pretty healthy. . . . And so I probably paid a little more attention to that kind of stuff than I would have otherwise.

Here, Penny admitted to having some fear of the protesters; nonetheless, she noted their allegations of animal abuse and even investigated those claims on her own. Again, this reaction represents an acknowledgment of the activists' claims.

There is evidence that the circus campaign reached even higher levels of protest achievement. Attendance figures from circuses that performed at the Seattle Center, one of the area's two main venues for circus performances, between 1987 and 1994 suggest that circus attendance declined throughout the period (see Figure 1). The fact that the drop in attendance occurred after the initiation of the campaign in 1990 suggests that the protest activity had some effect; however, by itself, this figure cannot indicate causality. The outcome of the school campaign provides a more direct assessment of the activists' impact. As noted above, a few of the schools that received protest letters did honor PAWS' request by promising not to distribute circus tickets to students. These outcomes signify the desired change stage of achievement.

The desired change stage is also indicated by those circus patrons who were convinced by the activists' claims. Lisa, for instance, said that the protests had a great effect on her.

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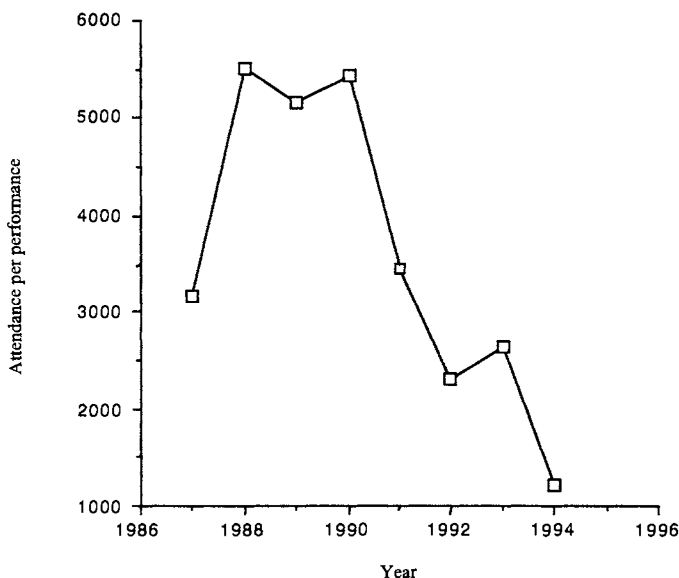

Figure 1: Attendance per Circus Performance for Month of July, 1987-1994
SOURCE: Seattle Center Booking Department.

> I know it has [had an effect] for me and my family, very definitely. Since this cruel stuff is still going on, it has forced the decision that we are not going again unless the wild animals are not part of the circus.

Activists also reported that they received a few positive letters and phone calls after every circus protest. One such letter read, "I almost went to the Shrine Circus this weekend. Fate intervened. I'm glad your pamphlet on 'The Greatest Creatures on Earth' was the deciding factor in boycotting circus animal circuses. . . . Thank you for your continued education." Thus, there is some evidence that PAWS activists had their desired effect on at least some of the circus patrons that they targeted.

THE HUNTING CAMPAIGN

Although animal rights activists' opposition to circuses may need some explanation, none is needed with regard to hunting. PAWS activists typically view hunting as unnecessary and needlessly cruel, a "blood sport" that has no place in the modern world; ultimately, they hope to eliminate it. In pursuit of this goal, the campaign tar-

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geted both hunters and state officials. For instance, activists directed letters and phone calls to state officials asking that hunting be banned in Washington state. In addition, activists engaged in noninstitutionalized activities such as "hunt sabs" or direct action intended to disrupt hunting. In these instances, activists approached hunters in the field and "talk[ed] calmly with the hunters about their rights to be on public land and express[ed] their feelings about hunting, the rights of animals, and vegetarianism."[3]

In spring 1994, the hunting campaign took a more limited approach to furthering the group's goals by working against several types of hunting in particular: bear baiting (the practice of using bait, such as pastries and fresh meat, to attract bear), hound hunting (the use of hounds to track game), and pursuit seasons (allowing hound hunters, during the off-season, to pursue game without killing the animals). As part of their efforts against these forms of hunting, PAWS members sent hundreds of letters and postcards to state wildlife officials. Activists also spoke at public hearings held by the Washington State Wildlife Commission in March 1994. Their efforts were largely unsuccessful, however; one month later, the Wildlife Commission voted to leave hound hunting and pursuit seasons unchanged and to restrict bear baiting only by outlawing the use of pastries and baked goods as bait (Judd 1994).

