

A Study of the Motivations and Barriers to Participation in The Save Movement



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Thanks to Anita Krajnc and Randi Cohen.

Introduction

The Save Movement is a network of animal advocates and groups that seek to draw attention to the suffering of farmed animals en route to slaughter, primarily by holding vigils outside of slaughterhouses. The movement was co-founded by Anita Krajnc in Toronto. Currently many of the Save groups are based in the Toronto area, although the network's reach is global.

The purpose of this study was to understand the motivations and barriers to different types of participation in The Save Movement. Our secondary goal was to determine the extent to which vigil-goers move along a continuum of increasing levels of involvement in the movement, from casual attendee to committed organizer. The report has the following structure:

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- Interview Guide

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Limitations

Appendix A: Recruitment Letter

Appendix B: Follow-up Email

Appendix C: Oral Consent

Appendix D: Interview Guide

Some of the key takeaways from the report include:

Motivations for participation

- The most rewarding or meaningful aspects of attending vigils include seeing evidence that participants had changed people's minds about farmed animals.
- Interviewees often feel they are part of a movement that is raising awareness and ultimately changing the world.
- Being in a community of like-minded people seems to also be an important factor.
- Participants also cited personal benefits from attending the vigils.

- Interviewees mentioned that they came back to their second vigil for three main reasons: 1) seeing the animals; 2) Anita Krajnc or others' encouragement and support; and 3) a sense of responsibility.
- Regardless of their individual status within the movement, all interview participants are favorable toward The Save Movement, and most of them are very enthusiastic about its effectiveness.
- The participants agree that The Save Movement has some unique and inimitable qualities. The research suggests that the fact that participants come face-to-face with animals en route to slaughter is possibly the most powerful aspect of The Save Movement.
- Most if not all interviewees referenced Anita Krajnc when they talked about their involvement in, and commitment to, The Save Movement.

Barriers to participation

- The most commonly mentioned personal challenge of attending the vigils was feeling powerless about not being able to save the animals.
- The second most frequently cited personal challenge is experiencing the negative reactions of passersby and slaughterhouse workers.
- Participants also reported logistical difficulties.
- Time, distance, and health issues (for themselves or their family) were the most commonly reported reasons for why participants who were not organizers or activists do not attend vigils more often or become more involved in The Save Movement.

Trajectory

- The interviews suggest there is no obvious trajectory of individuals' involvement in The Save Movement.

This research was conducted by Faunalytics staff and volunteers, with Rama Ganesan (a volunteer) managing this study. In 2014, Toronto Pig Save was awarded pro bono research support through the Faunalytics Grassroots Fund, which provides free help to small animal groups. To learn more about Faunalytics and our services, visit faunalytics.org.

Methods

Interviews

One interviewer (Rama Ganesan) conducted 24 semi-structured, in-depth telephone interviews with participants representing different levels of involvement in The Save Movement. Participants were recruited and interviewed between October 2014 and March 2015. Interviews

ranged from about 30 minutes to over one hour in length. The interviews were recorded and then transcribed by a professional transcriptionist or by volunteers from The Save Movement. Transcription was completed in June 2015.

Participants and Recruitment

Anita Krajnc provided a list of 45 prospective interviewees. All of the 24 study participants came from this list with the exception of two individuals, who were recruited to provide alternate views and to fill gaps. To help test our research question about the extent to which vigil-goers move along a continuum of increasing levels of participation, we chose an approximately equal number of people at different stages of involvement with The Save Movement: 1) one/two-time attendee, 2) participant, 3) activist, and 4) organizer. In the final group of 24 interviewees, we had six people from each of these four stages. Nearly all of the interviewees were from the Toronto area.

The interviewer approached participants in various ways, including through email (if we had their email address), through personal recommendations from Anita Krajnc, and through Facebook. Some interviewees were recruited immediately, whereas others took much longer, some did not respond, and one declined to participate. Regardless of which method was used to approach participants, all prospective interviewees were sent a letter as part of the recruitment process (see Appendix A: Recruitment Letter) as well as a follow-up email (see Appendix B: Follow-up Email).

To honor participants' time, they were informed during recruitment that they would be entered into a draw for a chance to win a \$100 iTunes gift card. Once all interviews were completed, a winner was selected using a random number generator.

Confidentiality and Consent

In this report, participants' names have been withheld to protect their identities and any personal identifying information has been suppressed. We also used gender-neutral language given that there were far fewer males interviewed and we wanted to take extra precautions to help mask their identity. Prior to the start of the phone conversation, the interviewer also read an oral consent statement (see Appendix C: Oral Consent) and asked for interviewees' permission to proceed with the interview.

Interview Guide

Rama Ganesan (the interviewer), Faunalytics staff, and Anita Krajnc designed the interview guide, with additional review from a qualitative researcher (Randi Cohen). See Appendix D: Interview Guide for the list of questions. Some of the topics included:

- demographic characteristics and diet choices
- types of Save Movement activities engaged in
- experiences at vigils including meaningful/rewarding ones as well as difficult/negative aspects
- the impact the vigils had and types of experiences following the vigils
- feelings of community at the vigils
- reasons for returning
- types of inspiration for becoming involved in a particular capacity
- barriers to becoming more involved
- the most and least appealing qualities about The Save Movement's approach to organizing
- prior activism
- inspiration to get involved in other animal protection activities
- recommendations for movement organizers

Results

A total of 294 pages of transcribed text was generated. This was summarized in a spreadsheet, where a response for each question was categorized and analyzed. The findings in this report are based on the summarized information from this spreadsheet as well as on occasional references to the original transcript when required for clarity and context.

