

Always for the Animals:
Findings and Recommendations for Organizational Governance and Regenerative
Practices in the Animal Advocacy Movement as Informed by the
Stories of Women Vocational Animal Activists

by

KRISTA VALERIE HIDDEMA

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Supervisor: Dr. Hilary Leighton
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KRISTA VALERIE HIDDEMA, 2022
M.A., B.A., CHRP, SHRP

COMMITTEE APPROVAL

The members of Krista Valerie Hiddema's Dissertation Committee certify that they have read the dissertation titled ALWAYS FOR THE ANIMALS: PROPOSED RECOMMENDATIONS FOR ORGANIZATIONAL GOVERNANCE AND REGENERATIVE PRACTICES IN THE ANIMAL ADVOCACY MOVEMENT AS INFORMED BY THE STORIES OF WOMEN VOCATIONAL ANIMAL ACTIVISTS and recommend that it be accepted as fulfilling the dissertation requirements for the Degree of Doctor of Social Sciences:

Dr. Gay Bradshaw [signature on file]
Dr. Carolin Rekar Munro [signature on file]

Final approval and acceptance of this dissertation is contingent upon the candidate's submission of the final copy of the dissertation to Royal Roads University. The dissertation supervisor confirms to have read this dissertation and recommends that it be accepted as fulfilling the dissertation requirements:

Dr. Hilary Leighton [signature on file]

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Abstract

In response to the severity and tenacious nature of COVID-19, the United Nations (UN) identified the cessation of intensive animal agriculture as one of three foci necessary to prevent another pandemic as well as to bring human society and the planet back on a healthful course. Animal health, human health, and environmental health were deemed to be the three critical factors, and the UN stressed that all three need to be addressed collaboratively as an integrated whole.

The Farmed Animal Advocacy Movement (FAAM or Movement), is a social justice movement working on behalf of farmed animals used for food. Currently, the majority of the work undertaken in Canada and the United States to combat intensive animal agriculture is undertaken by women. Numerous measures, however, assert that the FAAM is failing. A core cause is the troubled state of many FAAM organizations, and the impact this is having on the women employed as vocational animal activists.

This qualitative approach to research sought to explore the experiences and recommendations of these women through their stories as a means to deepen the understanding of the FAAM's organizational practices, and suggest tools for sustainability.

A reflexive thematic analysis of in-depth interviews with 33 FAAM vocational activists was conducted. Ubiquitously, the interviews revealed a pervasive culture of oppressive '*isms*', including racism and sexism, as well as significant illegal employment-based activities. Participants were also queried as to their suggested recommendations in regard to employment and organizational practices. One significant result of these recommendations was the creation of a proposed, practical, reasonable, and abundantly actionable checklist of practices, that, if implemented, may be instrumental in assuring a positive, highly engaging, highly ethical and

more sustainable work culture able to perform the essential labour of protecting animals, and by extension, supporting the proposal by the UN to protect society from another pandemic.

Keywords: Animal advocacy, organizational development, non-profit management, vocational activism, ecofeminism, ethnography, non-profit board governance.

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From Benji to Ginger and everyone in between. Whether furry, feathered, shelled, or slippery. It will always be for you.

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There Are No Others

There are no Others.

Not by Size nor Strength.

Not by Colour nor Weight.

Not by Place nor Mate.

Not by Age nor Creed.

Not by Skill nor Wealth.

Not by Body nor Health.

Not by Feather nor Skin.

There are no Others.

There is only We.

~ Krista Hiddema ~

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Chapter One: Introduction

Dissertation Structure

This dissertation, written in the first person present tense (except where past tense is required in accordance with the stylistic guidelines of the American Psychological Association), is organized into six chapters and an epilogue. Included in the chapters are various figures and tables, references and appendices.

In Chapter One, I provide an explanation of the social problem framing this study and contextualize the research, which includes my positionality and the research questions. In Chapter Two, I provide the relevant theoretical frameworks of ecofeminism, social activism,¹ and non-profit² leadership. Chapter Three includes methods and methodologies, in particular phenomenology, ethnography, and storytelling. Chapter Four is dedicated to my findings, and Chapter Five provides a discussion of those findings. Finally, in Chapter Six, I conclude with a proposal for a new model for board governance and recommendations for organizational leadership. In the short epilogue, I include relevant opportunities that have occurred since the completion of this research.

Please Note: This work is exclusively focused on the Farmed Animal Advocacy Movement in Canada and the United States (FAAM or Movement).³

¹ For the purposes of this dissertation, I will use activism/activist and advocacy/advocate interchangeably.

² I have elected to spell *non-profit* with a hyphen throughout.

³ This refers to the collective work done by a multitude of groups and individuals to protect animals, a term utilized by Deckha (2013). The FAAM is often also referred to by several other names such as the Animal Rights Movement, the Animal Protection Movement, and the Animal Liberation Movement. The term that is used herein is intended to include all work done on behalf of farmed animals, whether focused on welfare or abolitionism, and this dissertation will not explicate the differences between each of the many terms used, nor the types of activism.

An Explanation of the Problem and Contextualization of the Research

The overarching social problem explored in this research is the exploitation of more-than-human animals.⁴ While animals are used in human society in many ways including for entertainment, clothing, furniture, and experimentation of medicines and consumer goods, the vast majority of animals are used for food. The exploitation of animals for food is responsible for the breeding and slaughtering of tens of billions of land animals (FAOSTAT, n.d.) and hundreds of billions of aquatic animals every year (Franks et al., 2021). The global implications of animal agriculture on this scale, often referred to as industrial animal agriculture, includes but is not limited to land and water degradation, loss of biodiversity, deforestation, and climate change, as documented in the report of the Food and Agriculture Organization of the United Nations, *Livestock's Long Shadow* (Steinfeld et al., 2006).

These far reaching implications have become more prominent in mainstream political and public discourse (Benton, 1998; Kristof, 2020), in part as a result of the identification of COVID-19, a zoonotic virus. Zoonotic diseases, or zoonoses, are caused by viruses that spread from animals to people through direct or indirect contact. They can be spread by an insect such as a mosquito or flea, through food, or through water (Centers for Disease Control and Prevention, 2020). Past zoonoses have included rabies, anthrax, glanders, tuberculosis, yellow fever, and influenza (Blancou & Meslin, 2000), and others, including HIV, Ebola, and salmonellosis are part of the over 200 currently known zoonoses that pose a major public health problem around the world (World Health Organization, 2020).

⁴ The term “more-than-human” was first coined by David Abram (1997) in his book *The Spell of the Sensuous: Perception and Language in a More-Than-Human World*. This term refers to life that is not human, while ensuring that “less-than” language such as “non-human” is not utilized.

A July 2020 report co-authored by the United Nations Environment Programme and the International Livestock Research Institute listed seven anthropogenic factors driving the emergence of zoonotic diseases: a) an increased demand for animal protein; b) the rise of intensive and unsustainable farming; c) increased use and exploitation of wildlife; d) unsustainable utilization of natural resources; e) the proliferation of travel and transportation; f) changes in food supply chains; and g) the climate crisis (United Nations, 2020). All seven of these factors are directly or indirectly connected to animal agriculture, and these findings are not new. Animal agriculture (including aquaculture) has and continues to damage the Earth's ecosystems, and the by-products, specifically animal fecal matter, are harmful to all species, to water sources, and to the Earth (FAOSTAT, n.d.). In order to stem the mounting threat to the environment and the spread of zoonoses from animal agriculture, many scientists have called for the worldwide discontinuance of intensive animal agriculture, also referred to as factory farming (DeGrazia, 1998; FAOSTAT, n.d.; Wiebers & Feigin, 2020; World Health Organization, 2020). This is a goal of the FAAM.⁵

Of particular relevance to animal activists is the growing scientific body of literature that has found “human health and animal health are interdependent and bound to the health of the ecosystem in which they exist” (Bonilla-Aldana et al., 2020, p.234). While this linkage may not have been initially clear to some and may have been viewed as separate issues with distinct interests, more recently these separate communities of human, animal, and nature-rights movements have been converging in a way not seen before, with animal rights holding a key position (World Federation for Animals, 2020).

⁵ The shared goal of all organizations within the Farmed Animal Advocacy Movement is to end the use of animal for food though the methods employed for achieving this differ.

Due to their deep knowledge of the operations and organizational culture of animal exploitation, specifically with regard to the factory farming industry, animal rights⁶ activists are in a position to play an increasingly important role in advocacy not only for animals, but for the integration of the health of the whole that includes people and the natural world.

While the overarching problem considered in this research is the global impact of farmed animal exploitation, it was critical to begin with a deep examination of the experiences of the individuals performing the day-to-day work of seeking to put an end to industrial agriculture, namely, the animal activists, because without them, there would be no movement to end animal exploitation. As such, the foundational questions I was seeking to understand in my research revolved around how the majority of animal activists (women), experience their working conditions, and whether they have suggestions for improvement about any aspect of these working conditions. Since working conditions are the responsibility of FAAM organizations, and in particular the responsibility of the boards of directors and other leaders within those organizations (Schuh & Leviton, 2006), a focus of this research was on those whose role it is to be accountable for policies, procedures, governance, and the development and conduct of leaders and managers (Lawry, 1995).

I will now address the reasons I chose to work only with individuals who identify as women, and who are vocational⁷ activists.

⁶ The word *rights* will be used throughout, though, from a practical perspective, most of the work done by animal activists is done in support of the welfare of animals. While the word *rights* has a specific legal definition, it will be used based on its more common understanding, which is to refer to the welfare and protection of animals.

⁷ The term *vocation* or *vocational* is used to indicate work that is done in the context of paid employment.

First, it is important to note that both volunteer and vocational activists involved in the FAAM are overwhelmingly female⁸ (Gaarder, 2011). One U.S. study from the 1990s estimated that women comprised between 68% and 77% of all animal rights activists (Galvin & Herzog, 1998), and a second study estimated that women made up between 74% and 77% of animal activists (Jamison & Lunch, 1992). A more recent study from June of 2020 showed that 78.1% of paid activists and 77.4% of unpaid activists were women (Anderson, 2020). Women have consistently made up at least three quarters of all individuals in the FAAM, and as such, research that represents their experiences will likely have the greatest impact to the FAAM overall.

Secondly, I felt it was important to draw a distinction between vocational and volunteer activists, and explain my decision to work with vocational activists only. While volunteers, who are unpaid activists, play a critically important role in the FAAM, vocational activists have been found to have a stronger psychological contract with their work and with their organizations, which was not found to exist to the same degree for volunteers who lacked the same “ties of employment” (Nichols, 2013, p. 987). In addition, since vocational activists are paid for their labour, the relationship they have with their organizations is governed in law in ways not applicable to volunteerism, which results in them being relied upon more strongly for the ongoing effective operation of non-profit organizations in ways that simply do not apply to volunteers (Chen & Gorski, 2015).

As such, my primary focus for this research was to gather the stories of women vocational activists within the FAAM in Canada and the United States in order to better understand their perspectives of employment experiences in the FAAM, and to also provide the

⁸ The word *woman* and *female* is used in this context in an inclusive manner to include all individuals who identify as a woman/female regardless of gender assignment at birth.

women with an opportunity to confidentially share any suggestions to improve the working conditions of the FAAM which have been shown to experience various challenges (Chen & Gorski, 2015; Gaarder, 2011).

One of those challenges – turnover rates in the FAAM – inspired this research, as I wanted to understand ways in which FAAM leadership may help mitigate turnover rates in the Movement through enhanced employee engagement.

According to Anderson (2020), while the exact turnover rates in the FAAM are not available, the median number of years that an animal activist stayed with a particular organization was 2.3 years, with turnover being primarily attributed to problems with leadership including citing a lack of transparency and a lack of professionalism. In comparison, the average job tenure in Canada in 2020 was 106.2 months or 8.85 years (Jeudy, 2021), and the median tenure in 2020 in the United States was 4.1 years (Bureau of Labour Statistics, 2020). These statistics seem to be on rise, but specific numbers were not available at the time of this writing.

Not only does the FAAM appear to have significantly shorter retention periods than average job tenure in both Canada and the United States, there is speculation that turnover rates have become exacerbated by what is being referred to in mainstream media as *The Great Resignation*. The Great Resignation was a term initially coined to refer to the rise in number of health care providers who left their jobs, planned to leave their jobs, or planned to take early retirement in the wake of Covid-19 as a result of burnout (Sheather & Slattery, 2021).

Burnout is included in the 11th Revision of the International Classification of Diseases (ICD-11) as an occupational phenomenon which influences a person's health status and may also require that they seek out services from a health professional. Burnout is defined in the ICD-11 as follows:

Burn-out [sic] is a syndrome conceptualized as resulting from chronic workplace stress that has not been successfully managed. It is characterized by three dimensions:

- feelings of energy depletion or exhaustion;
- increased mental distance from one's job, or feelings of negativism or cynicism related to one's job; and
- reduced professional efficacy.

Burn-out refers specifically to phenomena in the occupational context and should not be applied to describe experiences in other areas of life. (World Health Organization, 2019, para. 5).

The high rates of turnover discussed in the context of The Great Resignation, however, have transcended the medical profession to impact countless other professions worldwide, with some news outlets calling it an “across the board mass exodus” from the working world (Morgan, 2021). This suggests it is a critical time for all employers, including those in the FAAM, to analyze the reasons for the turnover and act accordingly (Cook, 2021).

Engagement is defined as being at the opposite end of the “burnout-engagement continuum” (Maslach & Leiter, 2008, p. 498), therefore, part of acting accordingly, is for organizations to work towards increasing the engagement levels of employees. High levels of engagement are marked by employees who have a high state of energy, demonstrate strong involvement in the organization, and have a personal sense of efficacy in their jobs (Maslach & Leiter, 2016).

While high levels of employee engagement are important for all workplaces, it is especially important in social justice organizations because:

Organizations that do not retain activists are unlikely to create long-term change because as the organization recedes, any impact it had becomes easy to unravel and forget. This is true even if the organization is brilliant in conception, appealing to the public, and effective in a particular moment. (Bunnage, 2014, p. 433).

Acting to prevent burnout and enhance employee engagement among vocational animal activists is critical then for combatting not only the exploitation of animals used for food, but for the corresponding repercussions on human health and the health of our ecosystem.

Positionality

Given the combination of my education and professional background, the length of time I have been involved in the FAAM (which exceeds a decade), and my personal values, I believe I am uniquely positioned as a community insider to study the work experiences of women vocational animal activists.

In particular, I hold a total of five degrees and designations related to organizational development. These include a Bachelor of Arts degree in Sociology, a Master of Arts degree in Work, Organization, and Leadership, a Graduate Certificate in Human Resources Management, and two Canadian Human Resources designations: Certified Human Resources Professional (CHRP) and Senior Human Resources Professional (SHRP).

My professional background in Human Resources began in 1991 and included several progressively senior Human Resources roles culminating with the position of Vice President of Human Resources for one of the largest software companies in the world, SAP, which employed approximately 50,000 people worldwide during my tenure. Following this, I co-founded an employment and labour law firm in Toronto where I was uniquely distinguished as the only

Human Resources professional in Canada practicing as a non-lawyer partner of a law firm; I worked in this position for ten years.

Vocational and volunteer roles that I have held or currently hold in the FAAM include: Board Member, Mercy For Animals Canada; Vice President, Mercy For Animals in Canada; Advisory Board Member, One Protest; Founding Board Member and President, Happily Ever Esther Farm Sanctuary; Advisor, Rancher Advocacy Program, a program of Rowdy Girl Sanctuary; peer reviewer for the Journal of Critical Animal Studies; blogger for various FAAM groups including Faunalytics; Advocacy Director, Egg-Truth; Advocacy Director, Dairy-Truth; and Funding Advisor to three Movement philanthropists. I am the Executive Director of For The Greater Good, an organization I founded, where I consult to FAAM organizations worldwide regarding organizational development, value development, board governance, Human Resources policy development and training, including on sexual harassment, as well as conducting readiness assessments regarding organizational capacity building. In addition, I created and teach a 12-part Strategic Planning Certificate program for grassroots animal advocacy organizations through For The Greater Good and in partnership with Pro-Veg International.

As a community insider and ecofeminist ethnographic researcher, it was important that I understood there has been ongoing debate regarding the drawbacks and benefits of researchers holding either an *insider* (emic) or *outsider* (etic) position within the community under study (Markee, 2012). Perhaps the most common debate in this regard, or what has been referred to as the insider-outsider debate, is the impact being a community insider may have on the research (Chavez, 2015). Possible drawbacks cited include that the researcher may only choose to work with participants they feel comfortable working with, that the researcher may not be seen as a researcher but instead as an advocate for the research participants, that the researcher might

focus only on dramatic findings, and that the researcher might experience conflicts (Bonner & Tolhurst, 2002). As part of attempting to address some of my own biases, I will respond to the overall cited concern of being an emic researcher, followed by addressing each of the specific concerns noted by Bonner and Tolhurst and expand upon the possible positive elements of research done by community insiders.

Considering the overall concern of being too close to the research itself, I turned to the work of one of the leading experts in qualitative research, feminist sociologist and ethnographer, Laurel Richardson. Richardson emphasized that ethnography is not and cannot be separate from the ethnographer, and that while there are many ways of writing ethnography, it is always found at the intersection of art and science, where these two worlds collide in such a way as to display their strength, and that any limitations that exist within the framework of the realities are what make us human, such as our perceptions and feelings (Richardson, 2000). In other words, it is not possible to do research without bringing our own humanness into our work. Richardson, in writing about her own life, discussed that all writing is writing about one's personal life regardless of the lengths one may go to seek to avoid the personal, and she referred to the attempt to separate the objective and subjective as being not realistic in practice (Richardson, 2001).

Richardson, together with feminist qualitative researcher, Elizabeth Adams St. Pierre, also referred to the act of writing about research as a process of co-creation, as a process whereby the creative act of the writing itself is deeply entwined with learning by the researcher (Richardson & St. Pierre, 2005.).

Despite embracing the forgoing from Richardson and St. Pierre, as a novice researcher and one who is committed to undertaking work that is high in quality, I applied a clear and

documented process to all aspects of my research as a means to address any possible concerns regarding my emic status. For example, in connection with the participant recruitment process, I did not reject any candidates who expressed interest in participating in the research provided they fit the participant criteria, and they completed the process of informed consent. I worked with every one of the 33 participants who completed the process. Regarding the potential drawback of the participants viewing me as an advocate instead of as a researcher, I endeavoured to be as clear as possible in both my written and oral communications that the intention of the research was to provide recommendations for the FAAM overall, not for any one individual, nor any one situation. Related to the concern of a potential focus on dramatic findings only, I applied the Braun and Clarke model of qualitative research, a model which was developed to combat any concerns regarding focusing only on certain findings (Braun & Clarke, 2021). For more information about the Braun and Clarke model, please refer to Chapter Three.

The potential of the researcher experiencing personal conflicts based on the information shared was mitigated in several ways, including regularly diarizing my own experiences and thoughts throughout the research, followed by regularly reviewing and reflecting upon all diary entries to be mindful of how my behaviours, experiences and thoughts might have potentially influenced the interviews. I also took the opportunity to discuss some of my interview findings with two of my committee members and sought their counsel as needed. Further, the process of thematic analysis as developed by Braun and Clarke (2021) was applied as a tool to mitigate any potential conflict. The means to address possible concerns of my emic status are further discussed in Chapter Three.

Turning to possible positive outcomes experienced by emic researchers, community insiders were found to have great advantages particularly in the study of minoritized

communities. Advantages included having a clear positionality where it created “an equalized relationship between researcher and participants”, “expediency” of access to participants, and, “greater insight into the linguistic, cognitive, emotional, sensory and psychological principles of participants” including “knowledge of historical and practical happenings” (Chavez, 2015, p. 479). I had the opportunity to experience and benefit from each of the advantages noted by Chavez (2015). In all cases, the interviews were experienced by me as a conversation between equals. I also had the pleasure of being able to secure the time and commitment of 33 women in a very expeditious manner. In addition, the women all spoke about the Movement using words, phrases, and names of events, people, and places that an etic researcher may not have understood. The FAAM is mired in vernacular related to animal agriculture practices, farmed animals, advocacy tools, and theories and theorists, and is also steeped in a rich history that one learns over time as a community insider. The women were able to speak freely and in an uninterrupted manner without concern for whether or not I would understand their use of language or reference to events. Of note is that several research participants shared with me that they spoke with me only because I was an insider, and because they were either familiar with my work as an advocate for women in our Movement or because they had reached out to others in the Movement to check my credentials prior to participating. It is my contention that an etic researcher would not have been in a position to plumb these depths of this research.

Lastly, regarding my positionality, I wish to make clear that I live a vegan lifestyle and as such seek to reduce harm to animals as much as is reasonable in all aspects of my life. This includes the choices I make regarding my food intake (I do not consume meat, fish, eggs, and dairy), my entertainment (I do not attend circuses and rodeos), my cosmetics and household products (I do not use anything that contains animal products or has been tested on animals), and

my clothing (I do not wear wool, silk, or leather). A vegan lifestyle choice also has impacted my personal political views, which lean left, and my employment, in that I will only consult to organizations that advocate for a vegan lifestyle.

Being known in the Movement as a vegan is something I believe was also important in the context of my research. While it was not a criteria of my research nor did I ask the question, the majority of the women I spoke with stated they were vegan. Many assumed I was vegan and noted a comfort level in being able to discuss societal challenges that are often associated with living a vegan lifestyle.

Research Questions

The following are the two research questions that underpinned this work. They were crafted to seek to address the social problems laid out in the introduction of this dissertation. The primary research question was intended to understand the experiences of the women vocational activists who work to combat intensive animal agriculture. The secondary research question provided a platform for the women to share their recommendations for how the FAAM might develop best practices for higher engagement levels and hence reduce turnover rates in an effort to support the long-term, important work of ending intensive animal agriculture.

Primary Research Question

How are the principles of the ethics of care that are sought for more-than-human animals by FAAM organizations applied to the women activists they employ?

Secondary Research Question

How might the stories of these women, combined with existing literature, serve to inform more regenerative organizational practices, policies, and governance?

Chapter Two: Literature Review

This literature review includes peer-reviewed publications, books, and certain online materials regarding the relevant theories of ecofeminism, social activism, and non-profit leadership.

Ecofeminism is treated in connection with some of its critical elements; intersectional theory, care theory, oppositional value dualism, and the logic of domination. Another critical element of ecofeminism is social activism, though I do include it as a separate theory given that it underscores much of this work and hence figures prominently. Social activism is treated both generally and specifically regarding the FAAM. Literature on non-profit leadership includes its three key components: non-profit board governance, leadership, and management.

These three theoretical frames – ecofeminism, social activism, and non-profit leadership – are the most appropriate for my research given my epistemological locus as a social constructivist and organizational theorist, together with my position as an ecofeminist and animal activist as explicated above in Chapter One under positionality.

Included in this literature review is also an examination of online media information as *grey literature* specific to the FAAM. Lastly, I have also chosen to include a treatment of the theory of effective altruism, a decision that was made following the completion of the interviews given the frequency with which it was raised by the women.

This literature review includes evidence and rationales that support the research, and also reveals what seemed to be absent in the literature.

Using a transdisciplinary approach, I wanted to bring together knowledge from different disciplines, specifically ecofeminism, social activism, and non-profit leadership, “to create new conceptual, theoretical, methodological, and translational innovations that integrate and move

beyond discipline-specific approaches to address a common problem” (Aboelela et al., 2007, p. 336). I have used this approach in conjunction with the various theoretical lenses throughout.

Ecofeminism

Ecofeminism, sometimes referred to as ecological feminism, is the study of the “interconnections between the domination of women and the domination of nature” (Ruether, 2012, p. 18). It provides a lens by which the oppression of women and the oppression of the environment can be viewed, where the environment is defined as including: people, animals, and plants. Ecofeminism as a term was first introduced by French author, Francois d’Eaubonne in 1974, who recognized that people and their environments were parts of a whole that could not be separated (Besthorn & McMillen, 2002). To follow this line of thinking means the study of ecofeminism is, in effect, the study of the interconnectedness of “all energy, matter, and reality” (Besthorn & McMillen, 2002, p. 225).

Ecofeminism was born, evolved, and continues to evolve from a gap in other feminist theories such as, but not limited to, what might be considered the most well-known forms of feminism: radical feminism, liberal feminism, and socialist feminism, all of which did not adequately account for the oppression of the natural world in their analysis (Adams & Gruen, 2014).

Radical feminism stemmed from civil rights and left leaning political movements in the United States in the 1960s, and expanded into the UK and Australia in the 1970s. It can be dissected to provide a nuanced difference between libertarian and cultural radical feminists, both of which include the belief that all women, regardless of their individual circumstances (e.g., class, ethnicity, etc.) share the pain of a common experience of oppression (“Radical Feminism,” 2010). The former, the libertarians, seek to free women from traditional roles as mothers and

home makers, where the cultural feminists celebrate traditional roles, they see them as more connected to empathy and caring, and also see them as not only superior to male roles, but also more highly valued (“Radical Feminism,” 2010). All radical feminists centre their experiences of the patriarchal oppression of women in a historical and social context as rooted in male privilege, a privilege that has been and continues to be, reinforced socially, not just through individual behaviours which can be altered through awareness (Johnson, 2014). This context of socially reinforced patriarchy is seen as the first form of oppression that set the foundation. Patriarchal control is, and continues to be, rooted in religious institutions, in traditionally gendered divisions of labour in the family, and in other societal institutions including the workplace. An example of this in a workplace is how men might interrupt women in conversation and also dominate conversations by purporting to be experts in any particular area of discussion (Johnson, 2014), an action that is colloquially referred to as *mansplaining*. The root of radical feminism in the belief that patriarchal oppression is deeply embedded in society as opposed to being rooted in individual behaviour, is not seen to be able to be remedied through education and awareness, but instead through a deep focus on seeking a change to fundamental societal systems that uphold the patriarchy.

Liberal feminism, like all forms of feminism, has multiple shades of definitions, but all forms centre on taking a different perspective than radical feminism in that the remedy to the patriarchal oppression of women is to be found through education and awareness in society (Ackerly, 2001). Liberal feminists are of the view that sexist attitudes and behaviours can be corrected through gaining an understanding of the impact of sustaining a false belief in male superiority. Radical feminists see the liberal feminist solution to patriarchy through education as being short sighted and simplistic, though it has gained stronger public appeal in that it is seen as

more accessible for, and by the general public, and it forgoes the more challenging questions of addressing societal norms and values (Johnson, 2014). Liberal feminists then seek education to be undertaken more broadly which calls to government and other social leaders for education to take place in most aspects of society, including in public schools, cultural groups, and in other social institutions including in the workplace (Enslin, 2003). This call for more liberal education also includes a proposal not to limit teaching to only matters of gender, but to include all forms of education about matters of human dignity including bodily health and integrity, beliefs and emotions, and how we live alongside other species and the environment (Enslin, 2003). In other words, it takes a more fulsome approach in recognizing that one form of oppression is connected to another form of oppression.

Socialist feminism, like liberal feminism, recognizes the integration of gender oppression with other forms of oppression such as those based on class, age, place of origin, sexuality, and other defining characteristics. It is predicated upon the theories of German philosopher, Karl Marx, who referred to women's work as one of the foundations of capitalism because it was an unpaid free resource, and hence, it supported the reproduction of capital at no cost (Armstrong, 2020). Marxists recognized that capitalism and patriarchy were integrally bound, based in control and domination, and that to oppose one, both had to be opposed (Armstrong, 2020). This connection between patriarchy and economics was, and continues to be, seen as originating in the family structure where not only the labour of women, but the very bodies of women were, and in many situations are, controlled by men. Women were, and continue to be, bought and sold into marriage, women's reproduction was controlled, women were not paid as much as men in the workplace⁹, and women were regularly restricted from access to academic, religious, legal,

⁹ This is often referred to as The Gender Gap. The United Nations has expressed concern over the inequalities in pay between men and women in Canada, and in 2022, women earn 89 cents for every dollar earned by men

and daily-life activities all over the world. Socialist feminists then, view patriarchy as being rooted in all aspects of social life, and see justice for women as integrally bound up with social institutions, including the workplace, and see the freedom of the oppression of women as requiring a fundamental change to economic systems (Johnson, 2014).

Ecofeminism differs from all other forms of feminist thought in several ways, most notably that it rejects essentialist arguments and recognizes the interconnection of not just sexism, racism, classism, and colonialism, but also of speciesism and the environment (Gaard, 2011). Components of ecofeminist thought include other theories such as intersectional theory, care theory, the need to reject value dualisms (e.g., black and white, male and female, and mind and body), and the need to reject domination in all of its forms. Each of these will be explored.

Despite the fact that ecofeminism can be found at the praxis of theory and activism since it seeks to undo the forces of domination that are impacting the natural world and non-normative genders, which includes women and more-than-human animals (Global Research Network, 2021), for the purpose of this dissertation, social activism as a theoretical framework will be explored separately.

Intersectional Theory

The term intersectional theory¹⁰ was introduced by legal scholar, Kimberlé Crenshaw in her 1989 paper, “Demarginalizing the Intersection of Race and Sex: A Black Feminist Critique of Antidiscrimination Doctrine, Feminist Theory and Antiracist Politics,” rooted in Black feminism and critical race theory. Crenshaw introduced the term to address the marginalization

(<https://canadianwomen.org/the-facts/the-gender-pay-gap/>). The Gender Gap in the United States in 2020 concluded that women earned 84 cents for every dollar than men earned (<https://www.pewresearch.org/fact-tank/2021/05/25/gender-pay-gap-facts>)

¹⁰ Deckha (2013) noted that intersectional theory has been referred to and used as a theory, a concept, and a heuristic device.

of Black women within antidiscrimination law and also in feminist and antiracist theory and politics. Specifically, Crenshaw discussed intersectional theory as a way to recognize that Black women are often overlooked, or even completely forgotten when societal concerns regarding Black people are discussed. Discussions about societal concerns regarding Black people, often center the concerns of Black men, and discussions about societal concerns regarding women often center the concerns of white women, and as such, the concerns of Black women are often lost (L. Gruen, personal communication, August 2022). Crenshaw went on to “highlight the ways in which social movement organizations and advocacy around violence against women elided the vulnerabilities of women of color, particularly those from immigrant and socially disadvantaged communities” (Carbado et al., 2013, p. 304).

The field of intersectional theory has grown significantly since Crenshaw’s introduction “as scholars and activists have broadened intersectionality to engage a range of issues, social identities, power dynamics, legal and political systems, and discursive structures in the United States and beyond” (Carbado et al., 2013, p. 304) – to create a theory of overlapping and interconnected forms of oppression.

Intersectional theory is not only foundational to ecofeminist theory, but is germane to the FAAM and to this research because work on behalf of animals is intersectional work. While Crenshaw did not recognize animals and the environment as being marginalized in her 1989 paper, the evolution of intersectional thought to include animals and the environment has been recognized by other scholars. Nocella et al. (2014), for example, in “The Emergence of Critical Animal Studies: The Rise of Intersectional Animal Liberation,” compared the FAAM to “Black, gay and women’s liberation movements,” and stated it was created by “radical thinkers who

espoused not only animal rights but socialist alternatives to industrial capitalism, prison and education reform, and other progressive causes” (p. xix).

When considered broadly, intersectional theory critiques a multitude of negative ‘isms’ that cannot be examined myopically, but instead must be considered based on multiple grounds of identity (Cooper et al., 2012). While not always the case, such as in feminism, the suffix ‘ism’ when added to certain words, such as sex, race, age, size, and species, refers to “very real and intimidatingly harmful and distinct societal systems of self-serving domination and privilege that . . . cause avoidable and inequitable suffering” (Krieger, 2020, p. 38). Isms such as these are based on fallacious beliefs about a targeted group, usually intended to create and/or maintain advantageous political, economic, and sociological systems for the dominant group.

One example of a harmful ‘ism’ is sexism, a view that is based on the unjust premise of male superiority. This is due in part to what some believe to be a binary biological system where maleness is seen to be superior both physically and mentally. Male superiority is also subsumed both explicitly and implicitly in societal laws, policies, and rules to control women, where individual behaviours by members of the dominant group are meant to internalize the oppression of the oppressed persons, in this case women and girls (Krieger, 2020). Sexism promotes gender hierarchy, and as such, promotes gender inequality. Equality cannot exist in the presence of hierarchy. A longitudinal study of 57 countries found that “sexism not only legitimizes gender inequality, but actively makes it worse,” and included a call out to “pay attention not only to employment decisions, pay inequality, and violence against women, but also to the ideological forces that drive these effects and exacerbate the subjugation of women” (Brandt, 2011, p. 1417).

Ecofeminists such as Carol J. Adams and Lori Gruen discussed Crenshaw’s coining of the term intersectionality in relation of the oppression of Black women, and reasoned for the

need to expand the original definition of intersectionality to not only include other forms of interconnected oppressions such as race, gender, class, etc., but also the broader animal community and the Earth. They went on to say that to promote that work against all forms of oppression in parallel is critical in countering animal oppression, the oppression of women, and of the oppression of the Earth (Adams & Gruen, 2014). Social scientist, Mary Phillips agreed, and called for “a greater emotional and embodied connectivity with nature, a recognition of our vulnerability and an embracing of the importance of care” (2016, p. 481) in challenging the institutional practices that are damaging our planet and threatening the lives of more-than-human animals’ futures.

Feminist philosopher, Ann Garry (2011), proposed a broad definition of intersectionality and was clear that all members of society are defined by multiple intersecting characteristics (e.g., race, gender, class, etc.) that come together to shape how we experience society, how we experience ourselves, and how we experience limitations or privileges in society. Garry also denoted that intersectionality is an important tool to understand our own role in society, and how our responses to various situations are impacted by our intersecting characteristics, and hence, that self-awareness can serve as a tool for change. Further, Garry was clear that oppressive society repercussions (e.g., unequal pay in the workplace) apply only to marginalized groups such as women.

In addition, since ecofeminism includes the study of how women “adapt to environmental demands . . . [particularly within] the realities of power, conflict, oppression, and violence” (Besthorn & McMillen, 2002, p. 222), such as in workplaces, ecofeminism is a critical lens for this research. In examining ecofeminism in the context of paid work done by social workers, which, while not animal activists, included strong elements of social justice consciousness,

Besthorn and McMillen highlighted that negative organizational practices ensured the oppression of women by denigrating nature. This included economic oppression, racism, sexism, and patriarchy, which worked to ensure that the oppression continued. They went on to argue that a new model of social work for social workers was necessary in that it would be a return to their activist roots and would ensure a commitment to “examine all oppressive political, social, and economic structures of modern society” (p. 228).

Care Theory

Another critical component of ecofeminism is care theory. Expanding on the concept of the ethics of care, feminist philosopher, Nel Noddings, a 20th, discussed caring as something practical and relational, not something abstract and philosophical (Noddings, 2013). Feminist theorists such as Carol Gilligan (1993) necessitated that care included a response by the one receiving the care and also a sustainable connection to the one being cared for, which she noted would not always be possible, particularly in the case of providing care to animals and to the Earth. As such, the late ecofeminist Mari Kheel (2007) noted the early definitions of the ethics of care were inadequate and instead cited the example that in the case of demonstrating care for wildlife, care would mean completely “leaving them alone” (p. 226), hence no acknowledgement and no sustainable connection. For this research, I will adopt the position that an ethic of care should be situational, contextual, and allow for a “narrative understanding of the particulars of the situation or issue” (Donovan & Adams, 2007, p. 2), thereby allowing for a nuanced approach based on individual circumstances and needs.

Ecofeminists Josephine Donovan and Carol J. Adams noted an ethics of care must resist both hierarchy and oppositional value dualisms, must recognize the individual needs of each animal as being unique, and that the act of seeking to hear what the animal is telling us is critical

(Donovan & Adams, 2007). This definition of an ethics of care acknowledged that animals refers to both human and the more-than-human kind, and overall, they posited that human animals have a moral obligation not to harm more-than-human animals. In the case of the human participants in my research within an ethic of care and an obligation to do no harm, I considered the unique needs of each woman by allowing her the dignity of telling her story in a way comfortable for her, not limited to answers predetermined by a checklist or scale, and not restricted by time limits or fear of reprisal.¹¹

In addition, Donovan and Adams' (2007) definition of an ethics of care noted above included animals and women, and recognized the link between them. While this was debated by some early feminist theorists, such as Simone de Beauvoir (1989) who argued that women were seen as distinct from other animals, it is nonetheless embraced by many ecofeminists today. In particular, the common theme of patriarchal oppression as it effects both women and animals is now widely recognized (Donovan & Adams, 2007). Patriarchal oppression is apparent within the FAAM where, despite the birth of the FAAM being attributable to women (Kemmerer, 2013), the current state of the FAAM oppresses women (Kemmerer, 2013) with men being central to leadership and other positions of power (Kemmerer, 2018). This is explored further herein.

Part of the solution to the oppression of women and the natural world, as proposed by the late ecofeminist Val Plumwood (1991), was to let go of certain forms of rationality that are embedded in dualistic gender frameworks rooted in rationalism. Instead, Plumwood called for a morality that is based not in distance and reason, but a morality that embraced connectivity, respect for others, and the treatment of others with kindness and care, and that it be inspired by a

¹¹ This is in accordance with Chapter 3 of the Tri-Council Policy Statement on Ethical Conduct for Research Involving Humans https://ethics.gc.ca/eng/tcps2-eptc2_2018_chapter3-chapitre3.html.

genuine desire to be committed to moral progress; a morality not based on one's gender, but based on virtue.

Oppositional Value Dualism

Another fundamental component of ecofeminist thought is the recognition that oppositional value dualisms, which give greater moral value to the one that is seen as being higher and more valuable, feeds oppression (Warren, 2000). Duality itself is not necessarily the issue, and in fact dualism is needed in many aspects of society (e.g., a healthy parent/child relationship based on care). It is Warren's clear defining of the terms *oppositional* and *value* that provides the context: oppositional is the opposite of complementary, and value places one characteristic or trait above another where one is deemed to be what she refers to as *up* and another *down*, thereby creating value hierarchy.

Oppositional value dualisms underpin the patriarchal perspective of reducing fundamental aspects of the individual and nature into separate and opposing forces (based on two). This reduces gender to male or female, sexuality to labels of heterosexual or homosexual, race to white or Black, and animals to human or not-human, and so on. In her book, *The Pornography of Meat*, Adams (2020) elaborated on the problems of oppositional value dualisms by referring to the dominant groups as *A*, and the subordinate groups as *Not A*. Examples of *A* included man, culture, human, white, and mind, while the corresponding oppositional dualisms, *Not A*, were woman, nature, animal, people of colour, and body. According to Adams, oppositional value dualisms deemed *A* to be more valuable than *Not A*.

Ecofeminist Lisa Kemmerer discussed this ordering through opposites where one becomes the *other* as a form of hierarchy "leading to overarching systems of oppression . . . [and] in unearthing these parallels, ecofeminists came to see that it is not appropriate to seek to

liberate only one oppressed group without concern for the many others who are relegated to the ‘Not A’ category” (2013, pp. 72-73). Kemmerer went on to state that when activism seeks to extricate only one oppressed group, it is both a narrow and a selfish response, and that instead activism against oppression of the Not A group must include *all* Not A groups. This perspective, one that is broadly accepted among ecofeminist thinkers, takes the position that activism to end the exploitation of more-than-human animals must occur in parallel with activism to end the oppression of other Not A groups, such as women and people of the global majority¹², and the Earth. This perspective is also one that is debated vigorously within the FAAM, one that has significant impact on philanthropic giving, and one that is the cause of great divide in the Movement at both the organizational level and the individual activist level. This will be discussed further within the chapter which discusses recommendations.

Logic of Domination

Oppression, through unjustified domination of women, more-than-human animals, and the Earth, occurs when domination remains unchecked, and when inferiority is socially constructed based on race, religion, history, habit, custom, or some other false claim of one being smarter than, more important than, more valuable than, another (Warren, 2000). This false belief is the foundation of the domination that has existed historically against women, more-than-human animals, and the Earth, an interconnection articulated in ecofeminist Carolyn Merchant’s (1980) book, *The Death of Nature: Women, Ecology, and the Scientific Revolution*. Merchant discussed this domination impacting all aspects of society in the West where the history of oppression is long and sordid, whether examining the 17th century when women were prevented

¹² The term “people of the global majority” (PGM) is used interchangeably with “black, indigenous, and people of color” (BIPOC). This recognizes that Black, Indigenous, and people of color represent over 80% of the world’s population, and hence recognizes the inaccuracy of using the euphemism “minority.”

from attending universities or when Sir Francis Bacon, evoking the Baconian Method of the 1600s, advocated for “power over nature through manual manipulation, technology, and experimentation (Merchant, 1980, p. 216). This thinking still prevails when we examine what is happening today with the exclusion of girls in Afghanistan from attending school past grade six (“Taliban Orders Girls’ High Schools Shut Hours after Re-Opening,” 2022.). Swanson (2015) described historic foundations of domination as entrenched, as being at the root of domination, subjugation, and breakdown, where control has been exercised through racism, sexism, colonialism, and other negative isms. She suggested that toppling domination, rooted in society and not in biology, was not only the responsibility of humanity, but importantly the responsibility of whether or not society can change rests with leaders whom she calls upon to be guided by the adoption of an ecofeminist ethic of care.

Social Activism

While social activism theory, also referred to as social movement theory underpins ecofeminist theory, I have decided to treat it as a separate theory given that activism is at the very heart of this research and as such requires a separate and deeper analysis. Included in this treatment of social activism theory is literature that covers the experiences of vocational animal activists and activists in other social justice movements, incorporating a variety of treatments on women’s experiences in the workplace.

Social Activism

Social activism theories, quite simply, are developed based on the study of intentional actions taken by individuals (such as protesting, campaigning, and government lobbying) that cumulatively seek to bring about changes in society, both politically and socially (Dumitraşcu, 2015).

Two particularly noteworthy social activism theories are from political scientist Gene Sharp in his work studying the politics of nonviolent action, and from theorist and social movement organizer Bill Moyer with his development of the Movement Action Plan (MAP) Model for Social Organizing. Each of these are further explained below.

Sharp's work was birthed from his 1968 doctoral dissertation, and led to his groundbreaking voluminous 1973 book, *The Politics of Nonviolent Action*, which was divided into three parts: Part One – Power and Struggle; Part Two – The Methods of Nonviolent Action, Political Jiu-Jitsu at Work; and Part Three – The Methods of Nonviolent Protest and Persuasion. Inspired by Leo Tolstoy and Mohandas Gandhi in the development of his theory, Sharp identified six sources of political power: a) *authority*, referring to someone perceived to have the right to command; b) *human resources*, being the number of people and extent to which they form organizations; c) *skills and knowledge* of the people in the organizations; d) *intangible factors* including people's psychological and ideological perspective of the mission of the organization; e) *material resources* of the organization (e.g., money, transportation, communication); and f) *sanctions*, and the extent to which these can be used against the people to enforce control. According to Sharp, each of these sources of power were dependant on the obedience and cooperation of those over whom power was wielded, together with an acceptance of the authority of those in power.

In Part Three of his 1973 book, Sharp also included a catalogue of 198 individual actions that could be taken by activists, such as wearing symbols, picketing, labour strikes, and other nonviolent interventions, and provided definitions and examples of each of the actions.

Sharp, after initially merging the belief in nonviolence and the need to act non-violently, later separated beliefs and actions and referred to them as distinct phenomena. As well, he

identified areas for continuing studies, including suggesting that strategic planning was critical in an effort by organizations to be more effective (Sharp, 2007).

The MAP Model for Social Organizing, also based in nonviolent organizing, provides a social activism model based on four roles that activists can assume, each of which can be done positively or negatively (where the definition of *being done negatively* includes the use of violence), and then provides an eight stage map that all social movements go through over a period of years or decades (Moyer et al., 2001).

Moyer et al. (2001) described the four activist roles as: a) *the citizen*, referring to the involvement of ordinary citizens in activism; b) *the rebel*, those who are most visible in a movement, usually the front face for media and in the public spotlight; c) *change agents*, those who are focused on educating the public; and d) *the reformer*, those who are engaged in lobbying and parliamentary work.

Moyer's Eight Stages of Social Movements (2001) can occur in a variety of orders, and movements may even experience occasions of moving backwards through the stages, but in all cases the goal of powerholders (corporations and/or government) is to prevent the movement from moving forward. The stages may be representative of social movements-at-large, or may represent a particular sub-movement or campaign within the movement's overall goal. Moyer's theory takes the position that the public must be convinced three times: first they need to be convinced that there is a problem (Stage 4); then that current conditions are inadequate (Stages 4, 6, and 7); and finally, that the alternative being offered up is not to be feared (Stages 6 and 7). The eight stages, together with a succinct summary of each, are presented in Table 1.

Table 1. Moyer's Eight Stages of Social Movements

Stage	Title	Summary
1	<i>Normal Times</i>	People do not know about the problem. The problem may be ridiculed. The goal is to convince people that an injustice exists.
2	<i>Prove the Failure of Official Institutions</i>	The problem is recognized. The goal is to convince people that the problem is undemocratic, that accepting the status quo is not acceptable, and that powerholders are the problem.
3	<i>Ripening Conditions</i>	More people are learning about the problem, and opposition is increasing. Powerholders remain unconcerned.
4	<i>Take-Off</i>	Most visible stage of the movement. Higher public visibility. Often referred to as The Rebel Stage since more direct actions are taking place. Powerholders are concerned and defending their position.
5	<i>Perception of Failure</i>	Activists feel powerless, burned out; they may feel the movement is dead. Powerholders use this burnout to their advantage. Movement must train activists on the Four Roles and MAP Model, and create effective and efficient democratic organizational structures and group dynamic processes to move to Stage 6.
6	<i>Majority Public Opinion</i>	National consensus of the problem where public support is at 50%. This is the longest and most difficult stage. The Change Agent role is critical here. Organization and leadership models, together with more structures are necessary to endure. Powerholders are concerned.
7	<i>Success</i>	Movement reaches a new plateau. Public is turning against the powerholders. Power is shifting. Success is often slow and quiet, and can take decades.
8	<i>Continuing the Struggle</i>	Movement moves on to the next sub-movement or goal.

For both Sharp and Moyer, successful social justice change takes place over long periods of time. One of the most important elements necessary to sustain the work over time is the need to commit to personal sustainability (Cox, 2011). Although personal sustainability has multiple dimensions, for full-time activists, including those who are full time animal activists, it is related to the need to prevent burnout through positive organizational practices (Cox, 2011).

FAAM Activism

Turning to an examination of FAAM activism, it is important to identify that women not only birthed the modern day FAAM (Rosen, 1986), they also make up the vast majority of its workers (vocational and volunteer). Despite this, women serve primarily in positions of subordination, are often victims of sexual harassment and discrimination (Kemmerer, 2018), must navigate sexism including working within a Boys' Club¹³ environment, body shaming and ageism, and are also subjected to racism. Each of these will be discussed.

Sexual harassment by men towards their female colleagues in the FAAM was documented and discussed by Adams in 2016; she noted that “sexual inequality is one of the defining elements of the animal movement, defining both the status of animals whose liberation is sought, and the status of the women within the movement who seek the liberation of animals” (pp. 295–296). A quantitative study of vocational and volunteer activists in the FAAM by Anderson in 2020, *The State of Animal Advocacy in the U.S. & Canada: Experiences and Turnover*, while not peer-reviewed, provided additional important information. Anderson found that 45% of paid activists experienced some form of sexual harassment or discrimination, and of those, 75% experienced sexist, sexual, or gendered comments, 25% experienced unwanted touching in a sexual way, and 16.7% experienced being repeatedly asked for a date or phone number or repeated texting.

In her study, Anderson (2020) surveyed 161 FAAM activists, and 108 reported being paid, and of those, 78.1% were female. When surveyed about organizational leadership, both paid and unpaid activists cited a lack of satisfaction with leadership and specifically noted

¹³ The term Boys' Club refers to challenges that are faced by women at work where that work environment is male dominated. The domination of men in this context is usually strengthened by their commitment to solidarity in retaining power over critical aspects of employment such as resources, opportunities for mentorship and promotions, and opportunities for funding.

problems with professional conduct, fairness and transparency, goal support, and communication. Paid activists cited pay and benefits, job demands, and job resources as significant concerns. In addition, 48.6% of paid activists reported having experienced discrimination, unfair treatment, harassment, bullying, or abuse in the last five years. The study included a list of seven factors which were necessary to retain paid activists which included: a) job demands that were reasonable; b) that the skills and values of the vocational activists fit with the organization they were working for; c) satisfaction with the resources and supports provided to them; d) satisfaction with leadership; e) a sense that they were making a difference for animals; f) satisfaction with their pay and benefits; and g) that they were not experiencing job burnout.

Sexism and male privilege was discussed at length by Kemmerer (2018), who conducted a survey through an online confidential organization launched in July 2017 to support this undertaking. The organization, Coalition Against Nonprofit Harassment and Discrimination (CANHAD), was created to provide a platform where victims of sexism, racism, ageism, ableism, and heterosexism could tell their stories, be supported, and be provided with legal advice (CANHAD, 2018). In specifically writing about her findings within the FAAM, Kemmerer named twelve men who held leadership roles within the FAAM and were disproportionately powerful, came from privilege, were highly educated, and all of whom are white. Kemmerer elaborated on the interconnections between them, including their deep involvement in one another's organizations at varying levels, their propensity to be given preferred speaker positions at conferences, their preferred sponsorship status at the Animal Rights National Conference, and the frequency with which they were inducted into the Animal Rights Hall of Fame, as evidence of a Boys' Club ethos within the FAAM.

Other forms of sexism experienced by women in the FAAM included body shaming and ageism. The papers “Fat vegan politics: A survey of fat vegan activists’ online experiences with social movement sizeism” (Wrenn, 2017) focused on the study of body size in the FAAM and “Older, greener, and wiser: Charting the experiences of older women in the American vegan movement” (Wrenn & Lizardi, 2021), on women, age, and body size. Both studies were qualitative, and neither were specific to vocational activists. Wrenn (2017) noted that vegan activism is unique in that the political perspective is embodied in the person, specifically in their physical body (e.g. their size, their overall level of health, their fitness level), and that this activism is taking place in a society where food consumption is highly scrutinized. Wrenn articulated that public campaign messaging to encourage the adoption of a plant-based lifestyle generally focuses on health, nutrition, and what Wrenn referred to as *thin-privileging*, meaning that those in certain societies, particularly Western societies, who are thin are more likely to be viewed positively in society because they are thin. In seeking to determine comfort level in engaging in animal activism regardless of body type, Wrenn found that 25% of respondents, of which 80% self-identified as female or cis-women, had been asked not to participate in a certain form of activism “because of their body type . . . [which] indicates that one in four have experienced overt discrimination because of their body size” (p. 93). This meant that vegans who were seen not to be thin were considered not to be positive role models for veganism. Wrenn referred to this, in part, as an intersectional failure, citing Crenshaw’s (1989) work on intersectionality.

Wrenn and Lizardi (2021) found little research existed on the intersection of age and social activism based in large part on the Movement’s obsession with vitality. They noted women in the Movement were under pressure to age in an outwardly pleasing manner (as

denoted by social norms), while male leaders in the Movement did not experience these pressures and were “more likely to be granted legitimacy, status, and platform, regardless of age” (p. 658).

There were two additional peer-reviewed papers that studied the experiences of activists in the FAAM: “Where the Boys Aren’t: The Predominance of Women in Animal Rights Activism” (Gaarder, 2011), where all study participants were women, and “Nobody’s Paying Me to Cry: The Causes of Activist Burnout in United States Animal Rights Activist” (Gorski et al., 2018), where 76% of the participants were women. The papers were similar in that they focused on activist experiences in the FAAM and included both vocational and volunteer activists. In addition, each study undertook a phenomenological approach, and each engaged in 17 qualitative, semi-structured interviews. Participants were found to have experienced in-fighting, sexism, a Boys’ Club mentality, and martyrdom culture, with one activist experiencing stalking and harassment (Gaarder, 2011; Gorski et al., 2018). Racism was cited as another experience by activists, as was a lack of cooperation among animal rights organizations (Gaarder, 2011; Gorski et al., 2018). While both papers provided inspiration for my research, they did not specifically address the experiences of vocational activists, instead, they combined the experiences of vocational and volunteer activists. They also did not address the obligations of FAAM organizational leaders to seek to create and maintain healthy workplaces free of sexism, discrimination, sexual harassment, and other inappropriate workplace conduct. In other words, they noted the problems but did not provide routes of resolution.

Although extensive, my review of the existing literature did not reveal any peer-reviewed publications exclusively devoted to the study of vocational activist experiences in the FAAM, the

focus of this research. There was however, significant research available about other social justice movements regarding the experiences of vocational activists, which I will now discuss.

Non-FAAM Activism

Reviewing this literature was important to the efficacy of this research because it helped contextualize the FAAM within the broader non-profit sector in Canada and the United States and provided contrasting examples of symptoms and processes particular to the FAAM.

Rodgers (2010) interviewed 50 employees at Amnesty International. She identified factors such as sacrifice, long hours, low pay, and emotional distress, and concluded with a warning that “social movements that do not address some of the emotional components of paid activism will experience problems” (p. 288). Another study focused on political activism and found activists needed to believe that their lives were meaningful and that the work they did felt “useful, important, and even heroic” (Pines, p. 381).

One study by social justice researcher Paul Gorski (2019), in his phenomenological research with activists fighting racism in the United States, found that activists were leaving their work despite years of dedication. Gorski indicated a failure to care for activists was one of “the most formidable barriers to sustaining social movements” (p. 668). This provided me with further incentive to conduct this research: to continue to examine the interconnection between care and job satisfaction, and provide recommendations to help ensure the longevity of the FAAM.

Literature was sparse regarding organizational responsibilities for the work experiences of employees despite the fact that organizational leadership is legally, ethically, and morally responsible for workplace culture. A few recommendations, however, were found. One organizational recommendation made for reducing the number of activists leaving the anti-

racism movement, outside of the commonly discussed strategy of self-care, was the suggestion that activist turnover was the responsibility of leaders, and they should address the needs of the community and focus on how martyr cultures can and should be addressed (Gorski et al., 2019). Martyr culture was defined by Gorski in his 2015 paper, “Relieving Burnout and the ‘Martyr Syndrome’ among Social Justice Education Activists: The Implications and Effects of Mindfulness” to refer to “a culture that leads activists to believe that self-care is an indulgence, a marker of privilege, and that thereby discourages activists from seeking ways to sustain themselves” (p. 707).

Other recommended strategies to combat activist turnover were suggested by Bernal et al. (2008) in their *Self-Care and Self-Defense Manual for Feminist Activists* included: strengthening work teams, providing professional training, creating support networks and job rotation opportunities, clearly defining job roles and responsibilities, and implementing sexual harassment policies and protocols. Another study, “Promoting Self Care and Well-Being among Feminist Activists and Women’s Rights Defenders: Reflections from Burma and Palestine,” discussed the importance of organizations to care for activists since “healthy activists in healthy movements cannot be silenced” (Norwood, n.d., p. 11), and as such, are more likely to continue their work with greater psychological health. In all cases, the responsibility of organizational development programs that are designed to help mitigate unhealthy workplaces falls to organizational leadership with oversight by non-profit boards of directors. An examination of these obligations follows.

Non-Profit Leadership

I have elected to segment non-profit leadership into three distinct areas, boards of directors, leadership, and management. This was done to seek to clearly delineate the differences in roles and responsibilities between each.

Boards of Directors

Non-profit organizations in both Canada and the United States are required by law to be governed by an independent and volunteer board of directors, and the FAAM is no exception to this requirement. From a legal perspective, boards of directors have the “ultimate accountability, authority, and responsibility for an organization” (Cole & Swartz, 2011, p. 5). That said, boards of directors are largely unregulated, and as such accountability is a moralistic matter where “morality deals with normative questions about the rights and welfare of persons and other sentient beings”, (Lawry, 1995, p. 172) and where the words *morals* and *ethics* are used interchangeably. Legal scholar Robert Lawry indicated that a lack of formal accountability has been replaced by the fact that society at large expects non-profit organizations to demonstrate an advanced level of integrity as it relates both to the actions they take as well as the actions they choose not to take. Two examples were given: non-profit boards of directors must ensure that organizational expenses are reasonable and fully accounted for, and also that staff salaries, while not at the level of those working in the for-profit sector, are nonetheless fair. Lawry specifically noted “it is stupid, unfair, and unrealistic to expect non-profit salaries to be non-competitive, not only because it is necessary to attract top-flight people but also because there is a justice issue in the treatment of employees” (p. 178).

While I was not able to find any research on boards of directors within the FAAM, other niche groups have been studied and provide examples of challenges that can arise when boards

are able to govern in the absence of accountability. One example was a review of Scottish charities that took place following several public scandals reported in the media that resulted in public outrage (Dunne, 2013). The research showed incidents of misconduct and mismanagement by a breast cancer research organization and a children's charity, and made recommendations for regular content analysis including transparency of financial reporting and operations, as well as performance reporting.

Another example was an examination of non-profit boards within the context of organizations suffering from founder's syndrome, a form of classism where the organizational founder is "holding on to privilege in an act of self-interest, the antithesis of service and stewardship" (Block & Rosenberg, 2002, p. 353). This study concluded that while not all founders behave in the same ways, "there appears to be considerable truth to some of the rumours and stories about founder's syndrome" (Block & Rosenberg, 2002, p. 366). This is largely due to the fact that founders tend to be skilled entrepreneurs and not usually skilled managers (Block & Rosenberg, 2002).

The fundamental matter of accountability was discussed in all of the literature on non-profit board governance that I reviewed. The measure of accountability, however, differed since measurement tools were numerous. For example: The Board Self-Assessment Questionnaire (BSAQ) was made up of 65 board practices intended to be scored and reported on; the National Center for Non-profit Boards Questionnaire included 59 items; the Benchmarks of Excellence Tool included 340 items within a 100-page workbook; the Drucker Foundation tool was designed to assist boards with strategic planning; and the simplest tool was a list of 34 considerations for boards created by the Canadian Comprehensive Audit Foundation (Gill et al., 2005).

While reviewing the various tools designed to support an analysis of the fundamental responsibilities of non-profits, there were five key shared responsibilities, regardless of the stage of development¹⁴ of the non-profit organization: a) *governance*, legislative compliance with respect to all aspects of organizations from board governance to employees; b) *financial*, ability of the organization to be able to consistently generate the funds needed to sustain itself; c) *organizational development*, clear role definition and fair treatment of employees; d) *internal operations*, including systems for finances, payroll, human resources, information technology; and e) *core services*, ability to carry out the mission of the organization (Schuh & Leviton, 2006).

Governance work is by its very nature transitional in that organizations are living entities in a constant state of change based on both internal (e.g., employees, finances) and external factors (e.g., political, global). Good governance work, then, needs to be undertaken not only contextually, but also consciously. This is more pertinent for the non-profit sector since ethical conduct is expected by members of society, and this expectation of ethical conduct then requires a framework for its effective execution (Strickland & Vaughan, 2008).

Borrowing from the work of American psychologist Abraham Maslow's (1943/2016) *Hierarchy of Needs*, non-profit scholars Ruth Ann Strickland and Shannon K. Vaughan (2008) created the *Hierarchy of Ethical Values in Non-profit Organizations* (see Figure 1). This governance model was based on five levels: Level 1, Maintaining Competent Financial Management, included the need of the non-profit to engage in wise asset management; Level 2, Establishing Accountability, referred to the organization being open, honest, and transparent with

¹⁴ Stages of development refers to the maturity of the organization as measured by size, years in operation, budget, number of employees, etc.

government, tax bodies, employees, volunteers, and other stakeholders; Level 3, Establishing Reciprocity, meant the non-profits were serving their constituents, such as their donors, ethically and in accordance with the organizational mission so as to maximize trust; Level 4, Instilling the Value of Respect, meant the non-profit was respectful to others, and ensured employees and volunteers felt worthwhile and appreciated; and Level 5, Integrity and the Self-Actualized Non-Profit Organization, meant the organization had internalized its ethics and was pursuing its mission to the fullest extent possible. Strickland and Vaughan noted that ethical governance occurred when the non-profit organization had reached Level 5, and that the critical elements of Level 5 subsumed the other four levels of being financially competent, being accountable to stakeholders through transparency, demonstrating reciprocity, and governing with respect. Lastly, of particular note was that Strickland and Vaughn clearly stated that “organizational culture is one of the most important factors, if not the most important, influencing ethical behavior” (p. 234).

