

Intersecting Social Movements: LGBTQ Rights and Animal Rights

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ABSTRACT

This qualitative study explores the intersection of the lesbian, gay, bisexual, transgender, and queer (LGBTQ) rights movement and the animal protection movement, as perceived by the movement adherents themselves. To measure the intersection, adherents of both movements were surveyed about their beliefs, lifestyles, and advocacy. Follow-up interviews further elucidated their attitudes and experiences regarding this intersection. The feminist theories of intersectionality and ecofeminism provided the theoretical basis and context for the investigation.

Animal protection adherents perceived a high number of LGBTQ-identified individuals, as well as a high level of acceptance for these members, within their movement. They saw the LGBTQ community as receptive towards animal issues. LGBTQ rights movement adherents similarly perceived a high number of animal protection movement adherents or vegans and vegetarians, along with a high level of awareness towards animal issues, within their movement. Adherents from both movements viewed the causes as interrelated and saw potential for collaboration. At the same time, the study revealed that respondents from each movement regarded the other to be of low priority relative to multiple other social movements, and respondents named several barriers to collaboration between the two movements. This study provides the foundation for further research at both the individual and movement levels.

Keywords: *animal rights, intersectionality, feminism, LGBTQ rights, social movement theory*

INTRODUCTION

In the 1999 comedic film, *But I'm a Cheerleader*, the main character's family and friends stage an intervention for her after noticing some "homosexual tendencies." How did they know she was a lesbian? She was vegetarian.

Daughter: "What tendencies? Why would you think I'm a –"

Mother: "You've been trying to get us to eat this ...tofu"

Ex-gay coach: "In diet, watch for switch to vegetarianism" (Babbit, 1999).

The connection between the LGBTQ rights movement and the animal protection movement has been increasingly discussed in recent years through social media (Chen, 2012; Runkle, 2011; Singer, 2007; Singer, 2011; VegNews Media, 2012) as well as academic theory (Correale; Nibert, 1994; Wolfe, 2003; Wuthmann, 2011). This empirical study joins academia and activism by investigating the connection between the movements as experienced and perceived by movement adherents themselves. Adherents are those individuals who believe in the goals of a movement (McCarthy & Zald 1977), and are recruited in this study through movement events. An examination of identities, attitudes, and experiences of adherents of the animal protection and LGBTQ rights movements illuminates specific connections in terms of shared values, dual affiliation, and potential for collaboration. The feminist theory of intersectionality (Crenshaw, 1991) provides the context for this investigation by establishing that different structures of oppression are interconnected. The study in turn contributes to an understanding of intersectionality and its capacity to expand the base and effectiveness of social movements.

Feminist connections: Intersectionality and Ecofeminism

The feminist theory of intersectionality provides a theoretical framework with which to examine the connection between animal rights and LGBTQ rights by establishing that all forms

of oppression are interrelated. The concept of intersectionality was first utilized to incorporate the unique experiences of women of color into the feminist movement, which had previously been dominated by the experiences and interests of white, middle class women (Crenshaw, 1991). Crenshaw argued that by not explicitly addressing the intersectional nature of identities, feminist politics would inadvertently perpetuate racial inequality while anti-racist politics remained patriarchal (Crenshaw, 1991; Shields, 2008). Since this groundbreaking work, intersectionality has been considered essential to any research that is “invested in promoting positive social change” (Shields, 2008).

Much of the feminist work on intersectionality, however, focuses on the relationship between different aspects of human identity politics to the exclusion of nonhuman animals (Twine, 2006), and is “either insensitive to environmental and animal rights issues or downright hostile toward them” (Slicer, 1991). The philosophy of ecofeminism, however, extends intersectionality and explicitly establishes the connection between the oppression of women, nature, and animals. Ecofeminism states that “all categories of the other share these qualities of being feminized, animalized, and naturalized,” that different systems of oppression are “mutually reinforcing,” and that “all forms of oppression are now so inextricably linked that liberation efforts must be aimed at dismantling the system itself” (Gaard, 1997). Many ecofeminists draw connections between meat consumption, homophobia, and sexism and argue for feminist vegetarianism or veganism as a challenge to patriarchy and heteronormativity (Adams 1990, 1995, 2006; Bailey, 2007; Donovan, 1995; Gaard & Gruen, 1995; Lucas, 2005; Simonsen, 2012; Twine, 2006).

The tenets of intersectionality have been increasingly incorporated into the emerging field of critical animal studies (ICAS, 2012a), while feminist and queer theory are paying

increasing attention to animal protection issues. Authors have begun to draw connections between the oppression of human gender and sexual identities and the exploitation of animals (Jones, 2005; Parry, 2012; Simonsen, 2012; Singer, 2007; Singer, 2011; Wuthmann, 2011), and call for a social justice theory that incorporates the interconnectedness of racism, classism, sexism, homophobia, and speciesism (Deckha, 2009; Gaard, 1997; Gruen, 1993; Kemmerer, 2011; Wolfe, 2003). This “posthumanist” intersectionality establishes the human-animal binary as socially constructed (Deckha, 2009; Wuthmann, 2011) and challenges “violence against the social other of whatever species - or gender, or race, or class, or sexual difference” (Wolfe, 2003). This “queering of the liberation discourse” will benefit both fields through “increased cross-pollination and collaborative analysis” (Loadenthal, 2012).