Trajectory: Hypothesis Testing

During discussions, the interviewer concentrated on determining whether the hypothesis of increasing involvement in The Save Movement holds true. According to this hypothesis, a person begins their journey with The Save Movement as an attendee of vigils, continues to being a regular participant, then becomes an activist who encourages others and takes a leadership role, and finally becomes an organizer of his/her own vigil group. However, the characteristics of our selected interviewees make it difficult to fully evaluate the hypothesis because most of them already live in areas where there is a Save group. This may have a limiting effect on the latter stages of involvement, especially starting one's own group. Nevertheless, it is interesting to consider the trajectory of individuals' involvement in The Save Movement, which suggests there is no obvious path forward.

Among the set of interviewees who were already organizers, many became organizers very quickly. With some, it happened after they had been to just one vigil and one person became an organizer without attending a single vigil. For some others, they were asked to become an organizer soon after first becoming involved, and they accepted. Some of the reasons for being an organizer included that these individuals felt compelled or even called upon to do this type of work, especially if no one was already organizing in their area. A few of the organizers emphasized Anita Krajnc's Gandhian-Tolstoyan approach as the main benefit of being involved in organizing. One also mentioned that the benefits included the fact that the organizing is grassroots-based and avoids some of the hierarchies in other large animal groups.

Some of the individuals who we originally categorized as organizers are in a leadership role but are not specifically organizers of vigils. Some of them contribute to The Save Movement in unique and invaluable ways outside of organizing vigils. For instance, some serve as key figures in inspiring other activists—particularly some of the younger activists—or are instrumental in the media coverage and political influence of The Save Movement.

The potential for further engagement is apparent for some interviewees even if they are not in a position to start their own group. They may continue to contribute by taking on more of a leadership role in current vigils, or by supporting the larger Save Movement. As one interviewee explained:

“As I said before it sort of galvanized me, made me more committed. Every time I go I feel more committed to do whatever I can for the animals, raise awareness, to create, to stimulate change in whatever way. Strengthen my resolve. I certainly forged new friendships. Becoming more involved I am more part of the community. It's a result of having gone to the vigils and other actions that we've done.”

Some of the other interviewees who are not organizers are unlikely to advance further, but rather will probably maintain their current level of involvement. For some of these people, it is because they are committed to other types of animal activism, sometimes inspired by The Save Movement. Some have the potential to start a Save group but do not find their location to be conducive. As one interviewee explained:

“Where the location of the slaughterhouses is, it's really hard to hold vigils because it is in a really industrial area, there isn't really anywhere to park, there isn't really a space to stand and cars are going at high speed so it's not like on the city street similar to Toronto or even the one in Burlington where there is more traffic, more

pedestrian foot traffic, at the same time we find it harder to be able to get enough momentum or people attending just because, I think, of the location.”

Finally, a couple of the interviewees have stopped going to vigils explicitly because of their emotional reaction to seeing the animals being transported. However, these people are willing to continue to work behind the scenes or have plans to return to vigils in the future.

Learning about The Save Movement

Vigil participants learn about The Save Movement in a variety of ways: Facebook posts, witnessing a vigil in action, vegan events like vegfests, media coverage, talks that Anita Krajnc gives, through animal sanctuaries, and via the documentary, *The Ghosts in Our Machine*. The most common way of finding The Save Movement was through Facebook posts, or Facebook posts in addition to other means. For those whose minds were already primed for animal activism, seeing or hearing of a vigil in action can be an immediate invitation to join. A few of the participants came to The Save Movement through their adoption of a farmed animal. This supports The Save Movement's tenet that direct experience with animals opens people's minds to the inherent value of those animals.

Nearly all of the interviewees were already ethical vegans or vegetarians and had an existing interest in animal welfare. There were not many long-term vegans among the participants however. A couple had been vegan for 10 years or more, however most of the interviewees had been vegan for about 2–3 years, coinciding (incidentally or otherwise) with the inception of The Save Movement. One of interviewees was a vegetarian at their first vigil and went vegan following the vigil, while two are currently transitioning to veganism or just find it hard to turn down food like birthday cake when offered. Two of the interviewees are not entirely vegan. One is eating fish and another feels very awkward about being vegan in social gatherings because of worries that it is too difficult to be accommodated by their friends. Unfortunately, this person feels they are disappointing The Save Movement and that they are considered a failure or have lost respect with others in the movement.

Activism Prior to The Save Movement

For a number of the interviewees, their first form of activism of any kind was a Save Movement vigil. Others had been activists or politically involved prior to joining The Save Movement,

either with animal issues (e.g., marine parks, fur, circuses, seal hunting, rescues, petitioning, and letter-writing) or other issues such as peace, the environment, human rights, feminism, LGBT issues, poverty, and food security.

Reasons for Involvement

Religion: Some of the interviewees follow traditional religions such as Christianity. For them, The Save Movement is seen through the lens of forgiveness and looking for the best in people that others might find objectionable, such as slaughterhouse workers. Others connect their participation to their Buddhism or their previous time as Jehovah's Witnesses. Even if there is no traditional religion, some spiritual people see themselves as communing with activists and animals.

Social Justice: Some people get involved in The Save Movement because of a general interest in social justice and human rights. Some interviewees have always been involved in political movements and some younger activists are currently students of human rights issues. One interviewee also has a family history of social justice work.

Animal Rights: Predictably, we found that some interviewees have also had a previous interest in animal rights. Some have rescued companion animals and/or worked in animal protection.

Caring Professions: Finally, some of the activists interviewed work in professions that involve caring for others.

Activity at Vigils

Most of the interviewees are familiar with vigil activities and many have engaged in most of the activities at least once: holding signs or placards, documenting with video/photography, talking with drivers and passersby, leafleting, and talking with fellow attendees. Some of the attendees take pride in signs that they make themselves, and some regular vigil-goers know all of the truck drivers by name.

Some of these activities are limited at certain locations because the slaughter truck does not stop and the traffic is too fast to hand out leaflets. At these locations, the events are meant to

be more of a memorial for the animals, and for documentation purposes, rather than as a direct opportunity to bear witness.