Figure 1. Strickland and Vaughan's (2008) Hierarchy of Ethical Values in Non-Profit Organizations



All of the literature I reviewed discussed the fundamental importance of strong and effective non-profit boards because “effective boards are associated with organizations that tend to perform better in terms of both fiscal performance and perceptions of organizational effectiveness” (Brown, 2007, p. 301). Further, it was clear one of the key responsibilities of non-profit boards is leadership oversight (Fenton & Inglis, 2007).

Leadership and Management

The term *leadership* is one with many different definitions, and one that in some cases is used synonymously with the term *management*, and in other cases, not. I will distinguish between the two and for the purposes of this study, I will not use these terms interchangeably. Leadership, as described in much of the academic literature, and when practiced, tends to include behaviours and activities that are related to the vision, mission, and goals of the organization, with a focus on motivating and inspiring employees and ensuring healthy work cultures. Leadership is tasked with challenging traditional ways of thinking while seeking out and

encompassing new and transformational ways of achieving the goals of the organization (Algahtani, 2014). Management tends to be more administrative in nature, including carrying out the day-to-day tasks necessary to meet organizational goals such as planning, budgeting, supervising employees, mentoring employees, and engaging in conflict resolution (Algahtani, 2014).

Leadership. The study of leadership can be traced back to the time of Confucius, Plato, and Aristotle, while the most well-known academic theory of leadership, “The Great Man Theory,” was attributed to 17th century thinker Thomas Carlyle in his 1840 writing, *On Heroes, Hero-Worship, and the Heroic in History*. Carlyle’s theory was built on the premise that leadership was the exclusive domain of men that were placed on Earth by God, a theory that was aligned with Victorian misogynistic views of the time (Spector, 2016).

Despite the countless theories of leadership promulgated since then, one thing remains – good leadership is the difference between organizational success and organizational failure. Good leadership transcends sector, whether for-profit, governmental, or non-profit. As such, my literature review did not uncover any notable differences between how good leadership was defined based on sector. That said, and prior to focusing on the similarities between the leadership theories that transcend sectors, I did feel it important to list some of the differences that leaders face in the non-profit sector to recognize added complexities. These differences include the non-profit sector’s reliance on donors for their revenue; their reliance on not only employees but also volunteers for their people power; employees also being stakeholders since they are members of the general public; transparency being a legal and ethical requirement; and the legal requirement to be governed by a volunteer board of directors.

Theories on leadership are voluminous and ever developing, and tend to apply to all sectors, for-profit, governmental, and non-profit unless otherwise stated within the theory. After reviewing numerous theories, I have elected to elaborate on nine, several of which include both leadership and management responsibilities. I have also provided an analysis of the similarities and differences between them. The theories are presented in no particular order, and the terms *theory* and *model* are used interchangeably.

Organization performance scholar Paul Light, referring to a telephone survey of 1,140 non-profit employees in the United States, noted that the non-profit sector employs high quality employees due in part to their commitment to mission-driven work, but that the organizations are weak (Light, 2002). Light went on to posit that healthy workplaces, regardless of the sector, have six characteristics: a) employees have the chance to accomplish something meaningful; b) employees can connect their work to the overall mission of the organization; c) the organization is always improving; d) employees have the resources they need to perform the essential aspects of their job; e) work is recognized; and f) the organization is respected by those it serves. Further research into Light's six characteristics found that "it is impossible to overstate the importance of the leader to the high-performing organizations," and found five key conditions necessary for good non-profit leadership in that it: a) fosters open communication; b) motivates people; c) fundraises; d) clarifies board/staff relationships; and e) embraces participation (Armstrong & Ashraf, 2011, p.260). All of these were contained within Light's overall model.

The second theory, referred to as Greenleaf Servant Leadership, was developed by leadership researcher Robert Greenleaf, founder of the Greenleaf Center for Servant Leadership (<https://www.greenleaf.org/>). Greenleaf's model, also cited in the work of Armstrong and Ashraf

(2011), was built upon the belief that in order for leaders to be successful, they must genuinely care for their employees:

Caring for persons, the more able and the less able serving each other, is the rock upon which a good society is built . . . if a better society is to be built, one that is more just and more loving, one that provides greater creative opportunity for its people, then the most open course is to raise both the capacity to serve and the very performance as servant of existing major institutions by new regenerative forces operating within them (Armstrong & Ashraf, 2011, p. 268).

The Servant Leadership Model had nine dimensions that leaders must embody: a) *emotional healing*, or being sensitive to others; b) *create value for the community*; c) *conceptual skills*, or the ability to help and support others; d) *empower others*, especially immediate followers; e) *help subordinates grow and succeed* through support and mentoring; f) *put subordinates first*; g) *behave ethically*, meaning to interact openly, fairly, and honestly; h) *prioritize relationships*, including the building of long-term relationships; and i) *servanthood*, referring to the act of serving others first (Liden et al., 2008, p. 162).

The third leadership model was created by business ethicist Joseph L. Badaracco. Badaracco (2002) also referred to his Model of Moral Leadership as *leading quietly*, where he advised leaders to find the balance between their hearts and their jobs. His model suggested that leaders should act with patience, modesty, and the utmost of care. He also discussed that leaders should have no interest in self-sacrifice, and that morality should guide all of their decision making. Further, Badaracco shared four guiding principles: a) *you don't know everything*, where he encouraged leaders to be honest about what they do not know; b) *you will be surprised*, where he noted that despite careful planning, leaders must recognize that people will also be surprising;

c) *keep an eye on insiders*, which means to depend on those who are most likely to have a deep sense of the goings on in an organization; and d) *trust, but cut the cards*, meaning that one should be aware of cynicism.

The fourth leadership model, developed by economists Mary Egan and Marc Bendick, was based on the need for leaders to have a high level of *cultural intelligence* (Egan & Bendick, 2008). They noted the word culture could have different meanings and could apply within a company, within a team, or within a foreign posting, but that in order to lead with cultural intelligence, four components were necessary: a) *metacognitive intelligence*, understanding cultural norms; b) *cognitive intelligence*, demonstrating an understanding of different social systems including economic and legal components; c) *motivational intelligence*, being genuinely interested in and committed to learning about different cultures; and d) *behavioural intelligence*, conducting oneself appropriately in any situation including how one speaks, acts, gesticulates, and interacts.

Sally Helgeson, an expert in women's leadership, developed a leadership model that she called the Web of Inclusion (Helgeson, 2005). This fifth model included here was described as a process or method of considering leadership that is malleable based on the unique characteristics of an organization, including its size, shape, stage of business maturity, and other such considerations. This model was based on a principle of caring, and of acknowledging work as a part of one's life. The model included these factors: a) *the need for open communication across levels of the organization*; b) *the decoupling of thinking and doing*; c) *sharing of power*; d) *remaining flexible and reflexive regarding organizational structure*; and e) *keeping a broad perspective of the outside world* (Helgeson, 2005).

The sixth model, the Relational Leadership Model, was developed by professors Susan Komives, Susan Longerbeam, Felicia Mainella, Laura Osteen, and Julie Owen (2006), and centred the role of relationships at the focal point of leadership. This included five critical components: a) *purpose*, or having a common goal; b) *inclusivity*, the valuing of differences; c) *empowerment*, reflecting the sharing of power; d) *being ethical*, referring to the importance of acting with integrity; and e) *process*, focused on how people and teams work together.

The seventh model was created by James Kouzes and Barry Posner in 1987. This model, referred to as Five Practices of Exemplary Leadership, was predicated on the ability of anyone being able to lead provided they master five practices (based on two behaviours each): a) *model the way*, by being an example and allowing for small wins, which create confidence; b) *inspire a shared vision* through a meaningful future which is based on the hopes and dreams of the employees; c) *challenge the process* through innovation and taking risks; d) *enable others to act* through collaboration and delegation; and, e) *encourage the heart* through recognition and celebration (Kouzes & Posner, 1987).

And finally, built around the importance of emotional intelligence (EQ) are two leadership models, Resonant Leadership (Goleman, 2005) and Emotionally Intelligent Leadership (Shankman & Allen, 2010).

The Resonant Leadership Model was built upon two competencies: *personal competence* and *social competence* (Goleman, 2005). Goleman described personal competence as having self-awareness, values, and emotion, as well as the having the ability to manage one's own emotions and feelings, whereas social competence included empathy, social awareness, and the ability to work with others, including the ability to collaborate, lead, and manage.

The nine theories share many similarities. The most noteworthy is that each model included recommendations regarding the importance of treating employees, and especially subordinates, with care, which is a fundamental component of ecofeminist theory. Various words and phrases were used to denote care, including kindness, sensitivity, empathy, heart, the need to serve others, and the need to prioritize relationships. The need to prioritize care extended in several of the models to the importance of empowering employees and sharing power, and also of supporting and mentoring employees. Care is also fundamental to the very *raison d'être* of the FAAM. The FAAM is predicated on the desire to inspire people to live a life that is centred on not just care for other humans, but care for those who are more-than-human.

Another similarity in several of the theories was the need for good leaders to have self-awareness, to have self-control, and to always act ethically. Where the theories differed was in matters that were more operational in nature, which could be classified as management theories. These operational matters of difference included the need to celebrate wins, the need to ensure clear roles and responsibilities, and the need to be aware of societal and legal matters.

Management. Like leadership literature, management literature does not clearly distinguish between theory in the for-profit and non-profit sectors. Instead, most of the literature takes the position that in any context “the quality of an organization’s human resources is perhaps the leading indicator of its growth and sustainability” (Harter et al., 2020, p. 1). Harter et al. (2020) suggested that how organizations treat their employees either strengthens the work of those organizations or puts them at risk.

The most deeply researched and cited theory I uncovered was developed by the Gallup Organization and popularized in the book, *First, Break All The Rules: What the World’s Greatest Managers Do Differently*, by Marcus Buckingham and Curt Coffman (2014). The Gallup

Organization conducted in-depth interviews with over 80,000 managers in 400 companies, and studied survey results from three million other employees in other companies (Echols, 2005).

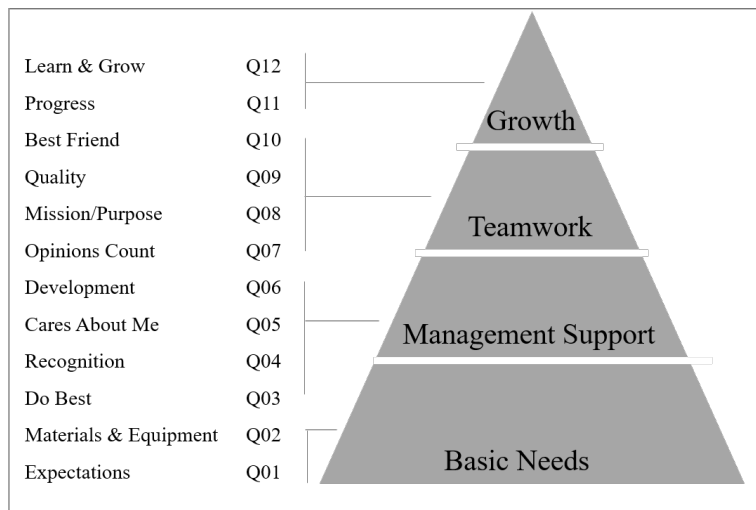
This led to the creation of a list of twelve fundamental questions related to employee engagement, known as *Q12*. The Q12 were ultimately phrased as statements to which those surveyed were asked to respond affirmatively or negatively:

- Q1. I know what is expected of me at work.
- Q2. I have the materials and equipment I need to do my work right.
- Q3. At work, I have the opportunity to do what I do best every day.
- Q4. In the last seven days, I have received recognition or praise for doing good work.
- Q5. My supervisor, or someone at work, seems to care about me as a person.
- Q6. There is someone at work who encourages my development.
- Q7. At work, my opinions seem to count.
- Q8. The mission or purpose of my company makes me feel my job is important.
- Q9. My associates or fellow employees are committed to doing quality work.
- Q10. I have a best friend at work.
- Q11. In the last six months, someone at work has talked to me about my progress.
- Q12. This last year, I have had opportunities at work to learn and grow.

When the responses were in the affirmative, they directly correlated with higher levels of employee engagement and revealed “a directional relationship from employee engagement to outcomes such as employee retention” (Harter et al., 2020, p. 46). The twelve statements were laid out in *Gallup’s Employee Engagement Hierarchy* (Harter et al., 2000), structured into four hierarchical components: basic needs, management support, teamwork, and overall growth (see Figure 2). This model, like the *Hierarchy of Ethical Values for Non-profit Organizations*

(Strickland & Vaughan, 2008), was also modelled after Maslow's *Hierarchy of Needs* (Maslow, 1943/2016).

Figure 2. Gallup's Employee Engagement Hierarchy



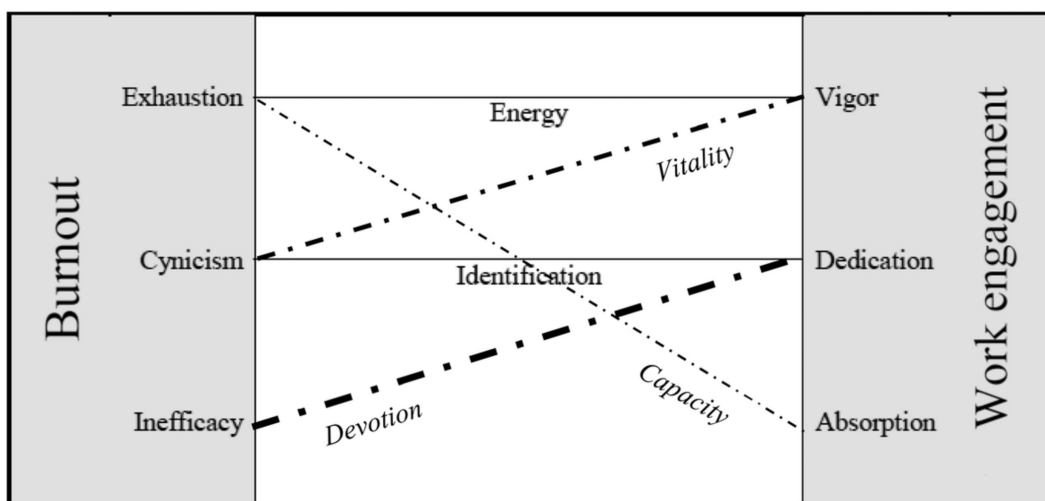
The opposite of employee engagement is burnout. Social psychologist Christina Maslach, a pioneer in this field, was one of the early adopters of the term 'burnout', using it in 1976 as part of a response to a study of people working in health care and other care-based professions. Maslach's ongoing work in this area led to the development of the Maslach Burnout Inventory (MBI) and the customization of this inventory model for industries such as health care, education, and human services, as well as one version for general use (Maslach et al., 1997).

In all versions of the MBI, three dimensions were central: a) overwhelming exhaustion; b) cynicism and detachment; and c) a feeling of lack of accomplishment, also referred to as inefficacy. These three dimensions are juxtaposed against three dimension of work engagement in Figure 3.

The MBI burnout model was further expanded over time to include a framework by which to understand burnout better based on "organizational context" as defined through "six domains of . . . [a] job environment": a) *workload*, particularly challenging when emotional work

is done; b) *control*, particularly when the individual does not have the tools to perform the job effectively or lacks authority to do so; c) *reward*, or a lack of recognition for work done; d) *community*, triggered by a lack of positive connections with others; e) *fairness*, measured by mutual respect; and f) *values*, when there is conflict between the work and an individual's core values (Maslach et al., 2001, p. 413). This has come to be known as the burnout-engagement continuum as illustrated in Figure 3.

Figure 3. Burnout-Engagement Continuum



Board governance, leadership, and management are interconnected elements that contribute to social activism theory, and are in a constant state of change as the individuals in organizations change, and as society changes. Societal change has the power to influence non-profits, especially when those non-profits are subject to media coverage. This was evident in the case of the Scottish charities when the media reported on the scandals; the public backlash led to changes in the law regarding non-profit governance, and a call for greater oversight (Dunne, 2013).

The FAAM, and in particular certain boards of directors, leaders, and managers within the FAAM, are no strangers to the impact of media influence, the subject of the next section of this literature review.

Effective Altruism

EA is both a philosophy and a social movement, an intellectual pursuit, and a practical pursuit. The philosophy relies upon the intellect to guide moral decision making, and by extension, the social movement, (the practical application of the philosophy), seeks to apply that philosophical guide to effective social justice activism both in terms of assessing the efficacy of various forms of social justice work, and in terms of decision making regarding philanthropic giving (Caviola et al., 2021).

EA holds a series of guiding principles, which include seeking to do as much good as possible with time and money; seeking to make the biggest difference possible in the world; and using evidence and reason in decision making (MacAskill, 2019). For those seeking to live in accordance with these values, it also means adopting the philosophy of utilitarianism, the roots of EA, in all aspects of everyday life (MacAskill, 2019). Living in accordance with utilitarian values (which subsumes EA) includes the conviction to live frugally and to make significant personal sacrifices such as donating half of one's income; living in accordance with EA values includes no requirement to live frugally as long as one is actively helping others (MacAskill, 2018). Utilitarianism is considered by some not to be an essential element of EA (McMahan, 2016).

In the context of EA as a social movement, it demands the use of evidence and reason in determining social justice work and the philanthropic priorities for that work as a basis to discover and support the best ways in which to improve the world (Fisher, 2017). This practical

application of EA began to be popularized in the 1970s by philosopher and bioethicist, Peter Singer. He later published, *The Most Good You Can Do* (2015), which has become a manual of sorts for followers of EA.

Among Singer's (2015) viewpoints are the belief that those who are wealthy have an obligation to give to the poor; that the greatest moral inequities in suffering are a result of a lack of food, shelter, and basic medical care; and that moral giving requires the giver to give until the act of giving equals the sacrifice the one in need is experiencing. In other words, to use a colloquial expression, moral giving requires "giving until it hurts".

Singer's work, in large part, birthed the Effective Altruist movement and the corresponding organization, Centre for Effective Altruism, which offers online handbooks, free courses, reference materials, chat forums, and a newsletter. It is also responsible for organizing and hosting annual conferences worldwide (<https://www.centreforeffectivealtruism.org/>). EA and the EA movement, in the context of the FAAM, is referred to as Effective Animal Advocacy (EAA), which favours the EA consequentialist perspective in prioritizing work to combat intensive animal agriculture (Fisher, 2017).

While on the surface, EA and EAA¹⁵ may seem common-sense and even valuable when faced with difficult decisions, it runs counter to the ecofeminist principles of intersectionality, care, opposing value dualisms, and domination. A deeper examination of EA reveals several pitfalls, gaps, and critiques including EAA's prioritization of animal welfare work, EAA's failure to address needed systemic change, EAA's ill-founded calculations to promote their messaging, and a charge of EAA being morally corrupt. Each of these points are addressed below.

¹⁵ EA and EAA, from here on in will be used interchangeably.

In terms of prioritizing work for animals, and the funds required to carry out that work, EA tends toward welfare-based work (MacAskill, 2019). In the FAAM this includes work that is purported to help as many animals as possible, such as work to provide cage-free housing for hens who are confined to battery cages for the purpose of egg production; work to increase the light levels in confined animal feeding operations for chickens used for their bodies to create food stuffs such as chicken's wings and chicken's breasts; work to reduce the amount of time an animal is legally permitted to be transported (via truck, train, boat); and work to slow the speed of slaughter lines, particularly for chickens and turkeys, in an effort to ensure that all birds have their necks slit and bleed out prior to being submerged into scalding tanks.

This emphasis on working to create incremental changes to the capitalist system of intensive animal agriculture can be seen in an examination of the writings of Animal Charity Evaluators, an EA-focused FAAM organization whose mission it is help individuals make philanthropic giving decisions based on a rating system they developed (Animal Charity Evaluators, 2022a).

To expand upon this by citing one flawed example, I will discuss animal welfare work undertaken to provide hens cage-free habitats. This is work Animal Charity Evaluators has rated as being highly effective for upwards of a decade, despite the fact that their own website page "What is the Effect of Cage-Free Corporate Outreach on Egg-Laying Hens' Welfare" notes the following contradictions: "there is evidence that cage-free systems may lead to higher injury rates compared to caged systems"; "there is a 60% probability that companies will follow through with cage-free commitments"; and "cost-effectiveness estimates vary widely, and it is unclear which are the most accurate" (Animal Charity Evaluators, 2022b).

FAAM organizations undertaking these cage-free initiatives include the Humane Society of the United States, Mercy For Animals, and The Humane League. This work was and continues to be funded primarily by an EA organization called the Open Philanthropy Project (OPP), which publicly commits to EA principles in their funding decisions (Open Philanthropy “About”, n.d.). On their website, OPP offers their grants database for easy download (Open Philanthropy “Grants Database,” n.d.). When edited to calculate funding they have provided exclusively for welfare-based farmed animal work, it indicates that between February 2016 and December 2021, OPP gave \$176,449,870 USD to FAAM organizations, the majority of which was given for cage-free initiatives, and the balance for other animal welfare work such as poultry welfare and fish welfare.

Further substantive funding for welfare work comes from the Farm Animal Funders, a pool of individuals who collectively give more than \$250,000 per year to end factory farming through EA-based funding (Farmed Animal Funders, n.d.). Members of Farm Animal Funders, as listed on their website include OPP as well as John and Timi Sobrato of Sobrato Philanthropies, Simone Friedman of EJF Philanthropies, Ariel Nessel of Mobius, Suzy Welch of The John F. Welch III Family Foundation, Chuck and Jennifer Laue of The Quinn Foundation and Stray Dog Institute, Jim Greenbaum of the Greenbaum Foundation, and a number of anonymous members. These EA funders have an disproportionate influence on the type of activism that is done with the FAAM by virtue of their control over the vast majority of FAAM funding.

While EA has been adopted by thousands of people and numerous organizations such as OPP (MacAskill, 2018), it fails to consider factors that are immeasurable such as social and economic considerations, political change, justice, equality, urgency, systemic change, and

individual rights (Gabriel, 2017), and can result in outcomes that “might exacerbate the same social and economic inequalities that philanthropists purport to remedy” (Eikenberry & Mirabella, 2018, p. 44). The focus of time and money on short-term, minor welfare improvements can come at the cost of focusing on *systemic* transformational change for animals. Plainly put, a significant criticism then is that the work of EA devotees is confined to undertaking work within existing frameworks of politics, economics, and institutions, as opposed to undertaking work to change those existing frameworks. The result is that the lack of action required to bring about anti-capitalist systemic change has been charged with making any social change less likely at all (Dietz, 2019).

This institutional critique is an extension of the welfare critique in that it accuses the EA movement of focusing on the reduction of short-term suffering while ignoring the foundations of that suffering rooted in politics, social institutions, and global economic matters that seek to and benefit from their continuance (Crary, 2021). Ethicist Iason Gabriel (2017) referred to the approach of focusing on the reduction of short-term suffering at the expense of institutional change as being not only unreliable but also improving the economic conditions of some while others continue to be maimed, injured, and killed – in essence, nothing more than a trade-off of one form of oppression for another.

An additional critique of EA in the health care sector, quantification bias, argues that despite attempts to quantify suffering (e.g., the disability adjusted life years metric created by the health care sector), suffering cannot be quantified and any attempt to do so will inevitably exclude important considerations (Gabriel, 2017).

EA provides followers with a safe, numeric, and easy to understand framework within which decision making can be free of nuance, free of needing to make difficult decisions, and

free from subjectivity. Numerical metrics may give the appearance of transparency and objectivity, but it is born from a lack of faith in society and a lack of faith in the ability of individuals to make good judgements based on a particular set of circumstances, none of which metrics require (Muller, 2019). Historian Jerry Muller (2019), in seeking to illustrate his position regarding the tyranny of metrics, interestingly used the push for quantifiable measures in an organizational context. Muller, in asking his readers to envision themselves as the new head of a large organization seeking to familiarize themselves with the goings-on in the organization, suggested most leaders will request and rely on numeric reports. Muller went on to note that in so doing, the leader would fall short of their goal to understand the organization, and he not only called this expenditure of time a waste, but also noted it would result in the diminishment of the autonomy, dignity, and worth of those lower in the organizational hierarchy.

Drawing on my own experience as a reformed former welfare-based activist who spent six years in Canada seeking to secure cage-free eggs commitments from restaurants, food distribution organizations, and other food production corporations, I offer an additional criticism not found in the literature to date. Mathematical estimates attempting to quantify animal welfare initiatives by certain animal advocacy groups have traditionally relied on forced commitments by animal protein producers and other procurers of animal products with extremely limited knowledge of the number of animals utilized. Estimates were based on proxies such as the number of restaurant locations and were often inaccurate (differing between groups); and several groups would also assume credit for the same commitments. The cited commitments were always future dated, sometimes as far as 10 years in the future, with no oversight nor any ability to track outcomes. The value of welfare initiatives for the animals was always subjective and unreliable, and corporate welfare commitments that were provided to FAAM groups by these

organizations were done under duress of a pending campaign, but they were and continue to be readily marketed to prospective donors as being concrete and meaningful for animals.

In her criticism levied upon EA, ecofeminist Alice Crary referred to the EA movement as being morally corrupt (Crary, 2021). While Crary is in agreement with other noted critiques of EA, her reference to the moral corruption of EA is both powerful and poignant. Crary supports her assertion, in part, by recognizing that EA's preponderance to supporting short-term welfare-based work demonstrates no understanding of the capitalist framework within which that short-term work is sought. In other words, efforts to provide slightly more room for animals to move around only serves to continue to support the capitalist entities oppressing those animals. Crary cites examples of these failed efforts by noting the horrific practices on factory farms unimpeded by one short-term campaign to increase cage size. Crary lists the plethora of other atrocities levied upon animals farmed for food such as bio-engineering and slaughter, by articulating the continued impact to:

. . . sources of air and water pollution that disproportionately harms members of the already socially vulnerable human populations . . . global greenhouse gas emissions . . . the need they generate for grazing land is a major factor in deforestation world-wide . . . significant soil erosion and related polluting run-off . . . threats to public health . . . a breeding ground for zoonoses . . . and because it relies on the mass prophylactic use of antibiotics to mitigate its own disease-causing conditions, it adds to the prevalence of deadly infections of antibiotic-resistant bacteria such as salmonella (Crary, 2021, p. 41).

Despite the arguments against EA, it is a growing movement with donations to EA charities in the hundreds of millions of dollars annually (Crary, 2021). EA has garnered star power followers such as Bill Gates and Elon Musk, whom among countless others, support two

of the largest global EA mega-charities: Giving What We Can (<https://www.givingwhatwecan.org>), and Give Well (<https://www.givewell.org/>). Of note is that the membership of EA organizations such as these are made up of predominately young, white, well-educated able-bodied men (Rubenstein, 2016).

While EA charities no doubt do some good, the question remains, at what cost? “If effective altruists are mistaken about what it means to do good, or about how impact can be measured, then the movement risks doing more harm than good by diverting resources away from other important goals and objectives” (Gabriel, 2017, p. 458). It is possible then, that EAA is doing more harm than good in their approaches to seek to advance social justice for animals.

Online Information

While online sources of information have not always been considered by scholars to be as reliable as peer-reviewed or published literature, this is changing. Media and social media are now recognized as powerful sources of socialization that impact norms, values, and what is deemed to be acceptable and unacceptable behaviours within various institutions, including workplaces (Genner & Süss, 2017). Media and social media then, as part of a collection of different sources of information that can include background, gender, sexuality, family, peers, and other factors, serve to transfer knowledge between individuals that has the potential to impact social relationships at work, and can also impact work-based engagement levels (Genner & Süss, 2017).

As such, I have elected to include relevant grey literature and other materials from “highly reputable news agencies or channels” (Eaton, 2018, p. 4). In particular, I focused on seeking information related to the work experiences of vocational activists in the FAAM in the last 15 years. My online information sources included blogs, Facebook posts from FAAM

community insiders, articles from media sources such as National Public Radio, The Washington Post, The Chicago Tribune, and Politico, and information from various relevant websites.

The FAAM has been the subject of increasing media coverage over the past decade – some positive and some negative. One positive reason is that it reflects an ongoing social trend with regard to the general public demonstrating some interest in the plight of animals which has brought about positive changes (e.g., positive impacts of the film *Blackfish*¹⁶ on aquaria industries). A significant portion of the coverage however, has been negative, and has been due to ethical and legal scandals with regard to boards of directors, leadership, management, and other workplace matters.

At this point, I would like to advise the reader that I have decided to include the names of both perpetrators and alleged perpetrators, the names of organizations, and some details about various incidents as they were reported. This decision is not one that I have made lightly, and I turned to the literature to help inform my consideration of the treatment of this information and my decision to include it. I carefully reviewed the work of ethnographer, feminist scholar, Laurel Richardson who stated, “I have found no ethical problem in publishing stories that reflect the abuses of power, I consider the damage done by the abusers far greater than any discomfort my stories might cause them” (Richardson & St. Pierre, 2005, p. 966).

I was also inspired by the work of Black, lesbian, academic, orator and poet, Audre Lorde, whose 1978 poem, A Litany for Survival, is as follows:

“if we speak we are afraid

that our words will be used

against us

¹⁶ *Blackfish* is a documentary film that highlights the animal welfare issues of orcas in marine parks like SeaWorld (<https://www.imdb.com/title/tt2545118>).

And if we do not speak
we are still afraid
So, it is better to speak
knowing we were never meant
to survive (pp. 31-32).”¹⁷

Lorde wrote extensively on the importance of language as a tool to bring about social change, despite any inherent risk in doing so. Lorde (1977) noted that “I have come to believe over and over again that what is most important to me must be spoken, made verbal and shared, even at the risk of having it bruised or misunderstood” (p. 73). Lorde also passionately spoke and wrote about her perspective which cited that failing to assume the risk of naming names was a form of complicity with oppression and with the oppressor (Olson, 1997). Instead, feminist researchers are called to raise awareness about the problems of silence, since silence thrives “in an environment in which power, privilege, and historical inequities operate invisibly without being named, acknowledged, or addressed” (Shpungin et al, 2012, p. 44).

Through a process of deep self-reflection, I feel strongly that if I keep silent, or if I only provide a general comment about the prevalence of sexual harassment in the FAAM, that I would not only be conspiring with the abusers, but that I will not be living up to my own responsibility to the women who so bravely decided to share their stories with me, who trusted me, and whose pain and grief I carry in my heart for them, and not least of all for the animals who inspired the women’s continued commitment to the work despite their own fears and their own risks in doing so. I have now spent many hours hearing the stories of what so many of these women endured, about the fear that prevented them from speaking out, about the impact that

¹⁷ The poem is included as it was originally written keeping true to line spacing, capitalizations, and punctuation.

their experiences have had and is having on animals, and about the fact that many of the accused have experienced no meaningful repercussions as result of their actions, and instead, they continue to thrive within the FAAM. For these reasons, and for the very reason that inspired this research, (the high turnover within the FAAM), I am called to name names so that the stories of the women are not left unheard, so that these women and the women who will come to the FAAM now and moving forward, understand their own risks. I feel a deep responsibility to the women I worked with, and to the women who will follow in their footsteps. In following Lorde's footsteps, I too cannot shrink in response to any personal risk which may (in her words),

seduce us into settling for anything less than the hard work of excavating honesty: we must be quite serious about the choice of this topic and the angers entwined within it, because, rest assured, our opponents are quite serious about their hatred of us and of what we are trying to do here (Lorde, 1981, p. 281).

Another reason that I chose to include particulars is that the public recognition of victims is leading to changes to employment laws in both Canada and the United States. These changes can only continue when we are not silent, when instead, we demonstrate care for each person who has been victimized, and when we raise their voices in unison and in some cases for them (Shpungin, 2014).

One example of a change to law occurred on Prince Edward Island (P.E.I.), Canada's smallest province, when they became the first Canadian jurisdiction to limit the use of non-disclosure agreements (NDA) by employers for victims of harassment and sexual misconduct. Lynne Lund, a Green Party Member of Legislative Assembly, introduced Bill 108¹⁸, which

¹⁸ Bill 108: <https://docs.assembly.pe.ca/download/dms?objectId=9e65eec9-3f80-479b-acf2-c5a00b121d44&fileName=bill-118.pdf>

received Royal Assent on May 17, 2022. The Canadian Broadcasting Corporation spoke to lawyer and panel member John McKiggan who noted that,

. . . it's a big problem because it keeps the public from knowing that there are predators out there because of the confidentiality that's required from the people who have suffered abuse. So there's less accountability, there's less knowledge. And we can have repeat predators out there without being able to stop them because . . . people have been silenced . . . I have done literally thousands of these types of cases. In every single case but one, the abuser had multiple victims. Where there's one victim, there's 10. That's why they fight so hard to keep this type of conduct secret (Ross, 2022, para. 8).

A similar act, referred to as the Silence No More Act¹⁹, came into effect in the state of California in the United States on January 1, 2022. This piece of legislation, similar to Bill 108, prohibits employers from requiring that an NDA be signed in order for a victim to receive a settlement as a result of workplace harassment or discrimination. Senator Connie M. Leyva noted that,

It is unconscionable that an employer would ever want or seek to silence the voices of survivors that have been subjected to racist, sexist, homophobic or other attacks at work. To that end, I greatly appreciate the Governor's signature of SB 331 as it will empower survivors to demand accountability and prevent future abuses by perpetrators (2022, para. 3).

This decision to include specificity then, is not about blaming, moreover, it is about *the power of naming to facilitate change*, and as a transdisciplinary researcher, change is my primary purpose.

¹⁹ Silence No More Act: https://leginfo.legislature.ca.gov/faces/billNavClient.xhtml?bill_id=202120220SB331

The onset of negative coverage of the FAAM in the media may be credited to the 2015 admission by Hugo Dominguez, organizer for Direct Action Everywhere (DxE) at that time, of having committed multiple sex crimes against other activists (Be Their Sound, 2015). Media coverage since this incident has been followed by allegations of sexual assault by several prominent white heterosexual men in the FAAM, including two leaders in The Humane Society of the United States (HSUS): Wayne Pacelle, former CEO of (Paquette, 2018) who later resigned from his position (Bosman et al., 2018), and Paul Shapiro, former VP (Kullgren, 2018).

Of particular note regarding Pacelle is that the allegations of sexual harassment dated back to 2005, when according to his accused (a female intern), Pacelle pulled her towards his body, began slow dancing with her, and kissed her (Paquette, 2018). Additional detailed accounts were provided by other women about their sexual assault experiences by Pacelle, but these will not be explicated here due to the troubling nature of the content, and because the specifics will not add any value to this narrative.

The allegations against Shapiro were equally troubling and included that he created a work environment infused with sexual joking, that he made sexual advances towards female employees, and that he was known to engage in the sending of inappropriate emails (Mandelbaum, 2018).

Also of note was the failure of the HSUS Board of Directors to initially take any of the aforementioned matters seriously despite both men having a long and sordid history of inappropriate conduct at HSUS. The board's failure to act appropriately was further demonstrated by their allowing Pacelle to continue in his role as CEO during the investigation into his conduct once a formal complaint had been made (Gunther, 2018b). In addition, one board member, Erika Brunson, noted in an interview that Pacelle had not done anything wrong,

and went on to say “Which red-blooded male hasn’t sexually harassed somebody?” and “Women should be able to take care of themselves” (Bosman et al., 2018).

Nick Cooney, former SVP of Mercy For Animals (MFA), was also known to have a long and sordid history with women. He was accused in 2011, prior to joining MFA, of sexual misconduct and physical violence towards women (Gunther, 2018a). He was hired by the then President of MFA, Nathan Runkle (later changed his first name to Milo) despite Runkle being aware of his history, and after he was hired, two employees of MFA who eventually worked for Cooney accused him of bullying (Bhumitra, 2018) and of sexual misconduct (Wilson, 2018).

Alex Hershaft, Founder and current President of Farm Animal Rights Movement (FARM), has been known to engage in inappropriate conduct towards employees for well in excess of a decade. Several women (Gunther, 2018c) and one non-binary person (Eldreth, n.d.) have come forward over the years, yet Hershaft continues to not only hold the role of President, but is also Chairman [sic] of the Board of Directors. The FARM Board of Directors, like the HSUS Board of Directors, failed to carry out their obligations to take these allegations seriously, have them investigated in an impartial manner, and take appropriate action to ensure a workplace free from harassment (Eldreth, n.d.). Hershaft also has a history of speaking out against intersectional activism and against cancel culture (Hershaft, 2021); writing about his admiration for, and support of, Pacelle; as well as suggesting that #ARMeToo²⁰ “has been the greatest self-inflicted threat to the success of our movement since we got it going 40 years ago” (Gunther, 2020). It is of note that all of these men continue to be involved in the FAAM, they continue to receive funding, and they have not had to account for their conduct.

²⁰ #ARMeToo is the acronym used to refer to #MeToo conduct within the animal right community.

Additional allegations of sexual assault by white male influencers in the FAAM included against Alex Bez, founder of We The Free;²¹ against Harley Johnstone;²² against Kevin Olliff;²³ and also against several members of DxEx.²⁴

There were legal charges laid in connection with Pacelle and Bez. In the case of Pacelle, he and several other high-ranking members of HSUS, as well as Pacelle's former special assistant, Crystal Moreland, are currently facing a lawsuit brought by Jeffrey Thomas Jr., a former policy analyst at HSUS. Initially Thomas, who was employed at HSUS from February 13, 2017 to November 8, 2017 (the date he was fired), brought a defamation claim against Moreland where he accused Moreland of wrongly accusing him of sexual harassment which resulted in his being fired. The discovery process in this matter brought to light new information which allowed Thomas to file a second lawsuit against Wayne Pacelle, Mike Markarian (Executive Vice President and Chief Operating Officer of HSUS), Amanda Hungerford (Former Staff Attorney at HSUS), Kate Karl (Former General Counsel at HSUS), Becky Branzell (Deputy General Counsel at HSUS), Sara Marshman (Senior Assistant General Counsel at HSUS), Sara Amundson (President of the Humane Society Legislative Fund), and Rebecca Cary (Staff Attorney at HSUS). Thomas filed this complaint on July 6, 2021 to the Superior Court of the District of Columbia. The charges in this second lawsuit by Thomas include retaliation, breach of fiduciary duties, breach of contract, defamation, invasion of privacy, harassment for their handling of his termination, and their failure to take action to cease the ongoing sexual

²¹ The website <https://stopwtf.org/> hosted statements by people and organizations about their experiences with Alex Bez. The site was taken down under threat of a lawsuit.

²² *Harley 'durianrider' Johnstone: a scammer, a fraud and a rapist.* <https://steemit.com/durianrider/@michaelhebo/harley-durianrider-johnstone-a-scammer-a-fraud-and-a-rapist>

²³ *Testimonies from Survivors of Abuser Kevin Olliff.* <https://www.kevinolliffabuseswomen.com/>

²⁴ *Wayne Hsiung and his DXE Cult.* <http://waynehsiungdxecult.blogspot.com>

harassment at HSUS. Thomas included that the executives were aware of Pacelle's discriminatory and harassing behavior towards women, including Moreland, and they protected Pacelle by having Moreland accuse Thomas of sexual harassment instead of addressing the issues with Pacelle. Thomas also alleges Pacelle used HSUS to recruit and groom sexual prospects and victims. Thomas is seeking \$10,000,000 in compensatory and punitive damages, plus attorneys' fees (*Jeffrey Thomas Jr. v. Wayne Pacelle and Mike Markarian, Amanda Hungerford, Kate Karl, Becky Branzell, Sara Marshaman, Sara Amundson, Rebecca Cary*, 2021). Both matters are still ongoing.

Defamation charges laid by Bez (also known as Anthony Bezjak) against a FAAM organization called The Save Movement (also known as Animal Save Movement) and its founder Anita Krajnc. These charges were laid on January 31, 2022 in the Ontario Superior Court of Appeal in the amount of 1.2 million dollars. The charges were against The Save Movement and Krajnc for re-posting public statements made against Bez by his alleged victims for sexual assault on social media and for encouraging that these statements be shared across multiple social media platforms (*Bezjak v. The Save Movement and Krajnc*, 2022). The matter is ongoing.

A timeline of some of the most relevant coverage from various media sources is presented in Appendix A. I have elected not to include all online sources in this timeline for ease of reading. Instead, I have included coverage from well-known sources such as The Washington Post, The New York Times, Politico, and Nonprofit Chronicles, as well as pertinent Facebook posts, websites, and blogs which include first-hand accounts of sexual harassment, bullying, racism, and discrimination.

Effective Altruism

EA is both a philosophy and a social movement, an intellectual pursuit, and a practical pursuit. The philosophy relies upon the intellect to guide moral decision making, and by extension, the social movement, (the practical application of the philosophy), seeks to apply that philosophical guide to effective social justice activism both in terms of assessing the efficacy of various forms of social justice work, and in terms of decision making regarding philanthropic giving (Caviola et al., 2021).

EA holds a series of guiding principles, which include seeking to do as much good as possible with time and money; seeking to make the biggest difference possible in the world; and using evidence and reason in decision making (MacAskill, 2019). For those seeking to live in accordance with these values, it also means adopting the philosophy of utilitarianism, the roots of EA, in all aspects of everyday life (MacAskill, 2019). Living in accordance with utilitarian values (which subsumes EA) includes the conviction to live frugally and to make significant personal sacrifices such as donating half of one's income; living in accordance with EA values includes no requirement to live frugally as long as one is actively helping others (MacAskill, 2018). Utilitarianism is considered by some not to be an essential element of EA (McMahan, 2016).

In the context of EA as a social movement, it demands the use of evidence and reason in determining social justice work and the philanthropic priorities for that work as a basis to discover and support the best ways in which to improve the world (Fisher, 2017). This practical application of EA began to be popularized in about 2008 by philosopher and bioethicist, Peter Singer. He later published, *The Most Good You Can Do* (2015), which has become a manual of sorts for followers of EA.

Among Singer's (2015) viewpoints are the belief that those who are wealthy have an obligation to give to the poor; that the greatest moral inequities in suffering are a result of a lack of food, shelter, and basic medical care; and that moral giving requires the giver to give until the act of giving equals the sacrifice the one in need is experiencing. In other words, to use a colloquial expression, moral giving requires "giving until it hurts".

Singer's work, in large part, birthed the Effective Altruist movement and the corresponding organization, Centre for Effective Altruism, which offers online handbooks, free courses, reference materials, chat forums, and a newsletter. It is also responsible for organizing and hosting annual conferences worldwide (<https://www.centreforeffectivealtruism.org/>). EA and the EA movement, in the context of the FAAM, is referred to as Effective Animal Advocacy (EAA), which favours the EA consequentialist perspective in prioritizing work to combat intensive animal agriculture (Fisher, 2017).

While on the surface, EA and EAA²⁵ may seem common-sense and even valuable when faced with difficult decisions, it runs counter to the ecofeminist principles of intersectionality, care, opposing value dualisms, and domination. A deeper examination of EA reveals several pitfalls, gaps, and critiques including EAA's prioritization of animal welfare work, EAA's failure to address needed systemic change, EAA's ill-founded calculations to promote their messaging, and a charge of EAA being morally corrupt. Each of these points are addressed below.

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hens who are confined to battery cages for the purpose of egg production; work to increase the light levels in confined animal feeding operations for chickens used for their bodies to create food stuffs such as chicken's wings and chicken's breasts; work to reduce the amount of time an animal is legally permitted to be transported (via truck, train, boat); and work to slow the speed of slaughter lines, particularly for chickens and turkeys, in an effort to ensure that all birds have their necks slit and bleed out prior to being submerged into scalding tanks.

This emphasis on working to create incremental changes to the capitalist system of intensive animal agriculture can be seen in an examination of the writings of Animal Charity Evaluators, an EA-focused FAAM organization whose mission it is help individuals make philanthropic giving decisions based on a rating system they developed (Animal Charity Evaluators, 2022a).

To expand upon this by citing one flawed example, I will discuss animal welfare work undertaken to provide hens cage-free habitats. This is work Animal Charity Evaluators has rated as being highly effective for upwards of a decade, despite the fact that their own website page "What is the Effect of Cage-Free Corporate Outreach on Egg-Laying Hens' Welfare" notes the following contradictions: "there is evidence that cage-free systems may lead to higher injury rates compared to caged systems"; "there is a 60% probability that companies will follow through with cage-free commitments"; and "cost-effectiveness estimates vary widely, and it is unclear which are the most accurate" (Animal Charity Evaluators, 2022b).

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Plainly put, a significant criticism then is that the work of EA devotees is confined to undertaking work within existing frameworks of politics, economics, and institutions, as opposed to undertaking work to change those existing frameworks. The result is that the lack of action required to bring about anti-capitalist systemic change has been charged with making any social change less likely at all (Dietz, 2019).

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An additional critique of EA in the health care sector, quantification bias, argues that despite attempts to quantify suffering (e.g., the disability adjusted life years metric created by the health care sector), suffering cannot be quantified and any attempt to do so will inevitably exclude important considerations (Gabriel, 2017).

EA provides followers with a safe, numeric, and easy to understand framework within which decision making can be free of nuance, free of needing to make difficult decisions, and free from subjectivity. Numerical metrics may give the appearance of transparency and objectivity, but it is born from a lack of faith in society and a lack of faith in the ability of individuals to make good judgements based on a particular set of circumstances, none of which metrics require (Muller, 2019). Historian Jerry Muller (2019), in seeking to illustrate his position

regarding the tyranny of metrics, interestingly used the push for quantifiable measures in an organizational context. Muller, in asking his readers to envision themselves as the new head of a large organization seeking to familiarize themselves with the goings-on in the organization, suggested most leaders will request and rely on numeric reports. Muller went on to note that in so doing, the leader would fall short of their goal to understand the organization, and he not only called this expenditure of time a waste, but also noted it would result in the diminishment of the autonomy, dignity, and worth of those lower in the organizational hierarchy.

Drawing on my own experience as a reformed former welfare-based activist who spent six years in Canada seeking to secure cage-free eggs commitments from restaurants, food distribution organizations, and other food production corporations, I offer an additional criticism not found in the literature to date. Mathematical estimates attempting to quantify animal welfare initiatives by certain animal advocacy groups have traditionally relied on forced commitments by animal protein producers and other procurers of animal products with extremely limited knowledge of the number of animals utilized. Estimates were based on proxies such as the number of restaurant locations and were often inaccurate (differing between groups); and several groups would also assume credit for the same commitments. The cited commitments were always future dated, sometimes as far as 10 years in the future, with no oversight nor any ability to track outcomes. The value of welfare initiatives for the animals was always subjective and unreliable, and corporate welfare commitments that were provided to FAAM groups by these organizations were done under duress of a pending campaign, but they were and continue to be readily marketed to prospective donors as being concrete and meaningful for animals.

In her criticism levied upon EA, ecofeminist Alice Crary referred to the EA movement as being morally corrupt (Crary, 2021). While Crary is in agreement with other noted critiques of

EA, her reference to the moral corruption of EA is both powerful and poignant. Crary supports her assertion, in part, by recognizing that EA's preponderance to supporting short-term welfare-based work demonstrates no understanding of the capitalist framework within which that short-term work is sought. In other words, efforts to provide slightly more room for animals to move around only serves to continue to support the capitalist entities oppressing those animals. Crary cites examples of these failed efforts by noting the horrific practices on factory farms unimpeded by one short-term campaign to increase cage size. Crary lists the plethora of other atrocities levied upon animals farmed for food such as bio-engineering and slaughter, by articulating the continued impact to:

. . . sources of air and water pollution that disproportionately harms members of the already socially vulnerable human populations . . . global greenhouse gas emissions . . . the need they generate for grazing land is a major factor in deforestation world-wide . . . significant soil erosion and related polluting run-off . . . threats to public health . . . a breeding ground for zoonoses . . . and because it relies on the mass prophylactic use of antibiotics to mitigate its own disease-causing conditions, it adds to the prevalence of deadly infections of antibiotic-resistant bacteria such as salmonella (Crary, 2021, p. 41).

Despite the arguments against EA, it is a growing movement with donations to EA charities in the hundreds of millions of dollars annually (Crary, 2021). EA has garnered star power followers such as Bill Gates and Elon Musk, whom among countless others, support two of the largest global EA mega-charities: Giving What We Can (<https://www.givingwhatwecan.org>), and Give Well (<https://www.givewell.org/>). Of note is that the membership of EA organizations such as these are made up of predominately young, white, well-educated able-bodied men (Rubenstein, 2016).

While EA charities no doubt do some good, the question remains, at what cost? “If effective altruists are mistaken about what it means to do good, or about how impact can be measured, then the movement risks doing more harm than good by diverting resources away from other important goals and objectives” (Gabriel, 2017, p. 458). It is possible then, that EAA is doing more harm than good in their approaches to seek to advance social justice for animals.

In summation, I offer this literature review to set the context and rationale for my research. The three theories of ecofeminism, activism, and non-profit leadership, together with relevant online information, fit my epistemological worldview as a social constructionist and organizational theorist, together with my position as an ecofeminist and animal activist. Bringing these together in a transdisciplinary approach builds a strong foundation with which to consider the research questions of how women activists are treated in FAAM organizations and how their stories could inform better organizational practices, policies, and governance.

Chapter Three: Research Methods and Methodology

This chapter begins with an explanation of my epistemological approach to the research, followed by a rationale for the methodologies employed which include: phenomenology, ethnography, and storytelling. I then provide a detailed account of the research methods, ethical approach, treatment of bias in research, and strengths and limitations of this research.

Epistemological Approach

The epistemological approach applied to this research includes a definition of epistemology, an explanation of two of the main schools of thought regarding epistemology, and why interpretivism was chosen for this research.

Epistemology, from the Greek words *epistémé* meaning “the nature of knowledge”, and *logos* meaning the study of, is the branch of philosophy that deals with what knowledge is and how knowledge is studied (Nehamas, 1984, p. 11). It has two parts: nature of knowledge, or how we know what we know; and limits of knowledge, or what cannot be known (Timpe & Boyd, 2014). While it is important for a researcher to understand the meaning of epistemology, and have an epistemological framework, the framework should go beyond a formal definition to where the researcher takes time to reflect on how they see the world and the impact of this on their research methods, methodology, and theoretical perspectives (Peshkin, 1988). This component of the process is critical in order for “research to be truly meaningful” (Darlaston-Jones, 2007, p. 19).

Perhaps the oldest and most traditional epistemological framework is positivism, followed closely by post-positivism where post-positivism is an adaptation of positivism and does differ slightly (Willis et al., 2007). The primary difference is that positivists believe objective reality can only be understood on the balance of probabilities (Howell, 2013). This

epistemological perspective is underpinned by an objectivist or realist ontology (e.g., a bias for facts, figures, and other quantifiable information), and is primarily associated with the natural sciences. Positivism and post-positivism take the position that reality is empirical, and as such both are sometimes referred to as empiricism. The emphasis in empiricism is on how knowledge is created through measurement and statistical logic, and typically rely on research methods such as surveys and questionnaires. Empiricists take the position that reality exists as an absolute, that it is the same regardless of the position or perspective of the one who is perceiving that reality. As such empiricism does not provide opportunity for reality to be different based on the construction of that reality by the person who is perceiving it; that is to say, it does not allow for reality to be constructed based on perception (Darlaston-Jones, 2007). Positivist and post-positivist researchers assume an objective social reality, where the goal of the research “is to make bias-free observations of the natural and social world” (Willis et al., 2007, p. 3). This form of research is preferred by effective altruists who share the bias for quantifiable metrics in seeking to understand the world, and in the context of the FAAM to understand the suffering of animals and by extension to seek to understand the best ways to limit and even eliminate this suffering.

In contrast to positivism and post-positivism is interpretivism, which is the foundation of this research and my own epistemological position as a researcher. Interpretivism, however, is not the only contrasting epistemological paradigm to positivism and post-positivism. Others include constructivism, social constructivism, and constructionism, though the categorization of each of these is somewhat vague (Kelly et al., 2018). For the purposes of this dissertation and as taught at Royal Roads University (RRU) in *Research Paradigms in Applied Sciences* (SOSC720), interpretivism, constructivism, social constructivism, and constructionism are

substantially similar, and hence were taught as one paradigm and will be considered as such herein (P. Vannini, personal communication, February 2018).

Interpretivism emphasizes the centering of subjectivity and the lived experience, including cultural influence and the possibility of multiple realities, where actions are interpreted based on social context and local circumstances (Kelly et al., 2018). Interpretivism is also particularly relevant for feminist researchers utilizing care-based or empathetic research techniques (referred to as '*verstehen* ') to gain insight into small, often difficult-to-reach groups (Chowdhury, 2014). It is even more relevant for ecofeminist researchers since ecofeminism embraces a contextual perspective with regard to all matters and embraces a non-essentialist reality that is socially constructed by the one constructing it, and where that construction is impacted by a myriad of factors such as age, race, religion, socio-economic status, and sexuality.

This epistemological contention then takes the position that reality is socially constructed by, and between, the persons who experience it, hence centralizing the knowledge and experience of the individual (Gergen et al., 2001). This paradigm asserts that realities and moralities, along with our sense of "who we are, what is real, and what is right" (Gergen et al., 2001, p. 680) is created through our experiences with our families, friends, colleagues, and others we encounter in our everyday lives. The primary medium in which our experiences are created and shared is language, both verbal and non-verbal, where "language is essentially a differentiating medium, with every word separating that which is named or indicated from that which is not" (Gergen et al., 2001, p. 680). The emphasis on language and dialogue then, is one of the reasons why interpretivist researchers rely on interviewing as a data acquisition method, particularly where "the relationship of the interviewer and interviewee is non-hierarchical" (Jansen & Rae Davis, 1998, p. 293). It was for this reason that I chose to utilize a non-

hierarchical interviewing technique known as the Biographical Narrative Interpretive Method (BNIM) in my research. I discuss this in more detail in Research Methods, under the subheading of Interview Techniques.

Subjectivity then, despite being considered a disadvantage by positivist and post-positivist researchers, was found by Peshkin (1988) to be a virtue for interpretivist researchers as it provided a greater opportunity for researcher awareness throughout the entire research process, and if entered into with mindfulness, was seen to be able to provide a more distinctive contribution to research. This research then is deliberately non-positivistic, where the goal is to increase understanding by asking *how* questions as opposed to *why* questions, and allowing for a deeper understanding of the research questions than might be possible through a survey or questionnaire (Jansen & Rae Davis, 1998). The methodologies that I employed will now be discussed.

Methodology

I sought to employ the methodological trifecta of phenomenology, ethnography, and storytelling, and through language to understand the stories the FAAM women told me. Overarchingly, I relied on phenomenology, the qualitative tradition of studying the essence of the lived experience, a methodology that is often described as underpinning ethnography, particularly when engaging in storytelling (Maggs-Rapport, 2000). I then drew from traditional ethnography, a methodology that honours the reality of “humans [as] storytelling organisms who, individually and socially, lead storied lives” (Connelly & Clandinin, 1990, p. 2). As such, story and storytelling figure prominently not only in our personal lives, but notably in our working lives where story is seen as an important way to study organizational cultures since stories are more accessible, they tend to stay with the reader for a long period of time, and they are a

particularly powerful way for new members of a group to learn about that group (Hansen & Kahnweiler, 1993).

Phenomenology

Phenomenology, rooted in the Greek word *phainomenon* meaning appearance, is considered to be both a philosophical discipline and a methodology for conducting research, born into academia from the recognition that centering the human experience, and in particular seeking to understand the phenomena of caring and wholeness of the person, was previously ignored (Wojnar & Swanson, 2007). In part, this was a response to the limitations of positivism and post-positivism, and in particular, a response to the lack of necessary exploratory tools available in the then traditional psychology toolkit (Sadala & Adorno, 2002). Phenomenologist Max van Manen (2016) noted that critical elements of phenomenology included deep descriptions, interpretation by the researcher, and researcher self-reflection. He further noted that phenomenology could only be fully effective if the researcher had a deep commitment to the research, or if the research was based on “something or someone for whom we care” (van Manen, 2016, p. 6).

In my case, as a FAAM community insider who is deeply committed to the health and long-term sustainability of the FAAM through the health and sustainability of those doing the majority of the work within the FAAM, the choice to centre phenomenology in my research was clear. This choice was influenced by each of the factors noted above, with a particular emphasis on the importance of centering the real life experiences of the women, and the interpretation of those experiences within the context of care by myself as a researcher who was deeply committed to the research topic “where the researcher, filled with wonder, becomes both

participant and instrument through which research is discovered and new meaning is made” (Leighton, 2014, p. 39).

Like in most other schools of thought, phenomenology offers a range of perspectives regarding the study of the human experience, hermeneutical phenomenology is that form of phenomenology I have sought to apply in my research. Hermeneutical phenomenology expands upon the lived experience of the research participants by not just describing the experience, but by interpreting those experiences (van Manen, 2011). This form of phenomenology was introduced by German philosopher Martin Heidegger,²⁶ a student of German philosopher Edmund Husserl, who is often referred to as the founder of phenomenology, also inspired future thinking in this discipline by French philosopher Paul Ricoeur. Ricoeur argued that the meaning of the lived experience came through expressions such as art, religion, myth, and primarily language, specifically the use of language in storytelling as a means of self-identity (van Manen, 2011). German philosopher Hans-Georg Gadamer agreed language was fundamental for understanding, and also said part of understanding came from silent language such as gestures, inflections in the voice, laughing, and all other components of linguistic expression (Gadamer & Hahn, 1997).

Heidegger also introduced the concept of what he called *dasein*, which referred to the way in which humans experience the world beyond knowledge, beyond any core concepts, and beyond essences, and argued that an individual’s *dasein* is in relation to broader concepts such as the political, social, and cultural (Wojnar & Swanson, 2007).

²⁶ Heidegger was a member of the Nazi Party, and as such has been a controversial figure in academia. While I am of the view it would be remiss not to reference Heidegger in any discussion regarding hermeneutical phenomenology, I have chosen not to cite any of his work because of his involvement with Nazism (Sheehan, 1992).

A fundamental component of phenomenology when considered by van Manen (2016), was care, which, when applied to the interview process was seen by him as a way to enhance the interview process in qualitative research to ensure that the interviewee's life story was represented in a deep and original manner. Van Manen (2016) discussed that phenomenology could be summed up in one word, "thoughtfulness" (p. 12), and he encouraged researchers to employ great care since he believed interviews might have lingering effects for participants, which is applicable in this research where emotionally challenging employment experiences were discussed, and where the work to seek to liberate animals from oppression is in itself emotionally challenging. This concern was shared by Richardson and St. Pierre (2005) who recommended regularly checking with the participants regarding their well-being. Staying in contact with the interviewees and remaining open for further comments, consultations, and discussions is part of the trust-building process, though it is important to simultaneously maintain research rigor and protocol. These were all tactics that I was mindful to adopt through the process of "co-creation and co-evolvement with this research through disruptive questioning" of how the world was experienced (Leighton, 2014, p. 42).

While phenomenology focuses on the interpretation of individual lived experiences, ethnography focuses on describing a particular cultural or social group. These methods often go hand-in-hand, and I will now expand upon ethnography and the decision to adopt this methodology.

Ethnography

Ethnography comes from the combination of the Greek words *ethos* (people) and *grapho* (writing) (McGranahan, 2018), meaning "the writing of culture" (Clair, 2012, p. 3). While ethnography was once considered to be an alternative form of research, it is now a fully valid and

important way to represent matters in society (Christensen, 2012). Richardson (2000) maintained the value of ethnography derived from the fact that it was embedded in everyday life and that it was situated in all aspects of human activity. Responding to criticism that ethnography departed from standard social science practices, Richardson created Creative Analytic Practice (CAP), which was intended to allow for a more objective assessment of ethnographic work (Richardson & St. Pierre, 2005). Initially, CAP was comprised of four criteria, but later a fifth and sixth criteria were added to increase research rigour: a) “substantive contribution”, wherein the researcher must have a solid understanding of what is being researched; b) “aesthetic merit”, an assurance that the writing is engaging; c) “reflexivity”, an emphasis on the researcher’s demonstration of self-awareness; d) “ethics”, where the researcher holds themselves accountable for telling the stories of the participants; e) “impact”, the need to ensure the work is both emotional and intellectual; and f) “reality”, an assurance that the work is both true and real, a criteria that would be defined by the participants based on their interpretation of their lived experiences (Richardson, 2000, p. 937).