Despite the fact that these efforts did not achieve their intended effect, the hunting campaign did make some advances. Through letter-writing and public protest, PAWS activists achieved contact with their targets. There is evidence that this campaign reached the acknowledgment stage as well. During an interview, for instance, one hunter said of PAWS, "I realize what they're after." Many others acknowledged the activists' views on hunting further by referring to them as "anti-hunters" or simply "antis." Activists were also able to reach the consultancy stage. After the bear baiting hearings, the chairman of the Fish and Wildlife Commission invited 12 citizens, including two PAWS leaders, to participate in a task force on bear baiting and hound hunting. Its purpose, according to the letter sent to prospective members, was "to discuss, from different perspectives, the issues surrounding bear baiting and hound hunting." The task force met twice, in July and August 1994. One hunter who participated felt that little was accomplished.

> It was more confrontational than it was anything else. It wasn't much good out of it. [It was set up by] the Game Commission, John McGlenn [commission chair]. They didn't force us, they invited everybody. It wasn't much meaningful dialogue come out of it. It was just an informal kind of a round table discussion type thing that rambled.

Whether or not these meetings produced anything, the fact that two PAWS members were invited to participate is evidence of a validation of the organization's views.

Although both the hunting and circus campaigns achieved the lower levels of achievement, only the circus campaign reached the higher stages. Results from in-depth interviews with Seattle-area hunters who had contact with PAWS activists

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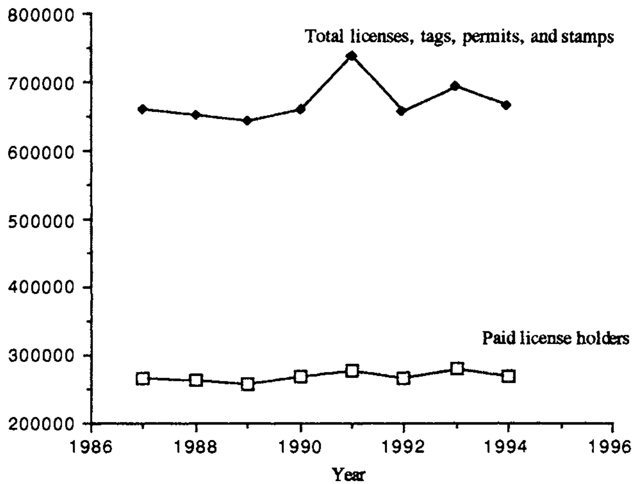

Figure 2: Hunting Licenses Sold in Washington State, Fiscal Years 1987-1994
SOURCE: U.S. Fish and Wildlife Service.

provide additional evidence that the hunting campaign was the less effective of the two. None of the hunters interviewed said that they changed their minds about hunting as a result of PAWS' protest activity. On the contrary, most hunters found the thought of giving up hunting because of animal rights activity to be ludicrous. As Ken said,

> I don't know of anybody who quit hunting because of anything the animal rights people said. You know, it's probably more likely that an environmentalist would convince a timber worker that he was evil, okay? (laughter)

Furthermore, state-level hunting data show no decline in the sport between 1990 and 1994 (see Figure 2), further evidence of the activists' relative lack of effectiveness.

EVALUATIONS AND RESPONSES

Paying explicit attention to the role of gender and class in structuring interactions between PAWS activists and their targets can help to explain the relative effectiveness of these two campaigns. In this section, I show how targets evaluate activists in terms of class and gender and use those ideas as a basis for evaluating activist demands.

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Like the broader movement of which it is a part, PAWS is predominantly female: Based on my observations at meetings and various protest events, women in the group outnumbered men by three or four to one. Education and class background are harder to observe, of course; however, the majority of the activists that I interviewed or had extensive contact with either held college degrees or were pursuing them. In addition, the hunters that I interviewed were particularly aware of the activists' group memberships. Describing the activists that he saw at the bear baiting hearings in March 1994, Lee, a hunter, said, "I would say that more than half were women from the greater King County area, mass living, apartment dwelling, and I felt that these people didn't have any other life other than their job." Other hunters described the activists in a similar fashion.