Some participants focus on particular vigil activities and may actively stay away from others. A few people avoid interacting with animals even when this is possible, to guard against their own emotional responses. Others tend not to focus on documenting the animals because many of the other attendees already do this. One person also mentioned that they were unsure whether animals are disturbed by inserting cameras inside the trucks. Another interviewee said that they acted as a safety marshal, ensuring the protection of other attendees from oncoming traffic or other dangers.

Rewarding and Meaningful Aspects of Vigils

The most rewarding or meaningful aspects of attending vigils include seeing evidence that participants had changed people's minds about farmed animals. The evidence can come in a variety of forms: through conversations; hearing from people that had changed because of the participants themselves bearing witness; social media shares; photographs and blogs; seeing positive reactions from passersby (honks, thumbs up); seeing onlookers at the vigils; and new people joining the movement. Even if such positive feedback is not forthcoming, interviewees often feel they are part of a movement that is raising awareness and ultimately changing the world. Being in a community of like-minded people seems to also be an important factor.

Participants also mentioned personal benefits from attending the vigils, including seeing one's own posts being shared, feeling wanted and useful in the movement (often attributed to Anita Krajnc), and feeling less despondent and more energized by doing something. Many reported that the most rewarding aspect of attending the vigils was the community that they feel with other like-minded people. Meaning was sometimes also described in more philosophical or spiritual ways. For some, the rewards were merely to bear witness in the way laid out by Tolstoy, to give a voice to the animals, and to commune with them. One interviewee noted that, in a movement predominantly consisting of women, it was important to show males can also care. Another interviewee mentioned that the most rewarding aspect of the vigils was getting over their fear of looking at the suffering of animals.

What Brought Participants Back

Interviewees mentioned that they came back to their second vigil for three main reasons: 1) seeing the animals; 2) Anita Krajnc or others' encouragement and support; and 3) a sense of responsibility. Even though many interviewees said that seeing the animals first-hand was an important reason for coming back to the vigils, others reiterated that the first experience of seeing animals en route to slaughter can be harrowing. As one explained:

"We went to the vigil, it was really bad, the pigs were screaming, they were prodding them, they were screaming, they were yelling, it was horrible. It's probably the worst one you can go to. Anyhow when it was over I left and had to walk around the front, and everyone else went around the other side down to their cars down the side street and as I left I could hear them screaming as they're being lowered into the CO₂ chambers and it was horrible, absolutely horrible."

Asked why they returned after such a difficult experience the interviewee said:

"I might have never gone again if [name suppressed] hadn't had the post-vigil at her place. Because I was literally in shock."

Many participants also spoke of the encouragement and support provided by Anita Krajnc, specifically, and cite that as a main reason for continuing to attend. Related to this is the general feeling of community and solidarity that people experience during the vigils.

It might also be fair to say that some interviewees feel a "calling" to attend vigils. A few people express it in ritualistic or even spiritual terms, also noting a sense of personal responsibility, such as "it's the right thing to do" or that "someone has to do it."

Negative Aspects or Difficulties with Attending Vigils

Understandably, the most commonly mentioned personal challenge of attending the vigils was feeling powerless about not being able to save the animals. Attendees also see that the animals are suffering and crowded into trucks in all kinds of weather. There is also evidence that animals have suffered throughout their lives, as some have visible marks and scars on their bodies. These aspects of being face-to-face with animals in slaughter trucks can be traumatizing for those who bear witness. For some, the emotional toll lasts well beyond the actual vigil itself and continues throughout the entire day or even longer. For some vigil-goers, there is also some resentment that they—the vegans who do not contribute to animal exploitation—are called upon to bear witness. One interviewee said:

"I'm a vegetarian, I don't buy fur, I don't buy leather, I don't contribute to this, why do I have to be out here and do this emotional trauma every time when people drive by not even looking and they are the ones that are eating meat every day. Why am I the one who has to suffer and relive this all the time even though I'm not the one responsible for it."

Among our interviewees, the second most frequently cited personal challenge is experiencing the negative reactions of passersby and slaughterhouse workers. This includes those who refuse to acknowledge animal suffering and the outright aggression of some who might respond with verbal or gestural hostilities. For some people at the vigils, this can produce a general feeling of hopelessness that people do not care about the pain of others and that they may never change.

Participants also mentioned more logistical difficulties such as the timing of the vigils, transportation to and from the gatherings, and the distance to the vigils. It is perhaps noteworthy that two interviewees did not mention any other negative aspects apart from these logistical matters.

Barriers to Participation by Self or Others

For participants who were not organizers or activists, the interviewer asked why they do not attend vigils more often or become more involved in The Save Movement. Time, distance, and health issues (for themselves or their family) were the most commonly mentioned reasons. With respect to time, participants not only reported lack of time, but also that vigils were held at awkward times when they were not available because of work commitments. A few of the interviewees said they are unwilling to make vigils or other similar activities a priority in their lives as they felt they were doing enough outside of this. One interviewee explained that they felt activism had become a burden on them:

"I feel like I started sharing less on Facebook, I've tried to distance myself and I've kind of come into a mindset where I'm not contributing to it, I don't promote it and if someone asked me I'll tell them what I think but I can't keep making it my life mission to stop it because it's so hard on me, I find."

Interviewees were also asked to speculate regarding why other people might not participate in vigils, or why they may come to one vigil but not return. Availability of time, timing of vigils, and accessibility of vigil locations were the most mentioned by interviewees. Many also noted

that attendees might be afraid to participate because of the emotional toll of bearing witness. They might not have the support of family and friends, and the animal rights community can be tight-knit and difficult to access. One interviewee made the point that some might resent that they have to bear witness to misery that they are not contributing to. Another person mentioned that people might not be aware that non-vegans are welcome at the vigils. One interviewee also remarked that the vigils may be too intense for people and the call to action too demanding. They explained:

“If it is too overwhelming all the time, and if people feel that they are seeing all this, but the only solution is to go vegan that may also come off as strong for a lot of people, if there were more simple steps that people could take to make a difference rather than just go vegan. I find with a lot of activists, there is pessimism and not really strong enough understanding of effective advocacy. So, with a lot of organizations I have worked with, the wording has been, you know, move towards a plant-based diet or vegetarian even though all of the recipes provided are vegan because if people think that the only thing I can do to it is to go vegan, I am not ready to do that, I guess I can’t help.”