Empirical Examination of Intersectionality: The Women in Animal Protection Model

Not only are social movements related in the literature, but there is also an empirical overlap in membership and advocacy. The investigation of women’s involvement in the animal protection movement provides a model for examining the overlap in the membership and advocacy of the LGBTQ rights and animal protection movements. Women were instrumental in the emergence of the animal protection movement from its inception in the late 1800s, comprising a majority of the membership of groups and in some cases taking on leadership positions in the movement that challenged their own position in society (Beers, 2006; Elston, 1987; Gaarder, 2011). These women activists were among those who fought for women’s suffrage and civil rights, and in fact, “the abolition and suffrage movements of the nineteenth century created precedents for the ethical consideration of all creatures” (Beers, 2006). Women have since comprised around 68-80% of the animal rights movement (Jamison, 1992; Peek, 1996; Plous, 1991) and have been found to be more likely than men to be concerned about the

ethical treatment of animals and/or involved in the animal protection movement (Driscoll, 1992; Gallup, 1988; Galvin & Herzog, 1992; Herzog, Betchart, & Pittman, 1991; Herzog, 1993; Jasper, 1992; Kellert, 1987; Kellert, 1996; Peek, 1996; Sperling, 1988). Theories to explain the preponderance of women have ranged from gender differences and socialization to experiences with structural oppression (Herzog, Betchart, & Pittman, 1991; Jamison, 1992; Kruse, 1999; McCarthy, 2012; Peek, 1996).

Similarly, there seems to be an overlap between adherents of the animal protection movement and those of the LGBTQ rights movement. Those who support animal rights were found to be more likely to support the rights of “a person who is homosexual” to free speech and to serve in the military (Nibert, 1994). Meanwhile, political conservatism and religious fundamentalism were the strongest predictors of both anti-animal rights sentiments (Kimball, 1989; Nibert, 1994) and negative attitudes towards gays and lesbians (Marzullo & Libman, 2009). Herzog compares the popularity of the two movements over time (2012), while Taylor and Signal (2005) suggest, “human attitudes to animals may be indicative of human-human empathy.”

Linkages between animal issues and LGBTQ issues are emerging in online forums, including comparisons between experiences of violence (Jones, 2009; Singer, 2011; Runkle, 2011), the control of reproduction (Parry, 2012; Singer, 2007), and the identities of going vegan and coming out (Chen, 2012; VegNews magazine, 2011; VegNews Media, 2012; Simonsen, 2012; Solomon, 2011). Activists in blogs and social media propose that LGBTQ-identified individuals are more likely to support animal rights because of their own experiences with oppression (Chen, 2012; Correale; Singer, 2007; Solomon, 2011; VegNews Media, 2012). Meanwhile, the LGBTQ rights and animal protection movements are demonstrating increased

signs of collaboration, which has been shown, historically, to be mutually strengthening and to improve the ability of both movements to create social change (Beamish, 2009; Erenberg, 2012; Van Dyke, 2003). Several organizations and social networks bring together LGBTQ rights and animal rights (Gieseke, 2012; LGBT Compassion; Singer, 2012), while groups from each movement have also been advocating for one another (ICAS, 2012b; PETA, 2007; Singer, 2007; VegNews Media, 2012).

Despite the increased collaboration and recognition of commonalities, the LGBTQ rights and animal protection movements have both faced criticism for neglecting marginalized groups while pursuing movement goals. In the animal protection movement, men disproportionately hold leadership positions (Gaarder, 2011) and “animal rights rhetoric and tactics frequently downplay the feminine or emotional” (Groling, 2012). Some animal rights media “plays on traditional and harmful notions of masculinity” (Jomaler, 2012; PETA, 2012) and reinforces normative heterosexuality (Simonsen, 2012). Discussions in online forums and conferences increasingly highlight the need for the animal protection movement to become more intersectional (Jones, 2009; Jones & Kemmerer, 2012). Both movements have been critiqued for lack of intersectionality, especially concerning race, class, and nationality (Battle, 2008; Drew, 2010; Jessie, 2012; Ison, 2012; Nair, 2012; Wadsworth, 2011). By neglecting other social justice questions, movements limit their ability to accomplish change and risk inadvertently reinforcing the very structures of oppression they attempt to challenge (Adams, 2006; Burns, 2012; Gaarder, 2011; Harris, 2009; Nocella, 2012; Williams, 2008; Wolfe, 2003).

While intersectionality within the animal protection and LGBTQ rights movements has received increased attention in theory and social media, there is yet to be an academic study that empirically examines the overlap in ideology, affiliations, and advocacy of the two movements.

The present investigation takes a qualitative approach in order understand the extent to which these bases for intersectionality are present among affiliates of the animal protection and LGBTQ rights movements, and how movement adherents perceive the intersection.

METHODS

Procedure

Adherents from both the animal protection and LGBTQ rights movements were surveyed and interviewed to examine the intersection between the movements and to identify factors that facilitate or impede movement collaboration. Survey respondents were recruited from movement events using convenience sampling. LGBTQ rights movement adherents were recruited from the Washington, DC Capital Pride event (Pride), and animal protection movement adherents were recruited from the Taking Action for Animals 2012 conference (TAFA) in Washington, DC. For each event, the investigator chose a central location. She then approached any guests near the location and asked if they would like to participate in the survey, which took about 3-5 minutes to complete. A total of 283 surveys were administered, including 93 from Capital Pride and 190 from TAFA. (See Table 1.)

Table 1: Participant Recruitment

Event:	Movement Type	Surveys	Interviews
TAFA	Animal	190	14
Pride	LGBTQ	93	4
Marylanders for Marriage Equality	LGBTQ		4
Online groups	LGBTQ & Animal		4

On the survey, respondents indicated their willingness to participate in follow up

interviews. While additional respondents from TAFAs (105) and Capital Pride (35) initially indicated interest, a small percentage ultimately responded to requests to schedule an interview. Of the Pride survey respondents, 4 completed a follow-up interview; of TAFAs survey respondents, 14 completed an interview. Due to the low number of interview respondents from Pride, additional interviews were necessary in order to recognize themes and patterns in the data. Since Pride was more of a social event than an advocacy event, additional LGBTQ rights movement adherents were recruited from a local advocacy group, Marylanders for Marriage Equality (MD4ME) in order to better match the constituency of TAFAs. These respondents were recruited at a phone bank event using a convenience sampling approach. Seven respondents were contacted from this event and four completed interviews.