> Ken: I think I've seen so many of them that I don't have a typical image, but if I had to profile them, it would probably be a female, probably well educated, probably age 20 to 40, in that period of life.
>
> George: A skinny, pasty-white-faced female. . . . Generally speaking, the people that I come into contact with are vegetarians, so they are skinnier by nature. And they're obviously spending a lot of time in an office somewhere because they don't have any color to them.
>
> Mack: Most of them have secondary educations, most of them live and work in an urban environment. Or work in an urban environment and live in a rural. Meaning that most of them have sit-down jobs. I would say your average animal activist is not a laborer. . . . And the other thing that you see a lot of in animal activist groups is you see older women. I just seem to see a lot of older women.

These men profiled the activists accurately, describing them as educated, non-working-class women. In contrast, circus patrons did not do so, *despite the fact that they were referring to the same group of individuals*. Greg, for instance, described a typical activist as "a younger person, maybe somebody that's a vegetarian." Danielle's image was of a slightly older person, "somebody who lived through the 60s," whereas Marsha remembered the activists as, "vegan, vegetarian, Birkenstock-wearing, Grateful Dead tie-dyed t-shirt, comfortable shoes, short hair. Aging hippies." Unlike those offered by hunters, class and gender markers are notably absent from these descriptions.

By themselves, these responses suggest little more than an interesting variation in the two target groups' sense of the activists' most memorable characteristics. Yet, what is more important, and more relevant to the outcomes of each campaign, is the set of meanings that lie behind these descriptions and the evaluations that stem from them. As I demonstrate below, ideas about gender and class shape the ways in which the targets evaluate the protesters' claims. At issue here is the activists' right to voice opinions on hunting and the use of animals in the circus, as well as the appropriateness of their efforts to curtail those practices.

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Hunters

Although many hunters were quick to point out that they respected the activists' right to hold opinions about hunting, they saw those opinions as misguided. This evaluation is based in part on a distinction between emotion and science. Hunting is seen as a scientific, logical practice. By framing it as "wildlife management," hunters justify their sport as an activity that protects wild species (Anderson 1990; Reiger 1990). The logic of wildlife management argues that if a species in a certain geographical area is threatened (e.g., by disease or loss of habitat), its survival is ensured through the hunt of its predators. All of the hunters that I interviewed and many of those who gave testimony at the public hearings made some reference to this logic. In addition, most noted that state agencies use scientifically derived information when setting hunting regulations. As Todd said, "It boils down to management, the way I see it. And how do you manage animals? You manage animals on sound scientific and biological information." Of course, wildlife management is not the sole or even primary reason why people hunt; hunting is also a form of recreation, one that gives individuals a chance to enjoy the outdoors as well as the company of friends and family. Above and beyond the pleasure that they derive from their sport, however, hunters feel that hunting is a necessary practice and one that is justified and regulated by logical arguments and scientific methods.

Whereas arguments for hunting are based on science and logic, hunters feel that PAWS activists' anti-hunting stance is based purely on emotion, the antithesis of science. Without scientific backing for their claims, activists' arguments are therefore easy to dismiss. Mack recalled an attempt to engage an activist in debate.

> And he said, "There's one thing I want to say." And I said, "Okay, what's that?" And he said, "It's [hunting] still wrong," and walked away. And that was all he could come back with. I think the thing that I'm getting at by telling you this is that the animal rights [stance] is emotional. There's no scientific basis for it.

Similar sentiments were expressed by other hunters who gave testimony at the commission hearings on bear baiting and hound hunting in March 1994. One hunter, in an apparent plea to the commission to rule in favor of hunters, requested that "the commission not make its decision based on emotion but rather on good biological data."[4] Another hunter testified that he supported the Wildlife Commission as "a governing body that can make rational decisions, biologically and ethically, in the best interest of each game animal and not make decisions based on emotion."[5] Thus, as expressed through interviews and public testimony, the meanings that these hunters associated with PAWS activists are clear: the activists are emotional, sentimental individuals, "bleeding hearts" who do not or cannot understand a logical, scientific practice like hunting.