Richardson’s CAP criteria for collecting organizational information was used during my data collection and analysis process to help ensure that opinions were not formed too quickly. As such, the process of waiting, revisiting, and considering the stories was important not only for my own reflexivity (Richardson’s third criteria), but to Richardson’s fourth, fifth, and sixth criteria of holding myself accountable, needing to ensure that the work is both emotional and intellectual, and being sure that the work is both true and real.

Storytelling

Storytelling, when applied with phenomenology and ethnography, represents “a universal way that people deal with knowledge” (Reimer, 2015, p. 94). Its potency has been found to

derive from the ownership and authority of its source, that is, the storyteller. When storytelling research is conducted with care and respect (in alignment with ecofeminist principles), it has the ability to deeply impact readers by creating long-lasting and resonant effects (Hamilton & Taylor, 2017).

Storytelling within social activism is regarded as a vital ingredient for social movement discourse and in undertaking social movement analysis (Davis, 2012). Feminist scholars such as Gloria Anzaldua, bell hooks, and Michelle Cliff utilized storytelling as a rigorous way of engaging with the world, which offered women and other marginalized groups “the power to offer critical perspectives on their worlds by narrating their experience” (Stone-Mediatore, 1998, p. 117). In her paper, “Challenging Academic Norms: An Epistemology for Feminist and Multicultural Classrooms,” feminist philosopher Shari Stone-Mediatore (2007) asserted that standard objective research is “stacked against women and marginalized groups insofar as it demands an abstraction from personal experience” (p. 61). Furthermore, research, when written in a manner that was difficult to understand by the general public, could be found to be exclusionary and hence maintain epistemic authority by only a few (Stone-Mediatore, 2007). In contrast, storytelling is known to invite and encourage inclusivity, reflecting ecofeminist ways of being-in-the-world including inclusivity and accessibility, and hence was fundamental to the integrity of my research.

Storytelling also provides a critical ingredient when the message to be conveyed can be difficult to comprehend, such as in the FAAM where messages are often numbers-centric. Environmental and animal lawyer David Wolfson (1996) discussed the difficulty of writing about the atrocities levied upon farmed animals when those animals are being killed in the billions, and noted that instead of billions of animals, “it is one, and one, and one, amounting to

large scale mistreatment of individual animals” (Wolfson, 1996, p. 133). It is the story of one animal, and another animal, and yet another animal that remind us of what French philosopher Jacques Derrida, in his epic address to the 1997 C  risy conference titled, “The Autobiographical Animal,” noted in discussing his cat: that his cat, like all animals, are *unsubstitutable*, that they are *irreplaceable* living beings (Derrida, 2008). It is this irreplaceability that cannot be successfully conveyed in numbers, but can be conveyed through the stories of individuals. We remember stories about one animal, like the story of *Black Beauty* who inspired compassion for the treatment of working horses, or the story of *Charlotte’s Web* where Charlotte the spider tried to save the life of her friend Wilbur the pig who was in danger of being slaughtered.²⁷

Similarly, from an organizational perspective, stories can be seen to be a more inclusive and accessible way to communicate to all levels of people within an organization, and can transfer knowledge in a way that is tangible and welcoming (Hansen & Kahnweiler, 1993). Further, and also germane to this research since it is my hope to inspire boards of directors, leaders, and managers in the FAAM, storytelling has been found to be an effective way to bring academic research to diverse audiences (Christensen, 2012).

Additional benefits of storytelling as a research method were described as it being a tool for conflict resolution and transformation. This is because storytelling provides a powerful and profound platform to more deeply understand conflict since it centres on elements such as relationship building, the importance of considering the whole person, providing a space for the individual to share what feels safe to them, and also recognizes deeply held beliefs (Reimer, 2015). In agreement, Indigenous scholar Linda Tuhiwai Smith (2013) asserted that stories and

²⁷ *Black Beauty*, by Anna Sewell. <https://www.amazon.ca/Black-Beauty-Classics-Anna-Sewell/dp/B09DMXTKNZ/>
Charlotte’s Web, by E.B. White. <https://www.amazon.ca/Charlottes-Web-B-White/dp/0064400557/>

oral traditions were ways of “developing trust, sharing information, strategies, recommendations, contacts, and ideas” (Smith, 2013, p. 15).

Phenomenology, ethnography, and storytelling are naturally interwoven methods not only in the context of theoretical academia, but also practically. Together they form a seamless trifecta in seeking to better understand how the ethics of care that is sought for more-than-human animals is, or is not applied to the women who work in service to the animals. It also offered accessible opportunities for the women to share their suggestions for more regenerative organizational practices, policies, and governance.

Research Methods

This section describes the practical steps that were undertaken in the design of my research methods, steps I carefully considered based on the goal of answering the primary and secondary research questions. The overall research strategy was created by applying a ecofeminist lens to each of the steps. This was done with the intention of honouring the individual voice of each of the women as they described their unique experiences of what was anticipated to be sensitive information, and was designed to promote trust, reduce any potential power differentials between myself and the participants, and seek to ease any negative feelings such as guilt, shame, or embarrassment that the participants might experience as they shared deeply personal experiences (Jansen & Rae Davis, 1998).

Within the research methods there were several ways I prioritized the uniqueness of each woman by: sharing as much information as I could upfront with those who might be considering participating, offering to speak to any of the women one-on-one who might have questions, responding to each inquiry promptly and in a fulsome manner, offering to share my computer screen with any of the women so they could see exactly how I was storing their personal

information, offering the women the ability to edit their transcripts, and also choosing an interview style which de-centered my own role. Each of the practical steps of my research methods, beginning with the participant recruitment process and ending with considering the strengths and weaknesses of this research, is described in detail.

As a note to the reader, I have elected to apply a blue coloured font to the chosen pseudonyms of the participants, as well as applying the same blue coloured font to their verbatim quotes. In addition, the words of the participants have been indented and single spaced. The use of coloured font, indentation, and single spacing, while not in alignment with traditional American Psychological Association guidelines, was done in an effort to both emphasize the literal voice of the participants and to seek to enrich the experience for the reader.

Participant Recruitment

Participants were recruited directly through my network of contacts in the FAAM and also through snowball sampling. On March 30, 2021, I wrote and posted a blog inviting all female-identified activists who were employed in the FAAM in Canada or the United States to participate (see Appendix B). The blog was posted on a private Facebook page, *Empower All Women, Femmes and Non-Binary Folks in Animal and Environment*, which had 181 members; on my personal Facebook page, which included 4,957 friends, the majority of whom are involved in animal activism; and on a private Facebook page, *Global Coalition of Farm Sanctuaries*, with 522 members. It was also sent as an email to the *FAST list*, a confidential group of approximately 800 vocational animal rights activists. To encourage snowball sampling, the invitation included a request that it be shared by recipients with others whom they thought met the participant criteria and might be interested.

Inclusion Criteria

The inclusion criteria described participants who self-identified as being vocational animal rights activists in Canada or the United States, were female, 18 years of age or older, able to speak and understand English, competent to consent to participate in the research,²⁸ and had reliable access to the Internet. The inclusion criteria, particularly with respect to choosing to only study women in the FAAM, is a reflection of the demographics of the FAAM in Canada and the United States, which is overwhelmingly women.

Survey

The invitation to participate included a link to an online survey (see Appendix C). The home screen of the survey provided additional information about the purpose of my research and provided information about the survey process. It also provided contact information and invited any interested parties to reach out to me or my supervisor if they had any questions.

The survey itself served multiple purposes. It began by requesting basic information including the individual's name, email address, age, and location. The survey also asked questions in relation to the prospective participant's work in the FAAM including the number of years they had been employed within the FAAM, the name of the organization they were employed by at the time of the survey, and their highest level of education. Additional demographic information that was collected was informed by Gaarder's (2011) work and included questions about their marital status, whether or not they had children, and whether they identified as a member of the Global Majority, a member of the LGBTQ+ community, and/or as a person living with a disability.

²⁸ My research did not involve vulnerable participants, which means individuals who are not capable of providing informed consent such as children or cognitively impaired individuals, according to the Tri-Council Policy Statement on Ethical Conduct for Research Involving Humans (https://ethics.gc.ca/eng/policy-politique_tcps2-eptc2_2018.html).

The last item on the survey asked individuals to enter their preferred pseudonym that would be used if they did indeed end up being a part of the research. Pseudonyms were used for all participants within the research process. Offering participants the opportunity to choose their own pseudonym was an important first step in empowering them to have agency throughout the process. When a prospective participant submitted their completed survey, they were automatically provided with a thank you letter that included information about the next steps in the process, and that also set expectations regarding when they could expect to be contacted by me. This thank you letter restated how they might contact me directly if they chose, and also how to contact my supervisor.

Informed Consent

All prospective participants who completed the survey were sent an email from me with additional information about the research and also about the consent process. The Informed Consent Form was attached to the email as a writeable PDF (see Appendix D). Their involvement was entirely voluntary and they were not provided any incentive to participate. They were offered the opportunity to ask questions, and they were also informed that they could withdraw from the study if they chose to do so. In addition, they were assured of confidentiality and anonymity, and that their information would be destroyed if they withdrew. They were asked to provide their free and informed consent by signing the form and returning it to me via email.²⁹

Additionally, at various times during the interview process, the participants were reminded of their right to withdraw from the research prior to approving their transcripts, as per

²⁹ The use of email for delivering and receiving the Informed Consent Form was approved by the RRU Office of Research Ethics (G. Armellino, personal communication, January 11, 2021).

the Informed Consent Form. It was explained that once they approved their transcripts, their data was integrated into the larger research data set and could not be extracted, so they would not have the ability to withdraw their data after this point.

Participant Population

The participants comprised 33 women plus myself, for a total of 34. The decision to include myself as both researcher and participant is a response to and reflection of the intimacy of the subject under study, and an acknowledgement that the self is a critical component of fieldwork (Primeau, 2003).

Due to the limited size of the FAAM, I knew that it was likely that I would have had previous contact with some of the participants. Of the 33 participants, I knew ten, and of those, five were friends whose stories were ones that I had some previous familiarity with. Being a community insider, and engaging in research with people you know, has been studied within the context of many disciplines. Drawing from the nursing profession in their paper “Researching with People You Know: Issues in Interviewing,” McConnell-Henry et al. (2009) indicated that since developing rapport was critical to facilitate deep and rich storytelling, a pre-existing relationship could not only serve to accelerate the interview process, since a level of trust already existed, but could also serve in making the participant feel safer speaking to someone who “understands their situation” (McConnell-Henry et al., 2009, p. 3).

During the first interview I applied the three ways of being as outlined by Primeau (2003): a) present in a nonthreatening way; b) rely on self-disclosure; and c) engage in acceptable incompetence. I applied the first way of being by carefully describing the interview process, the transcription process, and the thematic analysis process in detail. I offered to share my screen with participants and show them what NVivo (the analysis software I was using)

looked like, and how the process of coding worked. Some participants chose to view NVivo. For the second way of being, I shared information about myself, personal and professional, and explained how and why I was drawn to this work. I also offered to answer any questions the participants had about me and my background. And for the third way of being, I was careful not to suggest that I knew their experience, even for the participants with whom I had previously worked. I approached every situation with an open mind and open heart.

Research Location

All interviews took place via an online communication platform, and all participants were located in Canada or the United States. The requirement to conduct interviews online satisfied the research restrictions for health and safety that were in place during COVID-19 by Royal Roads University. While initially I was concerned that this might be a hinderance to my research, in retrospect it allowed for me to work with women whom I might not have been able to work with had the interviews been in person since face-to-face interviews would have required expensive and time consuming travel.

Sample Size

A primary goal of qualitative research is depth of understanding as opposed to quantity of participants, and as such there were no specific rules for determining sample size (Hesse-Biber & Leavy, 2007). Instead, my sample size included considerations for practical elements such as economic resources and time, the intention to allow for data saturation, and an ability to satisfy the research questions. The thirty-three women were each interviewed twice, with one of the participants being interviewed on three occasions in order to complete the four interview questions due to a particularly challenging employment situation she was experiencing at the time of the interviews that caused her significant distraction.

Timing of Interviews

The first interview I conducted took place on April 16, 2021, and the final interview took place on June 29, 2021.

Risks, Inducements, and Participant Time

Research within small communities, despite confidentiality and anonymity protocols being closely observed, always present some risk to participants in that the participants are choosing to disclose personal information which, if revealed, could create challenges to their jobs and careers. This was especially true since, even with the use of pseudonyms, the FAAM community is not just small, but many of the organizations work together, the number of events are few, and colloquially speaking, everyone is no more than one-degree-of-separation apart. This increased the vulnerability of the participants and hence, also increased their risk if a breach were to occur even unintentionally (Damianakis & Woodford, 2012). For this reason, there are two areas in the presentation of the findings that I chose not to include pseudonyms out of an abundance of caution for the participants.

Some additional mechanisms recommended in the literature to reduce risks included referring to participants by codes, removing all identifying information, allowing participants to withdraw at any time, and anonymizing transcripts, all of which I did (Damianakis & Woodford, 2012). Additional information regarding how confidentiality and anonymity was treated is detailed below in the section titled Ethics.

Another important aspect of engaging in research involving the building of intimate relationships is to be “mindful of gender and power differentials, promote trust, create space for individual stories, and allow for holistic findings” (Jansen & Rae Davis, 1998, p. 289). One way I sought to create such an atmosphere and promote care was in my choice of interview style, the

BNIM, which is a non-hierarchical interview style, a fundamental tenant of ecofeminism. The second was that participants were asked to offer a preferred pseudonym for use in NVivo and in the body of the study to protect their identity. The third was that the participants were given a copy of the transcription of their interview and had the option to edit it and to approve it (Jansen & Rae Davis, 1998). No component of the interview transcript was utilized in the analysis without the express permission of the participant. The goal was to work actively with each participant to develop an ethic of care and assure each person that their story was treated based on their unique needs. This process of developing a care-based and trust-based relationship was paramount, and has become “the new paradigm for social science research” (Knowles & Cole, 2008, p. 682).

There were no known physical risks to participants engaged in this study. Participants were not provided with any compensation or inducements for their participation.

The amount of time required of the women in their participation in the research was approximately 4 hours. This was inclusive of their interviews as well as the time needed for each participant to respond to emails from me, schedule their interviews, as well as review and edit transcripts, if they chose, and approve them.

Technology

Interview Recordings. All interviews were conducted using the online Zoom platform.³⁰ All recordings were stored on the Apple iCloud as it provided unlimited storage capacity (Fernandez & Griffiths, 2007). Audio files were uploaded to a secure website, Rev.com, a

³⁰ Zoom is an online platform that allows for video and audio communications using Internet technology (<https://zoom.us/>).

transcription service provider.³¹ All raw data/recordings that are stored both on the Apple iCloud and on Rev.com will be deleted upon a successful defence of this dissertation.

I took care to investigate the effect of audio recording of interviews on the quality of the data collected, and while various concerns were advanced, such as the possibility of the participant trying to please the interviewer or trying to conceal certain information, the overall conclusion was that if certain strategies were employed, the value of the narrative outweighed any concerns about recording (Al-Yateem, 2012). The strategies recommended and applied included obtaining consent via the Informed Consent Form, explaining the research and the research goals and procedures at the beginning of the first interview, and reducing barriers as much as possible including any visual indication that the participant was being recorded (Al-Yateem, 2012). In addition, I did not do any note-taking by hand during interviews as it has been “reported to distract the interviewer from the focus of the conversation resulting in loss of critical information” (Fernandez & Griffiths, 2007, p. 8).

Transcripts. Upon receipt of the verbatim transcription of the interviews from Rev.com, I carefully read each transcript and edited for anonymity. I adopted a system that I applied consistently:

- Participant names were changed to the pseudonym they choose during the survey process.
- The names of organizations in the FAAM were changed to a numeric system beginning with Organization_1 and ending with Organization_72.
- The names of companion animals of participants were changed to “XXX”.
- The names of people were changed to “YYY”.

³¹ Rev.com is an online platform that allows for audio recordings to be transcribed. I elected the service level that included verbatim transcriptions done by an individual instead of done by artificial intelligence.

- The names of participants' spouses were changed to "Husband" or "Partner" as applicable.
- The names of places were changed to "ZZZ".
- The name of schools that participants attended were changed to "School".
- Non-movement organization names were changed to "Company".

Each participant was provided with the transcripts of their interviews in the form of Word documents, which allowed for review and editing. The participants were not provided any guidelines as to how they might edit their transcripts. Instead they were given full autonomy to edit, add, delete content they were uncomfortable with, and clarify any statements made.

NVivo. NVivo, a computer assisted qualitative data analysis software (CAQDAS) created by QSR International, was used for storing transcripts, storing online information, journaling, and theming this research. The main function of NVivo was to simply aid in the research process (Zamawe, 2015). Neither NVivo nor any other CAQDAS performs the analysis, but instead, it assists in managing and organizing textual data, and offered me the possibility of being more creative by limiting some of the labour intensive work, such as manual coding (Zamawe, 2015). NVivo also provided the ability to create visualizations such as models and charts which were helpful in my review of the research findings in an easy-to-read manner (Wiltshier, 2011).

Interview Technique

The interviews were conducted using the Biographic Narrative Interview Method (BNIM) (Corbally & O'Neill, 2014). This form of interviewing was designed to centre the lived experience of the participant, and allow for the conscious and subconscious experiences of the participant to emerge. The BNIM provides the opportunity for the participant to discuss both sociological and psychological dynamics and structure, where both are understood as situated

historically and contextually (Wengraf, 2004). This interview style was designed to be minimalistic and relied on a three-phased process in which each phase included a carefully designed question, referred to as the SQUIN, or the single question aimed at inducing narrative (Wengraf, 2008).

In phase one of the BNIM process, also called the *life-history phase*, I began the first interview with an initial open-ended question intended to invite the participant to tell the story of their first experience of feeling connected to animals in an uninterrupted manner (Jones, 2003). The question I asked was, “Can you please tell me about the first time you remember having a deep connection to animals. Please feel free to go back as far as you’d like, perhaps to when you were a very young girl.” I continued with BNIM phases two and three, the *lived periods and situations phase*, and the *ongoing personal experiencing phase* by asking two additional questions: “Please share with me the story of your decision to commit your professional life to working on behalf of animals, and your decision to join the FAAM,” and “I’m interested in your experiences as an employee with regard to leadership, how you have been treated, and how that has shaped your experiences of working within the FAAM.”

Jones (2003) suggested, and I observed, that the researcher does not interrupt, but rather engages in active listening which may include providing non-verbal support where appropriate, and acting as a kind of attuned mirror for the participant’s emotions. Examples of appropriate verbal interjections I made on occasion were “*um*”, “*thank you for sharing that*”, and “*please go on*”. I was careful to avoid any negative verbal interjections such as “*oh no*”, “*that’s awful*”, and “*that must have been so hard*”, and to limit my comments altogether (Wengraf, 2004).

The act of listening and not interrupting presented a personal challenge. While I had prepared academically and had chosen the BNIM purposely to reduce my own involvement, my

ingrained communication style as an overtly expressive person revealed itself during the first interview I conducted. As a mechanism for on-going support and coaching throughout my research, I sent my supervisor the transcript from this interview. My supervisor noted that my oral participation during this interview may have exceeded what is appropriate for the BNIM. When I re-read the transcript following receipt of her feedback, I saw she was indeed correct, and I applied this learning to all subsequent interviews. While my extroversion is deeply rooted, I did apply various techniques to seek to mitigate this during interviews. I posted various handmade notes on my computer screen prior to each interview, I created handmade colourful reminder cards on my desk, and I was mindful of using breathing techniques when I felt an impulse to inject myself into an interview. I believe these techniques were successful, in part because two participants with whom I had a prior relationship noted, in a jesting way, that they were not accustomed to me being so quiet.

The final part of the process took place during the second interviews. In most cases, the second interview took place approximately one week following the first interview, though in some cases it was longer due to scheduling challenges. This allowed me time to have the first interview transcribed, review the transcription, and be prepared to ask the final non-narrative question (Jones, 2003).

The non-narrative question was, “What suggestions do you have for leadership, including any organizational policies and practices, that are needed to create and/or maintain healthy workplaces for women like you?” One of the reasons I chose the BNIM was because it “honours the voice of those who are socially excluded” (Suárez-Ortega, 2013, p. 190), and it was designed to listen to matters that are sensitive in nature by acknowledging the participant’s own subjectivity and their part in society. Further, this method centred around the whole person rather

than reducing them to a variable or a number, allowing them to focus on their own experiences while giving them authorship over their story (Suárez-Ortega, 2013).

Regarding the practical aspects of this method, I was very careful to take time at the beginning of the interviews to create an atmosphere of care including beginning with engaging in small talk such as how we knew one another (if appropriate), people we knew in common which was the case in all instances, our respective companion animals who were often part of the Zoom sessions, and any specific goings on within the FAAM at the time of the interview. I was also careful to provide non-verbal support, I mirrored compassion when strong emotions arose, and I acted in an empathetic and non-intrusive manner (Wengraf, 2004). Further, I was sensitive to the participants needing breaks, needing to get a beverage, and other logistical matters.

When a participant had completed both their interviews, I emailed them their transcripts. For most, this took the form of two Word documents, but there were two exceptions. In one case the recording during the second interview stopped and I needed to re-start the interview; it downloaded as two interviews and resulted in two transcript documents for the second interview. In another case, since the participant was going through a unique and particularly difficult employment situation, it took her longer to tell her story and so we had a third meeting and thus a third transcript. In all cases, when the transcripts were emailed to the participants I included a detailed email about what changes I had made to their transcripts in my effort to anonymize their transcripts.

Participants were encouraged to edit their transcripts in any way they felt comfortable and necessary. In some cases, no changes were made by the participants and in other cases, significant changes were made. Seven participants also sent me additional information which became part of their data file, which is permitted in the BNIM (Wengraf, 2004).

Following each interview, I made notes about the interview including how it went, whether there were any technical challenges, how I felt throughout the interview, and other observations about the participants. I recorded these notes in an individual memo within NVivo that was linked to the participant's data file.

The BNIM was developed to foster a non-hierarchical, democratic, and reflexive experience for the participant, while also respecting the importance of stories being told in a fulsome manner instead of as aggregate parts (Jones, 2003). The focus on empowering people to share their stories through open dialogue, where “people are not reduced to variables but rather considered as a whole” (Suárez-Ortega, 2013, p. 197) is one of the main reasons this method of interviewing was best suited to this research. Many of the women in the FAAM have traditionally not been given any platform to share their stories (Gaarder, 2011), and several of the women thanked me for giving them a safe platform to share.

Participant Data

Participant data was comprised of the transcribed interviews and any information sent to me by participants. Interviews were transcribed verbatim and orthographically, meaning the transcripts included “hesitations, false starts, cut-offs in speech . . . laughter, long pauses”, and any other nuances of intonation and emphasis of words (Braun & Clarke, 2012, pp. 59–60). I wanted to remain open to any other forms of data that participants chose to offer. I received emails, personal notes, organizational policies and procedures, and web-based information. Additional data included my own post-interview observational and reflective note-taking regarding my experiences of the interactions with each participant. All the data and information was stored in NVivo.

Reflexive Thematic Analysis

Qualitative data analysis overarchingly is a method of “collecting and analysing data that are interpretive or explanatory in nature and focus on meaning” (Noble & Smith, 2014, p. 2). Thematic Analysis (TA), later re-named Reflexive Thematic Analysis (Braun et al., 2019), is one form of qualitative analysis and focuses on the “search for themes or patterns, in relation to different epistemological and ontological positions” (Braun & Clarke, 2006, p. 2). Braun and Clarke (2006) describe TA as a method for “identifying, analysing, and reporting patterns (themes) within data” (p. 6) that are rich in detail, and a process of interpreting data, which is different from other forms of analysis such as thematic decomposition analysis or grounded theory. TA has been found to be more accessible for early career researchers.

Braun and Clarke (2006) indicated that various decisions by the researcher must not only be made up front, but must be explicitly stated in the research proposal because TA is not tied to one epistemological or theoretical perspective. These included the definition of a theme, the type of analysis - inductive versus deductive and semantic versus latent, and epistemology.

Noteworthy is that these decisions are, as later stated by Braun et al. (2019), not rigid, not linear, and not *either/or* choices, but rather a mix that is to be regularly reflected upon over time. As such, while my epistemological approach has already been stated, I include my position on theme, inductive versus deductive analysis, and semantic versus latent, below.

Theme. Themes within qualitative data can be thought of as patterns within data. Braun et al. (2019) amended their language from referring to the process of “searching for themes” in 2006 to “generating themes” in 2019, to “reflect that themes are not ‘in’ the data, pre-existing analysis, waiting for retrieval” (p. 593). Themes are not embedded in the data simply waiting for an outlet, rather they are “creative and interpretive *stories* about the data, produced at the

intersection of the researcher's theoretical assumptions, their analytic resources and skill, and the data themselves" (p. 594). As such, I generated the themes of my research, using NVivo as a tool.

Inductive versus Deductive Analysis. TA is generally conducted in either an inductive or deductive manner. Inductive or emergent analysis occurs without trying to fit the data into a pre-existing framework or theory, while deductive or *a priori* analysis begins with a particular framework in mind (Blair, 2015). However, a hybrid model is available, which combines the practice of "allowing themes to emerge direct from the data using inductive coding . . . [while] also using a template approach where the researcher defines the template (or codebook) before commencing an in-depth analysis" (Fereday & Muir-Cochrane, 2006, p. 83). I used the hybrid model. This allowed me to rely on the information I learned through my literature review as well as the information I knew as a FAAM community insider, while also remaining open to what was shared by the participants.

Semantic versus Latent Analysis. Braun and Clarke (2006) suggest TA exists either primarily at the semantic or latent level. The semantic level of analysis is based on "explicit or surface meanings" (p. 13), and the latent level of analysis is based on "interpretation, where there is an attempt to theorise the significance of patterns and their broader meanings and implications" (p. 13). They state that "coding and analysis often uses a combination of both approaches" (p. 58). Even though I used a combined approach for this research, because of my ontological perspective as an interpretivist, I leaned towards latent analysis, which "emphasises subjectivity, interpretation, and reflexivity, and therefore rejects the possibility of an objective truth that researchers can assess through a well-articulated coding process" (Syed & Nelson,

2015, p. 376). This perspective allows for transparency, and as such the reader is invited to understand this positioning through the reading of this work (Blair, 2015).

Phases of Thematic Analysis

I relied upon the six phases of TA as made popular by Braun and Clarke (2006). They offered that the phases are flexible and require a constant “moving back and forth between the entire data set” (p. 15). I quickly came to realize the act of moving back and forth was critical for good thematic analysis.

Phase One – Familiarizing Yourself with Your Data. This first phase required that I immerse myself in the data by engaging in “repeated reading . . . and searching for meanings, patterns and so on” (Braun & Clark, 2006, p. 16), and it also suggested, regardless of whether the analysis is semantic or latent, that “it is a good idea to start taking notes or making ideas for coding” (p. 17). For data that is provided orally, such as interviews, it was recommended that the transcription be “a verbatim account of all verbal (and sometimes nonverbal [e.g., coughs]) utterances” (p. 17) so that a full account of the stories may be told. I embraced both of these recommendations.

Phase Two – Generating Initial Codes. Coding, not to be confused with the generation of themes, was described as the process of identifying “a feature of the data (semantic content or latent) that appeared interesting to the analysis . . . which can be assessed in a meaningful way regarding the phenomenon” (Braun & Clarke, 2006, p. 18). In this research, the process was undertaken systematically, with special attention to coding as many “potential themes/patterns as possible” (p. 19) and allowing certain pieces of data to be coded into multiple themes. The coding process was divided into four sections that aligned with the four questions I asked in the interviews. Examples of initial codes included sexual harassment, sexism, and racism.

Phase Three – Searching for Themes. With all the data coded, the process of analyzing codes into themes began. According to Braun and Clarke (2006), the development of a theme was useful at this stage, including beginning the process of considering the relationship between different codes and themes. It was also deemed appropriate at this phase to create, re-name, and/or delete any codes since the reflexivity process was well underway at this stage.

Phase Four – Reviewing Themes. Reviewing, revising, and refining themes was next, and included collapsing themes into one another, deleting some themes, and creating new themes (Braun & Clarke, 2006). This process was a continuation of reading, re-reading, and reflecting on the research. Upon completion of this phase, I was able to create the Codebook (see Codebook in Appendix E), which was a reflection of the overall story the data was beginning to tell (Braun & Clarke, 2006).

Phase Five – Defining and Naming Themes. Together with final refinements, it was appropriate to consider any re-naming of themes. Braun and Clarke (2006) suggested naming should not be restating the content of the theme, but instead should identify particularly interesting aspects of the theme. This was also the time when I wrote a definition of each of my themes as I considered how the themes fit into the broader overall story and related back to my research questions.

Phase Six – Producing the Report. Upon completion of the previous five phases, I was able to turn my attention to the “final analysis and write-up of the report” (Braun & Clarke, 2006, p. 23) or in my case, the findings and discussion within this dissertation.

Ethics

While some ethical issues have been addressed above, I want to further address issues related to receiving consent, the ability to withdraw, anonymity, confidentiality, power imbalances, and articulating the benefits to the individual and to society.

Given that qualitative researchers “come face-to-face with their participants and care about them” (Roth, 2005, p. 159), and that the research was being conducted by a community insider where the participant and researcher may have a social relationship, obtaining consent was an intimate process, and one that ultimately set the stage for a more positive interview process. As such, once a prospective participant received the Informed Consent Form for review and consideration, they were encouraged to contact me or my supervisor with any clarifying questions or concerns. By returning signed Informed Consent Forms to me, participants indicated their voluntary and informed willingness to participate in the research.

Participants were informed they could withdraw from the study without fear of repercussions at any point (Gordon & Prohaska, 2006) up to the time of approving their interview transcripts. While the opportunity to withdraw was indicated clearly on the Informed Consent Form, participants were also given the opportunity to withdraw from the study on multiple occasions when we were in conversation, and were assured that if they choose to do so, there would be no penalties or repercussions, no impact to the relationship between us, and all their information would be destroyed (Orb et al., 2001).

An additional possible ethical issue can arise when the researcher is in a position of power within the community under study. In my case, I am an independent activist with the FAAM and as such I was not in a position of power over any of the participants.

Anonymity and confidentiality, the former referring to the participant remaining unknown and where no comments or ideas are directly attributed to an individual unless by pseudonym, and the latter referring to ensuring information is not revealed to others in the researching process, are both critical to ethical research. To ensure anonymity and confidentiality, several practices were put in place. I provided a guarantee to each participant that their identity would not be revealed, and that their data would not be shared with any identifiers or ways to attribute it to any one individual (Holloway & Wheeler, 1995). While important in all research, having no identifiers is especially critical in small samples and among small communities where it might be easy to put *two and two together*, and because of this I chose to take the liberty of changing minor details about the participants in certain instances to further protect their identity (Holloway & Wheeler, 1995). This was critical to ensure anonymity so nothing of particularity could be attributed to any one person. In addition, interview recordings will be erased following the successful completion and defence of this dissertation.

Power imbalances are embedded in all forms of research despite all possible strategies to mitigate this imbalance. Even with the involvement of review boards and supervisors, “the researcher is ultimately responsible for protecting the participants” (Orb et al., 2001, p. 94), and it was an ever present priority for me. I was careful to constantly consider any possible risks of a psychological nature, and turned to research on this topic by Juliet Corbin and Janice Morse (2003). From their near 50 years of combined experience conducting unstructured qualitative interviews on sensitive topics, they concluded that, “participants react positively – and in fact, many are grateful – for the interview experience” (p. 336). Despite this, risks exist given that participants are sharing personal stories. The first risk cited by Corbin and Morse were the possible consequences of a break in confidentiality or anonymity. In addition to the measures I

took to maintain anonymity and confidentiality as above; as a researcher, I am obligated to break confidentiality in the event of legal intervention such as a subpoena, or if the participant expressed imminent self-harm, harm to another person, or abuse of a minor. None of this occurred.

The second risk cited by Corbin and Morse was the potential of arousing powerful emotions. My interview process was unstructured, which was described by Corbin and Morse as “compared to that of talking to a friend or family member” (p. 337). I chose this approach in large part because it provided control for the participants. It allowed the participants to set the agenda, to control the pace of their interviews, to choose what they wished to disclose, to choose the amount of detail they wished to share, and to consider their own emotional intensity levels – all recommended components for reducing power imbalances (Corbin & Morse, 2003).

Researchers must work to ensure the purpose and rationale for their research is clear, and that they are able to support the claim that the research will provide benefits to the participants as well as to society (Bannister, 1996). As this relates to being of benefit to the participants, I am heartened to share that in several cases participants thanked me for the interviews; I received both oral thanks at the conclusion of interviews and via email following the interviews together with optimism about how the FAAM might be supported by this research. As it relates to benefits to society, it is my hope that some part of the recommendations made herein, if applied, will indeed serve to support the regeneration and hence longevity of the FAAM.

Lastly, from an ethical perspective, the research proposal was submitted to and passed by the RRU Ethical Review Board for Research Involving Humans,³² and this research process and product has had oversight from my dissertation committee.

³² The RRU Ethics Policy can be found at <https://research.royalroads.ca/ethics>.

Addressing Bias

Bias in academic research is generally defined as “any trend or deviation from the truth in data collection, data analysis, interpretation and publication which can cause false conclusions” (Šimundić, 2013, p. 12). Bias, then, is a question required by all researchers to address, and in many ways, is a particular question asked of qualitative researcher who are often challenged regarding the validity of their findings..

In qualitative research, the researcher is an intimate part of the research, and the transparency of this relationship as examined through self-reflection is in part what lends value to the work (Galdas, 2017). In fact, in a postmodern era, ethnographers want the antiquated notion that ethnography needs to be done by those who are seen to be neutral and disengaged, to become obsolete (Richardson, 2000). Qualitative research requires “a broader perspective on self-participation, one that accepts both researcher and research subjects as legitimate data sources of lived experience” (Leighton, 2014, p. 52). Furthermore,

Rather than always looking for expertise in a published text or peer-reviewed journal article only, notions of what constitute academic contribution must be expanded to include writing that is both meaningful and evocative in its portrayal of the human condition that allows the readers to become more invested in the research. (Leighton, 2014, p. 52)

This is especially so in feminist inquiry where qualitative methods of research, including interviewing, and the search for underlying themes and patterns in the interviews provides a foundation for a deeper and more truthful expression of the real life experiences of the participants (Gadbois & Paterson, 1999). Suggesting that bias is a problem to be addressed in

qualitative research was noted by professor Paul Galdas (2017) as contributing to the positivist paradigm of the hierarchy of research and hence diminishing the strength of qualitative research.

The question, then, could be reframed not to ask about bias, but to ask whether the research has a broader impact in the real world on society, health, and on the environment (Galdas, 2017).

Strengths and Limitations of this Research

The strengths of this research included it being the first qualitative research focused exclusively on the employment experiences of farmed animal activists who are women in Canada and the United States. As such, it may provide a foundation for additional research in connection with the employment experiences of women animal activists not only in Canada and the United States, but also in other parts of the world where these experiences have potential to expand on human resources practices, leadership practices, and board governance practices. Strengths may also include the cross-applicability of the findings into other non-profit employment settings and possibly also in for-profit settings.

Upon reflecting on the research process, there were a number of limitations, and corresponding aspects of these research methods I would alter if I were to undertake this research again. The first is that I would have preferred to conduct the interviews in person and in a more natural setting where all of the human senses could have been used in the act of relationship building and discernment. This, unfortunately, was not possible during the height of Covid-19 restrictions imposed both at a macro level regarding global travel restrictions, and within the context of ethical research at RRU. Had in-person interviews been possible, however, it might have led to higher quality interactions not only by allowing all the senses to be engaged (e.g., smell and touch), but also by eliminating any technology-based interruptions. Another possible

change in a future iteration of similar research might be to examine the juxtaposition of the experiences of the women by their roles (e.g., executive director, campaigner, lawyer) in the FAAM, by the length of time employed in the FAAM, and perhaps by other demographic information. Doing so might provide themes specific to these characteristics which could then support more nuanced employment-based recommendations. In addition, the research might have been enriched had I incorporated the inclusion of other data. In future research, I would consistently ask all participants to provide copies of employee handbooks and request to review other human resources documentation such as performance review programs, job descriptions, and employment contracts. Other documentation might include organizational documentation such as board of director by-laws, strategic plans, year-end reports, and videos.

In relation to the possible benefits of this research, my genuine hope is the recommendations will encourage and support more regenerative organizational practices, policies, and governance that could benefit the FAAM overall by increasing employee engagement. Through this enhanced employee engagement, vocational activists may be better positioned to work more successfully towards the cessation of animal exploitation not only for the health of the animals, but as defined by the One Health Initiative, also for the Earth, and for human health too.

Chapter Four: Findings

This chapter will provide an overview of my research findings and does not contain any form of interpretation, discussion, nor meaning-making which can be found in Chapter Five.

All findings are presented in the past tense unless specific quotes are used and as such, tenses have not been changed to ensure the most accurate reflection of the words of the participants.

I first describe the demographics of my participants and then discuss the 72 FAAM organizations that are included in my research. From there, I provide the findings from my analysis of the interviews (based on the four questions asked), organized by first citing the question and then summarizing the findings through direct quotes from the participants. I also provide a summary of the chapter.

The findings are based on the codes and code definitions which can be found in my Codebook (see Appendix E).

Demographics

Thirty-three women participated in my research, and including myself, the total number of participants was 34. The pseudonyms of the participants (other than for myself), in alphabetical order, were: Charlie, Chirimuya, Diane, Edna, Ella, Emily Long, Emma, Frances Ruhl, Francesca, Frankie, Heidi, Isabel, Jan, Jane, Jenny, Jo, Josephine, Laney, Lee, Lidia, Lilly G, Maggie, Margot, Maya, Pluto06, Rebecca, Sarah1, Sarah2, Shirley, Shiva, Tiny Dancer, Vera Bateman, Zoe, and for myself, I used my real name, Krista.

The age of the women ranged from 23 to 60 years. The number of years of employment within the FAAM ranged from one to 15 years. There were 10 women who had children. There were eight women who self-identified as being Black, Indigenous, or a member of the Global

Majority; eight were members of the LGBTQ+ community; and four were people living with a disability. The education level of the participants ranged from two women with high school diplomas to four women holding doctorate degrees. The marital status of the women also varied considerably in that each of the drop down options that were provided (married, widowed, divorced, separated, in a domestic partnership or civil union, single but cohabitating with a significant other, single never married) were selected by at least one participant. Geographically, there were three women, including myself, located in Canada, and the rest were in the United States.

I have elected not to include the full demographic details of each participant because it neither adds to nor detracts from the findings. In addition, choosing not to include specific demographics was done out of an abundance of caution for the protection of the anonymity of the women due to the small size of the FAAM in Canada and the United States, and the likelihood that doing so could jeopardize their privacy. However in the findings, I do include an occasional demographic notation about a particular participant when it seemed relevant and there was a low risk of exposure.

Organizations

A total of 72 FAAM organizations were named by the participants in the course of their interviews. These organizations were given a numeric pseudonym for the purposes of this research, beginning with Organization_1 and ending with Organization_72.

I have provided a list of the 72 organizations with their website addresses in Appendix F. While the actual names of the organizations are listed (with the exception of one, which is listed only as anonymous at the request of a participant), in an effort to provide an added level of protection for the participants, I present the names in alphabetical order and do not include their

numeric pseudonym, nor do I give any indication of the organizations where participants worked.

Research Findings

This section is organized by presenting the findings for each of the four interview questions beginning with question one and moving on sequentially. In each case, I summarize the findings using a combination of narrative and direct quotes from the participants, and conclude with a brief final comment.

Interview Question One: Deep Connection to Animals

Can you please tell me about the first time you remember having a deep connection to animals. Please feel free to go back as far as you'd like, perhaps to when you were a very young girl.

The primary ways in which the women came to develop a deep connection with animals included through relationships with companion animals or other animal experiences in or around their homes. One woman shared a story not about an animal but about a tree, one woman immediately recalled her early activism, and other women shared their first connections occurring as a result of some form of media.

Perhaps not surprisingly, the majority of the women answered the first question by telling a story about one or more childhood companion animals. Frankie and Emily Long in telling their stories about their childhood dogs both described being shy children, and told of how their childhood dogs helped them become more confident. Shirley talked about her childhood love for dogs, despite being terrified of them. She described winning a public speaking award for her speech on dogs, watching dog shows on television, and collecting magazines about dogs, but also shared:

. . . being too afraid to go to parks, because, you know, people would have dogs running off leash.

Shirley later sought psychiatric support for cynophobia and is no longer afraid of dogs.

For some women, they had not thought about their early connections in some time. Jo was in tears remembering her childhood dog:

I'm gonna start crying, I feel like I never think about this.

Josephine recalled:

. . . feeling a really strong connection to animals in such a way that I recognized myself in them. I felt like the distinctions between humans and non-human animals were arbitrary in the sense of how strong they were, or how much they dictated societal norms.

My own first memory of having a deep connection with animals came from the relationship I developed with my first dog, Benji, which always makes me think of my deceased father. I had wanted a dog so badly when I was a little girl, but my parents, Dutch immigrants, didn't believe animals should live inside a house. My father had been a dairy farmer in the Netherlands before coming to Canada, and animals were seen as commodities, and my pleas for a dog were never met. That was until my father was diagnosed with incurable cancer in the Fall of 1974 and passed away in August of 1975. Benji, a poodle, was my Christmas gift in 1974 from my father who knew he would not see the next Christmas. Benji was my best friend and would sleep with me every night. To this day, I have his collar, dog tag, and a photograph with Benji that was taken in about 1979 in a special spot on my book shelf in my home office.

Two women, Jo and Emily Long, discussed that their childhood dog was their first introduction to death. Jo, at the tender age of five, found her beloved family dog dead. She recalled that while she didn't remember a lot about her experiences with the dog, she had a very vivid recollection of finding her body, of being confused as to why she was not getting up and playing, and of her body being covered in flies. In Emily Long's case, she was eight years old when her aunt's dog passed away. She described being very close to the dog, and that when he died, she was crying in her room, and her sister spoke to her and explained what death meant. This experience led Emily Long to start a 'wall of animals'. In her words:

I wrote his name on my wall, and then throughout my childhood, any animal that I knew of whether it was on TV or my friend's animals or my animals, I would write on the wall. And then there was just this big list of names on my wall of animals who had died. That was so sad.

Frances Ruhl described being homeschooled and having an abusive family that engaged in physical, emotional, and mental abuse. Despite growing up on a farm surrounded by animals that were not treated like companion animals, she recalled the first time she felt deep empathy for an animal this way:

The first time I can remember feeling serious empathy for an animal, I guess, would be realizing that our dog was tied out in the yard and her name was XXX.³³ And XXX just had like this tiny house and she was on a chain all the time, even when it was cold out and snowing. And I don't know how old I was, I would say very young, maybe three or four. Um, so that was my first memory, I would say.

Frances Ruhl went on to describe that as a homeschooled child she spent a lot of time with the animals on the farm. She shared that at age eight her father told her that two of the cows she had become very close to and who she would play with in the pasture were sold to another farm.

Then, not long after this, she shared the following:

I was eating a hamburger, and not too long after my dad just told me, "Hey, guess what? That's XXX and XXX (the names of her two cow friends)." So I would say that's my first recollection of understanding where meat came from.

She also shared other stories of her father hunting and skinning animals on their back porch as well as going fishing. Her father told her that the hooks do not hurt the fish, but she recalled even as a young child:

He was trying to get us to go fishing and him trying to tell me that the hooks didn't hurt the fish because they didn't have any nerve endings in their mouths . . . even as a small child, I thought, "That doesn't seem right to me." Just hurting animals for sport, basically.

She went on to describe feeling:

³³ The names of all companion animals have been changed to XXX to protect the anonymity of the participants.

. . . so much anger about the ways in which the animals were treated and now that I look back on it, it's pretty clear to me that I was able to understand it because of what I had to endure. I was horrified by it. I couldn't understand why he would do that.

Vera Bateman also found compassion for animals through a process of family activities:

I was influenced to kill animals and to eat animals, and never felt okay about it. My family had huge crabbing excursions every year. They still do Crab Fest. My dad has named it and it's a multi-day event at one of his homes. And I remember going on crabbing trips and looking into our traps and feeling bad, the crawfish, the deer, and when I was taught how to shoot a gun and had to shoot gopher and deer. I never felt good about it.

Not all of the women talked about animals. One heartwarming story came from Isabel :

One thing that actually stands out before was an experience with a tree. My parents were cutting down a dogwood in the backyard because it just hadn't been flowering. It's not like I played in this tree or had even thought about it. But I just had like a visceral reaction to the chainsaw. My mother told them not to cut it down understanding the disarray I was in. The following year, it had bloomed. I actually turned this story into a talk in my graduate studies with the themes around patience, seasons, and hope.

Another powerful story came from Edna. When she was in grade three or four, she started a pet club. She shared that she would:

. . . invite other children to come to pet club and would hand out pamphlets about animal agriculture and animal testing, and we would talk about animal issues. We would also write letters to the editors about Guinea pigs at the pet store that were crowded in the cage together and things like that. So, I was an activist and started at a pretty early age.

Another early adopter was Laney, who at the age of four read a book about animals and immediately told her mother that she never wanted to eat animals again, and she didn't.

Four women, Jan, Charlie, Pluto06, and Jane, all recalled their earliest memories as feeling great empathy for insects, and three other women, Rebecca, Ella, and Shirley, discussed their revelation coming from a music video on YouTube, with Shirley and Rebecca specifically citing a music video for a song called, Free Me by Goldfinger.³⁴ Rebecca was 10 years old when

³⁴ Free Me, from the album Open your Eyes by Goldfinger. <https://www.youtube.com/watch?v=6fayPV5PN6U>

she first saw Goldfinger in concert, and she shared with me what she did when she got home after the concert:

I went to kfcruelty.com and I could not believe that animals just like my dog, who I'm super obsessed with, are treated like this. I had no idea. So I stopped eating meat at that moment, that was when I made the connection between my dog and other animals.

Other forms of media were discussed by several women as being the first time they understood the plight of animals. This included documentary films such as *Food Inc.*,³⁵ and also mainstream movies such as *Legally Blonde 2: Red, White & Blonde*,³⁶ which for [Emily Long](#) was the first time she was made aware of vivisection. [Isabel](#), looking back, noted that:

. . . it's like truth from the mouth of babes, it's like I knew all along that nonhuman life has inherent value.

It was important to ground the interviewing and ultimately be in a position to move towards answering my primary and secondary research questions by first asking the question about their earliest memories of their love of animals. Bringing their initial love of animals to the forefront not only provided an opportunity to begin the storytelling process, but it also helped to engage in relationship building, and centre their love of animals within the context of their chosen occupations.

Interview Question Two: Professional Life Dedicated to Animals

Please share with me the story of your decision to commit your professional life to working on behalf of animals, and your decision to join the FAAM.

The primary ways in which the women came to be employed within the FAAM included through post-secondary education, personal vegan journeys, and exposure to some form of advocacy such as watching a film, reading a book, being given a leaflet, being exposed to

³⁵ *Food, Inc.* [Documentary Film]. <https://www.imdb.com/title/tt1286537/>

³⁶ *Legally Blonde 2: Red, White & Blonde* [Film]. <https://www.imdb.com/title/tt0333780/>

undercover investigative footage, and also through volunteerism. Each of these four areas and the overlap between them, will be discussed, together with additional notable findings.

The experiences in post-secondary education included exposure to discourse on animals within disciplines such as philosophy, political science, environmental studies, law, and agriculture. Two women, [Charlie](#) and [Tiny Dancer](#), noted that Peter Singer's work was discussed in their philosophy classes, and [Emma](#) noted that during her time in law school she had attended a job fair and found out that:

. . . there's such a thing as animal law where you can work on animals in the legal system, and I thought that's perfect for me.

There was significant overlap between the women's time in post-secondary education and their vegan journey. An example of this overlap happened for [Charlie](#). She recalled having a conversation with another student, who said to her:

"It would be better for you to eat a steak than eat cheese" because of the way that the animals were treated. And then, again, I had another awakening.

An example that did not overlap with post-secondary education, but instead was exclusively about her vegan journey, was the story [Frankie](#) relayed:

I had my son and he would break out in eczema really badly. I went into a natural grocery store because the doctors wanted to give him steroids. I asked one of the ladies there if they had anything and she told me to cut out dairy and eggs. So I did that and it worked. And then I just learned more about the industry and decided that I wanted to be vegan. So we did that. I then moved in with my mom and I was just searching for an animal sanctuary near us and I found one.

In the case of [Frankie](#), she ended up working at a farmed animal sanctuary. [Maggie](#) also shared that her decision to work within the FAAM was connected to her vegan journey from the perspective of food. [Maggie](#) relayed that she had:

. . . a pretty negative relationship with food for most of my life . . . and vegetarianism was an easy way for me to lose weight.

She then chose to mark her 30th birthday by committing to veganism, which also happened to be Thanksgiving. She shared the following:

I was the only one not eating the turkey, you know, and sticking with the sides, and it was the best decision of my life.

Maggie then went on to read books such as, *The Kind Diet*³⁷ and in her words:

It opened my eyes to animal activism, and I put that all together. I got involved, I went to my first circus protest and my first fur protest.

From there Maggie joined the FAAM as an employee, leaving her for-profit life behind her.

For Rebecca, her vegan journey overlapped with exposure to activism, and also to the love of her cat. She noted that:

I adopted my own cat who I just fell so in love with and it was like kind of the same experience where you love this animal so much. And I had never really looked into veganism but at that time I was like, I cannot imagine using an animal, hurting an animal, doing anything bad to an animal. So I really started to research. I watched *Earthlings*,³⁸ I watched about 15 minutes of *Earthlings* and I cried myself to sleep. It was crazy. I have to go vegan. And kind of around that same time, I switched my major in school to public administration and kind of started getting involved with Organization_12 and I was like, this is it.

Shiva was also impacted by her vegan journey and by two particular animals. She recalled:

I had already been on a journey to change my diet, but it wasn't for animal reasons. I was just on that journey for health reasons, and then I met these cows and they just impacted me profoundly and I went vegan.

Volunteerism was a powerful route to employment in the FAAM, and was discussed by Charlie, Chirimuya, Diane, Ella, Emily Long, Francesca, Frankie, Jan, Jenny, Josephine, Laney, Maggie, Rebecca, Sarah1, and was also my own route into the FAAM. The particular forms of volunteerism that these women were engaged in included attendance at protests as noted by Maggie above, and also time spent at cat, dog, and farmed animal shelters, rescuing and

³⁷ *The kind diet: A simple guide to feeling great, losing weight, and saving the planet*, by Alicia Silverstone. <https://www.amazon.ca/Kind-Diet-Simple-Feeling-Losing/dp/1609611357>

³⁸ *Earthlings* [Documentary film]. <http://www.nationearth.com/>

transporting animals, working with wildlife groups, leafletting, and conducting research. The power of this kind of volunteer engagement is best described by [Emily Long](#):

I was going to a concert of one of the bands that I had been listening to who was vegan. They needed volunteers to collect emails at the door and send out literature during the concert. I went to the concert, and collected the emails and there were some mean people, but then I finally like found, you know, some people who care about animals. I was so excited and wanted to do what I could to help them, like turn those emotions into something productive. From that point on, I told people that I wanted to be an animal activist or an animal advocate. I would always like say that. So that's what I strove to do since the age of 14.

The most consistent path to working in the FAAM, however, was previous involvement. This included both volunteerism and serving as an intern. Perhaps [Jo](#) said it best:

So I was interning there and while I was interning there I just knew I had to spend the rest of my life doing this. How could I not?

It is important to note that ten women indicated that they had no idea that vocational activism even existed. They did not know that activism was a career choice at all. Several of these women shared that the way in which they came to know that activism could be a career was entirely by chance. In [Jenny's](#) case, she recalled that:

. . . a Google ad showed me that it was a thing, so I'm very grateful for whomever did that ad.

In the case of [Sarah1](#), she recalled that her mother saw a Facebook advertisement, and she shared with me that prior to seeing the advertisement:

I didn't know that you could like make a career out of it.

For [Margot](#), she shared that:

. . . it just happened organically, it's not that I made a conscious decision.

In the case of [Lee](#), she noted the impact of watching the documentary film *Earthlings*:

Everything before that moment was just different. I couldn't look at the world the same way. I knew that from that moment on I had to specifically work in this area.

Another notable finding was that many of the women were not involved in the non-profit sector before deciding to join the FAAM, and that they came to the Movement with deep diversity in their professional backgrounds. One had been in academia for many years, another had been a full time mother, yet another had been a graphic designer, and another had been involved in urban planning.

While the path to the FAAM in a vocational capacity did vary, in most cases, once the women understood at a practical level that animal activism as a career was a possibility, their commitment was solidified, and in many cases they noted that they could not imagine not working for animals. This question served as a bridge between the women thinking about their first connection to animals and their experiences as vocational activists.

While question two was not the subject of either of my research questions, and hence will not be elaborated on further, the findings from this second question might serve to provide useful information for recruiting professionals employed in the FAAM as they consider avenues for their candidate sourcing strategies.

Interview Question Three: Employment Experiences in the FAAM

I'm interested in your experiences as an employee with regard to leadership, how you have been treated, and how that has shaped your experiences of working within the FAAM.

The findings for question three have been divided into two sections, the first being the positive experiences cited by the women, and the second being their negative experiences.

Positive Experiences. There were so few positive experiences that it was not necessary to create several specific themes; instead, all positive experiences were combined into one theme which I simply called Positive Experiences. There was, however, positive experiences shared that were only attributed to the early part of employment, which I called the FAAM Honeymoon

Period. An example of this was given by [Francesca](#) who noted that when she began her employment in the FAAM, she had:

. . . stars in her eyes . . . then my bubble burst pretty quickly.

[Frankie](#) talked about her experience at the beginning as feeling like she had joined a family, and [Josephine](#) noted that her:

. . . first few months I was on cloud nine.

The balance of the positive experiences were in connection with co-workers and having the opportunity to work with people who are like-minded, two women discussed positive benefits plans, and only one woman discussed an overall positive experience at her job.

Regarding co-workers, [Francesca](#) noted:

. . . it's so cool to be around other vegans and to be able to talk to other people about vegan stuff.

[Isabel](#) noted that:

I've had a good experience and I think it's because we're all mission-aligned. I have a wonderful relationship with a manager who is very transparent about workload expectations, salaries, salary ranges . . . and meeting once a quarter in person either at our headquarters or at a farm sanctuary or something we can go to and visit.

There was a particularly beautiful story that [Sarah2](#) told about how important it was for her to be working with other animal lovers. In her own words:

I found a baby bird and he wasn't even a fledgling. He had just hatched and fallen out of his nest. So I carried him back to the office and I'm bawling my eyes out and I'm like, "I, I have this bird. I have to save this bird." And nobody laughed at me. One of my colleagues went and got a hot water bottle, and the other one called a whole bunch of wildlife rescues. And it wasn't a weird thing that, "Oh, Sarah2 brought a baby bird back to work after lunch." Everybody got it.

Lastly, [Margot](#) did an excellent job of summarizing the sentiments of several of the women when she shared that:

I feel very honoured and I absolutely feel like it's a gift. It is just a gift to be able to work in the Movement. So even though I've said all of these complaints about it, I would not

do anything else. And I am willing to deal with the men. I'm willing to deal with the low pay. I'm willing to deal with all of this knowing that I am able to contribute to something that I think is extremely valuable for the animals and valuable for the world.

Other examples included Jan who described having a decent benefits plan, and Jane who was positive about her four-day work week. Most notable was Laney. She was the only participant who spoke consistently positively about her work environment. While Laney had only been in the FAAM and in her specific job for one year, her explanation regarding the positive view of her organization included:

. . . a board of directors focused on employee wellbeing, leadership who prioritizes the mental health of employees, an environment that openly discusses issues of race, gender, perfectionism, and how to make the Movement more inclusive, a deep understanding that doing well for animals starts with taking care of ourselves, and strong connections with other organizations.

Laney, while positive, also consciously choose to enter the FAAM knowing some of the pervasive challenges in the Movement.

Negative Experiences.

Laney, in continuing to share her experiences, said:

Going into this Movement I was very aware of the harassment, compassion fatigue, burnout, and sexual harassment. I was, I was very, very, very aware of all of these things. I was aware that it was rampant in our Movement. I was aware that it was a key issue preventing us from moving forward as a Movement.

Question three generated the most feedback, not only in terms of quantity, but also in terms of degree of emotion. Out of the sixty-seven interviews I conducted, there were three occasions when the stories shared were particularly egregious and deeply troubling. They were with Maya, Emily Long, and Maggie. As such, I begin this section by sharing the details of those three occasions, and I reflect on my response. Following that, I provide an overview of the 25 key codes uncovered from my thematic analysis of negative experiences, beginning with systemic oppression and ending with nepotism.

Maya. Maya is a woman who I respect deeply, and her organization does wonderful work for animals. Maya is an executive director with responsibility for fundraising like all executive directors. When Maya was talking about funders, this is what she shared:

There is an unequal power dynamic. I have had situations where there's been a donor and that donor has been very affectionate. You know, like a kiss on the cheek or something like that, or lingering hugs. People have always said "Maya, you should never have to deal with that. Never, ever, ever." I think part of it just comes back to my acculturation as a woman where I'm just like, "This is what we do with it, I'm trying to support our organization." And, you know, we actually did have a board member who was an older woman and she didn't take it seriously when I told her. She said "He's an old man. That's just what he does." So that happens. I don't know realistically how to fully stop that type of thing from happening. I do identify as a feminist. I do know that people look up to me. If this happens to any other person, I am so good at saying, no, absolutely not. I don't know, just feeling so much responsibility for our organization. And there's just so much about this whole system that just feels so icky to me.

Maya went on to further describe her experiences from the perspective of a woman who is member of the Global Majority:

And as an organization we are always like looking at white supremacy and in the non-profit industrial complex space. And so it's very, it's very troublesome to me, all the things that we have to do. And certainly I feel like the whole structure of non-profits being so reliant on funding. The idea that this is just something I see. Where the board is ultimately responsible for the organization. And oftentimes the board members are the people with access to funding or have resources themselves, but are not the people actually doing the work. I find that structure to be very challenging and I don't really know how to change it within the current system. So I feel like I'm playing a game. It's a game that we've been playing with some mixed success. Sometimes we get grants, sometimes we just don't. We do not fit effective altruist models at all. So I really am grateful for the funding.

When Maya completed her story, she paused. We both simply looked at one another for what seemed like a long period of time. There were no words that could adequately describe the sheer depravity of the situation. The very notion that a woman would be told by her board of directors to tolerate inappropriate physical touching and leering from a male donor is horrific, yet it is reminiscent of the perspective of Erika Brunson, former HSUS board member who relayed that

sexual harassment by men towards women was standard practice and that women should be able to take care of themselves in these situations.

Emily Long. Another troubling story was told by [Emily Long](#) in conveying a challenge she was having in connection with a human resources matter where the organization was not being fully transparent with regard to her job duties. She approached a senior person at the organization to seek clarity on the matter, and during that discussion, she shared with her vice president that many employees who worked in the same role as she did felt undervalued by the organization. She shared that those in her same job felt they were the least important employees in the organization. [Emily Long](#) then shared with me the response from her vice president:

"Well, that's not entirely true. We have a copy editor, we have a copywriter and an executive assistant," and then she paused for a minute and said to me "Oh, that's a shitty thing for me to say, I shouldn't say that." And it was that discussion that solidified that we are pretty much lowest rung. So that's a major reason I left.

