

“Half the Job is Pleasing Her”:
An Ethnographic Account of Manager-Induced Stress, Care Worker Responses, and Care
Recipient Outcomes at a Rehabilitation and Adoption Center for Farmed Animals

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INTRODUCTION

Since the mid-twentieth century, the proportion of interactive service jobs has risen dramatically in the United States, quickly outpacing industrial occupations and giving rise to what Bell (1973) calls a “post-industrial society.” Social scientific research on interactive service work has kept pace with this broader shift in the western economies, with studies on service work now outnumbering those on manufacturing jobs, both in the United States (Lopez 2010) and the United Kingdom (Korczynski 2009).

Care work falls within this category of interactive service work, and as this shift toward a service economy continues, it is critical to explore the ways care workers and other service workers make meaning of their experiences, including adverse experiences on the job. In this paper, my goal is to examine the ways in which the harshness of a managerial regime impacts care workers’ attitudes toward their work, as well as their interactions with care recipients—particularly in occupations where caregivers consider their work to be part of a broader social movement.

Based on three months of intensive participant-observation as an animal care intern at a rehabilitation and adoption center for farmed animals, supplemented with semi-structured interviews with my fellow caregivers, I argue that harsh managerial engagement with staff and a heavily regimented work environment can have adverse effects on care workers—and ultimately, on the care recipients themselves. In order to maintain their employment—and therefore, their relationship with their animal clients—the caregivers I observed employed three primary strategies that helped them cope in an environment in which “half the job” is pleasing an

unforgiving manager: 1) strict adherence to protocol, 2) “taking a gamble” in an effort to satisfy management, and 3) deception and willful negligence of care recipients. Although the first strategy occasionally benefited the animal care recipients, these three strategies are ultimately problematic, as they are characterized by an intense focus on avoiding managerial scrutiny that all too often compromises the quality of care provided. In this manner, I extend Folbre’s (2001) prisoner of love concept by arguing that care workers remain silent not only on issues of pay as Folbre suggests, but on issues of harsh managerial treatment, in order to maintain their relationships with their care recipients. I also introduce the concept of *secondary* prisoners of love, as care recipients are adversely impacted by caregivers’ efforts to maintain their employment through subversive means.

Harsh managerial treatment is especially detrimental, I argue, in value-rational bureaucracies in which care work is a form of occupational activism (Cornfield 2015; Isaac et al., forthcoming)—that is, where care workers are not only motivated by a desire to engage with care recipients, but also by a desire to contribute to a broader social movement through their caregiving activities. In settings where caregiving as a “calling” is translated into caregiving as “vocation” (Weber 1905), the structure of value-rational bureaucracies, including the animal sanctuary I studied, plays a pivotal role in impacting not only worker attitudes, but patient and social movement outcomes.

As advocates for farmed animals and other animals used by humans as clothing, research subjects, and entertainment, the sanctuary caregivers I observed are motivated to keep their jobs not only to maintain their relationships with the animals in their care, but also to continue participating in the animal rights movement through personally fulfilling means. In this manner, I contribute to Cornfield (2015) and Isaac et al.’s (forthcoming) study of artistic and aesthetic

activists by asserting that care workers, too, can be occupational activists who use their talents to pursue justice.

These findings, although preliminary and based on in-depth analysis of a single case, may be applicable to other non-profit settings in which care workers perceive their occupation as part of a broader movement for justice and equality. Although protocol is a critical part of providing quality care in these settings, it is perhaps equally important for managerial regimes to be characterized by respect for care workers; consistent acknowledgement of care workers' dedication to their care recipients and to the broader movement; and openness to questions and requests for clarification by care workers who strive to best serve their recipients.

I will begin this presentation of my research with a review of the current literature on care work, the devaluation of work, and the intersection between paid employment and activism, as well as the rise of human-animal studies. I will then delve into the methods I used to explore animal caregiving—namely intensive participant-observation and semi-structured interviews—and provide a rationale for my decision to study sanctuary caregivers in particular. I will also outline the inductive process by which I became aware of the counterintuitive phenomenon by which caregivers often engaged in behavior that ultimately put their care recipients at risk, as well as a preliminary theory as to how antagonistic relationships with management ultimately contribute to poor patient outcomes in caregiving settings—particularly those in which workers are intrinsically motivated to maintain relationships with their clients and view their work as part of a broader movement for justice.

LITERATURE REVIEW

Animal caregiving falls within the category of care work, which, in turn, exists under the even larger umbrella of interactive service work. Definitions of service work vary, but Leidner's (1993, p. 1) provides a basic and inclusive definition of service work as occupations that "require workers to interact directly with customers or clients." O'Riaian (2010) calls for a broad definition of interactive service work that includes professionals, while Korczynski (2009) limits the category to "front line" service workers.

In an effort to maintain as comprehensive a vision of service work as possible, I will adopt Leidner and O'Riaian's more inclusive definitions for the purpose of this project. Animal caregiving at Gaia's Garden straddles the line between the professional and the front-line, and between service work and physical labor, as the animal care staff administers medications, bandages chicken feet, re-inserts prolapsed vents, and even performs minor surgery, while also performing the more manual tasks of feeding the animals, raking their yards, and mucking their barns. My study extends existing understandings of care work in its consideration of a case that blends "dirty" work (Hughes 1962) and hard physical labor with interactive service work in a medical setting that may be considered "professional."

The "Triangle" of Interactive Service Work

Although interactive service work first appears to be an impossibly broad category under Leidner (1993) and O'Riaian's (2010) more inclusive definitions, scholars argue that both professional and front line service work are ultimately characterized by a set of interdependent, power-laden interactions between three key parties: 1) the employer, 2) the worker, and 3) the

client or customer (Frenkel et al 1999; Leidner 1996; Macdonald and Sirianni 1996). In fact, in their review of the rising study of interactive service work, McCammon and Griffin (2000) deem this interactive service triangle to be the distinguishing characteristic that sets service work apart from industrial or manufacturing occupations.

I extend this literature by positioning the sanctuary's nonhuman residents as imputed clients whom the animal caregiving staff serves. Latour's (2005) actor network theory (ANT) corroborates my conceptualization of animals as clients, as it posits that objects and environmental factors, including animals, interact with humanity and ultimately impact their actions. By exploring the human-animal relationship within the context of interactive service work, we can further investigate what service work really is—and isn't—while also illuminating the social construction of chickens, goats, and other farmed animals as products for consumption rather than as clients to be served.

Worker Control

The interactive service triangle is characterized by an ever-present tension between cooperation and conflict among management, service workers, and their customers. One of the primary manifestations of this underlying tension is employers' practice of "control[ing] and monitor[ing] the worker-customer interaction to promote what they view as quality service" (McCammon and Griffin 2002, p. 580).

Dasgupta and colleagues (2014, p. 302) argue that managerial regimes characterized by heavy managerial control in the form of "more bossism than is required," humiliation, biased treatment of workers, and a "lack of flexible working arrangements" can contribute to displeasure among workers, who may ultimately leave the organization. Similarly, Hodson

(2001) argues that managerial abuse and incompetence make it difficult for workers to find dignity in their daily tasks, which ultimately impedes their ability to perform their work well and eliminates the pride they take in their employment.

Howard (1993, p. 241) argues that managerial control can also manifest itself in peer control—that is, in “coworkers seek[ing] to monitor and influence each other’s level of productivity”—in industrial settings where management structures work so that the earning of rewards and completion of tasks depends upon cooperation and interdependent efforts by workers.

In my study, I strive to contribute to this literature by exploring forms of managerial control over workers and the impact of that control over workers’ performance and attitudes, as well as their relationships with coworkers. I also extend Hodson and Dasgupta et al.’s work by exploring the ways in which heavy surveillance and harsh enforcement impact not only the service workers themselves, but also their clients or customers. I also extend current understandings of peer control by exploring it in interactive service work and identifying managerial harshness as another factor that may facilitate peer control.

Care Work and the “Animal Turn”

Care work, which England and colleagues (2002, p. 455) define as “occupations in which workers...provide a face-to-face service that develops the human capabilities of the recipient,” falls within this broader category of interactive service work. My study of animal caregiving extends existing understandings of care work by expanding the definition to include work that develops the *nonhuman* capabilities of *animal* recipients as well. This also contributes to Haraway’s condemnation of human exceptionalism as “foolish” and her argument that it is

critical to examine the “contact zone[s]” where humans and animals interact and where “the outcome, where who is in the world, is at stake” (Haraway 2008, p. 244).

By broadening conceptions of care work and by participating in what Weil (2010) calls the “animal turn” in social scientific inquiry, I seek to answer this theoretical question: How do humans and nonhumans mutually influence one another—a phenomenon Haraway (2008) calls “becoming with”? and the methodological question: What is the best way to understand the human-nonhuman relationship in a more-than-human world?

Explanations for Low Pay in Care Work

Sociologists of work have sought to explain the consistently low pay care workers receive compared to similarly-situated individuals in other occupations. One of the most compelling explanations for this disparity in pay is the “prisoner of love” argument, coined by Folbre (2001), who argues that care workers are unlikely to make requests to management, namely pay raises, because they fear losing their jobs—and, most importantly, their relationships with their clients or patients (Folbre 1995). When care workers—and, presumably, other interactive service workers—are intrinsically motivated to provide a service and form relationships with patients or clients, they are more vulnerable to a systematic depression of wages.

In my study, I strive to explore Folbre’s prisoner of love thesis further and to see whether the vulnerability of care workers is limited to low pay, or whether it extends to other forms of abuse or neglect by administrators. In doing so, I hope to identify the mechanisms by which care workers become prisoners of love and the outcomes of the prisoners of love phenomenon, with the humanistic goal of identifying ways to alleviate the suffering of care workers at the hands of

dispassionate or outright aggressive administrative forces. I also strive to identify other factors that may drive intrinsically motivated workers to accept low pay or other forms of administrative oppression, and, in this study, I explore occupational activism as one of those potential factors.

Occupational Activism

The sanctuary I study is characterized by occupational activism by care workers, who not only share a strong bond with their animal recipients of care, but also conceive of their work as part of a broader social movement (Cornfield 2015; Isaac et al., forthcoming)—in this case, a movement for veganism and the promotion of animal rights. Animal caregivers share a collective identity centered on animal advocacy and a “direct opposition to the dominant order” (Taylor and Whittier 1992, p. 110).

This salience of the sanctuary staff’s work to their relationships with animals and with their identities as advocates for animals raises the question: How does an activist orientation toward one’s work impact the meaning and value caregivers attribute to their work? Also, does occupational activism intensify the “prisoner of love” effect among care workers? And finally, what can value-rational bureaucracies do to promote, rather than stifle, occupational activism while also providing opportunities for workers to express their concerns about the conditions of their employment?

METHODS

As part of my broader efforts to understand the ways individuals make meaning at work and the ways humans and animals shape one another's "becoming with" (Haraway 2008, p. 244), I conducted three months of participant-observation and interviewed animal caregivers at Gaia's Garden*, a non-profit rehabilitation and adoption center for farmed animals in the western United States. Gaia's Garden is home primarily to "spent" egg-laying hens who would have otherwise been slaughtered or gassed due to their waning production, and a few goats and roosters were rescued and adopted out during my time there as well.

Gaia's Garden is part of a larger organization, Wilma's Mission, which oversees the

*I have changed all names and identifying information (even the names of the sanctuary's animal residents!) to protect my human participants' confidentiality.

rehabilitation and adoption center's operations. In addition, Wilma's Mission provides permanent refuge to chickens, turkeys, cows, pigs, goats, sheep, rabbits, and other animals traditionally used for food at its main sanctuary and provides education through public tours and social media outlets in hopes of encouraging a vegan lifestyle. I had interned at the main sanctuary the summer before I conducted my research at Gaia's Garden, and although I took an inductive approach in developing my findings on managerial style and its impact on care workers and care recipients, I arrived at the adoption center with the intent of understanding meaning-making among caregivers in non-profit, social movement-oriented settings.