LGBTQ-identified animal protection movement adherents were also under-represented in the interviews. This group was specifically targeted and recruited through a snowball sampling technique. These respondents were contacted directly because of their dual involvement in animal and LGBTQ advocacy, or contacted the researcher directly after hearing about the study. Four additional interviews were conducted with respondents who were involved in both movements. Table 1 represents the recruitment of interview participants.

Participants

The average age of survey respondents at Pride was 26.9 years. Seventy percent identified as female, 28% as male, and 2% as transgender or genderqueer. The average age of TAFAs respondents was 38.3 years. Eighty-one percent identified as female and 19% as male. Interviewees represented activists with different levels of involvement in both movements and included LGBTQ-identified animal protection movement adherents, non-LGBTQ-identified animal protection movement adherents, LGBTQ rights movement adherents not involved in the

animal protection movement, and LGBTQ rights movement adherents also involved in the animal protection movement.

Measures

Intersectionality was operationalized to measure the degree to which animal protection and LGBTQ rights movement adherents share values, view the movements as inter-connected, have dual movement affiliations, and see potential for the movements to work together. The survey was composed of Likert scale and multiple-choice questions. To measure shared values, these questions asked whether respondents agreed with LGBTQ rights and animal rights. To measure dual movement affiliation, the questions asked respondents to rate their level of involvement in each movement. The survey included demographic and identity questions such as sex, age, sexual orientation, and gender identity. Respondents characterized the extent to which their diet included animal products and whether or not they had pets. As an additional measure of dual movement affiliation, the LGBTQ identity questions were compared to involvement in animal advocacy using cross tabulation, and diet and pet ownership questions were compared to involvement in LGBTQ advocacy. Respondents also rated the importance of several different social movements in order to measure the relative priority of LGBTQ rights and animal rights. A copy of the survey instrument is provided in Appendix I.

Follow-up interviews were used to gain a deeper understanding of the adherents' perceptions of the movements and explanations for their potential connection. In the semi-structured interviews, respondents discussed how they got involved in their own movement, their perceptions of the other movement, and their thoughts on the connection between the two movements. To measure shared values, interviewees were asked about their reasons for being involved in advocacy and what they thought were the commonalities between the two

movements or causes. To measure dual movement affiliation, interviewees were asked whether they perceived an overlap in communities or membership, such as a prevalence of LGBTQ-identified animal protection movement adherents, vegans or vegetarians in the LGBTQ rights movement, or individuals affiliated with both movements. To measure potential for collaboration, the interviewees were asked whether they believed the movements could work together or learn from one another. Interviews were analyzed qualitatively; transcripts were reviewed and coded for common themes and illustrative quotes were selected. Any information gained from the interviews that could be used to identify an individual was not described or included in the final publication. A sample interview script is provided in Appendix II.

RESULTS

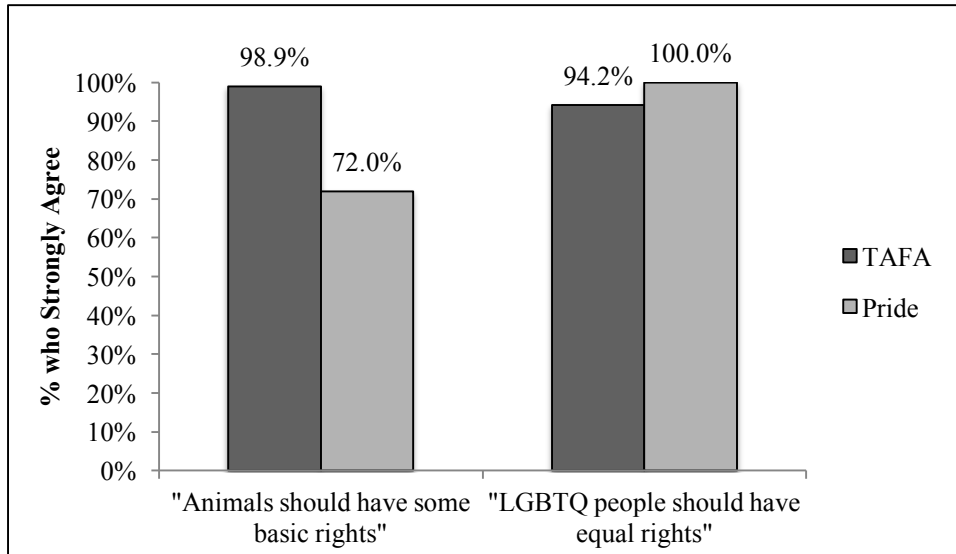
While a connection between animal protection and LGBTQ rights has been increasingly seen in the advocacy of the movements and articulated in theory, this study sought the perspective of the movement adherents themselves. Results of the study are synthesized from an analysis of survey and interview data; emerging themes include shared values, dual movement affiliation, and potential for collaboration.

Shared Values

Shared values are the extent to which respondents from both movements have common goals, experiences, or beliefs. While a few respondents did not “necessarily see the connection” (TAFAs respondent) between the two movements, the majority of respondents named several commonalities. Animal protection movement adherents especially felt the connection was intuitive or “common sense” (LGBTQ Animal protection respondent), and that the two movements were “intrinsically linked” (TAFAs respondent) or “synergistic” (TAFAs respondent).

