

Direct Action and the Heroic Ideal

An Ecofeminist Critique

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I am seated at a plenary session at a national animal rights conference. An animal rights activist and self-described "eco-warrior" is speaking to the audience. His voice bellows with anger. He declares that violence is a normal response to the desecration of sacred places or art. Why, then, is it not a reaction to rainforest destruction? If activists truly valued these "cathedrals," he continues, they would not simply picket, lobby, or dance around them; they would rise up and rip those loggers limb from limb. The audience reacts with enthusiasm, and gives him a standing ovation when he is done.

A few years later, I'm seated at an animal rights conference, listening to a speaker on direct action. The facilitator introduces himself by giving his personal history: he was imprisoned for several years for overturning a car during an animal rights protest. He initiates the discussion by asking, "How many people think that direct action is justified?" People begin to raise their hands until it seems that all are in agreement. He has not specified what *type* of action he would like us to consider. Without that information, I cannot respond.

Direct action as a means of opposing injustice is a time-honored tradition embraced by many members of the animal rights and environmental movements. Direct action activists have made significant contributions. In addition to saving the lives of countless animals and curtailing environmental devastation, they have raised key issues in the forefront of discussions about animal liberation and environmental ethics. Many nature advocates now recognize that it is not enough to simply protest an inherently corrupt system; we must challenge the entire notion of nonhuman property. Direct action activists have also advanced the discussion of animal terrorism. Is it terrorism when someone rescues an animal who is being held in pain and suffering and ultimately death? When someone throws a brick through the window of a fur store? Or is terrorism, rather, the state of siege that is inflicted upon

animals everyday throughout the world? These types of discussions have influenced the animal liberation movement in significant ways.

Some forms of direct action can be valuable tools for social change. [1] videotapes from the Head Injury Clinic at the Neurological Institute for example, documented extreme cruelty to primates and was instrumental in closing the laboratory.² But when direct action is endorsed uncritically in any form and embraced as a universal norm, it can do more harm than good. The distinction between liberating an animal from a laboratory, in which the animal exists, and burning down a building where someone could be injured. When most animal rights advocates think of direct actions, they conjure up dramatic night-time raids, property destruction, and acts involving great violence. Freeing animals, bombing buildings, destroying research, seizing evidence of animal abuse, and targeting the homes of individuals involved in animal experimentation to mind as examples. The uncritical endorsement of *heroic*³ acts by social and environmental advocates, however, may inadvertently reinforce a radical worldview that the protesters seek to supplant. Moreover, the focus on dramatic acts also tends to eclipse the more frequent everyday acts of courage that facilitate social change. In this paper, I examine both the ethos that underlies direct action, and the importance of ordinary acts of courage that can bring about social change.

It is understandable that people would resort to extreme actions in response to the pervasive suffering of animals that persists and even grows, despite the campaigns against it. We live in a patriarchal and capitalist society where animal abuse is the norm. Billions of animals suffer and die every day for profit, pleasure, and use. Nonhuman animals emerge into this world through being prodded, choked, caged, pierced, bludgeoned, raped, gassed, branded, and assaulted. Their flesh and body products appear in our cosmetics, clothing, and food. The mentality that underlies these forms of abuse conceives of animals as "other," as mere objects with no independent identity, existing only to be used by others.

The worldview that underlies animal abuse in Western culture derives from a mentality to the one which underlies the abuse of women. Women, children, and animals, are viewed as Beasts or Bodies. The Beast is a symbol for a creature that is not human, and thus evil, irrational, and wild. Civilization is achieved through the taming or killing the Beast.⁴ On an inward level, this involves obliterating one's own animality.⁵ Outwardly, the triumph over the Beast has been enacted through the conquest of wilderness, with its concomitant claim to the lives of millions of people driven from their homes.

The triumph over the demonic beast has been a recurring theme throughout human mythologies.⁶ Typically, the slain Beast is a former divinity from a pre-patriarchal world. The serpents, dragons, and horned gods, who were once worshipped as divine, are transformed

in patriarchal mythology into devils and monsters that must be slain. The slaying of Gaia's python; Perseus kills the three-headed Medusa (the triple gorgon described as having snakes writhing from her head; Hercules defeats the three-headed Hydra; and the pharaohs of later Egypt slay the dragon Apsu. In the Middle Ages, there were countless renditions of St. George's prowess in slaying a dragon to rescue the damsel in distress.