In the sections that follow, I will describe my methods in further detail and then discuss the distinguishing features that make Gaia's Garden a valuable case in the study of care work in value-rational bureaucracies characterized by occupational activism.

Data and Methods

My current study is inspired largely by my experience living and interning at Wilma's Mission the previous summer. I noted that the organization was characterized by an emphasis on promoting veganism and on egalitarian relations between humans and nonhuman animals. The caregiving work itself was also characterized by filthy, dirty, hard physical labor, including mucking stalls, transporting filthy straw and excrement to the compost pile and dumping it, and scraping and scrubbing perches encrusted in waste. In spite of the heat, sweat, physical exhaustion, and visceral disgust with the smell of pig urine and chicken poop, I found myself nostalgic for animal caregiving as I sat in the sterile, air-conditioned comfort of my office and classrooms as a first-year graduate student. *What is it about this filthy, dirty, disgusting work that draws people in?* I asked myself. *And why in the hell do I want to go back?*

In an effort to answer that question while raising many others, I ventured across the country to Gaia's Garden, a smaller branch of Wilma's Mission that focused on rehabilitation and adoption—and, importantly, would allow my two little senior dogs, Ruthie and King, to tag along with me. I sought to do the “dirty work” of animal caregiving again—to “participate in the daily lives of the people and situations under study” (McCall and Simmons 1969 p. 365). I hoped to “understand another way of life from the native point of view” (Spradley 1980) by actively participating in animal caregiving activities. I strived to immerse myself in the filth and heavy lifting to channel Wacquant's (2004) carnal ethnography of boxing, in which his own body became a critically important tool for research.

In addition to exploring the question of finding dignity in dirty work through participant-observation, I sought to conduct a multispecies ethnography—a study of culture that includes both human and nonhuman members (Tanita 2013). I hoped to gain a fuller understanding of the ways the chickens and goats at Gaia’s Garden shaped their caretakers’ identities, experiences, and perspectives on their work. I took a more inductive approach here, as I did not have a specific sense of what aspects of Gaia’s Garden’s culture I wanted to explore—other than a broad exploration of activist orientations.

Intensive Participant-Observation at Gaia’s Garden

During the summer of 2015, I conducted three months of intensive participant-observation (McCall and Simmons 1969; Spradley 1980) as an unpaid, full-time, live-in animal care intern at Gaia’s Garden, amounting to an estimated total of at least 465 hours, or an average of 36 hours of observation per week. During my time at the adoption center, the site had one full-time, live-in ranch manager (a lead caregiver with administrative and managerial duties); two part-time animal caregivers; one part-time barn cleaner (who had taken on caregiving roles in addition to cleaning); and one full-time, unpaid, live-in intern (me).

I decided that intensive participant-observation, drafting thick description and accounts of my experiences in the form of daily field notes, and “allow[ing] for the discovery of behavioral patterns (Singleton and Straits 2010, p. 364) would be an ideal way to capture the essence of animal care and to allow for overarching themes to arise. The intensive nature of my observations and the physical—and ultimately, emotional—intensity of my work made daily notetaking challenging, as Wacquant (2004) recounts in his carnal ethnography, *Body and Soul*, in which he literally took punches to explore the experience of boxing:

Back home, I try to take advantage of the interlude by taking down my notes, but I'm so exhausted from yesterday and nervous about the upcoming fights that I don't get much done. (Wacquant 2004, p. 174).

I, too, took “punches” of sorts as I acclimated to the heavy lifting and dirty physical labor, to routinely harsh treatment at the hands of management, and to the isolation that came with living in a studio apartment attached to my unforgiving manager's house, with poor Internet access and phone reception and no television, hostile neighbors in the canyon, and rattlesnakes and coyotes lurking outside, making it dangerous to take Ruthie and King outdoors for extended periods of time. In addition to feeling physically exhausted, I often felt hopeless and discouraged—both with my caregiving work at the sanctuary and with the state of my research project—which made it challenging to keep up with field notes.

In an effort to compensate for this physical and emotional exhaustion, I took what I call “bare bones notes” at the end of each day, or the next day—descriptive yet grammatically embarrassing jottings that would jog my memory about what I experienced or observed during my shift. Then, on my days off, I completed what I refer to as a “final fill-in”—an effort to transform my bare bones notes into more intelligible narratives. In addition to bare bones notes, I began taking photographs of key structural features of the sanctuary and texting notes to myself on my iPhone as a supplement to my bare bones notes. I waited until I had built some rapport with other staff members and branded myself as a hard worker before pulling out my phone in this manner.

While I cannot claim that I took a purely grounded theory approach—after all, I arrived at my field site with a broad set of questions in mind—I strived to take as inductive an approach as possible and to allow patterns to emerge as I lived, worked, and recorded observations on-site. By “moving from the theory to the field and back to the theory” (Tavory and Timmermans 2009,

p. 250) over the course of my fieldwork, I engaged with both my participants' experiences and with existing understandings of care work, dirty work, worker control, social movements and occupational activism, and meaning-making through interactions with animals.

My Caregiving Responsibilities and Work Schedule

My duties at the adoption center closely resembled those of the paid caregiving staff and included feeding and watering the animals, mucking their barns and raking their yards, scrubbing dirty perches, stocking feed and straw bales, and socializing with the animals. As I became accustomed to this daily routine, Ann, the ranch manager taught me how to administer pain medication and antibiotic pills, treat prolapsed vents, and even give injections and perform minor surgery to treat bumblefoot, a foot infection common in chickens.

During my time as an intern and participant-observer, I worked four days out of the week; spent one day a week at educational intern enrichment activities (which often necessitated an 80-mile drive to Wilma's Mission, where four or five other interns worked); and had two days off. Gaia's Garden policy mandates that at least one staff member be on-site at all times, largely due to fire danger, so the live-in ranch manager needed to remain on the property at all times during my two days off—and, conversely, as a live-in intern, I was required to remain on the property at all times during her two days off.

The amount of work I performed waxed and waned over the course of my fieldwork. I worked an average of 8 hours per day in the form of split shifts (usually from 9am to 1pm, followed by an afternoon break, and then from 4pm to 8pm) in the months of May and June, when the adoption center's population hovered around 700 hens. During this period, we adopted birds out to individual families and also sent groups of approximately 25 to 50 birds at a time to

local adoption events, and by July, the population of birds had diminished tremendously. This smaller population of care recipients, as well as the blistering heat, led Ann to reduce my work hours to approximately 5 ½ to 6 ½ hours per day. I worked a modified split shift, which consisted of my regular 9am to 1pm hours, followed by a break, afternoon chores from approximately 4pm to 5pm, another break, a half-hour “heat check” of all of the residents at 6pm, followed by another break, and finally closing the animals in for the night from 7:30 to 8pm.

After the organization’s large-scale rescue of 1,500 hens from a commercial caged egg farm on July 22nd and 23rd, I worked 8- to 12-hour days, which in addition to regular care duties, included declumping—a process unique to new rescues. Ann, who has explained the declumping process to volunteers dozens and dozens of times during her tenure as ranch manager, describes this procedure—and the rationale for it—much more eloquently than I can:

90% of the animals that we rescue here are battery-caged hens. They’ve spent their entire lives in wire cages. Typically birds would know how to perch at night and seek safety and comfort in perches and in high trees. They’ve been denied that behavior and that instinct by being in cages. They are scared and overwhelmed and confused when they’re in wide open spaces for the first time. They don’t know how to perch.

It’s sort of out of panic and comfort—instinct—they gravitate to the corners [of the barn at night] and pile on top of each other. If you don’t get in there and split them up and remove them—what we call declumping them—they’ll smother and crush each other. That’s a process that takes two to four weeks to teach them new behaviors. We separate them, we put them on perches, we put them in nesting boxes. We teach them what their mothers would have taught them when they were baby birds.

After Gaia’s Garden’s rescue in late July, Ann routinely placed me in charge of groups of five or so volunteers, whether it was monitoring a barn during the declumping process, leading a work

party in cleaning a barn, or serving as a delousing medication administrator during health checks. By the time I concluded my fieldwork at the adoption and rehabilitation center, I was nearly a full-fledged staff member who had a wide variety of responsibilities and authority over volunteers.

Interviewing

In addition to participant-observation at Gaia's Garden, I conducted semi-structured interviews with 7 out of the 8 paid animal caregivers employed by Wilma's Mission. This included all four of the current animal care staff at the main sanctuary, as well as three of the four animal caregivers at Gaia's Garden, which included Ann the ranch manager and two of the three caregivers. My interviewees ranged in age from late teens to early fifties; five were female and two were male; and five were white, one was Latino(a), and one was ethnically ambiguous (either white or Latino(a) based on appearance). For the purpose of protecting my participants' confidentiality at such a small site, I will not refer to individual respondents' age or race/ethnicity when discussing my findings. For the purpose of this project, which is largely based on my observations at Gaia's Garden, I will focus on my interviews with the caregivers at the rehabilitation and adoption center.

In my efforts to understand the meanings caregivers attribute to their work, I developed a semi-structured interview guide that I organized according to broader categories of Work, Activism, Attitudes toward the Human-Animal Relationship, Family Socialization, and Demographics. More specifically, I asked participants to describe the work they do at the sanctuary; their favorite part of the job; the ways in which they might view their caregiving work as part of a broader movement for "animal rights, a vegan lifestyle, or any other movement"; their vision for the future of the human-animal relationship; and the ways their work and lifestyle

impacted their familial relationships and vice-versa. (I have appended my interview guide to this document.)

I decided to focus my interviews on broader questions related to identity and meaning-making, and then to examine how caregivers' responses manifested themselves during the average work day. I recorded all but one of these guided conversations—one interviewee at the main sanctuary was concerned about the possibility that a government agency could obtain access to my recordings, as he has a file with the FBI for animal rights activity. I had my recordings transcribed by a professional transcription service, with a generous small research grant from Vanderbilt University's sociology department. I open-coded my interview transcripts and field notes by hand after printing them, then reviewed my codes and organized various segments of text into a Microsoft Word document by category.

Gaining Entrée

Gaining entrée in the first place was a relatively smooth process for me, as I had interned at Wilma's Mission the previous summer and unwittingly built rapport with the sanctuary's caregiving and educational staff, as well as its executive director. I interviewed for an internship at Gaia's Garden via Skype, was accepted, and then requested permission to conduct interviews and observations from the organization's executive director. The director willingly agreed and encouraged me to "let us know what you find."

Veganism is a core value at Wilma's Mission and Gaia's Garden, as it is a requirement for all staff members to be vegan or "at least vegetarian" and for all interns to be vegan while on-site. My identity as a vegan advocate for animal rights eased my ability to gain entrée, and one of my interviewees at Wilma's Mission—who was new and I had not met until my second

summer—actually inquired about how long I had been vegan and whether I planned to remain vegan after my internship before we began our interview. “It wouldn’t make sense [to interview me] if you weren’t vegan,” he explained after I alleviated his suspicions.

Although my veganism and past experience as an animal care intern enabled me to gain entrée, it also made interviewing a bit challenging, one of my participants frequently asked me, “Am I answering this good?” while another trailed off, saying, “I don’t know if you want me to go into detail. I don’t know if I—.” After reassuring the first respondent that she was “doing good” and that “I just want to hear what animal care is like for you” and answering the second respondent by saying, “We’ll pretend that I know nothing about animal care whatsoever, so I can hear it in your own words,” our guided conversations ran much more smoothly. Overall, I believe that my veganism, my familiarity with and support for animal rights, and my experience in animal care ultimately gave me a distinct advantage in exploring my fellow care workers’ identities, challenges, and meaning-making processes.