Interestingly, hunters do not reject emotion out of hand. In fact, many admitted to having emotional reactions to hunting. As Ken explained, "It's probably easier to go to the grocery store [than hunt for food]. But as someone told me once, walking

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up to the hamburger all wrapped up in the meat section doesn't make your heart beat any faster."

The "acceptable" form of emotion is the heart-pounding excitement that one experiences when approaching a wild animal, which is very different from a sentimental attachment to animals. It is the latter type of emotion—the weaker form—that is used to discredit and dismiss the activists' arguments. As Jim put it, "It's just this emotional thing that doesn't have any—you know, where's the substance to that? Where's the reality? Again, as somebody who's spent their life with a natural science background, I go, 'boy, that's stupid.' "

This perceived tendency toward emotion is not the only characteristic that detracts from PAWS activists' arguments against hunting. Hunters also point to the activists' lack of experience with hunting and with wildlife in general as further evidence of the inappropriateness of their claims. As Lee explained, "I don't feel that somebody that doesn't know what's going on should have a chance—should even tell me what's wrong and right." Chuck made a similar point.

> [What is] particularly frustrating is hearing the accusations of anti-hunters who have never hunted in their lives and really don't know what it's about. They haven't spent months in preparation, they haven't put themselves in the same situation, and basically they don't have the same desire to.

The evaluations that follow from these assessments are equally clear: Because activists have no actual hunting experience, they have no basis for making claims about the practice. Again, activists' arguments are invalid and should be dismissed.

Taking hunters' assessments as a whole—both their descriptions of the activists and their evaluations of the activists' arguments—we see the role that class and gender play in this conflict. First, hunters draw a distinction between themselves ("scientific practitioners") and their adversaries ("sentimental fluffheads") when assessing the activists' arguments against hunting. Acting emotionally is a stereotypical feminine behavior, whereas rationality and objectivity are more commonly associated with masculinity (Bleier 1984; Broverman et al. 1972; Gilligan 1982; Fox Keller 1982). Thus, not only do hunters describe the activists as women but they also associate with the activists a set of stereotypical feminine characteristics. In addition, the activists' class background, as evidenced by their income and education as well as livelihood (i.e., "office workers"), is also relevant to the hunters' assessment of their claims. Since people who work in offices, who spend no time outdoors, could not possibly know anything about nature and wild animals, such individuals should have no say in the issue of hunting at all. Together, class and gender markers are used as a basis for dismissing the protest activity as inappropriate and the claims behind it as inaccurate.

It is not enough to say that hunters dismiss PAWS protest activity simply because the activists are non-working-class women. Rather, it is the set of meanings that hunters associate with the activists—overly emotional women attempting to voice an opinion on an issue that they do not understand—that delegitimizes the activists'

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arguments. In other words, prevailing ideas about class and gender shape the interactions between hunters and activists. PAWS activists are perceived as feminine, inexperienced people with no right to speak out against hunting. Without a legitimate voice on the issue of hunting, activists cannot convince hunters to take action in accordance with their demands.

PAWS activists actually try to monitor their public statements so as to minimize what could be construed as emotional arguments and outbursts. The group's position statement reads in part, "Our approach to animal issues stresses the importance of presenting information in a credible, well researched, and reasoned manner at all times."[6] The instructions given to the activists by one of the group leaders regarding conduct at the March 1994 commission hearings provide another example of activists' purposeful attempts to appear logical and rational rather than emotional. My field notes from the last meeting before those hearings read:

> [The leader] said that it is important for people to state their opinions, but that they should do it very quickly and clearly. She said that people should just stand up, say something like "I oppose bear baiting, hound hunting, and the pursuit season" and then just sit down. She also said that people could say more, but that they should think out what they want to say beforehand "so that you don't ramble on."

Given hunters' views about the activists, these attempts at impression management have not yet had their intended effect. Hegemonic ideas about class and gender therefore appear to be quite powerful in this situation, despite activists' attempts to counteract them.