Maggie. The third standout story came from [Maggie](#) who was working in the FAAM in a leadership position during the height of the #MeToo movement. During our conversation she was recalling some of challenges that were occurring during that period:

I was responsible for them (her female staff members), and I will forever feel that I let them down because I didn't protect them. They were early in their careers. I became paralyzed because of my own hero worship. I always just hold that with me because the fact that so many young people didn't get the protection that they needed was because I was their intermediary and I failed them.

At that point in the interview I stopped recording. [Maggie](#) cried.

I felt it was important to highlight these three stories and reflect on why their stories resonated so deeply with me. What I came to realize is that the stories of [Maya](#), [Emily Long](#), and [Maggie](#) were stories that I had heard countless times before, and as powerful as they were, they were simply not unique, and they are the very reason that I embarked upon this work. As a person who entered the FAAM with deep experience in human resources, and in particular an

understanding of the difference between grossly inappropriate employment experiences and experiences that may be less sinister due to inexperience, each of these three stories fell into the first category, and in the case of [Maya](#) and [Maggie](#), these run afoul of human rights legislation in both Canada and the United States.

The balance of this section will examine the codes that were uncovered for question three. I will begin with an analysis of the three most frequently discussed responses: systemic oppression, lack of HR knowledge and expertise, and exercising power and control. Then I will examine the others (in alphabetical order): animals over people; board of directors; compassion fatigue; cult-like; effective altruism; founder's syndrome; funding; infighting; lack of accountability; lack of appreciation; lack of autonomy; lack of communication; lack of consistency; lack of diversity; lack of experience; lack of fairness; lack of faith in leadership; lack of integrity; lack of professionalism; lack of respect; lack of training, support, and resources; and nepotism.

Systemic Oppression. The theme of systematic oppression included the following codes, listed in alphabetical order: ageism, classism, ethnocentrism, racism, sexism, sizeism, tokenism, and transphobia. In addition, the code of sexism included the following sub-codes: anti-natalism, gaslighting, hierarchy, mansplaining, misogyny, sexual harassment, #MeToo and #ARMeToo, tone policing, and white male-dominated culture. Each will be examined below.

Oppression based on age, or ageism, was described by [Chirimuya](#) to be predominately levied against employees who were older than the majority of employees, where the majority were in their twenties and thirties.

Ageism was something I personally faced during my time in the FAAM, and something also faced by other women I knew who, like me, were in their forties and fifties. One powerful

story illustrating this took place during a fundraising event I hosted in Toronto. The woman who organized the event had flown in to attend, and just prior to the doors of the event opening to ticket-holders, she and I stepped out on the balcony with a major donor who had arrived early to the event. I vividly recall mentioning that the three of us were the same age. The next day, the event organizer asked to have a private conversation with me. She relayed to me that she works hard every day to make sure people do not realize how old she is, and that she does not like people knowing her real age. It was something she hid consciously because she felt that if people knew her real age it would impact how she was perceived by her peers and by leadership since the Movement was staffed by such young people. I think back to how painful that must have been for her to go into the office every day and try to act as if she were was younger than she was.

Classism in the FAAM was raised by [Sarah1](#). She noted that wealth disparity was something that was difficult to navigate within her job. She elaborated on this by referencing her salary and noting that only people with external financial support, such as family support, could afford to live on the low wages paid by the FAAM. She also made reference to the fact that the majority of internships in the FAAM were unpaid, and as such, only people with other sources of income could afford to take on internships.

Another form of oppression cited was ethnocentrism. Like ageism, this too is something I personally experienced. My direct manager, on countless occasions, both one-on-one and in front of my peers would say that he didn't like Canadians. He also went so far as to tell me that I was the only Canadian he had ever liked because I, in his view, acted more like an American.

The existence of racism in the FAAM was raised by several women, both by those who self-identified as being a member of the Global Majority and by those who did not. One woman spoke at length about racism in the FAAM by sharing:

I refuse to give up my commitment to animals. I refuse to be a part of what's going on. And now what we're doing is conscientiously doing outreach to find vegan activists who are intersectional and who are saying "not this" and who are willing to speak out. And there's not many of them right now. I think it just really called out the fact that this, the entire animal rights movement, is built off of misogynistic logics. And those same logics are tied to white supremacy.

Another noted:

. . . I did go to the human resources department and told them that I felt I was experiencing racial bias because I am one out of four or five people of color in our US organization, yet nothing was done.

Yet another woman shared:

. . . it's a white male supremacist culture at this organization.

While another woman stated that:

There's a lot of prejudicial racial beliefs where people think of white people as saving animals. And they think of Black people as abusing animals and that's very fucked up and wrong because tons of Black people save animals all the time. I don't know what to do about it, but there's a lot of racism in the Movement.

And yet a different woman shared that:

. . . the longer I stayed at the organization the more I saw that it was just riddled with misogyny and racism. The way they treated female directors and especially female directors of color was atrocious.

A final example, which may be difficult to read:

I'm probably going to curse. It's terrible. We had a whole lot of stuff happen when George Floyd was murdered by the police. Leadership refused to release a statement, even though we demanded it. That's also a lot of what led us to unionize. And things just kept on getting worse. Our executive director/CEO sent an email to the entire staff saying that Black Lives Matter is a partisan issue that the organization will not be taking a stand on. And we were like, "What?" It's just like, oof! My mind just explodes every single day from this. The gall of these people is really incredible. So they're committed fully to their silence because they don't want to upset their Republican donors. We also have this bumper sticker, it came up in an all staff meeting and it says, "Abuse an animal, go to

jail.” Basically what we're doing is hitching our wagon to mass incarceration, which is racially biased. They're not going after the factory farming corporations that are abusing animals. They're not trying to prosecute them under the law. And with the criminal law they're trying to go after poor people of color, one by one. So it's still a very white male dominated organization and that's the way they want it to stay. And they've made that really, really clear. These organizations also are run by white men. They also are very much motivated to get as much money as possible, to get in the media as much as possible. And that's really all they care about. And so they don't want people of color in the Movement. They don't want women in the Movement unless we're at the bottom. I don't think that's probably something I should say. It's almost like you have to sacrifice yourself as a woman or a person of color to be in this Movement and that's what they want. So they're not trying to be better. They're not trying to change things. They don't want to change anything. They want it just how it is. They claim they care what people think, like they want to hear from us, but then we try to tell them that we have real concerns about this, we're just brushed away. They don't really care what we think about anything. Like we are completely disposable and they want us to feel that way. A woman who was on our organizing committee, she was a woman of color, was told specifically to write an article on slaughterhouses and slaughterhouse workers, she was told to write this op-ed, and then they published it under the ED's [executive director] name. So, I mean, when I say taking credit for work, that's in writing. Our ED has published lots of op-eds and now I'm realizing that he's always just taking credit for women's work for the most part. So, this was a woman of color, no less, which makes it even worse. She recently quit by the way.

Sexism was referenced by almost all of the women in at least one way. This theme included the following codes: anti-natalism, gaslighting, hierarchy, mansplaining, misogyny, sexual harassment, #MeToo and #ARMeToo, tone policing, and white male-dominated culture. I will revert to including pseudonyms in this section and on an on-going basis.

Beginning with anti-natalism, [Charlie](#) shared that:

. . . when I had a baby, they gave away my cases. And then I had to threaten them with discrimination to get my cases back.

[Edna](#) shared that:

There was a culture of choosing childlessness, and even though I had kids I was expected to adhere to the same time and energy commitments as everyone else. And I did that. I did that because I believed that was what I had to do. Towards the end of my time there, I started to realize that keeping those kinds of schedules is not conducive to productive work, and is very conducive to burnout. That it's not helping the animals. But it was very deeply ingrained in the culture there. So, I missed out on a lot of childhood stuff with both of my kids during the time I was working for that organization. There was more of a feeling of anti-child, it was held up as a cultural characteristic of the organization.

And Jane spoke about her experience this way:

This anti-natalist philosophy that we shouldn't have kids because then those kids are going to eat, and could potentially eat animals and be bad for the planet. And then there I am with two kids just feeling like I don't belong because I worked with a bunch of 25 year old kids who were never going to have children of their own because of this almost like cult-like attitude. So the anti-natalist part is not good. I was once at a staff retreat where our president at the time was describing the perfect employee, and talking about how the perfect employee is available on nights and weekends as needed. And I was like, "Well, maybe the perfect employee also has responsibilities outside of work because they're a human being." But I didn't say that obviously. And I just internalized all the anger and kept working. Then other leadership in the organization posted on Facebook anti-natalist messaging. And again, I was one of just a small handful of people at a big organization with children and we didn't really talk about our kids at work, it was just, you know, you just didn't. It was almost like I felt like I had to hide the fact that I had children and you know, this always makes me cry. Judging me for being a human being, I'm sorry, but we're animals too. And animals are driven to pass on their genes. So just the fact that I had kids, which obviously is the most important part of my life. Yeah. So I guess that could also be illustrated by the fact that when I got pregnant with my third child, I didn't want to tell anybody. And I felt lucky that most of my work was done remotely. And so people can only see the upper part of my body and so I didn't really even have to tell people because they couldn't see my growing belly. And again, that's just so disappointing because, you know, that's such a joyous part of a woman's life and to not be able to share that with people just felt really awful. I put off telling people about it until I had to. So when I was pregnant, I started looking into what the parental leave policy was. And of course it was not good. I honestly can't remember the details. I don't remember what it was, but I know it wasn't good. I know that someone else had ended up leaving as a result of being treated really poorly when she wanted to take maternity leave.

Gaslighting was discussed by several women. Frances Ruhl noted that:

The gaslighting was so severe and I started to believe it a little bit.

Lee, in connection with being challenged by her organization's decision on an animal euthanasia position, noted that:

. . . it was very strange and jarring and I felt like it was almost like gaslighting in a way. When I tried to voice my concern with the organization's position, my boss, a man, tried to convince me that my reality was so far out there and that my opinion was not appropriate. I don't know, it was a very strange feeling. So I went home that day and I took a sick day because I was just like so jarred by it all.

Sexism was also discussed in connection with the hierarchy of FAAM organizations.

Lilly G shared that:

From the outset, it was also very clear that there were strong elements of gender there to do with the hierarchies of things. You could see very clearly, and that's still true to this day.

Mansplaining was raised by both [Isabel](#) and [Shirley](#), who referred to being mansplained by other organizations they worked with and by colleagues. [Shirley](#) described her experience this way:

My colleague would mansplain . . . especially this one person . . . he came onto the board, was never involved with the organization before, he's brand new and coming in and telling me how we should do fundraising and . . . refusing to cooperate . . . it's just kind of typical and interesting that it wasn't ever any women on the board that made me feel that way.

One of the most insidious forms of sexism, misogyny, defined in the Codebook (see Appendix E) as a dislike of, contempt for, or ingrained prejudice against women, was noted by several women. [Maggie](#) shared that:

. . . treatments and interactions that I had with certain leaders that were negative and oppressive and misogynistic have really shaped me in terms of where I'm at now.

[Charlie](#) shared that:

What was going on was not just the sexual assault, but I think a fundamental devaluing of women. I think the animal movement is so misogynistic, I believe that it allows and perpetuates the system, and it can funnel money to the same groups perpetuating the same misogynistic approach to all this. And it's being protected. I think it just really called out the fact that the entire animal rights movement is built off of misogynistic logics, and those same logics are tied to white supremacy. The same patriarchy they're perpetuating, frankly, is tied to animal cruelty.

Sexual harassment, the third most code was referenced 66 times. I will combine this code with the code for #MeToo and #ARMeToo in this section. The stories included questionable behaviour such as that shared by [Emma](#) regarding an experience where:

. . . he [a leader] was too friendly.

[Jenny](#) shared an experience when she was an intern and a senior leader asked her if she could drive him home:

I remember my antennas going up. So I had my mom on the phone on mute in the car, just so that if I needed to say, "Mom, call 911." I just felt strange about it. He was very friendly and then he had me drop him off a block from his home, and I think it was because he was concerned that his wife would see him being driven home by a young woman. I remember at the time just thinking that was so strange.

The stories also showed the regular use of inappropriate behaviours and language. Lilly G

shared:

. . . there's this culture of flirting with women, of calling women pet names. They felt that it was okay to call me honey, or pet names, or treat me in a certain way.

Margot observed that:

This Movement does attract men who are keen to take advantage of women. It's something that as a woman, you are always on guard about, even if you're not in a situation where you feel uncomfortable. Even if you're in a situation where you feel absolutely 100% comfortable, you're still somewhat on guard about it, or at least I am. I just feel like that if you're a woman working in the Movement, you are going to deal with some type of #MeToo situation. You'll deal with some type of #MeToo situation either directly or indirectly.

Perhaps the most troubling story came from Charlie. She shared her experiences working for an organization that seemed to be aware of, and allow for, ongoing and regular sexual harassment.

This is her story:

I recall people conscientiously keeping interns away from a particular man because of the way that the interns looked. Like, "Oh, she's his type." I think because of the way that I look, I was buffered, I wasn't his type, but I was watching him taking girls into his hotel room at night. And the girls were honoured. However they may have felt, the way that they talked about it to us was, like, "YYY chose me," or "I am chosen." And that dynamic, even if they felt that way, was just disgusting to me. I'm going to use really vulgar language because this was the language being used at the time. They would say: "YYY and YYY can just walk in a room and the girls just dropped their panties. " That's how it was talked about it at the time. And I think that's an awful way to think about it and talk about it. It felt very, very icky and toxic. It was like he was a god at the time, which I still, to this day, don't get. I had also seen his emails. Emails about my coworkers. One of them, they hired her because she one of those girls that waved the finishing flag at races. And they talked about how she looked in a bikini. They talked about how they would rank women, numerically, by their looks. It was an awful and hellish time at that organization. I think, blonde and large-busted and, you know, very, like, Barbie-ish, is generally what they were going for. I remember women talking about keeping their hair dyed brunette to avoid YYY. Yep. I remember, there is a woman who's still at the organization. She is stunningly beautiful. She's a person of color. And she was,

like, "You know, I never have to worry about it because they only go for white girls." So, you know, women that were stunningly beautiful, like her, actually viewed their differences as a shield for them. You could have almost not come into this Movement as a woman, at least at that time, and not fall prey to that because, no matter which organization you went to, you were in that dynamic, at least the major organizations.

Tone policing, the act of criticizing a person who expresses themselves emotionally, was also described, particularly with respect to any messaging that was deemed to be feminist in nature. [Frances Ruhl](#) recalled preparing a presentation where the communications person, upon reviewing her presentation, noted:

You can't do that, that isn't our brand. You're absolutely not allowed to present this PowerPoint. And I was stunned since I had published papers on the topic, I'd done presentations, I'd done independent research. And they were basically saying, you're not allowed to do this. I was floored. And she said, "Feminism is fringe." Those were her words. Feminism is fringe. But that was just the first of many things.

Lastly, under the theme of sexism was white male dominance. While this code has run throughout this theme, additional stories were provided. [Chirimuya](#) discussed that:

The dominant culture, the default culture in the organization is a white U.S. male dominant culture and that's the expectation. And so people don't feel like they can bring their full selves to work because they're still expected to adhere to white dominant culture expectations of urgency and perfectionism and all the stuff that's in the white supremacy culture list that are held up as like being a model worker.

[Sarah1](#) shared being at a board of directors meeting:

I was there, it was filled with sexist and racist and homophobic old white dudes.

[Sarah2](#) noted that:

It's like this predominantly male group of people dictating what they want this group of women to do.

Sizeism, was another form of systemic oppression, and [Jo](#) shared her experience this way:

There were other issues . . . I wanna call it anorexia culture, eating disorder culture . . . they . . . would pressure people to be skinny . . . they would send out e-mails criticizing all the junk food that makes us fat, and saying that if we're fat, nobody's gonna want to be vegan, and the way to get people to be vegan is to be skinny . . . so I developed an eating

disorder, I think, I was never diagnosed, but I lost a lot of weight, and I was obsessed with my weight, and I would think about it all the time. I'm not like that anymore, and I definitely blame the Organization_23 environment, because it was like, people talked about weight often and it was always in term of like how it's bad to be fat, good to be skinny, and it was as if it was your moral obligation to be skinny, and they would share tips for how to lose weight and stuff. I just feel happy to not be skinny because when I was skinny, I was so unhappy, and also hungry. I didn't smile as much, because I was hungry.

Tokenism was discussed by several women, including Frances Ruhl who share that:

There was a level of arrogance and total unaccountability, they would lie to get their way. They will do anything to hold onto their power, and they will use women because there are a few women who are very cozy with men who are management. They use those women, they push them out front and they say, look at this woman, she agrees with us. So basically tokenizing them to paper over what they're doing.

Another woman shared that:

They wanted to have us [members of the Global Majority] on board. It's a form of tokenizing, they wanted to be able to say, "we're this global coalition, " or we have offices in XXX and XXX and the XXX. But they didn't actually want to hear what we have to say if we have different ideas about strategy.

Transphobia was discussed by Frances Ruhl this way:

We also had a policy of transphobia. I think this fits in with gender issues because we had a person who worked in my team and they used they/them pronouns at the time. They tried to put their pronouns in their signature block and were specifically told they were not allowed to do that because some people didn't like it. So this person was constantly mis-gendered, which just to be clear, is absolutely a civil rights violation under the law. And they ended up quitting because they couldn't handle. Like some things are worse than getting fired and having to work in an organization that toxic and getting mis-gendered constantly is one of them.

Sarah1 also discussed that:

. . . there's another young woman we recently hired . . . who then became a trans man, and they are not great to them and to the other folks who are trans.

Lack of HR Knowledge and Expertise. There were 235 references to a lack of human resources knowledge and expertise, and within this theme, the following codes were included: alcohol use, hours of work, maternity leave, pay and benefits, travel and accommodation, turnover, and unionization.

Chirimuya shared that she felt that there was:

. . . a lack of a very basic understanding of how to manage people and how to have any kind of structure.

Isabel noted what several of the other women also noted, which was a lack of understanding of the role of human resources, and a lack of trust for human resources. She said that:

Human resources was explained to me in a general sense in that as much as they're for employees, it really is there to protect the company.

Alcohol use at work was discussed by Jo, and she noted that it was:

. . . a weird thing with drinking. My boss would push people to drink because there were a lot of people who were against drinking and she would get really annoyed about that, and kind of try to humiliate them publicly, which is shitty because if somebody's against drinking, you shouldn't pressure them to drink. So that's bad.

Issues regarding hours of work were pervasive. Edna discussed that:

It was expected that employees would work 60 to 80 hour weeks as a norm. And that sometimes people in the organization were up at 3:00 AM working and answering emails and sending emails to other employees. I always worked on the weekends.

Ella said that when she discussed her concerns about hours of work, she was told that management was:

. . . not willing to reduce workloads. And if that's something that we're looking for, we shouldn't work in the Movement. And so it just seems to me that they're definitely prioritizing the organization, I understand that, but we need to prioritize ourselves as well. Especially working in this field where there's a lot of burnout, it just doesn't seem like they take it seriously or as seriously as they should.

Lee shared that:

It started to be 50 to 60 hour weeks every week, no extra pay. Everybody in that department wouldn't leave the office until 6:30 or 7:00 PM at earliest. So if you left before then, people kind of look at you, so I made it a habit to stay until at least 6:30 PM every day and it put a lot of strain on my personal life and on my marriage at the time.

On a personal level, I also experienced hours of work challenges. This was manifested in several ways, but one example was a disregard for time zones. I lived and worked on the East Coast and all of my colleagues were on the West Coast, a three hour time difference. I was

expected to take calls at all hours, and also join calls and meetings regardless of the time. A second example of the disregard for time occurred when I needed to take a four week absence from work in order to undergo surgery related to my previous breast cancer diagnosis. I was derided for requesting this time, and upon my return, my manager did not acknowledge that I had been gone and also did not inquire as to my health status.

A lack of a maternity leave policy, and certainly one that was fair and competitive, was discussed by several of the women, whether or not they had children. The stories relayed previously under the sub-heading of anti-natalism are relevant to this sub-heading as well. In addition, [Emma](#) shared that her organization had no maternity leave policy at all, and [Jo](#)'s organization didn't have a maternity leave other than what the government required.

The subject pay and benefits, which was raised 51 times, second only to turnover, which was raised 84 times. The overarching opinion was that both direct remuneration such as salary, as well as indirect remuneration such as benefits and paid time off, were not competitive, and, as [Lidia](#) said:

[We should have higher wages and more flexibility.](#)

This was a sentiment shared by many including [Margot](#) who noted:

[So another thing as an employee in the Movement is our salaries. At least the organizations that I've worked with have salaries that are very low, and I'm not one who wants to make a lot of money and buy nice things. That's not of interest to me. But I still feel that we should be paid fairly and that we should have the ability to take care of ourselves. And maybe we want to take one vacation a year, we should be able to afford that. There's no reason that we should have to be living on borderline poverty to help animals. Working in the Movement is working at a low salary. There is going to come a time when I can't afford to do this anymore. And I feel like that's really holding back a lot of employees and holding back a lot of skill sets that we could bring into the Movement. It's just the fact that many of us are paid at a low salary without benefits, no retirement benefits, and I do want to retire one day and that's going to be very, very hard if I continue working in the Movement.](#)

[Sarah1](#) recalled negotiating her current salary this way:

I negotiated with them to increase my salary by four grand at the beginning of the job and they were so condescending about it. He said that it took a lot of chutzpah, a lot of balls, and I was like, "No, I'm asking for something really standard. " I held my own, but I shouldn't have had to fight as hard as I had to fight. Young people that we hire are typically nauseatingly underpaid for the type of work that we do.

Lastly regarding pay, [Diane](#) recalled her first job in the Movement:

One of the things I was surprised by initially was the low pay. It was a big one. At the time I was singularly supporting my family. So that was tricky and interesting. Having come from working in non-profits, it's not like I expected it to be for-profit type salary. But negotiating over \$2,500 was not where I expected to start a position in the Movement. But you know, they get you with the, like, this is the work you want to be doing and you know, all of that.

Another human resources challenge was the lack of appropriate travel and accommodation policies and practices. This can be connected to a culture of sexual harassment.

[Jane](#) recalled her travelling to her organization's head office during her first week working in the Movement:

I went for my first week of work and they put me up in the intern house in a bunk bed with three other girls in a room with me and, you know, no one had taken out the garbage, the bathroom garbage was overflowing. I called YYY and I was like, "I'm not really sure this was a good idea because I'm an adult with two children and a home. Why am I sleeping in a not even a nice bunk bed." It was like an IKEA bunk bed that was falling apart and I was staying in this intern house with dirty carpet, it was just such a weird first week. Having to stay in an apartment with the interns, and then later going to another retreat. I was the last person to get there and we were staying in an Airbnb. And because I was the last person to get there, I ended up having to share a room with YYY. I did not know anything that had happened with YYY, and no one had told me. I didn't know anything yet at that point. But then after that, when I found out all of the things that he had done, I was like, maybe somebody could have told me. I mean, also it was not that smart of me to just stay in a room with this man who was my boss. Then, on another occasion, when we planned to go to a conference he had called me and said, "So should we share a room while we're there." And I was like, "No." Like really, I had already booked my room. And I was like, "Yeah, no, I'm good." I was a 35 year old married woman, mother of two. I'm not going to share a room with my boss. We should have had some better policies in place where the head of the organization, a man, doesn't share a room with the women that work for him.

An additional story came from [Sarah1](#):

I had lots of horrible experiences at the intern house where they would not take care of us properly. My first night there I was 18 at the time. It was my first time traveling alone,

and being in a new place on my own. The first morning that I woke up, there were two strange guys sleeping in the room with me, and I had no idea. It was a bunk bed and one was above me and one was below me and I was very upset. I was definitely freaked out. These are two wonderful guys that I have since become friends with, but yeah, that was clearly unacceptable. I picked my room based on what I thought were two women who lived in that room at the time, but for that night, I guess they were just there and no one told me. So, I remember crying in the back stairwell. I knew that place was a disaster, and so after my summer, I definitely gave them a lot of feedback about what it was like there. Why didn't anybody think that, you shouldn't leave a bunch of kids who don't know each other alone in a house together. How are they going to run this place? I was pretty unhappy the whole time because again, even though I was a kid, I liked things neat and clean, and I use the kitchen all the time and it was hard to manage.

The subject of turnover, in connection with employees and with members of the boards of directors, was discussed by the overwhelming majority of women. [Lilly G](#) discussed significant employee turnover, and [Lee](#) discussed:

. . . a legacy of turnover.

[Josephine](#) referred to:

. . . people being fired randomly.

And [Jo](#) talked about:

. . . the volume of turnover as being a sign of bad management.

[Jenny](#) noted that:

A significant percentage of the employees have left or have been fired. And each time, this would happen, I would understandably get uneasy. Because of the nature of my work, I hear little bits and pieces, mostly from my colleagues who are now former colleagues. One woman was fired right before Christmas. I was really friendly with her. She's really kind. We weren't close, but friendly. I messaged her after I found out and she told me that it came out of the blue. That she was never warned or given opportunity to take corrective steps, to remedy whatever the issue was.

[Jenny](#) also described another situation where the founder of the organization she worked for sent an email indicating that all but a few of the employees had decided to leave the organization. [Jenny](#), puzzled by the email, responded saying:

"For sure this is a typo, she means four employees left and everybody else is there." And a leadership person responded to me saying, "No, she means all but a few left." And I then said, "Wow, that's a lot to take in". I mean, folks were crying, it was intense.

Francesca discussed the organizational repercussions regarding turnover in saying:

It's really unfortunate because you'll continue to see really high turnover, and that's a loss to institutional knowledge and a financial loss. In the end, that does take money away from the budget, and it takes resources and time away from the organization and then, in the end, the animals.

The final code within the theme of Lack of Human Resources knowledge is unionization.

I wish to explicate that at the time of this writing, there was only one organization within the FAAM that had unionized, Animal Legal Defense Fund (ALDF). In an abundance of caution given that stories about unionization would only apply to ALDF, and as such, might result in a higher likelihood of jeopardizing anonymity and confidentiality, I sought specific permission to include these stories. The participants that I worked with who were involved with ALDF did provide me with permission to include their stories and use their pseudonyms. One story came from Lidia:

They should have higher wages, they should have more flexibility, but that was not honestly how it came about really, because most of us were salaried. It came out because of Black Lives Matter and the extreme unhappiness with our organization's response and their language generally about it. So there's not that traditional reason to unionize, but there's very serious problems there. I'm so glad that the union did pass, so that was the bright, bright spot. I'm very interested to see if anyone does the same because I think it would be really helpful.

Another story came from Frances Ruhl:

So instead of cycling through and moving on to another organization, I wanted to stay and fight for this one. And so that's why I was part of the organizing efforts. And I think that everybody should do that because unless we band together to challenge it is total unchecked power. Like they do anything they want unless we stand together. So we now have a union, we're working on it. We have a lot of work left to do, but I found it very interesting that in organizing, we realized we only had three men out of our entire organization that supported the union, three. Not only did they not support us, which was obviously a female-led effort. We were all women at the time. They actually started organizing against us in trying to convince people we shouldn't have a union. The men were very hostile to our effort because they are very cozy with management. A man

found out we were organizing and went and told on us. That was how management found out that we were organizing. And that really hurt us because that gave them a chance to line up their union busting law firm that they paid, God knows how much money to. The union busting campaign was really bad. And I felt like we were being emotionally and mentally abused at a level that I'd never experienced. So the gaslighting was so severe and we started to believe it a little bit. I think that's when your article came out.³⁹ And we were like, "Thank God!" Because we have these meetings, right? We would have these anti-union meetings. And this is basically where people would have to sit and listen to their propaganda about why we shouldn't have a union, lots of misinformation, threats, intimidation, flat out lies. That's what union busting is. And that's what they did. All the people who were organizing a union at this point were women. We are trying to do something about this because it is absolutely inexcusable and we will never succeed as a Movement. We can't do justice by injustice.

Exercising Power and Control. The theme of exercising power and control included the following codes: bullying in the workplace; burnout; cliques in the workplace; cruel, abusive and toxic behaviours; culture of fear and intimidation; invisibilized employees; martyrdom; and siloed workplaces. [Edna](#) shared the following, which reflects many of the listed codes:

My feeling about this Movement is I have a lot of resentment towards it for the way that I've been treated, the quality of life and wellbeing that I've had in the time that I've been in it, for the people who I've seen abused and spit out throughout those years through rude sexual misconduct, harassment, assault, bullying, folks not being held accountable, men not being held accountable for their actions and crimes, justice not being served, organizations suing each other, petty unwillingness to collaborate for fear of losing donor market share, terrible leadership, and sexist and racist leadership policies and practices.

Bulling was also discussed by [Frances Ruhl](#) who referred to the Movement this way:

The whole essence of the workplace is just disempowering and toxic. It's a culture of bullying.

Burnout was discussed by several women. [Ella](#) noted that:

. . . in this field where there's a lot of burnout, it just doesn't seem like they take it seriously or as seriously as they should . . . it is a form of exploitation . . . I'm just starting to feel like I'm not really protected in the Movement.

And [Maggie](#) shared:

³⁹ [Frances Ruhl](#) was referring to a blog I wrote in support of the ALDF union drive. (<https://kristahiddema.com/blog/2021/1/19/why-we-should-all-be-supporting-the-employees-at-aldf>)

I got burnt out and within the first two years and, pardon my language, but the mind fuckery that went on, you know, I almost thought I should just go back to making money and donating to causes that are important to me because the treatment of people and the treatment of women by so many people within the Movement, I don't know if I want to be a part of that. But there are so many good people. So many strong women.

The presence of cliques in the workplace were raised by Josephine who shared:

I witnessed leadership telling employees to not listen to their own supervisor if they didn't like what the supervisor was saying. The underlying environment was that they would form cliques and have private conversations with the people that they were on good terms with, and that were in their little circle, their little clique, and then they would be telling the rest of the organization something else.

Diane shared a story about her manager and his repeated cruelty towards her, and the culture of fear and intimidation he created. She ended her story by saying:

I've never worked with a sociopath before. I have never worked with someone who is cruel and vicious. And it's hard to explain to people who have never experienced it because it's not like he would say something to your face like, "That was a bad idea." Or, "You know, I don't think you're cut out for this." It is the constant chipping away like, "This isn't good enough. This isn't right. No, it should have been done different. Why didn't you do it like this? I would have done..." Just literally all day, every day, for months . . . I was legitimately concerned for my safety and wellbeing during the #MeToo uprising because he'd threatened people in the past and because he's been violent to people in the past. I was like, if he feels like he's losing everything, that's when abusers get violent and it seems like a stretch, but it's not impossible that he would be violent with the people he thinks are not protecting him or who have spoken up against him before. I never made any public statements about it. I was just too scared. I was legitimately fearful for my safety and wellbeing. And the fact that he still works in the Movement, it is just absolutely obscene.

Frances Ruhl introduced me to the term *invisibilized* when she described a situation that happened to her at a company holiday party. Her story is this:

The CEO came in and passed me in the hall. He just looked straight through me. Like I wasn't even there. And keep in mind that this is a small organization. I was surprised that he would have no interest in at least introducing himself to a new attorney, especially a fellow. I came in as a fellow. I was so eager to get started to do all this great work. He looked straight through me. Like he didn't even see me. He didn't even think I was worth introducing himself to. So that was my first impression of him. Same thing for the rest of the executives. They basically treated me like I didn't exist. Like I was nothing to them. I felt like dirt beneath their shoe.

Edna described martyrdom at her organization, which was similar to what was noted regarding hours of work. Edna said that the organization she worked for:

... had a martyr work culture where employees were expected to work all day, every day, including weekends.

Francesca relayed:

I had to work crazy hours. I was expected to not have a life. I had to do it for the animals.

The final code in the theme of exercising power and control reflects what was described by several of the women as the creation of a sense of isolation, often referred to as being siloed.

Jenny described being siloed in terms of her work. Josephine talked about having had almost no interaction with any other leadership at the organization she worked for, and Maggie shared:

There was a time where I was not allowed to speak to the vice president who was the most experienced person in corporate relations, all while I'm leading eight corporate campaigns, yet I'm not allowed to speak to her. She wasn't part of the main clique, and I was told to isolate her, which meant that I myself felt isolated.

Lastly, Frances Ruhl noted that:

There's no cross departmental nothing. It's very siloed. This is how they maintain control over us. And that's what I've heard from other organizations as well. So very siloed. They don't want employees to talk to each other. We had to get personal phone numbers from each other to communicate because we realized they didn't want us talking.

Animals Over People. Animals being more important than people was a pervasive theme throughout this research. This was succinctly summarized by Charlie who said:

There was a systemic belief that you should sacrifice yourself and your integrity and everything for animals. It was something that you can easily get swept up in. I think our Movement is, like, "Who cares what happens, so long as animals aren't part of the food chain anymore?"

In speaking about the president of the organization that she worked for, Chirimuya noted that:

He's really into the animals. And as long as we're making progress for animals, the other stuff, he can't be bothered because he's like, well, at the end of the day, we're making

progress for animals and that's what's important. And if people aren't happy here or if there are issues, he doesn't care, he just wants to think about the animals.

Maggie talked about:

. . . a lot of people within this Movement that aren't doing right by the people. The people are what is making the Movement happen. This is not just about being an effective altruist and focusing everything on animals while sacrificing the people component. But that's what it comes back to. It's not one species over the other. It's ultimately that we can't be best for the animals and we can't accomplish our mission, and we can't put ourselves out of business – which is our goal – if we put animals over people. We have to invest in people.

And Jenny very simply shared:

I don't think that we're acting out our vegan ethics when we betray human animals for non-human animals.

Board of Directors. The boards of directors for FAAM organizations were largely unknown to the women. Chirimuya laughed as she said that she has no idea who they are at her organization, and Diane shared that at the organization she works for:

The board was set up as a rubber stamp board.

Francesca, in discussing the board at the organization she worked for, noted that:

. . . the board of directors is made up by the friends and family members of the founders, and it's four people.

Heidi said:

I've never really interacted with the board of directors at all, they're not talked about much.

Josephine's experience was similar. She noted, when talking about two different boards of directors at two organizations that she worked for in the FAAM, that:

The board of directors were non-existent, in a practical, not technical, sense. The board of directors consisted of the executive leadership, and same deal with the other organization, except there were a couple of extra people added that were very good friends with the leadership. So everything was just rubber stamped.

Lidia noted at her organization that:

. . . the board were not involved . . . I don't know what was sent to them . . . they were there to just amplify what the executive team wants . . . I think they're mostly just their friends.

Lastly, [Maya](#) noted that:

Working with the board of directors has been pretty challenging. One of the questions that came up was should board members be donors themselves? And there was a lot of conversation around that. Even though everybody on the board was a donor, they didn't want to have that as a requirement, or have any impetus to fundraise.

Compassion Fatigue. There was discussion by several women about the emotions involved in doing animal advocacy work. [Emily Long](#) shared:

I became really depressed and angry and experienced all these other emotions for a very long time.

[Isabel](#) talked about:

. . . in processing those emotions, it felt like you have to step back, you have to not have those emotional reactions or act like you're not having them, to seem reasonable so then you can "advocate" for animals in a way. Some of the challenges of the job, how people cope with compassion fatigue . . . is important to address . . . the food movement is a really daunting industry.

[Lilly G](#) talked about compassion fatigue in this way:

The work is emotionally draining, and if on top of that, it also happens that you are financially stressed because you're not being able to make a good living doing what you like, then that adds to the stress. And I hear people burn out more quickly because of that.

[Maya](#) noted:

It's secondary trauma that we're dealing with. It absolutely impacts me, and it impacts a lot of us.

Lastly, [Shiva](#) noted:

No matter what part of the Movement you're working in, the work can be emotionally exhausting.

Cult-Like. The Movement was also referred to as being cult-like, including referring to certain male leaders as being god-like. [Francesca](#) noted that:

I don't want to say this but I do. It's cult-like. I don't know how to explain it. You're either in or you're out. I've worked for other organizations like this, but not on the same level. Basically, as soon as somebody leaves, it's almost like they're like excommunicated.

Lidia described the sense of god-likeness of certain leaders this way:

I think they are part of the larger problem that the Movement has generally with this saviorism, as if there's going to be a really bright, smart, young white man who is going to save us. So the focus then is on propping up and catering towards these bright men, who are bright. They are smart. I'm not going to say that they're not. But we've done that and that's not gotten us anywhere, you know. It's not gotten us anywhere. It's gotten us here, it's gotten us on the cover of the Washington Post for, you know, a man who terrorized and harassed all these women and all these other stories. That's where it's gotten us, yet they're dead set on perpetuating the myth.

Effective Altruism. Opinions and stories about effective altruism (EA) were unambiguous, and were directly tied to the impact it has on the funding within the FAAM.

Charlie said:

I'm just going to be transparent. I think it's garbage. I mean, I think it's toxic for 100 reasons . . . to put everything into numeric, quantitative values. I mean, for one, it's inherently patriarchal. But, two, it's just crap...this just opens everybody up to data manipulation...I believe that it allows and perpetuates the system, and it can funnel money to the same groups perpetuating the same misogynistic approach to all this. I also think that if you look at the men controlling the money, they are still very much in effective altruism and also into philosopher Peter Singer. And, so, this makes them feel good about how they're spending their money, rather than having to question their biases and values and look at their responsibility in this system. I think they use this as almost a shield. Like, "I'm not biased. I'm just plugging numbers into an Excel spreadsheet, and this just happens to be how it comes out." Like, "Don't look at me." It is so blatantly manipulated . . . I think that effective altruism has been used to justify funneling millions, if not billions, of dollars to all the folks, doing work that, to me, is going to continue perpetuating systems of oppression and extraction and exploitation, and not lead to compassion [referring to cellular meat⁴⁰]. Even if it does remove animals from the food chain, I'm terrified of what else it's going to do. It's not a very popular viewpoint.

Laney shared her views about effective altruism in this way:

All of us are collectively quite involved in the EA movement, especially a lot of people in the animal advocacy movement are today, of course. If you're in farmed animal protection, you have some sort of connection with the EA movement. So there is that.

⁴⁰ Cellular meat is meat that is produced in a laboratory using animal cell culture technology. The meat is produced from animal cells using a combination of biotechnology, tissue engineering, molecular biology, and synthetic processes. Cellular meat is purported by some to reduce and even eliminate the need for animal agriculture.

What did scare me, I'll tell you what did, I was terrified to go into the effective altruism community. I was terrified to get involved in a job that was connected to the effective altruism community, not because of any sort of harassment, not for any sort of safety reasons, but for the very valid and very real reason that there is a highly elitist mentality around effective altruists, and people in the effective animal advocacy community who are very into philosophy of effective altruism, they make me feel uncomfortable because I feel like everything they say and do is extremely in-depth academic to a point where it excludes anyone who perhaps isn't interested in philosophy, who perhaps doesn't think on that level. I was nervous about having to communicate to people in the EA movement, I feared people making me feel like I wasn't intelligent, and I know that's silly, I have two master's degrees from wonderful institutions.

And lastly regarding effective altruism from Lilly G:

Peter Singer. I just need to say his name because he is the main pillar of this particular brand of utilitarianism. Peter Singer has always been so pivotal to the Movement. He's always been such a reverent and wherever you look, bits and pieces of his writing and his theories, you'll find them everywhere, and there's great respect for him in the Movement. And I think he is part of the problem of why we continue to try to look at this as a mathematical problem, because it's not a utilitarian calculus. You cannot. Human-animal relationships are issues of relationships, which you cannot represent as a mathematical model or a calculus. And so, I personally feel that someone like Peter Singer has done more harm than good because he has tried, and I'm sure that was not his intent, but he's tried to reduce, these problems, these dilemmas to a calculus.

Founder's Syndrome. Edna worked for three founder-led organizations. In one

description of a founder she noted:

He would be the first person to say, which was one of his favorite expressions, "This is not a democracy." He called the shots and made the decisions and I observed a lot of people who were let go during the time that I was there.

Francesca shared that in the organization she worked that the founders were:

. . . super involved in everything, and they cannot let go of any control, which just completely undermines you as an employee, and I saw this happen with all the international directors, most of whom left. You know, you just feel disempowered. They operate on fear and this needing to hold on to what they created.

Francesca also noted that:

I also saw what the founders spent for travel. They would travel all over the world for work, spending astronomical amounts of money, and it was just like absurd. The longer I saw that, especially in my role, seeing the amount of money that they would waste on things, I was like, "I'm not taking some piddly salary anymore, when I see how much money they're spending on other things."

Funding. Funding and funder relationships were discussed in a variety of different ways.

Diane felt that funders were looking at the work of FAAM organizations:

... like an economic investment. As if a capitalist solution could solve a lot of these problems.

Jo felt that her organization was:

... not very concerned with what actually helps animals, and instead is more focused on getting donations for the sake of getting donations and getting press for the sake of getting press.

Maggie expressed concern that:

... the different players that are out there, and the money and the power that directs things on the philanthropy side of animal rights ... they don't understand ... because of that, part of me wants to not call it a movement anymore because a movement means we're getting somewhere and that there is at least like some type of coalition ... the money and the power and how that gets directed, the philanthropy side of AR ... we need to get rid of that because it's got such a negative connotation.

Infighting. Diane was very clear in sharing that:

... the infighting within the Movement is rampant.

Vera Bateman shared the same sentiment when she noted that:

It's incredible how much the drama of the Movement and the oppression inside the Movement can affect our ability to work together as a team.

Lack of Accountability. Lidia shared that management at her organization:

... acts very viciously, very cruelly, very, very abusive and, and they were not managing the money well ... there's just no accountability for non-profits, because they had a high, and I think they still do have a high score on charity navigator because it's just checking boxes, you know?

Francesca talked about leadership not taking ownership of their outcomes, not looking inward at how they could be running things differently.

Lack of Appreciation. Several of the women felt that they were not appreciated. Jo noted that in her organization:

. . . it feels like it's an official policy that it doesn't matter how leadership treats employees, that the employees are lucky to be here . . . that the way that they show employee appreciation is by not firing them.

Frances Ruhl shared this:

Men come into the organization and they skyrocket to the top, women come in and we're *invisibilized* as much as possible. Nobody celebrates our work. Nobody promotes us. Nobody cares, but men, you know . . . what I have come to understand is that men in the minds of leadership are more credible than women . . . so they want to have as many men in the animal protection organizations as they can get to bring credibility to our organizations.

Jane also shared feeling a lack of appreciation. After several years working at her organization, she asked for a raise, which was denied so she looked for another job and resigned. Her account of this situation was:

So they said no to the raise. And so then I said, "Okay, well, I'm going to look for another job." And they said, "Okay." And there was no negotiation. There was no, "Jane, we would really appreciate the work you do. You're a valuable employee." There was no recognition or appreciation for me whatsoever. It was just, if you are not okay with our rules, then you can leave. And they really didn't care about keeping people at all. So many good people left during the time I was there just because of how they were treated. I know that people still feel that way and want to leave. I think it's just an overall lack of appreciation for people.

Lack of Autonomy. The theme of lack of autonomy included the code micro-management. Heidi shared that:

. . . she found that the only opinions that mattered were of higher-ups, they dominate, and there's very little autonomy.

While Lee noted that:

It was a constant stream of checking in to see where this thing is and where that thing is. And just not a lot of trust of you as an employee to be able to do your work independently, and make your own decisions.

Margot stated that:

One aspect of working in the Movement is that I almost felt like I didn't really have the power to stand, to stand up and really support my work as much as I could have.

And Emily Long, when referring to how her manager managed herself and a co-worker, said:

She was very nitpicky and a perfectionist. She would do tiny little nitpicky things but she wouldn't manage us in a way that was positively impacting our work or empowering us to do things. We were just kind of being micro-managed in a way that wasn't even productive. So that really took a toll on both of our mental health. My co-worker left the Movement after being managed by her.

Lack of Communication. The theme of lack of communication was discussed by Jo who shared that:

For women in the Movement, there's so much frustration and our bosses never want to hear about our challenges. They're not interested in hearing about our experiences, but it's funny because apparently a good manager should want know and should want to help.

Emily Long, in attempting to relay a suggestion to leadership in connection with increasing the efficiency of a specific part of her job, shared that:

Whenever we try to give honest and open feedback, we get in trouble. So we're not going to give honest feedback. They are preventing honest and open feedback from being given. The issue we wanted to raise was a bigger organizational problem than just this one little thing.

In addition, Vera Bateman shared that leaders need to make space for communication. She noted:

It's probably time consuming but I think that our leaders need to come to us. I am not comfortable coming forward with some kind of an unveiling of anything happening. I certainly wouldn't do it over a department meeting, and I wouldn't necessarily stop my supervisor to say, "Hey, do you mind if like we chat after this." You know, it's people like myself who are more often willing to contribute information when they are asked directly. So I think we should ask directly. You know, we have to do that with children too. And I think it builds a lot more trust.

Vera Bateman also shared the following:

One thing that I would like to see is one-on-one check-ins with people who are beneath your pay grade a little bit. It would feel like a healthier environment if I had my department head or my boss's boss calling and checking in with me about my experience with working with my supervisor. Nobody seems to take any note of or even notice how supervisor-employee relationships develop and whether or not people are feeling ostracized or retaliated against. They pretty much just wait for complaints and there are a lot of people out there that don't. It's not in their personality to complain or especially to put in a complaint. And if they feel that they are in a bottleneck department, it's even less likely. So that doesn't occur and I think that that would be healthy to do, even on a monthly basis or even bi-monthly.

Lack of Consistency. Jan discussed this issue in her capacity as both a leader and an employee:

Something that we really need to work on, as an organization, is more consistency in our approach. Across our leadership team, we have very different opinions about how the organization should be run, and that's something we're working on, but as an employee it's frustrating. I think we should really be investing in the community and having fun times and being silly. I've also had people criticize me for how I spend my time because we have different values. So that's been really hard, and I think I definitely have experienced some burnout, not because of animal rights, it's because of this disconnect in the organization.

Lack of Diversity. The lack of diversity was discussed in many ways. Chirimuya recalled when she started in the Movement that:

. . . it was a surprise just how white everyone was. But I think even more than that, it was how young everyone was.

Lee shared that:

We're a white organization, and we're trying to make decisions about things without having Black or other people of color in our leadership helping us make these decisions. I think that we're very aware of the handicap that we have by being all white.

Lack of Experience. Lack of experience was tied in large part to a lack of diversity in ages. Maya, in speaking about herself, shared that:

It's somewhat absurd that I am the executive director of an organization with what feels like very little experience.

Lidia, also referring to herself, shared:

I was too young. I didn't have that much experience, but that's a sign. You know, when everyone at the organization is under the age of 35.

Jane laughingly shared that:

. . . those first, probably six months were kind of hard for me, because I felt like an adult who had just joined a frat party.

Frankie described her first job in the Movement this way:

I know in the very beginning it was hard because I didn't have experience with animals, so I didn't really know what I was doing, I just knew that I wanted to do it. I felt like I

was just kind of thrown into it, but I also don't think that the founders really knew what they were getting into. I think everyone was just learning how to do things, not really having an idea of how a sanctuary works. No one had any experience.

Lack of Fairness. Lidia described the lack of fairness at her organization this way:

There were very big, big problems and of fairness. Unfairness about who was allowed to work from home . . . who was allowed to bring their companion animals . . . who was allowed to take long lunches. Different rules for different people.

Lack of Faith in Leadership. Chirimuya summed up the lack of faith in leadership at her organization this way:

There seems to be a concentration of power among three or four people and you just can't get past them. I think that probably contributes to people just giving up after a while and feeling like, well, I've tried all the usual routes and there's not that much left to try. I think the other thing is that it's hard, it erodes trust in the organization when we're shifting gears and doing a different program regularly without explanation. Why did you launch that program six months ago and create a position or a promotion for this person? That doesn't give me confidence that if I get a promotion or they create a new position to highlight some fabulous skill that I wasn't using. I don't feel confident. I think there's an arbitrary-ness to what they do. I think that contributes to staff insecurity overall because people are fearful. They don't know what is going on. Even if you get praised in our little shout-outs channel, you could be out the door the next day. They even made one person, her sign an NDA [non-disclosure agreement] and I'm like, why do you do that? You only do that if you're trying to hide something.

Maggie discussed her experience this way:

In terms of the expectation that I had of leaders in the animal rights movement, they're human and it doesn't mean that they align on the other social justice issues. That's been surprising. Of course people don't agree on everything. But it's been very disheartening to learn that just because you work in the animal rights movement, it doesn't mean that you support Black Lives Matter, it doesn't mean that you support women's rights. It doesn't mean that you support immigration, refugees, equal pay, a living wage, you know, things that, to me are all part of social justice and it's all connected. There's a lot of people throughout the Movement that feel if you are straying at all outside of animal issues, if your one focus isn't just on animal liberation, and if you want to talk Black Lives Matter, we don't have room for you. We're going to fail the animals if we don't become intersectional. And I can't even fathom that. It's really disappointing.

Lack of Integrity. Jane talked about the lack of the integrity at the organization she worked for in this way:

The lack of integrity was really hard for me because I am someone who bases my actions off of evidence as much as possible and I am truthful always. And, you know, from the messaging and the exaggeration of really how bad things are, from investigation videos to the lying about the number of animals that we were impacting, it was just all problematic from an ethical perspective. Ironically, here I am trying to help animals, trying to be more ethical and it's unethical.

Lack of Professionalism. A lack of professionalism was noted in several ways. [Diane](#) spoke of the absolute lack of systems or protocols, and that her onboarding consisted of her manager coming to meet her for:

. . . two days and he was like, "What do you want to know?" I was like, "What the fuck should I know?" Like you tell me what I need to know. You hired me and now there's 16 people I'm supposed to manage, what the fuck should I know? There's no systems, there were no goals. I was just surprised by how day-to-day everything felt in general, coupled that with my experience of having YYY as my direct manager who only cared about specific things. I feel like one, the Movement does need to be professionalized, but two, there's not a singular way to do that. And I think it is being done in a very white male dominated way.

Lack of Respect. [Shirley](#) talked about the lack of respect she experienced, despite her many years and strong track record in the Movement.

. . . as we grew our fund-raising . . . at the risk of sounding arrogant, when I say 'we', it's me. I was the only person doing fund-raising. There was no acknowledgement of my work and no congratulations . . . and people were also making comments about, "Oh, we need to seek recommendations from a professional fundraiser." Making those comments towards me . . . I felt like I wasn't respected as a professional in the non-profit sector.

[Sarah1](#) also talked about the lack of respect, particularly towards women. She noted that:

It's mostly women doing the grunt work and very few women getting the glory and being in the spotlight.

Lack of Training, Support, and Resources. [Zoe](#) spoke about lack of training, support, and resources in this way:

There was a total lack of support. Not having your eye on the ball, not keeping the most important thing in focus, which is the mission and how we fund the mission. And I would say this in meetings, "If we don't have tools at the ready . . . you've got to have that. You've got to have a case for support." These are basic development tools that we didn't have and didn't seem to be a priority.

Lee also spoke on this topic:

I have been given very little support. Generally, it feels here like many of us are charged with responsibilities that are completely outside our wheelhouse. We have limited volunteer capacities, limited funds, and limited infrastructure. This did create a lot of anxiety for me because I have never started a job with zero training before and wondered if I could do it. Folks were not given a lot of guidance in terms of how to carry out their role, and thus created their jobs to their liking, much like I did. However, when the president saw that there were problems in the execution of the work, she tended to swoop in and ask a ton of questions, check in on tiny details a lot, and ended up doing a lot of things herself. There wasn't really any concrete guidance from leadership on how to implement things. I have expressed many times that I don't feel confident in my leadership own abilities. My particular weakness is assertiveness and figuring out how to be firm without worrying that I am going to hurt an employee's morale. I still have not gotten any formal leadership training.

Nepotism. The final theme in connection with question three was nepotism. Josephine spoke of her time at one organization in this way:

The longer I stayed at that organization, the more I saw that it was just riddled with misogyny and racism. And nepotism. Extreme nepotism. And in a very fundamental sense of running such a big organization with so much complexity and needing of strategic direction . . . leadership were just not that capable . . . it was about who you knew not what you knew.

Frances Ruhl discussed nepotism in this way:

So one of these directors was particularly abusive to his staff, treated women horribly, way worse than men. And when people complained about it to the executives, they did nothing. And so one of those people took it upon themselves to report it to the board of directors at one point. And at that point it was in our handbook that you could report stuff to the board. So the response to that, because the board is staffed with friends of the executive director, was to move the director who was accused of this into his own department and he doesn't have any direct reports anymore. So instead of firing him like they should have for bullying women, they put them in his own department and made sure nobody reported to him. He's also very good friends of course, with the executive director because all of this is about nepotism.

The telling of portions of some of the stories of the women as employees in the FAAM only includes selected information, which I chose carefully to ensure a balance between supporting the presented themes while also protecting the anonymity of the women.

One of the predominate findings in terms of this third question, which is directly related to my primary research question, relates to the overall negative experiences of women in the FAAM. All but two women in this study reported that their work experiences were overwhelming negative, and in some cases, ran afoul of human rights legislation. This included first-hand accounts of racism, sexism, sexual harassment, bullying, anti-natalism, sizeism, and nepotism. Add to that dire list, the FAAM was lacking in transparency, recognition, communication, fairness, integrity, and organizational professionalism. Positive experiences were few, and a significant portion of those experiences took place during early stages of employment, or what was referred to as the honeymoon period. The decision by the women to continue their employment in the FAAM despite these working conditions was overwhelmingly described as being *always for the animals*.

Despite the overwhelming, often difficult to comprehend, and at times illegal experiences the women faced, they were nonetheless hopeful for the future, and as such, were generous in offering tangible and potentially regenerative solutions for the FAAM.

Interview Question Four: Recommendations for More Regenerative Organizational Practices, Policies, and Governance

What suggestions do you have for leadership, including any organizational policies and practices, that are needed to create and/or maintain healthy workplaces for women like you?

The recommendations were wide ranging, and included both philosophical recommendations such as the request that the FAAM embrace intersectional activism, and practical implications such as the need for a certain human resources policy. I have segmented the recommendations into the following sub-sections: Recommendations for the FAAM Overall, Recommendations for FAAM Funders, Recommendations for FAAM Boards of Directors, and Recommendations for FAAM Organizations, and Recommendations for FAAM Organizational

Leaders. The findings for each category of recommendations will include a list of the recommendations together with examples to illustrate the recommendations. The discussion about these recommendations and my own final recommendations occur in Chapter Five.

Recommendations for the FAAM Overall. Firstly, and prior to sharing the recommendations, it is important to note that the women were acutely aware that the FAAM overall was not *winning*, that no real progress for animals use for food was occurring. In fact, as noted by Lidia:

Things are getting worse by almost every metric unless you're looking at companion animals in the U.S., but outside of that, things are getting worse for farmed animals.

Diane shared this:

I know we're at this moment in the Movement where there's a ton of momentum and things feel like they're changing, but also, meat consumption was the highest it's ever been ever last year, globally.

Despite this deep awareness that global per capita meat and seafood consumption was on the rise (Ritchie & Roser, 2017), the women jointly offered up eight critical recommendations they felt, if adopted in a genuine and meaningful way, could serve to spur on the FAAM to greater success: a) accept multiple truths; b) acknowledge and dismantle power dynamics; c) challenge group think; d) resolve internal conflict; e) embrace diversity; f) embrace intersectional activism; g) focus on the common goal, and h) jettison effective altruism. A further explanation of each of the recommendations follows in the order they are noted above.

Accept Multiple Truths. The FAAM was described by several of the women as being insular, and Diane, Lilly G, Lee, and Francesca all used the word *bubble* to described the FAAM. There was a strong sense that the FAAM was, according to Diane, out of touch with reality, and as Charlie stated:

In order to win for animals, we need a more diverse, inclusive Movement. We've got to create space for multiple truths and norms because different cultures, different races,

different genders, all of these things, non-conforming genders, they all come at this from a different angle.

Additional examples of what specifically the women were referring to in connection with needing multiple truths was the previously noted pervasive anti-natalist sentiment within the FAAM, where women felt either that they should not have children, or if they did, they should not have more than one child, and should certainly not talk about their children. This anti-natalist sentiment was primarily due to the belief that having children contributed to over-population, and that over-population was one of the main contributors to intensive animal agriculture. Jane described the anti-natalist philosophy, and in particular the notion that the culture of the Movement did not accept both the desire to have children and the desire to work on behalf of animals use for food.

Other personal choices held up as examples of the Movement needing to accept multiple truths included the decision of whether or not to get married. Emma discussed what she perceived to be required personal choices in the Movement like:

. . . if they're vegan . . . they should not be married or have kids.

Laney discussed that:

. . . many women end up leaving their jobs because they can't balance the work and home life . . . it may be difficult for them to understand what people with families, what people with various conflicting obligations need.

Body shapes and sizes was another example of needing to accept multiple truths. Many of the women saw that women who did not conform to a vegan ideal of thinness were disparaged, and the notion that if you have interests outside of animal advocacy that are not related to food and/or fitness as an extension of animal advocacy, you are not a *real* animal activist. In Charlie's case, when speaking to other women, she would say to them:

"Listen, just don't go to the really big conferences." Like it's . . . the dynamics there are so set in stone and all you're going to hear is if you're not conforming to these things, you're

not being a true animal activist so just don't go to those. Just do the thing you love and find the people you love, and it's okay that it's not THE people. I'm also taking a mentorship role to people, particularly women, who will say, "I just don't think I belong here." But I really call to the leaders that if we can create space for multiple truths and multiple norms in being vegan or in being an animal activist, one or the other, or both, than I think it becomes a much less toxic space.

Hence, the first recommendation was to accept multiple truths, to expand the profile of what it means to be a vegan, and shatter the close-minded view that vegans are young, white, anarchist, childless, fit, left-leaning politically, and unencumbered.

Acknowledge and Dismantle Power Dynamics. The second recommendation was to acknowledge and seek to dismantle power dynamics. This was particularly in reference to the lack of gender equity that exists in FAAM leadership in Canada and the United States, where, as noted by [Lee](#):

. . . the leadership tends to be very male, very white, with all of the middle and bottom level positions are filled with women.

The recognition that the majority of leadership in the FAAM are still male was noted by almost every one of the women, despite the fact that, as noted by [Tiny Dancer](#):

. . . the organizations in our Movement that have made mainstream news because of their leadership have done so because of scandals regarding domineering white male at the top.

This recommendation included a specific call out to current organizational leaders to recognize this power dynamic, and be willing to dismantle it. In particular, two forms of power were discussed. [Charlie](#) described these as:

. . . a form of power occurs when the white male takes up too much airtime and space, and the second was when he disengages when he should be engaging, in other words, one being aggressive and the other being passive-aggressive.

Regarding the first form of power, taking up too much airtime and space, one suggestion from [Margot](#) was that leaders should:

. . . consider stepping aside, particularly if you are a white male leader who has been a leader for many years. Recognize your privilege, and provide an opportunity for others who could be very promising leaders if given the chance.

Chirimuya wanted to encourage:

. . . white male leaders to be brave, to share power or at least reduce the concentration of power . . . and that they should share how decisions are made.

One way in which she felt that this could occur was to:

. . . provide a forum where people can be totally honest about what they're feeling without any fear of recrimination or fear that it's going to affect their job security.

Challenge Group Think. The third recommendation for the FAAM overall was to challenge the power dynamic within the FAAM in terms of the homogeneity of thought. This sentiment was also raised in connection with the recommendations several of the women offered up to for their organizations when they discussed the need for creativity and the need to engage in more research.

Challenging group think was forefront in the minds of several of the women, including Lidia, who was among the most educated of the women, who stated that:

My number one recommendation would be that we are trying to do radical work by changing the way our society treats animals and overhauling the way we consume food and that radical work requires radical thinking. Expecting us to be operating under a conservative traditional structure that continues to do the same things over and over again, yet achieve this radical change, that doesn't make sense to me. So, I think everything stems from that. If leadership starts accepting that we're trying to do something radical, and that everything else needs to change too. And that they're not the experts, that's probably good recommendations for everyone. I always assume that I don't know very much about something. I think that's a good way to operate generally in life, to assume you don't have the answers, and I feel like the leadership across the board in many organizations acts like they have the answers, which is astonishing to me since none of us are doing that well by the animals. So, to continue to say that you have the right answers in the face of that is kind of astonishing.