Interviewees also mentioned the larger social impact of bearing witness, such as having their photographs shared on social media. These people might live in a community that is oriented around animal farming, or they might come face-to-face with farmers or other animal industry stakeholders in their jobs. For these individuals, taking part in something where they are highly visible could severely compromise their day-to-day lives.

It is possible that a sense of futility might prevent people from going, or returning, to vigils. Like the slaughterhouse workers, it also is possible for the vigil-goers to become hardened or inured to the point that they no longer feel the need to attend. But on the whole, regular vigil attendance may just not be the preferred type of activism for some individuals. As one interviewee noted:

“Some people probably go to them and they just do not feel that connection, it can seem very passive and it can seem like you are not really doing anything, and some people like activism to feel very active, so some of it is just people finding their own style of activism I think.”

What Participants do Following the Vigils

Depending on the site of the vigil, most people gather with fellow activists, usually at someone’s home or in a cafe. Most interviewees felt that it is very important to have a place to

“decompress” after vigils, even if they do not always avail themselves of it. Some groups may not always have a gathering after the vigil, which might be an important thing to address to build community and provide emotional support to other members. A few of the interviewees specifically mentioned that they did not gather with people and that made them feel depressed. As one interviewee noted:

“I definitely felt really awful. Each time I have gone, I have always kind of rushed back to work or whatever I had going on, and I hate to say it, but I really feel awful afterwards, because it just makes everything real, and makes me realize we have so far to go before you know, more and more people start understanding it. It is so awful what is going on.”

Aside from the social gathering, most vigil attendees share their material (photos, footage or other messages) on social media—primarily Facebook, but some also mentioned Twitter and YouTube. Of those interviewees who share content on Facebook, some post not only on their own pages, but also in group pages.

Impact of the Vigils

Bearing witness has both immediate and long-term impacts on the vigil-goers. For some, the short-term impact can be very powerfully negative. As one interviewee explained:

“After the vigils, I cannot eat, even if I am not eating or I am eating a salad for example, I cannot eat, I need some time. On that day, I do not know how to say. It is very sad to see when I know people are going to eat them, so I do not know.”

Some of the other interviewees who are at the attendee stage of participation also cite feelings of depression and hopelessness. Significantly, these interviewees do not have a social network within the movement. It is hard to say with certainty that this is the cause of these feelings or their reluctance to engage further in the movement, but it is worth exploring.

More profound impacts of going to the vigils include changes in attitudes and philosophy regarding animals and life in general. As one interviewee noted:

“It is like so multidimensional, but the impact is like waking up to the truth, like the reality behind it all kind of, I think it really changes you, and it changes kind of, I do not know, the way you handle yourself.”

It's interesting to note, however, that even the more experienced activists and longer-term vegans describe the vigils as transformative. One organizer compared vigil attendance to going to church:

"Personally, it is like I said, church for me, in the sense that it is a weekly ritual that I participate in, and that is important, it provides meaning to me in the sense of ethical community, and a sense that I am doing what I can in the world to make the world a better place, right."

Other types of impact, if not quite so encompassing, include a sense of empowerment and confidence when speaking up for injustice. Participants said they feel galvanized, committed, and more enlightened about animals. One even said they have found their life's purpose in advocating for animals. Vigil-goers are seemingly more politically savvy and aware of all types of oppression; they are also more likely to be conscious consumers. People feel better about doing something proactive and they are more likely to speak up about veganism and animal activism, both on and offline.

Interviewees also talked about the impact of their vigil attendance on people around them. Some of them mentioned close family members (parents, children) and more distant friends or relatives going vegan or taking steps towards veganism as a result of the participant's vigil attendance. Their activism shows to others that they care, which in turn encourages changes in attitudes and/or behaviors. As one said:

"Even people in my family became more sympathetic as a result of sharing my experiences and expressed interest of actually going to a vigil. My aunt went to one last fall and now I have an uncle in Toronto who wants to go to one. And I have seen it have effect on some of my friends as well, where they just became somehow more sympathetic. It makes it more real."

Finally, some interviewees also say that they have lost friends because they share Save Movement posts, or that they are afraid of losing friends. As one interviewee explained:

"I cannot think of the word, but I have lost some friends as a result, although in hindsight, I would not want to be friends with them anyways, but the friends I have kept, you know, it has really made me realize who my true friends are."

Impressions of The Save Movement

Regardless of their individual status within the movement, all interview participants are favorable toward The Save Movement, and most of them are very enthusiastic about its

effectiveness. For instance, even though they are unsure about their own involvement in The Save Movement, one interviewee had this to say about it:

“I think it is excellent, I think that is one of the biggest things out there, I really look up to them... it’s a strong movement and it’s really good to have it. One of the biggest things that is going to help animals.”

People can sense the effectiveness of The Save Movement both during the vigil when they see that passersby are affected, and after the vigil through reactions on social media posts.

The participants agree that The Save Movement has some unique and inimitable qualities. The research suggests that the fact that participants come face-to-face with animals en route to slaughter is possibly the most powerful aspect of The Save Movement. It is at the same time both the most meaningful and the most difficult part of the vigils, a dichotomy that speaks to the courage of the activists. The injustice is very transparent and obvious, as the victims are alive and viewable or even accessible to activists.