Circus Patrons

Whereas the hunters put forth a coherent picture of the activists, one that makes class and gender central to an assessment of their claims, circus patrons' descriptions did not evoke class and gender as obviously. To support this point, I draw on the in-depth interviews with circus patrons as well as results from the circus patron survey. In the survey, an open-ended item asked respondents for their images of animal rights activists: "When you think of 'animal rights activists,' what images come to mind?" One portion (23 percent) of the survey respondents described the activists as "kooks" and "wackos" who put the needs of animals before those of humans. Some of the behavior that I observed at circus demonstrations supported these views; some patrons, for instance, reacted negatively to PAWS' presence by going out of their way to avoid leafletters or by admonishing the activists with statements such as, "Get a life!" and "Give me a break!" Another group of survey respondents was more charitable in their views, yet still dismissed the activists' stance. Fourteen percent of the respondents reported that they thought the activists had good intentions but lacked a clear understanding of what is best for animals. For instance, one wrote, "I know animal activists believe they are doing the right things but when it comes to circus animals I'd rather have them not lose their lives to poachers or their pelts to hunters."

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Although these two sets of responses are distinct, both lead to a negative assessment of the activists' position; in this sense, these reactions are similar to the hunters. Another group of circus patrons, however, saw the activists in a much more positive light. Fourteen percent of the survey respondents reported that they thought of animal rights activists as compassionate people fighting for the safe and humane treatment of animals. For example, one of these respondents described the activists as "socially conscious, liberal politics, ecologically minded, people who are sensitive and compassionate to all living things." Another offered, "a group trying to protect animals against unnecessary violence," while a third wrote, "caring people trying to change things for the good of animals." For this set of patrons, their sense of who the activists are—compassionate, caring individuals—does not encourage the dismissal of their demands as silly or illegitimate. On the contrary, such individuals, and their claims, are seen as worthy of consideration.

The mixed set of images reported by circus patrons is not easily classifiable. What is notable, however, is how these images differ from the hunters' views. Certainly those patrons who see activists as crazed fanatics or misinformed zealots are not likely to heed the activists' stance. On the other hand, images of activists as compassionate, caring types are more conducive to the activists' argument having an effect on at least some of the circus patrons. It is worth noting that even Penny, the patron who saw the activists as "extremists," took some action (i.e., paying attention to the animals' appearance) in accordance with the activists' claims. As compared with hunters, then, circus patrons are more willing to acknowledge the validity of the activists' position and more likely to change their behavior accordingly (or at least to consider doing so).

Unlike the hunters, the circus patrons do not seem to employ ideas about class as readily in the evaluations of the PAWS activists. Yet, while class markers were noticeably absent from their evaluations, we do see a gendered assessment in the reactions of those circus patrons who see the activists as caring, compassionate, nurturing people, traits that are also stereotypically associated with women and femininity (Broverman et al. 1972). One patron, Jenny, was quite conscious of this association, describing an animal rights activist as

> a sensitive, gentle type of person who's very concerned for the well-being of people as well as animals. Vegetarian. . . . Very gentle, sweet types. I don't know if women outnumber men in animal rights, but pretty much that.

Note that Jenny was not aware of the movement's gender composition (or at least not sure of it), yet she still evoked femininity in her description of the activists. Although reactions like this were relatively uncommon (one out of seven interviewees, and 14 percent of the survey respondents), they are worth noting. What is important is not simply that patrons like Jenny saw the activists as having stereotypically feminine characteristics, but that the evaluation of these characteristics determines the targets' responses to the protest activity. Those who are "gentle" and "sweet" and care about animals are likely to have good reasons for oppos-

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ing the use of animals in circus performances. For a portion of those circus patrons who were targeted by PAWS' circus demonstrations, then, ideas about gender, when applied to the activists, render the activists and their cause legitimate and worthy of consideration.

IDENTITY INTERACTIONS

Interactions between PAWS activists and their targets are shaped by ideas about class and gender, but in different ways. In the hunting campaign, activists are evaluated in terms of class and gender, which become a source of illegitimacy and a basis for hunters' dismissal of the activists' claims. Circus patrons do not use class and gender to the same extent when evaluating the activists' claims; however, when it does arise, patrons actually use gendered assessments as a justification for, rather than a dispute of, their anti-circus stance. But again, we are left with a puzzle: How can the same group of activists be evaluated in such different ways? These different sets of responses are illuminated further when we consider the class and gender identities of the targets themselves and how those identities shape the protest situation. Here, I argue that although ideas about class and gender are always available for assessing human action (West and Zimmerman 1987), they are more likely to be seen as relevant to the situation when they are central to the self-identity and collective identity of those making the assessments. In other words, interaction between the identities that people have constructed for themselves, and for each other, shapes the ways in which targets respond to protest activity.

