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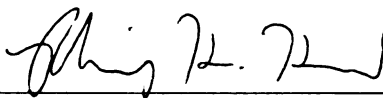
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ALTERNATIVE FOOD AND ANIMAL GEOGRAPHIES IN NEWSPRINT MEDIA:
DISCOURSE ANALYSIS OF URBAN CHICKENS IN THE US

By

Margaret H. Fitzpatrick

A THESIS

Submitted to
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2009

ABSTRACT

ALTERNATIVE FOOD AND ANIMAL GEOGRAPHIES IN NEWSPRINT MEDIA: DISCOURSE ANALYSIS OF URBAN CHICKEN IN THE US

By

Margaret H. Fitzpatrick

The purpose of this research was to explore concepts and themes within the newsprint media on urban chicken keeping in the US, to find how the media affect the acceptance and proliferation of the practice among the general public. Urban chicken-keeping is an alternative practice that challenges the dominance of industrial agriculture and strives to re-examine our relationships with food animals. The newsprint media continue to cover the increasing popularity of raising chickens in US cities. The sample included 94 articles about urban chicken-keeping from various small to large US newspapers. A social constructionist approach to discourse used framing to analyze data and explain the impact of the newsprint media on readers. The results demonstrate how the media market dominant perspectives of livestock and agriculture as "out of place" in cities, and mischaracterize the practice as exclusively part of a new local and organic food movement. The results also suggest that media hold alternative perspectives on livestock and agriculture in the cities, and, on some levels, encourage the acceptability of urban chicken-keeping and support further citizen action to allow for the practice. The conclusions are meant as a project to identify gaps in the media portrayal. Suggestions are made for alternative food practitioners so that they may counteract the limited media presentation with outreach and education on important aspects of this alternative practice.

DEDICATION

To my parents, Richard and Patricia Fitzpatrick, who have supported me in all my

journeys, and to Grandma Mary Fitzpatrick and Nana Genevieve Thein who were women

ahead of their time.

ACKNOWLEDGEMENTS

TABLE OF CONTENTS

LIST OF TABLES

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LIST OF FIGURES

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CHAPTER 1

Introduction

There is increasing dissatisfaction with industrial food systems and concern for the welfare of farm animals among the general public. Rising numbers of people are interested in matters of food safety and ecological sustainability. Many lay observers have noted the growing market for organic fruits and vegetables as a signal of widespread public concern about industrial food production. The industrial food system in the United States is increasingly consolidated and commodified (Lobao & Meyer, 2001). This has led to a concentration of economic power, social disempowerment and deleterious ecological consequences (Goodman 2000, cited in Hinrichs, 2003). This has contributed to academic and practitioner interest in alternatives which challenge the dominance of industrial food.

Peoples' concern for animal welfare is also apparent. On January 30, 2008, the Humane Society of the United States released evidence of the mistreatment of cows in non-mobile condition, which was recovered through a long-term undercover investigation of a meat packing company in California. This "downer cow incident" led to the largest meat recall to date in response to public outrage of slaughter methods thought to be unsafe and cruel. Industrial meat production is ecologically unsustainable, detrimental to human health, as well as cruel to the sentient beings involved (Horrigan, Lawrence, & Walker, 2002; Mason & Finelli, 2006). Public outrage in response to such animal welfare violations has caused academic and activist to re-examine our relationship with food animals and seek out less cruel and more sustainable alternatives.

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Currently, the mass media portray alternatives such as farmers' markets, community gardening and urban agriculture, all of which have been studied by researchers of alternative agri-food movements. The mass media play an important role in introducing these alternatives to the broader public, but little is known about how they represent specific phenomenon. This study seeks to explore how one form of mass media in particular, newsprint media, portray an alternative practice: urban chicken-keeping.

Urban residents in the US are welcoming chickens, goats, rabbits, and bees back to the city. In the broad sense this practice is termed urban livestock agriculture. Globally, keeping urban livestock is a common practice, however, the global North has a tradition of discouraging this practice. Urban livestock agriculture in the US was initially explored in an ethnographic study by Jennifer Blecha (2007). She found that the practice of keeping urban livestock allowed people to express an alternative set of beliefs towards city ecologies and human—animal relationships with the hope of changing a system in which they were dissatisfied. These findings suggest that this practice is potentially transformative to the way people think about and, therefore, engage animal agriculture or consume animal products in the US.