The Sociological Value of Animal Sanctuaries

Wilma’s Mission as an organization and Gaia’s Garden as a rehabilitation and adoption center provide a valuable site for inquiry—not because they “make the familiar strange,” but rather, because they “make the strange familiar” (Mills 1959). Caring for chickens, turkeys, cows, pigs, goats, sheep, and other animals traditionally raised and slaughtered for food may seem absurd to outsiders, but to caregivers at Wilma’s Mission, these animals are of equal value to a dog, cat, or any other companion animal. Here, humans and nonhumans mutually construct one another’s lives and identities, and we gain greater insight into “contact zones” (Haraway 2008) between people and animals.

In addition, while I had originally conceived of animal caregiving at the sanctuary primarily as a form of dirty work akin to that practiced on commercial farms, I soon discovered that the wide variety of tasks the sanctuary’s employees completed—mucking barns, feeding and watering animals, administering antibiotics, and even doing minor surgery—was, first and foremost, care work, as all of these tasks are completed with the purpose of nurturing the “capabilities of the recipient” (England et al. 2002, p. 38).

Based on a preliminary analysis of my field notes, I identified three main ways that animal caregivers engage in care work at Gaia’s Garden: 1) “by providing comprehensive medical and personal care” (Barna 2015, p. 8); 2) “by incorporating animals’ unique needs and preferences into their care routine” (Barna 2015, p. 8); and 3) “by prioritizing socialization, trust-building, and discipline as part of the ‘rehabilitation’ process prior to adoption” (Barna 2015, p. 8). While animal caregiving does involve “dirty work” akin to that of animal agriculture, it is, above all, care work resembling that of a nurse, teacher, therapist, or parent. Therefore, Gaia’s Garden is worthy of inquiry on the ways working conditions impact caregivers’ orientation toward their patients and, ultimately, patient outcomes.

Furthermore, Wilma’s Mission’s focus on promoting veganism and animal rights more generally, as well as the animal caregivers’ view of their work as part of a larger movement for animals, suggests that this care work is also a form of occupational activism (Cornfield 2015; Isaac et al., forthcoming). In a handout provided to Wilma’s Mission interns, the organization provides a definition of and rationale for veganism as a lifestyle and as a way to “make a stand for justice”:

Speaking broadly, veganism is the doctrine that humans should live without exploiting animals. All animal agriculture, traditional or well-intentioned, involves unjust and cruel treatment of other

conscious beings...By not buying these products we make a stand for justice, role-model a more peaceful relationship with other animals, boycott businesses that raise or kill animals for profit, and support the production of plant- and mineral-based goods.

In addition, during my time at Gaia's Garden, it became clear that the animal caregivers there perceive their work as part of a broader movement for animal rights.

Michael, for example, felt inspired to volunteer and then work at Gaia's Garden, because "I had been vegan for two years, but I wanted to do more" (Field Notes, May 8, 2015). Outside of work, Robert engages in leafletting for Peace on our Plate, an organization that encourages veganism, and he frequently posts photos of the sanctuary's residents on social media accompanied by the hashtag "#friendsnotfood" or "#govegan."

Paloma protests inside of stores and restaurants in which animals' bodies are sold or served as food, and she often incorporates the stories of the sanctuary's animals into her speakouts—with help from Michael, who does not attend the actions but drafts her speeches (Field Notes, May 27, 2016). Although Michael has criticized the practice of protesting inside restaurants and grocery stores during our conversations and instead considers himself to be a "lead by example kind of guy," he contributes to Paloma's efforts at direct action through his writing.

Ann, too, although "not allied with any animal rights group," considers her role as ranch manager to be part of a broader project of taking what she calls a "softer, gentler approach" to advocating for animals. During our interview, she explained how her relationship with the animals at Gaia's Garden might ultimately encourage others to recognize the rights of animals:

Elizabeth: How do you see your work with Pumpkin, with Tumbles—with all these animals—as contributing to an improvement in the animal-human relationship? How do you see your work contributing?

Ann: Other people experience it, too, and use social media and other ways, too, and they get to experience it. I have a friendship and a relationship with a rooster or a goat or somebody else. Often, they'll say, "I didn't know goats were like that," and, "I didn't know roosters were like that." It's my way of educating others. When they see the bond that I'm able to form—the friendships and the emotional bonds that I'm able to form with farmed animals—they could see that they're just like their cat and their dog.

Maybe it would give them pause to consider their own choices about what they're eating and what they're consuming and what they're purchasing, and that maybe they don't need to. This animal is just like their animal.

The organization's advocacy for animal rights, as well as the animal caregivers' perception of their work as part of a broader social movement, suggests that this organization provides a valuable case of the intersection between work and activism—in this case, between animal care work and the animal rights movement. This, in turn, makes Gaia's Garden a valuable locus of inquiry when considering the ways intrinsic motivation and occupational activism impact care workers' sense of self and their perspective of their work.

FINDINGS

Although I had originally expected to focus on the intersection of work and activism and the intricacies of the caregiver-chicken relationship for this project, my field notes began to center on themes of intense regimentation and underlying caregiver-manager conflict. After several weeks of trying to focus on my original areas of interest, the words “protocol,” “surveillance,” “reinforcing protocol,” and “conflict” became so pervasive in my field notes that I could not neglect to consider them theoretically.

As a novice ethnographer, I had hoped to engage with “warm and fuzzy” research topics to avoid the ethical conflict associated with divulging less-than-flattering information about my participants. Upon observing the intensity of caregivers’ fear of being reprimanded by management, as well as the impact caregivers’ coping strategies had on the animals themselves, however, I decided that it is not only intellectually honest to wrestle with and present these findings, but also critical to improving both care workers’ experiences and care recipients’ outcomes.

Keeping the caregivers’ intrinsic motivation and social movement orientation in mind, I will discuss the centrality of protocol and its strict enforcement at Gaia’s Garden and the way the site’s current managerial style contributes to three key outcomes in caregiver’s behavior: 1) reinforcing protocol; 2) “taking a gamble” by choosing between two potentially viable courses of action; and, 3) engaging in deception and, ironically, willful negligence. All three responses to supervisor surveillance and strict enforcement of protocol are rooted in a fear of getting in

trouble, either for following protocol incorrectly and getting caught or for failing to properly treat an animal's ailments.

The Centrality of Protocol

During my time at Gaia's Garden, I quickly found that protocol was central to the rehabilitation and adoption center's operations. Soon after my arrival at the sanctuary, Ann brought me into the animal care room (or ACR for short) and retrieved a single double-sided sheet entitled "GAIA'S GARDEN ANIMAL CARE GIVER [sic] PROTOCOLS." She set it down on the clean gray-green counter and read the preface to the document aloud:

It takes a very special person to be a Wilma's Mission animal caregiver. You were all hired because I believe you have the capacity to be amazing at what you do and care for our rescue animals as they deserve.

An integral requirement of being an animal caregiver is to be able to follow detailed instructions, meet time sensitive [sic] demands, and learn and process new information quickly. I have trained all the employees at GG in cleaning, medical care protocol, death protocol, and emergency scenarios. Things in animal care will always change – new animals, new treatments, new protocols. I expect everyone to be able to think independently and problem-solve. If I have trained you and given you resources to access- you should be able to think independently and solve everyday issues. If I'm not around, there is no reason to consult me unless it is an emergency or something we have never discussed, or after thorough efforts – you are unable to solve on your own.

Ann then gestured to me to begin reading the first section—"SICK ANIMALS"—aloud in front of her. A bit taken aback, I began, struggling to read the document upside down as I went:

Do not spend your shift looking for sick animals. If you observe an animal with symptoms, re-locate [sic] to Iso stall, band, and record symptoms on clipboard. If they are DYING – let Ann know personally or via text. All sick hens go into the Iso stall EXCEPT respiratory issues. If gurgling, sneezing, discharge symptoms are present – isolate in a kennel stall in ACR and start a tx [(treatment)] sheet. ½ Doxycycline 2X daily. Standard practice

for all ACR animals: set up with feed, water, clean bedding.
Blanket is for padding – towel is for changing out 2X daily. 2X
daily treatments are to be completed at open (8a) and close (7p).
Please consult Animal Care binder if questions arise. Use small
dry erase board to communicate any new animals pulled for tx
either in Iso stall or ACR.

After I made it through this section, Ann appeared satisfied, and turned the sheet around and allowed me to read the rest of the document silently before signing it. The sheet concluded with a statement of Ann’s intentions, which are “better communication” and “greater clarity of my expectations.” (I have appended the remainder of the document, which also lists protocols for deceased animals, meds, cleaning, and volunteers, to this paper.) This instance suggests that explicitly outlining the proper protocol is a critical part of initiating new staff and interns at Gaia’s Garden—and that following clearly outlined protocols independently is essential to being a good animal caregiver.

This heavy emphasis on protocol upon my arrival was not an isolated incident, but rather a consistent part of my summer fieldwork experience. As I explored the property, I was struck by the dozens of signs and labels scattered throughout the ACR and Gaia’s Garden’s three barns.

Signs and Labels

Some of these signs were permanent fixtures, such as the hand-written message on a yellow legal pad affixed to each barn’s walls:

Please Keep portable waters on top of cement pavers.
It helps Keep the straw out.
Thanks!
A

Each barn also had a dusty, laminated “BARN CLEANING PROCEDURES” document hanging on the wall, with more specific, step-by-step directions on cleaning the barns (Figure 1). In

addition, the Blue Barn features a reminder of the cost of straw and hay, presumably to encourage caregivers to conserve these resources (Figure 2).

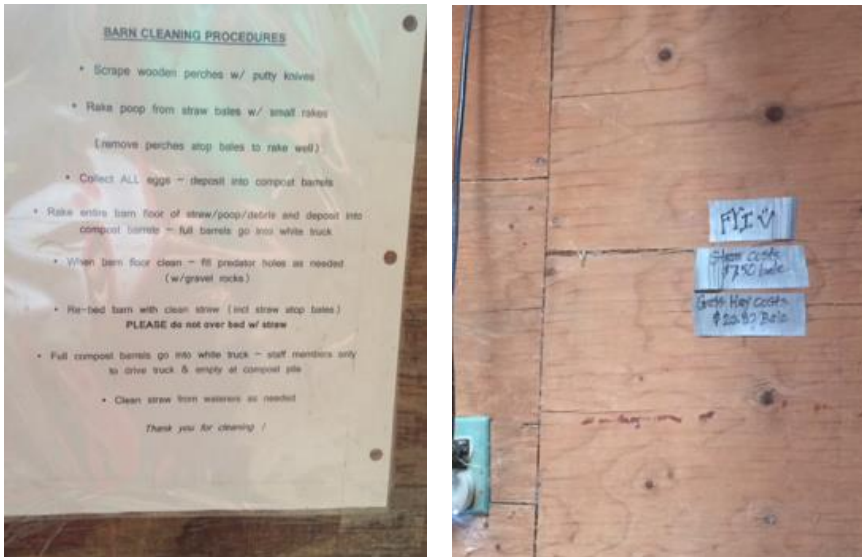


Figure 1 (left): Barn Cleaning Procedures, posted in the Blue Barn

Figure 2 (middle): “FYI :) Straw costs \$7.50 bale/ Grass Hay costs \$20.50/ Bale”

The animal care room also features many such reminders and labels, including a hand-written note affixed to the fridge which reads “ACR must stay clean –at all times- / thank you— / Ann” and reminders to “Please Do Not Lock” the ACR door, “Please Turn off Lights When not in use” (Figure 4). The adjacent kennel room features a reminder to “Please Clean sink after use” and “Keep Kennel gates closed” (Figure 5); the shed that houses the washer and dryer greets caregivers with “Keep Latched + closed @ top please” (Figure 6); and even the plastic red Solo cups in the adjacent guest apartment for volunteers read “Wash + Reuse” (Figure 7), which themselves sit atop a hand-written reminder on the fridge to “Please clean up after yourselves.”