Today, the heroic battle against the Beast is reenacted as ritualized masculine ventures as sport-hunting, bullfights, and rodeos. A similar degradation is seen in the ritual degradation of women in pornography and rape. In rodeos, animals are tied and bound, women are tied and bound in magazines, or depicted in acts of submission.

The second image underlying the abuse of women and nonhuman animals is the heroic, but is equally violent in its own way. It is the representation of nonhuman animals as mindless matter, objects that exist to serve the needs of the rational "Man." In this conception, animals are depicted as having dual natures, rather than as wild or evil creatures that must be conquered and tamed. They are not so much irrational as nonrational beings. Along with women, animals are seen as mere "matter" (a word that, significantly, derives from the Sanskrit "mother"). In this conception, the bodies of women and animals are valued for their reproductive capacity and their flesh. Their bodies are also said to exist for the pleasure of men.

At times, women and nonhuman animals have also been idealized as innocent, providing a nurturing influence that functions to moderate the masculine. Once again, their value lies only in their utility to others. They are cornered in distress, helpless victims who must be rescued from the evil clutches of the Beast. In this conception, protection becomes the mirror image of predation.⁸ The masculine quest that fuels the masculine conquest of the Beast is transformed into the quest for protection. Again, women and nonhuman animals are seen as devoid of individual identity, passive objects which reinforce the autonomous masculine self. Patriarchal society presents us with intolerable choices. Everyday the choices are more that we could be doing to alleviate the pervasive suffering that we do nothing, we often feel complicit in this suffering. Engaging in direct action can help assuage our feelings of helplessness, providing us with a sense of empowerment. Heroic forms of direct action in particular may see us search for empowerment, but they can also reflect an assertion of control.

Significantly, a number of individuals who engage in direct action via "eco-warriors" and relish their warrior role. Dave Foreman, one of the founders of Earth First! openly declares that "Earth First! is a warrior society."⁹ The logo of a raised fist, accompanied

by the words "In Defense of Mother Earth," aptly exemplifies the war "rescue the helpless female-in this case Mother Earth."¹⁰ Paul Watson, Sea Shepherd Conservation Society, similarly exemplifies the warrior inspiration from two ancient Asian military strategists, and litters his military metaphors: "war," "battle," "enemy," "weapons," and "defeat." the Sea Shepherd, he rams fishing boats and fires shotguns in his battles with marine animals. He praises newsworthy actions that "hint of Roman claiming that "there is nothing wrong with being a terrorist as long as Militarism is more than a metaphor for Watson, who states that "Right at the early stages of World War III. We are the navy to Earth First!'s army; we will save the planet. This kind of action will be getting stronger... Eventually, we will have open war."¹³

Martyrdom is a trait often praised by eco-warriors. In Watson's words, "A warrior, like all warriors, must be prepared for death."¹⁴ Always ready for danger for a noble cause, the eco-warrior often denounces other forms of cowardice. Behind these tirades lurks the specter of the sissy, with its devalued female world. Watson scorns Greenpeace, the environmental organization, as "the Avon Ladies of the environmental movement."¹⁵

Animal liberation philosophers also typically employ the model of the warrior, citing the "force of reason" in their "defense" of "animal rights."¹⁶ Reason is the weapon of choice for compelling adherence to universal norms, such as "rights." Proponents of direct action, by contrast, purport to reject the power of words, preferring physical force to achieve the goal of animal liberation, as feminists have pointed out, both the logical power of "reason" and the power of force often fail to change people's hearts. What is needed, in addition to the development of compassion for the nonhuman world, and an understanding of such care is so singularly absent in our current culture.

A nineteenth-century organization of English children's kindness clubs, the Bands of Mercy, a wing of the Royal Society for the Prevention of Cruelty to Animals, understood the importance of reaching people's hearts, rather than only their minds. The Bands of Mercy provided the inspiration for the modern day organization of the same name, which later developed into the ALF. Founded in the 1840s by the slavery activist, Catherine Smithies, as a branch of the RSPCA, the clubs required members to sign a sworn statement promising that they would be "kind to all living creatures, and try to protect them from cruel usage."¹⁷ Members were required to get thirty people to sign the oath in order to form a "band." The bands were modeled after the widespread and internationally popular children's clubs, the Bands of Hope; in addition to promoting kindness to animals, they required children to take vows of abstinence from alcohol.¹⁸

The kindness clubs and temperance organizations that sprang up in the nineteenth-century were part of a larger movement, predominantly led by women, that sought to stem men's violence. These movements reflected the post-Darwinian "animal nature," and the concomitant hope that women's benevolent influence would be a civilizing force. Promoting kindness and compassion, mostly in young boys, was a central purpose of many nineteenth-century women's organizations.