Most respondents from both movements agreed strongly with the concepts of rights for the other cause as well as their own. (See Chart 1.)

Chart 1. Equal Rights as a Shared Value



Interviews reaffirmed the shared belief in rights for animals and LGBTQ-identified people between both groups of movement adherents, along with other common values and experiences. TAFAs and Pride respondents alike felt that “gay rights is the same as civil rights, which is the same as animal rights” (Pride respondent), and that “it’s a no brainer that there should be equal rights for everyone” (TAFAs respondent). Both movements were described as combating oppression, including being “physically abused, killed, mocked, degraded” (TAFAs respondent).

The experience of oppression is one that is experienced in similar ways. The act of oppressing one over the other is similar (TAFAs respondent).

Both animals and LGBTQ-identified people were described as “disenfranchised,” “without a voice,” and “silenced.” LGBTQ-identified animal protection respondents described a relationship between the two types of oppression that would cause them to be mutually reinforcing:

As long as we’re doing the same things for the same reasons to other groups who are weaker than us and that’s socially acceptable, I think that’s an impediment toward having

respect for other humans and for those who have absolutely no voice or self defense (LGBTQ animal protection respondent).

One respondent argued that if someone is “abusive towards a person based on their sexual orientation, they will also be abusive towards animals because animals cannot report them” (LGBTQ animal protection respondent). Resistance to “LGBTQ groups or legislation” as well as “animal welfare choices” was described as being “based in fear and perceived threat” (TAFAs respondent).

The movements themselves were described as “loosely based around love in a way” (TAFAs respondent). One Pride respondent described a common value between the two movements as “just basic kindness to your fellow man, fellow animal, fellow creature...both are beings that we should treat with respect.” Respondents from both movements describe one another as being progressive and challenging social norms.

I tend to think that people who are more progressive would care about both issues. I would imagine the LGBT community is also more progressive, more open-minded (TAFAs respondent).

I feel that people who fight for animal rights are empathetic to non-human animals that have many of the same feelings and pains and pleasures that we have and it’s a nice extension of concern for humans (MD4ME respondent).

The type of person who would come to the conclusion that animals should have rights is the type who would be in support of LGBT issues (TAFAs respondent).

One respondent said that her animal advocacy was “rolled up into [her] faith” and connected this back to her feelings about LGBTQ rights, saying, “It’s horrible to me...that there are Christians out there that believe that any love is sinful” (TAFAs respondent). Meanwhile, some LGBTQ rights movement adherents got involved in the movement directly through their Unitarian Universalist church, and connected their religion to both causes:

You might find Unitarian Universalists or religious people develop an interest in both issues because they come from a common core of beliefs about the nature of people and the nature of existence (MD4ME respondent).

Despite some consensus around values, the two groups of movement adherents did not have the same level of commitment to one another's cause. More TAFAs respondents strongly agreed that LGBTQ-identified individuals should have equal rights than Pride respondents who strongly agreed that animals should have some basic rights. (See Chart 1.) Further, only 48.4% of Pride respondents said that animal rights were very important to them, compared to 73.7% of TAFAs respondents who rated LGBTQ issues as very important. One TAFAs respondent offered an explanation for the disparity, "it's not surprising; species is one further step removed from likeness to the rest of us, what's the norm – white, hetero, middle class, human; animal is on the furthest end of that spectrum."

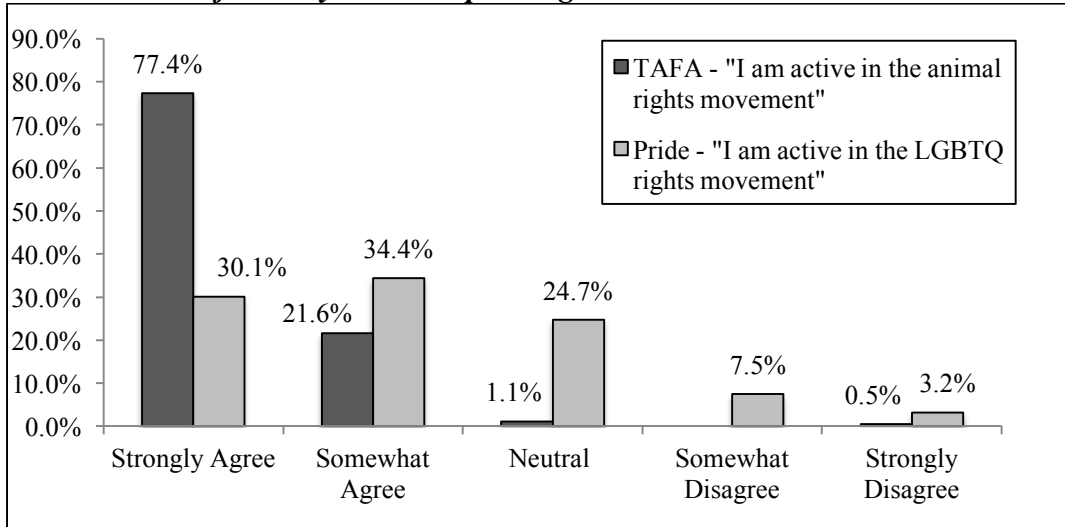
Dual Movement Affiliation and Activism

Dual movement affiliation was defined as adherents from one movement being active or involved in the other, such as animal protection movement adherents involved in LGBTQ advocacy and vice versa. This measure also included crossover between identities and advocacy, such as LGBTQ-identified animal protection movement adherents and vegan or vegetarian LGBTQ rights movement adherents.