Figure 4 (top left): Reminders to leave door unlocked and turn off lights when not in use in the ACR, as well as labels for light switches

Figure 5 (top right): Reminders to “Please clean sink after use” and “Keep Kennel gates closed” in the kennel room



Figure 6 (bottom left): Note regarding the washer and dryer shed, which should be “Latched + closed @ top please”

Figure 7 (bottom right): Disposable plastic red Solo cups labeled with a reminder to “Wash + Reuse” them instead of throwing them away

Other such notes popped up as the animal population and their needs shifted. For example, after the arrival of 1,500 rescued hens from a battery facility, we placed hens who suffered from vent prolapses in a special kennel in the ACR, to which Ann affixed a note:

Prolapse Only tx > Wash vent w/ warm soapy cloth
 Trim vent feathers
 Apply SSD
 Re-Instert
 2X daily
 *Ann or staff only please *

During the heat of summer, Ann also posted Heat Stress Protocol sheets in all of the barns and in the ACR (Figure 3) and quickly replaced one that Phlox, one of the goats, had chewed up in the Flag Barn.

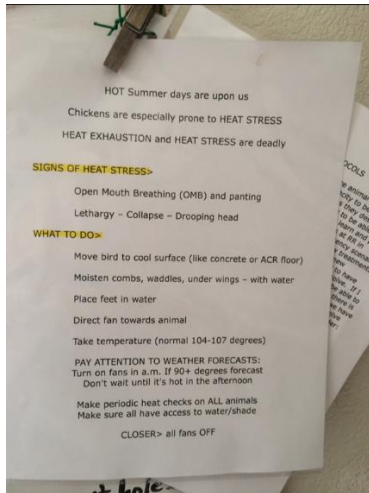


Figure 3 (left): Heat Stress Protocol Sheet, posted in the ACR

The omnipresence of notes, labels, and protocol sheets the ranch manager drafted and posted illustrates the centrality of protocol at Gaia’s Garden, as well as its infusion into the sanctuary’s physical space. Paid caregivers, interns, and volunteers are literally surrounded by reminders of what to do—and what *not* to do—in nearly every conceivable situation on-site.

The Animal Care Binder

In addition to an employee protocol contract and dozens of permanent and transient signs, labels, and other written reminders, Gaia’s Garden has a two-inch-thick blue A/C Binder—or animal care binder in the ACR. During my first few weeks at the sanctuary, one of my ongoing assigned tasks was to flip through the binder to gain familiarity with the information it provided, which ranged from the names and contact information for neighbors and for local animal organizations and feed stores; to descriptions of various common ailments in farmed animals and how to treat them; to instructions on performing health checks on various species of farmed animals. The A/C Binder was a “Bible” of sorts, to which the caregiving staff and I frequently

referred—and were once reprimanded for not returning to its proper place. Animal care at Gaia’s Garden is heavily regimented, and a barrage of highly visible information on protocol and on farmed animals more generally is one of the hallmarks of this facility.

Why Protocol?

As a participant-observer at the sanctuary, I felt the weight of the pervasive reminders of protocol—both in the form of written reminders as I described above, and in the form of frequent and often demoralizing reminders from the ranch manager, which I will discuss in the next section. This led me to wonder: What function does protocol serve at Gaia’s Garden in particular? Why is it such a major component of the caregiving experience?

One possible explanation for the centrality of protocol derives from the relatively simple division of labor and small staff at the rehabilitation and adoption center, especially when compared to the organization’s main sanctuary. Wilma’s Mission’s main sanctuary has animal care, office and education, and maintenance departments in its staff, which includes the executive director, an education director, a social media coordinator, full- and part-time animal caregivers (one of whom lives on-site), a live-in animal care director, a volunteer and intern coordinator, an adoption coordinator, and a maintenance professional at a site with approximately 200 animals. Gaia’s Garden, on the other hand, has a strikingly simple division of labor, with one full-time, live-in ranch manager, two part-time animal caregivers, one part-time barn cleaner who also performs caregiving duties, and, during my time there, one full-time, live-in intern (me) taking care of a population of 400 to 1,800 hens and a handful of roosters and goats.

This simple division of labor and small staff has led Ann the ranch manager to assume many duties that are distributed to other departments at Wilma's Mission. As Ann noted rather wearily, "We're animal care. We're maintenance. We're administration. We're management" (Field Notes, June 13, 2015). Without the possibility of increased bureaucratization through the hiring of administrators and maintenance staff due to budgetary limitations, strict protocols provide some relief to an overextended ranch manager. Without the possibility of Ann being everywhere on-site at all times to answer all questions about animal care, strict protocols and the availability of written resources also create a better opportunity for less seasoned caregivers to provide proper care in her absence.

Ann corroborated my conjecture during our interview, in which she emphasized the necessity of being "on the same page" at such a short-staffed adoption center:

We have to run a really efficient program here. We're short-staffed. We're on a budget, and we have to maximize our time and energies. We can't have people confused about what to do. "Okay, I have a sick bird, I have a deceased bird, I have an emergency." We all have to know how to behave in those circumstances.

Paloma, a barn cleaner-turned caregiver, provided a similar explanation, in which she highlighted the massive scale of care provision at Gaia's Garden, especially after rescues:

Elizabeth: The sense that I'm getting from the time I've spent at Gaia's Garden is the protocol. It seems to play a huge role. Would you agree with that?

Paloma: I would. I definitely would agree with that.

Elizabeth: Yeah. What role does protocol play? Why is it important?

Paloma: I think because we do everything on such a large scale. There's so much that needs to be done. We have to make sure we follow a schedule. We follow strict guidelines so that we don't miss things, and things get done properly, and all the birds are

cared for. Yeah. Because we have like 2,000 birds usually... We have to have protocol. We have to have ways of doing it. Otherwise, I think things could get chaotic.

In addition to ensuring that Gaia's Garden is a "well-oiled machine," as Michael called it, many practices and procedures at Gaia's Garden were explicitly aimed at conserving resources. This included ensuring that items are returned to their proper place immediately after use; pouring excess feed back into their designated cans in the late afternoon; using as little water as possible (the property's water supply is fed by two wells, one of which is seasonal and dry during the summer); using the same oral syringe for multiple birds' deworming treatments; and waiting until waterers with medicated liquid were empty before refilling them so that no precious antibiotics are dumped out and wasted in the process. It appears that scarcity is a prime motivator for the ranch manager's incorporation of resource conservation into protocol.

Last but most certainly not least, beyond the issues of low funding and a small staff, protocol serves the fundamental purpose of insuring the health and safety of the adoption center's residents. During our interview, Ann justified her development of and strict enforcement of the current protocols in terms of "life and death":

It's super important that we all be on the same page. We're dealing with lives and life and death, so we have to be really precise about what we do: about medication, about treatments, about feeds, about cleaning, about gates and latches and safety. If we make mistakes, animals can die. It's one thing that's really important to me and that I have strict standards on, and I really expect people to learn the protocols and absorb them and implement them.

Protocol surrounding animal health and safety resembled that of other care work organizations—following the patient's care plan, which in this case, is posted on a clipboard in the Iso stall where the sick residents are housed; not reusing needles; and maintaining a clean animal care room. Michael described the sanctuary's protocol as relatively "common sense," elaborating:

You know this place is, for all intents and purposes, a sanctuary, even though we adopt out all our animals. You know what the goals are. You know what we're trying to do here. Anything that would hinder that or go against it—common sense would tell you to keep at trying anything that helps the animals.

Many of these health and safety measures did not appear to be “common sense” at Wilma’s Mission’s main sanctuary, however, where Ann had worked as a caregiver before being promoted to ranch manager at Gaia’s Garden. As we transported dirty straw to the compost pile at the edge of the 60-acre adoption center one morning, she condemned the poor animal care standards at the main sanctuary, which had a massive turnover in staff, including the resignation of its long-time head caregiver:

“Animals are dying left and right [at Wilma’s Mission],” [Ann] lamented... “Why do you think that is?” I asked... She paused for what felt like an eternity and pursed her lips—her brow was furrowed and she appeared upset, but at the same time she seemed hesitant to share her position.

I sat silently beside her, and finally, she explained that “first, they don’t have anybody who has experience with animal care,” and also that “the standards are so low” when it comes to cleanliness on site. Ann seemed particularly displeased with Wilma’s Mission’s animal care room, which she described as “filthy” and a “cesspool.”... “That’s where you’re taking your sick animals,” she added. “It’s disgusting. It smells like death in there,” and I nodded as I remembered the ACR’s distinctly foul smell...

“I don’t care who you are,” she continued, saying that the average person should know that things should be clean when caring for animals. “They should all be fired,” Ann said punitively of the Wilma’s Mission animal care staff. She provided an example of what she deemed poor animal care practices: “I saw Holly treating a bird’s eye. She was sitting on the ground, with the bird on the filthy floor. She didn’t wash her hands, had no gloves on, and treated her eye. And they wonder why animals are dying of infections!” (Field Notes, June 19, 2015)

In short, the strict protocol and heavily regimented animal care duties at Gaia’s Garden may be in part inspired by what Ann deems to be negligence at the organization’s other site.

The Trouble with Protocol

It appears that Gaia's Garden's staff members acknowledge the importance of protocol in protecting the animals they care for. In many cases, however, I saw protocol being ignored for fear of performing a task incorrectly. In the following sections, I would like to delve into the heart of my argument as it relates to this mysterious practice: While protocol is clearly important to preserving animals' health and well-being, as is evidenced by the incredible losses attributed to Wilma's Mission's unsanitary conditions, the managerial style with which protocol is enforced is just as critical to protecting care recipients. I will begin by describing the rather harsh means with which Ann enforces protocol; then outline the ways in which an intense fear of being reprimanded or fired inspires either intense compliance, "taking a gamble," or willful negligence; and finally, draw preliminary conclusions as to how managerial harshness ultimately adversely affects care recipients.

Manager-Induced Stress

During my time at Gaia's Garden, manager-induced stress quickly became a pervasive theme as I recorded my observations. I found that my coworkers had a persistent fear of completing a task incorrectly, and I, too, developed a paralyzing concern about making a mistake and losing my internship—and my opportunity to conduct research.

During my interview with Michael, I asked what he found to be the most challenging part of his work at Gaia's Garden. While other caregivers noted the sense of loss associated with animals' deaths or with their adoption to a new home, Michael identified his interactions with management to be the greatest hurdle he overcame in his work, especially during his first few weeks on the job:

When I first started here, I feel that me and Ann did not get off on the right foot. We got along prior to my employment here. I was a volunteer for awhile, but I think...I think probably she expected a lot from me, and I maybe didn't deliver right off the bat. I made some mistakes that she thought I shouldn't have made. She can sometimes talk to me in a way that's not very conducive to getting the results she wants.

Dealing with management was stressful at first, but I feel like we've come a long way since then. And that's in the past now, and there really hasn't been anything that has happened really like that. That's not a current complaint, but that was definitely the hardest thing for sure, for sure.

Although my interviews did not provide much detailed and consistent insight into the interpersonal challenges at Gaia's Garden in particular, my observations and experiences as a full-time animal care intern and ethnographer suggest that "dealing with management" is a major challenge for the animal caregivers**—a challenge that greatly impacts their mental well-being and the quality of their work. Although Michael professes that this challenge is "in the past now," my ethnographic work suggests that manager-caregiver relationships continue to be a present concern for the Gaia's Garden staff.