Its foundation in nonviolence based on Gandhian and Tolstoyan philosophies inspires and empowers its members. As one interviewee noted:

“What I also liked about it was that it was the direct experience of it with the animals, and then the third thing that I really, really liked about it was the nonviolence philosophy. So that actually was very attractive to me because I have always strongly believed in nonviolence, Gandhianism and influenced by Gandhi and Martin Luther King Junior, and in my previous activism in peace activism, we used a lot of the ideas from those two thinkers quite a lot. So, the attraction of nonviolence philosophy, which is transformational, and by that I mean the desire to transform the oppressor and see the basic humanity in the oppressor.”

The Save Movement is welcoming of everyone. The community can be very close-knit like a family (although some exceptions might exist and those gaps should be addressed). Most if not all interviewees referenced Anita Krajnc when they talked about their involvement in, and commitment to, The Save Movement. From the interviews, it is clear that Anita Krajnc has the ability to make individual activists feel wanted and useful.

Other factors mentioned include that The Save Movement is not static and is always looking for new ways to advocate for farmed animals, such as the civil disobedience demonstration of November 2014.

Far-Reaching Effects

Many of interviewees were new to activism in general, or new to animal activism specifically. Some participants noted that participating in vigils inspires them to join other animal or vegan related groups. With respect to animal-related activities, participants mentioned a wide variety including scholarly endeavors, starting a new animal advocacy group, video outreach, fundraising, or joining campaigns that are already in place. A common consequence or downstream effect of vigil attendance is greater involvement in vegan outreach efforts. Interviewees are often involved in tabling or volunteering at vegfests and organizing other veg-related events at a university or other local venues.

If the conversation allowed, the interviewer asked some of the participants about other far-reaching effects of their involvement with The Save Movement, specifically with respect to promoting veganism or animal rights. Interviewees thought about this as it relates to both their immediate circle of friends and family as well as the implications for animals on a broader, even societal, level.

With respect to their personal circles, some interviewees gave examples along the lines of the same effects that were mentioned previously in the conversation. For instance, they noted that because of their Facebook posts, their friends, relatives, or co-workers had decided to start taking steps towards veganism. This was unexpected for at least one interviewee, as they had not realized who might be reading their posts.

The broader impact mentioned by interviewees include completely different types of effects. For instance, one interviewee noted that the “water for pigs” video instigated many new Save groups popping up around the world. Another said that the slaughter truck civil disobedience in November of 2014 showed people the seriousness of the cause and activists insisting that people confront the issue. As one interviewee explained:

“You notice once you become a little more active that other people who know you start to take the issue more seriously, you know, it is something like an extended family. [...] I do think in general animal rights activists can’t expect wider society to take their issue seriously if they do not themselves show how seriously they take it.”

One interviewee mentioned that they were representing the role of men in the movement, and

that part of their role as an advocate is to stand for a vision of masculinity that is compassionate as well as strong. They said:

“So in that regard, thinking of the times that I have been out there talking to people, I always take satisfaction thinking of that and thinking of the expected roles for males, you know society, they are aggressive, less compassionate role they were supposed to play and that is how we started trying to get back to young especially young males who seem a little bit more understanding and who also hear the messages, how many big tough men out there are actually compassionate and have moved to veganism.”

These responses to the question of far-reaching or surprising effects arguably underestimate the actual effects that interviewees are having. These participants cannot be expected to know, or to take credit for, the possible downstream effects that might be individually small, but collectively quite large. If another person is inspired to become vegan or take action for animals, that person might not be aware of the influence of Save Movement activists, and even if they were aware, they might not mention it to them. It was also difficult for the interviewees to know what “far-reaching” effects we were asking about or if they should repeat things they had mentioned previously. This analysis therefore is likely only scratching at the surface of the potential downstream effects of The Save Movement.

Participant’s Recommendations

Interviewees were asked what recommendations they have for Save Movement organizers. The following is a list of suggestions provided by the interviewees themselves.

- *Groups should understand principles of nonviolence:* With reference to starting Save groups in new or different locations, there may not be enough coordination and new group members might not understand the principles of nonviolence. Based on our interviews, it seems that these principles may not be explained in a very accessible way and it would be easy for new members to take the wrong approach. In particular, participants might not understand acceptance of slaughterhouse workers, particularly if the latter show hostility during a vigil. Producing a video or other tool to explain these principles could help convey the message to new participants in a consistent manner.
- *Groups should be guided to ensure that they do not burn out:* One interviewee suggested that Anita Krajnc take on this leadership role to ensure consistency across different Save groups. In particular, if people join The Save Movement and quickly take on major roles,

they may run a higher risk of burning out. It might be better for new participants to be assigned smaller tasks.

- *The Save Movement could be more strategic with respect to mainstream media:* The Save Movement is a relatively new network of animal advocates. At the time of the interviews, the organizers were still seeking to fully understand how to get into mainstream media. It was noted in the interviews that The Save Movement could perhaps find people specifically to engage with the media in a strategic and planned manner.
- *Better and different leaflets:* Some interviewees mentioned that the leaflets used by Save groups could be better designed. They provided suggestions for having a more detailed leaflet as well as a shorter flyer to use in different circumstances.
- *Timing and accessibility could be improved:* Accessibility is an important issue for many people interviewed for this study, and some of them recommend holding vigils on weekends or during evenings when they are not working. These requests may not be possible if the goal is to coincide the vigils with the timing of transport trucks however. Some interviewees suggested providing transportation and a “buddy system” to ensure greater attendance.
- *Support attendees and other observers with more upbeat messages and images:* Understandably, many of the suggestions from interviewees were to temper the sad or brutal images of slaughter with positive images or events. One person suggested a sister page where The Save Movement can share vegan recipes and other tips. Other suggestions were to have regular fundraisers with food and more lighthearted entertainment. In relation to this, one interviewee said that they felt the musical act in the *Animals Without Borders* event was too aggressive, with lyrics like “kill the butcher.” Their main concern was that the intense focus on going vegan and bearing witness may be off-putting for newcomers.
- *Appeal to non-vegans and non-activists:* As one interviewee said: “I think the approach is really important and having more than bearing witness would be great, and I know there are other events. I know there are workshops and film screenings, but I feel a lot of that is geared towards people who already know the issues, people who are already activists, and I think more effort needs to be put into getting people who are not vegetarians or not activists to attend and learn more.”
- *Making funds available:* A few other interviewees mentioned the need for funds to make signs or to afford a larger sound system for transmitting music or other sound effects.