The survey measured the extent of involvement of each respondent in both the animal protection and LGBTQ rights movements. Pride respondents showed a lower level of activism in their own movement overall than TAFAs respondents. Only 30.1% of Pride respondents strongly agreed that they are active in the LGBTQ rights movement compared to 77.4% of TAFAs attendees who strongly agreed that they were active in the animal rights movement. (See Chart 2.) Pride respondents also identified themselves as less knowledgeable about and

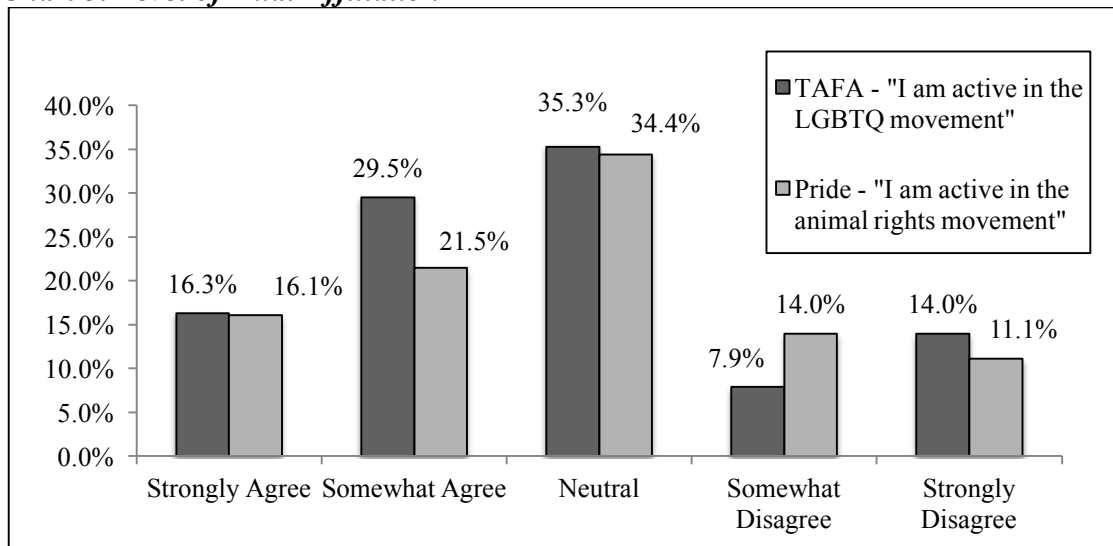
interested in LGBTQ issues than TAFE respondents in animal issues, and engaged in fewer advocacy activities within the movement.

Chart 2. Level of Activity in Corresponding Movement



Despite Pride attendees being less involved in activism in the LGBTQ rights movement, they were nearly as active in animal advocacy as TAFE respondents were in LGBTQ advocacy. (See Chart 3.) Further, survey data showed that those TAFE respondents who identified as more active in the animal protection movement were also the most active in the LGBTQ rights movement.

Chart 3. Level of Dual Affiliation



Another measurement of overlap was the demographic data of each movement. Although not a representative sample of either movement, the demographic survey data showed that 15.8% of animal protection movement adherents at TAFE identified as LGBTQ. LGBTQ-identified animal protection movement adherents were more likely than straight animal protection movement adherents to be vegan (58% v. 44%) or vegetarian (19% v. 17%), and those who identified as vegan were most likely to strongly agree that LGBTQ rights are important to them. Meanwhile, 62.4% of Pride respondents said that they have pets, 12.9% were vegetarian, 9.7% were pescatarian, and 3.2% were vegan. Pride respondents who identified as vegan more often considered themselves 'active' in the LGBTQ rights movement (71.4% of vegans v. 33.2% of omnivores).

In interviews, many TAFE respondents noticed a prevalence of LGBTQ-identified individuals within the animal protection movement. While some respondents were unsure of the overlap, others felt it was obvious. One noticed “a lot of visible gay men in leadership and some visible lesbian women” (TAFE respondent), and another noted, “MFA (Mercy for Animals) is predominantly gay/lesbian” (TAFE respondent). One asserted, “all of my friends that are lesbian or gay are also in the animal movement – all of them are” (TAFE respondent). Similarly, Pride respondents noticed many vegans or vegetarians within their advocacy and social circles. One noted, “almost every single bi person I've known or dated has been [vegan or vegetarian]” (Pride respondent). Adherents involved in both movements said that they are “meeting more and more gay vegans,” (LGBTQ animal protection respondent) and that “almost every lesbian I know is vegetarian” (LGBTQ animal protection respondent). On the other hand, one Pride respondent disagreed and pointed instead to the connection between activism in general:

My gay friends are not vegetarians, they eat more meat than I do...my activist friends tend to lean towards the vegetarian type (Pride respondent).

Interviewees drew parallels between being out as LGBTQ and veganism or vegetarianism as an identity. TAFE respondents referred to their animal advocacy as an aspect of their identity, and said that they “always really loved animals,” (TAFE respondent) or believed that loving animals was “either in you or it’s not in you” (TAFE respondent).

I definitely feel like it’s part of my identity... I’ve been a vegetarian for four years, and it’s so deeply engrained in me (TAFE respondent).

Some LGBTQ rights movement adherents did not identify as part of the animal protection movement specifically because they were not vegan, despite their concern for animal issues.

I’m probably not as fervent in the degree that I’m supportive of animal rights because a lot of people tend to be vegan and I’m not... I’ve been made to feel that if I am a meat eater then I’m not 100% true to the movement (MD4ME respondent).

Even one animal advocate felt she had to hide the fact that she was not vegan, “I’m totally in the closet about the fact that I eat meat when I talk to animal people” (LGBTQ Animal protection respondent).