Here, I will provide an account of the various ways in which workers experience managerial stress with regard to the enforcement of protocol, and in the following section, I will describe the caregivers' often counterintuitive response to surveillance and frequent reprimands.

"Reminders" and Reprimands

In addition to the initial presentation of protocol to new staff members, Ann ensured that we followed the proper practices and procedures by correcting us when we failed to follow those procedures. Michael made this observation during our interview, noting Ann's tendency to catch mistakes and inform us of what we did that went against protocol:

**I would like to note that I conducted my interview with Michael in one of the chicken yards on-site, per his request, on a day when Ann was on the property. Perhaps this influenced his claim that "that's not a current complaint."

Elizabeth: Also, if something goes against protocol...

Michael: You'll know.

Elizabeth: Being reminded.

Michael: You'll hear about it. You'll hear about it.

Elizabeth: Got you.

Michael: Yeah, unfortunately, I had to learn the hard way a little bit at first. I would forget some stuff or I'd make mistakes, and I'd be reminded.

During my first night closing the barns with Ann, only four days after my arrival, I received one such reminder, in the form of being asked incredulously, "What are you doing?" The encounter unraveled as follows:

Tonight, when I closed with Ann, I messed up at the Blue Barn. I entered Stall #1, where the majority of the barn's chickens lived with Elvis the rooster, to close the shutters. This was the correct procedure, but after, instead of coming around the outside of the barn to usher the chickens in from the outside, I simply came out through the barn door. My heart sank as wave after wave of chickens leapt from their perches and followed me outside, in search of a treat that I did not have. Instead of getting everybody into the barn, I had single-handedly encouraged all of the birds to go outside at 7:30 at night.

"What are you doing?" Ann asked through the fence, her eyes wide and her mouth hanging open. "I don't know," I admitted in frustration, throwing my hands up and tears stinging my eyes.

Ann guided me through the rest of the procedure for closing the Blue Barn, and with some extra time and the help of a rake, I was able to finally get all of the girls inside (Field Notes, May 11, 2016).

Although I was not told directly, "You're an idiot," or "You're incompetent," the frustration and derision in her voice conveyed the message that I had made a horrible mistake. I reflected in my field notes that night, "I felt horribly embarrassed that I had screwed up... She has a way of asking a question, making a suggestion, or giving an instruction that leads me to feel like the biggest failure of all failures" (Field Notes, May 11, 2016).

Little Reprieve for New Employees

Indeed, being new to the job did not spare me from criticism, as evidenced by Ann's growing impatience with me as I struggled to hold a hen's wing out as she demonstrated how to clip the flight feathers to prevent her from continuing her chronic habit of escaping her yard:

She instructed me to fan out the hen's wings to expose all the flight feathers. I hesitated, as I was worried that I would accidentally break her wing somehow, and I slowly and nervously fanned out her right wing with one hand. Ann told me, "You have to get comfortable" and added firmly, "Use two hands. You have two hands."

Feeling a bit embarrassed and insulted, and at the same time being terrified of breaking a wing, I spread her wing out with two hands, so that each individual feather stuck out. "See where these feathers stick out?" Ann explained, "These are the flight feathers. We just trim along here." ...I removed one of my hands from the wing to avoid the scissors, and Ann repeated firmly, "Use two hands."

Unsure of where to put the second hand, I clumsily placed it near the tip of the hen's wing. Jan didn't protest and I internally breathed a sigh of relief. (Field Notes, June 4, 2015)

Michael relayed a similar experience, in which Ann emerged from her on-site log cabin—on her day off, no less—to confront him about his whereabouts during a.m. feeds soon after he began work at Gaia's Garden:

Michael: One morning there was a sick hen. I forget what specifically was wrong with her. She just wasn't looking very good or something. It was me and the intern at the time, and I left her in the Plum Barn to do feeds or whatever, and I'm like, "I'm going to bring her to the iso stall and band her and write her up, or whatever. As I was coming back, Ann was out there. I knew by her tone—

Elizabeth: It's, "What are you doing?"

Michael: Already, I'm like, "Oh, God. What did I do wrong?" She's like, "Where were you? Where did you just go?" I'm like, "I just took this hen to the iso stall or whatever." She's like, "Well, you know we have this protocol where we get feeds and

everything done first, and we put hens in the tack room, and we take them back up [to the iso stall or ACR] on our way up.” Obviously, of course after she said that, I remembered. I’m like, “Oh, yeah.”

These confrontations often occurred on Ann’s day off, and caregiver Robert, who worked at Gaia’s Garden since its inception, noted on a day when Ann was not only off work, but also off-property, “Ann’s not here today. We can relax.” He added quickly that he “likes Ann,” but that she works incredibly fast when cleaning barns with the caregivers and that the experience of keeping up with her is akin to being “in the military.”

In addition, when things went wrong at the sanctuary—when a mischievous goat broke into one of the chicken yards, when Tacoma the rooster hopped the fence and got loose, and when a caregiver became overwhelmed with a rude adopter and asked me to break protocol by driving the sanctuary truck to the compost pile—the refrain, “Thank God Ann’s not here,” or “Thank God Ann didn’t see” was quite common.

Written Reminders in Response to Mistakes

While Ann’s absence spared the caregiving staff from verbal “reminders,” the attentive manager often left written reminders for us if she noticed that we made a mistake and she was not around to discuss it with us in person. For example, one morning, I arrived at the ACR and noticed a note on the whiteboard, reading: “MB [(Main Barn)] Electric Fence was left unhooked Last night. Please hook up fence at closing. / Thx / Ann.” The day after I had neglected to catch another caregiver’s failure to open the Main Barn doors in the morning, the original offender was met with the note, “Opener: Please remember to open Main Barn Slider Doors in the a.m. / Thanks / Ann.” Similarly, after one of the other caregivers presumably

logged onto Ann's computer in the ACR, I walked in to see a handwritten note "Please Do not use my computer without permission/ Thanks, Ann" draped over the keyboard.

While many of these hand-written notes are often benign and communicate the proper protocols to preserve animal health and safety, some of the notes generate a sense of shame and guilt among caregivers. For example, I was particularly sobered by a message directed toward me, after I had forgotten to put a waterer lid and gasket back in their proper place the day before:

As I walked toward the whiteboard, I was mortified to see a lid and gasket on top of the wood stove, with an attached yellow sticky note with "Why Is This Here?" scribbled in Ann's handwriting. Michael briefly said hello and then gestured toward the note, saying that "Ann wanted me to ask you about this."

"I forgot to put it back!" I exclaimed, horribly embarrassed, and added, "It's totally my fault!" I explained that I had "cleaned the whole floor on my hands and knees yesterday" and must have forgotten to put the gasket and lid back in the kennel room. (Field Notes, May 23, 2015).

Although Michael and Robert, who was heading out at the end of his shift, were sympathetic, I felt incredibly embarrassed by the incident. Even though leaving materials out would not harm any of the sanctuary's residents, it was clearly considered unacceptable in the eyes of management. Michael reassured me, "It's hard when you're thinking of a hundred different things" and added that "Ann's got eagle eyes" and will notice if something is out of place (Field Notes, May 23, 2015).

In a similar manner, after a sick hen in the iso stall lost a tremendous amount of weight, Ann moved her to the ACR and left a note for the caregivers on her kennel:

#14 was in Iso stall for 'monitor'
She now weighs 1 lb.
If a bird is ever than [sic] under weight [sic] syringe feed Exact

Thanks Ann

I had not read anything in the protocol sheet about syringe feeding, but the implication of the note was clear: The animal caregiving staff had made a major mistake by not hand-feeding her, and our negligence can have—and has had—devastating consequences on the sanctuary’s residents.

Caregivers as Responsible for Other Caregivers’ Mistakes

Ann emphasized that we were not only responsible for doing our own jobs properly, but also for remaining watchful for mistakes others may have made earlier. When a caregiver on the a.m. shift failed to leave the Main Barn sliding doors open and Ann noticed it in the afternoon, for example, she informed me that it is my job to “catch that” (Field Notes, July 12, 2015). Similarly, noticing malfunctions in equipment—namely the fans we leave on in the barns on hot days—is considered “part of the job”:

As Michael and I cleaned the Pole Barn, Ann came up to the gate. We both came over to say hello, but it quickly became clear that she wanted to talk to Michael. She asked, “Did you turn on the fans at the Flag Barn this morning?” I remembered the whirring of fans when I arrived today, and Michael said that he did turn them on. “They don’t look like they’re on,” Ann replied, and Michael asked if she had turned them on. She said that she didn’t and added, “I want to make sure you know how to turn them on. With the little switch in the tack room.”

“I could have sworn they were on earlier,” I added, confused, and also trying to defend Michael a little. “I don’t know. [I didn’t go over there.?”]” Ann replied. “They just didn’t look like they were on.” The two of them left the Flag Barn, presumably to check on the fans and turn them on, while I continued cleaning the Plum Barn.

When Michael returned, he said that the plug had come undone and that he had the fans turned on earlier. He told me he adjusted the extension cords so there wasn’t so much tension pulling them

apart. “She probably thinks I didn’t do it,” he lamented. “She didn’t even go over and look.” “I’m so sorry,” I told Michael, feeling sympathy for him and knowing that he did, in fact, turn the fan on. “I guess you’ll have to check it throughout the day,” he said, to make sure it stays on. (Field Notes, June 14, 2016)

This expectation that we are responsible for others’ mistakes and for quickly noticing and addressing malfunctioning equipment—coupled with a lack of trust in our good-faith efforts at performing these tasks—produced widespread dejection and hypervigilance among the caregiving staff. We found ourselves struggling to meet Ann’s standards upfront, as she was often not receptive to our explanations after the fact. When I expressed my distress to Robert, he advised me to respond to her criticism not by explaining myself, but rather by simply saying, “Okay” and complying with her request—even if it contradicts a request she had made in the past.

“Half the Job is Pleasing Her.”

On a particularly rough work day at Gaia’s Garden, I reflected on the intensity of the nervousness I experienced—and I sensed that other caregivers experienced—as a result of Ann’s no-nonsense management style. I noted that living on-site—in a studio apartment attached to Ann’s house—amplified my suffering:

It is difficult living in close quarters with a supervisor, especially a supervisor who manages the property closely and has the power to halt my research operations and my work here as an intern. My relationship with my supervisor appears congenial, although I constantly worry about displeasing her, either by performing poorly at work, making some sort of mistake, staying out too late and having Ruthie bark when I arrive home, using the washing machine too much, or not sufficiently preventing King from having “accidents” in the apartment.

There is a mouse living in my apartment, and he/she has chewed a hole in my dogs’ food bag and leaves little pebbles of waste on the counter, in the closet, and in drawers. I am allowing the mouse to stay, despite the minor mess, as I do not want to be blamed for the

mouse's presence. (I worry I will be accused of being negligent, or of leaving the door open.) I find it interesting that my fear of getting in trouble and of having a supervisor intrude on my apartment is keeping me from having the rodent "issue" addressed.

Indeed, I found myself terrified of making a mistake, lest I be scolded, left a scathing note, or worse—fired. Michael informed me that he had nearly been terminated and that he managed to “get my ass in gear” and learn to anticipate and comply with the manager's rules just in time, and that Paloma had a similar experience. During our interview, Michael reflected on the ordeal:

I think she was even considering firing me at one point, and likewise, I was considering quitting—which was sad. It was depressing to think about because I really, really wanted this job, and I was so happy that I got it, and I felt so fortunate, and I felt so good about working here. And it's just like, God, am I really going to throw all that away?

I also asked him about the experience of adjusting to Ann's managerial style, and how it made him feel. I was surprised to hear how large the ranch manager's reactions loomed in his mind, and I realized that avoiding criticism and sanctions was central to other caregivers' work routine:

Elizabeth: Did you feel like you weren't good enough?