The newsprint media have acknowledged this increasing popularity of urban livestock. The newsprint media report on motivations, benefits, problems, and concerns about keeping such animals in densely populated areas. Raising chickens, in particular, continues to receive a large amount of mass media spotlight. The growing interest in this practice has been termed the "urban chicken movement," but is no doubt situated within broader urban agriculture and alternative agri-food movements. It is important to analyze

the mass media coverage of urban chickens to better understand how alternatives to industrial agriculture are portrayed to the broader population.

The goal of the study was to conduct an analysis to achieve an understanding about the effect of the newsprint media on the perception and proliferation of this practice among readers. My findings show that the portrayal of urban chickens is limited. It presents alternative values and practices alongside conventional perspectives, motivations and means. In the end, these findings are used craft suggestions for alternative food scholars and practitioners to guide them in balancing the limited media presentation with their own public outreach and education.

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CHAPTER 2

Review of Literature

This literature review reveals connections between scholarly research on alternative food geographies and animal geographies through the practice of urban livestock agriculture. The two bodies of literature challenge and provide practical grounding for each other. Many scholars of animal geographies critique literatures for "backgrounding" animals, or in other words, considering them as static and passive pieces of the backdrop in which the society occurs; this has been shown to be the case in certain environmental literatures (Wolch, 1998). The humane, ethical treatment of farm animals is a persistent concern for scholars and advocates of the alternative agro-food movement. While this literature may not objectify animals, it backgrounds animals by grouping them with the environmental components. This study also evaluates the importance of including animals in social and cultural theory (Tovey, 2003; Whatmore, 1999; Wolch, 1998; Wolch, 2002; Wolch & Emel, 1995). This acknowledges the call to include animals as the integral part of the world that they are (Wolch and Emel, 1995). Using the literature of animal geographies allows the researcher to bring animals center stage, as an integral subject of the research.

The interdisciplinary literature of alternative food geographies maintain a diverse theoretical base but also devote much attention to activist literature which strives to create alternatives in the world in which we live. This provides a practical and balanced basis for the pursuit of less cruel and sustainable alternatives in animal agriculture.

Animal studies has been critiqued as being stuck in a theoretical phase, so the use of alternative food geographies literature pulls it back down to earth, to a study of practice.

These literatures are complementary in the way that they describe the subject of study (agriculture or animals) and the harmful effects of distancing. I first describe alternative food geographies, specifically the turn towards local food as a way to counteract the spatial, social, political, and moral effects of distancing within the food system. Second, I discuss the study of "new" cultural animal geographies to provide a background on how animals have been incorporated or excluded from urban identities, spaces and places. Third, I take a moment to expand on the concept of distancing and explain how divergent ideas and perspectives inform one-another and shape though and theory. Finally, I discuss urban agriculture and urban livestock agriculture as practices that bridge these two literatures and help facilitate opportunities for this and future research.

Alternative Food Geographies

The term "alternative food geographies" was first used by Whatmore and Thorne (1997) and refers to a broad set of food and agriculture related relationships and practices set in opposition to those which are conventional (Maye, Kneafsey, & Holloway, 2007). One way of looking at alternative food geographies is through the perspective of alternative economics. Literature on alternative economics has given forecast and analysis by studying economic alternatives to capitalism. The purpose of alternative economics is to "challenge the discursive dominance of capitalism, currently neo-liberal capitalism, as the primary economic practice" (Blecha, 2007, p. 80). Instances of people

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enacting alternatives are viewed as "spaces of hope" which could be proliferative

(Gibson-Graham 1996 in Leyshon & Lee, 2003, p. 23). The transformative potential of

small alternatives within dominant economic systems or practices is substantial. Leyshon

and Lee (2003) are optimistic about the proliferative capacity these spaces of hope.

Drawing from Leyshon and Lee's work, Maye et al. also describe the topology of the

neoliberal model as a "uniform global economic geography" rather than attentiveness to

the specificities of space and location (2007, p. 5).

This refers not just to economic systems generally, but directly applies to describe

the form and function of food production. The topology of the dominant food system can

also be described as uniform: increasingly concentrated, commodified and globalized.