- *Engage in more standard types of outreach and work with other anti-oppression groups:* Several interviewees mentioned doing more standard types of outreach in addition to the vigils, such as showing videos on public sidewalks, leafleting, and producing t-shirts, bumper stickers, and other materials to promote The Save Movement. In line with this, these people are looking for more guidance on how to engage with people effectively, perhaps including information sessions on effective outreach strategies or communication tactics including how to talk to people without turning them away or shaming them, as well as how to conduct oneself professionally and be able to speak intelligently to the issues. They also suggest that The Save Movement partner with other anti-oppression groups to share ideas, resources, and to support one another.

Limitations

The results of this study provide valuable insight into a list of motivations and barriers for participating in vigils in areas in and around Toronto, and provide a useful background for investigating attitudes among vigil-goers in general. However, qualitative work such as interviews are subject to a great deal of bias and resulting data cannot be expected to be representative of the overall population of vigil attendees. However, the data are valuable in providing a variety of different views on the attitudes of vigil-goers. As Toronto is the worldwide hub of The Save Movement, and as it is where the influence of its founder, Anita Krajnc, is most apparent, it is difficult to argue that the results represent Save groups elsewhere. Specifically, as the main thrust of this work was to ascertain motivations and barriers to participation in The Save Movement, it is quite possible that these will vary significantly in other parts of North America and the rest of the world. Because the original list of interviewees were selected by Anita Krajnc, there is the likelihood of some bias.

As the interviewees all knew that Save Movement leaders will have access to transcripts and this report, some positive bias is also likely. In other words, out of respect for the leaders, it is possible that interviewees emphasized positive attitudes about The Save Movement and de-emphasized negative attitudes. It is also possible that out of the original list of 45 prospective interviewees (most of whom were contacted), the ones who chose to respond were those who had more positive attitudes in general. Connected to this is the fact that nearly all of the interviewees were already ethical vegans or vegetarians and had an existing interest in animal

welfare before coming to a vigil. However, we know that many omnivores attend the vigils and so it is possible our sample was biased in this way.

Appendix A: Recruitment Letter

Hello [name],

My name is Rama Ganesan, and I am writing to you on behalf of the Humane Research Council, which is conducting a research project on Toronto Pig Save and related Save Movement activities. I would like to talk to you about your experience participating in one or more vigils for farmed animals (pigs, cows, chickens, etc.), to find out your thoughts on being part of this type of advocacy.

You are not obligated of course, but if you are willing, I would give you a call on the telephone at a time that is convenient for both of us. We will then have a general discussion exploring various aspects of your participation in the Save event(s). The discussion will probably last 30-45 minutes. My goal is to get an understanding of your whole experience, so that our study can reflect a range of perspectives.

During our conversation you can decline to answer specific questions if you do not feel comfortable answering. I am going to be interviewing roughly 20 people and all the responses will be synthesized in general terms into a report so that no personal identifiable information is shared. If you have any questions about your participation in our phone conversation, please feel free to ask me through an email, and I will do my best to answer them.

To honor participants' time commitment, we will enter their names into a draw for a \$100 iTunes gift card.

If you agree to participate, please visit this link (<http://doodle.com/xstksp4hgmvf5tvx>) to select 3 potential interview times that work for you (avoiding any that have already been selected by other participants). The poll is in Eastern Time. To protect your privacy, when entering your selection instead of your name mark the code [unique code]. Please note, do not add your name, but the code [unique code]. But if you find this to be troublesome, just reply to me and we will work out a time.

I will then follow up with the interview time and a toll-free number for you to call.

Your involvement in this study will be tremendously helpful in advancing knowledge about participation in Toronto Pig Save and related Save Movement initiatives. It is my understanding that vigil attendees are special people, so I really look forward to speaking with you!

Rama Ganesan
Humane Research Council
PO Box 6476, Olympia, WA 98507-6476
<http://www.humaneresearch.org>

Appendix B: Follow-up Email

I have you down for [date and time]. I assume you are at EST also, but if not please check and confer with me if necessary.

At that time, please call this TOLL-FREE number 1-800-356-8278. Then you will be prompted to enter the conference code [number].

Once we are connected, and before we begin our conversation, I will go through this oral consent which will be recorded. I am sending this to you ahead of time, just FYI. Let me know if you have any other questions. I look forward to talking to you next week!

Appendix C: Oral Consent

Thank you so much for agreeing to talk with me about your experiences in The Save Movement. I would like to begin by explaining the purpose of our conversation, and how we will use the information you provide to us.

This discussion is to help us understand the motivations and barriers to different types of participation within The Save Movement. Your participant is voluntary, and you are free to withdraw at any time during our conversation. If you feel that there are some questions you do not want to answer, please feel free to decline.

I am talking to about 20 people from The Save Movement, and we will be drawing general conclusions from considering all of the participants together. So even if you share with me information that might be specific to you, when we write up the study we will remove any identifying information. In other words, the findings from the study will be expressed in general terms rather than about any one particular person.

We are recording the conversation as the information you provide is very valuable to us. Both the Humane Research Council and Toronto Pig Save will have access to the recording. The conversation will then be transcribed, and synthesized into a report.