Michael: Yeah, I did. I did feel like that, and I felt like I was not trying to do my job right anymore, but I was trying to not piss her off—which should be the same things.

In order to remain employed at Gaia's Garden—and therefore, to provide care to rescued farmed animals and participate in the animal rights movement through caregiving—one needed to remain in Ann's good graces. After only a few weeks at the sanctuary, and after feeling the intensity of Ann's enforcement of protocol—even of procedures that did not directly relate to

animal care—I began to heartily agree with Michael’s sage advice: “Half the job is pleasing her.” (Field Notes, May 16, 2016)

Caregiver Responses to Manager-Induced Stress

After reluctantly realizing that the ranch manager’s means of communicating with staff was often harsh and that the caregivers felt stressed in their struggle to win and maintain her favor, I began noticing three primary responses to these conditions: 1) reinforce protocol; 2) “take a gamble” by deciding between two courses of action that both seem reasonable by Ann’s standards; and 3) engage in deception and neglect to provide treatment to an animal, often out of fear of performing the procedure incorrectly or without the proper authority. Regardless of the method chosen, the goal is often explicitly to avoid upsetting Ann—not necessarily to do what makes the most sense to the caregiver. I will discuss each of these in turn, highlighting the potential for more subversive methods to adversely impact the sanctuary residents’ health and well-being.

Response 1: Reinforcing Protocol

One of the most common responses to the harsh managerial regime at Gaia’s Garden was to reinforce the established protocols on-site. This took the form of reminding fellow staff members of protocol, instructing volunteers on how to follow the proper procedures, and following protocol—even if it was inconsequential to the situation at hand.

Reinforcing Protocol among Staff Members

Caregivers frequently reminded one another of the proper procedures, as a form of camaraderie and mutual protection. For example, when I ran a couple minutes late for work one morning, Michael advised me to “pretend you start at five ‘til,” sharing that he had “been

through it with her a few times” until he “finally started showing up fifteen minutes early” to avoid her scrutiny (Field Notes, May 16, 2015).

Similarly, Michael “rescued” Robert after he had gone against protocol by taking a sick hen up to the iso stall right away, instead of leaving her in the tack room while he finished morning chores. “Ann’s not going to like that you’re doing that,” Michael had told Robert, who ultimately confessed to Ann rather than waiting for her to call him out on his mistake. This confession seemed to help the situation, as Michael told me, “She wasn’t happy, but she didn’t flip out.” Upon hearing this story, I inquired, “So you try to keep each other from getting in trouble?” Michael replied with an exasperated laugh, “I *try!*” (Field Notes, May 24, 2015).

I, too, found myself reminding fellow caregivers about changes in protocol, so that everyone was up to date and we all managed to meet Ann’s requests. For example, I reminded Robert, who had been off work for a few days, that Ann was having us hose off the Blue Barn’s thresholds, since they had become encrusted with caked-on waste. He complied reluctantly, explaining that “The only problem with it is that it stinks.” Finally, after using a scraper to remove a layer of the hosed-down waste, he declared, “I’m over it!” and put the tools away. In many cases, the goal in reinforcing protocol among fellow caregivers was to protect one another from scrutiny, so doing a “good enough” job or making it “look like we did something,” as Robert and Michael frequently said, was the primary goal.

This practice of reinforcing protocol came so naturally in this highly regimented environment that, when I found a scraper sitting on top of the stove in the ACR (when it should be in one of the barns), I had to actively resist the urge to “leave a note asking why it was there,” just had Ann had done when I left the gasket and waterer lid on the stove (Field Notes, July 12, 2015). After all, even a detail as minute as the tightness with which I stretched a bungee cord to

hold a gate open was “fair game” for correction by a fellow staff member, since ““you know how Ann wants things a certain way”” (Field Notes, June 27, 2015).

Reinforcing Protocol with Volunteers

Just as we animal caregivers reinforced protocol among ourselves, we ensured that volunteers followed Gaia’s Garden’s rules. Much of this reinforcement was to ensure the animals’ health and safety, as was my effort to encourage a volunteer to keep an eye on her trash barrel while we mucked the Plum Barn, so that hens would not jump in and potentially be smothered under a pile of dirt and straw:

I noticed that hens were jumping into the buckets when she turned around. Ann passed by her, saying gently, with a smile, “Don’t let the chickens get in the buckets,” and I added that they “sink to the bottom” and “end up in the compost pile.” As I cleaned, I noticed that chickens continued to jump into Karen’s bucket. Unsure of how to approach the situation, I added that they jump in really quickly and that “sometimes they end up in the compost pile—they usually make it.” I continued cleaning, watching my bucket carefully and keeping it in front of me as I bent over, tilted the bucket toward me, and scooped straw in.

At the same time, however, I was struck by the same realization I had made as I frantically tried to lure a goat out of the Flag Barn yard several weeks beforehand: “If a chicken gets hurt, I’m fucked.” Even my desire to protect my care recipients was at least in part motivated by a fear of being “in trouble” with the management.

Animal caregivers not only enforced protocol directly related to animal health and safety, but also less critical rules such as not overbedding the barns with straw. Soon after the rescue, we watched the volunteers spread straw over the cement floor of the Blue Barn, taking a “say when” approach in notifying the precise moment when they had spread enough—but not too much—straw. On a particularly chaotic day—during health checks—a seasoned volunteer noted

that we seemed immobilized and unable to make independent decisions, since “Everybody’s so afraid of Ann!”

When reinforcing protocol with volunteers, the goal was not only to ensure animal health and safety, but also to ensure that we teach volunteers lessons that “I learned...the hard way,” as Michael said when he showed a volunteer how to properly secure a gate with a bungee cord (Field Notes, June 27, 2015). Robert observed that it is much easier and much more pleasant to work with experienced volunteers, since they “already know what to do.”

Self-Regulating

Finally, caregivers at Gaia’s Garden often reinforced protocol—even minor, seemingly inconsequential details—on their own accord. For example, after we returned the sanctuary’s beaten-up white pickup truck to its proper place under the mulberry tree after dumping compost, Paloma asked me whether it was still protocol to take the buckets out of the truck. I was uncertain of what the current protocol was on buckets, but she assured me that she would take them out at the end of her shift. Whether or not we left the buckets in the bed of the truck did not impact the well-being of the animals in any way, but our decision could certainly impact Ann’s disposition toward us.

In a similar manner, one morning I found myself automatically following Ann’s instructions by running up to the ACR and reading the white board to get a sense of my schedule for the day—even though I passed Paloma and Michael along the way:

I told Michael and Paloma, “I’m going to go check the whiteboard real quick,” as I ran up the gravel path to the ACR. I felt a bit silly doing so, as I unlocked the pasture gate and closed it behind me, thinking, *Michael and Paloma know what we’re doing today anyway*. Still, checking the whiteboard before my shift was part of Ann’s rules/GG protocol, and I wanted to be sure I did the job

correctly. As expected, the whiteboard was the same as yesterday, with my responsibilities for the day being to help clean the Flag Barn, Blue Barn, and Plum Barn, then do afternoon chores and close for the night. (Field Notes, May 17, 2015).

In summary, reinforcing protocol—either among fellow caregivers or volunteers, or through one’s own habits—was a common response to the heavily regimented environment at Gaia’s Garden.

Response 2: Taking a Gamble

The second major response to the sanctuary’s strict managerial regime—“taking a gamble”—entails caregivers considering a current situation in light of what they predict Ann will want. This often includes deciding between two potentially viable options, as one option may be consistent with Ann’s desire for efficiency, while another may align with her desire for cleanliness or thoroughness, for example. I faced such a dilemma when deciding whether to use an opened alcohol wipe or a new one to clean a thermometer in the ACR:

Ann told me to wipe the thermometer. I reached for an opened alcohol wipe on the counter, unsure of whether to use the opened one to save resources or to use a new one for the sake of cleanliness. She answered my internal wondering by firmly saying, “Use a clean one.” I retrieved a clean wipe from the medicine cabinet, wiped the thermometer probe, and held the bird. I reset the thermometer and began looking for the bird’s vent. (Field Notes, June 14, 2015)

In this case, I gambled and lost; cleanliness trumped resource conservation in this instance. I could have simply asked Ann what she preferred, but I opted for the possibility of making the “correct” choice on my own and being left unscathed.

During our interview, Michael accounted for his (wrong) decision to take a bird to the iso stall during a.m. feeds by explaining:

In my head, even when I was doing that, I was questioning myself. Like, is this the right thing to do? She did, at one point...she stressed that animal care comes first. Not in this instance. It doesn't come before getting them all fed, because that is part of animal care.

Here, too, a caregiver took a gamble and lost. In this case, the care duty of feeding the animals trumped the care duty of isolating an animal who “didn't look right.”

Paloma's decision to administer a new medication during Ann's absence, on the other hand, ultimately turned out to be a “winning,” or at least neutral, choice. As I worked in the Plum Barn, Paloma approached me, worried about a hen in the iso stall who appeared to have a previously undiagnosed case of bumblefoot. Although she had been working at Gaia's Garden for about four and a half months and I had only been on-site for about two, Paloma requested my opinion in deciding how to proceed:

I tried to anticipate Jan's response to either action or inaction on Paloma's part, and I felt the familiar “damned if you do, damned if you don't” feeling. I realized that Paloma could get in trouble for giving an unauthorized treatment if she acts, or she could get in trouble for not providing treatment or for not applying her skills/using her own judgment if she waits and defers to Ann. “Have you been trained [in giving meds]?” I asked her, and she nodded that she had. “I don't have much experience in meds. When we were taking temperatures, Ann had me do one in front of her first,” I said. “I feel like you have more authority in this situation than I do.” Alicia responded, “Good,” as we crossed the central pasture to the Blue Barn...

Paloma still hesitated to give her the Baytril, saying, “I don't want to get in trouble.” I told her that I feel the same way sometimes, and that it seems like “you can get in trouble for doing something, but at the same time, you can get in trouble for not doing that thing.” “Yeah!” Paloma agreed with a smile and a little laugh, seeing that I understood. (Field Notes, June 26, 2015).

After much deliberation and having me examine the bird, Paloma decided that she would administer the medication, adding, “Ann said it's [an infection is] the number one way to kill a bird” (Field Notes, June 25, 2015). When Paloma told Ann what happened, Ann replied that “I

noticed that” and had already given her a Baytril, but reassured Paloma with a smile, “An extra half a Baytril won’t hurt her” (Field Notes, June 25, 2015). Although the decision to treat the condition without asking Ann for permission was not the ideal situation, it was a winning gamble, since it did not result in any sanctions.

It is important to note that, in all of these cases, “I don’t want to get in trouble” is an underlying sentiment that impacts the caregiver’s decision to some degree. Even when providing proper care is a key priority for the caregivers, the fear of being reprimanded or fired for making a mistake is part of the decision-making process.

Response 3: Deception and Willful Negligence

The third, and perhaps most distressing, response to the strict managerial regime at the sanctuary was deception—and in some cases, willful negligence. One (relatively mild, yet still consequential) example of this was Robert’s failure to inform Ann that he and I had found a baby rattlesnake under a straw bale. When I asked whether we should notify Ann, who had the day off, he replied, “I don’t want to bother her.” He assured me that we could tell her later, but also told me to emphasize that the snake “slithered away” before we could seek help for catching and relocating the animal (Field Notes, May 9, 2015). Quite ironically, my own dog, Ruthie, was bitten by a (different) rattlesnake later that day, illustrating the potentially dangerous consequences of failing to inform management about a danger on-site.***

In addition to failing to report dangerous conditions, for fear of bothering the ranch manager, caregivers sometimes neglected to inform Ann of an animal’s health issue—particularly if the condition was at least partially the caregiver’s fault. For example, after finding

***Although Ruthie only weighs around thirteen pounds, she survived the rattlesnake bite and made a full recovery, in part thanks to a dose of antivenin and an overnight stay at the local university veterinary hospital.

a hen who had hopped into a bucket during barn cleaning and ended up (alive, but suffering from heat stress) in the compost pile, Michael devised a plan that would keep us out of trouble:

Michael said that he hoped we could get her back in the barn without Ann seeing...He noticed a small pox mark on the hen's face and initially suggested that we put her in the iso stall for that, or to just say we found her with signs of heat stress and that she was open-mouth breathing. (Field Notes, June 14, 2015).