The twentieth-century organization, the Band of Mercy, which emerged in the 1970s, retained vestiges of its nineteenth-century namesake, the Bands of Mercy, which modeled "active compassion."¹⁹ Founded in 1972 by members of the Humane Society Association (HSA), the organization initially condoned property destruction, but used it to stop animal abuse.²⁰ When Band members engaged in raids to damage property used in the hunt, they claimed that they "would always leave a message to the land about the motives of their actions and the logic of animal liberation, while stating nothing personal against anyone individual."²¹

Over the next four years, the Band of Mercy extended its activities to include animal rescues. In 1976, the members decided to change the organization's name because it no longer seemed appropriate. The name of the new organization, the Animal Liberation Front, appears to have been designed to inspire fear, rather than hope. As Noel Molland explains, the group wanted a new name that "would haunt the imagination. A name whose very mention could symbolize a whole ideology of animal liberation movement."²² The organization, however, still retained its commitment to non-violence towards humans, and destruction only of property used for animal abuse.

By 1984, many direct action proponents had come to endorse violence as a necessary means for achieving success. The underlying rationale was that, given the resistant forms of social change and the worsening conditions of animals, the ends justify the means. Patriarchal society, however, employs a similar logic in support of animal experimentation: experimenters cite the worthy benefits that will ensue when they "sacrifice" animals on the altar of science; nonhuman animals are merely tools in their single-minded quest for knowledge or products. "Home demos," which target the homes of individuals engaged in animal experimentation, show a similar singularity of focus: there is little concern that innocent children, may be traumatized by their actions.²³ Yet every action occurs in a specific context and generates multiple reactions.

Feminist philosophers have underscored the need for contextual thinking as a form of care.²⁴ In contrast to modern ethical theorists who base their arguments on abstract principles and universal rules, feminists point to the importance of understanding the specific context in which ethical decisions are made.²⁵ The two approaches find a parallel in traditional Chinese medicine. Allopathic medicine views the body as a battlefield in

which the invading enemy-disease-needs to be countered with an arsenal including radiation, surgery, and drugs. The physicians are the heroes, healing body, overcoming the enemy combatants. Holistic healing, by contrast, understand the causes of disease, fortifying health so the body can resist and repel unwelcome intruders. Holistic healing focuses on preventing illness, not simply suppressing symptoms and declaring the battle "won." ²⁶ In holistic ethics seek to understand the underlying roots of moral problems and to removing them, and preventing their reoccurrence.

Direct action proponents might do well to consider trading in their model for the model of holistic health. Rather than viewing individual actions as interventions designed to force enemy combatants into submission, they can be seen as educational opportunities. The open rescues that liberate animals from their liberation, exemplify the kind of direct action that helps individuals understand their liberation, also promoting empathy and an understanding of the larger context of oppression. Karen Davis illustrates this point in her description of the liberation of several hens by the Australian Action Animal Rescue states,

We see the hens' suffering faces up close. We watch and hear a hen scream as she is trapped in the molasses-like manure in which she is trapped in the pits beneath the cages. We witness not only the terrible suffering of the hens being rescued, but the gentleness of the rescue team (as expressed, for example, by their hands), who, as an integral part of the rescue operation, contact the police, get arrested, and explain their mission of putting battery-hen farming visibly on trial before the public and in the courts. At times, open rescuers do not reveal the particular operation they are conducting, preferring to put pressure on the industry as a whole. These open rescues exemplify the heroic mind-set of the masked warriors who focus on property destruction rather than the defeat of a single animal operation, neglecting to lay the base for a broader understanding that can prevent future abuse of nonhuman animals.