Appendix D: Interview Guide

Organizers (hold a (team) leadership role within the SM by founding a group or organizing notable aspects of an existing one)	Activists (regularly attend vigils. Involvement (e.g., arranging car pools, shooting footage) goes beyond participating, but is not at the level of an organizer. While organizers make sure the vigils happen, activists take on smaller roles to make sure things run smoothly)	Participants (attend vigils semi-regularly, but are not activists or organizers for the SM)	One/two-time Attendees (attended one or two vigils in the past)	Purpose
<p>1. Tell me about yourself.</p> <p><i>Prompts</i></p> <ul style="list-style-type: none"> • age? • family/home and work life? • cultural background? • educational background? • other important and defining characteristics? 				To collect demographics
<p>2. What types of Save Movement activities are you engaged in?</p>		<p>2. What types of SM activities did you engage in?</p>		To ensure interviewees are accurately placed along the continuum
<p><i>Prompts</i></p> <ul style="list-style-type: none"> • types of engagement (participating in vigils, arranging carpools, shooting/editing footage, starting own group, etc. May have varied over time.) • number of vigils attended • cow, chicken, and/or pig vigils, if the distinction is important to them, which SM group(s) • first involvement with the SM (year and month). Length of involvement as an activist/organizer if applicable. 				
<p>3. What made you join your first vigil? What brought you to the Save Movement?</p>				To explore motivations for initial contact with SM movement.
<p>4. Were you already an activist for animals or other social causes?</p>				To explore if SM attracts people who are already activists

Organizers (hold a (team) leadership role within the SM by founding a group or organizing notable aspects of an existing one)	Activists (regularly attend vigils. Involvement (e.g., arranging car pools, shooting footage) goes beyond participating, but is not at the level of an organizer. While organizers make sure the vigils happen, activists take on smaller roles to make sure things run smoothly)	Participants (attend vigils semi-regularly, but are not activists or organizers for the SM)	One/two-time Attendees (attended one or two vigils in the past)	Purpose
<p>5. Tell me about your experiences at SM vigil(s).</p> <p>Prompts</p> <p><u>During (Animals)</u></p> <ul style="list-style-type: none"> • bear witness up close? (if so, was it what you expected it to be?) • touch the animals? (if so, what was the interaction like?) • give the animals food/water? (if so, what was this like?) • document the animals (photos/videos)? (if so, what was this like?) <p><u>During (Non-Animal)</u></p> <ul style="list-style-type: none"> • hold a placard? (if so, what was the reaction?) • talk to drivers/pedestrians? (if so, what was the reaction?) • leaflet? (if so, what was the reaction?) <p><u>During (Other Participants)</u></p> <ul style="list-style-type: none"> • talk to other attendees? (if so, what was this like?) 				<p>To explore motivators and barriers to organizing/activism (based on experiences at the vigils)</p>
<p>6. What was the most meaningful/rewarding aspect of the vigil(s) for you?</p> <p>Prompts</p> <ul style="list-style-type: none"> • bearing witness? • providing comfort to the animals? • interaction with drivers/pedestrians? • interaction with fellow attendees? • welcoming/love-based approach? • importance of the SM family of fellow activists? 				<p>To explore motivators to organizing/activism (based on experiences at the vigils)</p>
<p>7. What was the most difficult/negative aspect of the vigil(s) for you? What impact has this had on your involvement?</p> <p>Prompts</p> <ul style="list-style-type: none"> • emotional toll of bearing witness? • not being able to free the animals? 				<p>To explore barriers to organizing/activism (based on experiences at the vigils)</p>
<p>8. What has your experience been like after leaving the vigils?</p> <p>Prompts</p> <ul style="list-style-type: none"> • did you share your experience with family, friends or others (in-person, social media)? • (if so, what was the reaction? importance/impact of documenting/sharing experience?) • (if so, increased comfort in speaking out on this issue?) 				<p>To explore motivators and barriers to organizing/activism (if they felt empowered/supported or mocked/dismissed by sharing)</p>

Organizers (hold a (team) leadership role within the SM by founding a group or organizing notable aspects of an existing one)	Activists (regularly attend vigils. Involvement (e.g., arranging car pools, shooting footage) goes beyond participating, but is not at the level of an organizer. While organizers make sure the vigils happen, activists take on smaller roles to make sure things run smoothly)	Participants (attend vigils semi-regularly, but are not activists or organizers for the SM)	One/two-time Attendees (attended one or two vigils in the past)	Purpose
<p>9. What impact have the vigil(s) had on you? <i>Prompts</i></p> <ul style="list-style-type: none"> • <i>deep experience?</i> • <i>emotionally difficult?</i> • <i>transformative?</i> • <i>limited impact?</i> • <i>did animal rights and activism become a bigger priority in your life?</i> • <i>are you more able to speak out for animals?</i> • <i>did you post photos on social media?</i> • <i>what impact did your participation have on your friends and family?</i> 				<p>To explore motivators and barriers to organizing/activism (based on impact from the vigils)</p>
<p>10. How about your position with regard to veganism? How have you changed since you attended the vigils? <i>Prompts</i></p> <ul style="list-style-type: none"> • <i>if they've made a switch when and why?</i> • <i>dietary changes, clothing/entertainment, and other ways of removing support from animal exploitation.</i> 				<p>Explore the SM's role in diet change and its attraction to non-vegn's; explore changes in stance regarding veganism in general</p>
<p>11. After you attended your first vigil, what brought you back? <i>Prompts</i></p> <ul style="list-style-type: none"> • <i>importance of supporting fellow activists?</i> 		<p>–</p>	<p>To explore motivators to organizing/activism (based on initial pull)</p>	
<p>12. What about your experience with the SM has inspired you to get involved in the movement as an organizer?</p>	<p>12. What about your experience with the SM has inspired you to get involved in the movement as an activist?</p>	<p>–</p>	<p>–</p>	<p>To explore motivators to organizing/activism</p>
<p>13. What is the most meaningful/rewarding aspect of being an organizer with the SM?</p>	<p>13. What is the most meaningful/rewarding aspect of being an activist with the SM?</p>	<p>–</p>	<p>–</p>	<p>To explore motivators to organizing/activism</p>