LGBTQ-identified animal protection adherents drew connections between veganism and sexual identity, including the relationship between heteronormative masculinity and meat eating culture:

I have a straight male friend who recently went vegan and someone said to him, ‘you know, going vegan is the first step to becoming homosexual’ (TAFE respondent).

Adherents offered a range of explanations for the overlap in involvement between the two movements. Interviewees suggested that both LGBTQ rights and animal protection movement adherents are especially “progressive,” “open-minded,” “caring,” and “tolerant.” LGBTQ-identified individuals were thought to be sensitive to animal issues because of a shared experience of oppression, a level of defiance towards social norms, and an openness to change. Other explanations for the involvement of LGBTQ-identified individuals in animal protection

ranged from relationships with pets to a strong culture of “being eco-friendly” (LGBTQ animal protection respondent).

Animals are not judgmental, so I suspect that if you have difficulty being accepted in society, it’s easier to gravitate towards a community where acceptance is more widespread (TAFAs respondent).

I think that people who have experienced injustice have more ability to recognize it when they see it and know it’s wrong. I definitely think that has something to do with it – I know it does for me (MD4ME respondent).

When you’re a gay person you’re being looked at differently, you make your own community, part of the community is most of your friends have pets, so you start making that connection... Some of my lesbian friends think of their pets as their children, so maybe that’s another way to form family (LGBTQ animal protection respondent).

Many respondents felt that the overlap might simply be a correlation due to both movements being progressive and focused around urban centers. These respondents believed the connection had very little to do with the individuals being LGBTQ-identified and more to do with the correlation between progressive movements and cultures in general.

If you have a group of people who feel passionate about a core set of values, when you have other movements that are also grounded in those same values, there is a transference of support (TAFAs respondent).

Although much of these data point to a level of dual affiliation between the movements, other data contradict this finding. When asked to rate five social movements in order of importance, both survey groups rated the other movement as lowest in importance, on average, out of women’s rights, civil rights, environmental issues, animal protection, and LGBTQ rights. Overall, TAFAs respondents rated animal rights the highest and the environment, women’s rights, and civil rights the second highest, with LGBTQ rights rated the lowest. Pride respondents rated human issues the highest, with LGBTQ rights slightly higher than women’s rights and civil rights, the environment third highest, and animal rights lowest by a significant margin.

Potential for Collaboration Between Movements

When asked about the potential for the animal protection movement and the LGBTQ rights movement to collaborate, interviewees from both movements responded positively; some even broached the topic un-prompted. Most respondents believed that those who are willing to fight for animals would be in support of LGBTQ rights and vice versa.

The LGBTQ rights movement was described as especially receptive to and tolerant of animal issues:

I think that most of my friends, Particularly the LGBT rights activists would definitely share a sense of agreement with animal rights issues (Pride respondent).

I do have a lot of LGBT activist friends, and they are more aware of animal issues for sure (TAFAs respondent).

One respondent mentioned that, “in gay pride, there are so many gay persons going and marching with their animals - It just works together” (LGBTQ animal protection respondent).

Another TAFAs respondent who was also LGBTQ-identified pointed to a higher level of sensitivity for her animal advocacy within her social circle of LGBTQ friends:

I would say I definitely get made fun of less for being vegan... I don't know if I've ever had a fellow LGBT member give me crap about it (TAFAs respondent).

The LGBTQ community was also described as a “smaller, tight-knit community” which might be more receptive and where animal advocacy information might spread more easily (LGBTQ animal protection respondent).

Likewise, respondents from both movements described the animal protection movement as sensitive to LGBTQ issues and a safe space for LGBTQ individuals. Within the animal protection movement, most respondents said that sexual identity is a “non-issue,” and that the movement is completely inclusive. Meanwhile, LGBTQ-identified animal protection movement

adherents personally felt more accepted within the movement and described the movement as “ a more comfortable space than the rest of the world” (TAFAs respondent).

Nonetheless, some respondents felt that the animal protection movement had a long way to go to be intersectional and urged the animal protection movement to “do more to recognize the folks in the movement who are being pushed to the margins” (TAFAs respondent). Several respondents also pointed to the lack of racial and socioeconomic diversity in the animal protection movement and suggested that groups of people dealing with their own experience of oppression would have fewer resources, energy, and motivation to fight for animals. Other respondents believed that there might be a negative correlation between experiences with oppression towards LGBTQ-identified individuals and involvement in the animal protection movement because marginalized groups feel “entitled” to “do whatever we want and not really worry about the consequences” (LGBTQ animal protection respondent). Another respondent lamented,

The kinder part of me would like to think that people, when they have experienced oppression, are better able to see it in other situations, but I actually don’t think that’s true. I think that people can experience terrible oppression and that it can actually work the other way, it can damage them and make them all the more hyper-vigilant about defending themselves, and then it’s most difficult for them to see injustice elsewhere (LGBTQ animal protection respondent).

DISCUSSION

This study provides an initial exploration of the connections between the animal protection and LGBTQ rights movements from the eyes of adherents. These data suggest that adherents of both movements have inclusive views of rights that embrace both animals and LGBTQ-identified people. Adherents from both movements saw a high level of receptivity, acceptance, and tolerance in both movements towards one another. 72% of Pride respondents strongly agreed that animals should have some basic rights, compared to only 25% of Americans

who agreed that animals should have “the exact same rights as people to be free from harm and exploitation” (Erenberg, 2012) or 71% who believe that animals “deserve some protection” (Moore, 2003). The animal protection movement was overwhelmingly described as welcoming to LGBTQ-identified individuals, while LGBTQ-identified individuals were thought to be more receptive to animal issues. Respondents from both movements perceived these interconnections, maintaining that different forms of oppression are interconnected (Crenshaw, 1991; Deckha, 2009) and supporting the extension of intersectionality into the fields of critical animal studies and queer theory (Deckha 2009; Kemmerer, 2011; Wuthmann, 2011).