Alternative food projects can be viewed as these proliferative spaces which hope to

counter the "prevailing power relations in the food supply system" (Holloway, et al.,

2007, p. 90). Holloway et al. (2007) encourage us to acknowledge how alternative food

projects contribute, perhaps without intention, to fuel resistance and form challenges to

prevailing food systems. I will briefly review how scholars have conceptualized such

spaces as localized, community-embedded food systems.

Numerous scholars have described the socio-spatial effects of the dominant food

system. In *Civic Agriculture*, Thomas A. Lyson uses "distancing" to describe "the

process that separates people from the source of their food and replaces diversified

sustainable food systems with a globalized, commodified system" (2004, p. 39). In

Coming in to the Foodshed, Kloppenburg Hendrickson and Stevenson describe a similar

phenomenon stating, "The distance from which their food comes represents their

separation from the knowledge of how and by whom what they consume is produced,

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processes and transported" (2004, p. 34). Striving for a more localized food system is appropriate response to the realization of distancing (Kloppenburg, et al., 1996). In this stride, the "foodshed" is conceptualized as the flow of food from its source of production to the site of consumption within a particular landscape, place or community (Kloppenburg, et al., 1996). From the spatial analysis of the foodshed one of the most obvious concerns was the energy necessary to transport food over long distances, and its burden on the environmental resources.

From the inception of efforts to regionalize or localize food, they were not simply spatially oriented but also realized the importance of social, economic and moral considerations. Kloppenburg et al. describe the necessity of embedding these efforts in a moral economy and restoring social links within the food system (1996, pp. 36-37). Lyson also makes a significant contribution to the holistic view of local agriculture. He describes local food systems as food production set within a community, adhering to ecological approaches, and governed through democratic processes in which economic and political power are dispersed (Lyson, 2004). Given this context, localities should be considered alternative spaces for of production. These ideas have matured through development of the literature. Scholars urge practitioners to remain critically reflective of efforts so that they actually contribute to environmental soundness (Hinrichs, 2003; Winter, 2003), improve social linkages (Hinrichs, 2003), establish social and cultural fairness (Allen, 2004; Winter, 2003), and build community (DeLind, 2002; Delind, 2006; DeLind & Bingen, 2008) rather than recreate micro-scaled systems of domination and uniformity.

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Academics, activists, and citizens have mobilized towards the realization of community food systems through efforts for local food as "a banner in which people try to counteract trends of economic concentration, social disempowerment, and environmental degradation in food and agriculture landscapes" (Goodman 2000, cited in Hinrichs, 2003, p. 33). Farmers' markets, community supported agriculture, and backyard gardening are projects that create alternatives that challenge the dominance of the current industrial food system.

Animal Geographies

There is also a newly emerging area of study focusing on the culturally-oriented geography of animals. According to Jennifer Wolch this area has two sub-sections; the 'new' cultural geography, which emphasizes the social construction of urban spaces, and political ecology, which looks at how political and economic arenas are linked (2002, p. 725). In an effort to include animals in social and cultural theory, a call many scholars have made (see Tovey, 2003; Whatmore, 1999; Wolch, 1998; Wolch, 2002; Wolch & Emel, 1995), the study of animal cultural geographies has re-animated urban studies through inquiry in: identity and subjectivity, animals and urban place formation, and urban moral reckoning (Wolch, 2002). These three areas guide the review of this literature.

Conceptualizations of urban space.

The conceptualization of urban spaces is related to intertwining human and animal identities. Researchers have studied how human and animal identities shape one-another. This involves, first, looking at how animals are represented in human culture or,

in other words, how they are socially defined by us (Philo & Wilbert, 2000). The most thoroughly theorized and discussed conceptual spaces in animal and environmental studies are Nature and Culture. The study of Nature/Culture has evolved from the long-standing Western perspective of man's superiority and attempts to tame, control and civilize all things natural (Spiegel, 1988). Emblematic of this dominant perspective is the human/animal divide. In addition to this, Wolch and others (1998; 2000) have focused on country/city or rural/urban distinction as a mirror image of Nature/Culture, with a unique and diverse set of human-animal relationships.

To explore the rural/urban distinction, Chris Philo (1995) re-examined discourses surrounding the debates of removing meat markets and slaughter houses from London and Chicago in the early twentieth century. Through the examination of primary research, Philo demonstrates how long-term processes of constructing conceptual categories and actual places of "urban" and "rural" allowed some animals, such as pets, to remain and others, such as livestock, to be excluded. He finds that medical, hygienic, organizational and moral discourses, "coded animals...[livestock]...as impure, polluting, disruptive and discomforting occupants of urban spaces..." (Philo, 1995, p. 677). These discourses have much to do with the formation of different ideas about what is urban and rural. It is the source of the belief that livestock animals are out of place within cities. This continues to be a predominant understanding today. Other scholars have echoed the broader trend of "denaturalizing" cities introduced here (Wolch, 1998).