Concerned, I suggested that we take the hen to the air-conditioned ACR to cool off, and Michael agreed. Still, he cautioned, "She'll probably see you putting her back" (Field Notes, June 14, 2016). In an effort to avoid trouble, Michael was willing to attribute the hen's presence in the isolation stall to a more benign cause—to a pox mark on her face, or to heat stress that was not caused by an accident. This strategy of treating a condition while remaining deceptive in divulging the "whole story" may have serious health consequences for the animal in question, especially if cause of his or her condition may be key to providing adequate treatment.

In a similar manner, caregivers would occasionally ignore an animal's medical condition altogether, in a desperate attempt to avoid having to opt for the "take a gamble" approach. Rather than attempting to treat a hen with bumblefoot and failing, for example, Michael had initially decided that it would be best to "find her later" when Ann was around, so that she could take charge in treating it:

We walked up to the ACR to investigate bumble foot and broken toes, and Michael opened up the blue A/C binder and searched for the tab marked "Bumble Foot." He scanned the instruction sheet, muttering to himself and tracing his index finger along the text as he read. As expected, the treatment steps required what we felt was beyond our expertise—including injections, lancing, draining pus, and other procedures that Michael considered to be "quite involved."

In light of this intimidating information, he suggested that we simply release the hen into the barn and "'find' her later" when Ann was around, as he doubted his ability to treat bumble foot

(especially the lancing and draining pus) and didn't want Ann to be angry that he didn't attempt treatment when she was gone (May 24, 2015).

I disagreed with Michael's decision, however, and worried that we might not be able to locate her in the sea of hens, and that while her foot was not in horrible shape at the moment, it might get worse if we left it untreated because we were afraid of "Ann's wrath," as I had phrased it in my field notes. In this case of willful negligence, I decided to step in and use my inexperience as a caregiver to our advantage.

I said that I thought we should take her to the ACR. I assured him, "I'll take responsibility for the bumble foot girl," and that I would tell Ann that I wasn't comfortable attempting treatment. Michael agreed, and he told me, "Just make it clear that I wasn't here," so that it would appear that I found Bumble Foot Girl when I was on the property alone in the afternoon. "I just don't want to fuck up," he said, with worry in his voice. (Field Notes, May 24, 2015).

Although we strategically managed to avoid willful negligence by appealing to my lack of experience as a caregiver, Michael and I still engaged in deception in an effort to protect him from sanctions for failing to attempt treatment, or for botching an attempted treatment.

Finally, I would like to provide a case of clear willful negligence that I committed during a chaotic health check after a rescue. During health checks, volunteers examine the newly rescued hens from beak to tail, then hand them off to caregivers or seasoned volunteers who administer oral deworming medication and topical delousing medication. As a seasoned intern with two and a half months of full-time experience on site, Ann endowed me with the responsibility of delousing the birds in the Blue Barn. Before health checks began, she admonished that she had carefully measured out the doses and that "you shouldn't run out." My

delousing partner—a volunteer—and I, of course, ran out of delousing medication, even after following her dosing instructions as carefully as we could.

Dreading Ann’s response, I trudged over to the Flag Barn, where she and Robert were in charge of health checks. As expected, she scolded me for running out, emphasizing that she had measured out the doses precisely and asked how large of doses we had been giving—thereby implying that my delousing partner or myself were simply administering too much medication. She reluctantly handed me a few more syringes, and, flustered and a bit frustrated, I returned to the Blue Barn to finish delousing the birds. As the volunteers handed bird after bird to my partner and I, it became apparent that, even though we were administering the proper dose, we were bound to run out again. Michael began counting the remaining birds in the barn, looked at our vials nervously, and concluded somberly that we would likely not have enough medication to treat all of the birds.

Just as we had feared, our syringes were soon empty, and one of us would need to head over to the Flag Barn and request more medication from Ann. I decided to “take one for the team” and retrieve the delousing syringes. Michael sighed sympathetically, and as I shuffled along the dusty path toward the barn, dreading the impending encounter with Ann, I noticed that she was heading away from the Flag Barn, into her house. In a vain attempt to seize this opportunity, I ran as fast as I could toward the Flag Barn, hoping I could snatch a few vials from Robert, who would be much more sympathetic. My heart dropped into my stomach as Ann turned around and, inferring from my haste that I was trying to catch her before she retreated inside, asked, “You need something?”

I stood silent for a few seconds and averting my eyes, before finally deciding to tell the truth and sighing, “We ran out again.” Ann was displeased, but retrieved a few more vials from

the Flag Barn and handed them over. In order to avoid yet another encounter with Ann regarding the delousing medication, I began rationing the remaining birds' doses—ultimately administering half of the recommended amount. In this manner, my fear of being reprimanded by the ranch manager ultimately led me to sacrifice my care recipients' well-being.

Although treating birds for lice may not be a life or death situation, per se, caregivers' willingness to sacrifice the quality of care animals receive in exchange for reprieve from “getting in trouble” suggests that willful negligence does occur, and that it has the potential to be damaging to care recipients. This suggests that care workers are not the only “prisoners of love”—their patients, in fact, are *secondary* prisoners who often suffer as their caregivers seek relief from scrutiny by management.

DISCUSSION

In summary, protocol is of critical importance at Gaia's Garden, a non-profit organization dedicated to animal caregiving, rehabilitation, and adoption as part of a larger effort to propel the animal rights movement forward. Caregivers and management alike reaffirm the value of protocol as a means of providing the best care possible, even in spite of the organization's small budget, small staff, and simple division of labor. The ranch manager's development and strict enforcement of protocol is intended to ensure the health and safety of the adoption center's hundreds of residents, which she asserts is a "tremendous responsibility," as she feels "ultimately...responsible for every one of their lives." The animal caregivers at Gaia's Garden share this sense of responsibility and consider their work to be a valuable means of providing direct care to rescued farmed animals while also supporting a broader movement for animal rights—either through the caregiving itself, or through the inspiration and expertise this work provides as caregivers inform others about farmed animals' intrinsic value, as well as their plight, outside the workplace.

In taking protocol "very seriously" and worrying about her animal charges "constantly...even when I'm off," however, Ann ultimately enforced the sanctuary's rules and regulations in ways that, as Michael says, are "not very conducive to getting the results she wants." Through nearly constant surveillance, frequent written and verbal corrections for even minor mistakes, and a harsh implementation of these practices, the ranch manager unintentionally instilled a state of nervousness, dejection, and hypervigilance in the care workers she employed.

This emphasis on protocol in a value-rational bureaucracy ultimately contributes to a shift from animal care as a “calling” to animal care as a “vocation” (Weber 1905) characterized by highly regimented, routinized activities. In this manner, occupational activism is somewhat stifled as animal caregivers are constrained by budgetary and staff limitations and by strict protocols for animal care. Although Gaia’s Garden’s caregivers discussed their passion for animal care and their consideration of their work as part of a broader movement for animal rights in our interviews and on the job, their daily experiences were often characterized by highly regimented activities that have the potential to render that overarching purpose distant and dim.

The harsh managerial style with which protocol was enforced also generated a sense of precariousness in the workplace, as caregivers expressed concern about “getting in trouble” or being fired for making mistakes or making decisions that displeased the often unforgiving ranch manager. In their efforts to maintain their employment—and therefore, their personally meaningful role in animal caregiving and in the promotion of animal rights—caregivers often lost sight of the broader goals of caregiving by focusing on remaining in their supervisor’s good graces.

During my time at Gaia’s Garden, I developed a typology of three primary strategies caregivers utilized to cope with the sanctuary’s unforgiving managerial regime. The first is reinforcing even minor, seemingly inconsequential aspects of protocol among themselves and with volunteers, and through self-regulation. The second is “taking a gamble,” which entails deciding between two potentially viable options of which Ann could conceivably approve and hoping for the best. The third, and possibly most damaging, strategy is deception and willful negligence. This includes hiding mistakes from management or not “telling the whole truth” behind an animal’s illness or injury—especially as it relates to a caregiver’s mistake—or in

willful negligence by ignoring an animal's medical condition rather than attempting to treat it, for fear of making a mistake or by treating an animal's condition inadequately out of fear of "getting in trouble" for wasting precious resources.

Although deception and willful negligence have the greatest potential to adversely impact the animals' health, all three strategies are problematic, as they are ultimately rooted in a desire to avoid managerial scrutiny to the point of compromising open communication with the manager and preserving the animals' health. In addition, by focusing on "trying to not piss her off" in their vocation, caregivers ultimately lose sight of their calling—to provide care while improving broader conditions for animals everywhere—in this value-rational bureaucracy. Although protocol is critically important to maintain the animals' health and well-being, the harsh enforcement of that protocol has the potential to alienate these care workers from their labor (Marx ...) and, ultimately, from the animals they serve as caregivers and as animal advocates. Based on this preliminary analysis, it appears that harsh managerial regimes have great power in stifling occupational activism in this value-rational bureaucracy by heightening animal caregivers' anxiety and subsequently degrading the quality of the care they provide.

CONCLUSION

My findings suggest that, although protocol itself is critically important to ensuring care recipients' health and safety, the harsh and unforgiving enforcement of that protocol can ultimately cause great harm. Care workers who are intrinsically motivated to provide quality care suffer great humiliation and demoralization under harsh managerial regimes. In addition to being "prisoners of love" in terms of low pay, as Folbre (2001) argues, they become prisoners of love in terms of poor treatment by their superiors. In order to maintain a relationship with their patients or clients, care workers may avoid confronting demoralizing managers or requesting an improvement in their treatment from higher administration.

I suggest that this "prisoner of love" effect may be amplified in value-rational bureaucracies in which caregivers engage in occupational activism; that is, they in which they perceive their day-to-day work activities as part of a broader social movement (Cornfield 2015; Isaac et al., forthcoming). In addition to novelists (Isaac et al., forthcoming) and musicians Cornfield (2015), caregivers also have the potential to engage in occupational activism. For caregivers who view their work as linked to a broader social movement, remaining employed with the organization not only preserves their relationship with their care recipients, but also upholds their identity as advocates. For these workers, it is not only forming relationships with care recipients, but forming those relationships with an overarching vision in mind, that renders them vulnerable to mistreatment by management. In this manner, I extend Folbre's prisoner of love thesis by arguing that an activist orientation toward caregiving may amplify a care worker's willingness to accept low pay or poor treatment for the sake of maintaining their employment.

In addition, this existence of strict protocols in cash-strapped value-rational bureaucracies with a simple division of labor translates caregiving as a “calling” into caregiving as a “vocation” as caregivers engage in highly regimented activities—many of which are not directly related to the organization’s broader goals but rather to efficiency (Weber 1905; Kalberg 1980). Furthermore, harsh managerial regimes characterized by heavy surveillance and unforgiving enforcement of strict protocols compromise occupational activism by forcing the avoidance of managerial scrutiny to trump enthusiastic engagement in caregiving.