Organizers (hold a (team) leadership role within the SM by founding a group or organizing notable aspects of an existing one)	Activists (regularly attend vigils. Involvement (e.g., arranging car pools, shooting footage) goes beyond participating, but is not at the level of an organizer. While organizers make sure the vigils happen, activists take on smaller roles to make sure things run smoothly)	Participants (attend vigils semi-regularly, but are not activists or organizers for the SM)	One/two-time Attendees (attended one or two vigils in the past)	Purpose
14. What is the most difficult/negative aspect of being an organizer with the SM?	14. What is the most difficult/negative aspect of being an activist with the SM?	–	–	To explore barriers to organizing/activism
–	15. Have you wanted to become more involved in the SM as an organizer? (if no, why? if yes, what has held you back?)	15. Have you wanted to become more involved in the SM as an activist who takes on specific roles? (if no, why? if yes, what has held you back?)	15. Have you wanted to participate in vigils again? (if no, why? if yes, what has held you back?)	To explore barriers to organizing/activism
–	<p>Prompts</p> <ul style="list-style-type: none"> • <i>inconvenient times of day?</i> • <i>inconvenient location?</i> • <i>too busy?</i> • <i>emotionally upsetting?</i> • <i>not useful?</i> • <i>not rewarding/meaningful?</i> • <i>involved in other forms of animal protection instead?</i> 			To explore barriers to organizing/activism
<p>16. What qualities about the SM's specific approach to organizing are most appealing to you?</p> <p>Prompts</p> <ul style="list-style-type: none"> • <i>consistency?</i> • <i>active social media?</i> • <i>love-based/non-judgemental?</i> • <i>community organizing?</i> • <i>collectively bearing witness?</i> • <i>democratic/transparent?</i> • <i>diversity of participants?</i> 				To explore motivators and barriers to organizing/activism (based on SM's unique qualities)

Organizers (hold a (team) leadership role within the SM by founding a group or organizing notable aspects of an existing one)	Activists (regularly attend vigils. Involvement (e.g., arranging car pools, shooting footage) goes beyond participating, but is not at the level of an organizer. While organizers make sure the vigils happen, activists take on smaller roles to make sure things run smoothly)	Participants (attend vigils semi-regularly, but are not activists or organizers for the SM)	One/two-time Attendees (attended one or two vigils in the past)	Purpose
17. What qualities about the SM's specific approach to organizing are least appealing to you?				To explore motivators and barriers to organizing/activism (based on SM's unique qualities)
18. How is your experience with SM different from other types of activism you might have done?				To explore motivators and barriers to organizing/activism (based on SM's unique qualities)
19. Have you been inspired to get involved in other animal protection activities since being involved with the SM? <i>Prompts</i> <ul style="list-style-type: none"> • <i>type of engagement (leadership/attendee, in-person/online, formal/informal)? (give examples if needed: online activism, tabling, protests, conversations with family/friends, hosting events, attending events, sharing food, organizing film screenings, leafletting, encouraging others to become active, vocal in everyday life)</i> • <i>did involvement in the SM make animal rights and activism a bigger priority in your life?</i> • <i>overall frequency?</i> • <i>what specifically about the SM inspired this?</i> 				To explore motivators for external organizing/activism
20. In your best estimation, what sorts of other effects has your participation in the SM had? <i>Prompts</i> <ul style="list-style-type: none"> • <i>did you see any responses from people that you did not expect?</i> • <i>did you inspire others?</i> • <i>did you inspire yourself in a surprising way, with this or other causes?</i> 				To address spinoff and cascading effect (network effects)

Organizers (hold a (team) leadership role within the SM by founding a group or organizing notable aspects of an existing one)	Activists (regularly attend vigils. Involvement (e.g., arranging car pools, shooting footage) goes beyond participating, but is not at the level of an organizer. While organizers make sure the vigils happen, activists take on smaller roles to make sure things run smoothly)	Participants (attend vigils semi-regularly, but are not activists or organizers for the SM)	One/two-time Attendees (attended one or two vigils in the past)	Purpose
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21. What do you think are some of the barriers for other people in the movement? Could you speculate as to why we do not have more organizers or activists? Why do some people just come to a few vigils, and then leave?
Prompts

- they feel that it is not for them?*
- they cannot go vegan especially in the diet?*

Getting “expert” opinion on barriers from activists and organizers especially, as we do not have a good list of one-time attendees

22. What recommendations do you have for vigil/SM organizers?
Prompts

- how might the vigils be made more effective: at the vigils themselves? once activists go home and possibly participate in outreach/organizing off-site?*

To explore barriers to organizing/activism

Notes

- In introduction to the interview, have interviewer explain that she will refer to The Save Movement generally as opposed to the specific organization that interviewees were associated with (e.g., Toronto Pig Save).*
- For respondents who have attended vigils for more than one animal it will be too involved to separate answers for each question by animal type. Though, whenever possible throughout interviews, prompt for which type(s) of animal were the focus on the vigil(s) being discussed.*
- Be careful about the length (may need to triage questions based on study’s purpose).*
- Rephrase questions as needed so as not to sound judgemental/avoid leading questions.*
- Throughout want to focus on motivators/barriers that are within TPS’s control.*
- Ask the general questions before the specific probing, i.e., What is it like? rather than What is rewarding or challenging?*
- Emphasize that people can feel differently to help interviewees feel comfortable with sharing true feelings.*
- Do not spend too long on the question about what brought them to their first vigil, as we have stated that it is not important to our research question. But it is important to ask because it is the logical sequence.*