While dominant urban human identities have been increasingly welcoming of pets and unwelcoming of livestock, other studies have shown how gender, race, culture and class shape and define unique relationships. One project conducted focus groups with

9

women from Los Angeles and found three conceptual categories of animal: pet, food animal, and wildlife (Wolch, et al., 2000). Researchers found that some women who are ethnic minorities commiserated and empathized with what they perceived as a shared outsider status belonging to pets and wildlife. However, as the researchers state, "Food animals were simply necessary for survival; people had to distance themselves from their unfortunate fate" (Wolch et al., 2000, p. 129). This constructed food animals as the ultimate urban 'other.' In another study, researchers found that recent Latina immigrants kept backyard chickens as a way to retain a connection to the rural landscapes in which they once lived (Wolch & Lassiter, 2002). Human identities contribute to what animals are deemed acceptable and unacceptable in urban areas, thus animal identities.

Formation of Places.

In addition to the conceptualizations of urban spaces, there is scholarship on the social and cultural construction of urban and the discursive and practical forces guiding the orderings of humans and animals. Spatial orderings are governed by our constructed beliefs about what animals should occupy what places (Philo & Wilbert, 2000). The medical, hygienic, and organizational discourses guide the proper placement of livestock: proximately or remotely to the perimeters of human existence (Philo, 1995; Philo & Wilbert, 2000).

The research of Andrea Gaynor (1999, 2007) analyzed city records in Australia and identified components such as gender and class to explain attitudes and practices regarding animals. Additionally, it offers a discourse of modernity by which cities can operate on the principles of efficiency, cleanliness, and a reliance on increasing and

improving technologies used by mobile and individualist populations (Gaynor 1999, in

Blecha, 2007). Gaynor (2007) also makes a significant contribution to this area of

scholarship by describing diverse positions on urban livestock. She found that people

held diverse perspectives on urban livestock rather than a generalized interest in

achieving distance from animals (Gaynor, 1999, p. 32). This draws attention to

individuals, primarily of lower class, who resisted the conventional view due to the need

of animals for food. Both Philo and Gaynor found city zoning to be practical ways to

shape the ordering of livestock animals (Gaynor, 1999; Philo, 1995).

Urban Moral Geography.

The constructed belief of man's superiority, which is emblematic of the

human/animal divide, also supports a false dualism of Subject/object which has

significant moral implications. Scholars have broadly explored the moral implications of

viewing animals as objects in various parts of contemporary human society, particularly

their mistreatment in industrial agriculture (Mason & Finelli, 2006). This was also

discussed in Philo's study of early twentieth century. Human-centered moral discourses

concerning the affect of sights of animal sexuality and cruelty on woman and children

were used to support the removal of animal markets in London and Chicago. With

slaughterhouses, Philo (1995) identified discomfort felt by residents due to animals

slaughter in such a proximate location to where they work and live, as an additional

reason for slaughterhouse exclusion.

James Serpell (1986) was the first scholar to apply the idea of "distancing

devices" to human-animal interactional patterns. Distancing devices are ways in which

we, as humans, attempt to cope with the discomfort associated with the mistreatment or killing of other animals. Serpell identifies a few types of distancing devices, such as detachment and its "natural partner," concealment. Detachment involves physically or psychologically sectioning-off certain animals as morally inconsequential. The differing relationship humans have with food animals compared to pets is illustrative of detachment. Concealment involves hiding animals and their suffering through visual means, a means of scale, and/or verbal means. For example, factory farm buildings conceal everything that happens inside.