Harsh managerial regimes in care work settings ultimately force caregivers to develop strategies for avoiding “getting in trouble” with management or being fired—and therefore forced to abandon the relationships they have formed with care recipients, as well as their contribution to a social movement through caregiving. In my analysis, I found that, rather than risking retaliation by challenging current managerial practices, caregivers engaging in occupational activism in a value-rational bureaucracy with a harsh managerial regime develop three primary strategies for avoiding managerial scrutiny: 1) reinforcing protocol among themselves and with volunteers; 2) “taking a gamble” by guessing which of two potentially viable options will please management most (or displease management least); and 3) engaging in deception with management or willful negligence in care recipients’ treatment to avoid trouble for performing a caregiving task incorrectly.

This typology of strategies is held together by a common thread: all three responses to harsh managerial regimes are rooted in a desire to avoid trouble, rather than to provide quality care. In this manner, heavy managerial control over care workers has the potential to not only degrade caregivers’ sense of purpose, but also to degrade the quality of care patients or clients receive. In this manner, poor treatment by management renders care recipients *secondary*

prisoners of that love, as they are adversely impacted by their caregivers' often subversive responses to harsh managerial regimes and heavy managerial control.

In their efforts to maintain their relationships with patients and their role as activists through caregiving, care workers become both the prisoner and the warden. As they find themselves vulnerable to harsh treatment by management, they also render care recipients vulnerable to their potentially maladaptive coping strategies. This finding complicates Folbre's concept of prisoners of love and illuminates the importance of evaluating all three "sides" of the interactive service work triangle. In addition to impacting the manager-worker sides, poor treatment by management and intrinsic motivation by workers have the power to alter the worker-client sides. Therefore, manager-worker relationships can have great power in impacting worker-client dynamics.

Directions for Future Study

My findings suggest that future study is needed to better understand the relationship between managerial style, care worker satisfaction, and client or patient outcomes. Although my study provides preliminary findings as I induce a theory of secondary prisoners of love, it does not capture the prevalence of this phenomenon or the various manifestations of managerial stress in caregiving. What other ways might harsh managerial regimes impact care workers, and how might that, in turn, impact their patients? How might stressful interactions with management intensify the emotional strain of performing emotional labor with care recipients (Hochschild 1983; Wharton 1999; Wharton 1993)?

More broadly, how might harsh managerial regimes impact interactive service workers—and, by association, their clients and customers? How might pressures from two sides of the

interactive service triangle—the manager and the customer—amplify a service worker’s distress or contribute to a degradation in customer service? Does the service worker’s intrinsic motivation (or lack thereof) to perform the work or perception of the work as part of a broader mission moderate managerial effects? All of these possibilities for future research stem from the broader empirical and humanistic question: Is it true that “worker exploitation hurts us all”? (Zuberi 2013, p. 124).

Limitations

In addition to my small sample—I zero in on the everyday interactions of a staff of five (including myself)—my study is limited by the narrow temporal scope of my observation period. While I served as a full-time animal care intern, scheduled for eight hours of work per day, four days a week and intern enrichment activities the fifth day, time and budgetary constraints limited my observations to three months—all during summer. Perhaps tensions ebb and flow on site, with the waxing and waning of the adoption center’s population, with shifts in administrative policies at Wilma’s Mission, with the presence or absence of a steady flow of volunteers, with the preparation for and resolution after major rescues, with a string of deaths of animals, with shifts in the seasons (summer brings intense heat and fire danger, winter brings rain and mud), or with any other change in social or environmental conditions. A longer-term examination of workplace tensions, manager-induced stress, and care worker responses would yield greater insight into Folbre’s prisoner of love perspective on caregiving—and into the secondary prisoner of love phenomenon.

Policy Implications

Despite these limitations, my findings may lay the foundation for several key changes in policy, both at Gaia's Garden and in other care work settings with harsh managerial regimes. While protocol is critically important, it is also crucial for managers to trust that their employees are intrinsically motivated to follow protocol and provide high-quality care—especially at a non-profit, social movement-oriented organization like Wilma's Mission. Encouraging a “softer, gentler approach” in management should be just as important to a value-rational organization as providing the “softer, gentler approach” in education and advocacy that Wilma's Mission's employees overwhelmingly support. Creating an environment in which questions and requests for clarification are encouraged would reduce caregivers' need to engage in “gambling,” deception, or willful negligence.

Furthermore, in a case where harshness resides within a single manager who is resistant to relinquishing an unforgiving approach, reducing his or her discretion in hiring and firing may alleviate some of the distress, nervousness, and perceived need for hypervigilance among caregiving staff. If multiple administrators are in charge of termination, perhaps care workers will feel less imprisoned by their concerns about losing their relationships with clients or their role in a social movement. Ultimately, a key goal of any organization whose mission involves caregiving should be to create an environment in which caregivers can ask questions from management, concern for patients trumps the fear of being reprimanded or fired, and in which they are trusted, valued, and heard. After all, if “half the job” is pleasing an unforgiving manager, then half of one's ability to provide high-quality care and contribute to positive social action is ironically and tragically lost.

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APPENDIX A: MY TYPICAL WORK HOURS AT THE SANCTUARY

7am-10am, 3pm-8pm

10am-2pm, 4pm-8pm

9am-1pm, 4pm-8pm

8am-noon, 4pm-8pm

8am-noon, 5pm-9pm

APPENDIX B: INTERVIEW GUIDE

Thanks so much for agreeing to be interviewed! In a minute, I'm going to turn on the tape recorder and ask you some questions about your work here at Gaia's Garden and about your background more generally. Do you have any questions before we get started?

(If interviewee agreed to be recorded, begin taping.)

I. Work

I'd like to begin by asking a few questions about your work.

- 1) What kind of work do you do here at Gaia's Garden?
 - a) Describe a typical day at work.
 - b) What role, if any, does protocol play at work?
- 2) Who or what inspired you to do this type of work?
- 3) What is your favorite part of this job?
 - a) The work itself
 - b) The opportunity to make a difference
 - c) Self-discovery
 - d) Relationships with co-workers
 - e) Relationships with animals
 - f) Building one's skill portfolio
 - g) Economic rewards

II. Activism

Now I'd like to ask a few questions about what your work means to you, and to broader movements you may be a part of.

- 4) How familiar were you with veganism before beginning your work at Gaia's Garden?
- 5) How, if at all, does your work at Gaia's Garden contribute to the improvement of the animal-human relationship?
- 6) How, if at all, does your work at Gaia's Garden contribute to your own personal development?
- 7) How, if at all, is your work a part of a larger movement for animal rights, a vegan lifestyle, or any other movement?

III. Attitudes toward Animal-Human Relationship

My next questions concern your opinion of the way humans treat animals, and how you would like to see animals treated.

- 8) What is your main critique of the way humans view animals?

- 9) How are animals similar to human beings? How are they different?
- 10) What changes would you like to see in the way humans view animals?
 - a) What needs to happen in order to achieve this?

IV. Family Socialization

We've talked a bit about your work, your feelings toward animals, and your vision for improving the human-nonhuman relationship. Now, I'd like to delve a bit deeper into family influences that may or may not have influenced your current values.

- 11) Prior to coming to Gaia's Garden, who would you say are the primary family members in your life? Who are the other primary mentors in your life?
 - a) How have you described your work at Gaia's Garden to these family members and mentors?
 - b) How do these individuals feel about your work?
- 12) Looking back at your childhood, what were the main messages you received about animals from your family?
 - a) What, if any, influence did these messages have on your current attitudes toward animals?
- 13) How, if at all, did your family encourage you to be someone who changes the status quo?
 - a) What, if any, influence did this have on your decision to work at Gaia's Garden?
 - b) What, if any, influence did this have on your lifestyle choices? On your activism?

V. Demographic Characteristics

- 14) In what year were you born?
- 15) What is the highest level of formal schooling you have attained?
 - a) How many years of schooling?
- 16) What is the highest level of education your parents have attained?
- 17) What is your parents' occupation?
 - a) Are they self-employed? Do they work for someone else?
 - b) What is their occupation in the agency?
 - c) Who are their customers?
- 18) What is/was your primary occupation prior to working at Gaia's Garden?
- 19) Which letter best corresponds to your pre-tax annual household income? (*Show card with income ranges.*)

- A) \$0-\$8,000
- B) \$8,001-\$18,000
- C) \$18,001-\$29,000
- D) \$29,001-\$40,000
- E) \$40,001-\$51,000
- F) \$51,001-\$100,000
- G) \$100,001-\$260,000
- H) \$260,000+

VI. Wrapping Up

- 20) Is there anything I haven't asked you that you would like to share?
 - 21) Who else do you think I should talk to?
 - 22) Is it okay if I send you an e-mail with any follow-up questions I may have?
- (Thank you so much for participating!)*

APPENDIX C: “GAIA’S GARDEN ANIMAL CARE GIVER PROTOCOLS”

“GAIA’S GARDEN ANIMAL CARE GIVER PROTOCOLS”

It takes a very special person to be a Wilma’s Mission animal caregiver. You were all hired because I believe you have the capacity to be amazing at what you do and care for our rescue animals as they deserve.

An integral requirement of being an animal caregiver is to be able to follow detailed instructions, meet time sensitive [sic] demands, and learn and process new information quickly. I have trained all the employees at GG in cleaning, medical care protocol, death protocol, and emergency scenarios. Things in animal care will always change – new animals, new treatments, new protocols. I expect everyone to be able to think independently and problem-solve. If I have trained you and given you resources to access- you should be able to think independently and solve everyday issues. If I’m not around, there is no reason to consult me unless it is an emergency or something we have never discussed, or after thorough efforts – you are unable to solve on your own.

SICK ANIMALS:

Do not spend your shift looking for sick animals. If you observe an animal with symptoms, relocate [sic] to Iso stall, band, and record symptoms on clipboard. If they are DYING – let Ann know personally or via text. All sick hens go into the Iso stall EXCEPT respiratory issues. If gurgling, sneezing, discharge symptoms are present – isolate in a kennel stall in ACR and start a tx [(treatment)] sheet. ½ Doxycycline 2X daily. Standard practice for all ACR animals: set up with feed, water, clean bedding. Blanket is for padding – towel is for changing out 2X daily. 2X daily treatments are to be completed at open (8a) and close (7p). Please consult Animal Care binder if questions arise. Use small dry erase board to communicate any new animals pulled for tx either in Iso stall or ACR.

DECEASED:

All deceased birds go onto drain board in kennel room and are draped with a towel. Complete Death Log in ACR and notify Ann immediately either personally or via text. If a bird is discovered deceased during opening – set aside in tack room – finish opening duties – and collect on way up.

MEDS:

If you are scheduled for Meds – give meds as circled on clipboard. Assure stall has adequate A/B [(antibiotic)] water. Once treated – hens are released into yard. Meds should take no more than 5 minutes.

CLEANING:

At our current population, 2 ppl can complete feeds, waters and barn cleaning by 12noon. 12n>1p is for stocking fed, straw, & other projects. Please check the dry erase board in ACR to find projects/extras. The sanctuary is unable to operate by feeds and barn cleaning only. Always

use soiled bales to re-bed. Replace with fresh bales. Fill barn holes as needed. Rake yards, clean nesting boxes, scrape perches & bales, scrape wooden thresh holds etc.

VOLUNTEERS:

Please ask volunteers to use sign-in sheet in ACR. Point out FIRE SAFETY policy & RATTLESNAKE policy posted next to white board. Volunteers are not allowed to just 'show up' – they should be arranging their visit through Lewis (Vol Co-ord) or myself. This insures that they have been instructed on our policies, have attended a WM orientation, or have signed Liability Waivers. Caregivers are expected to take on a leadership role in explaining GG practices and standards for cleaning. Volunteers are not allowed to roam around the property unattended. Volunteers are never allowed to stay on property unless staff is present. Volunteers are not allowed to drive any vehicles. When you leave, make sure they leave.

I am posting this information in the interest of better communication and to offer greater clarity of my expectations. I hope you all receive it in the positive way intended. Thank you for the hard work and the dedication

(For the Animals).