Class and gender are relevant aspects of the hunting conflict. Hunting is commonly associated with masculinity: Most hunters are male (Ahlstrand 1991), and hunting excursions are often seen as opportunities for "male bonding." Class is relevant to hunting and hunters' identity as well. As Jim explained,

> Unfortunately, I think the perception is that sophisticated people don't hunt. . . . The anti-hunters I guess are thought of as, you know, your university professor types, and the hunters are thought of as the rednecks and the backwoods kind of people.

Of course, Jim's quote refers to a general perception of hunters and not necessarily one that is shared by hunters themselves. Yet, it is clear that hunters see themselves as very different from their educated, non-working-class activist opponents. Todd and Ann, a married couple that hunts together, made note of this at the end of their interview. My field notes read:

> [Todd] was quick to point out that hunters "come from all walks of life," and that there are doctors and lawyers and other professionals who hunt. But, as he and Ann both noted, "We'd rather be in the woods."

True to Todd's assessment, the hunters that I interviewed held a wide variety of occupations and included several loggers, an engineer, a lawyer, a firefighter, a retired

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judge, a financial analyst, a laborer, and a retired policeman. They are, therefore, not easily classified by class. Aggregate data on hunters also show that it is not only working-class individuals who hunt: A 1991 survey of 591 American hunters found that while 31 percent of the sample worked in service positions or as laborers, 34 percent were in professional/managerial positions; correspondingly, 40 percent of the sample had a high school education or less, but 21 percent had some college and 19 percent were college graduates (Ahlstrand 1991). Although hunters are not primarily working-class in terms of education and occupation, class is central to their self- and collective-identity. This classed identity as people who spend a great deal of time in the outdoors, people who would "rather be in the woods," colors their reactions to the challenges led by non-working-class, "office worker" activists. In this sense, class identity is relevant to the conflict.

In contrast, class and gender are less obvious aspects of going to the circus and are less central to circus patrons' identity. Circus attendance is more commonly thought of as a family event than a practice that is associated with a certain class or with being a man or a woman: When asked about the typical person who goes to a circus, all of the circus patrons that I interviewed mentioned family (e.g., "a family person" or "a person or a couple there with their kids"). Although the circus itself may have gendered elements (e.g., tiger trainers are usually men), circus attendance, the circus campaign's targeted behavior, is not gendered in any obvious way. It also does not appear to have a class element: Circus survey respondents reported a wide range of family incomes, and no one income bracket was clearly in the majority.

Since class and gender are relevant to hunters' sense of themselves in the context of hunting activity, the activists' class and gender are used as a basis for assessing the validity and legitimacy of the activists' claims. Yet, when the same protest group targets the less obviously classed and gendered practice of circus attendance, the group dynamics are different. In this context, targets are less likely to see class and gender as a meaningful aspect of the protest situation, either for themselves or for the activists, and therefore do not use ideas about class and gender as a basis for assessing the protest activity. This does not mean that a circus patron would fail to note whether an activist was a man or a woman. Rather, classed and gendered assessments are not used to evaluate the protesters' claims.

These different sets of responses cannot be explained by saying simply that class and gender are more salient in the hunting campaign; even when gender was evoked in circus patrons' assessments of the activists, those evaluations were qualitatively different than those offered by hunters. The different sets of evaluations illustrate a fundamental point: Statuses such as class and gender only have meaning within certain cultural, historical, and situational contexts (Kessler and McKenna 1978; Robnett 1997; West and Zimmerman 1987). In the context of hunting, which is seen as a logical, scientific endeavor, emotional arguments are easily disputed; on the other hand, in the context of the circus, which is thought of as a children-oriented, family event, individuals who are seen as caring and compassionate are evaluated more positively. This point is illustrated in the hunters' class-based evaluations of the

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activists as well. Status characteristics carry with them an assumption of competence (Ridgeway 1991); in general, high-status individuals are thought to be more competent than low-status individuals. In the case of the hunting campaign, however, the group identified as "upper" class (in terms of income, education, and occupation) was assumed to be incompetent with regard to hunting and the outdoors.