In response to these historical forces that have built an unjust geography, is a call to recognize animals as individuals or subjects rather than objects (Nassbaum, 2007; Whatmore, 1999). Pets are often thought of as the ideal example of viewing animals as subjects. However, Yi-Fu Tuan's analysis of pet-keeping shows subtle examples of human domination of pets (Tuan, 1984). Through interviews and participant observation with hobby farmers as well as readings of small holding magazines, Lewis Holloway (2001) explored the moral geography of the simultaneous ascription of "livestock" and "pet" to animals kept on small farms. Although this is a practice that does not occur in an urban landscape, the research contains valuable information about the moral geography of animals. The research found that hobby farmers believed their practices to be ethically superior to conventional farming, although he found issues of slaughter and consumption of these pets animals ethically problematic (Holloway, 2001). The levels of distancing differed between hobby farms and conventional farms. Hobby farms reproduced a small level of distancing, where as conventional farms produce an obvious and extreme level of distancing between animals and humans.

"Distancing," a Bridge between Food and Animal Geographies

"Distancing" was discussed within the context of food geographies and animal geographies. The strictly spatial conception of "distancing," attributed to Kloppenburg et al. (1996) and Lyson (2004) within food and agriculture studies, has matured through food systems localization literature. Scholars realize that a strictly spatial idea of localization aimed at counteracting effects of distancing is a theoretically shallow and a problematic thrust to alternative agri-food movements (Allen, 2004; Dupuis & Goodman 2005; Hinrichs, 2003; Winter 2003). Many scholars have taken on the task of describing a theoretical base that takes into account local inequities and ecological damage that are not necessarily overcome by spatially proximate production.

Animal studies scholars have used distancing in the psychological sense, attributed to Serpell (1986), to argue towards moral conclusions about human-animal relationships. In *The Sexual Politics of Meat: A Feminist-Vegetarian Critical Theory*, Carol Adams (2000) argues that discursive devices distance humans from the animals they eat. Furthermore, when food animals are slaughtered they become 'absent referents,' their presence is not only distant discursively, but absent altogether. According to Adams, this allows humans to eat meat without considering its moral implications.

Geographers have pushed boundaries, moving beyond the spatial to study social and moral geographies. Whatmore and Thorne (1997) used Actor Network Theory (ANT) to demonstrate that an exclusively spatial analysis of food and agriculture geographies is theoretically shallow. These scholars described an example in fair trade

whereby food labeling provides a consumer with a narrative in which the producer receives an equable return. Food labeling serves as a psychological worm hole that enables people to shorten the physical distance between producer and consumer. Hinrichs (2003) uses ANT to demonstrate how food system localization, using a local/global binary, is socially and environmentally problematic. The use of ANT instructs us to think about "distancing devices," previously described in the psychological sense, as devices that work in concert with the spatial relationship humans have with food and agriculture with social and moral consequence. Holloway (2001) describes the moral implications of physical and psychological distance between hobby farmers and their animals. His research further supports the connection between these two types of distancing.

The limitations of spatial proximity of food system localization literature, the use of psychological distancing devices to draw moral conclusions, and the use of ANT in geography literature to bridge physical and psychological distance are significant developments in these literatures. For these reasons, I argue for the compatibility of these ideas of distancing from divergent origins. The moral implication of animal placement within agricultural systems guides and informs this study. The practice of raising chickens in urban areas of the US provides the context in which food production and animal lives happen. The further discussion of urban livestock agriculture globally and in the US will focus on this specific phenomenon.

Urban Livestock Agriculture, Globally and in US

Urban agriculture and urban livestock agriculture are practices that bridge literatures from alternative food and animal geographies. Urban agriculture movements seek environmental soundness and social equity. Local food discourses have subsumed urban agriculture as a way of reconnecting urban people to rural farmers and promoting ways urban residents can be self-sufficient and use less energy in food transport. However, urban agriculture continues to contend with dominant conceptualizations of urban spaces. Historical discourses and practical forces have zoned out many agricultural activities from cities. Agricultural activities involving animals evoke an especially strong response. Decisions to practice urban livestock agriculture are met with greater resistance by those who hold the dominant perspective of urban as strictly human, sterile, modern environments.

Urban Agriculture and Livestock Globally.

Globally, agriculture has always been a part of city life (van Veenhuizen, 2006). Urban agriculture is defined as "[g]rowing plants and raising animals for food and other uses within and around cities and towns, and related activities such as the production and delivery of inputs, and the processing and marketing of products" (van Veenhuizen, 2006, p. 2). Luc. J. A. Mougeot was the first to acknowledge that location is not the most important characteristic of urban agriculture rather it is "its integration into the urban economic and ecological system" (2000, p. 9). Urban agriculture is a new field and primarily studied in so called developing nations as one way to encourage food security, productive urban livelihoods, and environmentally sustainable development (Mougeot,

2005). On a global stage authors recognize the dominant public perception of urban agriculture as "the oxymoron par excellence," but also acknowledge that, "it is part of a larger set of trends that are transforming our living urban (and rural) space on a massive and unstoppable scale" (Mougeot, 2005, p. 25).