In measuring dual affiliation, the constituencies of the two movements were found to overlap. Not only were some advocates active in both movements, but there was a greater overlap in identities than in the general population. For example, TAFE respondents were 15.8% LGBTQ-identified, compared to the national average of 3.4% (Gates & Newport, 2012). Similarly, Pride respondents were 12.9% vegetarian and 3.2% vegan, compared to a national average of 5% vegetarian and 2% vegan (Newport, 2012). Some respondents drew connections between vegan identities and LGBTQ identities, which supports the ecofeminist and queer theory characterizations of veganism as a manner of protest (Adams, 1990; Simonsen, 2012), as well as the more recent discussions in social media comparing veganism and coming out as LGBTQ (Chen, 2012; VegNews Media, 2012). Veganism was also discussed as an important aspect of identity for animal advocates, which supports Harper’s intersectional discussion of veganism and animal advocacy as an aspect of human social identity that intersects with other identities in complex ways (2010). These intersecting constituencies reinforce the importance of combating homophobia within the animal protection movement (Jones, 2009) and the relevance of animal issues to other social movements (Adams, 1990; Gaard, 1997; Wuthmann, 2011).

Just as with the exploration of the involvement of women in the animal protection movement, this study contributes to an understanding of the involvement of LGBTQ-identified individuals in the animal protection movement by exploring the views and perceptions of movement adherents. The most common explanation given in interviews for the overlap between the two movements was the correlation between politically progressive causes. This compliments previous studies that connect conservative views with anti-animal rights and anti-LGBTQ sentiments (Kimball, 1989; Marzullo & Libman, 2009; Nibert, 1994). Other explanations for the overlap ranged from experiences with oppression to pet ownership. These findings add to the growing dialogue about the intersection between the LGBTQ rights and animal protection movements and could in turn help these movements to consider the needs and interests of their constituencies.

While interviewees overwhelmingly agreed that there was potential for the two movements to work together and learn from one another, the findings from this study also highlight some potential threats to intersectionality and impediments to collaboration. For example, those who did not identify as animal people or were not vegan felt excluded from the animal protection movement, which limits membership involvement and the potential for collaboration with the animal protection movement.

A further impediment to intersectionality was that adherents from both movements rated the other as lowest in importance in comparison to other social movements. Fewer Pride respondents strongly agreed that animals should have some basic rights than TAFAs respondents who strongly agreed with LGBTQ rights. This points to a difference in priority of social causes between the groups of adherents that could prove to be an impediment to dual affiliation and collaboration. Further, some respondents from both movements felt that LGBTQ-identified

individuals may actually be less likely to participate in animal advocacy because of their own experiences with oppression. This supports Wadsworth's assertion that "people in subordinated locations can often 'reflect and uphold' certain privileges" (Wadsworth, 2011). Respondents also noted a lack of racial and socioeconomic diversity in the animal protection movement. These findings reveal the need for both movements to proactively reach out to constituents of the other movement in order to collaborate. Increased attention to intersectionality – whether based on gender, sexuality, race, class, species, etc. – could facilitate increased membership and collaboration.

The data from this study contribute to the understanding of the importance of intersectionality in social justice movements. Findings show that social causes that may seem distinct and unrelated share common values, that adherents of one social cause might tend to affiliate with other causes, and that there is enormous potential for movements to work together towards the promotion of equal rights for all. At the same time, adherents from both movements have competing priorities, and there are impediments to intersectionality and collaboration between the movements that need to be addressed. The results of this study will aid both movements in becoming more intersectional, and instruct future research on intersectionality and social movement theory.

Study Limitations

This study had several limitations. TAFAs and Pride, for example, were not parallel events. While TAFAs are entirely advocacy-centered and limit their audience by having an entrance fee, Pride is a free event open to the public, and likely attracted some people with no involvement in the movement. Pride might attract a more local crowd than TAFAs and was more focused on celebrating and building community than on advocacy. This disparity limits the

validity of comparisons of the advocacy levels of each group. It would be meaningful to survey an LGBTQ advocacy-centered conference. In addition, TAFAs are viewed as a more “mainstream” conference within the animal protection movement, and there remains some debate over the language of ‘animal rights.’ Given the diversity within the movements themselves, it is problematic to discuss either the ‘animal protection movement’ or the ‘LGBTQ rights movement’ as though they are representative of all adherents of these social causes.

A further limitation to the study was that the convenience sampling method does not produce a representative sample, and the findings therefore cannot be extrapolated to the movement. Moreover, research on intersectionality at the organizational level is needed to empirically assess the extent of actual collaboration between these two movements. Despite these limitations, this study provides the starting point for further investigation into the connection between the LGBTQ rights and animal rights movements.

CONCLUSION

The theory of intersectionality has inspired a wealth of literature and furthered the rights of women and other marginalized groups. Similarly, the connection between the LGBTQ rights movement and the animal protection movement warrants further exploration, as it could potentially expand the body of literature around intersectionality, promote activism and progress in both movements, and further egalitarianism in general. This study points to a connection between adherents of the two movements, including shared values, dual movement affiliation, and a potential for the two movements to collaborate. Barriers to intersectionality, however, may reinforce structures of oppression, limit movement participation, and reduce movement effectiveness. This study contributes to the understanding of intersectionality as being inclusive of all social justice causes, including LGBTQ and animal rights, and highlights the importance of

an intersectional approach to advocacy. Future research could further explore the connection at the individual level and begin to explore the connection at the movement and organizational levels.