Lee, a career activist with over 10 years working in the Movement for several organizations, also discussed the need of all components of the FAAM to challenge what she referred to as the rigidity of the FAAM. She used words such as:

authoritative, regimented, uniformity, formulaic, and perfectionist culture . . .

to describe how projects and tasks were to be managed. Lee went on to say:

. . . it doesn't leave a lot of room for diverse approaches and ways of thinking . . . nor any room for creativity . . . not only is group-think stifling, but that it might also be exclusionary to people who have maybe grown up in different educational systems or different workplaces and different cultures.

Resolve Internal Conflict. Discussion regarding conflicts within and among organizations and activists in the FAAM was described as pervasive, and the choice of language to further describe the impact of unresolved internal conflicts on the Movement was some of the most powerful language found in the data. One examples of this came from Diane who said:

This Movement will destroy me, it is destroying me, because it is just an uphill battle working not only against the outside of the Movement, but working against the chaos of the Movement.

Maya indicated that:

It's been devastating for me really to realize all the ways in which the Movement can just feel very splintered. And, you know, some of it is old from animal liberation to animal welfare. Some of it is a little bit newer, around effective altruism. I feel like that is also hurting the Movement because we're just putting ourselves into smaller little fractions.

Embrace Diversity. There was no recommendation made more emphatically than the need for the FAAM to deeply and genuinely embrace diversity in an urgent and meaningful way. The definition of diversity that was used included not only gender, colour, religion, sexual orientation, and culture, but also whether or not a person choses to have one or multiple children, what they wear, if they are married, and even diverse lived experiences, and different ages. Edna noted the importance of:

. . . taking diversity seriously and not just a box to check off in order to meet someone's funding requirements. Those are the kinds of things that when they are taken seriously, it can it be absorbed into the culture and change the culture.

Chirimuya provided a poignant example of the how the FAAM does not support people of different ages. The organization Chirimuya works for recently hired a woman who was over

the age of 50, but they did not provide this new hire with any support regarding matters of technology, despite her asking for support. [Chirimuya](#) indicated that:

. . . she's in her fifties and she was terrified . . . she didn't know how to use Google drive, didn't know how to share documents.

[Chirimuya](#) went on to say that:

I think having people with longer-term perspectives and the wisdom of having been in the workforce for 20 years or more can only strengthen the Movement and its understanding of different, more sophisticated ways of managing people. They can also help an organization become more professional in its messaging and outreach, can reach audiences that might not identify with just millennials.

[Ella](#), a woman in her 20s, also talked about the need for greater age diversity. She shared:

I remembered once someone telling me that they felt the Movement is just a bunch of kids pretending like they know what they're doing, and when I first heard that, I didn't really understand because I was pretty new, and in my mind, it felt like everyone was doing everything the right way and that it was professional, but the longer I'm in the Movement, the more I agree with this person. And so, one way that the Movement can improve is by hiring people who are older and who have experience in the workforce, not just in the Movement, but elsewhere. I think that it's a disservice to animals and to the employees to be putting such young people in places of power, and yeah, just pretending like they know what they're doing when they really don't.

Another example of a lack diversity in the FAAM was discussed by [Maya](#). She talked about:

There is so much fat phobia within the Movement. It's so evident in a lot of the messaging around health. One of my friends had told me that somebody had looked at her butt, and said, "How can you be vegan?" And that was very impactful because basically they were saying, "You're not a good enough representation of veganism to even be doing this work."

The discussion about the lack of diversity was also directly connected to the operational recommendation to improve pay and benefits. [Sarah1](#) shared that:

. . . more diversity can start when more people can afford to do this work.

Another critical component of this recommendation was that diversity needs to be genuinely representative. As [Jo](#) indicated:

Having 50% of leadership being women is still not accurately representing how female the Movement is. If you have an organization where half of the leaders are men and 90% of the staff are women, chances are you are unintentionally or intentionally promoting people due to their male gender. And so you need to find a way to stop doing that.

Embrace Intersectional Activism. The need to embrace intersectional activism was noted as being one of the most controversial topics in the Movement, and some women even expressed concern about voicing their perspective on the need to embrace intersectional activism within their organizations. That said, the majority of the women were clear to share with me that intersectional activism was not only a moral imperative, but a necessity if the FAAM hopes to succeed in protecting animals. [Tiny Dancer](#) discussed it at length by sharing:

I would say, promote intersectionality. I've seen animal rights organizations posting, "Stop Asian Hate. " I know they're going to start celebrating Pride in June. And it saddens me to see people write things like, "Why don't you just focus on turtles?" . . . as if you can't welcome the LGBTQ community and love turtles at the same time.

Women bear the brunt of all forms of environmental degradation, far more, just because of the work that they tend to be involved in, like cooking over open fires or gathering water. And also the way that people who are assigned female at birth tend to suffer more acutely from water contamination. So I wish that people would see things more holistically.

Within research on the vegan market place, I've seen some statistics that say the Black American population is one of the fastest growing vegan markets in the United States. While we don't want this to be about a capitalistic enterprise, if there are people who are already joining the Movement at the consumer level, you know this is an opportunity.

In the meat industry, it's migrant peoples and people of color, it's underclass populations. We could be doing a lot more to help those individuals, and at the same time, bring them into this Movement and say—we're not in any way saying that you are like an animal, but you are being treated as less than human. So the more that animal rights movements pick on people's cultural dietary traditions, and culture, the more it's going to look like an exclusive white, wealthy, privileged movement.

Especially during Ramadan, some animal rights activists felt that there was an anti-Islamic strain in some animal rights campaigns. These critics have pointed out how people will make default comments about vegetarianism in India, as if everyone in India subscribes to some form of Hinduism, essentially erasing the Muslim population.

Once upper management has this kind of data on who's drawn to work in animal advocacy, they can think, "Supposing we think that we want to grow our base, what can

we do to diversify our workforce? Do we need to update our image?" This probably all sounds like a PR thing, but it really isn't. I mean, if I want things to be more intersectional, wouldn't more diversity at the top everywhere in these animal rights organizations help?

So just thinking through who are we trying to attract, what if there were some intersectional training for people who were working in animal advocacy organizations, at sanctuaries, etc. so that when people devise campaigns, when people were out doing protests—because let's face it, people who work at sanctuaries or for animal rights organizations, what did they do in their free time? They go to protests?

So if there were intersectional training to help everyone be a little bit more sensitive about religion, ethnicity, class, gender, race, etc., it will probably ultimately make for a more inclusive and more aware workforce that might in the long run, not just reflect better on an organization or sanctuary. But if I learn more about my own biases, at first I might be like, "Oh my God, I thought I was a good person because I was vegan. Oh, no, it turns out I have these things." But in the long run, if I do have these like anti-Muslim or anti-Asian biases, then I'm probably on edge because I have these unconscious biases.

Jenny was very passionate about the need to embrace intersectional activism, and began her story by sharing:

So this is broadly about the Black Lives Matter movement, something that had a huge reverberation through our culture, and rightly so, but you didn't see a lot of organizations taking proactive steps to be anti-racist or stepping outside of racism to be more inclusive into any of the ways that they should be. I think our organizations, oftentimes, get very singularly focused on, "We must do this for the animals," and there's, of course, a lot of work that needs to be done for the animals. But, again, to harken back to what I said before, it's not to our betterment to ignore the humans along the way.

Maya discussed:

I think that the animal rights movement needs to really recognize that, in order to grow, because we do want to grow, in order to be more effective and to help the animals, we need to be connecting with other movements.

The conversation was very much focused on the climate change impacts of eating animals. And that's a connection that a lot of animal rights activists have been happy to make. But have they gone into conversations with environmental organizations and shown allyship? Or has it been like, "Oh, this is our secret agenda?"

Ranging from Black Lives Matter to the #MeToo movement. And what I really worry is that there are so many ways in which people have reacted, and many, many cases, you know, from cases of hurt, which I very much understand, but I sometimes feel as though there is a real splintering of, like, you're either on this side or on, you're on this side. And if you talk to this person, then that's not okay anymore.

Focus on the Common Goal. The need to stay focused on the common goal was noted as an important way to stay grounded in the work, provided that the goal was indeed commonly shared, and that it was about a broad perspective of justice, that it was intersectional justice.

Charlie noted that:

. . . we need to keep focused on our common goal. We care deeply about impacting the world together.

. . . provided that it is a common goal that does not come at the expense of all the others . . . and not using our common goal to gaslight and manipulate people in the Movement into thinking that if they demand liberation for all that they are somehow hurting our Movement.

Jettison Effective Altruism. Concerns regarding the effective altruist movement were pervasive and passionate. Many of the women noted relief in being able to discuss their concerns openly with me, something they did not feel comfortable doing for fear of retaliation by funders against the organizations they work for, or for fear that the women as individuals might lose their jobs and future job prospects. Several women noted that they did not fully understand how effective altruism could negatively harm animals when they first joined the Movement, but how they learned over time in various different ways. Isabel described her own realization about the problems with effective altruism this way:

I took a women's epistemology class and I started to learn and understand how emotions and reason can work together, and while rationality and reason are what's favored and emotions are not, they really can influence a way of thinking and knowing. In reality, emotions are how we all process the world and when we're having an emotional, visceral reaction, even to rational things, that's a way of processing the world.

Maggie was also acutely aware of the connection between effective altruism and masculinity. She said:

I am a member of a small group of amazing women who, you know, decided they were sick of the patriarchy within the Movement and decided to find a way to pool their funds. And so they work against the patriarchy of philanthropy and effective altruism.

Margo was very concerned about the impact that effective altruism was having on the Movement, and for individual animals in particular. She talked about the importance of:

... recognizing that animals who are alive right now MATTER, and I put that in capital letters, MATTER in capital letters, we need to fund rescue and care of animals now.

Margo went on to also discuss the broader impact of the effective altruist movement and specifically recommended:

The FAAM must stop appointing so many white men to control the money, so many white Western men and stop letting EA control so much of the money and stop exporting EA theory of changes abroad, and recognize that international domestic groups are in a better place, in a better position, to determine what is effective in their countries and cultures than the EA Western movement.

Additionally, as noted by Maya:

Effective altruism is another critical factor in the splintering within the FAAM.

Recommendations for FAAM Funders. The recommendations for FAAM funders were limited for several reasons. One was that many of the women, particularly those who were not in leadership positions nor in fundraising positions, did not have a lot of knowledge about how their organizations went about receiving funds. Another group of women, particularly those who were employed as executive directors did know, but for them it was a difficult and sensitive subject area because the entire Movement is funded by so few major funders. Because of that, any statement made, if attributable to them in any way, could be detrimental to the women and could even put the funding relationship between their organization and the funder at risk.

The concerns with funders were, to a large degree, based on two interrelated matters. The first is the obsession of most funders to making funding decisions based on EA principles, and the second is the tendency of most funders to ignore, in whole or in part, any assessment of the overall health of the organization, including the health of the activists, in their decision making. This recommendation to funders to consider the health of vocational activists is also discussed in

the section titled Recommendations for FAAM Organizations under the recommendation to invest in professional human resources, and in particular regarding activist pay and benefits.

Discussing funders, one executive director shared the following:

Donors and funders hold more power than anyone else in this Movement. They have the ability to drive what types of programs we work on, but also which organizations, and therefore what types of organizational cultures continue to exist and get funding and get advancement. I don't think there's enough accountability with our philanthropic partners in this Movement, in terms of the types of cultures that they're enabling, perpetuating, and allowing to exist with impunity. There is still so much pressure on an ED to raise funds and to be meeting people and putting myself in sometimes very uncomfortable situations. And I understand of course that as the person doing this work, the donors are very grateful to me, to our organization for actually doing that work. We are not pleading or begging or anything like that. I understand that. At the same time, it does often feel like there is some kind of unequal power dynamic.

Another executive director noted:

I wish it were not so necessary for our organization to have to rely so much on the animal rights funding that has currently existed from what feels to me like five major donors. There are some funders who don't make it seem like a competition, but then there's certain funding grants that I feel like the funders pit us against each other.

Yet another executive director was very clear when she shared that:

I don't see a way to really support our staff without falling into this non-profit structure. I feel like I'm playing a game. It's a game that we've been playing with some mixed success. Sometimes we get grants, sometimes we just don't. I think I've mentioned how I feel that it's just so necessary for our organization to find a way to not have to rely so much on the animal rights funding that has currently existed.

And lastly, another executive director shared this:

I didn't want give it up. I didn't want leave. I totally understand why women left the Movement. I think that's a perfectly justifiable response. But I can't not do this work. So I have just worked very, very hard to buffer myself, in finding different funders that have nothing to do with, you know, YYY or YYY or any of those folks.

Recommendations for FAAM Boards of Directors. The recommendations for FAAM boards of directors were almost non-existent since, for the majority of the women, the boards were almost non-existent, and the boards that had some visibility were not seen to be providing independent oversight to the organization. [Francesca](#) noted that:

. . . our board of directors is made up by their friends and family members.

While [Zoe](#) shared that:

The fact that really no one, except for maybe senior leadership, knows who the board members are, knows what they're doing . . . there was a huge disconnect between the board and the organization. They were just these mysterious names that no one had, still has, any idea what they do. And I brought that up a few times and it was like, "Well, that's just the culture."

Recommendations for FAAM Organizations. The recommendations for FAAM organizations were largely operational in nature, though many of the operational recommendations linked either directly or indirectly to the eight recommendations for the FAAM overall.

There were thirteen recommendations in total. I will begin by sharing the two most voluminous recommendations: 1) practice kindness, and 2) invest in professional human resources (HR), followed the additional recommendations: 3) develop an ethos of transparency, 4) engage in research-based decision making, 5) beware of founder's syndrome, 6) beware of the Peter Principle, 7) encourage creativity, 8) resist micro-managing, 9) commit to training and development, 10) conduct surveys, 11) professionalize, 12) celebrate wins, and 13) accept the right of employees to unionize.

Practice Kindness. The most prevalent recommendation for FAAM organizations and organizational leaders was to practice kindness. This recommendation was made up of seven sub-recommendations that when combined, defined what the women meant when they used the word kindness: acknowledge emotions, listen to employees and seek out their opinions, practice work-life balance, prioritize relationships, recognize employees, value employees, and value volunteers. Each of these sub-recommendations will be further defined.

The first sub-recommendation was the need to acknowledge emotions. [Emily Long](#) described it this way:

. . . a toxic positivity culture of not allowing people to share their, share emotions. Multiple people have been talked to when they share their emotions, talked to in such a way that isn't positive. If someone's upset about something, and they say something in a tone that is showing they're upset, then allowing the space for them to let that out because if people are holding it in, it's going to come out in a different way, or they're going to burn out. And it also promotes a culture of dishonesty because people aren't going to be honest if they feel like they're going to be policed about how they sound and how they say things. I also think there's a lot of desire for honesty and for emotions to be shared as well, because we're an emotional bunch of people. We got into this for the animals because we feel for them, so there's that.

Jane's words were also very poignant, she shared the importance of:

. . . creating workplaces that people feel safe working in, and creating workplaces where people feel joy and are not working from anger. I think that they need to work from love. And even bringing those two words back into the workplace. Love and joy. People don't talk about that in the workplace. It's almost taboo to talk about those things. But why wouldn't we? We are all doing this because we love animals.

The second sub-recommendation was for leaders to listen to employees and seek out their opinions. This recommendation was made by thirteen of the women in multiple contexts. It ranged from listening to the women about opportunities that would be wins ([Emily Long](#)) to figuring out what matters to employees and how that can be infused into the workplace culture ([Jenny](#)) to working collaboratively in order to discover the best approach to a problem ([Lee](#)) to providing an opportunity for women to unveil any grievances they have in their department or with other employees ([Vera Bateman](#)).

Particular ways in which organizations were encouraged to seek input included anonymous surveys as one way that doesn't jeopardize anyone's position in the organization or in the Movement as a whole ([Jenny](#)), 360 reviews⁴¹ as well as monthly or quarterly meetings between an employee and their manager ([Jo](#)), one-on-one check-in's from your department head

⁴¹ 360 degree performance reviews are based on a review process that includes the employee receiving performance feedback from several of their co-workers with whom they interact at various levels within the organization, including those who may report to them, their peers from different departments, as well as from co-workers who are in more senior positions (Alexander, 2006).

([Vera Bateman](#)), team brainstorming sessions ([Rebecca](#)), and several of the women emphasised the need for organizations to execute on their ideas ([Emily Long](#)). [Shirley](#) noted:

That's something that really irritates me, when a manager asks and then gets consensus recommendations from everyone and then still just goes ahead and does what they wanted to do in the first place.

[Jenny](#) shared that:

Our opinions matter and at a minimum we should be consulted, we likely have good recommendations to offer too.

And from [Shirley](#):

Just having a culture and environment where people are respected as individuals, and given the opportunity to voice their opinion, to contribute what they have in all areas of their life outside of just their core skill set.

The next sub-recommendation was that leaders recognize the need for work-life balance. Specifically what the women told me was that they do not want to get emails at all hours of the day, they want to take a vacation, and if managers were to support this, it would be one way to show value for their time and mental health ([Francesca](#)). [Francesca](#) went on to share:

What we want to hear is, "Work-life balance is important. We want you to take vacation. We value your time and your mental health," but I really don't see leaders living that and being good role models.

[Jane](#) recommended:

Organizations need to make sure that people have a normal amount of work that they are given, that fits within an eight-hour work day. Let's be really crazy and maybe work less than 40 hours a week because lots of research shows that we're actually more productive when we work fewer hours, so let's try that and see if the whole Movement was working fewer hours per week, while still we were doing more for animals.

And [Isabel](#) suggested that organizations:

Establish really good boundaries with work hours. I think that's really important, especially working from home, it can be really easy to just keep working.

[Jenny](#) shared something similar by noting that:

We're in this Movement because we care and believe in this to our core so we might work ourselves to the bone, which is not sustainable and will cause burnout and is, ultimately, inefficient for the organization.

The next recommendation was that leaders were asked to prioritize relationships. **Charlie** saw this as a way to:

. . . build community, build trust, and it would also work towards creating an awareness of power dynamics.

Emma also saw the organizational value in prioritizing relationships, which she described this way:

They would invest in the animals, but they won't invest in us.

Heidi shared:

. . . that personal relationships help everyone out.

And **Frankie** noted that:

We need the same amount of compassion that the animals are getting.

Some practical suggestions for doing this came from **Isabel** who suggested:

. . . setting time aside for coworkers to have social hours or to just do something that's not work-related.

Shirley indicated that:

I think when people join an organization as employees, there should be a really good and genuine attempt to get to know each other. I think that it has to be a personal relationship between the employees. Going out for lunch together. Having meetings where it's just, like, "Tell me about . . . Do you have a spouse? Do you have pets? What do you like to do in your free time?" And building that personal relationship.

Additionally, **Shiva** suggested that:

. . . leaders should make sure you're carving out time for people to get to know one another beyond just accomplishing tasks in the workplace.

Employee recognition was another sub-recommendation for leaders and was specific to having done good work. **Jo** talked about the need to:

. . . give a lot of credit to people who do good . . . point out every single person who helped . . . recognizing people who have a more behind the scenes role.

Maggie talked about the fact that while most activists:

. . . are not in this for the glory . . . we're still human, and that kind of acknowledgement would go a long way.

The next sub-recommendation was to value employees. Frankie spoke very passionately about the importance of feeling valued. She talked about needing to feel just as important as the animals:

I feel like you're an activist for a reason, and it's just important to remember that we're human and that things happen. We need the same amount of compassion that the animals are getting. I think just extending that love and care and compassion to the employees is very, very important. We're not disposable, and I think that's kind of how I feel. I was never there for pay, I was there for the animals. I think I'm realizing more that it's easy to stay in an abusive relationship, even if it is a career relationship, it's easy to stay in that when there's so much love involved.

And Emma suggested to managers that:

You just have to see your employees as people.

Some of the ways in which the women suggested that organizations could demonstrate that they value employees included checking in with employees and asking them what support they feel that they are lacking (Jenny), and as noted by Jo:

. . . reframing how management thinks about employees as thinking of them as like heroic activists that are saving animals and to feel like really lucky that they're spending their time at that organization.

Josephine stated:

Making sure that everyone on your staff, from the highest executive level employees, interns, volunteers, contractors even, have an understanding of the intentions of the culture of the organization, what you're doing to protect employees and make employees feel valued, and the practices and policies that are available to people that are stakeholders in the organization to redress any concerns that they have about their employment, about the treatment of themselves or their colleagues, and making sure that that is a conversation that's ongoing.

And, Jo further shared that:

I think of all my fellow animal rights activists or my coworkers as heroes that are saving animals. I feel like we're the coolest people ever, and I'm so happy to be one of us. But I feel like the way that our employers tend to see us is more like we are these people that are lucky to have a job and that are weighing down the organization.

Volunteerism and valuing volunteers was a topic raised by several of the women. As noted in the findings of Question Two, several women came to the FAAM through the route of volunteerism, other women discussed that they have been supported in their work by wonderful volunteers, and for yet others still, their jobs entailed working directly with volunteers. The suggestion to organizations by [Emily Long](#) was:

To share as much as possible with volunteers and consult with volunteers about what they really like doing, since doing so could result in more people staying in the Movement. And where possible, when volunteers apply for roles, and they're equally or almost as equally qualified, hire them.

. . . value the volunteers on the ground, because if you don't have their 100% commitment, the Movement doesn't exist.

Frances Ruhl added:

We need to recognize all the people who are volunteering and doing all the boots on the ground work, think of it as a grassroots movement that will uplift all the people who are focused on saving animals and on protecting animals. And then that will be a lot healthier for everybody, not only for the Movement as a whole, but for each individual person too.

And finally from [Emily Long](#):

There's a lot of things we can't share with volunteers, and I understand that. But there's a lotta things we can share with them. At least our good volunteers, our longstanding volunteers.

Invest in Professional Human Resources. The second significant recommendation for organizations and organizational leaders was the need to invest in professional human resources (HR). There was a clear recognition by [Sarah1](#) that certain:

. . . tiny groups probably couldn't afford to have an HR person, but that they should have an outside contractor that knows how to do it well.

[Lee](#) said that:

It's almost like it's an afterthought in some organizations. As long as you have someone who can do the pay checks and the legal stuff and the paperwork.

And according to Maggie:

All organizations should have an HR team member on staff or an HR consultant, hands down. This seems to be one of the areas that a lot of AR groups wiggle around in terms of not having a trained professional on staff or their responsibilities are divvied up between an operations manager or someone that's just not trained or qualified. Having a go-to person, even if it's a consultant that can be there when issues arise, even when you're talking about onboarding or just the interview process even. A lot of that gets mixed in with people who aren't qualified or don't receive the training for it. So, that's the big one for me. It's very HR related because that's what I see in terms of doing my job, the things that have taken me a lot more time because their avenues weren't clear. No clear communication about what benefits are available, how to access your benefits, because it's surprisingly if you don't have someone that manages your HR in-house, do you talk to your manager? Your manager will refer you to maybe the finance person, and the finance person really isn't the person, they are just the communication between the insurance provider. And, again, just making our non-profits more streamlined, more business-like when it comes to employee benefits, HR, all that stuff.

Whether human resources was in-house or contracted out, every one of the women talked about the need for standard HR policies and programs. The particular policies and programs that were requested by the women include pay and benefits, compassion fatigue support, anti-retaliation policy, career development plan, employment contracts, employee assistance program, family medical leave policy, flexible work program, sexual harassment policy, hours of work policy, job descriptions, mentorship program, performance management program, progressive discipline program, travel and expense policy, and vacation policy. Each of these will be elaborated upon.

The most requested policy was a policy regarding pay and benefits. This recommendation included a request for transparency around salary and benefits, and the need to move away from a mindset of scarcity, and the need to educate funders about pay and benefit challenges.

Transparency has been a significant recommendation throughout my research, and was one of the eight recommendations for the FAAM overall. [Emily Long](#) shared a story from her organization:

The leadership team got \$10,000 to \$15,000 lump sum raises. And we saw that on the pay structure despite them not realizing that it was shared with us . . . when it was brought to leadership's attention publicly, it took them aback.

This plea for transparency was woven throughout the discussions about pay and benefits.

[Laney](#) requested:

. . . that organizations just treat everyone the same. Everyone that was in a certain role should get a certain salary no matter who you were.

[Vera Bateman](#) suggested:

. . . the need for pay scales so that employees can compare what they are provided across the board.

And [Rebecca](#) suggested,

I want to know both what the processes are for things like promotions and raises and whatever the case may be, down to knowing that your manager will come to you with a problem if they have one.

Regarding the request for transparency, [Ella](#) made a passionate plea:

. . . for increasing pay and benefits, as it would be very beneficial and in favour of this Movement so that we can build a stronger, more diverse movement. There are only a select few people who are privileged enough to work and sustain themselves on a small salary, and so increasing that will welcome more diverse people and strengthen the Movement.

The correlation between better pay and diversity came through as a strong message by many of the women. [Francesca](#) noted:

Low pay has a disproportionate impact on women for a number of reasons, which I probably don't have to go into with you, but not everybody is able to take really low pay. And I think that the Movement as a whole really could just pay people better.

[Lee](#) also discussed this by sharing more about her own situation:

When I think about me, I came from a really privileged place and I've been able to manage. Just thinking of people who don't come from that background, they would never be able to enter into the Movement in the first place. So we're excluding a lot of people because of that . . . particularly new, diverse talent.

And, as Sarah¹ succinctly indicated:

. . . more diversity can start when more people can afford to do this work.

Importantly, this call for better pay included a call for better benefits protections. One woman, whom I will not identify because she was one of very few who self-identified as living with a disability, noted that:

I feel like benefits are huge, for me at least because I have a chronic health condition and it's expensive.

She went on to share that if better benefits were provided:

. . . people of different demographics can join the Movement more easily, and feel more financially secure which is a huge thing. There's a lack of how many vegans there are and how many people want to do this work but then yeah, we don't want to limit it further by capping what we can pay people. And so to me I think that is definitely number one, and I know that folks have talked about that in this Movement forever. We talked about it last week too. I think you have to pay all the interns that you have as well.

Jane felt strongly about scarcity mentality when she said:

The scarcity mentality that goes throughout the Movement is based on false assumptions. It's not true. There is not a limited amount of money in the world, honestly. There's just not. I think, of course, we should be wise with the money we do have, and we shouldn't just spend it frivolously and we don't need to pay activists half a million dollars a year or something like that, but they should make enough money that they can live comfortably. So they're not always trying to figure out how to work a side job to be able to pay their rent or pay for their kids clothes. So they don't have to choose between paying the electricity bill or, maybe I want to buy organic food instead of conventionally grown food sometimes, and that shouldn't have to be a choice because I've chosen to do good in the world. We should be paying those people what they deserve.

Lilly G also recommended the need to let go of a scarcity mentality and suggested that the Movement needs to:

Really examine compensation critically and moving away from this scarcity mindset because we are non-profit organizations, that we cannot profit as individuals, or we can't make a decent living. You know, we're not picking vows of poverty. I'm not interested in

being a millionaire. I would have done something else if I wanted that, but I want to feel safe. I want to feel financially safe and that I'm not scrambling paycheck to paycheck or doing other things to make ends meet. And so many people feel that way.

Lastly regarding pay and benefits was the need to educate funders. [Maya](#) shared that:

I actually talked with funders who are starting to understand more that that is critical for us to be able to do this work long term.

Another recommendation came from [Lee](#):

If for some reason, one of these major funders fell through one year, we wouldn't be able to guarantee that all of our staff would stay on staff. This can't continue.

The second most frequently requested policy was the need for compassion fatigue support that, according to [Lilly G](#):

. . . would recognize how emotionally draining the work is, and offer specific mental health courses for people in animal advocacy. It should be something that's widely available because it's something that's so important.

[Sarah2](#) noted that:

. . . it's not something that everybody else understands . . . work can be challenging for everyone, but it's especially hard when you work in animal advocacy because you're constantly surrounded by these images that are just so heart-breaking, and they're things that you have to deal with because it's your job.

[Isabel](#) agreed, and noted that:

. . . nine to ten billion animals a year are slaughtered in the U.S. alone, so it can feel really overwhelming.

The need for an anti-retaliation policy was identified by several women, including [Jan](#) who cited this need in connection with various employment-based situations including but not limited to matters of harassment and discrimination as well as with other forms of conduct predicated on activities in the workplace such as bullying. [Charlie](#) added that such a policy needed to also include other aggressive and passive-aggressive behaviours.

[Lilly G](#), a leader herself, noted the need for an unambiguous career development plan by sharing:

. . . there's not a clear path for many women, even if they were interested in getting into those leadership positions . . . I have colleagues who are not, who don't feel appreciated, who are not sure if they want to stay. A lot of them are women, not exclusively, but a lot of them are women and their main frustration that they've told me about is they don't see a career path for themselves within the organization. They don't see a path for growth. I'm in a situation where I am going to lose or have already lost three or four colleagues from my direct team in a span of a year or less related to financial conditions for sure. Finances are a factor, but also other conditions, other working conditions that maybe the organization hasn't looked at. So, a lot of this is related to burnout or to lack of opportunities to grow within the organization.

There's just a frustration, especially I feel among younger people in the organization who are really looking to build a future and don't see that possibility in the organization. So we're leaking talent, and this is my team. It pains me personally to see them go because I've built something with them and now I'm going to have to rebuild, you know, I'm all for welcoming new people, but now I'm going to have to invest time in rebuilding knowledge, rebuilding a team, and just doing everything from scratch because people have left.

Another recommendation was the need for employment contracts. As noted by Heidi:

I think employment contracts are very important and they can sound weird and scary and very serious up front, but I've been burned so many times and I know leaders have been burned so many times from former employees. So just get contracts up front. I feel like there could be a lot less drama in this space from both employees and from leaders and the contracts would help with that.

Sarah¹ agreed, and indicated that contracts are necessary, not just for employees, but also for interns.

The next recommendation, summed up by Maggie, was:

. . . always, always, always provide access to an employee assistance program.

This recommendation is connected to the recommendations to acknowledge compassion fatigue, and to acknowledge how emotionally challenging it is working on behalf of animals (part of practicing kindness). Maggie went on to say that:

. . . while we may not be able to pay for mental health services, at least having an employee assistance program really shows that we care about your mental health.

Having a policy that provides support for family and medical leaves was another recommendation. Jan shared that she:

. . . has a friend who just joined a small Movement organization. She's having a child. They had no policy for her at all. So, she had no job security.

Jan provided another example of why such a policy was important by noting that:

. . . women are more likely to be in a caretaker role too. Who knows what they will do if something goes wrong with their parents or something.

There was also the suggestion of the need for flexible work arrangements. Laney noted:

Flexibility, especially for women is so important. In society we're expected to wear many hats. Think about all the women who are mothers out there, who are trying to balance work and home life. Many women end up leaving their jobs because they can't balance work and home life. And in the animal advocacy movement, it's strange because we're so tolerant and accepting. I mean, at least from my experience in it. I'm not saying other women are. But I also think there's a lot of people in our Movement who actively choose not to have children. And so, I think perhaps for some people, it may be difficult for them to understand what people with families, what people with various conflicting obligations need. We are all going to get our jobs done. And so, if I need to take a day where I work 12:00 PM to 8:00 PM as long as I get the job done, as long as I track my hours, that's my prerogative. I never feel guilty going to my team and saying, "Hey, I'm not feeling well. I don't need a sick day, I just need an hour. I'm just going to sign back on and finish up a little bit later." And that is such a relief for many reasons.

Some of the most powerful comments came during discussions about the need for a sexual harassment policy. Frances Ruhl very clearly noted:

If we stopped having to focus on protecting ourselves all the time from harassment, from disrespect, from all the indignities that we suffer in our jobs, we would all do a lot better work.

Sarah1 noted that:

Sexual harassment could be prevented in an environment where the first person who experiences this feels empowered to go talk to an HR professional.

Lilly G agreed, and noted that unfortunately:

. . . there are not good mechanisms in place for a person to voice a complaint and to get that taken care of, well, appropriately.

Another suggestion was to implement a clear hours of work policy. Isabel suggested:

. . . the need to establish really good boundaries with work hours. I think that's really important, especially when working from home it can be really easy to just keep working.

Jane recommended not emailing at all hours of the day and night, a sentiment shared by several other women.

The need for job descriptions, and particularly the clarity they provide, was also suggested. Jenny expanded upon this by noting:

It is important to make sure to go over job descriptions with employees on a regular basis and say, "Okay, here is what this role was meant to be. What are you doing today? How has it changed? What should we add? What should we subtract?"

The next suggestion was for a formal mentorship program. Laney summed it nicely:

I think we need to come up with a way of making sure that if I'm a woman in this Movement, I have someone that I can look up to and that I can turn to who is similar to me.

The next two recommendations, in many ways, go hand-in-hand. They were for a performance management program and a progressive discipline program. Both of these recommendations were aligned with the need for greater transparency in the Movement, specifically regarding organizational decisions to terminate employees. Chirimuya shared:

I have always worked as an at-will employee and been okay with it. Not had a problem, but, the turnover is really, really high. I don't know if that's a Movement thing. I don't know if it's an organizational thing. I actually have a folder in my email that every time there's a departure email, I just put it there because I want to know. I checked it out and 27 people have left in the last year. That's an over 40% turnover rate. And when I first got here and there would be these turnover bursts, it definitely contributes to staff insecurity . . . especially since all of the departures seem to be involuntary departures. They all seem to be pretty abrupt. And whenever it is brought up, like people would bring it up in an all staff meeting, we get the same answer. Leadership tries to tell us that if we look at the turnover rate in our sector, we're doing pretty well. I don't know how they account for it. It just seems like there's a pattern of abrupt staff departures.

Ella also discussed turnover:

There is a lot of turnover and for the longest time I've heard it's normal, it's growing pains. And I'm sick of hearing that because management also said it's in line with the national average non-profit turnover rate, but it's not, it's way higher. I think it's 30-31% turnover. I just wish they would stop saying it's normal because it's not.

Emma noted her organization:

. . . had huge turnover . . . almost everyone there had never worked on a specific major project that they had been working on for some time . . . no continuity . . . real challenges that created with limited institutional knowledge . . . it's crazy to me that the turnover in our Movement surprises anybody.

Francesca discussed:

. . . high turnover of senior people resulting in a loss of institutional knowledge and a financial loss.

Jane also noted that:

. . . clearly lots of people left all the time. That was pretty much just life at that organization, your friends were quitting their jobs every day.

Josephine, referring to an organization she previously worked at, said that:

. . . there was just an insane amount of turnover.

And Lee also discussed, in resigning from a job:

A previous employer in the FAAM I worked for has a legacy of high turnover, and I feel that one of the most useful things I can do in my departure is leave some very honest thoughts to hopefully help stop that cycle. YYY sent me some exit interview questions, so I have tried to work the narrative around those. It's also really hard to focus on these points and be constructive during this extremely challenging time with coronavirus, but I know my feedback is needed.

Lilly G, Rebecca, Sarah¹, Shirley, Vera Bateman, and Zoe all also discussed the unusually high turnover at their organizations, and the fact that the decision making around involuntary turnover is often shrouded in mystery. Rebecca's suggestion was that:

There is a need to know both what the processes are . . . but also a need to know that your manager will come to you with a problem if they have one.

The final two policy recommendations were for a travel and expense policy, as well as a vacation policy. There seemed to be a great deal of confusion regarding what was deemed to be acceptable and unacceptable regarding travel costs, particularly regarding room sharing.

Confusion regarding travel was only exasperated since Covid-19. Jan noted:

I think it's such a need just thinking about Covid and whether we're allowing people to opt-in to travel or to in-person events right now. We need to make sure that we're not accidentally promoting the people who choose to travel.

Regarding vacation policy, [Pluto06](#) noted:

. . . it is about getting paid vacations.

Develop an Ethos of Transparency. The word *transparency* was referenced countless times, and the call for transparency spanned a myriad of areas within the employment context. These included how decisions are made ([Frances Ruhl](#)), hiring practices, salaries, benefits, workload expectations ([Isabel](#)), terminations ([Jenny](#)), discussions about oppression ([Rebecca](#)), financial information ([Zoe](#)), data sources used for decision making, and human resources policies ([Chirimuya](#)). In [Josephine](#)'s opinion:

I think transparency is the number one. That the practices and policies are available to people in the organization to redress any concerns that they have about their employment, about the treatment of themselves or their colleagues, and making sure that that is a conversation that's ongoing. I think one of the most insidious ways, that women in particular are harmed working in the non-profit, and particularly animal rights space, is this sense or this culture of secrecy or feeling like you might be penalized if you speak out.

[Zoe](#) summed her thoughts this way:

Transparency, transparency, transparency. Because a lack of transparency leads to deep mistrust and resentment.

Engage in Research-Based Decision Making. [Diane](#) was not the only woman to bring up this recommendation, but she so clearly articulated it:

We are deeply out of touch with the reality of most people making decisions about what they eat and how they treat animals. I think we are just so deeply out of touch. And, my experience has been that a lot of leaders in this space are skeptical of research around consumer behavior or individual behavior. And, so, if I were to present a concrete idea, I think it would be beneficial for a neutral third party, but someone trusted by the Movement, to engage in some deep research. Focus groups. Any sort of research about behavior and how people think, even just about our work. Not even the food that they're eating because it's a continuum. Research about how people perceive animal rights activists all the way to how they make decisions standing in line at the grocery store. From a much more diverse set of people than three cents can buy on Amazon for a survey

result. I think a lot of our research, that's a generous term, research, captures the experience of a very specific group of people. You know, folks who are willing to take surveys, who have the time and capacity to take surveys, who are probably of a very specific demographic.

And, I just think that as a Movement we are so out of touch with how people think about our work. There was that research that came out of Australia a few years ago that basically said the way people perceive identities was from worst to best and, murderers and rapists were the worst of society, and then vegans were second. And, it was by a margin of five percent. We need a healthier perspective because we're fooling ourselves into believing what we're doing is the solution. And, even organizations that have huge impact, it is just so small relative to the size of the problem and the impact should be celebrated to the extent that it is, it helps sustain the work for longer, but we have to stop pretending like it's really doing anything against industry. Because the industry is just getting bigger and more powerful. And, we don't have that perspective.

Beware of Founder's Syndrome. An additional recommendation for organizations was to beware of the implications of founder's syndrome. In the words of [Francesca](#) regarding the organization she worked for:

They started the organization themselves. They love to tell people who they used to be, that they lived in a van and ate pots of soup and made no money, and that they're the ultimate martyrs.

[Heidi](#) went on to share how important it is for founders to be able to:

Let go and if that means hiring people and really doing your due diligence to hire people that you trust. Sometimes that might not be people that you already have a relationship with. I don't know about that, but maybe it's someone, just a stranger. You know what I mean? Someone that you hire just based on their qualifications and interviews and job experiences.

Beware of the Peter Principle. The practice of promoting employees to the point where they have reached a level of incompetence, also called the Peter Principle (Lazear, 2001), was discussed by several of the women. [Diane](#) shared that:

I think that in our movement, more so than most other care work such as education or medicine, we get promoted to incompetence faster than any other industry I've ever observed.

And, she further noted:

Within our Movement we go from picketing in front of a McDonald's to leading an entire organization.

Ella noted that:

There are many people above me that have never worked at any other place other than our current organization, so I've seen firsthand how a manager's inexperience impacts the organization and the experience of their direct reports. I think that's one big area where the movement could improve.

And lastly Jane shared that:

People are promoted for a variety of reasons, often not good ones. Sometimes people are put into management positions just because they've been in the movement for more than a week . . . it's just a seniority thing and people leave the movement so often that people who had been in the movement for such a short time are considered seasoned veterans because they didn't leave after one year. So you have these people who are relatively young and inexperienced put into positions where they're managing teams and they just don't have the knowledge or the life experience to do that properly.

Encourage Creativity. Another important recommendation, the need to encourage creativity, was discussed by Shiva who offered these thoughts:

We need to be willing to think about how the world could change in a way that threatens what you're trying to accomplish so that you can begin to think about alternatives, and that has to involve other people too. And it's not just about thinking through all the possible scenarios, it's more about being prepared for when things change.

Resist Micro-managing. Emily Long noted that there was a lot of micro-managing on projects, and Lee went on to indicate that:

On one hand it's hard because you have to teach those employees basic workplace skills that they've never really used before in an office environment. But on the other hand, I think there needs to be a sense of autonomy because they don't feel trusted when they're being micro-managed.

Pluto06 suggested that it is was necessary to monitor work, but:

. . . give employees a project and instead of micro-managing and helicoptering, let them know you're open to their ideas and see what happens.

Commit to Training and Development. The suggestion for organizations to commit to and invest in training and development for employees was best articulated by Maggie who noted that:

We're so mission focused we forget about the people investment and development and training in order to retain these employees. So, just routine training and development, especially on communications, best practices, writing, and even leadership, or just providing avenues for employees to maintain those because you're going to get those in a corporate environment. I've even noticed my skills are pretty rusty just because I personally have gotten away from making those a priority, where early in my career I always allocated time or even my off time in terms of what I was reading and things like that.

Shirley also emphasised the importance of training and developing:

Supporting your staff to continue to take courses in continuing education and to feel like they're not just like a random person thrown in and do this or do that. They should feel like this is their profession and it's something they can take seriously and just because they're working in the non-profit sector, it doesn't mean that they aren't professionals that need that sort of continuing education.

Conduct Surveys. The request to engage in surveying the opinions of employees was noted as needing to be done anonymously. Jan suggested that:

. . . having the ability to provide anonymous feedback is so important.

And Jo, Jenny, and Chirimuya all also suggested the need the need for anonymous surveys to be conducted periodically to solicit feedback from employees.

Professionalize. Several of the previous suggestions such as the need to invest in professional human resources, training and development, and the need to beware of founder's syndrome are related to this next suggestion, the need for the Movement to professionalize.

Chirimuya stated that:

The Movement hasn't been very professional, and I don't know if that's just because it is so youthful.

Shirley discussed the importance of:

. . . encouraging people to feel ownership and professionalism in their roles. So, again, encouraging professional development.

Celebrate Wins. The need to celebrate wins was something noted by several women, including Jo:

One way to help with that is show people how what they're doing is helping animals, even if they're just doing a small piece of the puzzle. So if somebody is working in a behind-the-scenes role such as finance or development, or they're in the mail room, they should be constantly shown how what they're doing helped animals. So I think whenever there is a win, you should celebrate it.

Isabel also suggested that:

Celebrate victories if we have done something to move along the chain of improving farm animals' lives into perspective, so it doesn't feel like it's for nothing.

Accept the Right of Employees to Unionize. This recommendation was made by several of the women including those who did and did not work for ALDF (the one unionized organization in the FAAM). One example came from Ella who clearly stated:

We are activists fighting one of the most cruel forms of abuse that exists in our lifetime. At the very least, we should have strong worker's rights with fair and equitable compensation and protection . . . the Movement is very small and there's a lot of people who are sometimes blinded by just wanting to work in the Movement and help animals, and they're not really thinking about themselves, which could lead to burnout and to other unfortunate situations later on that they were maybe not thinking about when accepting their dream jobs. I think unionizing would really improve the experience for employees. Just that protection that comes with being in a union will allow them to improve their work for the animals without fear of being terminated, without fear of retaliation, and giving some power back to the people who are doing the heavy lifting will make this Movement more sustainable.

Emily Long also talked about the importance of unionization. She noted:

Being a part of a union would help to get to a better place for employees, for retaining employees and hiring employees, and in keeping leadership and management in check, keeping transparency, and open lines of communication between leadership and employees and then pay that's appropriate. There's this fear of being fired, at least at the organization I worked at, just so many people were fired that there was this fear that leadership didn't acknowledge. And if we did bring it up to them, we just got the same, basic response. Unions would also help with that fear. A union would be a good idea. If you're an organization that feels that you don't need changes, then there's no need for a union. But there's no need to push back against a union either.

And, poignantly, as noted by Frances Ruhl:

The animals are the ones who pay the prices when the human employees are not doing well.

The answers to this fourth question were directly linked to my secondary research question, and resulted in a series of leadership and managerial recommendations that ranged from the need to accept multiple truths to the importance of implementing consistent human resources practices and policies. The recommendations were thoughtful, clear, and above all, abundantly reasonable. The women overwhelmingly want there to be change, and the change they are seeking is predicated on their unanimous commitment to ensuring the ongoing health of the Movement for the sake not only of themselves, but *always for the animals*.

Recommendations for FAAM Organizational Leaders. The women had six main sub-recommendations for leaders in the FAAM: to commit to leadership development, not to expect self-sacrifice, to lead by example, to let go of perfectionism, to engage regularly in self-reflection, and to limit meetings.

Eight of the women talked about the first recommendation, the need to commit to leadership development, in a very passionate way. [Ella](#) noted that:

There are many people above me that have never worked at any other place other than our current organization, so I've seen firsthand how a manager's inexperience impacts the organization and the experience of their direct reports. I think that's one big area where the Movement could improve. I think bringing in external trainers to train managers within my organization would be very beneficial, and I think this goes back to my first point of leadership being so young and not really knowing what they're doing. Bringing in people who are more experienced, specifically in managing, not necessarily in the Movement, but just in general, would be really, really great.

[Emily Long](#)'s suggestion was:

. . . to have all managers externally trained, because also a lot of managers in positions in this organization were not managers before, so they don't have managerial experience. They're just kind of making it up as they go along.

The emphasis on leadership development/training needing to be done by external professionals was made not only by [Emily Long](#) but also by [Heidi](#) and [Jan](#).

The second recommendation was not to expect self-sacrifice. [Charlie](#) talked about the dark side of doing this work for animals:

This common goal being used to gaslight and manipulate people in the Movement into thinking that if they demand liberation for all, that they are somehow doing it at the price of self-sacrifice, and if they don't, they are hurting our Movement.

[Ella](#) said:

I don't think it's appropriate to include the animals in that discussion and say that, "Oh if you want more money, you're taking away from the animals." That's not productive, I've experienced that, and I know that others have experienced that as well.

And [Francesca](#) noted,

There is sort of this martyrdom in the Movement that really needs to be counteracted by leaders in the Movement making a concerted effort to show that work-life balance is important.

[Jane](#) agreed, and called for:

. . . a move away from the idea that we should do this work as self-sacrifice.

[Jenny](#) noted that:

We can't be so focused on what's immediately in front of us when we sacrifice ourselves.

The next recommendation to leaders was that they should engage regularly in self-reflection. [Jane](#) was clear and thoughtful with her recommendation, as she had considered it at length. She shared:

I think there are very few people in the world that have the emotional intelligence and life experience that will allow them to do that kind of introspective work. I think people are really are just too tied to their egos and it's too painful for them to even look at themselves in that way and so they won't. But that would change the world for animals.

Several other women also discussed the impact this recommendation would have for the FAAM. [Jan](#) shared a very practical suggestion that leaders should engage in thoughtful check-ins with staff:

Who do you have regular check-ins with? Whose check-ins tend to get canceled or rescheduled? Look at all the people that report to you, or that you work closely with and

think about, "Who am I delegating to, and what am I delegating?" And, "Who am I giving stretch assignments to?", "Who am I asking to do the more housekeeping work?" And it does end up being mostly women. Ask, "Who's taking notes?" That sort of thing. It's doing an audit of yourself, to look for bias. So, it's just a simple way of auditing yourself for bias. Because, you know, so often, women will be given the busy work or be given the caretaking, while the men, especially if you're at a retreat or something, while the men, all the men are talking strategy. And it pisses me off. So, being really aware that that's not happening.

Josephine's recommendation was that leaders should engage in:

. . . mindfulness and doing whatever is needed to instill a culture of accountability and transparency.

And Charlie noted that:

. . . you need to be practicing examining your biased systems and also your biased processes. Practicing introspection leads to individual actions, which are important.

Another recommendations to leaders was to lead by example, to serve as a role model to employees. Francesca was very clear in stating that:

One of the most important things that you can do is to lead by example, to show that it's okay to take time off.

Not only was there a clear call to lead by example in connection with matters related to work-life balance, but also regarding diversity. Laney discussed this in the context of having female leaders to serve as role models. She noted that:

. . . if you see a woman in a leadership position, you can identify yourself in them.

Jan also noted the importance of women as role models:

If you have no women on your leadership team, how could you possibly make decisions that are in the best interest of women on your staff? I think it's just really important to have good role models. So many young women join the Movement and need someone to look up to.

Another recommendation was the importance of letting go of perfection. Emily Long emphasised that:

. . . nothing can be perfect because perfection is impossible . . . let go of perfection because I've heard so many different employees and myself, say that perfection is the

enemy of the good. I get the importance in having projects done, but just not everything has to be perfect . . . allowing people to move forward with projects and events, that obviously don't break laws but, aren't perfect. That is also something I feel really importantly in regards to emotions.

Heidi also suggested:

. . . just kind of let things go a little bit more.

While Maya noted that:

There might be people who are expecting perfection from all of us, but you're not going to live it up to it.

The final recommendation to leaders was to limit meetings, and is perhaps the most straightforward. Zoe talked about:

'Death by meeting.' It is such a colossal waste of time and it's unnecessary. And if you meet in a way that is productive and everybody is prepared for the meeting and everyone follows through with whatever they say they're going to do, the 10 other meetings following that are so not necessary. I'm big on efficiency. And I think that you can actually die by having meetings. They end up eating up so much time. I actually added up the meeting time. It was just a typical month, 38 hours in meetings, 38 hours. Almost an entire work week 38 hours.

Summary of Findings

This chapter began with providing demographic information about participants and about the organizations that the participants worked for previously or work for currently. The findings were provided based on the four questions that were asked of each participant.

The findings for the third and fourth questions, which mapped directly to my primary and secondary research questions, were then organized based on the following categories:

- Recommendations for the FAAM Overall
- Recommendations for FAAM Funders
- Recommendations for FAAM Boards of Directors
- Recommendations for FAAM Organizations
- Recommendations for FAAM Organizational Leaders.

The categories were created to provide the relevant stakeholders with information that is most relevant for them, and to ensure that the information is easily accessible. A discussion about these recommendations will be presented in the next chapter.

Chapter Five: Discussion

This chapter provides an interpretation of my findings in connection with the four interview questions asked of each participant, supported by academic literature and my own lived experiences as a community insider.

I have merged the discussion regarding the findings from interview questions one and two. This was done in part due to the fact that the second question was a natural extension of the first question, and also because these two questions were asked primarily for the purpose of relationship building and to set the stage for the women to begin thinking about their professional lives, their experiences as vocational activists within the FAAM, and their recommendations for the FAAM in connection with their work experiences. After discussing questions one and two, I then focus on discussing the findings from interview question three, which is directly linked to my primary research question, followed by discussing the findings from interview question four, which is directly linked to my secondary research question. In each case I restate the interview question, as well as the primary or secondary research question as applicable, and then provide the discussion. To conclude my discussion of the research findings, I provide a set of practical recommendations, which is supported by a checklist I created to serve as an easy-to-use reference tool for FAAM stakeholders who might be interested in applying some of the recommendations made herein. Lastly, I evaluate my dissertation objectives together with an examination of how this research might contribute to the overarching social problem of the exploitation of more-than-human animals as outlined in the introduction of this dissertation.

Prior to delving into the discussion, however, it is important to restate that to my knowledge this is the first study exclusively devoted to researching the work experiences of women employed in the FAAM in Canada and the United States. In addition, as a

transformational researcher, it is my hope that the women's stories shared in the findings in Chapter Four, together with this discussion informed by their stories and by the literature, as well as my concluding recommendations, will collectively offer useful suggestions that may lead to more regenerative organizational practices, policies, and governance in the FAAM.

Discussion of Interview Questions One and Two

Q1. *Can you please tell me about the first time you remember having a deep connection to animals. Please feel free to go back as far as you'd like, perhaps to when you were a very young girl.*

Q2. *Please share with me the story of your decision to commit your professional life to working on behalf of animals, and your decision to join the FAAM.*

The stories of the women differed, ranging from positive experiences (e.g., having loved a family companion animal) to negative experiences (e.g., witnessing hunting or fishing).

However, the women shared one thing: an innate empathy for more-than-human animals. This empathy was something that each woman was able to quickly draw upon when asked about her earliest memory of a deep connection with animals. It was this burgeoning empathy as a young girl that inspired all of them to explore how their empathy informed and inspired their careers.

Empathy is a fundamental component of ecofeminism, and Lori Gruen, in her 2015 book *Entangled Empathy: An Alternative Ethic for our Relationships with Animals*, discussed empathy as something difficult to define and in need of constant updating, but something that is necessary in order to connect with and understand others and to consider the unique circumstances of those others in so doing. Gruen went on to discuss that elements of empathy included what she referred to as “emotional contagion” or “affective resonance” (pg. 42), which is based on a physical embodied response to the perceived circumstances of another; and that perception does not require understanding, but instead, it activates an unavoidable physical response. An example,

provided by Gruen, was the act of yawning, where when you see someone else yawn, it is likely that you too will begin to yawn.

This form of embodied response was evident in the stories of early experiences by many of the women. [Emily Long](#) noted about a family fishing trip:

[I remember the feeling of wanting to keep the fish as a pet.](#)

[Frances Ruhl](#), describing her father who would hunt and fish, said:

[Even as a small child, I was just like, "That doesn't seem right to me."](#)

[Vera Bateman](#) shared that:

[I was influenced to kill animals and to eat animals, and never felt okay about it. I was taught how to shoot a gun and had to shoot gopher and deer. I never felt good about it.](#)

[Charlie](#) reflected on her school experience:

[I think I've always felt a deep connection to animals. I was made fun in school for crying when kids squashed bugs. My son is now going through that.](#)

And [Pluto06](#), also in the context of a school experience, shared that:

[I remember, I think it was about five at a bus stop and there were some ants, and there was another kid and he started stomping on all the ants. And I remember I freaked out. I started crying and crying and crying and begging him to quit.](#)

Gruen also wrote: "Empathy is also something we are taught to 'get over' or grow out of.

We learn to quash our caring reactions for others, and our busy lives and immediate preoccupations provide excuses for not developing empathy" (Gruen, 2015, p. 78). Gruen called for a return to the process of constantly seeking to work to improve all of our relationships by caring for and responding to the unique needs, interests, hopes, and desires of others.

Empathy is a trait, explicitly or implicitly, that each of the leadership models that I have presented included as being fundamental to effective leadership (see Table 2), and a trait that was also directly connected with organizational success or failure (Armstrong & Ashraf, 2011).

Business ethicist Joseph L. Badaracco, in his Model of Moral Leadership (2002), discussed the need to focus on relationships and suggested that moral leaders act out their duties with the utmost of care. This emphasis on care was apparent throughout his extensive writings. Badaracco referred to one's vocation, or work, as a powerful source of meaning and self-respect in one's life, as a place where people live much of their lives, a place where people realize their deepest aspirations, and a place where many people live out their hopes and fears (Badaracco, 1992).

In defining moral leadership, Badaracco included what he referred to as the "Four Spheres of Morality" for good leadership, one of which he called "The Commitment to Private Life" (Badaracco, 1992). This sphere required leaders, because they hold positions of power, to adopt high levels of morality even in their personal lives, and while that morality may differ for different people, in all cases it must at least include the need to live with integrity with family, with friends, and in community in such a way as not to harm others, or as he stated "certain moral responsibilities come with certain social roles" (p. 67).

Further, Badaracco (1992) suggested the work of leadership is to "exercise their stewardship over company communities in ways that meet a basic threshold of decency and respect for the rights of and dignity of employees and managers" (p. 71). In a review of some of Badaracco's work on what he called *leading quietly*, the need to listen with empathy and care was highlighted, as was the need for leaders to be deeply connected to a moral cause before seeking to resolve it (Pava, 2005).

Sally Helgeson (2005) wrote that the principle of caring was critical for good leadership, including the importance of leaders acknowledging work as part of one's life where one lives out one's hopes. This was something all the women discussed during my interviews with them. They

were living out their hope that the oppression of animals would end, that their work would contribute to the end of the human use of cows for the milk they produce for their offspring, to the end of the use of hens who are forced to lay eggs in confined animal operations, to the end of the consumption of the bodies of all animals on land and in the waters. This hope was deeply palpable in my discussions with the women, in no small part because it is a hope that I too share, a hope that led me to do this work.

While many of the women in my research came from diverse professional backgrounds prior to joining the FAAM, they were all drawn to the FAAM because of their empathy and desire to work *always for the animals*. I will now discuss these experiences.

Discussion of Interview Question Three (My Primary Research Question)

Q3. I'm interested in your experiences as an employee with regard to leadership, how you have been treated, and how that has shaped your experiences of working within the FAAM.

This third interview question corresponded directly to my primary research question: *How are the principles of the ethics of care that are sought for more-than-human animals by FAAM organizations applied to the women activists they employ?*

As noted above, the simple answer to the primary research question is that the women activists I interviewed were mainly not treated with care, and as such the findings were in alignment with the position of Gorski (2019) who referred to the failure to care for activists as one of the most formidable barriers to sustain social movements.

This failure to act with care was evidenced by the overwhelmingly negative responses to interview question three as shared in my findings. Many of the women told stories about being treated with disdain and disrespect, feeling invisible to leadership, being denied even basic employment rights such as appropriate maternity leave benefits, being discriminated against based on race, and being denied the ability to do their jobs free from sexual harassment.

One of the specific key findings was a prevalence of systemic oppression, which included ageism, classism, ethnocentrism, racism, sexism, sizeism, tokenism, and transphobia. These findings ran directly afoul of every researched organizational development best practice. This included not only the work of Badaracco (1992) and Helgeson (2005), but also the work of Komives et al. (2006) who discussed the need for leaders to work ethically and with integrity as one of their five key leadership focal points, and the Greenleaf Leadership Model which found caring for persons as foundational.

There is great irony in these findings of systemic oppression in the FAAM, some of which were also found in the research done by Anderson (2020) who reported lack of satisfaction with leadership included problems with professional conduct, fairness, discrimination, harassment, and bullying. As noted by [Charlie](#):

[It's all connected. The treatment of women are the same systems that animals are subjected to and hence getting treated the same way. I want to dismantle all of those systems.](#)

The treatment of women in the FAAM provides a stark parallel to how animals are treated in the animal industrial complex. Individual animals are invisible, or as [Jo](#) called it, invisibilized. The plight of each animal is invisible, and instead animals are seen as a collective commodity, not as having what Derrida (2008) referred to as *logos*. Derrida, in part, referred to the logos of each animal as being well beyond that of what 18th century English Philosopher Jeremy Bentham used as a benchmark, which was whether animals could suffer (Bentham, 1843). Derrida noted that while suffering was undeniable, he used the measure of whether animals had *finitude*, that is whether they were able to die, and if so, this vulnerability of death is itself what calls us to demonstrate care and to witness the experiences of all living beings and show them compassion. Derrida went on to refer to the treatment of animals as a war of inequality, and felt the inequality of this war eventually needed to be reversed for society to

advance. The absurdity, then, is that the very Movement that seeks to end this war on inequality for animals fails to consider that a war of inequality is going on inside the Movement with the loss of recognition of the individual human female animal who is feeling invisibilized based on her gender, as well as other interconnected characteristics such as her race, age, and size.

From my many years as a Movement insider and hence being aware of what Chavez (2015) called “historical and practical happenings” (p. 479), it has been clear to me that while animal activists at large disagree on many aspects of activism (e.g., welfarism versus abolitionism, effective altruism, the value of intersectional activism, the value of farmed animal sanctuaries, etc.), one fundamental tenant of activism within the FAAM that nearly all share is the recognition that animal exploitation, whether for food, for puppy mills, for horse and dog racing, or for entertainment, is rooted in “gendered commodification and sexualized violence” (Gillespie, 2014, p. 1321). In other words, the most oppressive components of animal abuse are levied against the bodies of female animals. The industrial animal complex and the FAAM then, have something in common: the use, misuse, and mistreatment of the female body.