Globally, the research agenda for urban livestock has closely followed that of urban agriculture and how the activities contribute to food security, urban livelihoods, and environmentally sustainable development. More specifically urban livestock agriculture can be characterized as:

> Urban livestock systems that occur in a large variation of forms and functions, in and around densely populated areas, and they strongly interact with surrounding communities, poor as well as wealthy, at several levels of system hierarchy, as well as with rural areas. (Schiere, Rischkowsky, Thys, Schiere, & Matthys, 2006)

Keeping food animals has always been part of city life and the persistence of this practice indicates its benefit to practitioners (Schier et al., 2006, p. 355). Urban livestock agriculture research finds that, "mainstream thinking tends to exclude livestock from cities across the board" (Schier et al. 2006, p. 357). This closely echoes the study of urban animal geographies with the exclusionary dominant perspective but also the acknowledgement of diverse positions on urban livestock.

Schier et al. (2006) encourage the acknowledgement of both the advantages and disadvantages of urban livestock agriculture. Advantages include freshness, economics of function, potential profitability for producers, and affordability for consumers. Disadvantages include disease, noise pollution, odor, pests, damage to property, and

identification with so called backwardness. The framework of non-linear thinking recognizes the trade-offs, net benefits and comparative advantages associated with all activities in urban areas. Furthermore, the authors demonstrate how these trade-offs are already present with many other urban activities and highlight the potential of urban livestock agriculture to help alleviate some urban problems such as food waste disposal.

Urban Agriculture and Livestock in North America, US.

Urban agriculture is a new area of study and development in North America. Community and backyard gardening have long been present in US cities, even though popularity has fluctuated due to a range of factors (Lawson, 2005). The most recent iteration of urban agriculture in North America has broad objectives that include using vacant land, improving low-income neighborhoods, developing self-sufficiency among residents, recycling food waste, and reducing food transportation (Kaufman & Bailkey, 2000). Through interviews of practitioners and other community members, Kaufman and Bailkey describe the institutional climate or "the readiness of external groups to accept and support this vision" (2000, p. 7) as a major factor that affects the success of such activities. One of many obstacles that were identified by this study was the uninformed or negative perceptions of urban agriculture held by the general public and government officials (Kaufman & Bailkey, 2000, p. 59).

Scholars and activist have worked with city and other regional governments to create conditions and regulations that allow a greater degree and variety of urban agriculture activities. Scholarly support put food systems on the urban policy agenda (Kaufman, 2008; Pothukuchi & Kaufman, 1999). The American Planning Association's

Policy Guide to Community and Regional Planning recognizes urban agriculture as a part of an effort to build more self-reliant and sustainable community food systems (Bingen et al., 2009). At the local level, this may involve the changing of city, county, or township ordinances. This was necessary as part of an effort to allow the creation and maintenance of community gardens in Madison WI. (Felsing, 2001).

In the global North, academia has largely ignored the study of urban livestock agriculture (Blecha, 2007). This is because of the lack of the focus on development and improving the living standard in poor countries, the persistent Western dualism of rural/urban that supports the dominant perception of agriculture as out of place in cities, and the desired invisibility of this alternative practice (Blecha, 2007, pp. 31-37).

There are few studies exploring urban livestock in the US. Bellows et al. (2000) completed a small study on practices in the state of New Jersey. The purpose of the study was to spur policy development for community food security. Although this is an initial study on the practice, their findings are valuable beyond this context. They describe the keeping of urban livestock as a largely unknown and/or illegal activity. The connotation of this practice is not "part of the dominant culture," and the mainstream perception of this activity is "marginal, primitive, dangerous, and dirty" (Bellows, et al., 2000, p. 8). Socially, urban livestock farming is largely associated with lower economic classes and ethnic groups associated with recent immigration. This research suggests that conflict can manifest over the enforcement of municipal regulations that prohibit or restrict urban livestock.