The targets' identities, and the extent to which class and gender are part of those identities, are important because they create the context in which these evaluations arise. Thus, the specific responses made by the targets depend on an "identity interaction" between the identity of the activists and that of their targets. The particular combination of these identities shapes the way in which targets respond to protest activity by determining those aspects of the activists' identity on which the targets focus. As West and Fenstermaker note, "while sex category, race category, and class category are potentially omnirelevant to social life, individuals inhabit many different identities, and these may be stressed or muted, depending on the situation" (1995, 30). The interplay between these identities therefore creates the lens through which protest activity is seen and evaluated.

CONCLUSION

In the study of social movement outcomes, it is necessary to understand how and why targets respond to protest activity. I have argued here that paying explicit attention to systems of race, class, and gender and how they shape interactions between activists and their targets can help to explain these responses. A comparison of two protest campaigns waged by a predominantly white, female, and middle-class group of animal rights activists illustrates this point. In the course of both campaigns, targets attributed a certain identity to the activists, one that made note of their abilities, experiences, and traits. The targets then assessed these identities, noting their implications for the legitimacy of the activists' claims, and responded accordingly, either by dismissing the activity or acknowledging its worth. Such assessments of validity are crucial to movement achievement; for instance, a movement organization that is recognized by the public as a legitimate contender in a particular conflict may receive third party support that can facilitate the achievement of its goals (Jenkins and Perrow 1977), whereas activists not accorded with respect may not receive the broader support needed to succeed. Race, class, and gender affect the ways in which protesters are received, both by their targets and by other parties, and therefore affect protest outcomes. In this same vein, protesters' memberships in other social categories (e.g., those based on age, sexual orientation, etc.) can affect protest outcomes as well.

My analysis has not mentioned race and its specific role in the targets' evaluation of PAWS activists, despite the fact that PAWS, as well as the broader animal rights movement, is predominantly white (Plous 1991). I have devoted less attention to the activists' race because with the exception of one hunter's reference to "pasty white-faced" activists, explicit statements about race did not arise in any of the

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interviews or other data. The notable absence of race as a meaningful basis on which to either discredit or accept movement demands might reflect the fact that all three groups in these conflicts (hunters, circus patrons, and activists) were predominantly white, and the ways in which whiteness and white privilege shape social interaction are often invisible to white people (Frankenberg 1993; McIntosh 1995). Yet, although race may not have been salient to the participants in these conflicts, class and gender are intertwined with race (Hill Collins 1990; hooks 1984; West and Zimmerman 1987). Consequently, class and gender have meaning in these particular situations because they are used to refer to *white* people; one can only speculate as to how the responses might vary if one of the three groups described here were more racially diverse.

My main argument here is that race, class, and gender structure protest activity and shape social movement outcomes. The "doing gender" approach, as outlined by West and her colleagues, helps to clarify this process; I have also explicitly included class as well as gender in my analysis to gain a greater understanding of the relationship between systems of difference and protest dynamics. But even though activists, like all people, "do" race, class, and gender, that accomplishment is not always relevant to the protest situation. As we have seen, hunters were more likely than circus patrons to make classed and gendered assessment about PAWS activists. Thus, it is useful also to consider the identities of the targets and the extent to which the "identity interaction" between the activists and their targets makes race, class, and gender relevant to the protest situation.

The analysis therefore supports other scholarship that argues that identity plays a role in social movement dynamics, but it expands on that literature in an important way. Much of the research on social movements and identity focuses on activists' collective identity and how it encourages and sustains action (Calhoun 1991; Friedman and McAdam 1992; Gamson 1992b; Melucci 1989; Mueller 1992; Taylor and Whittier 1992; Taylor and Raeburn 1995; Whittier 1995). As I have shown here, the identity that shapes social movement dynamics is not simply protesters' sense of who they are; it is also who their targets understand them to be. And the identities that activists construct for themselves are not necessarily the same identities that their targets attribute to them. As Johnston, Laraña, and Gusfield argue, in addition to collective identity, social movements have a "public" identity, which is a product of "interaction with nonmembers and . . . definitions imposed on movements by state agencies, countermovements, and, especially in the contemporary movement environment, the media" (1994, 18). This public identity is crucial in that the assessment of this identity affects the ways in which targets and other parties respond to movement activity.