While the feminist ethic of care eschews abstract principles and universal rules in favor of a contextual approach to ethical conduct, it can draw on the wisdom of evaluating particular situations and actions. Kim Stallwood propose criteria for assessing direct actions, based on the "core values of nonviolence or *ahimsa*, and 'interbeing.'" In his words, he endorses direct actions that:

- is motivated by a sense of compassion for all beings (human and non-human);
- tells the truth about animal cruelty and all resulting harms it causes to the environment;
- is accomplished with adherence to nonviolent principles to all beings (human and nonhuman alike) and property;

• is undertaken only after all consequences of the direct action and people and animals are carefully considered by the protagonists, who honestly and openly accept the consequences.²⁸

Just as holistic health seeks to determine the causes of disease with a view to health and preventing its recurrence, so too holistic ethics strive to determine moral problems, and the way to prevent them. Exploring the relationship between masculine self-identity and violence toward nature may help to shed light on what is needed to transform our society's relation to the natural world.

It is well known that a large majority of members of the animal liberation movement are women.²⁹ It is also no secret that women are disproportionately responsible for the more mundane work entailed in running an organization. A similar bias is found in shelter and other rescue work, with far more women than men engaged in day-to-day care for nonhuman animals. Feminist activist patrice jones, despite men's greater visibility in direct actions, the gender representation is probably comparable to that of the rest of the movement.³⁰ Although the surrounding direct actions makes it difficult to determine gender ratio, I believe that more men than women are drawn to the heroic model of direct action. I concede that "the combination of macho posturing by ALF and the unstructured nature of the ALF cell system, and the essential lawlessness of the movement makes it possible for "disaffected and potentially violent young men .. as an excuse to vent anger in inappropriate ways." She contends, however, that this liability can be remedied by media coverage which puts a "feminine face on the movement." Although changing the "face of the ALF" may help to discourage some forms of activism, foregrounding education and "active compassion" would, perhaps, be more fundamental ways.

Examples of direct actions which combine active compassion and education are found around the globe, including the Chipko tree-hugging movement in India, Julia Butterfly Hill's year-long tree sitting campaign in the US, and the Greenham Common missile protest in England. In the Chipko movement in the early 1970s, villagers embraced trees in order to prevent environmentally devastating logging. Although the movement was originally organized and controlled by women, the organizers were catapulted into the spotlight when they spontaneously persuaded loggers to leave the forest.³²

In a similar spirit, beginning in 1997, Julia Butterfly Hill, camped out on the top of a California Coast Redwood tree in protest of the logging practices of the Lumber Company.³³ Both forms of action illustrate the figurative and symbolic nature of what the protesters hoped to protect in contrast to angry confrontational actions, which often alienate the public.³⁴

The Women's Peace Camp in Greenham Common illustrates a similar form of activism.³⁵ In this instance, women embraced not what they wanted but the missiles they opposed. The Women's

Greenham Peace Camp began in England as a protest against the Cruise Missiles at the Greenham Common. Throughout its nineteen years, organizers engaged in multiple forms of imaginative, mostly nonviolent actions. In 1982, for example, 30,000 women joined hands around "Embrace the Base" event. In other actions, women tied yarn around the war machinery, confusing the police officers who didn't know how to unknitting a web of women.

In all of these examples, protesters garnered widespread sympathy through creative actions that embodied their hopes and their dreams, engaging in violent confrontations. Heroic direct actions, with their style, by contrast, tend to eclipse the everyday acts of courage that we see on behalf of nonhuman animals. Some of these more prosaic actions present us on a daily basis and are often lost or overlooked. My niece recent these opportunities. Sarah, raised as an orthodox Jew, was a natural-born activist from a very young age. A vegetarian from birth, she grew up with a combination of horror and disgust. She teased her meat-eaters, mimicking the animal they were consuming-flapping her arms when they and swishing them like a fish when they consumed a fish. She embarrassed in public by hiding under the table whenever meat was served.

She was not deterred by authority figures from voicing her strong views. On one occasion, when dining at a Rabbi's house, she challenged the condoning of meat eating. "Meat eating is murder!" she instructed the Rabbi, who responded by explaining that that is not possible, since it would make her a murderer. "Well, you are!" she responded, much to her mother's embarrassment. As she grew up, her demonstrative acts of protest began to wane, but I doubt that her zeal for the animal cause had abated. It therefore came as a surprise to learn that she was engaged to be married and planned to serve meat on her wedding day. Giving in to the pressure to conform, Sarah had missed an opportunity to engage in a direct action. Had she chosen to serve vegetarian food, she could have expressed her care and compassion for nonhuman animals and influenced a large number of people. While serving vegetarian food at a wedding is not jump to mind as an example of direct action, this type of challenge to convention exemplifies the everyday acts of resistance that form the path to transformation.