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APPENDICES

Appendix I. Survey

Thank you for participating in my survey. The purpose of this study is to investigate the intersection of LGBTQ rights and animal rights. The survey should take about 5 minutes to complete. All answers will be kept completely confidential. There are no right or wrong answers. You may stop the survey at any time and you do not have to answer any questions that you are not comfortable answering.

If you have any questions, please contact Melissa Rothstein at 301-873-7453 or Melissa.Rothstein@tufts.edu. For questions or concerns about the study, or your treatment during the study, please contact Dr. Allen Rutberg, at (508) 887-4769 or Allen.Rutberg@tufts.edu. Thank you for your participation.

Section I. Involvement in Animal Rights

1. Please indicate with an 'X' your level of agreement with the following statements:

	Strongly Disagree	Somewhat Disagree	Neutral	Somewhat Agree	Strongly Agree
I believe animals should be granted some basic rights	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>
I am active in the animal rights movement	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>
I am knowledgeable about animal rights issues	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>
Animal rights are very important to me	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>

2. Please indicate how often you engage in the following activities:

	Never	Rarely	Sometimes	Often
Subscribe to magazines, newsletters, or online news sources that focus primarily on animal welfare issues	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>
Attend functions or events based primarily around animal welfare or the promotion of animal rights	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>
Attend demonstration(s) or protests about issues that impact animal welfare	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>
Contact my representative(s) in support of animal welfare legislation	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>
Sign petitions in support of animal welfare or animal rights	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>
Contribute financially to organizations that focus primarily on animal welfare issues.	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>

Section II. Involvement in Lesbian, Gay, Bisexual, Transgender, and Queer (LGBTQ) rights

3. Please indicate with an 'X' your level of agreement with the following statements:

	Strongly Disagree	Somewhat Disagree	Neutral	Somewhat Agree	Strongly Agree
I believe LGBTQ people should have equal rights	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>
I am active in the LGBTQ rights movement	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>
I am knowledgeable about LGBTQ issues	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>
LGBTQ rights are very important to me	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>

4. Please indicate how often you engage in the following activities:

	Never	Rarely	Sometimes	Often
Subscribe to magazines, newsletters, or online news sources that focus primarily on LGBTQ issues	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>
Attend functions or events based primarily around LGBTQ issues	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>
Attend demonstration(s) or protests about issues that impact LGBTQ issues	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>
Contact my representative(s) in support of LGBTQ issues	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>
Sign petitions in support of LGBTQ issues	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>
Contribute financially to organizations that focus primarily on LGBTQ issues	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>

Section III. Personal Identity

Please answer as many of the following questions as you feel comfortable with, to the best of your ability:

1. In what year were you born? _____
2. What is your sex? Female Male Other _____ Prefer not to answer
3. With which of the following do you identify? (Check all that apply)
 - Lesbian Gay Bisexual Other _____
 - Straight Queer Transgender Prefer not to answer
4. Do you have any pets or companion animals? Yes No
5. Which of the following best describes your diet?
 - Omnivore (includes meat and plant foods)
 - Vegetarian (excludes meat, fish, chicken)
 - Pescetarian (excludes meat, but includes fish)
 - Vegan (excludes all animal products, including milk, eggs)
 - Other (please specify) _____

5. Please rate the importance to you of the following social movements:

	Not at all important	A little important	Somewhat Important	Very Important
Animal rights	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>
LGBTQ rights	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>
Women's right	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>
Civil rights	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>
The environment	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>

6. Would you be willing to participate in a follow-up interview about the questions you have just answered?

- Yes No

If yes, please fill out the following information. (Otherwise, please leave this section blank).

The interview would take approximately 30 minutes and is composed of open-ended questions related to this survey. If you choose to participate, you will be contacted via email to schedule a time.

Your answers and personal information will be kept completely confidential. Your participation is voluntary and can be ended at any time for any reason. Your contact information will not be shared.

Name _____

Email address _____

Phone number _____

Best time to contact you _____

Thank you very much for completing the survey

Appendix II. Sample Interview Script

“Hi, thank you so much for agreeing to participate in my interview today. This interview will expand upon the survey you recently completed at [event], and will seek to further explore your involvement in LGBT rights and animal protection. The questions are open-ended, so please feel free to interject at any point. Your participation is completely voluntary and you may end the interview at any time for any reason. Do you consent to participate in the interview?”

1. How did you become involved in [movement]?
2. How much does your involvement in activism play a role in your daily life?
3. How active are you in animal rights, and why?

What experiences do you feel influenced your view of animals?

4. How active are you in LGBT rights, and why?

How did you become involved in the movement?

5. Do you feel that there is an overlap between the people involved in animal advocacy and those in LGBTQ advocacy?

How would you explain this overlap?

What are some parallels, if any, that you see between the two movements?

6. Are many of your friends, colleagues, or acquaintances involved in both movements?
7. Do you feel that you face any form of discrimination within the movement based on your sex, gender, sexuality, race, class, view of animals?
8. If animal rights, is there tolerance for sexual diversity within the movement?
9. If LGBT rights, are animal issues acknowledged within the movement?

“Thank you so much for your participation in my interview today. If you have any questions about the study, please feel free to contact me at (301) 873-7453 or mero722@gmail.com. If you have any concerns about the study or your treatment during the study, or any questions you do not feel comfortable asking me directly, please feel free to contact the principal investigator, Dr. Allen Rutberg, at (508) 887-4769 or Allen.Rutberg@tufts.edu. Thank you, and enjoy the rest of your day.”