The analysis also provides a useful illustration of the role of emotions in collective action. Jasper (1997) and Robnett (1997) both argue that emotional attachments to people, places, and issues help draw individuals into protest, while Taylor and Whittier (1995) suggest that various protest rituals (e.g., chants and singing) provide for the expression of emotions that help to sustain activism (see also Taylor 1996). Each of these scholars has called for greater attention to the role of emotions

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in social movement dynamics. As I have shown, PAWS activists' alleged emotional attachment to animals, which is seen as "stupid" and reprehensible by hunters, is central to hunters' responses to the protest activity. Emotion is therefore important to this conflict in two different ways. First, hunters point to the activists' emotion as a justification for dismissing the activists' claims. Yet, this dismissal carries emotions with it as well: Hunters express anger against "stupid" activists whom they find "frustrating" and "maddening." Again, the ways in which targets react to protest activity—which are themselves shaped by emotion—are key to understanding movement outcomes.

In sum, my analysis suggests that an examination of the ways in which race, class, and gender shape social movements must take account of three interrelated factors: (1) prevailing social and cultural ideas about race, class, and gender; (2) the collective identities that both activists and their targets construct for themselves, which draw on these sets of ideas in some fashion (either by adhering to them or opposing them); and (3) the evaluations and assessments that opposing groups and other third parties make of those identities.[7] More important, I suggest that systems of race, class, and gender shape all social movements, not simply those focused on race, class, and gender issues (Einwohner, Hollander, and Olson 1994). As West and Zimmerman note, "in virtually any situation, one's sex category can be relevant, and one's performance as an incumbent of that category (i.e., gender) can be subjected to evaluation" (1987, 45). No matter what the protest situation, activists and their targets can be evaluated in terms of race, class, and gender and can use these assessments as a basis on which to respond to each other. Paying explicit attention to prevailing ideas about race, class, and gender and how they structure movement activity is therefore crucial for a complete understanding of social movement dynamics.

NOTES

1. As is the case with many social movement organizations, PAWS' exact size is difficult to measure. Some individuals did not attend monthly meetings yet still participated in protest events; others attended neither meetings nor events but still received the group's newsletter and participated in individual activities such as letter writing. What I considered the "core" group of activists, those individuals who participated in meetings and protest events regularly, numbered around 30 people. Although I had conversations with many different people during the course of my field work, I conducted the interviews with the more committed activists.

2. In a later writing, Gamson (1992a) argues that staging protest is an achievement in itself because it shows that the protesters have recognized the injustice of their situation. Although a compelling argument, this view of movement effectiveness emphasizes movement emergence and does not shed light on the processes that affect the differential achievement of movements once they are established. Therefore, my treatment of movement outcomes focuses on achievement beyond the initiation of protest.

3. From the *PAWS Action Letter* No. 1. October 1990. Lynwood, WA: Progressive Animal Welfare Society, p. 5.

4. From the *Minutes of the Washington Fish and Wildlife Commission Meeting*. 12 March 1994, p. 16.

5. From the *Minutes of the Washington Fish and Wildlife Commission Meeting*. 18 March 1994, pp. 3-4.

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6. From the *PAWS Action Letter* Nos. 1, 2. October and November 1990. Lynwood, WA: Progressive Animal Welfare Society.

7. I do not mean to imply that race, class, and gender are the only factors that can account for the differential effectiveness of these two campaigns. Circus patrons and hunters are different groups and have different relationships to the practices that PAWS activists target for change: Hunters hunt much more often than circus patrons attend circuses, for instance, and hunting is more central to the identities and social networks of hunters than circus attendance is for circus patrons (Einwohner 1997). However, a more complete discussion of the differences between these two groups is beyond the scope of this article. My purpose here has been to show the importance of taking account of race, class, and gender when studying social movements and not to explain all the intricacies involved in these two campaigns.

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