Direct action on behalf of nonhuman animals can further be enriched by a discussion of the heroic ideal. Is courage only an act of physical bravery that always entail danger? Can courage, for some, be found in defying social convention? How might "direct action" be redefined so that it incorporates acts of courage? A feminist ethic of care and "compassionate activism" is an important contribution to answering these questions and to the development of new forms of

direct action that can help create a world of peace and nonviolence for all li

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Notes

1. The term "direct action" generally refers to both legal and illegal actions of an immediate nature that exert pressure toward social change. On one end of the spectrum, some conceive of direct action as terrorism, animals, arson, and other acts of eco-sabotage. On the other end are organizations, such as Friends of Animals, which consider direct action. My intention in this article is to challenge the preeminence of the heroic ideal in direct action, and to explore its masculinist underpinnings.

2. The tapes that were stolen were the actual footage taken by the experimenters themselves. Dick Pothier, "Animal-Rights Group Says it Vandalized Penn Laboratory." *Philadelphia Inquirer*, 1993.

3. Heroism in the Western world is traditionally associated with the notion of courage, sacrifice, and conceptions of direct actions within the animal rights and environmental movements. The classic hero is commonly a male warrior who vanquishes foes and surmounts obstacles in an attempt to overcome adversity. "hero" derives from ancient Greek "*hieros*" and originally referred to the notion of a demi-god. Heroism, and immortalization through legend, is closely aligned with the classic notions of heroism.

4. I am indebted to Mary Midgley for my understanding and use of the term Beast. Midgley, Mary. *The Roots of Human Nature*. New York: Routledge, 1995.

5. For an in-depth analysis of how masculine self-identity and Western civilization are founded on the transcendence of animal and female nature, see Brown, Wendy. *Manhood and Politics: A Feminist Theory*. Totowa, N.J.: Rowman and Littlefield, 1988, and French, Marilyn. *Beyond Power: On Morals*. New York: Summit Books, 1985.

6. Portions of my discussion of the heroic Beast are drawn from Marti Kheel, "From Heroic to Ecofeminist Challenge." In *Women, Animals, Nature*, edited by Greta Gaard. Philadelphia: Temple University Press, 1993.

7. Monica Sjoo and Barbara Moor, *The Great Cosmic Mother: Rediscovering the Religion of the Earth* (New York: Harper and Row, 1987), 250-51.

8. On the common worldview underlying predation and protection, see Hoagland, Sarah. *Lesbian Ethics: Toward New Values*. Palo Alto, California: Institute of Lesbian Studies, 1989. Robbins, "The Environmental Guerrillas." *Boston Globe Magazine*, 27 March 1988. Cited in Soper, A. *Follies: Coming to Feminist Terms with the Global Environmental Crisis* (New York: Routledge, 2002), 227.