The FAAM recognizes that “meat animals [including animals used for dairy and eggs] may be disproportionately female, or bred for specifically gendered attributes which might correspond to patriarchal constructions of masculinities and femininities” (Cudworth, 2008, p. 33). This is made evident in mass production where all animals are borne from female bodies, in production of dairy products where milk come from lactating mothers, and in egg production where the product comes from the bodies of female chickens. I will now expand on the disproportionate use of the female body in the production of dairy and eggs.

First, regarding the production of dairy. Cows, like humans, carry their babies for nine months, and also like humans, only produce milk when pregnant (Livesay & Bee, 1945). The

process of becoming pregnant, however, is quite unlike that of humans, because cows, due to decades of genetic manipulation, cannot become pregnant through intercourse with a bull (Oltenacu & Broom, 2010). Instead, the most common practice is to collect semen from bulls through a process called electroejaculation (Dziuk et al., 1954). The practice was developed and perfected in guinea pigs, and performed in various other species before being used on bulls. The process involves inserting an electrical rod into the anus of the bull and alternating the stimulation between 30 and 60 volts every 3 to 5 seconds (Dziuk et al., 1954). A rubber cone is applied to the penis of the bull, and with manual stimulation, the semen is collected. If the bull does not ejaculate, the bull is electrocuted again in 15 minute intervals. Not surprisingly, the bulls need to be restrained for this procedure. The semen then needs to be artificially inseminated into the cow. It is a procedure so intrusive that it requires cows to be restrained, which is done using a narrow chute-like device called a *rape rack* by the dairy industry. While the cow is held in the device, a dairy worker inserts one arm into her anus, and uses the other arm to insert the artificial injection gun (gun), which contains the semen from the bull, into her vagina (Gillespie, 2014). The gun is pushed until it reaches her cervix, and then the semen is injected into her uterus.

Notably, if given the choice, a mother cow will groom and nurse her baby after birth, alternating between staying close together and hiding her baby while she goes out foraging for grass; she stays close for almost a year before weaning her calf naturally (Hudson & Mullord, 1977; Johnsen et al., 2016; Marchant-Forde et al., 2002). Instead, upon birth, calves are taken from their mothers, and the mothers show signs of distress for extended periods of time (Hudson & Mullord, 1977; Meagher et al., 2019; Stěhulová et al., 2008). Further, cows are impregnated over and over again, usually three to four times in their lives, all the while confined, until they

can no longer produce the amount of milk they once could. Usually, at around six years of age, they are slaughtered (Bazzoli et al., 2014).⁴²

Next, a brief explanation of industrial egg production. Chickens begin their lives in a hatchery where they undergo a process of sex selection (Millar et al., 2009). If born male, they are culled at one day of age, usually through suffocation or maceration, a process of being ground up alive; culling is done because male chickens have no purpose in the egg production industry (Klein et al., 2003).

Female chickens, or hens, are then transported to large windowless sheds where they will spend the next several years of their lives in a housing system that is generally either caged or cage-free. In a caged system, they will live with five or six other birds in a 80 square inch cage, with cages stacked on top of one another in a barn housing upwards of 200,000 birds, and in a cage-free system they will live with upwards of 50,000 other birds (Matthews & Sumner, 2015). Hens have been genetically manipulated to lay in excess of 300 eggs per year, despite the fact that in nature they would lay approximately 5-6 per breeding season, which occurs once per year (Sandilands, 2011). They suffer from countless reproductive problems, including having the highest rate of ovarian cancer of any female mammal in the world, and as a result have been used as a model to study human ovarian cancer (Johnson & Giles, 2013). Once a hen is no longer capable of producing the number of eggs required by their captors, they are referred to as being *spent*, and are transported to a slaughterhouse where their bodies are processed for low grade chicken products such as canned soups and nuggets (Newberry et al., 1999).⁴³

⁴² For a more detailed analysis of traditional dairy production please review “The Life of a Cow,” a webpage I wrote for Dairy-Truth.com (<https://www.dairy-truth.com/life-of-a-cow>).

⁴³ For a more detailed analysis of traditional practices in egg production please see “The Life of a Hen,” a webpage written by Nigel Osborne (<https://www.egg-truth.com/life-of-a-hen>).

Not detailed above are the unspeakable living conditions of these animals, the acts of mutilation levied upon their bodies, the abuse at the hands of workers, and countless other atrocities which are difficult to comprehend. During my time as the Vice President of Mercy For Animals in Canada, I led one undercover investigation into the practices of the largest dairy farm in Canada, Chilliwack Cattle Sales in British Columbia, and was involved in three undercover investigations into the industrial egg production industry at KuKu Farms and Creekside Grove Farms in Alberta, and at Grey Ridge Farms in Ontario. I will not describe the details of the abuse documented against the female animals, but instead have provided links in the footnotes for any reader who wishes to watch the video evidence or learn more about these practices.⁴⁴

The lives of cows and chickens are only two examples of the reliance on the manipulation and exploitation of female animal bodies in agriculture. This, however, extends to the mass production of turkeys, sheep, goats, ducks, and all other animals used for meat, dairy, and eggs.

Despite the reality of animal agriculture, the FAAM continues to revere male leaders who do not even live in accordance with a vegan ethic. For example, in a 2020 interview Singer conducted with media outlet Vox where he admitted to eating certain aquatic animals and cage-free eggs (Piper, 2020).

Yet other high profile male leaders, people like Hershaft, Pacelle, Shapiro, and Cooney, have all been accused repeatedly of sexual impropriety towards female subordinates. In the case

⁴⁴ Investigation into Chilliwack Cattle Sales in Ontario. <https://www.newswire.ca/news-releases/chilliwack-cattle-sales-workers-to-be-jailed-for-animal-cruelty-623012574.html>

Investigation into KuKu Farms and Creekside Grove Farms in Alberta. <https://www.ctvnews.ca/w5/undercover-investigation-reveals-horrific-conditions-within-egg-industry-1.1503296>

Investigation into Grey Ridge Farms in Ontario. <https://www.newswire.ca/news-releases/hidden-camera-investigation-exposes-extreme-animal-abuse-at-one-of-canadas-largest-egg-factory-farms-587768121.html>

of Hershaft, he has publicly supported racist ideologies, suggested that intersectional activism is not appropriate for the FAAM, and referred to the feminist movement as having been a problem for the FAAM. (For more incidences of negative leadership, see Appendix A: Timeline of Online Employment-Based FAAM Media Coverage.) This conduct could not, under any definition, be seen to do no harm. Instead it is deeply harmful, not only to the individuals to whom it was directed, but also to the families and friends of the individuals, and to the FAAM community at large. Hershaft's conduct directly led to a boycott of the 2021 National Animal Rights Conference by countless regular speakers (Adams, 2021), which was subsequently cancelled, and seems to have summarily ended the national conference that began in 1981.

In addition, the majority of the leadership positions within the FAAM today continue to be held by men, despite the fact the Movement is almost 80% female, and many of these women, including the ones I worked with in this research, possess the critical foundations of good leadership. Many of the women had previous for-profit leadership careers, several came from academia, one had practiced as a veterinarian for several years, and several others had been researchers, and all of them possessed at least some of the critical components of good leadership which are care, empathy, and a deep commitment to the cause.

FAAM activists ask the general public to expand their circle of compassion to include more-than-human animals, yet FAAM leaders, who are overwhelmingly male, continue to perpetrate the gendered power imbalance that oppresses female human animals within the FAAM (Kemmerer, 2018). The domination of women (Not A), by men (A) in the FAAM, mirrors the domination of more-than-human animals (Not A) in society-at-large (A) (Adams, 2020). This has not only been explicated in the literature review, but through the stories of the women in my research.

Stories told by [Maya](#) who felt she has no choice but to tolerate unwelcome touching by a donor to her organization; by [Maggie](#) who felt helpless as several of her employees were sexually harassed by her manager; by [Charlie](#) who was afraid her cases would be taken away from her when she went on maternity leave; by [Sarah1](#) who had no choice but to share a bedroom with two male strangers; and by [Margo](#) who shared that as a woman she is always on guard in the Movement because, either directly or indirectly, she knows she will be dealing with #MeToo situations.

This domination by A over Not A, where Not A is defined as women, nature, more-than-human animals, people of colour, etc., is simply not appropriate, or as Kemmerer (2013) noted, it is both narrow and selfish, and activism against the oppressed Not A must include *all* Not A groups.

The stories of the women in connection with their employment experiences in the FAAM highlighted domination levied upon them in a multitude of ways beyond bodily domination, reflecting the 48.6% of activists in the FAAM who reported having experienced discrimination, unfair treatment, harassment, bullying, or abuse between 2015 and 2020 (Anderson, 2020).

Regarding age-based oppression, [Chirimuya](#) shared her story of age-based challenges related to both the inexperience of leadership and of leadership failing to recognize the technology support needed by those in their 40s and 50s. [Jane](#) shared her challenges during her pregnancies that were connected to the fact that her co-workers were very young and could not understand her decision to have children, and I too, together with a close colleague, experienced age discrimination. The domination of the Movement by young people creates a disproportionate requirement for older women to appear younger, as well as proving to reduce the value and credibility of older women activists (Wrenn & Lizardi, 2021).

Classism was another form of oppression experienced by several of the women. This was seen to manifest itself in at least two ways, the first being in connection with founders of organizations, and the second in connection with pay structures.

Founder's syndrome is a form of classism where the founder of an organization acts in their own best interests and at times in direct contrast to ethical leadership models that are based on demonstrating care in the execution of their duties (Block & Rosenberg, 2002). This is due in large part to founder's syndrome that was raised by [Francesca](#) in connection with how money was spent and how the founders controlled everything at her organization. It was raised by [Jenny](#) as the source of high turnover in her organization, by [Diane](#) in expressing that her board of directors were impotent and were in place only because of their friendship with the founder, and by [Frankie](#) whose founders were inexperienced and not able to properly care for animals. While Block and Rosenberg (2002) found that not all founders behaved inappropriately, it was a frequent finding in their study, and aligns with what often occurs in the FAAM.

Another manifestation of classism is control over pay and benefits. That said, matters of pay and benefits are also connected to race and gender. Brandt (2011) discussed this by noting that pay inequality can exacerbate the subjugation of women, and Carbado and Crenshaw (2013) discussed low pay being one way in which social movements disadvantaged vulnerable women of colour. Further, Lawry (1995) noted that non-competitive salaries in the non-profit sector is a justice issue.

Low pay and inadequate health benefits programs in the FAAM were discussed by the women continuously. This included a failure to provide pay for overtime, inflexibility of benefits and paid time off, unequal pay, and pay structures that were not made transparent. [Margot](#) even discussed feeling like Movement activists are forced to live in borderline poverty, and she further

shared that voicing concern over this was seen as not caring about animals and instead as taking money away from animals. Anderson (2020) also found pay and benefits to be cited as a significant concern for paid activists in the Movement, and her study included pay and benefits as one of seven factors that were necessary to address in order to retain activists.

Turnover, or the rate in which employees resign or are terminated from their employment, in the FAAM is in large part a manifestation of many negative forms of *isms*: ageism, classism, racism, and sizeism. Turnover was discussed by [Lilly G](#) as being significant and [Lee](#) who called it a legacy; [Josephine](#) discussed people being fired randomly, and [Jo](#) discussed that it was a sign of bad management. [Jenny](#) shared that turnover was so high at her organization that people were always uneasy. High turnover, as noted by [Francesca](#), came at a high cost that was more than financial, it was also a loss of institutional knowledge, and that without solid human resources practices it would not dissipate. It is worth noting that the responsibility for turnover is that of the leaders who should be addressing the needs of the community (Gorski et al., 2019).

A fundamental lack of human resources skills was seen as a pervasive problem impacting turnover, but also impacting the failure of organizations to build trust, break down power dynamics, and exercise care, especially when an individual contextual approach to a unique circumstance was needed. Approaching situations with the nuance needed is a fundamental component of care theory within an ecofeminist framework, where understanding about a situation allows the individual to be respected for their uniqueness (Donovan & Adams, 2007).

Racism and an overall lack of diversity in the FAAM was raised on numerous occasions by women who self-identified as being a member of the Global Majority and by women who did not. Stories of racism in the Movement were in regard to the overwhelming white employee

population and about the positioning of Black people as being more likely to harm animals (Marceau, 2019). The participant stories included first-hand accounts of racism, as well as several stories about one organization, ALFD, who refused to express an anti-racist position after the killing of George Floyd, which was the impetus for its employees to form a union. The need to carry out anti-racist work in social justice movements, and to centre a commitment to diversity was not only noted by almost all of the women, but was also found in academic literature to be an important undertaking in an effort to reduce turnover (Gorski et al., 2019). Ecofeminist thought recognizes the interconnection of not just sexism, racism, and classism, but also of speciesism and the environment (Gaard, 2011), and all of the women agreed that failing to acknowledge the interconnection of sexism, racism, classism, speciesism, and environmental degradation in the FAAM was deeply problematic.

Domination based on factors such as sex, race, class or other attributes is what Swanson (2015) noted as being rooted in society, not biology, and she further noted that changing the forces of domination is the responsibility of leaders, who should be adopting an ecofeminist ethic of care in exercising their leadership duties. When domination remains unchecked, it provides the fodder for false claims of one being more important than another (Warren, 2000).

Additional findings included a list of activities and characteristics the women found lacking in the FAAM: a lack of accountability, appreciation, autonomy, communication, consistency, diversity, experience, fairness, faith in leadership, integrity, professionalism, respect, training, support, and resources. These were in contrast not only to the ecofeminist principles and leadership practices already discussed, but also to healthy management practices and to the practices necessary to advance social movements.

I will now juxtapose what was found to be lacking against the twelve statements connected to the Gallup's Employee Engagement Hierarchy (Harter et al., 2000) (see Figure 2). Firstly, the women discussed not being clear about what was expected of them at work (Q1) and requested job descriptions, which is one of the recommendations I will present in Chapter Six. They discussed not having the tools and equipment to do their jobs and lacking both resources and support (Q2). They felt undervalued and underappreciated, and talked about being micro-managed and being expected to work excessive hours, hence not being able to do what they do best every day (Q3). Lacking in almost all cases was appreciation and respect (Q4), which reflected not having a supervisor who cared about them as a person (Q5). There was a resounding call for the need of a career development program (Q6) and a lack of fairness in how promotion decisions were made, so most of the women did not feel their development was being encouraged. Overwhelmingly the women did not feel their opinions counted (Q7), and instead felt there was a lack of communication at all levels of the organization. The one area where there was general agreement was the women felt the mission and vision of the organization were in alignment with their own (Q8), and for the most part, (though not in the case of [Emily Long](#)), they felt their job was important. The women were confident that their colleagues were committed to doing good work (Q9) and that they had friends at work (Q10). However, there was an absence of feedback about their personal progress (Q11) and little opportunity to learn and grow (Q12). In fact, there were repeated stories of a lack of mentorship and opportunities for advancement, and a complete lack of training and development.

To juxtapose the experiences of the women against the second management model, the Maslach Burnout Inventory (Maslach et al., 1997), I will use its three dimensions and six domains. Regarding the first of the dimensions, almost all of the women talked about *exhaustion*,

and about the implicit expectation of martyrdom and a failure to respect basic boundaries regarding work life and home life. Regarding *cynicism*, there was an overall understanding that the work that had been done and was being done for animals, was not working, that the FAAM was simply not succeeding since per capita meat consumption continues to rise on a global basis. Regarding feeling a lack of accomplishment or *inefficacy*, this was noted specifically regarding the Movement's preoccupation with work that was based on effective altruist principles. There was a sense that work that could result in tangible accomplishments was being brushed aside in favour of work that Effective Altruist powerholders perceived as more effective.

I turn now to the six domains. *Workload* regulation was an area that was grossly lacking and was discussed in connection with hours of work, martyrdom culture, and work-life balance, but as equally important, nearly all of the women were asking for support for compassion fatigue syndrome, something that was being summarily ignored. In some cases, the existence of compassion fatigue was simply denied. In connection with a lack of tools or a lack of authority and *control*, this was something addressed in part in the Q12 statement about tools and equipment, but it was expanded upon by women who discussed a high level of micro-management in the FAAM, and a lack of autonomy. The need to celebrate wins and *reward* good work was raised repeatedly by the women; notably, celebration is included in the Kouzes and Posner (1987) leadership model where they discussed it as an important part of encouraging the heart and modelling good behaviour. Having positive connections with others or *community*, also noted above in the Q12 statement analysis, was one area where the women discussed being positive and hopeful, and as shared by [Sarah2](#), in her story of having brought a hurt bird to her office, the main reason she stays. *Fairness*, however, was resoundingly discussed as lacking. The final domain, *values*, which referred to the values of the organization and the values of the

workers being in alignment, was seen as positive, and one of the main reasons all of the women continue the work.

The overwhelmingly negative experiences conveyed by the women did not only run counter to ecofeminist principles and counter to positive leadership and management practices, but also counter to theories of how social movements succeed as theorized by both Sharp and Moyer. In particular, as described by Cox (2011), both discussed the importance of preventing burnout through positive organizational practices since social justice change takes a lot of time, and as such one of the most important elements necessary to sustain the work is the need to commit to personal sustainability.

In Sharp's (1973) ground breaking work, he discussed the importance of humans as critical resources, the skills and knowledge of these people, and the connection of these people to the mission and vision of the organization as three of the six key factors in non-violent social movements.

Moyer (2001), in his model of the Eight Stages of Social Movements, wrote at length about the need for movements to professionalize in order to move from Stage 5 to Stage 6. While I was not able to find any literature mapping the FAAM with the Eight Stages of Social Movements, it is my contention that the FAAM is currently in Stage 5, the *Perception of Failure* (see Table 1 from Chapter Two repeated below).

Table 1. Moyer's Eight Stages of Social Movements

Stage	Title	Summary
1	<i>Normal Times</i>	People do not know about the problem. The problem may be ridiculed. The goal is to convince people that an injustice exists.
2	<i>Prove the Failure of Official Institutions</i>	The problem is recognized. The goal is to convince people that the problem is undemocratic, that accepting the status quo is not acceptable, and that powerholders are the problem.
3	<i>Ripening Conditions</i>	More people are learning about the problem, and opposition is increasing. Powerholders remain unconcerned.
4	<i>Take-Off</i>	Most visible stage of the movement. Higher public visibility. Often referred to as The Rebel Stage since more direct actions are taking place. Powerholders are concerned and defending their position.
5	<i>Perception of Failure</i>	Activists feel powerless, burned out; they may feel the movement is dead. Powerholders use this burnout to their advantage. Movement must train activists on the Four Roles and MAP Model, and create effective and efficient democratic organizational structures and group dynamic processes to move to Stage 6.
6	<i>Majority Public Opinion</i>	National consensus of the problem where public support is at 50%. This is the longest and most difficult stage. The Change Agent role is critical here. Organization and leadership models, together with more structures are necessary to endure. Powerholders are concerned.
7	<i>Success</i>	Movement reaches a new plateau. Public is turning against the powerholders. Power is shifting. Success is often slow and quiet, and can take decades.
8	<i>Continuing the Struggle</i>	Movement moves on to the next sub-movement or goal.

Moyer referred to the MAP Model as both a “theoretical model and an action guide developed through practice” (Moyer et al., 2001, p. 100). He further suggested that the model be used by activists and scholars to fill the gap between theory and practice, particularly through dialogue and ideas. Moyer went on to write that the MAP Model should be applied based on observations and lived experience, in other words, as in this study as the FAAM is viewed through an ethnographic and phenomenological lens.

Moyer's model (Moyer et al, 2001) was also predicated on giving agency to activists, noting that agency was needed to sustain the commitment of those activists. He further held that activists needed to frame their work based on widely held values, they needed to understand movement dynamics, and they needed to recognize the role of non-movement players such as media. Moyer recognized depression and poor morale among activists can occur when activists believed their movement was failing, as was noted by several of the women in my research including but not limited to [Diane](#) and [Charlie](#). Moyer noted this is also the time when activists can,

burn out [sic] or drop out because of exhaustion caused by overwork and long meetings; too many internal organizational crises and conflicts; extended militant actions; movement violence; and feelings of failure, hopelessness, and powerlessness. In addition, most are unable to pace themselves and give adequate rest, leisure, fun, and attendance to personal needs (p. 60).

Each of the markers noted by Moyer as being characteristic of Stage 5, have been raised by the women and discussed herein. Moyer suggested the remedy for Stage 5 is to focus on changing the organizational structure of the movement, and ready it for Stage 6, the *Majority Public Opinion*. Moyer wrote the movement goals at this stage should be to:

- create effective and efficient democratic organizational structures and group dynamic processes;
- train activists in the Four Roles Model so they learn the difference between effective and ineffective ways of playing the four roles [citizen, rebel, change agents, reformer] and to respect those playing different roles;

- adopt a strict policy of nonviolence and counter the negative rebel tendencies that first arise late in Stage Four and bloom in Stage Five; and
- provide activists with training to help them switch from a controlling to a cooperative model of relationships. (Moyer et al., 2001, p. 62)

While this discussion chapter has been fraught with negativity, the good news is Moyer reminds us *Perception of Failure* is part of the normal route of social movements and if the movement goals are attained in this Stage 5, it will draw the movement closer to Stage 6, *Majority Public Opinion*, and then on to Stage 7, *Success*.

Discussion of Interview Question Four (My Secondary Research Question)

Q4. *What suggestions do you have for leadership, including any organizational policies and practices, that are needed to create and/or maintain healthy workplaces for women like you?*

This fourth research question corresponded to my secondary research question:

How might the stories of these women, combined with existing literature, serve to inform more regenerative organizational practices, policies, and governance?

The women all expressed optimism that this research might lead to what they felt was much needed change in the Movement, and as such, were all generous with their time and ideas in how the FAAM might become more regenerative. The recommendations were based on their hopes and dreams for the future of the Movement. Notably, hopes and dreams were included in one of the Five Practices of Exemplary Leadership by Kouzes and Posner (1987) outlining how extraordinary things can get done in organizations.

Despite the current reality for women working within the FAAM, as Moyer shows us, change is not only possible, but is urgently needed to continue the work for animals. The women all recognized this need for change, and they provided many suggestions for how this change

could be undertaken. Remarkably, they were all hopeful, and their recommendations were directly in line with the Moyer's movement goals.

In this spirit of hopefulness, and the shared dream that animals will one day be free from oppression, the recommendations in this section are organized into the same four components as the findings in Chapter Four: Recommendations for the FAAM Overall, Recommendations for FAAM Funders, Recommendations for FAAM Boards of Directors, and Recommendations for FAAM Organizations and Organizational Leaders.

Discussion of Recommendations for the FAAM Overall

The Recommendations for the FAAM Overall included eight specific recommendations: a) accept multiple truths; b) acknowledge and dismantle power dynamics; c) challenge group think; d) resolve internal conflict; e) embrace diversity; f) embrace intersectional activism; g) focus on the common goal, and h) jettison effective altruism.

Of these, the one I was most surprised by was the outright disdain for the effective altruist movement. Given that this recommendation was discussed the most emphatically, I will discuss it first, followed by a discussion of the other seven.

The recommendation to jettison effective altruism (EA) as a driving force for decision making in the FAAM, in each and every case it was discussed, was shared couched in fear and trepidation for the implications it might have on the future of the FAAM if it continues to be so pervasive. Several women also expressed deep concern for the ramifications to their organizations and to their own careers if they were seen to speak out against EA in a public way. These women shared with me that while they were opposed to the philosophy of EA, they were afraid to say as much without the protections of confidentiality and anonymity provided for in this research.

The fear of speaking publicly against EA as relayed to me by the women in my research was in stark contrast to those who readily and publicly speak in favour of EA such as those who regularly participate in the Facebook group page “Effective Animal Advocacy – Discussion” (<https://www.facebook.com/groups/EffectiveAnimalAdvocacy>), which enjoys a membership of 6,400, and those who contribute to webpage “Effective Animal Advocacy” on the Effective Altruism Forum site (<https://forum.effectivealtruism.org/posts/aSBcRu4h2qH5sRypQ/>).

Individuals in favour of EAA also spoke willingly in Broad’s (2018) research article “Effective Animal Advocacy: Effective Altruism, the Social Economy, and the Animal Protection Movement.” They were (in alphabetical order by last name) Sam Bankman-Fried, a billionaire philanthropist; Lewis Bollard, with Open Philanthropy Project; Jon Bockman, with Animal Charity Evaluators; David Coman-Hidy, with The Humane League; Michael Dello Iacovo, with Effective Altruism Australia; Eitan Fisher, with Animal Charity Evaluators; Zach Groff, academic/researcher; Tobias Leenaert, author; Jacy Reese, with Sentience Institute; José Valle, with Animal Equality; Robert Wiblin, with 80,000 Hours; and Kelly Witwicki, with Sentience Institute.

Based on the information provided in my literature on the most common profile of effective altruists, it is not surprising that of these dozen people quoted in the article, eleven are men, they are all white and highly educated, and most if not all, are heteronormative. Nine of the eleven are known in the FAAM for leading or being involved in EA organizations, one is a billionaire philanthropist who practices what the EA movement calls *earning to give*, meaning he earns as much money as he can to allow him to give as much money as he can to charity, and one is an academic. The twelfth person is a white woman who is highly educated and employed as the executive director of an EAA-based organization. Her propensity to EAA is made evident by

her job, and as such, there is no risk to her job in speaking out; on the contrary, speaking publicly in favour of EAA can be seen to be part of her job description and looked upon favourably in the community and by donors.

Broad (2018) acknowledged that EAA, and in particular the work of the Open Philanthropy Project and Animal Charity Evaluators, has changed the FAAM, despite noting that early EAA research studies intended to promote EAA thinking were done poorly, and that updating these studies would likely be slow. It is important to state that Broad was paid by Animal Charity Evaluators to conduct the study, although he purports the funding provided by this EAA organization did not impact the outcome of his work.

Broad (2018) did note the EAA focus on seeking to quantify animal suffering as a means for prioritizing work for animals is a philosophy that has been countered repeatedly by academics and by the few Movement leaders who are not fearful of speaking against EA. An example was the co-founder of PETA, Ingrid Newkirk, whom he quoted as saying, “Animals aren’t numbers; they are individuals . . . people who use and abuse animals reduce them to numbers—but we should not!” (p. 777).

Like many of the women I spoke with, I too initially had trepidation in speaking out against EAA, and given the fervor with which it was embraced, it made me question my own thought process in my early activism. A notable experience instrumental in shifting my own thinking from being an initial proponent of EAA to being one who strongly and vocally opposes it as a foundation for work on behalf of animals, occurred during my tenure as the President of the Board of Directors for Happily Ever Esther Farm Sanctuary, home of social media sensation Esther the Wonder Pig. Esther is a 600 pound pig who was commercially bred to be used for

food, but was rescued by two men who now share their home with her, where she has become their beloved *pig-daughter*.

In the fall of 2017, Esther had uncharacteristically lost interest in her daily walks. This was ongoing for several weeks. Then, one day in mid-October, Esther began to struggle for breath, she started to tremble, and then she began to turn blue. Her human parents immediately rushed her to the Ontario Veterinary Hospital (OVC) in Guelph, Ontario, home to some of the world's most renowned large animal veterinarians. Despite the status of this hospital, they did not have diagnostic equipment to accommodate Esther's size, and no other suitable solution could be found anywhere else in Canada – the equipment needed to diagnose Esther simply did not exist in Canada. Various options were explored, including sending Esther to Cornell Veterinary Hospital in New York that did have the necessary equipment, but a trip across the Canada-United States border presented a long list of logistical and safety challenges. One of these challenges included a mandated quarantine requirement when Esther returned home, a quarantine imposed by the Canadian Food Inspection Agency because Esther, despite being a family-member, was considered a food animal. Quarantining Esther upon her return was simply not something that we were willing to consider. After much research and consideration, Esther's two dads and I decided to purchase the necessary equipment to diagnose Esther: a state-of-the art machine in diagnostic, interventional, and intraoperative imaging called *The Pegaso*TM.⁴⁵ It had a 1.2 metre (3.94 feet) variable geometry tilting gantry, with the ability to scan the head and neck of a standing horse with 3D resolution. A fundraising campaign was launched in order to purchase *The Pegaso*TM, and within only three months close to 12,000 people from 58 countries

⁴⁵ Epica Pegaso brochure. <https://www.imv-imaging.co.uk/media/5443/pegaso-brochure.pdf>

gave \$650,000. The machine was purchased and delivered to OVC. The official grand opening of the scanner at OVC took place on October 7, 2018.

After the ribbon-cutting, I was sent a video that had been posted to social media by Peter Singer on October 4, 2018. In the video, Singer stated the following:

An example of altruism that I think is not really as effective as it could have been, would be the raising of \$650,000 to provide a large animal scanner so that Esther, a pig who was the companion animal for one person, could be scanned to see where she was having tumors. I think breast cancer. I appreciate that people were touched by the plight of Esther and of Esther's owner. But to spend \$650,000 on getting a scanner for one pig, which may not even help that pig to live longer, I think there are better things that you could do with that money. You could help many, many animals also pigs, each one of them just as much a worthwhile individual animal as Esther was. You could, for example, support organizations that are trying to help people to understand what the lives of pigs in factory farms are like, and therefore, hopefully to persuade them no longer to buy those products so that the number of pigs who have to suffer on factory farms, pigs who don't have a good life like Esther is having, will be reduced. And I think that would be a more worthwhile use of that kind of money. People who gave money to help her were altruistic. They were giving money to help another being, another sentient being, and that's altruistically motivated. But effective altruists say, "We shouldn't just be motivated by the thought that, here's somebody I want to help. We should be motivated also by reasoning," which says, "I want to do good in the world, but is this the best way of doing good in the world? Is this the way to get the best value for the money I'm spending?" This is something that we think about very naturally when it comes to buying something for our self. If you want to buy a new camera, you won't just impulsively go and buy the first camera you see. You will do some research as to which is the best camera, which gives me the best value for money that provides the features I need, and doesn't cost 10 times as much. We should think the same about altruism. This may be something that in itself is good, but maybe I could help 10 times as many animals or a hundred times as many animals or a thousand times as many animals quite possibly for the same amount of money that is here being spent on one animal. And that's not getting good value for the money you're donating.

Despite Singer's almost idol-like stature for some in the FAAM, and for virtually all in the EAA community, I felt I needed to respond to him pointing out what I felt was flawed reasoning. My response to Singer, which I posted to social media on October 8, 2018, shared with him the incalculable value of the purchase of the scanner beyond saving the life of Esther. With the purchase of the Esther Scanner, as it fondly became known, Canadian veterinary students would be able to be trained on advanced diagnostic technology they otherwise would

not have access to; the Esther Scanner was earmarked to be used to research new treatment techniques in colorectal cancer research for human men; it was also earmarked to be used for human bariatric patients; and it allowed for the provision and documentation of information about aging farmed animals that would be stored in a first-of-its-kind large animal database available to all large animal veterinarians worldwide (Dr. S Nykamp, personal communication, March 13, 2019). The Esther Scanner also received explosive media attention, both mainstream and social media, which has tremendous monetary value, and it proved to be a platform for the discussion and contemplation of demonstrating care for animals beyond those animals that are traditionally considered as companion animals such as cats and dogs. The entirety of my response to Singer can be found in Appendix G.

The value of the Esther Scanner was, as I have already noted, incalculable, speaking both metaphorically and practically. Had the EAA quantification test been applied to the decision making of whether we should or should not purchase *The Pegaso*TM, however, it would not have been purchased, and the countless uses for the Esther Scanner, which have continued to accrue since October 2018, would not have happened. EAA requires not only the application of a quantification test, but also a commitment to direct consequentialism. Consequentialism is considered by EAA followers to a principle of EAA, and while some EAA thinkers have suggested that strict consequentialism may not be necessary, there remains a commitment to assessing possible consequences of an activism (Fisher, 2017). Regardless of a strict adherence to consequentialism, Fisher (2017) went on to clarify that EAA decisions do require engaging in *cause and effect* considerations in prioritizing activism. Nevertheless, the Esther Scanner would not have met the EAA tests of quantification or consequentialism.

Despite repeated attempts to reach out to Singer to discuss this matter further, he did not respond. Singer's position regarding the Esther Scanner is only one example of many where leaders, influencers, and donors in the FAAM denigrate the value of love, care, emotions, and individual animal relationships in advocacy efforts, despite the power of emotions in decision making being well established (Andrade & Ariely, 2009). Research in this area has repeatedly demonstrated human behaviour is strongly motivated by our beliefs and values, with worldviews, in part developed through our families of origin, peer influences, institutional influences (such as schools and places of worship), and other personal and social experiences. In short, emotions and emotional attachments impact how we act, including how we eat (Andrade & Ariely, 2009).

While EA followers in the FAAM have sought to quantify and calculate advocacy, these calculations do not translate well in terms of breathing, feeling, compassionate beings, and many of the attempts at creating equations for this are simply inadequate. The very idea that we should calculate and be able to anticipate the outcome of every advocacy decision, the fundamental tenants of effective altruism, is not practical nor reasonable given that it is impossible to place a monetary value on life.

EAA thinking, predicated on the principle of utility that includes being reasonably certain of the consequences of actions and on the greatest outcome for the greatest numbers, would mean the film *Blackfish* would never have been made. The film was produced to highlight the horrendous conditions of one whale, Tilikum.⁴⁶ However, this film about one animal had the sweeping effect of almost eradicating SeaWorld⁴⁷ and other similar aquatic circuses. EAA thinking would have prevented Ingrid Newkirk from seeking to free the 17 Silver Spring

⁴⁶ Tilikum (orca). [https://en.wikipedia.org/w/index.php?title=Tilikum_\(orca\)&stableid=1037030524](https://en.wikipedia.org/w/index.php?title=Tilikum_(orca)&stableid=1037030524)

⁴⁷ SeaWorld. <https://seaworld.com/>

monkeys from a laboratory in 1981, and thereby launching PETA, the largest modern-day animal protection organization in the world with over 6,500,000 members worldwide. It would mean animal activists should not waste their time fighting to free the approximately two dozen elephants who are currently used in circuses in the United States, and again, it would not have advocated for the purchase of the Esther Scanner.

EAA continues to fail to realize emotional connections motivate people to stop eating meat and stop going to SeaWorld. Emotions, not numbers, because people are *moved* to act out of compassion and love. The FAAM was built on emotions and it is emotions that continue to fuel everything it does. Setting emotions aside for an ill-conceived commitment to EAA decision making is not going to move the FAAM forward. In addition, creating an environment where employees are fearful to engage in open dialogue about the value of EAA does not ensure an ethical or thriving organizational culture as discussed by Strickland and Vaughan (2008), who promoted that non-profit organizations who value ethics must govern with respect, reciprocity, and openness among their employees.

Of note is that Bockman, founder of the EAA organization Animal Charity Evaluators, was quoted as saying, “It is true that the leadership of our recommended [EA] charities do not feature as much diversity as we would like, in terms of gender or race” (Broad, 2018, p. 786). This lack of diversity is directly related to a lack of diversity of ideas and practices, and is, in part predicated on the propensity for EA organizations to be white-run and white-led, and to be better funded than non-EA organizations. This was discussed by the women as not serving humans and especially not serving more-than-human animals.

Another recommendation by the majority of the women was for the FAAM to embrace diversity; doing so would allow another recommendations to flourish, and challenge group think.

A 2020 study found that of the FAAM vocational activists in Canada and the United States, 0% self-identified as Black, 5.6% as Latinex, and 13.9% as Other, Non-Latinex (Anderson, 2020). In response to this, the organization Encompass was created in 2020 with a vision of “an animal protection movement operating at its fullest potential because it reflects a globally diverse population and embraces a culture of equity” (“Encompass,” n.d.). On their website, Encompass notes the racial inequality in the Movement limits people power, stunts the overall growth of the Movement, is responsible for hindering creativity and innovation, leads to higher levels of burnout, and also exacerbates racism in society at large. They further noted that a failure to address racial inequality in the Movement will impede the shared goal of animal liberation.

Encompass, recognizing the limitations of a Movement that failed to adequately represent all members of society on boards, in leadership, and as staff members, commissioned a research project that resulted in the report, *Voices of the Movement: Toward an Equitable Farmed Animal Protection Movement* (Reisman et al., 2021). This qualitative research with leaders, funders, staff, and volunteers in the Movement resulted in seven recommendations, based on three overall overarching needs: the need to acknowledge, to reconcile, and then to act:

Acknowledgement

1. Identify, address, and work to eliminate exclusionary practices and racism in the movement. Approach movement building by viewing the diversity of experiences and strategies within the movement as an asset. Reconsider and expand views on what makes for “effective” advocacy.
2. Recognize BIPGM-led entities as peers and equals in this space. Build bridges with BIPGM-led grassroots organizations.
3. Acknowledge the harms that BIPGM have experienced and continue to experience in the movement. Further, acknowledge that these harms are a direct result of racism, unconscious biases, and practices that marginalize and exclude BIPGM.

Reconciliation

4. Engage in facilitated dialogue about racial equity to develop understanding, trust, and healing, and to ultimately build bridges with BIPGM members of the movement who have experienced harm.
5. Recognize human exploitation in animal agriculture, and the opportunity for collaboration with those humans exploited or otherwise directly harmed by animal agriculture.

Action

6. Track social identities of staff and board members to identify inequity in organizational makeup.
7. Evolve funding practices and broaden understanding of effectiveness to distribute greater funds to BIPGM-led organizations. (Reisman et al., 2021, p. 3)

Each of these important recommendations are directly related to several of the overall recommendations made by the women in my research, including the need to acknowledge and dismantle power dynamics, challenge group think, embrace diversity, and focus on the common goal.

Another important overall recommendation from the majority of the women, which is also in line with the Encompass report, was that the Movement embrace intersectional activism.

Charlie discussed the need for intersectionality by suggesting that:

. . . a lot of reprogramming needs to be done outside of a small group that sees women's liberation as tied to successful animal liberation. I would love to see it talked about at every one of our conferences. It has impacted our ability to stay focused on our common good . . . with that terrible blog [written by Hershaft] that came out a couple weeks ago that suggested that wokeness is destroying our ability to be focused on the animals.

Crenshaw (1989), as discussed in the Chapter Two literature review, first introduced the term intersectionality as a tool to understand that the oppression of Black women is not singular. This theory was then expanded to include that where multiple identities, such as gender, race, and religion come together, or intersect, that oppression is then based on the diverse identities that one holds (Ross, 2017).

Intersectional activism then is intent on dismantling all oppressive societal structures, because to seek to dismantle only one would need to be predicated on the notion that all people in one group (e.g., race) experience society in the same way, which lacks the recognition that individual lives are complex (Curtin et al., 2015).

Instead, social categories are complex, varied, and interconnected. In addition, and importantly for the FAAM, intersectional activism is seen as being critical to “informing global social justice work of the twenty-first century” (Tormos, 2017, p. 707). The globalization of intersectional activism, while not new, has enjoyed more prevalence since its naming, and social movement scholar Fernando Tormos (2017) refers to it as offering the necessary framework for political and intellectual transformation provided that existing social movements embrace it. This framework has, as discussed in the literature, been expanded by several ecofeminist scholars to include animals as a social category (Adams & Gruen, 2014; Gaard & Gruen, 1995; Gruen, 2015; Kemmerer, 2013).

The FAAM is a global movement, and one that intersects and enjoys shared interests with the environmental movement and the human health movement as discussed in my initial explication of the social problem and as cited by the United Nations in the Chapter One introduction. Solidarity between movements based on shared interests, supports what Tormos (2017) described as more powerful collective actions in connection with many of the activist strategies listed by Sharp (1973), including political lobbying and other resistance actions.

However, the lack of commitment to intersectional activism in the FAAM, despite the fact that many activists personally gravitate towards an intersectional approach (Aavik, 2018), is one that perplexed many of the women I spoke to, and also perplexes me. Reasons for the lack of intersectionality have been linked to the predominance of what Wrenn (2015) referred to as

masculine rationality, manifested as effective altruism, and in particular by funders who are in large part directing the work of the Movement.

Seeking to both acknowledge and dismantle this uneven power dynamic, then, was discussed by the women as being fundamental in order for the Movement to progress. The power was not only held by the funders, but as stated now several times throughout this paper, with the leadership who are primarily white men. [Charlie](#) discussed it this way:

. . . the refusal by men in our leadership to do any of those things, to be kind or brave or lean into their discomfort, makes those power dynamics . . . particularly not only toxic for those around them but creates toxic workplace and workplace expectations.

The lack of awareness and acknowledgement, as discussed by several of the women in addition to [Charlie](#), run directly counter to several of the leadership models. One of the five key components of the Relational Leadership Model was the need to share power, or what was called empowerment (Komives et al., 2006). Emotionally Intelligent Leadership noted that positive leadership must begin with consciousness of context, of self, and of others, which included the call for greater empathy, for capitalizing on differences, and for managing conflict (Shankman & Allen, 2010).

Managing and resolving internal conflicts was another recommendation by the women, and this included conflicts within and among organizations and activists in the FAAM. Conflict management within organizations was addressed as being of importance within all of the leadership models in a variety of ways. Kouzes and Posner (1987) discussed enabling others through collaboration in their Five Practices of Exemplary Leadership. The Servant Leadership Model included prioritizing relationships; the Relational Leadership Model included focusing on how people and teams work together; and the Resonant Leadership Model included social awareness and the ability to collaborate. Moyer (2001) discussed that one of the important ways in which social justice movements can move from *Perception of Failure* (Stage 5) to *Majority*

Public Opinion (Stage 6) is through training and awareness of the four different, yet all important roles in advocacy (the citizen, the rebel, change agents, the reformer), and that infighting within movements must cease in order for the movement to progress. This need for all FAAM organizations to understand the role of the others, and to work together to focus on the common goal, another one of the recommendations from the women, was also discussed by Moyer as being necessary for movements to progress through the stages.

The final recommendation for the FAAM overall was the need to accept multiple truths. This recommendation was made as a plea. A plea for the Movement to understand that women can be animal activists and also want to have children. A plea for understanding that people can have different views and perspectives regarding activism and still all share the same end goal. A plea to understand that people can have large bodies and still be vegan. A plea to understand that to value work-life balance does not mean that activists are not committed. A plea to understand that activism can be effective and not be quantifiable nor consequential.

Discussion of Recommendations for FAAM Funders

Recommendations for funders were almost non-existent from the women and there were two main reasons I could glean, despite the protections afforded them through this research. The first reason was the power imbalance that exists between funders and activists. All of the women were acutely aware of the reality that a small group of men are responsible for the majority of the funding in the FAAM, and because of this, they were also aware of the tremendous power the funders wield over the entire Movement. As such, the women were, frankly, afraid to say anything that might impact the funding to their organizations (where applicable for the women involved in fundraising), their existing job, or any jobs they might apply for in the future since speaking out against any funder could cause a negative ripple effect on their reputations in the

Movement overall – a culture of staying silent permeated the Movement. The second reason, which can be seen as an extension of the first, was the awareness that most of the funders are committed to effective altruism as a funding decision model, and again, fear was a powerful motivator in that the women did not want to be seen as outliers in speaking out against this funding theory and possibly put their organizations or their jobs at risk.

Several of the women expressed relief they did not need to engage in direct relationships with funders, although some other women, particularly those who were employed as executive directors, were required to not only communicate with funders, but to engage with them regularly. This type of interaction is referred to as *cultivation* in the fundraising profession, and is needed in order to secure funding. One woman who was an executive director felt forced to endure inappropriate physical contact with a funder in order to ensure the financial viability of her organization. Another shared she left her previous job in the Movement and sought out an executive director job in a different but related non-profit organization specifically so she would not be required to engage with FAAM funders.

In discussing one problematic funder, several of the women noted they felt pressured to attend meditation sessions funded by this donor because they were fearful if they did not attend, it might impact whether or not that funder would continue to fund their organization. One woman even noted she was of the understanding this funder takes attendance at his meditation sessions and a failure to attend is looked upon in an unfavourable light.

A UK study of non-profit organizations found that fear limits the ability of non-profit employees to speak for their causes when they themselves are fearful of losing funding, particularly in environments where funding is limited (Hemmings, 2017). Hemmings referred to this fear-based power imbalance as isomorphic, the opposite of equal, where it serves to preserve

the status quo between the parties, and also suggested it could lead to organizational collapse in future if not remedied.

Regardless of the fear that prevented the women from speaking about the funders in detail, many of the women sought to relay a few key messages to the funders. The first was an extension of the recommendation to the Movement overall – to jettison effective altruism. There was a plea to funders to cease seeking to quantify activism, and instead acknowledge the need to care for all animals and to recognize every life has value and is deserving of respect, including the human animals doing the activism.

The second recommendation to funders was to ask that they recognize the power they have over the FAAM and to use that power in such a way as to promote the importance of valuing the human animals doing the hard work. Several of the women expressed frustration that donors either did not engage in any form of organizational cultural due diligence when making funding decisions, or if they did employ some form of organizational due diligence process, it did not closely examine the governance and employment practices of the organizations they did support. Examples given included that donors did not seem to question turnover rates, compensation structures, human resources policies, details of expenditures, nor other employee engagement measures. This frustration came from the women's recognition that most organizations do not voluntarily implement progressive employee engagement measures, but they recommended that if the funders began to include these measures in their granting decisions, it could have a tremendous positive effect.

In Lawry's (1995) article "Accountability and Nonprofit Organizations: An Ethical Perspective," not only were non-profit organizations called to "lead by example . . . to safeguard and advance integrity" but it was argued that non-profit organizations are expected, by society, to

be role models of morality (p. 172). This same call for employment ethics and integrity was also found in Strickland & Vaughan's (2008) article "Framework for an Ethical, Self-Actualized Organizational Culture," which clearly stated organizational culture, in part considered by how employees were treated, was paramount to organizational success, and by Gorski (2015) who derided "a culture that leads activists to believe that self-care is an indulgence, a marker of privilege, and that thereby discourages activists from seeking ways to sustain themselves" (p. 707).

An additional recommendation for funders, which is an extension of the call for greater attention to be paid to employee engagement, was for donors to recognize and encourage the organizations they support to pay higher wages and provide better benefits to vocational activists. Ella talked about being made to feel guilty when she wanted to discuss her pay, and Jo discussed just wanting a living wage. The problems with low pay and poor benefits was also a finding in the Anderson (2020) research, and as such, one of the seven factors she reported as necessary to retain vocational activists was to ensure they were satisfied with their pay and benefits. The need to address the pay disparity in the FAAM is of escalating importance. Not only does the non-profit sector suffer from what Johnston and Johnston (2019) called the *non-profit penalty*, but also, particularly in light of Covid-19 inspired Great Resignation, challenges such as pay and benefits that might impact turnover are in more urgent need of attention.

The final recommendation for funders, while not directly made by the women, is nonetheless of overarching importance and is applicable to the ability to carry out of all other recommendations. It is the need for funders to specifically direct a portion of their donated funds for the organization to be used to conduct a board governance self-assessment, and the necessary

actions to remedy matters that are uncovered, since boards of directors hold the ultimate accountability for organizational effectiveness.

Discussion of Recommendations for FAAM Boards of Directors

Boards of directors were seen in one of two ways in the stories relayed by the women who discussed boards. Some of the women saw them in a neutral light, as either being unknown to the women or seeming to be disinterested in their organizations – serving as nothing more than figureheads, necessary but impotent. Other women discussed boards of directors as an extension of the founders or executive directors in that they were in place to simply assist in carrying out decisions that were made by the founder or executive director. In this case, the boards were seen by some women as being worse than disinterested; they were militantly protective of the most senior person or persons within the organization, and as such, were distrusted and feared.

None of the 33 women, when discussing any of the 72 organizations that were cited, described their boards as being competent, informed, available, and acting passionately for the betterment of their organizations and for the animals. None were seen as working in accordance with what Cole and Swartz (2011) noted to be their legal responsibility for the organization overall.

A particularly public example of board incompetence discussed by several of the women was in connection with the Board of Directors of the Humane Society of the United States (HSUS). Former CEO Wayne Pacelle, together with former Vice President Paul Shaprio, had been accused of sexual harassment for many years. The board of directors failed to act during these many years, despite the men's conduct being well known within the organization. It was only because of the media attention associated with the #MeToo movement and the

corresponding #ARMeToo scandal in 2018 that the board felt tremendous public pressure as well as pressure from funders to remove them from their positions.

One of the women shared this:

I was working for HSUS when the news broke about the sexual harassment that [Pacelle] engaged in against some of the women that worked for HSUS. We had a very large board meeting/staff meeting that was really hard to sit through. It was probably over two hours, and anybody who wanted to share could come forward. One of the woman who had filed the complaint against Wayne came forward and told the whole story. And she used quite a bit of detail that I think that a lot of the people didn't find it comfortable. HSUS is definitely a boys' club. My supervisor used to talk about it being a boys' club for many years. She knew a lot about them [Pacelle and Shapiro] and about a lot more sexual misconduct that went on. I think that she is much more aware of a lot more misconduct that happened with higher ups than what ever really came forward. Even this year [2021], I found out about supervisors who had slept with their subordinates and it happened 8 or 10 years ago.

Pacelle and Shapiro now appear on the list of the top 262 celebrities, politicians, CEOs, and others who have been accused of sexual misconduct since April 2017 (North et al., 2020).

The woman quoted above went on to share that while many of the previous board members left and new board members joined, she was not convinced it would be different:

There is a list of the board members on our intranet and a list of their contact information. We have been told that we can contact anybody on the board that we want to, although I find that hard to believe that I would get a response back directly from that person.

This woman decided to stay employed with HSUS, but shared that her decision was a very difficult one, particularly since she lost all faith in the board. She chose to remain, however, because she felt her job provides her the best vehicle possible to help animals directly.

None of the women provided any specific recommendations for the boards of directors, due in part to a stated lack of knowledge about board roles or the mistrust that imbued their positions. As such, the recommendations provided are a result of the literature review and my own experience.

Boards of directors, unlike all other components of FAAM organizations, hold a unique position in that they are the body ultimately responsible for the effectiveness of the organization. While the duties they perform vary, all boards are expected to engage in certain practices that have been shown to positively correlate to the overall success of the organization. Namely, they are responsible for determining mission and vision; to recruit, manage, evaluate, and if necessary terminate the executive director; engage in strategic planning; oversee and ensure sound financial management; oversee and ensure effective programmatic work; fundraise; and work to enhance the public standing of the organization (Miller-Millesen, 2003).

The FAAM will not be in a position to engage in deep regenerative organizational development work until and unless the boards of directors come to understand their obligations and engage in these critical practices. In Chapter Six, I propose a new model for board governance for the FAAM.

Discussion of Recommendations for FAAM Organizations and FAAM Organizational Leaders

I have combined the discussion for the Recommendations for FAAM Organizations and Recommendations for FAAM Organizational Leaders. These recommendations were not only voluminous, but reasonable, practical, and straightforward. The specific recommendations were presented in Chapter Four.

The majority of the recommendations offered by the women were in alignment with well-researched organizational best practices that can be applied to most non-profit organizations, and arguably also to many for-profit organizations. Examples of these recommendations include the need to invest in professional human resources, apply consistent human resources policies and practices, conduct surveys, and commit to training and development.

Given that the recommendations could be applied not only the FAAM but to other non-profit movements (e.g., the environmental movement) as well as to the for-profit sector, I have created Appendix H to show the cross-applicability in a table format. The purpose for doing so is to serve to strengthen the reasonableness of the recommendations, but also in consideration for any research that might be undertaken within other organizations regarding matters of governance, organizational development, leadership, and management. Some non-profit leaders have begun to realize the adoption of for-profit human resources practices might be beneficial in improving organizational effectiveness in the non-profit sector, so demonstrating this cross-applicability may be useful (Ridder & McCandless, 2010).

Prior to any discussion of the recommendations, it is important to note that none of the women suggested that the traditional hierarchical structure of all FAAM organizations be overturned in favour of a non-hierarchical structure.⁴⁸ This may in part be due to the fact that the law regarding matters of non-profit organizational leadership and employment in Canada and the United States are predicated on hierarchy, and that hierarchy is also ingrained in all aspects of society, culturally and structurally (Bodie, 2017). For the non-profit sector, this hierarchy of laws is apparent in the legal requirement to have a governing board of directors and employment laws that make the overall responsibility for matters such as human rights, employment standards, workers' compensation, and occupational health and safety rest with the directing mind of the organization. Society, in both Canada and the United States are also fundamentally hierarchical, meaning that members of those societies have varying levels of power and influence, and hence varying opportunities to engage in domineering behaviours over others that define social status

⁴⁸ It is worth noting, however, that non-hierarchical leadership structures do exist. One such structure, which has been adopted by companies such as Zappos (an online shoe and clothing retailer) and Medium (a digital media platform), is called Holacracy. It may be worth exploring the efficacy of such a system in future research.

of both the dominators and those they dominate (Koski et al., 2015). Hierarchies and the corresponding social statuses they inform are apparent in many aspects of society including but not limited to governments, educational systems, religious institutions, and of course, work environments. Research exists to support benefits and even the necessity of hierarchies for group success and survival including the allocation of limited resources (Koski et al., 2015). In work environments, social status is often made apparent through the use of symbols (e.g., job titles and educational attainment on a business card or an email signature), and those with more status, such as those in leadership positions, are afforded more privileges such as having more power over others (Koski et al., 2015).

Having power as a result of being in a leadership position can be wielded in different ways, though one of the key considerations in determining a skilled leader, as noted in the review of the nine cited leadership theories, is whether the leader treats employees with care. This aspect of good leadership corresponds to one of the key recommendations from the research – that leaders practice kindness, defined by the women’s suggestions that FAAM leaders need to acknowledge emotions, listen to employees, seek out their opinions, recognize the need for work-life balance, prioritize relationships, and recognize employees and volunteers.

While the study of leadership has a long history, and that history has been noted by some to be confusing and contradictory, one commonality is that a fundamental trait of leaders is the dominance bestowed them by being in a power position (Kalma et al., 1993). That said, dominance, based on the generally accepted societal definition of the word (e.g., power and influence over others), is not clear cut, instead research has shown it can be mapped on a scale from *sociable dominance* (SD) on one end to *aggressive dominance* (AD) on the other end (Kalma et al., 1993). In their study, Kalma et al. (1993) found that leaders who displayed high

levels of SD had stronger self-esteem, looked at others while speaking with them, spoke with more gesticulation, were more sympathetic, had a positive attitude towards others, and were seen to dominate others in a reasonable way. On the other hand, leaders who displayed high levels of AD had poor social relationships, strove for control, engaged in covert attempts at influencing others, were evasive, were manipulative, had a negative attitude towards others, and were motivated by their own ambitions even at the expense of others. While the study concluded with citing some contextual advantages and disadvantages (e.g., AD may be more preferable in a law firm environment where SD is more preferable in an educational environment), within the FAAM, as supported by the cited research and this study, successful leaders will still be in a position of dominance, but in carrying out their duties, they are called to do so while practicing kindness, showing more SD than AD.

In applying this dominance scale, Kalma et al. (1993) found high-status individuals were more likely to make unethical decisions, and in citing the work of Koski et al, (2015) they suggested that it,

. . . may stem from the power and benefits associated with high status . . . ironically, the tendency to lie and cheat does little to malign their character; high-status individuals are more likely to be perceived as competent . . . and trustworthy . . . similarly, deviation from expectations is more likely to be accepted in high-status individuals, yet likely to be punished in low-status individuals. (p. 535)

Applying this to my research, in the case of [Emily Long](#), who was told outright by her manager that her job description was one of the least valuable to the organization, it was not surprising she felt unable to perform at the level she expected from herself, and subsequently left the organization. In contrast to this, her manager, who held a high status position as a vice

president, was highly regarded, and was responsible for training other managers at the organization in effective leadership practices. The organization's track-record of employee retention was very low.

It is important to note that in structures based on hierarchy, power cannot be shared equally. Hierarchy is fundamentally based on inequality, and as such, runs counter to ecofeminist principles. That said, while a fully non-hierarchical organizational structure would be more aligned with ecofeminist principles of equality, collaboration, and shared leadership, currently it would not be an option for non-profit organizations within the current legal framework in both Canada and the United States. A benevolent hierarchical organizational structure may nonetheless provide a reasonable and real-world solution to improving certain aspects of the employment experiences of women in the FAAM. The focus then is seeking to improve on the imperfect by seeing this work to regenerate the organizational practices, policies, and governance of the FAAM as transitional as opposed to seeing it as an end state (Valentini, 2012).

The FAAM would benefit from a leadership model based on sociable dominance, one that values the individual and is capable of making contextual decisions, and one, above all, that centres the ecofeminist value of care in its decision making.

The commonality among all the other organizational and organizational leadership recommendations is that they are in some way, either directly or indirectly, subsumed within the practice of human resources management (HRM). Human Resources scholar Joan E. Pynes defined HRM as “ . . . the design of formal systems in an organization to ensure the effective use of employees' knowledge, skills, abilities, and other characteristics (KSAOCs) to accomplish organizational goals” (2008, p. 3).

Simply put, people are what organizations are made of – and those people, when given the opportunity to do their best work and when supported by strong progressive HRM practices, will be the difference between organizations that work, organizations that work well, and organizations that work extremely well. While language similar to this has been noted in human resources and leadership materials for decades, this sentiment has taken on a more urgent tone for non-profit organizations as they have become increasingly complex and become a more significant component of meeting societal needs, needs not met by government or the for-profit sector (McHargue, 2003). In addition, non-profit employment in 2016 made up approximately 12.8% of jobs in Canada (Government of Canada, 2017) and 14% of jobs in the United States (Cause IQ, n.d.). Despite the importance of this sector in meeting societal needs and the significant numbers of jobs created by the sector, non-profit organizations experience noteworthy challenges in recruiting and retaining top talent. Woefully limited empirical data exists in seeking to determine the reasons for those challenges (Guo et al., 2011).

Pynes (2008), beyond her succinct definition of HRM, went on to discuss HRM more broadly and included other specific responsibilities that are included in HRM. The recommendations from the women included the need to engage in training and development; to have clear and consistent HR practices and policies (including job descriptions, surveys, performance management); to invest in leadership development; to offer flexibility to employees and foster work-life balance; to engage in employee and volunteer recognition; to invest in individual relationships; to listen to employees; to be prepared to consider an individual's emotions; to have clear career paths including appropriate practices for promotions; to promote workplace integrity through openness, transparency, and two-way communication; and finally, to

work with unions, union representatives, and to bargain in good faith. Every recommendation by the women was considered in Pynes' important work on HRM for non-profits.

An additional important recommendation from several of the women, which was also supported in the literature, is the need for FAAM organizations to professionalize. This need has been noted in non-profit research and calls for the next generation of non-profit leaders to possess well-rounded skills including technical, financial, strategic, and human resources; have an understanding of the impact a global market has on the work of the non-profit; and make a commitment to organizational effectiveness and accountability measures (Mesch, 2010).

Philanthropy scholar Debra Mesch (2010) also noted the need for non-profit leaders to rely less on power-based, directive, hierarchical leadership styles and more on participative leadership styles that offer greater autonomy to employees. This mirrors the earlier suggestion to adopt a sociable dominance leadership style (SD) as opposed to an aggressive dominance leadership style (AD).

While non-profit organizations face many of the same challenges as other organizations, they also face certain unique challenges such as the motivations of the employees to perform the work, the need to augment their human capital through the use of volunteers, the reliance on donors for funding, and the obligation to be transparent as an organization due to their ability to provide tax receipts to the general public for donations.

Employees in the non-profit sector, unlike their for-profit counterparts, are less motivated by monetary considerations such as pay, benefits, and other perks like a car allowance or stock options (Ridder & McCandless, 2010). Despite this, and while monetary considerations were not the primary focus, the low salaries provided in the FAAM was an area of concern, and one many of the women expressed as being a consideration in their long-term ability to continue to work in

the FAAM. Lawry (1995) noted non-profit salaries were generally lower than their for-profit comparable, but that “it is stupid, unfair, and unrealistic to expect non-profit salaries to be non-competitive, not only because it is necessary to attract top-flight people but also because there is a justice issue in the treatment of employees” (p. 178).