11. Paul Watson. *Earthforce!: An Earth Warriors Guide to Strategy*. Los Angeles, California: Chaco Press, 1993.
12. Paul Watson, Presentation at the Animal Rights 2002 National Conference, sponsored Reform Movement, McLean, Virginia, June 28-July 3, 2002.
13. Quoted in Best, Steven. "It's War! The Escalating Battle Between Activists and the Complex." In *Terrorists or Freedom Fighters: Reflections on the Liberation of Animals*, ed. S Anthony J. Nocella, II. New York: Lantern Books, 2004.
14. Paul Watson, 51.
15. Scarce, Rik. *Eco-Warriors: Understanding the Radical Environmental Movement* (Chicago 1990), 102.
16. See Regan, Tom. *The Case for Animal Rights*. Berkeley and Los Angeles: University of California Press, 1983, and Singer, Peter. *Animal Liberation*, 2nd Edition. New York: Random House, 1990. The emphasis on reason in animal ethics, see the essays in *Beyond Animal Rights*, edited by Adams. New York: Continuum, 1996.
17. *Our Dumb Animals* Volume 20 No.3 (1987).
18. The twentieth-century Band of Mercy maintained that some militant members of its predecessor also sabotaged rifles, but conceded that no evidence exists to substantiate this to have drawn inspiration from a play performed by the earlier organization, in which a man shot a hunter, which subsequently burst in his face. See Molland, Noel, "Thirty Years of Direct Action," *Compromise* 18 (Summer, 2002).
19. Ibid.
20. For an overview of the history of direct action, see Stallwood, Kim. "A Personal Overview of Direct Action in the United Kingdom and the United States." In *Terrorists or Freedom Fighters*.
21. Noel Molland, "Thirty Years of Direct Action."
22. Ibid.
23. Carol Adams gave a first-hand report, describing how traumatic it was for her children when their home was picketed by anti-abortion activists. Panel presentation at The Animal Rights 2003 National Conference, sponsored by the Farm Animal Reform Movement, Los Angeles, 2-5 August 2003.
24. On the subject of a feminist ethic of care, see Gilligan, Carol. *In a Different Voice: Psychological Theory and Women's Development*. Cambridge, Massachusetts: Harvard University Press, 1993; Larrat, Anne. *An Ethic of Care: Feminist Interdisciplinary Perspectives*. New York: Routledge, 1993; Collins, Susan and Coultrap McQuin, eds. *Explorations in Feminist Ethics: Theory and Practice*. Bloomington, Indiana: University Press, 1992. For a discussion of an ethic of care in relation to nonhuman animals, see Donovan, Josephine and Carol J. Adams, eds. *Beyond Animal Rights*.
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27. Davis, Karen. "Open Rescues: Putting a Face on the Rescuers and on the Rescued." In *Freedom Fighters*.
28. Kim Stallwood. "A Personal Overview of Direct Action in the United Kingdom and the United States." In *Terrorists or Freedom Fighters*.
29. Researchers estimate that women constitute over seventy-five percent of the animal activists. See Galvin, Shelley L. and Harold A. Herzog, Jr., "Attitudes and Dispositional Optimism of Animal Rights Demonstrators," *Society and Animals* 6: 1 (1988), and Plous, Scott, "Signs of Change With Direct Action: Results From Follow-Up Survey of Activists," *Journal of Comparative Psychology* 107: 1 (1992): 54.

30. Jones, Patrice. "Mothers with Monkeywrenches: Feminist Imperatives and the ALF." *Freedom Fighters*.

31. Men's disproportionate representation in risk-taking activities, especially those that threaten life, health, and the environment, is well documented in a number of studies. See Boholm, Asa, "Comparative Studies of Risk Perception: A Review of 20 years of research" *Research I* (1998): 135-63. For an in-depth analysis of the allure of adventure for men, see *Adventurous Male: Chapters in the History of the White Male Mind*. University Park, Pennsylvania: Pennsylvania State University Press, 1993.

32. Women's role in the Chipko movement came to the fore in 1974, when the male organizers of Reni were lured away to clear the way for the loggers. In addition to convincing them to leave the forest, the women also destroyed and guarded a bridge, preventing them from returning. For a detailed history of the Chipko movement see Ramachandra. *The Unquiet Woods: Ecological Change & Peasant Resistance in the Himalayas*. University Press, UC Press, 2000. For an analysis of the gender dynamics of the movement see "Standing Up for Trees: Women's Role in the Chipko Movement," *Unasylva* 36.4 (1984).

33. For a chronicle of her tree sitting campaign, see Butterfly Hill, Julia. *The Legacy of a Tree, a Woman, and the Struggle to Save the Redwoods*. San Francisco: Harper Collins, 2000.

34. The above tree-hugging/sitting actions contrast with the tree spiking campaign of the movement. According to this tactic, spikes are placed in trees in order to deter logging. Tree huggers/sitters pose only a risk to themselves, tree spiking endangers others. Moreover, tree spiking targets timber workers, rather than the corporate decision-makers. Although Earth First!ers do not target timber workers, at least one timber worker was badly injured by a tree spiking incident. Tree spiking was the Northern California and Southern Oregon chapters of Earth First! EF! activist, Judi Bari, are serious about putting Earth first, we need to choose tactics because they work, not be macho or romantic." (Bari, Judi, "The Secret History of Tree Spiking," *Earth First! Journal* (1994): 264-328.

35. For a detailed history of the Greenham Women's Peace Camp, see Roseneil, Sasha. *Disarming Patriarchy: Feminism and Political Action at Greenham*. Buckingham: Open University Press, 1992.