Research into non-profit employee motivation has found it to be related to factors such as the mission and vision of the organization, the reputation of the organization, flexible human resources practices, a culture that encourages creativity, a desire for less conflict in the workplace, and autonomy in carrying out job duties (e.g., not being micromanaged) (Ronquillo et al., 2021). Several of the women researched discussed their deep concern with the reputation of the FAAM, due primarily to the organizations that have undergone public #ARMeToo scandals. Many of the women also discussed the recommendations to resist micromanaging, to encourage creativity, and to reduce internal conflict.

The use of volunteers adds financial value to organizations through their donated work and time; volunteers can also become a source of funding if they become a donor. As well, volunteers have the potential to become a future employee, as was evidenced by several of the women in this research who became employees after first serving in a volunteer capacity. Motivating and retaining volunteers, then, is important, though it can be a challenge in an already financially strained work environment. Fortunately, research has shown volunteers feel valued through the encouragement of individual learning and sharing opportunities, open knowledge sharing, collaboration within the organization, and inclusion in team building (McHargue, 2003). Organizations that demonstrate value for volunteers by providing them with feedback about how their efforts may have helped the organization; and providing volunteers with volunteer policies

have been found to lead to a greater overall commitment level (Pynes, 2008). All these provisions have no monetary cost.

FAAM organizations must invest in HRM because HRM is simply too critical of a need to ignore. This investment, however, may need to be explained to funders who often want their donations to go directly to quantifiable programmatic work as opposed to what is seen as administrative work (Guo et al., 2011). This unique situation that non-profits are in may be exacerbated in the FAAM where donors are not only mindful of the allocation of their funds to programmatic work (e.g., OPP donating directly to cage-free egg campaign work), but also where the EAA funding principle (as defined by Animal Charity Evaluators, the FAAM grant recommendation body) is prevalent. That principle is based on funding groups that are most likely to produce the greatest quantifiable gains for animals, to actively evaluate and improve their programs, and have to a demonstrated need for more funding (Animal Charity Evaluators, 2022a). In 2018, Animal Charity Evaluators started including a culture survey (based on the Gallup Q12 theory) as part of their organizational evaluation process. While this is a start, the challenge is that their processes lacks transparency, they have been repeatedly publicly criticized for conducting low quality work, and they have struggled with turnover that has impacted their progress.

When employees feel unheard, as was the case with ALDF, the legal option of the right to organize is available in most circumstances (including at ALDF). This refers to the right of employees to seek to form a union to represent their needs and to negotiate with the organization in the creation of a collective agreement, and for the union to represent employees in dispute resolution. No longer the exclusive domain of the public sector and the for-profit sector, unionization is increasingly evident in the non-profit sector, though academic literature in this

regard is limited and in particular the role of the board of directors in these circumstances has been absent (Peters & Masaoka, 2000). In one qualitative study in the non-profit sector, Peters and Masaoka (2000) reported five key areas leading to unionization: a) lack of decision making and a feeling of not being empowered; b) management styles that were not participatory and how human resources matters were treated (e.g., hiring and firing); c) internal inequity regarding wages and benefits and especially low wages; d) alignment with anti-political philosophies; and e) racial tensions and discrimination issues. This study concluded by suggesting that executive directors and boards of directors turn their attentions to fostering participative leadership practices and higher wages in order to stave off the complications that unionization would incur. These findings map precisely to the reasons that I was made aware of by ALDF employees that propelled them to seek union representation.

Lastly, transparency. Not only have I discussed the legal obligations in this regard, but all of the women echoed one another in the recommendation that all operational practices, particularly human resources practices (e.g., how promotions are decided upon, how compensation decisions are made) must be transparent in how they are determined and executed.

Practical Recommendations

Given that this research seeks to be transformational and is targeted towards the FAAM overall, FAAM funders, FAAM boards of directors, and FAAM organizations and FAAM organizational leaders, practical recommendations presented in a clear and actionable manner seemed of paramount importance. As such, I have created a checklist of the recommendations for ease of incorporation into any FAAM organizational development plan. The *Checklist of Recommendations for More Regenerative Organizational Practices, Policies, and Governance in the FAAM* can be found in Appendix I.

This checklist can be used by funders who are interested in supporting organizations that are seeking to carry out their mission based on some or all of the findings herein. Funders can use the checklist in their due diligence process to determine which components they might apply to their grant-making in either a formal or informal manner. Formally, a funder might develop a funding application and include certain questions to assist in their determining if the organization seeking support, sometimes referred to as a grantee, is compliant with certain recommendations on the list. For example, a funder might ask the prospective grantee if their organization has consistent human resources policies and procedures, and further ask that a copy of their employee handbook be attached to the grant application. Another example would be for the funder to ask the prospective grantee to share information about how their organization recognizes the efforts and accomplishments of its employees and volunteers. Yet another example would be for the funder to ask if the organization undergoes regular employee surveys, and ask that the outcomes of such surveys be shared with the funder. Informally, either in conjunction with formal mechanisms or instead of any formal tools, the funder might use the checklist during discussions with members of the organization.

A further way in which the checklist might be used is in connection with capacity building support. Funders might commit to assisting the organizations they fund to build their in-house organizational capacities (Bartczak, 2013), and use the checklist to help decide which organizational capacities they will support financially. Bartczak (2013) referred to this type of funding as helping to build the *Three C's*, so that capacity is: *contextual*, appropriate for the age and stage of the organization; *continuous*, that it takes a long approach to capacity building; and *collective*, that the learning takes place in a group setting, and so that funding is provided for the long term health of the organization.

The checklist can be used by boards of directors for the critical undertaking of strategic planning, since boards are ultimately responsible for the success of all aspects of the organization (Cole & Swartz, 2011). The checklist could support the strategic planning process by providing them with a list of important topics to openly discuss with organizational stakeholders, which in turn could help to inform them about various aspects of the organization's work. Strategic planning has been found to be related to more successful organizational outcomes, regardless of the size of the organization (Aqdas et al., 2017; Siciliano, 1996), and the checklist might help in undertaking this process.

A second example of how the checklist might be used in strategic planning is to note the importance of organizational diversity and undertake an analysis of the make-up of both the board of directors and the organization overall, and seek to support any needed efforts to remedy any lack of diversity. Board diversity policies and practices, together with board inclusion behaviours have been found to have a positive effect on matters of organizational racism and on team performance (Buse et al., 2016).

Another use of the checklist by the board of directors might be to apply some of the recommendations in reviewing the performance of the founder, if applicable, with a view to determining whether that founder is exercising what Block and Rosenberg (2002) referred to as "holding on to privilege", which is the "anthesis of service and stewardship" (p. 353).

A final example of how the checklist might be used by boards of directors would be in an examination of the recommendation to develop an ethos of transparency, as informed by the stories of many of the women in my research. Not only was a lack of transparency cited by Anderson (2020) as a key reason for turnover in the FAAM, but transparency in connection with all aspects of the organization was found to be associated with better governance, better

organizational performance, more professional staff, and increased funding (Harris & Neely, 2021).

For organizations and leaders, the checklist might be used to develop a greater understanding of the employment practices, if adopted in whole or in part, that could help to enhance the engagement level of employees. Employee engagement, found at the opposite end of burnout (see Figure 3), can be enhanced when social justice organizations limit or eliminate factors such as long hours, low pay, and emotional distress (Rodgers, 2010), and instead embrace the recommendations of the women including celebrating wins, encouraging creativity, practicing kindness, and professionalizing. Findings aligned with this were supported in studies of not only for-profit organizations, not only non-profit organizations, but also of FAAM organizations specifically (Anderson, 2006; Gaarder, 2008, 2011; Gorski, 2015, 2019; Gorski et al., 2019; Pines, 1994; Rodgers, 2010).

The checklist could also be used as a starting point for organizational leaders in the process of self-assessment of their organizational leadership practices, and then prioritizing actions that might be needed to introduce more regenerative organizational practices, policies, and governance.

Evaluation of Dissertation Objectives and Contribution to Research

This research has fulfilled its objective of answering both the primary and secondary research questions, thereby beginning the process of building a framework for how FAAM organizations might seek to regenerate their organizations through recommended practices, policies, and governance.

It is my hope to have contributed to the discipline of storytelling-based ethnography undertaken within an ecofeminist framework and practiced by exercising a deep ethic of care for

the participants. This prevailing ethic of care among new social science researchers has moved narrative discourse (e.g., storytelling) to the forefront of social science research (Ellis, 2017).

This research has further demonstrated one of the many benefits of engaging in this form of knowledge-sharing is that “storytelling permits a more immediate and meaningful interaction with research and is an effective way to bring academic research to diverse audiences”

(Christensen, 2012, p. 238). In this case, the target audience for my research is stated to be funders, boards of directors, and leaders in the FAAM. My research might also be helpful for all employees in the Movement who see themselves represented in this research and may feel empowered to discuss the recommendations herein with leadership at the organizations that employ them. Further, it is my hope that this research will be useful to other social justice movements, a subject discussed further in my conclusion.

Chapter Six: Conclusion

The Farmed Animal Advocacy Movement stands at a unique precipice in time. It is no longer merely a fringe movement to be mocked as being made up of “little old ladies in tennis shoes” (Gaard, 2012, p. 16). Instead, and in part due to the United Nations’ acknowledgement of the interdependence of animal health, environmental health, and human health (Centers for Disease Control and Prevention, 2020) and the corresponding commitment to the One Health Initiative, the FAAM is provided with an unprecedented opportunity for our work to be seen as a professional, credible, and vitally important global movement impacting not only the health of animals, but the health of people and the Earth.

The United Nations initiative, which included a call to reduce our reliance on intensive and unsustainable animal agriculture (United Nations, 2020), was a call mirrored by scientists worldwide (Bonilla-Aldana et al., 2020, DeGrazia, 1998; FAOSTAT, n.d.; Wiebers & Feigin, 2020; World Health Organization, 2020) and is now presented to the FAAM.

To be successful in meeting this call, the FAAM must be in a position to transition into what Moyer (2001), in his definition of the Eight Stages of Social Movements, called *Majority Public Opinion* (Stage 6). One of the key factors needed to support this transition is transformative organizational and leadership styles that are not oppressively hierarchical and that include “more structures and effective process methods than the traditional models to be efficient, flexible, and enduring” (Moyer et al., 2001, p. 67). This move to a new way to govern organizations in the FAAM is paramount to achieving success for animals. It is time to move away from the current structures that have been monopolized by a small group of white men who, being spurred on by adopting the theory of effective altruism, have all but eliminated considerations of care, empathy, and kindness as vital parts of that work (Gaard, 2012).

This concluding chapter will provide two proposed leadership models intended to support regenerative practices, policies, and governance in the FAAM in order for the FAAM to not only achieve *Majority Public Opinion*, but so that it will continue on to what Moyer referred to as *Success* (Stage 7). The first model I propose is a new governance model for FAAM boards of directors to consider called the FAAM Board Effectiveness Model, and the second model is a new leadership and management leadership model called the FAAM Leadership and Management Model inspired by this research and fueled by the stories of 33 women in the FAAM.

FAAM Board Effectiveness Model

Since the responsibility for overall organizational effectiveness, which includes employee engagement levels as a critical component, rests with the boards of directors, an assessment of board effectiveness is needed for boards to be able to identify their strengths and weaknesses, to educate board members about their roles and responsibilities, and for boards to be in a position to improve their governance practices (Gill et al., 2005). In my experience as a board governance consultant in the FAAM working with countless boards, I have seen that assessing board effectiveness in the FAAM has either not been done at all, or not done well. Where measuring of effectiveness has been attempted in non-profit boards, more attention has been paid to the outcomes of programmatic work, as opposed to considering the effectiveness of the organization overall including organizational culture (Dart, 2010, p. 205).

In order to engage in a non-profit governance assessment, there needs to be a non-profit governance model that the board can use as a benchmark to assess the efficacy of their organization. I reviewed several existing non-profit governance models, and found each to be lacking in some way regarding its applicability to the FAAM as informed by the

recommendations of the women and my own experiences. I will expand on a few of the shortcomings of the following models: the Advisory Board Model, the Patron Model, the Management Team Model, and the Policy Board Model. I will then propose an alternative board governance model for consideration by the FAAM.

The Advisory Board Model of board governance has as members of the board people who are known to the organization, who are chosen for the professional skills they bring to the organization, who often hold some social standing within the community they serve, and who also often use their social standing to focus on matters of fundraising (Boardable, 2020). The Advisory Board Model provides advice to the organization through the most senior member of the organization, (usually called an executive director in context of the FAAM), and there is usually a prior relationship between the executive director and at least some of the board members. The board governance process is quite informal, their role is generally less strategic and more task oriented, and they rarely provide any form of accountability measures to the executive director or the programmatic work of the organization. This model is often used during the start-up phase of an organization, but it is unsustainable in the long term in part due to the fact that it does not govern in accordance with non-profit law in Canada and the United States, which both require that the board actively oversees all aspects of the organization including but not limited to financial matters, legislative compliance, fundraising, human resources, and operations. This lack of legal compliance alone makes this model inappropriate for the FAAM.

The Patron Model of board governance bears some similarities to the Advisory Board Model in that the primary responsibility of the board of directors is one of fundraising. In this case, they are expected to secure funds from among wealthy friends and colleagues, and also to engage in significant personal giving. In this model, the board has little to no involvement with

the executive director nor with any aspect of the operation of the organization (Candler & Dumont, 2010). Like the Advisory Board Model, this is not appropriate for the FAAM in that it not only lacks compliance with the law, but it provides no level of guidance to the organization by way of the executive director. Also, in a very practical sense, there simply are not enough wealthy patrons in the FAAM.

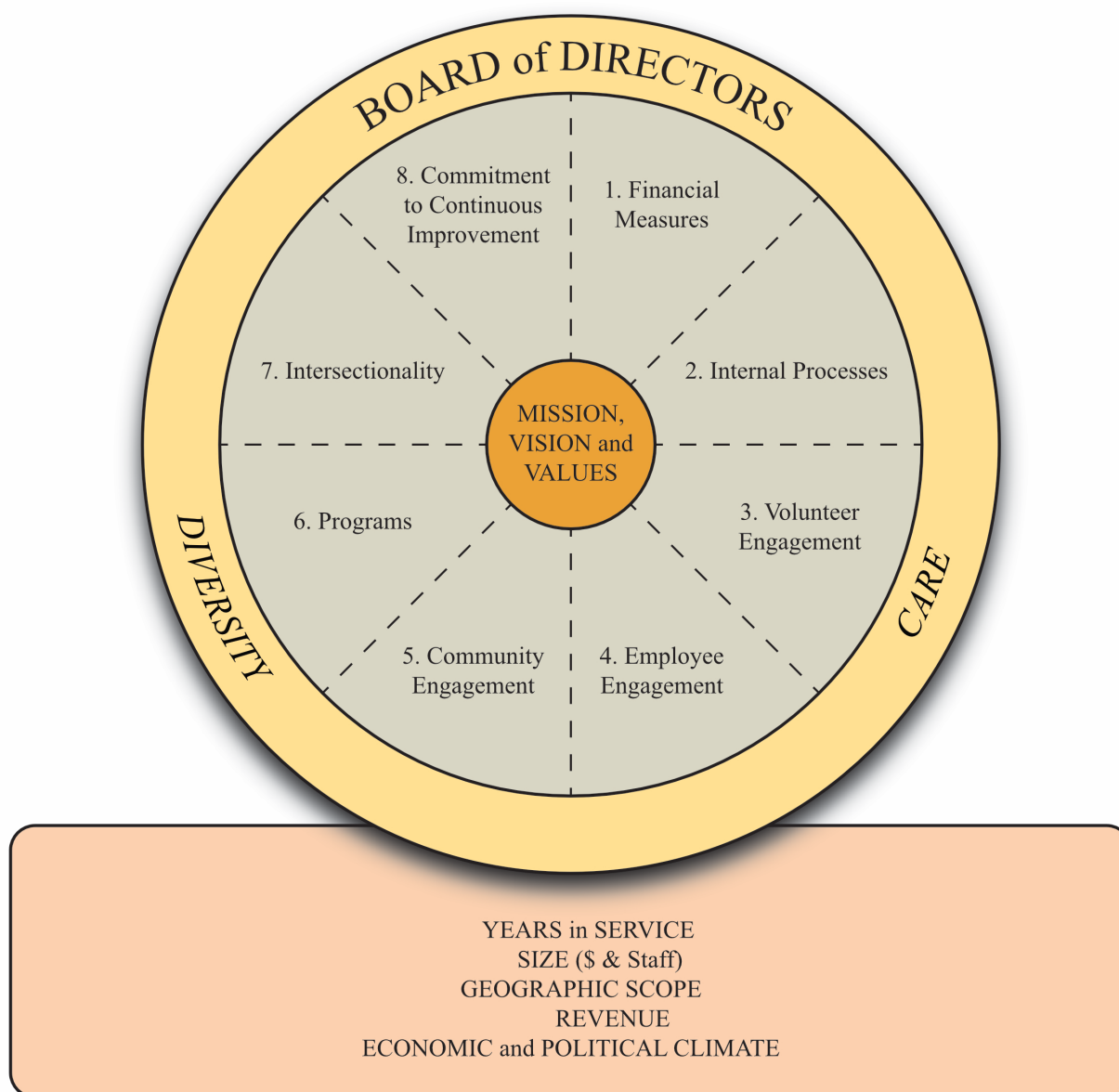
The Management Team Model of board governance is the most hands-on, designed to reflect the structure of a traditional organization. It is made up of committees responsible for activities of the organization such as human resources, finance, program planning, etc., where those committees undertake the planning and execution of the component for which they are responsible. The board members, then, are highly active within the organization, and function as organizational administrators (Candler & Dumont, 2010). While this may seem like a reasonable model, it requires a highly committed and skilled board that is capable of committing significant swaths of time over an extended period. This places the organization in a highly precarious position given that board members are entirely voluntary. In my experience working with numerous FAAM boards, all of the board members I worked with have relayed an inability to commit substantial time to their board role.

Lastly, the Policy Board Model, credited to psychologist John Carver, is seen to be the dominant model (Bradshaw et al., 2007). In this model, the board is more highly engaged with the executive director and the organization than in the other cited models. This model centres the organization's mission and vision; it is based on a servant-leadership philosophy of leadership; and it is comprehensive in its treatment of the legal obligations of boards of directors (Carver, 2011). Worryingly, however, is that Carver demands the only determinate of organizational success is shareholder value, and that regardless of what else the board may have been able to

accomplish, the board would have failed if shareholder value was not realized (Carver, 2007). Carver's approach, popularized by his book and associated consulting practice (Carver & Carver, 2016) is short-sighted when applying a FAAM lens. Among the many concerns I reflected upon with this model, the most troublesome is its rigid definition of success. The model provides no consideration to other forms of success, such as high employee engagement; it provides no opportunity for a nuanced approach to the work of the organization, (which seems to favour effective altruism); and it fails to recognize work that is occurring in constantly changing environmental, social, and fiscal circumstances.

Failing to find a board governance model appropriate for an intersectional and diverse care-based movement, I am proposing a new model drawing upon this research, the academic literature, the stories of the women and my own experiential background in organizational development in both the for-profit and non-profit sectors, including within the FAAM. The model I am proposing comprises three components. Justification for each of the three components are provided. I will begin by providing a visualization of the model (see Figure 4), which in the organizational context is intended to be used as a tool for meaning making (Jancsary et al., 2017). Note that this model should not be read as a substitute for existing non-profit board governance law. Instead, it is intended to augment the law and provide a best practices framework for non-profit governance with the FAAM.

Figure 4. Proposed Board Governance Framework for Animal Advocacy Movement Organizations in Canada and the United States



Component One – Two Foundational Factors

The first component of the FAAM Board Governance Model is based on the proposal that animals will be best served if all matters related to board governance revolve around the organization's mission, vision, and values.

The governance model I propose starts with the board of directors. The reason for this is because the board of directors is the entity responsible for all aspects of the organization. The board of directors must carry out of their duties based on two fundamental commitments: 1) a commitment to ensuring that all aspects of the organization, including the makeup of the board itself, is diverse, inclusive, and representative of the community it serves; and 2) a commitment to carrying out of its duties based on an ethos of care. The board's duties then include but are not limited to determining the mission, vision, and values of the organization; recruiting, hiring, and evaluating the executive director; engaging in strategic planning; overseeing all programmatic work; ensuring adequate funding and financial management; directing human resources management and operations; representing the organization to the general public; and ensuring legal compliance (Inglis et al., 1999).

The mission statement, as determined by the board of directors, clearly and succinctly denotes who the organization is, why it exists, and what need it is meeting in the community. In addition to being concise, it should be realistic, motivational for employees, and inspiring to donors and other stakeholders, and should serve as the foundation of the organization's strategic plan (David & David, 2003).

The vision statement is just as the name implies, it is visionary. It is what the organization sees as the ideal outcome should it meet all its goals, hence it is about the future (Lucas, 1998). In the FAAM this often refers to a time when the work is no longer necessary, a time when animal are no longer consumed for food.

The values, or guiding principles, of an organization describe how the organization goes about carrying out their mission and vision. It is about how they make decisions, what they base their decision making upon, and what they hold as important. Values should be the foundation of

all governance matters to promote consistency with their purported mission and vision (Renz & Herman, 2016).

My proposed framework, then, begins with The Two Foundational Factors:

1. Board of Directors
2. Mission, Vision, and Values

Component Two – Eight Assessment Factors

The second component of my proposed FAAM Board Governance Model includes eight assessment factors. The eight factors are visualized as equal sections of a circular shape, where each Assessment Factor is connected to both the Board of Directors, and to the Mission, Vision, and Values. These factors are in part informed and inspired by the recommendations of the women in my research.

This component of my proposed model includes the more traditional aspects of governance – consideration for financial measures, internal processes, employee engagement, and programs. That said, the model raises the level of consideration for volunteer engagement to that of employee engagement to be as important as all of the other assessment factors. It also includes the need to deeply consider community engagement, to ensure that activism is intersectional, and to focus on the need for professionalism through continuous improvement. All factors are considered to be of equal importance.

I have created a series of self-assessment questions to further describe the relevant considerations within both of the foundational factors and each of the eight assessment factors. It is intended to serve as a useful tool for FAAM boards of directors who choose to undergo a board self-assessment process. This Non-Profit Board of Directors Self-Assessment Questionnaire can be found in Appendix J.

Undergoing a board self-assessment process serves several purposes. The first and perhaps most obvious, is that if the self-assessment is done in a genuine and honest manner, the board of directors would gain a fulsome perspective on the progress of the organization in each of the important eight assessment factors. The suggested self-assessment questions found in Appendix J have been sub-divided based on the eight assessment factors such that the totality of the answers to the questions in each section reflect the progress of the organization in that area. With this assessment of the eight factors completed, the board of directors would find themselves in a better position to undergo strategic planning and to prioritize future work according to the needs reflected in the results of the assessment.

The Eight Assessment Factors are:

1. Financial Measures
2. Internal Processes
3. Volunteer Engagement
4. Employee Engagement
5. Community Engagement
6. Programs
7. Intersectionality
8. Commitment to Continuous Improvement

In this proposed model, the ultimate goal of the organization is for all eight assessment factors to be operating in a fairly balanced manner over time. In other words, the resources applied to one assessment factor are similar to those paid to each of the other assessment factors. By way of example, that the assessment factor Programs is functioning at peak performance while another factor, for example Employee Engagement, is suffering.

Practically speaking, however, this goal is aspirational in most circumstances, and the reality is that a self-assessment would result in finding disparities among the eight assessment factors. The source of these disparities, whether intentional or unintentional, then form the basis for organizational goal setting. Using the example above, where Employee Engagement was lacking, the board of directors may determine the priority for the organization would be to develop human resources policies and procedures, all of which should be consistent with the organization's mission, vision, and values.

For organizations that do find themselves in the advantageous position of having grown in a balanced manner, this model can still apply, and the board of directors would find themselves with the envious task of choosing their future goals using other creative democratic processes such as securing input from constituents through tools such as surveys.

Component Three – Five Variable Factors

Governance models must be contextual in order to reflect the characteristics of the organization, and must also be scalable to be able to respond to changing organizational context characteristics, whether the change is growth-oriented or in a state of decline. Hence the variability. These are factors that impact the decision making of the organization, and as such, they sit at the bottom in my model and provide the foundation the work rests upon.

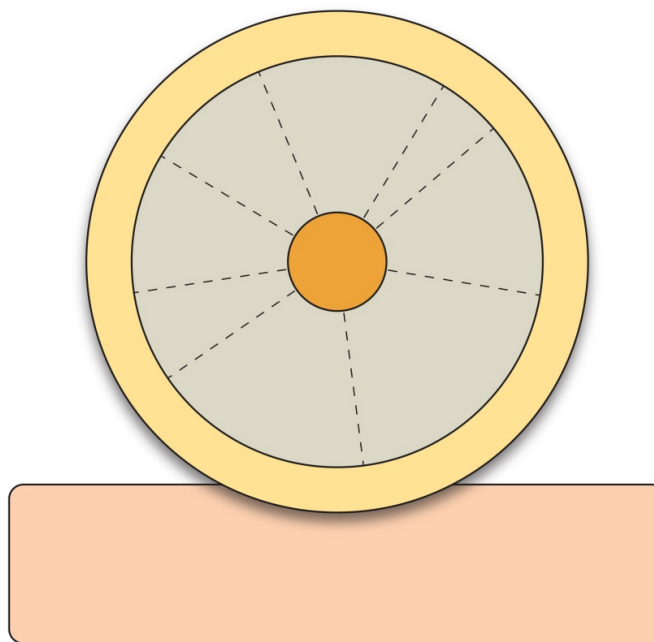
There are five variable factors: a) the number of years that the organization has been in operation; b) the size of the organization measured financially (e.g., fundraising, operational costs, and programmatic costs) as well as by the number of people involved as employees and as volunteers; c) its geographic scope in terms of its programmatic work, the location of its employees and volunteers, and the location of its donors, all of which have operational consequences; d) its revenue; and e) the economic and political climate of the time.

The Five Variable Factors are:

- Years in Service
- Size (financial and staffing)
- Geographic Scope
- Revenue
- Economic and Political Climate

This model was created to allow for flexibility in focus as it relates to the Eight Assessment Factors, based not only the outcome of the self-assessment, but also on the Five Variable Factors. For example, a grassroots FAAM organization, which may only have been operational for one year, is not likely to have developed any human resources policies and practices at that stage, and as such, the Employee Engagement Factor may only be a very thin *pie piece* in the visual representation of the shared space of the Eight Assessment Factors in the model (Figure 4). That same organization is likely to have focused all, if not the majority of their efforts on the Program Factor and the Financial Factor, and as such these two factors will have thicker *pie pieces*. Figure 5 is a visual representation of the fact that the Eight Assessment Factors need not be weighted equally provided their unequal weighting is reflective of one of the Five Variable Factors as opposed to a conscious decision not to value a particular assessment factor.

Figure 5. Variability in the Distribution of the Eight Assessment Factors



While having a focus on programmatic work and finances is prudent for a small start-up organization as noted above, going through the board self-assessment process will nonetheless allow the board of directors to understand the kinds of actions they will need to begin to prioritize as the organization evolves, and it will allow that to be reflected in their strategic plan and shared with their stakeholders.

The Five Variable Factors, then, help to inform board of director decision making regarding goal setting for the Five Variable Factors, and also serve to provide the foundation for transparent goal setting.

While boards of directors are, in law and in practice, hierarchical entities with the ability to make and execute decisions on their own, it is strongly recommended that the board self-assessment and the prioritization of the Eight Assessment Factors are done within an ecofeminist framework as much as possible and as is reasonable within the constraints of law and the set of structures (e.g., norms and practices) that FAAM organizations must function within. One way in

which boards of directors could undertake their duties within a care-based ecofeminist framework would be to create an environment where all members of the organization and other stakeholders are provided with a fair and equitable opportunity to contribute. Since the legal and financial systems that FAAM organizations function within are inherently hierarchical, and as such, not fair and equitable, it is incumbent upon boards of directors to seek out ways to engage with others, listen to others, and apply varying perspectives to their decision making.

In this proposed model, boards of directors are encouraged to adopt the five levels of the *Hierarchy of Ethical Values for Non-Profit Organizations* (see Figure 1) including wise asset management; openness, honesty, and transparency with all stakeholders including employees; working in reciprocity with stakeholder to maximize trust; governing respectfully to ensure employees and volunteers feel appreciated; and staying focused on the mission of the organization (Strickland & Vaughan, 2008).

The outcome of the self-assessment and the corresponding work, priorities, and goals of the board of directors should be clearly laid out and communicated by the board of directors to the employees, volunteers, funders, supporters, and to the general public. One way in which this can be done is through the creation of a strategic plan, noted by Sharp (1973) as being necessary for social justice organizations, that is ideally made public via the organization's website or other accessible communication vehicle.

While public trust for non-profits is based on transparency, and part of transparency is the need to be reflective, it would be remiss of me not to note that engaging in any form of self-assessment can be wrought with challenges such as internal consistency and reliability of the self-assessment. In the case of the FAAM where funding is scarce, transparency of the outcome might be muddled by fears that donors could withdraw or withhold funding based on the

outcome. For these reasons, I am making additional recommendations. The first recommendation is that funders, particularly major funders to the Movement, not only embrace, but require that FAAM organizations undergo regular board governance self-assessments. The second recommendation is that major funders consider supporting this process by directing that a portion of their giving is intended to be used for this process, something that is referred to as *directed giving* in philanthropy. This directed gift could be used to fund aspects of the self-assessment process such as travel for board members and other stakeholders, technological tools to enable the process, and also consulting fees for organizations that choose to seek external professional support in undertaking this process. This recommendation was also discussed in the Chapter Five section Recommendations for Boards of Directors. Creating a consistent requirement for an undertaking such as a board self-assessment would assist in assuaging concerns regarding how such a practice might be viewed by donors. A third recommendation is that this practice of board self-assessments might also be considered as a requirement for FAAM organizational assessments as done by Animal Charity Evaluators.

FAAM Leadership and Management Model

The proposed FAAM Leadership and Management Model has two categories. The first is a set of leadership recommendations and the second is a set of management recommendations, in accordance with the literature review wherein I have defined leadership as being concerned with the organization's mission, vision, and values, the motivation of employees, and ensuring a healthy work culture, and where management was defined as being more administrative in nature and concerned with carrying out the day-to-day tasks of the organization. Certain recommendations are specific to the FAAM, while others are more general recommendations which may be applicable to both social justice non-profits as well as to the for-profit sector.

In all cases, these recommendations are designed to be considered within the context of the proposed FAAM Board Effectiveness Model under the assessment factor of Employee Engagement.

The overall FAAM recommendations were: accept multiple truths, embrace intersectional activism, jettison effective altruism, engage in research-based decision making, value volunteers, and professionalize. These recommendations are unique to the FAAM as a result of the culture and beliefs inherent in the FAAM, the current funding practices of the FAAM, and its advocacy practices. In Table 3, I list the Recommendations for the FAAM Overall together with examples of each as provided by the participants.

Table 3. Recommendations for the FAAM Overall

Recommendation	Explanation and Example from the Participants
Accept Multiple Truths	Acknowledge that there are situations where matters which can seem to be diametrically opposed are in fact both true. An example is that population growth is a factor in the rising rates of animal slaughter, and many animal activists want to have children.
Embrace Intersectional Activism	Acknowledge and work in such a way that opposes all forms of oppression; not to work for animal liberation in isolation. Recognize that the oppression of animals is connected to the oppression of women, of people of the Global Majority, of members of the LGBTQ+ community, of the Earth, etc. An example of this was a call to understand the connection between the oppression of animals used for food and food scarcity, and the need to work towards the elimination of the systemic issues which underpin these connected systems of oppression.
Jettison Effective Altruism	Eliminate effective altruism as a theory for funding, for prioritizing activism, and for governing advocacy decision making within the FAAM. An example of this is to forgo efforts to provide certain animals additional space while they are in captivity, and instead, advocate for these animal to be removed from the food system entirely.
Engage in Research-Based Decision Making	Invest in more research regarding effective advocacy techniques. Rely on evidence, history, and academic works in strategic decision making. An example is to engage in third party research to seek to determine how people make food purchasing decisions while standing in line at a grocery store.
Value Volunteers	Valuing volunteers means ensuring that volunteers feel appreciated for the work they do, that they are not considered easily expendable, and that they are understood to be important to the overall mission of the organization. Demonstrating value can be different for different volunteers, and as such, understanding the unique needs of each volunteer is important. An example would be to give preference, where other factors are similar, to job applicants who have previously volunteered for the organization when recruiting for new employees.
Professionalize	The act of professionalizing an organization generally refers to the formalization of an organization's process, policies, pay practices, governance practices, leadership, and other activities. An example includes the importance of having clear and consistently applied human resources policies such as for maternity leaves and for career development.

Table 4. Recognized Leadership Recommendations Alongside the Recommendations for the FAAM Overall from this Research

[illegible]

Table 5. Recommendations for FAAM Leaders

Recommendation	Explanation and Example from the Participants
Acknowledge and Dismantle Power Dynamics	The ability of a person to exert their influence and control over another person. When power is abused it has the ability to do great harm in a workplace to an individual employee, to the organization, and to the overall mission of the organization. Example: Provide a forum where employees can honestly express their feelings without fear that doing so may impact their job security.
Challenge Group Think	This refers to the importance of always questioning what is being done despite how long it has been done or how many people are doing it. Example: Create spaces where employees can not only examine advocacy practices, but can also discuss alternatives that might help to prepare for inevitable change.
Resolve Internal Conflict	This can involve disputes between and among employees, between employees and management, and between various groups within the FAAM. The cost of this type of conflict can be quite significant. Example: Understand the impact of splintering within the FAAM, and work with other groups to find commonalities and areas for collaboration.
Embrace Diversity	This is a call to prioritize the need for greater diversity in the FAAM. This must include the practice of including or involving people from a range of different social and ethnic backgrounds, and different genders, sexual orientations, ages, sizes, colours, and backgrounds. Example: Begin with the board of directors and work to ensure that the board is diverse and values a variety of lived experiences.
Focus on the Common Goal	Encourage all parties involved in the FAAM to stay focused on our shared purpose – to end all forms of animal exploitation. Staying focused on the shared goal can facilitate working together at all levels of the movement. Example: Since strength is positively impacted by creating a united front, work to ensure that the common goal shared by all FAAM organizations remains centred in all forms of advocacy.
Celebrate Wins	Engaging in some form of celebratory activity to recognize and acknowledge work that has been done to achieve a goal or to achieve a particular step towards a goal. Example: The celebratory activity might include enjoying a beverage or sweet treat. Such actions can unite the team and motivate them in continuing to do good work.

Recommendation	Explanation and Example from the Participants
Develop an Ethos of Transparency	Operating in a such a way that it is easy for employees to see what actions are being taken and why. Example: Transparency includes being open with employees about policies, practices, and decisions, and being accountable for actions taken. In other words, operating without secrets. Transparency means operating in a place of trust, fairness, and honesty.
Acknowledge Emotions	Emotions are a range of possible responses to events or situations that employees may encounter. Emotions can be positive or negative or somewhere in between, and within the FAAM, this usually refers to responses to co-workers, manager, or to something related to animals. Example: One way in which organizations could acknowledge emotions is to implement a confidential Employee Assistance Program. Employees would have access to a counselling service free of charge to support them in both their working life and personal life.
Listen to Employees and seek out their Opinions	Listening to employees can be done in multiple ways including one-on-one, in writing, via surveys, etc. The intention in listening is to attempt to understand the employee, and support them in their job. Example: Employers might consider spending one-on-one time with each of their employees and talking to them about their thoughts and ideas regarding the overall workplace culture.
Practice Work-Life Balance	Work life balance is an important component of healthy workplaces. It is predicated on the importance of ensuring that employees do not work to the extreme in an effort to prevent burnout and chronic stress, and instead, are positioned to be more productive in the long term. Some aspects of a healthy workplace include limiting overtime, communicating with employees only during work hours, providing employees time off for exercise and to attend to family responsibilities, and also eliminating perfectionism. Example: Managers might choose to be cognizant of not sending emails after regular working hours, of ensuring project deadlines are reasonable, and also tracking vacation time and encouraging employees to use their vacation time in the year it is earned.
Prioritize Relationships	Prioritizing relationships refers to the acts of expressing care and devoting time to building trust, understanding, and respect. It also includes ensuring that interactions are respectful, courteous, and truthful. Example: Managers should ensure there is time set aside for employees to socialize within working hours. This might be done via Zoom by dedicating time for friendly non-work related discussions, and it might be done in person by setting aside time for comradery and social activities.

Recommendation	Explanation and Example from the Participants
Recognize Employees	The act of acknowledging, praising, or rewarding someone for work they have done. This also includes the importance of not taking credit for the work of others, especially those who are in subordinate roles and may be powerless to object. Example: Organizations might ensure employees are recognized for their work contributions by publicly acknowledging an employee's work during meetings, in a newsletter, or on social media.
Value Employees	Valuing employees means ensuring that employees feel appreciated for the work they do, that they are trusted to do their work, and that they are respected for the work that they do. It also means telling them that they are not easily expendable, and that they are important to the overall mission of the organization. Example: Demonstrating value is different for different employees, and as such, understanding the unique needs of each employee is important.
Do Not Expect Self-Sacrifice	Do not expect that employees sacrifice their personal well-being in order to work in the FAAM. Do not use guilt-inducing techniques when responding to questions about remuneration, travel expenses, time commitments etc. And, do not rely on language like "the animals don't get a day off." Example: Ensure the overall health of the employees are considered on a long-term basis. Focus on ensuring that employees will be able to continue to perform the essential duties of their jobs for many years to come.
Engage Regularly in Self-Reflection	Refers to the act of paying attention to one's own thoughts, feelings, actions, and decisions, and evaluating them in an effort to make improvements where appropriate. Example: Leaders who spend time examining their own personal biases, their own strengths and weaknesses, can ensure that they focus on treating all employees in a fair and consistent manner.
Lead by Example	Leading by example refers to a leader who inspires others by practicing the types of skills that they are encouraging others to adopt. In other words, it refers to <i>practicing what you preach</i>. Example: Leaders who model the behaviour that they hope to see from their employees will be more successful in motivating their teams.

In Table 6, I list the FAAM Managerial Recommendations together with examples of each provided by the participants. These recommendations were classified as managerial because they are operational in nature. In some cases, the recommendations are also legal requirements for any organization in Canada and the United States, and as such should be non-negotiable. One such legal requirement, which was also an operational recommendation from the women in my research, was the need to accept the right of employees to unionize. Additional operational recommendations included that organizations beware of founder's syndrome, beware of the Peter Principle (Lazear, 2001), commit to training and development, conduct surveys, resist micromanaging, encourage creativity, invest in professional human resources including having consistent human resources practices and policies, let go of perfectionism, and limit meetings.

Table 6. Recommendations for FAAM Managers

Recommendation	Explanation
Accept the Right of Employees to Unionize	Allow employees to choose whether or not they would like to be represented by a union. Do not actively oppose employees who choose to unionize. Example: If employees begin the process of union organizing, organizations should not engage in anti-union animus activities such as speaking badly about unions, threatening the jobs of employees, and engaging in aggressive tactics to seek to dissuade unionization.
Beware of Founder's Syndrome	This is a call to be aware of and combat the difficulty faced by organizations where one or more founders (the people who established the organization) maintain a disproportionate amount of power and control over the organization. Example: Ensure that strategic decision making is done at the level of the board of directors and each board member is given an equal vote. Boards should also include stakeholders in decision making where appropriate.
Beware of the Peter Principle	The Peter Principle is based on the paradoxical idea that competent employees will continue to be promoted, but at some point will be promoted into positions for which they are incompetent, and they will then remain in those positions because of the fact that they do not demonstrate any further competence that would get them recognized for additional promotion. According to the Peter Principle, every position in a given hierarchy will eventually be filled by employees who are incompetent. Example: Do not promote people into managerial and leadership roles simply because they have shown success in a particular job. Assess every candidate for management based on the required skills to motivate and work with others, and their willingness to learn.
Commit to Training and Development	Offer educational opportunities for employees to encourage and empower them to enhance their skills, knowledge, and abilities to better perform their jobs and help to prepare them for new jobs in the future. Example: Implement a tuition reimbursement program for employees.
Conduct Surveys	Engage in surveys regarding employee satisfaction as well as seeking the recommendations of employees on operational and strategic matters. Include the option for anonymous surveys. Survey results must be shared with the employees and executed upon. Example: Ensure surveys are conducted by third parties to assure anonymity and impartiality.

Recommendation	Explanation
Resist Micro-managing	Micro-management is a controlling management style based on a manager personally controlling and monitoring all aspects of the work done by a person or a team. Example: Provide employees with all the tools they require to fulfill their job duties, and allow them to work autonomously while also ensuring that employees know they can seek out advice and support from more senior employees as needed.
Encourage Creativity	Creativity in the workplace refers to suggestions and acts that are new, different, and innovative. It includes suggesting ways to improve processes, new ways of working, and new strategies to overarching problems. Example: Remain open to new ways of accomplishing tasks.
Invest in Professional Human Resources	Human resources is a very broad field, and as such, given the average size of most organizations within the FAAM, they may not have a need for a full-time human resources professionals in all areas of practice. Example: Organizations should understand the difference between transactional human resources and strategic/transformational human resources and should have access to the latter at least on a contract basis for consultation when the need arises.
Consistently apply HR Practices and Policies	Fair and consistently applied human resources practices and policies are a component of organizational professionalism. These practices and policies include all aspects of how an employee experiences their employment. Example: All policies should be applied consistently to all employees.
Let go of Perfectionism	Perfectionism in the workplace refers to a person who is committed to flawlessness, and who may go to great lengths not only to achieve flawlessness, but to avoid any form of error. In a professional context, a perfectionist expectation can lead to burnout and stress as it may be akin to setting unrealistic expectations, and even setting someone up for failure. Example: Employees understand that mistakes are a natural part of work and of learning, and that mistakes are made by everyone. Mistakes, when they occur, can be used as a learning opportunity.
Limit Meetings	Is a call to reduce the number of meetings that occur on a regular basis, and also to work to ensure meetings that do occur are well-managed and effective. Example: Engage in meetings only when genuinely necessary and ensure that meeting agendas are provided in advance and that time keeping measures are employed.

Recommendations for Future Research

While my research was able to answer my primary and secondary research questions, in so doing, additional questions arose including the extent to which FAAM board members understood their legal, moral, and ethical duties as non-profit board members, their ability to carry out those duties, and their efficacy as the governing body that holds the overall responsibility for organizational effectiveness.

As such, my recommendation for future research would involve FAAM board members in Canada and the United States. I envision a hybrid research model involving a quantitative survey, followed by qualitative interviews with a sample of the board members who completed the initial survey. The quantitative survey, applied anonymously, would seek to determine the extent to which FAAM organizations have boards of directors; whether the board members understand their legal, moral, and ethical obligations as non-profit board members; and whether the board members have specific job titles and corresponding roles and responsibilities. The survey might also question the frequency with which the board members meet; whether the board has board by-laws and a code of ethics; and whether the board engages in regular board self-evaluations, strategic planning, and ongoing board training and development.

The second component of the research would take place with a sample of the board members, and be undertaken as in-depth interviews. This would allow for the opportunity to delve into greater depth regarding their experiences as a board member, their understanding of their obligations, and their understanding of their role, and it also might seek out their advice and recommendations regarding what they might need in order to better undertake their role and support the Movement overall.

Final Thoughts

The work to end the oppression of animals for food has never been more dire. Not only is this work critical for the health of the animals, but for the health of the people and the Earth. This work is primarily done by women, and the engagement levels of these women is of paramount importance as the Movement strives for *Success*, or what Moyer identified as the seventh stage of social movements. In her article, “Social Movement Engagement over the Long Haul: Understanding Activist Retention,” social movement scholar, Leslie Bunnage (2014) wrote:

Organizations that do not retain activists are unlikely to create long-term change because as the organization recedes, any impact it had becomes easy to unravel and forget. This is true even if the organization is brilliant in conception, appealing to the public, and effective in a particular moment. (p. 433)

This research then is a plea to all Movement stakeholders to prioritize the regeneration of the FAAM, beginning with an ecofeminist approach to organizational practices, policies, and governance, and to understand that in so doing, it is *always for the animals*.

Epilogue

Given the Doctor of Social Sciences degree through Royal Roads University is an applied degree, I was able to continue my consulting practice throughout my studies. In addition, since my doctoral studies and my consulting practice are interwoven, it provided me with an opportunity to continue to realize and practice some of my research findings in my work.

Some of these realizations in connection with board governance emerged through the process of teaching a 12-part course on strategic planning that I created for the FAAM, a program supported by funding from two Movement funders who were both committed to capacity building, a recommendation discussed herein.

I chose to include as a prerequisite for attendance that all organization board members and leaders watch a 90-minute webinar on board governance in the non-profit sector that I had created. Through this process, I learned from the board members who watched my webinar that in all cases they did not know that they are the ones not only ultimately responsible for strategic planning, but also responsible for its execution, including various fundamental aspects of the organization's overall effectiveness such as fundraising, programmatic work, and the creation and maintenance of a healthy work environment. Board members expressed surprise, and often incredulity, at their responsibilities. In addition, the vast majority were not aware of the legal, ethical, and moral obligations to organizations that they had assumed in agreeing to serve in a board capacity.

One board responsibility that was raised by most of my research participants was the obligation to not only ensure that the organization's work environment is respectful and not in contravention of Human Rights law, but also to ensure that the organization demonstrates a genuine, not just cursory, commitment to diversity, equity, and inclusion (DEI). DEI is not only

the responsibility of the board of directors, but critical to good modelling, it must begin with the board of directors. For the board of directors to engage in an honest conversation about DEI, including discussing why DEI may not have been a priority at the organization in the past would mean the board members must engage in a self-examination of the make-up of the board and of course, commit to engaging in real DEI work, both at the board level and within the organization at large. The seeming lack of understanding about DEI obligations, not only by board members themselves but also by the employee populations, led me to write a blog on this important subject in an effort to create greater awareness, and seek to encourage greater actions.⁴⁹

During the currency of my studies, I was approached by ecofeminist Carol J. Adams in connection with a book that she was creating together with ecofeminists Lori Gruen and Alice Crary. The book, aptly titled, *The Good It Promises, The Harm It Does*, is an edited collection of critical essays written by different people regarding the problems occurring in the FAAM due to the proliferation of effective altruism throughout various components of the Movement including fundraising, programmatic work, campaigning, and community education. I was honoured to have been asked to contribute a chapter, and I enthusiastically agreed. The book will be published by Oxford University Press in 2022.

This is the abstract for my chapter:

In 2018, nearly 12,000 people worldwide came together and raised over \$650,000 to buy a piece of lifesaving equipment for a pig. That pig's name is Esther, and because of that, she is still alive and thriving today.

Not only did that piece of equipment, a CT scanner dubbed the "Esther Scanner", help to save her life, but it has gone on to help save the lives of countless other animals. It has also been instrumental in ground-breaking prostate cancer research for people, it spawned a program providing financial support to animal sanctuaries, it provided the opportunity for advanced veterinary training, and much more.

⁴⁹ Diversity, Equity, and Inclusion Starts with the Board of Directors.

<https://kristahiddema.com/blog/2022/2/26/diversity-equity-and-inclusion-starts-with-the-board-of-directors>

Despite that, renowned philosopher Peter Singer referred to the donors as not getting good value for their money, and even noted that giving should be based on reason and not on emotion.

This essay disputes that assertion, and argues that Singer's brand of effective altruism as a foundation for philanthropic giving is flawed, and that real social change must be rooted in emotion, compassion, and love.

Lastly, I want to express my deep gratitude to Royal Roads University for providing a degree program that empowers working professionals to continue to work during our studies. Not only did this support my studies from a practical perspective, but also for the opportunity it provides to apply my studies to the real world in real ways – and most importantly – *always for the animals*.

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Appendix A: Timeline of Online Employment-Based FAAM Media Coverage

Note that the timeline is intended to be read from the bottom up, starting with the year 2015 and ending with the year 2021.

Website released including allegations by Katerina, Michelle and Rachelle of sexual assault by Kevin Olliff.	MAY 1, 2021	
	APR. 20, 2021	Adams posts blog calling for a boycott of ARNC 2021 due to Hershaft's long history of racism, sexual harassment, and derogatory comments about social justice movements.
Current Affairs writes about the poor treatment of employees within the AAM. Daily Mail writes about the allegations of sexual harassment against Pacelle.	APR. 6, 2021	
	APR. 6, 2021	Z. Zane McNeill and Riley Valentine write about the unionization of ALDF as attributable to misogyny, racism, long hours, low pay, toxic work environments, traumatic work, compassion fatigue and activist burnout.
Hershaft posts blog suggesting 'Woke Culture' is hurting white men in the AAM.	MAR. 1, 2021	
	FEB. 24, 2021	The Open Philanthropy Forum includes countless comments by AAM employees citing racism, harassment, sexual harassment, mistreatment, and discrimination.
Website created which included numerous first hand accounts of sexual harassment by Bez.	JAN. 1, 2021	
	OCT. 1, 2020	Eldreth posts on Facebook about being sexually harassed by Hershaft.
Ethan Eldreth, former FARM staffer, posts website detailing being sexually harassed by Hershaft, and Board of Directors failing to act.	SEP. 25, 2020	
	SEP. 2, 2020	The Non-Profit Chronicles reports on founder of FARM, Alex Hershaft's, use of pornography, his half-clothed torso, sexual harassment, and racism.
Anita Krajnc, founder of The Save Movement, posts on Facebook denouncing Bez's conduct.	APR. 24, 2020	
	APR. 23, 2020	Animal Rebellion sends mass email indicating that Bez is no longer welcome at events hosted by them, The Save Movement, and DxÉ.
Roxane Steiner Ibañez posts on Facebook that she was sexually assaulted by Alex Bez, founder of We The Free.	APR. 18, 2020	
	AUG. 1, 2019	Wayne Hsiung steps down from DxÉ amid scandal.
Non-Profit Chronicles reports on a history of poor governance and a poor workplace at Alley Cat Allies.	JUL. 11, 2019	
	MAR. 25, 2019	Animal Law Develops reports on study noting racism and sexism in the AAM.
	MAR. 18, 2018	
Naples News reports on sexual harassment allegations in the AAM against Pacelle, Shapiro, and Cooney.	FEB. 28, 2018	HSUS issues a press release condemning all forms of harassment, including sexual harassment in the workplace.
Pacific Standard reports on the AAM being an unusually bad place to work for women.	FEB. 16, 2018	
	FEB. 16, 2018	Non-Profit Chronicles reports on #ARMETOO and Hershaft.
Dr. Lisa Kemmerer writes about male privilege and sexism in the AAM. Calls out HSUS and MFA. Introduces CANHAD.org which includes countless anonymous testimonials of sexual assault in the AAM.	FEB. 10, 2018	
	FEB. 8, 2018	Christina Wilson, former MFA staffer, posts on Facebook her experience of sexual misconduct by Cooney.
Jaya Bhumitra, former MFA staffer, posts on Facebook about being bullied by Cooney.	FEB. 6, 2018	
	FEB. 2, 2018	HSUS issues a press release accepting the resignation of Pacelle.
The New York Times, The Washington Post and Politico report on the resignation of Pacelle amid sexual harassment allegations.	FEB. 2, 2018	
	FEB. 1, 2018	7 HSUS Board Members Resign after HSUS decides not to terminate Pacelle; Pacelle then resigns.
Politico reports on allegations of sexual harassment against Pacelle, Shapiro. Included were several first hand accounts.	JAN. 30, 2018	
	JAN. 29, 2018	The Chicago Tribune and The Washington Post write about sexual harassment allegations against Pacelle dating back to 2005.
Non-Profit Chronicles reports on sexual harassment and gender bias in the AAM. Cites Pacelle, Shapiro, Cooney, Dominguez.	JAN. 26, 2018	
	JAN. 18, 2018	Mark Hawthorne posts blog noting that the AAM has a sexual harassment problem and has had for a long time.
Wayne Pacelle, former HSUS CEO under investigation for several counts of sexual harassment; Shapiro under investigation for sexual misconduct.	JAN. 1, 2018	
	DEC. 17, 2017	patrice jones posts blog citing first hand knowledge of 17 years of stories of sexual harassment and assault within the AAM.
Adams posts anonymous blog by community insider noting a culture of low pay, no respect for work-life balance, and bullying by leaders in the AAM.	DEC. 5, 2017	
	NOV. 9, 2017	laura Ornelas posts blog noting that sexual harassment has been ongoing in the AAM for 30 years.
Carol J. Adams posts blog noting that sexual harassment has been ongoing in the AAM for 30 years.	AUG. 11, 2017	
	DEC. 3, 2015	Website released including allegations of sexual harassment against leadership of DxÉ.
Activists for DxÉ release website citing racism, sexism, and homophobia in the organization.	SEP. 16, 2015	
	APR. 4, 2015	Website posted indicating that Hugo Dominguez, organizer with DxÉ, admitted to multiple sex crimes.

Appendix B: Blog Invitation to Participate in My Research

I Need Your Help!

Announcement · March 30, 2021



Greetings! This is an invitation for all female-identified activists who are employed in the Animal Advocacy Movement (AAM) in Canada or the United States.

As some of you may know, I am working on my Social Sciences doctorate. My research focuses on exploring the work experiences of activists who are female-identified within the AAM.

Through listening to the stories of your job experiences, and combining those with deep research on matters of non-profit governance, I am hoping to create vital information to aid in the shaping of policy recommendations that I hope will support and ensure the long-term success of the AAM.

To qualify as a participant you will need to:

- Identify as female,
- Be employed (or recently employed) as an activist in Canada or the US,
- Be 18 years of age or older,
- Be able to communicate in English, and
- Have access to the Internet as all of the interviews will be taking place via Zoom (a free downloadable program).

I also wanted to share with you that this research has been reviewed for ethical compliance and has received clearance by the Royal Roads University Research Ethics Board.

If you are interested in participating, I would kindly ask that you please complete a brief demographic survey which can be found [here](#).

If selected to participate my research, I will also send you an Informed Consent Form which explains more about the research and your rights as a participant as well as what you can expect if you agree to participate. I am happy to review that with you or answer any questions you may have about my research.

While there is more information about my research both within the demographic survey and on the Informed Consent Form, I did want to emphasize that all information you provide will be completely anonymous and kept confidential.

Also, if you choose to participate, you may withdraw your participation at any time during the interview process. You will also have the opportunity to review and edit your interview transcripts so that you feel comfortable with them and to ensure I have accurately captured your story. Once you have approved your transcripts, however, you may no longer withdraw because through my analysis, your information will become part of a larger data set and it will not be possible to know who provided what information.

I also wanted to share with you that I anticipate that the total time commitment will be approximately four hours which will be split into two interviews, a few emails back and forth between us, and your reviewing your own transcripts.

If you know anyone else who might be interested in participating, please feel free to share this information with them.

Thank you so much for your time and consideration.

If you have questions or would like more details, please contact me directly via my [Contact](#) page or at (416) 666-3093 (call or text).

Once again, here is a link to the demographic survey.

Always for the Animals,

Krista Hiddema, B.A., M.A., CHRP, SHRP

Doctoral Candidate, Royal Roads University

1-416-666-3093 (phone & text)

Pronouns: she/her/hers



Krista is the Executive Director of [For The Greater Good](#) where she consults with animal protection organizations across North America on matters of organizational development and governance. In addition to holding five degrees and designations in human resources, including a master's degree in organizational development and leadership, she is pursuing her doctorate focused on the employment experiences of animal rights activists in Canada and the United States. Krista first joined the Animal Advocacy Movement as the VP of [Mercy For Animals](#) in Canada where she led twelve undercover investigations into factory farms and slaughterhouses. Krista also served as the President of the Board for [Happily Ever Esther Farm Sanctuary](#) for over five years, also now serves on several other Boards including [One Protest](#), [The Rancher Advocacy Program](#), [Egg-Truth](#), and [Dairy-Truth](#). Krista is also a member of [Womxn Funders in Animal Rights](#). Krista is a peer reviewer for the [Journal of Critical Animal Studies](#). Prior to joining the Movement, Krista founded a boutique employment and labour law firm in Toronto where she consulted to employers across Canada and the U.S. for a decade, and before that she spent fifteen years in human resources including as the Vice President of HR for one of the largest software companies in the world.



Appendix C: Online Survey For Research Participants

Krista Hiddema's Doctoral Research Survey

Welcome and thank you for agreeing to take this survey. Your time is greatly appreciated. This survey is in support of my doctoral research which is focused on the employment experiences of female-identified animal rights activists in Canada and the United States. The survey entails a series of demographic questions (e.g. your age and your place of residence). Completion of the survey should not take more than 3-4 minutes, but feel free to take as much time as you need.

The central purpose of this work is to gain deep insights into the experiences of individuals working within the Animal Advocacy Movement (AAM). It is my hope that these stories will contribute to crafting policy and governance recommendations for organizations involved in the AAM which will foster positive and more regenerative employment practices and create constructive and healthy ways of operating which will increase our ability to support the Animals for whom we advocate.

Since I will be engaging in qualitative research, the scope of my work will, for practical reasons, have to be limited to no more than thirty (30) participants. The demographic information collected through these surveys will shape the final pool of participants. This means that not all survey participants may be able to be included in the final group for analysis.

In all cases, your information will be stored on an encrypted file on my personal laptop, which is also password protected, and accessible only by me.

If you are not invited to participate in my research, you will receive an email from me letting you know. In this email I will ask you if you would like to stay periodically updated on how my research is progressing, and I will also ask you if you would like to receive a copy of my dissertation once it is complete. The information that you provide in this survey will be completely deleted, and I will only retain your email address if you wish me to keep you updated, otherwise that too will be deleted and there will be no record of you ever participating in this survey.

If you are invited to participate in my research, I will reach out to you via email with a formal invitation to participate, and also send you an Informed Consent Form which further explains my research. I will be very glad to discuss the Informed Consent Form with you, and answer any questions you may have. Once I receive the signed Informed Consent Form from you, I will work with you to schedule our first interview at your convenience.

Should you have any questions at all please do not hesitate to reach out to me at Krista.Hiddema@royalroads.ca or by phone/text at (416) 666-3093. You can also reach out to my supervisor, Dr. Hilary Leighton at any time at Hilary.Leighton@royalroads.ca or by phone at (250) 360-0722.

With much thanks. Your time is greatly valued.

Always for the Animals,
Krista

TAKE THE SURVEY

Survey

Name

First Name

Last Name

Email Address

This will be used in order that I might contact you about this research.

Age

Please type your current age below.

Please enter the Province or State and Country where you currently reside

Years of Employment in the Animal Advocacy Movement

Please type the total number of years you have been EMPLOYED in the Movement below.

What is the name of the organization you currently work for?

What is the highest level of education that you have completed?

Which of the following best describes your current relationship status?

Do you have children?

- ☐ Yes
☐ No

Do you consider yourself to be a member of the Global Majority (also referred to as being part of the BIPOC community)?

- ☐ Yes
☐ No

Do you consider yourself to be a member of the LGBTQ+ community?

- ☐ Yes
☐ No

Do you consider yourself to be a person living with a disability?

- ☐ Yes
☐ No

Do you have access to reliable internet and are you able to use Zoom?

- ☐ Yes
☐ No

Are you able to communicate in English?

- ☐ Yes
☐ No

Please include a pseudonym (which is a 'made up name') that you would like to use for this research if you are chosen to participate

Please type your preferred pseudonym in the field below.

SUBMIT

Survey

Thank you!

Thank you very much for completing this survey. I am so grateful that you have taken the time to do so, and I would like to reiterate that your information will be treated confidentially.

As a reminder, the maximum number of participants approved for this research is 30.

As such, after approximately 3 weeks have passed, I will close the survey link, and review the number of people who completed the survey. If 30 or fewer people took the survey, then all be invited to participate. If more than 30 people took this survey, then I will need to narrow down the group. I will do this by using the demographic information provided to assist me in creating as diverse of a group as is possible and reasonable.

In all cases, I will be in touch with you via email regarding next steps. I will also provide you with the opportunity to receive periodic updates regarding my research as well as a copy of my dissertation upon completion.

In the meantime, should you have any questions at all, please do not hesitate to reach out to me at Krista.Hiddema@royalroads.ca or by phone/text at (416) 666-3093. You can also reach out to my supervisor, Dr. Hilary Leighton at any time at Hilary.Leighton@royalroads.ca or by phone at (250) 360-0722.

Always for the Animals,
Krista

Appendix D: Consent Email and Informed Consent Form For Research Participants

Dear [First Name],

Thank you again for participating in my research. I am incredibly grateful for your participation and I know that together we can create important recommendations to support more respectful employment practices in our Movement for women.

Please find attached a fillable PDF Informed Consent Form. After filling in your name and the date, you can sign the form one of three ways: i) “copy and paste” your signature, ii) simply re-type your name in the signature box, or iii) print, sign, and scan.

And, if those options do not work for you, you can also simply reply to this email and include a statement like: “Please accept this return email as my consent to participate in Krista Hiddema’s doctoral research as laid in out the Informed Consent Form”.

The Informed Consent Form has been approved by the Royal Roads University Ethics Board in accordance with the Tri-Council’s Policy on ethical conduct for research involving humans.

If you have any questions about any of the information on the form, please do not hesitate to ask. I would be very happy to answer any questions either by email or by telephone or Zoom call. The name and contact information for my doctoral supervisor, Dr. Hilary Leighton, is also on the form, and she, too, is available to answer any questions you may have.

I feel very grateful to have 30 wonderful activists willing to participate in this work, and I expect to start doing interviews the week of April 19th.

It will be my pleasure to speak with you whenever it fits into your schedule. This can be during the day or evening, on weekdays or weekends. If you are able to let me know if there is a particular time day and/or time of day that is best for you, it would allow me to begin to plan out the interviews.

I look forward to working with you, and to be given the opportunity to listen to your story of working within our Movement. I deeply believe that this work is critical for the long-term success of our work for animals, and I am so appreciative that you are willing to be a part of it.

If you have any questions or concerns, please do not hesitate to reach out to me. You can contact me by email, and/or on my cell phone at 1-416-666-3093 (call and text).

I’ll be in touch soon after receiving your Informed Consent Form.

Krista Hiddema



Study Information and Informed Consent Statement

Study Title: Work Experiences of Female-Identified Animal Rights Activists

Introduction

Thank you so much for completing the online demographic survey. I am excited to invite you to participate in my research study taking place within the College of Interdisciplinary Studies at Royal Roads University. As a doctoral candidate, I am the study lead under the supervision of Dr. Hilary Leighton. The purpose of this study is to explore job-related attitudes of female-identified animal rights activists in Canada and the United States. This study has been reviewed for ethical compliance and has received clearance by the Royal Roads University Research Ethics Board.

Information About Study Participant Involvement

Why are you being invited to participate?

You are being invited to participate because you are over the age of 18, you identify as being female, you can communicate in English, you have Internet access, and you are employed as an animal rights activist in Canada or the United States.

What will you need to do?

If you agree to participate, you will be asked to speak with me via Zoom on two occasions. The first Zoom call will last for approximately 90 minutes, and the second Zoom call will last approximately 30 minutes. These calls will be recorded and transcribed. You will be given the opportunity to review and approve the transcript of your interviews with me for accuracy, and you may delete any aspect of the transcript of your interview that you wish. You may also be asked to engage in some email communication with me. I anticipate that the total amount of time that this will take you will not exceed four hours.

Risks and Benefits

There are no known risks to participation in this study. You will be asked to share your own story and if you agree to participate, your identity will remain anonymous. While your valuable ideas and comments will appear in my dissertation, at no point will your comments be attributed to you. All personal identifiable information such as your name will remain confidential. Your contributions as a study participant are intended to inform and improve conditions and efficacy in the animal activist community in Canada and the United States.

Voluntary Participation

Your participation in this study is completely voluntary. You may decline participation at this time, or you may withdraw at any time, without providing a reason, prior to you approving the transcript of the interviews. Your withdrawal at any point in the study will not impact any

current or future relationships with me. If you wish to withdraw please send me an email expressing that you would like your information to be removed and your data will be deleted from the system and will not be included in my dissertation. Once you have approved your interview transcript, however, there will be no further opportunity to withdraw, as the information will become part of a larger data set and it will not be possible to know who provided what information. In all cases, your name and all your personal information, as well as the transcript of our interview, will be kept strictly confidential and you will be identified only by a pseudonym of your choosing.

Dissemination

The results of the study will be included in my doctoral dissertation and may also be published in academic journals. I will be using the information during various public speaking events, and I may also write a book regarding my findings. It is possible that members of the media may report on my findings.

Confidentiality

All records will be stored securely within a password-protected computer in my home office, and will be made available only to my supervisor, Dr. Leighton. A separate, encrypted, password protected, master file will contain your name, email address, and phone number, which will allow me to contact you for interviews. This master file will be kept securely by me in a locked home office.

Compensation

By taking part in this study, you will not receive any compensation.

Contact Information

I am happy to review this consent form with you and describe the procedures in detail. As well, I will gladly answer any questions you may have. If you have any questions regarding your rights as a research participant, you can also contact the Royal Roads University Office of Research Ethics at ethicalreview@royalroads.ca or at 250-391-2600 ext. 4425.

If you have questions at any time about the study or the procedures you may contact Krista Hiddema at Krista.Hiddema@royalroads.ca or at 416-666-3093 or, Krista's supervisor, Dr. Hilary Leighton, Associate Professor, Royal Roads University at Hilary.Leighton@royalroads.ca or at 250-360-0722.

If you are willing to participate, please return the signed form to Krista at Krista.Hiddema@royalroads.ca.

Consent

I have read and understand the consent form for this study. I have had the purposes, procedures, and technical language of this study explained to me. I have been given sufficient time to consider the above information and to seek advice if I chose to do so. I have had the opportunity to ask questions which have been answered to my satisfaction. I am voluntarily signing this form. I will receive a copy of this consent form for my information.

By signing this consent form I am indicating that I agree to participate in this study*.

If you do not have access to a scanner or electronic signature, your return email will serve as your consent.

Participant Name (Please Print)

Signature of Participant

Date

Signature of the Person Explaining the Consent Process

Date

**Data may be stored on, or be accessible by, servers in the United States, and may be subject to examination by government or law enforcement under the Patriot Act. While this likelihood is small, I am required to let you know of this possible risk.*

Would you like to receive a copy of my dissertation? Yes _____ No _____

If yes, email _____

Appendix E: Codebook

Name	Description	Files	References
Q1 - Early and or Deep Connection to Animals	Can you please tell me about the first time you remember having a deep connection to animals. Please feel free to go back as far as you'd like, perhaps to when you were a very young girl.	22	48
Animals used for Food and Sport		0	0
Animals used for Food	Animals that are forced to mate or have been artificially inseminated, raised, and slaughter for purposes of human food and/or food for other animals. This usually includes cows, pigs, chickens, turkeys, and fishes.	10	14
Slaughter	The act of killing an animal for food.	4	5
Fishing	The act of luring and capturing fish either for food or for sport.	5	6
Hunting	The act of pursuing free living/wild animals, usually wild animals such as deer and rabbits, done for human food or for sport.	5	6
Companion Animal	Companion animals usually include dogs, cats, and other small mammals including fish or reptiles that are kept in a human's home.	9	14
Bird	Animalia Aves.	1	1
Cat	Animalia Felis catus domesticus.	13	16
Death	Physical expiration of a companion animal.	3	3
Dog	Animalia Canis lupus familiaris.	20	36
Hamster	Animalia Cricetinae.	1	2
Horse	Animalia Equus.	4	6
Rabbit	Animalia Oryctolagus cuniculus.	2	3
Snake	Animalia Serpentes.	1	1
Environmental Conservation	Refers to actions and concepts that are intended to protect and preserve the natural environment and the communities that inhabit them.	1	3
Ants and Bugs	This refers to any form of insect usually found in and around a person's home.	4	4
Squirrel	Animalia Sciuridae.	1	1
Tree	Explicit. No definition necessary.	1	1
Media - TV, Film, Music, Books	Refers to any form of mass communication.	9	16
Play	Activities engaged in by children for enjoyment and recreation.	2	2
School Club	Animal advocacy that was done through a school club. The club usually includes having a purpose, having a place where the club meets, and engaging in actions to support the purpose of the club.	2	3
Vegan or Vegetarian	Vegetarian refers to a person who does not consume animals. Vegan refers to a person who does not consume animals nor animal secretions such as eggs and dairy.	10	10

Name	Description	Files	References
Q2 - Professional Life Dedicated to Animal Protection	Please share with me the story of your decision to commit your professional life to working on behalf of animals, and your decision to join the FAAM.	0	0
Animals	Purposely sought to work in the FAAM as a result of a relationship with an animal or an awareness of animal suffering.	7	14
Child Abuse	Suffered some form of child abuse and as a result felt a strong connection to animals.	2	2
Didn't know Animal Advocacy could be a Career	Was not aware that working within animal protection was a career option initially, and found out over time.	9	10
Exposed to Some Form of Advocacy	This might include a leaflet, a video, or some other form of advocacy done by a FAAM group.	0	0
FAAM Board of Directors	Was a member of a Board of Directors for an FAAM organization which then led to developing an interest in devoting their career to animal advocacy.	1	1
Animal Sanctuary	Visited an animal sanctuary, which then led to developing an interest in devoting their career to animal advocacy.	3	3
Attended a Talk	Became aware of animal cruelty as a result of attending a talk, which then led to developing an interest in devoting their career to animal advocacy.	2	3
Books	Read a book which created awareness of animal cruelty, which then led to developing an interest in devoting their life to animal advocacy. Cited books included Diet for a New America by John Robbins, Eating Animals by Jonathan Safran-Foer, The Kind Diet by Alicia Silverstone, and Gene Bauer's autobiography.	2	4
Campaign	Became involved in an animal or environmental campaign which then led to developing an interest in devoting their life to animal advocacy.	2	4
Club	Attended a club devoted to fighting against animal cruelty which then led to developing an interest in devoting their life to animal advocacy.	2	5
Conference	Attended an animal rights conference and it led to developing an interest in devoting their career to animal advocacy.	1	1
Event	Attended an animal rights event which then led to developing an interest in devoting their career to animal advocacy.	1	1
Films	Watch a film about animals or environmental matters which then led to developing an interest in devoting their career to animal advocacy. Films that were cited included Dark Waters, Earthlings, An Inconvenient Truth, Legally Blonde 2, Forks Over Knives, Conspiracy, and Blackfish.	8	12
Health	Was interested in plant-based eating for health reasons, and through this process became aware of animal suffering, which then led to developing an interest in devoting their career to animal advocacy.	2	2
Leaflet	Received a leaflet about animal cruelty which then led to developing an interest in devoting their career to animal advocacy.	3	3

Name	Description	Files	References
Mailings	Received a mailing about animal cruelty which then led to developing an interest in devoting their career to animal advocacy.	1	1
Podcast	Listened to a podcast related to animal rights when then led to developing an interest in devoting their career to animal advocacy.	1	1
Undercover Footage	Was exposed to undercover footage about animal cruelty which then led to developing an interest in devoting their career to animal advocacy.	1	2
Kismet	Destiny or fate. Something unplanned occurred which led to developing an interest in devoting their life to animal advocacy.	8	11
Previous Roles (paid or unpaid)		0	0
Academia	Was involved in the environment or community concerned with the pursuit of research, education, and scholarship.	4	5
Animal Rescue or Sanctuary	Was involved in the environment or community concerned with rescuing animals.	4	6
Environment	Was involved in the environment or community concerned with the pursuit of environmental protection.	4	6
For-Profit	Was involved in the environment or community concerned with the pursuit of money.	3	4
Full-Time Mom	Was a full-time stay-at-home mother.	1	1
Government	Was involved in the environment or community concerned with government affairs.	1	1
Graphic Design	Was involved in the environment or community concerned with the use of text and pictures in advertisements, magazines, or books.	1	1
Non-Profits	Was involved in the environment or community concerned with the pursuit of non-profit organizations (other than animal and environmental) such as museums, libraries, and religion.	5	6
Public Health	Was involved in the environment or community concerned with the pursuit of contributing to public health.	1	1
Research		1	1
Animal Research (Behavioural)	Was involved in conducting behavioural research with animals.	3	5
Biomedical Research (not on animals)	Was involved in conducting biomedical research not including research on animals.	1	2
Research at a Zoo	Was involved in research that took place within a zoo.	1	2
Research with Children	Was involved in conducting research with children.	1	1
Social Justice	Was involved in the environment or community concerned with the pursuit of any 'non-animal' and 'non-environmental' social justice matters such as prison abolition and racial equality.	5	7
Urban Planning	Was involved in the environment or community concerned with community development, economic development, and public transportation.	1	1

Name	Description	Files	References
Veterinary Clinic	Was involved in providing medical care and support to sick and injured animals.	4	7
Wildlife Conservation	Was involved in the environment or community concerned with the pursuit of conserving wildlife.	2	2
University or College Studies		0	0
Agricultural Studies	The study of agriculture including the science of growing crops and raising livestock for food.	1	3
Animals in Society	The study of how animals are viewed and used in society.	1	1
Environmental Studies	The study of the natural environment, the built environment, and the relationship between them.	1	2
Epistemology	The study of the theory of knowledge, and in particular the what distinguishes belief from opinion.	1	1
Internship	Is a period of time where a student can gain work experience at an organization. This can include an array of disciplines such as law, marketing, and human resources.	12	26
Law	The study of the system of rules through which society is regulated. There are multiple specialties within the study of law, and this research relies particularly on the study of animal in law.	5	15
Non-Profit Management Studies	The study of non-profit management is multi-disciplinary and usually includes the study of organizations, labour unions, taxation, fundraising, and other aspects of running a non-profit organization.	2	3
Philosophy	The study of the fundamental nature of knowledge, reality, and existence, especially when considered as an academic discipline.	4	4
Political Science	The study of the branch of knowledge that deals with systems of government; the analysis of political activity and behaviour.	1	1
Vegan Journey	Going through various steps towards becoming committed to a vegan lifestyle. These steps might include educating one's self on the realities of animal agriculture, learning how to cook vegan food, and becoming more aware of the social and philosophical implications of animals used for food, clothing, entertainment, and vivisection.	16	23
Like-Minded People	Refers to individuals who share the same opinion, ideas, or interests. In this research it refers to people who share a believe that animals should not be used for food, medical testing, clothing, entertainment, or any other purpose.	2	4
Personal Values	Personal values are the aspects of your life that make up your belief system and guide your day-to-day decision making. These values might include your belief in how animals, the Earth, and other people should be treated.	10	24
Volunteer	Is the act of freely offering one's time to provide skills and services for organizations working on behalf of animals. In this study, examples include working in cat shelters, participating in vegan bake sales, leafletting, dog rescue, and attending at circus protests.	15	27

Name	Description	Files	References
Q3 - Employment Experiences	I'm interested in your experiences as an employee with regard to leadership, how you have been treated, and how that has shaped your experiences of working within the FAAM.	0	0
Negative Experiences		0	0
Animals over People	The prioritization of the needs of animals over the needs of employees.	13	20
No Work-Life Balance	Refers to the prioritization of work activities over personal activities.	6	12
Personal Sacrifice	Refers to the act of giving up something you want, prefer, or is in your best interest in favour of doing something for others or for the greater good.	7	12
Board of Directors	It is the governing body of a non-profit responsible for overseeing the organization's activities.	17	61
Compassion Fatigue	Is a condition characterized by emotional and physical exhaustion leading to a diminished ability to empathize or feel compassion for others, often described as the negative cost of caring.	12	16
Cult-like	Refers to behaviours that resemble a cult such as requiring complete devotion, not allowing questioning of any aspect of the belief system, and may include a charismatic leader.	4	8
God-Like	Refers to a person who seen as being wonderful and flawless, and whose actions are beyond reproach. This person is given deity-like status and revered by others.	8	11
Effective Altruism	Refers to the reliance off quantifiable metrics to determine philanthropic giving priorities.	10	49
Impact of Funding Decisions	The effects on the FAAM as a result of decisions made by substantial donors. These impacts can include type of advocacy, staffing, and other organizational matters.	2	6
Exercising Power and Control	Someone or something and exercises control over someone or something.	11	25
Bullying in the Workplace	It is harmful targeted behaviour that happens at work which results in offending and/or intimidating another person.	5	9
Burnout	Is a state of emotional, physical, and mental exhaustion caused by excessive and prolonged stress at work.	8	10
Cliques in the Workplace	Refers to small groups of employees who have a close relationship and are unlikely to welcome others into their group. Cliques can have the impact of intimidating others and making others feel unwelcome.	1	2
Cruel, Abusive, and Toxic Behaviour	Refers to a broad spectrum of behaviours such as name calling, and excluding, intimidating, or minimizing someone. Other examples include undermining a person's work, pitting employees against one another, withholding information, setting impossible expectations, and taking credit for the work of another person.	14	52
Culture of Fear and Intimidation	Refers to creating a workplace culture that renders employees wary of acting in any way that might undermine their job security.	16	39
Invisibilized Employees	Refers to an employee who is made to feel as if they cannot be seen, and as such sending a message to the employee that they are unimportant.	5	9

Name	Description	Files	References
Martyrdom	Refers to a person who is driven to overwork out of fear that they would be seen as disposable or otherwise not valuable if they are not working constantly. This person wishes to be viewed by others as more committed and more necessary to the cause than others.	4	10
Siloed	The process of isolating usually groups of people from other groups of people. In a workplace this usually takes place within an organization where one department is usually separated from another department.	8	9
Founder's Syndrome	Is the difficulty faced by organizations, and in particular young companies such as start-ups, where one or more founders maintain disproportionate power and influence following the effective initial establishment of the organization, leading to a wide range of problems.	10	19
Funding	Refers to the act of providing financial resources to the FAAM.	6	11
Infighting	Refers to conflict and competitiveness between employees in one organization, or among different organizations.	6	8
Lack of Accountability	Refers to perpetrators of violence, assault, harassment, bullying, etc. are not held accountable for their actions.	5	13
Lack of Appreciation	Refers to a person who does not feel that their work contributions are being recognized by their superiors. They are not being thanked for their work, either orally or in some other way such as being sent an email of thanks or being given a token of appreciation such as a gift card.	4	6
Lack of Autonomy	Refers to an employee who feels micromanaged, and does not feel free to do work and make decisions on their own.	4	8
Micromanagement	Refers to a management style whereby a manager closely observes and/or controls the work of their employees. It is generally considered to have a negative connotation, mainly because it shows a lack of freedom in the workplace.	11	29
Lack of Communication	Refers to a work environment where the employees feel as if they are not being told important information from their superiors, and also that their superiors are not listening to them.	8	10
Lack of Consistency	Refers to a work environment where the goals, rules, job demands, and other aspects of work are confusing and unpredictable.	3	4
Lack of Diversity	Refers to a workplace that is primarily staffed and led by white men. That there are likely few employees who represent marginalized social groups such as women, people of the global majority, people of varying ages, abilities, and social classes.	4	17
Lack of Experience	Refers to a person who has spent limited time developing their skills. It is usually associated with time, and as such, people with fewer years of experience are usually quite young.	10	32
Lack of Fairness	Refers to an organization which exercises very low organizational justice. Where employees are not treated in a consistent and predictable manner.	5	6

Name	Description	Files	References
Lack of Faith in Leadership	Refers to an organization where employees do not trust the leadership of the organization. This is usually the result of previous experience of broken promises, and a pattern of failing to follow through with set expectations.	9	13
Lack of HR Knowledge and Expertise	Refers to an organization that does not possess strong knowledge of both the intangible and tangible components of human resources. The intangible referring to employee engagement and motivation, and tangible referring to employment laws and other employment policies.	13	39
Alcohol Use	Refers to the consumption of an alcoholic beverage such as wine, beer, and sprits.	1	3
Hours of Work	Refers to the number of hours an employee works in a given period of time. This is usually measured in weeks.	7	8
Maternity Leave	Refers to a human resources policy within an organization for women giving birth. It usually, though not always, includes financial support during a leave, it includes details of how benefits will be treated, and the duration of the leave that will be job protected.	2	3
Pay and Benefits	Refers to the direct and indirect remuneration received by an employee for performing their job. Direct remuneration refers to money, and indirect remuneration refers to medical, dental, and other such support.	17	51
Travel and Accommodation Practices	Refers to the norms held by the organization regarding how interns and employees are housed when they are conducting work away from their primary place of residence.	5	23
Turnover	Refers to the rate at which employees leave an organization, either voluntarily or in-voluntary. Voluntary refers to employees who resign from their employment and in-voluntary refers to employees who are dismissed.	27	84
Unionization	Refers to an association of employees who choose to be represented by a union who will negotiate with the employer on their behalf in connection with all matters of employment such as remuneration, policies, and other conditions of employment.	3	24
Lack of Integrity	Refers to a work environment where leaders do not follow through on promises, who do not act in the best interests of the organization and the employees, and who engage in telling lies and spreading inaccurate information.	4	7
Lack of Professionalism	Refers to a combination of a lack of skills, lack of processes, lack of knowledge, lack of engaging in respectful communications, and overall being ill-equipped to conduct oneself in a way that is expected in a place of work.	14	35
Lack of Respect	Refers to organizations that do not foster a culture of respect, but instead allow for gossip, criticism, disparaging remarks, and other activities that have the effect of making the employees feel unwelcome and unappreciated.	3	5
Lack of Training, Support, and Resources	Refers to a workplace that does not provide employees the tools that they need in order to perform the essential aspects of their jobs. Tools can refer to necessary training, mentorship, and equipment.	7	19

Name	Description	Files	References
Lack of Transparency	Refers to a workplace that governs in such a way as to keep information inaccessible to employees. This can include policy information, strategy information, or any other type of information regarding the goals, priorities, and daily workings of the organization.	11	42
Secretive	Refers to the intentional conduct of one person or an organization to conceal information from another person. There is usually some form of conspiratorial intent.	3	4
Nepotism	Refers to the act of giving family and friends advantages in a work environment.	2	2
Systemic Oppression	Refers to the intentional disadvantaging of groups of people based on their identity while advantaging members of the dominant group (gender, race, class, sexual orientation, language, etc.).	2	2
Ageism	Ageism is a form of discrimination where the person being discriminated against has been treated differently on the basis of their age. This usually applies to older individuals but it can also apply in other circumstance. Being treated differently in employment many mean that the individual was denied a job, a promotion, a raise, a project opportunity, or being bullied or otherwise treated poorly.	3	4
Classism	Classism is a form of discrimination where the person being discriminated against has been treated differently on the basis of their class. This usually applies to individuals who society deems as coming from lower classes, but it can also apply in other circumstance. Being treated differently in employment many mean that the individual was denied a job, a promotion, a raise, a project opportunity, or being bullied or otherwise treated poorly.	1	3
Ethnocentrism	Refers to the tendency to look at the world primarily from the perspective of one's own county traditions. In this research it refers to a person who views the customs and traditions of the United States to be preferential to those of other countries.	2	5
Racism	Racism is a form of discrimination where the person being discriminated against has been treated differently on the basis of their race. This usually applies to individuals who are Black, Indigenous, or of the Global Majority, but it can also apply in other circumstance. Being treated differently in employment many mean that the individual was denied a job, a promotion, a raise, a project opportunity, or being bullied or otherwise treated poorly.	9	26
Sexism	Sexism is a form of discrimination where the person being discriminated against has been treated differently on the basis of their gender. This usually applies to women, but can apply in other circumstances such as people who are gender non-conforming. Being treated differently in employment many mean that the individual was denied a job, a promotion, a raise, a project opportunity, or being bullied or otherwise treated poorly.	16	72
Anti-Natalism	It is the ethical view that people should not procreate as it is deemed to be morally wrong. Within the FAAM, this view is usually predicated on the likelihood that the child will consume meat, dairy and/or eggs, and will also negatively impact the environment.	6	23

Name	Description	Files	References
Gaslighting	Is a form of psychological abuse where a person or group makes someone question their sanity, perception of reality, or memories.	6	6
Hierarchy	A system or organization in which people or groups are ranked one above the other according to status or authority.	3	4
Mansplaining	The explanation of something, by a man, usually to a woman, in a manner that is condescending or patronizing.	2	2
Misogyny	Is defined as a dislike of, contempt for, or ingrained prejudice against women.	4	18
Sexual Harassment	Is defined as behavior characterized by the making of unwelcome and inappropriate sexual remarks or physical advances in a workplace.	15	66
#MeToo	The #MeToo movement is social movement against sexual abuse and sexual harassment wherein people publicize allegations of sexual misconduct, usually based on one party exercising power over the other often within the context of employment.	5	7
Tone Policing	Refers to a person being criticized for expressing emotion. It is usually done to devalue or detract from the validity of a statement. It is done to attack the tone of how something is raised rather than the message itself.	1	1
White Male Dominated Culture	Refers to a work culture where White men hold the majority of positions of power and control.	13	34
Sizeism	Sizeism is a form of discrimination where the person being discriminated against has been treated differently on the basis of their size. This usually applies to individuals who are heavy set, but it can also apply in other circumstance. Being treated differently in employment many mean that the individual was denied a job, a promotion, a raise, a project opportunity, or being bullied or otherwise treated poorly.	2	10
Tokenism	It is the act of including a person from a marginalized community (e.g., LGBTQ+, person of the Global Majority) into a situation and thereby indicating that the group or situation is now inclusive when it is not.	2	2
Transphobia	Refers to a dislike of or prejudice against people who do not conform to social gender expectations such as people who are transsexual or transgender.	2	3
Positive Experiences	Refers to the good aspects of a workplace culture as opposed to the bad aspects.	22	70
FAAM Honeymoon Period	Refers to the early part of a person's employment.	8	18

Name	Description	Files	References
Q4 - Recommendations	What suggestions do you have for leadership, including any organizational policies and practices, that are needed to create and/or maintain healthy workplaces for women like you?	3	4
Recommendations for FAAM		0	0
Accept Multiple Truths	Accepting multiple truths means that there are situations where matters which can seem to be diametrically opposed are in fact both true. An example of this is that Black on Black crime is a problem AND so is police brutality of the Black community. Another example, specific to the FAAM is that population growth is a factor in the rising rates of animal slaughter AND many animal activists want to have children.	4	10
Acknowledge and Dismantle Power Dynamics	The ability of a person to exert their influence and control over another person. When power is abused it has the ability to do great harm in a workplace to an individual employee, to an organization, and to the overall mission of the organization.	14	46
Challenge Group Think	This refers to the importance of always questioning what is being done, despite how long it has been done or how many people are doing it.	2	4
Resolve Internal Conflict in the FAAM	This can involve disputes between and among employees, between employees and management and between various groups within the FAAM. The cost of this type of conflict can be quite significant.	2	4
Embrace Diversity	Is a call to prioritize the need for greater diversity in the FAAM. This must include the practice of including or involving people from a range of different social and ethnic backgrounds, different genders, sexual orientations, ages, sizes, colours, and backgrounds.	24	82
Embrace Intersectional Activism	Is a plea to acknowledge and work in such a way that opposes all forms of oppression; not to work for animal liberation in isolation. A call to recognize that the oppression of animals is connected to the oppression of women, of people of the Global Majority, of members of the LGBTQ+ community, of the Earth, etc.	7	25
Focus on the Common Goal	Encourage all parties involved in the FAAM to stay focused on our shared purpose - which is to end all forms of animal exploitation. Staying focused on the shared goal can facilitate working together at all levels of the movement.	3	5
Jettison Effective Altruism	Is a call to eliminate effective altruism as a theory for funding, for prioritizing activism, and for governing any form of decision making within the FAAM.	3	4
Recommendations for Boards of Directors	This is an overarching code for any and all recommendations that the women are offering up to boards of directors in the FAAM.	0	0
Recommendations for Funders	This is an overarching code for any and all recommendations that the women are offering up to boards of directors in the FAAM.	3	4
Recommendations for Organizations	This is a parent code for the recommendations for organizations in the FAAM.	0	0

Name	Description	Files	References
Accept the Right of Employees to Unionize	Allow employees to choose whether or not they would like to be represented by a union. Do not actively oppose employees who choose to unionize.	5	14
Recommendations for Leaders		0	0
Commit to Leadership Development	Leadership development refers to the process of helping individuals, usually through training, coaching, and mentoring, to become better people managers. This may include training regarding human resources practices, motivational techniques, and team leader skills.	8	17
Do Not Expect Self-Sacrifice	Do not expect that employees should sacrifice their personal well-being in order to work in the FAAM. Do not use guilt-inducing techniques when responding to questions about remuneration, travel expenses, time commitments etc. And, do not rely on language like “the animals don’t get a day off”.	5	11
Engage Regularly in Self-Reflection	Refers to the act of paying attention to one’s own thoughts, feelings, actions, and decisions, and evaluating them in an effort to make improvements where appropriate.	9	17
Lead by Example	Leading by example refers to a leader who inspires others by practicing the types of skills that they are encouraging others to adopt. In other words, it refers to “practicing what you preach”.	3	8
Let go of Perfection	Perfectionism in the workplace refers to a person who is committed to flawlessness, and who may go to great lengths to not only achieve flawlessness, but to avoid any form of error. In a professional context, a perfectionist expectation can lead to burnout and stress as it may be akin to setting unrealistic expectations, and even setting someone up for failure.	4	6
Limit Meetings	Is a call to reduce the number of meetings that occur on a regular basis, and also to work to ensure that meetings that do occur are well-managed and effective.	1	2
Beware of Founder's Syndrome	Is a call to be aware of and combat the difficulty faced by organizations where one or more founders (the people who established the organization) maintain a disproportionate amount of power and control over the organization.	2	2
Beware of the Peter Principle	The Peter Principle is thus based on the paradoxical idea that competent employees will continue to be promoted, but at some point will be promoted into positions for which they are incompetent, and they will then remain in those positions because of the fact that they do not demonstrate any further competence that would get them recognized for additional promotion. According to the Peter Principle, every position in a given hierarchy will eventually be filled by employees who are incompetent.	5	7
Celebrate Wins	Engaging in some form of celebratory activity to recognize and acknowledge work that has been done to achieve a goal, or to achieve a particular step towards a goal. The celebratory activity might including enjoying a beverage or sweet treat. Such actions can unite the team and motivate them in continuing to do good work.	2	6
Commit to Training and Development	Offer educational opportunities for employees to encourage and empower them to enhance their skills, knowledge, and abilities to better perform their jobs and help to prepare them for new jobs in the future.	4	6

Name	Description	Files	References
Conduct Surveys	Engage in surveys regarding employee satisfaction as well as seeking the recommendations of employees on operational and strategic matters. Should include the option for anonymous surveys. Survey results must be shared with the employees, and executed upon.	4	6
Develop an Ethos of Transparency	Operating in a such a way that it is easy for employees to see what actions are being taken and why. Transparency includes being open with employees about policies, practices, and decisions, and being accountable for actions taken. In other words, operating without secrets. Transparency means operating in a place of trust, fairness, and honesty.	8	35
Resist Micromanaging	Micromanagement is a controlling management style that is based on a manager personally controlling and monitoring all aspects of the work done by a person or a team.	3	9
Encourage Creativity	Creativity in the workplace refers to suggestions and acts that are new, different, and innovative. It includes suggesting ways to improve processes, new ways of working, and new strategies to overarching problems.	3	12
Engage in Research-based Decision Making	Invest in more research regarding effective advocacy techniques. Rely on evidence, history, and academic works in strategic decision making.	5	8
Invest in Professional Human Resources	Human resources is a very broad field, and as such, given the average size of most organizations with the FAAM they may not have the need for full time human resources professionals in all areas of practice. Despite that, organizations should have access to experts in human resources at least on a contract basis for consultation when the need arises.	7	20
Consistent Human Resources Policies and Practices	Fair and consistently applied human resources practices and policies are a component of organizational professionalism. These practices and policies include all aspects of how an employee experiences their employment.	6	8
Anti-Retaliation Policy	A policy that prohibits retaliation (e.g., discipline, termination, demotion) against an employee for raising a sincere and genuinely held concern or complaint.	2	2
Career Development Program	A programs to assist employees in enhancing their skill in current roles, navigating organizational ladders, gaining personal insights into their strengths and development needs, and sharpening their ability for career advancement when the opportunities arise. This includes ensuring that possible career advancement options are made clear to all employees.	5	8
Compassion Fatigue Support	Compassion fatigue, also sometimes referred to as second-hand shock, trauma, or stress, is a type of stress that results from helping or wanting to help those who are traumatized or under significant emotional duress. This is very common within the FAAM where activists are exposed to egregious animal cruelty on an ongoing basis.	4	12
Contracts	Contracts, whether they are for employees, interns, or contractors are documents which clearly lay out the terms and conditions of the relationship between the employer and the employee. They usually lay out terms such as pay, benefits, time off, vacation, hours of work, etc.	2	3

Name	Description	Files	References
Employee Assistance Program (EAP)	EAP's are completely confidential services provided to employees by the employer to assist the employee in dealing with personal difficulties which arise in their home life that may also be impacting their work life. Examples would include problems with a spouse, a child, another family member, or something else such substance abuse.	3	4
Family Medical Leave Policy	A family medical leave policy would lay out the various options and conditions related to time away from work that are available to employees for matters related to the employee's own health and/or that of their family members. Examples include maternity leave, parental leave, etc.	2	6
Flexible Work Policy	Flexible work policies provide employees with alternate arrangements or schedules from the traditional working day and week. Employees may choose a different work schedule to meet personal or family needs.	3	7
Harassment Policy and Program	This is a policy and program that treats matters of various forms of harassment, discrimination, and violence in a workplace. It clearly defines appropriate and inappropriate conduct, it includes steps and routes of resolution for when instances occur, and also includes training for employees so that they fully understand their own rights.	6	6
Hours of Work Policy	This refers a policy that clearly lays out the number of hours of work that is expected of employees together with when those hours should be worked.	2	3
Job Descriptions	Provide clear and unambiguous documentation which summarizes the essential responsibilities, activities, qualifications and skills for a particular job. Ensure that job descriptions are kept up to date as changes occur.	1	1
Mentorship Program	A mentorship program is a structured one-to-one program connecting a more seasoned person with a less experienced person with the intent of supporting the more junior person in building their knowledge and skills for future goals and milestones.	6	9
Pay and Benefits	Refers to the remuneration that the employee receives for doing their job. Pay refers to hourly or annual wages, and benefits refers other forms of remuneration such as medical care, paid time off, tuition reimbursement programs, etc.	15	42
Performance Management Program	Provide a clear process for the evaluation of employee performance. This should include a component of future planning to support the employee's career aspirations together with any needed training and development needs.	1	1
Progressive Discipline and Termination Policy	Is a systematic approach to addressing issues in a workplace, which may or not culminate in the employee being terminated from their employment.	3	4
Promotion Policy	A promotion policy is a resource that specifies the process that is applied by organizations when promoting employees into a more senior job.	1	1
Travel and Expense Policy	It is a policy which sets out the reasonable and necessary expenses that will be reimbursed for approved work-related travel. This usually includes parameters on flight costs, hotel costs, and food costs.	2	2

Name	Description	Files	References
Vacation Policy	This is a policy which clarifies the amount of time, paid or unpaid, which an employee is entitled to be away from work for purposes of rest and relaxation.	1	1
Practice Kindness	This refers to how managers treat their employees. In particular, this refers to the suggestion that managers should be nice to their employees. Be gentle and understanding. Speak to them in a positive way, and engaged in regular acts of kindness such as asking how employees are doing, supporting them when needed, and listening to them when they would like to talk.	10	27
Acknowledge Emotions	Emotions are a range of possible responses to events or situations that employees may encounter. Emotions can be positive or negative or somewhere in between, and within the FAAM, this usually refers to responses to co-workers, manager, or to something related to animals.	5	8
Listen to Employees & Seek out their Opinions	Listening to employees can be done in multiple ways including one-on-one, in writing, via surveys, etc. The intention in listening is to attempt to understand the employee, and support them in their job.	13	44
Practice Work Life Balance	Work life balance is an important component of healthy workplaces. It is predicated on the importance of ensuring that employees do not work to the extreme in an effort to prevent burnout and chronic stress, and instead, are positioned to be more productive in the long term. Some aspects of a healthy workplace include limiting overtime, communicating with employees only during work hours, providing employees time off for exercise and to attend to family responsibilities, and also eliminating perfectionism.	7	13
Prioritize Relationships	Prioritizing relationships refers to the acts of expressing care and devoting time to building trust, understanding, and respect. It also includes ensuring that interactions are respectful, courteous, and truthful.	9	10
Recognize Employees	The act of acknowledging, praising, or rewarding someone for work that have done. This code also includes the importance of not taking credit for the work of others, especially those who are in subordinate roles and may be powerless to object.	6	13
Value Employees	Valuing employees means ensuring that employees feel appreciated for the work they do, that they are trusted to do their work, and that they are respected for the work that they do. It also means telling them know that they are not easily expendable, and that they are important to the overall mission of the organization. Demonstrating value can be different for different employees, and as such, understanding the unique needs of each employee is important.	15	43
Value Volunteers	Valuing volunteers means ensuring that volunteers feel appreciated for the work they do. That they are not easily extendible, and that they are important to the overall mission of the organization. Demonstrating value can be different for different volunteers, and as such, understanding the unique needs of each volunteer is important.	6	13
Professionalize	The act of professionalizing an organization generally refers to the formalization of an organization's process, policies, pay practices, governance practices, leadership, and other activities.	4	6

Appendix F: Organizations Named by the Participants

Name of Organization	Website
50 x 40	https://50by40.org/
Alley Cat Allies	https://www.alleycat.org/
American Humane	https://www.americanhumane.org/
American Society for the Prevention of Cruelty to Animals	https://www.asPCA.org/
Animal Charity Evaluators	https://animalcharityevaluators.org/
Animal Equality	https://animalequality.org/
Animal Haven	https://animalhaven.org/
Animal Legal Defense Fund	https://aldf.org/
Animal Outlook (formerly Compassion Over Killing)	https://animaloutlook.org/
Animal Protection League	http://www.aplspayneuter.org/
Animal Welfare Institute	https://awionline.org/
Anonymous	Not applicable
Balanced	https://www.balanced.org/
Berkeley Organization for Animal Rights	https://www.berkeleyarc.com/
Better Food Foundation	https://www.betterfoodfoundation.org/
Big Cat Rescue	https://bigcatrescue.org/
Blue Horizon	https://www.bluehorizon.com/
Companion and Animals for Reform and Equity	https://careawo.org/
Compassion Champs	https://www.instagram.com/compassionchamps/
Compassion in World Farming	https://www.ciwf.com/
Direct Action Everywhere	https://www.directactioneverywhere.com/
Educated Choices Program	https://www.ecprogram.org/
Encompass	https://encompassmovement.org/
Factory Farming Awareness Coalition	https://www.ffacoalition.org/
Farm Animal Refuge	https://farmanimalrefuge.org/
Farm Animal Rights Movement	https://farmusa.org/
Farm Forward	https://www.farmforward.com/
Farm of the Free Animal Sanctuary	https://www.farmofthefree.org/
Farm Sanctuary	https://www.farmsanctuary.org/
Farmhouse Garden Animal Sanctuary	https://www.farmhousegardenanimalhome.com/
Fauna Foundation	https://faunafoundation.org/
Faunalytics	https://faunalytics.org/
For All Animals	https://www.forallanimals.org/
Full Circle Farm Sanctuary	https://www.fullcirclefarmsanctuary.org/
Gender Equity in Animal Rights	https://www.genderequityar.org/

Name of Organization	Website
Gentle Barn	https://www.gentlebarn.org/
Good Food Institute	https://gfi.org/
Greenpeace	https://www.greenpeace.org/global/
Happy Cow	https://www.happycow.net/
Hockhockson Farm Foundation	https://hockhocksonfarm.org/
Human Society International	https://www.hsi.org/
Humane Society of the United States	https://www.humanesociety.org/
Indiana Animal Rights Alliance	https://inanimalrights.com/
Jewish Veg Association	https://www.jewishveg.org/
Jungle Friends	https://www.junglefriends.org/
Live Kindly	https://www.livekindly.co/
Luvín' Arms Animal Sanctuary	https://luvinarms.org/
Mercy For Animals	https://mercyforanimals.org/
Nonhuman Rights Project	https://www.nonhumanrights.org/
Open Philanthropy Project	https://www.openphilanthropy.org/
Open Wing Alliance	https://www.openwingalliance.org/
Peace Advocacy Network	https://peaceadvocacynetwork.org/
People for the Ethical Treatment of Animals	https://www.peta.org/
Physicians Committee for Responsible Medicine	https://www.pcrm.org/
Piccolo Farms Animal Sanctuary	https://www.piccolofarms.org/
ProVeg International	https://proveg.com/
Public Justice	https://www.publicjustice.net/
Richman Law & Policy: Factory Farming Fellowship Program	https://www.richmanlawpolicy.com/animal-welfare
Richmond Friends of Animals	No longer in existence
Sierra Club	https://www.sierraclub.org/
Sinergia Animal	https://www.sinergiaanimal.org/
Strategies for Ethical and Environmental Development, Inc.	https://www.seedundercoverinvestigations.com/
Student Animal Legal Defense Fund	https://law.stanford.edu/student-animal-legal-defense-fund-saldf/
Switch4Good	https://switch4good.org/
The Greenfield Project	https://www.thegreenfieldproject.org/
The Humane League	https://thehumaneleague.org/
Toronto Vegetarian Association	https://veg.ca/
Veg News	https://vegnews.com/
Veg Out	https://vegoutmag.com/
Vegan Outreach	https://veganoutreach.org/
Women Funders in Animal Rights	http://womxnfundersinar.org/
World Animal Protection	https://www.worldanimalprotection.org/

Appendix G: Response to Peter Singer via Social Media Post

Peter,

It is with a heavy heart that I am compelled to write this letter to you, a person whom decades ago inspired so much of my own activism. A person who has inspired so many of us, and has been a true leader in ushering our Movement into the mainstream.

This letter is in connection with what I can only assume is an ill-informed position regarding the recent purchase of The Esther Scanner (“Scanner”), and as such, I will provide you with a degree of enlightenment.

Yesterday marked the ribbon cutting ceremony of The Esther Scanner at the Ontario Veterinary Hospital in Guelph, Ontario. A small group of individuals were on hand to celebrate the largest CT scanner in the world now being available to not only large animals, but also small animals in Canada.

Here is just a short list of what The Esther Scanner has done and will do:

We enjoyed media attention for a full year, beginning with Esther’s illness, the realization that diagnostic equipment was not available, the fundraiser, the purchase of the Scanner, her breast cancer diagnosis, and her cancer-free outcome. The media attention was international. It is impossible to quantify the value of this volume of media coverage, nor is it possible to quantify the number of dinner table discussions that took place as a result.

Close to 12,000 people from 58 countries gave to our fundraiser – from Bulgaria to Japan to Seychelles. I’m not sure if you realize Peter, but when people give their hard-earned money to help animals they are giving far more than money, they are giving a part of themselves. Each of these gifts undoubtedly spawned countless discussions about the compassion for all life.

Our supporters have such compassionate hearts that even when we had met our fundraising goal – they continued to give. We have now established The Esther Shares program where we have the privilege of helping other sanctuaries with the medical bills of their residents.

The Scanner will provide life-saving diagnostic treatment and allow for a level of surgical precision not previously available to all animals in Canada. The Scanner will be operational for at least ten years if not longer, and the number of lives that it will be instrumental in saving cannot be known until the Scanner is no longer in use.

The Scanner will allow veterinary students to be trained in advanced diagnostics using cutting edge technology.

Research that is now possible with the Scanner will provide information about aging farmed animals that has never been amassed before. The information will be stored in a first-of-its-kind large animal database, and be available to all large animal veterinarians in the same way as has been done exclusively for traditional companion animals in the past.

The Scanner has already been earmarked for the most advanced research study on dogs with colorectal cancer in the world. This study will also have applicability for treating colorectal cancer in humans.

Discussion is underway for the possibility of the Scanner being used for human bariatric patients in the future.

And, we know that through our message of “kindness is magic”, tens if not hundreds of thousands of people have decided to leave animals off their plate. We, through all of our social media pages and platforms have shared our message of compassion for all life with in excess of 2 million people every single day, and the number keeps growing!

Peter, I challenge you to share with all of us what possible better use there is for this money. As a former vice president of one of the largest animal protection organizations in the world, I can tell you that some of the math that has been used to quantify what they are able to do with each dollar is simply false, and the welfare commitments that are being used to calculate these numbers simply have not occurred – they are no more than a “hoped for” future state with no mechanism to even determine if they are happening. And, we also know that many of these commitments could cause more harm to animals, not less.

The effective altruist obsession with quantification not only leads to development of junk-math, but it is fundamentally misogynistic. It completely fails to consider feminist principles of care and empathy. Instead, our work is real, it is tangible, it is helping real animals every day, it is showing that every single life is important. And this message is inspiring people all over the world. We are building an army – Esther’s Army – of people all over the world who value life, every single life, and who are changing their own lives by finding compassion in themselves for Esther, and hence, for all animals, and for themselves.

Peter, if you would like to learn more about our work, and learn more about the value of The Esther Scanner, please feel free to contact me. It would be my pleasure to have a discussion from one academic to another.

Krista Hiddema

President, Happily Ever Esther Farm Sanctuary

October 8, 2018 via Facebook

(<https://www.facebook.com/Krista.Hiddema/posts/872409616297565>)

Appendix H: Cross-Applicability of Recommendations for Organizations and Organizational Leaders

Note that recommendations are presented in alphabetical order.

Recommendation	Applicability to FAAM	Applicability to Non-Profits	Applicability to For-Profits
Recommendations for Organizations			
Accept the Right of Employees to Unionize	Yes	Yes	Yes*
Beware of Founder's Syndrome	Yes	Yes	Yes
Beware of the Peter Principle	Yes	Yes	Yes
Celebrate Wins	Yes	Yes	Yes
Commit to Training and Development	Yes	Yes	Yes
Conduct Surveys	Yes	Yes	Yes
Develop an Ethos of Transparency	Yes	Yes	Yes*
Resist Micromanaging	Yes	Yes	Yes
Encourage Creativity	Yes	Yes	Yes
Engage in Research-Based Decision Making	Yes	Yes	Yes
Invest in Professional Human Resources	Yes	Yes	Yes
Have Consistent Human Resources Policies and Practices, including:	Yes	Yes	Yes
Anti-Retaliation Policy	Yes	Yes	Yes
Career Development Program	Yes	Yes	Yes
Compassion Fatigue Support	Yes	Yes	No
Contracts	Yes	Yes	Yes
Employee Assistance Program	Yes	Yes	Yes
Family Medical Leave	Yes	Yes	Yes
Flexible Work Policy	Yes	Yes	Yes*
Harassment Policy and Program	Yes	Yes	Yes
Hours of Work Policy	Yes	Yes	Yes
Job Descriptions	Yes	Yes	Yes
Mentorship Program	Yes	Yes	Yes
Pay and Benefits Policy	Yes	Yes	Yes
Performance Management Program	Yes	Yes	Yes
Progressive Discipline and Termination Policy	Yes	Yes	Yes
Promotion Policy	Yes	Yes	Yes
Travel and Expense Policy	Yes	Yes	Yes
Vacation Policy	Yes	Yes	Yes

Recommendation	Applicability to FAAM	Applicability to Non-Profits	Applicability to For-Profits
Practice Kindness			
Acknowledge Emotions	Yes	Yes	Yes
Listen to Employees & Seek out their Opinions	Yes	Yes	Yes
Practice Work Life Balance	Yes	Yes	Yes
Prioritize Relationships	Yes	Yes	Yes
Recognize Employees	Yes	Yes	Yes
Value Employees	Yes	Yes	Yes
Value Volunteers	Yes	Yes	No
Professionalize	Yes	Yes	Yes
Recommendations for Leaders			
Commit to Leadership Training	Yes	Yes	Yes
Do Not Expect Self-Sacrifice	Yes	Yes	Yes
Engage Regularly in Self-Reflection	Yes	Yes	Yes
Lead by Example	Yes	Yes	Yes
Let Go of Perfection	Yes	Yes	Yes
Limit Meetings	Yes	Yes	Yes

**Certain limitations may apply*

Appendix I: Checklist of Recommendations for More Regenerative Organizational Practices, Policies, and Governance in the FAAM

Recommendations for the FAAM Overall:

- | | |
|---|--|
| ☐ Accept multiple truths | ☐ Embrace diversity |
| ☐ Acknowledge and dismantle power dynamics | ☐ Embrace intersectional activism |
| ☐ Challenge group think | ☐ Focus on the common goal |
| ☐ Resolve internal conflict | ☐ Jettison effective altruism |

Recommendations for FAAM Funders:

- | | |
|---|--|
| ☐ Jettison effective altruism | ☐ Recognize the need to increase employee pay and benefits |
| ☐ Apply organization engagement metrics to funding decisions | ☐ Provide directed gifts to fund board governance self-assessment |

Recommendations for FAAM Boards of Directors:

- | | |
|---|---|
| ☐ Commit to understanding and executing on Board Responsibilities: | |
| ☐ Determine mission and vision | ☐ Ensure sound financial management |
| ☐ Recruit, evaluate, and if necessary terminate the executive director | ☐ Ensure effective programmatic work |
| ☐ Engage in strategic planning | ☐ Fundraise |
| | ☐ Enhance public standing |

Recommendations for FAAM Organizations:

- | | |
|--|---|
| ☐ Accept the right of employees to unionize | ☐ Encourage creativity |
| ☐ Beware of founder's syndrome | ☐ Engage in research-based decision making |
| ☐ Beware of the Peter Principle | ☐ Invest in professional human resources |
| ☐ Celebrate wins | ☐ Practice kindness |
| ☐ Commit to training and development | ☐ Professionalize |
| ☐ Conduct surveys | ☐ Resist micromanaging |
| ☐ Develop an ethos of transparency | |

Recommendations for FAAM Organizational Leaders:

- | | |
|--|--|
| ☐ Commit to leadership development | ☐ Lead by example |
| ☐ Do not expect self-sacrifice | ☐ Let go of perfectionism |
| ☐ Engage regularly in self reflection | ☐ Limit meetings |

Appendix J: Non-Profit Board of Directors Self-Assessment Questionnaire

This Non-Profit Board of Directors Self-Assessment Questionnaire has been informed by both my experiences in working with boards of directors in the FAAM, as well as by my literature review and research.

The questionnaire is intended to serve as a tool for boards of directors in the FAAM in fostering discussion about the important factors involved in governance that is legally, morally, and ethically sound. Upon completion of the questionnaire, the answers to the questions, which will vary from a simple *yes* or *no* answer to a more complex answer, are then intended to support the board of directors in their strategic planning efforts that involve the need to prioritize the work of the organization. Boards of directors are encouraged to seek assistance from a professional in matters of non-profit governance once the questions have been answered and in the prioritization of the work. A governance professional can help this process of prioritization by brining to light any legal issues that, if not treated quickly, might result in various fines, penalties, loss of public trust, and possibly other repercussions. In addition, a professional can also provide guidance in serving as an accountability partner to the board, and help hold them accountable to those whom the organization serves including employees, volunteers, and the general public.

Further, this questionnaire is a living document that I intend to continue to develop through its implementation as informed by the boards of directors with whom I work.

The Two Foundational Factors

1. Board of Directors

- Are there a diversity of experiences on the board in critical areas such as law, accounting, human resources, marketing, finances, and fundraising?
- Are there people of different ages, genders, sexual orientations, races, religions, and ethnic backgrounds on the board?
- Does the board represent the community they serve?
- Do any board members have any conflicts of interest with their board role?
- Do all members of the board understand the organization's mission, vision, and values?
- Does each board member exemplify the organization's mission, vision, and values in their own lives?
- Does the board rely on the mission, vision, and values as a barometer for organizational decision making?
- Do the board members clearly understand their responsibilities as board members?
- Does each board member clearly understand their own role on the board?
- Do employees clearly understand the roles and responsibilities of each board member?
- Do volunteers clearly understand the roles and responsibilities of each board member?
- Is the founder on the board?
- Does the board meet and communicate regularly and keep minutes of all communications?
- Are there board by-laws?
- Is there a board code of conduct?
- Does the board have regulations regarding length of service?
- Does the board have regulations regarding role rotations?
- Has the board anticipated possible crises and are they equipped to deal with a crisis?
- Does the board have regulations regarding cross-training for critical roles?
- Is the board compliant with applicable non-profit legislation?
- Does the board regularly review financial statements?
- Is the board involved in major financial decision making?
- Is the board provided access to all organizational documents and materials?
- Does each board member have the opportunity to add items to the meeting agenda?
- Is each board member given the opportunity to be heard at each meeting?
- Does each board member complete assignments thoroughly and in a timely manner?
- Does each board member respect the confidentiality of board correspondence?

- Does the board have a positive relationship with other like-minded organizations?
- Does the board have a positive relationship with complimentary organizations?
- Do the board members have good working relationships with one another?
- Does the board have a good working relationship with the executive director?
- Does the board have all forms of insurance in place and are these insurance programs reviewed regularly?
- Does the board receive regular reporting from the executive director?
- Does the board formally review the performance and salary of the executive director on a regular basis?
- Does the board assist with fundraising?
- Do board members donate directly to the organization?
- Does the board work to reduce any and all forms of organizational risk?
- Is the board aware of the organization's program areas?
- Is the board open to implementing new programs and/or discontinuing programs that are not effective?
- Does the board have a clear understanding of what the organization can and cannot do in law regarding programmatic areas?
- Does the board participate in organizational events?
- Do employees know who the board members are, what they do, and how to contact them?
- Is the board working to enhance the organization's public image?
- Is there a good line of communication between the board and employees?
- Is there a good line of communication between the board and volunteers?
- Does the board review the organization's strategy at least annually?
- Does the board have external trusted advisors with specialized recommendations to rely on when necessary?
- Does the board stay abreast of social, political, and economic trends affecting the organization?
- Does the board have a long-term vision for the organization?
- Does the board regularly ask themselves how they can improve as a board?
- Does the board engage in board self-assessments and commit to ongoing learning regarding board governance?
- Is the board committed to transparency?

2. Mission, Vision, and Values

- Does the organization have a mission statement, a vision statement, and values?
- Are the mission, vision, and values integral to all aspects of the work of the organization?
- Are the mission, vision, and values kept forefront in all aspects of the work of the organization?
- Do the employees and volunteers understand and keep forefront the organization's mission, vision, and values?
- Are the mission, vision, and values reviewed regularly?
- Do the employees and volunteer have input into the creation, development, and review of the organization's mission, vision, and values?

The Eight Assessment Factors

1. Financial Measures

- Does the organization have a clear understanding of all operational costs?
- Are all operational costs segmented within a chart of accounts?
- Are there parameters for cost approvals depending on one's role within the organization and other relevant criteria?
- Are costs assessed at least monthly?
- Does the organization use/subscribe to a financial software system for expense entry and report generation?
- Are all accounting software, payroll software, and financial records password protected?
- Are all paper accounting files under lock and key?
- Does the organization have clear control policies for activities such as data entry, expense report approvals, bank deposits, cheque requests, and approvals?
- Does the organization utilize the services of a professional accountant or bookkeeper?
- Are employees paid in a fair and transparent manner?
- Does the organization offer competitive benefits programs?
- Are all accounting practices aligned with generally accepted accounting principles?
- Is all government reporting done on time and accurately?
- Does the organization have their annual financial records audited by a third-party accounting firm?
- Are financial records stored in accordance with best practices?
- Does the organization have a fundraising program?
- Does the organization have a donor database?

2. Internal Processes

- Does the organization have clear and documented processes for all aspects of the operation?
- Are processes regularly reviewed and updated as appropriate?
- Does the organization have clearly defined accountability processes for each process and task?
- Does the organization ensure that at least one person is trained as a back-up for each process and task?
- Does the organization utilize technology as appropriate for internal process documentation?
- Does the organization have internal communication protocols?
- Does the organization seek to empower all employees regardless of gender, age, years of experience, and/or other personal characteristics?

3. Volunteer Engagement

- Does the organization have an active volunteer program?
- Are volunteers regularly recruited to the organization?
- Does the organization have a volunteer orientation/training program?
- Does the organization have a volunteer manual that volunteers are provided with and comply with?
- Are volunteer policies and procedures regularly reviewed and updated?
- Do the volunteers know who the board of directors are?
- Is there a climate of trust between the board members and volunteers?
- Are the volunteers recognized for their service?
- Are there any specific volunteer retention programs in place?
- Are volunteers given the opportunity to apply for paid jobs, and given preference if possible?

4. Employee Engagement

- Is there adequate staffing to support the work of the organization?
- Does the organization have positive, update to date, and legislatively compliant human resources policies and practices?
- Are human resources policies and practices consistently applied?
- Does the organization have access to professional human resources support?
- Does the organization comply with all applicable payroll regulations and reporting requirements?

- Is the organization committed to collaboration with all levels of employees?
- Does the organization seek out the input and opinions of employees?
- Is employee feedback implemented in a meaningful way?
- Does the organization have a formal performance management program?
- Does the organization offer employee training programs?
- Is the organization compliant with occupational health and safety legislation?
- Does the organization have a person or committee dedicated to occupational health and safety?
- Do all employees clearly understand what is expected of them at work?
- Does the organization assess the performance of each employee on a formal basis at least annually?
- Is the organization committed to celebrating all victories?
- Are employees empowered to act based on clearly articulated responsibilities?
- Are employees micro-managed?
- Does the organization provide opportunities for advancement and/or job enrichment?
- Does the organization provide training and/or mentoring to employees?
- Does the organization have a clear promotion program and only promote individuals who are genuinely capable of performing the essential duties of the job?
- Is there a positive relationship between employees and volunteers?
- Do employees understand that they have the legal right to unionize?
- Does the organization provide employees with a supportive and well understood mechanism to resolve disputes?
- Are employees expected to work outside of their regular hours?
- Do organization leaders and manager practice work-life balance?
- Are the emotions of employees recognized, valued, and supported?
- Does the organization work with employees based on their individual and unique talents?
- Is perfectionism the standard for work performance?

5. Community Engagement

- Does the organization have a positive reputation within the community?
- Is the executive director working to enhance the organization's public image?
- Does the organization invite and/or involve the local community in any particular activities or events?
- Is the executive director and/or staff involved in any community programs or events?

- Does the organization seek to bring in volunteers from the community?
- Does the organization participate in community activities that seek to work on behalf of marginalized persons?

6. Programs

- Does the organization have only programs that are aligned with their mission, vision, and values?
- Is the organization adequately staffed to ensure the smooth running of all programs?
- Are the programs based on an ethic of care for all animals, both human and more-than-human?
- Does the organization regularly review the efficacy of the programs and redesign or cancel as appropriate?
- Does the organization regularly consider and review new and existing program areas?
- Does the organization rely on research for making programmatic decisions?
- Does the organization seek to question long ingrained ways of thinking?
- Does the organization foster a culture where all program areas are questioned on a regular basis?
- Does the organization encourage creative thought regarding programmatic areas?

7. Intersectionality

- Does the organization work to enhance other social justice causes other the one that they are primarily focused on?
- Does the organization support the work of other social justice movements?
- Does the organization have a clear policy against racism, sexism, ageism, homophobia, and other forms of discrimination?
- Does the organization have a person, team, or committee working to combat negative *isms* within the organization?
- Does the organization work to truly operationalize anti-racist work as opposed to simply practicing cosmetic diversity?
- Does the organization's board and leadership lead by example in combating systemic forms of negative *isms*?

8. Commitment to Continuous Improvement

- Does the organization regularly and critically evaluate their programs and processes?
- Is the organization open to changing any aspect of their operation?
- Does the organization regularly assess their beliefs, knowledge, and actions, and remain open to amending these as appropriate?

- Is the organization open to public scrutiny?
- Does the board and the leadership commit to their own personal leadership development?
- Does the organization engage with their supporters to seek feedback on their practices?
- Does the organization seek to apply effective meeting strategies?
- Is the organization willing to change as needed?
- Does the organization have a succession plan?
- Is the organization committed to the constant professionalization of their practices?