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Blecha (2007) recognized the value of further academic examination of urban livestock. She completed an initial study through in-depth interviews and participant observation with backyard chicken keepers and non-traditional student participants at an educational farm. Blecha also describes urban agriculture and urban livestock in the US as examples of alternative spaces of production. Her questions and findings have been established within literatures of alternative economies and animal geographies. She found that keeping urban livestock allowed people to express alternative sets of beliefs and attitudes towards agri-food systems, capitalist economic relations, urban ecologies, as well as human—animal relationships.

The abundance of mass media lends itself as an appropriate way to study the recent representation of urban livestock agriculture in the US. Examining concepts and themes of alternative food and animal geographies helps to uncover new information about how the newsprint media has introduced this otherwise little-known practice to its readers.

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CHAPTER 3

Method

The methodology used in this study had an important role in developing the research questions and guiding the study methods including sampling, coding and analysis. Social movement and communications literatures were used to create a tailored approach to analyze the discourse present within newsprint media on urban chicken-keeping. The process of framing is used to explain the power and impact of newsprint media, thus the effect on public perception of this little-known practice. The research questions developed from a general exploration of concepts and themes present in newsprint media on urban chickens to the consideration of specific methodological aspects including how the concepts and themes market dominant ideologies, emphasize seriousness, blame parties, form identities, encourage action, or make the article exciting. The methodology guided the design of study methods and allowed the researcher to justify choices made to set boundaries for the research project.

Methodology

To build this methodology it is important to start by stating my epistemological, ontological, and theoretical orientation. I most closely identify with constructionism as an epistemology, maintaining that knowledge is constructed in specific social and historical contexts; concurrently I reject the tenets of positivism specifically that a singular, discoverable truth exists. Ontologically, I accept the existence of a physical reality but, in a postmodern vein, recognize various forms of representation beyond physical bodies and language including sound, vision, and scent (Haraway, 1991; Sanders

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& Arluke, 1996; Whatmore, 1999), as well as the existence of objects of knowledge (Haraway, 1991). This allows for a decentering of humans as the primary constructors of knowledge and allows animals to contribute to so-called human culture and have a culture of their own.

As a theoretical orientation, critical inquiry guides my research. This critical theoretical orientation is based upon the belief that:

> The traditional scientific process ultimately creates knowledge that is used to maintain (justify, fortify, reconstruct) the status quo in which all those forced to the peripheries of the social system (women, people of color, sexual minorities, and the lower socioeconomic classes) are continually oppressed through the reproduction of the hierarchical dominant ideology. (Hesse-Beiber & Leavy, 2006, p. 31)

That is certainly the case for animals, who are unacknowledged by our dominant ways of constructing knowledge and creating culture. Juliet Clutton-Brock (2007) defines the historical-cultural aspects of domestication as when animals are "incorporated into the social structure" and "absorbed into the culture of the human owners." She contends that the domesticated animal is a cultural artifact but also possesses a culture of its own that is able to develop and evolve. Therefore, critical inquiry calls attention to the study of how animals are culturally incorporated due to their faint, yet significant, "voice" in contributing to knowledge and culture.

Thus far I have been describing a social constructionist perspective in which reality, as we know it, is "shaped by cultural and linguistic constructs" (Patton, 2002, p.

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96). While not one of the neglected forms of representation above, language is one way humans construct meaning and create culture. This process of constructing meaning and creating culture is not an isolated event. Hesse-Biber and Leavy describe the construction of knowledge about reality in a way heavily influenced by the ideas of Michel Foucault: "being social creatures, our ideas are not simply created in our minds, but are rather a part of a larger social and political context with its own materiality" (2006, p. 31). As Donald Matheson describes it, we "participate in language sometimes individually and sometimes in groups but we participate in historically evolved and sedimented processes of communication through language" (2005, p. 9). This highlights the dynamism of ideas but also their interconnectedness over time and space.

By acknowledging the idea of a language as part of a "larger social and political context with its own materiality," those wishing to study the social construction of knowledge, particularly dominant ideologies, are led to explore public discourses (Hesse-Biber & Leavy, 2006, p. 31). This allows investigation into "the implications of those constructions for...lives and interactions with others" (Patton, 2002, p. 96). Public discourses exist and interact through a myriad of cultural representations, and it is by studying these representations that we can gain knowledge in order to say something about the implication of those constructions within society. In other words, discourse analysis seeks to study how language, for instance in textual documents, is connected to social and cultural life (Matheson, 2005). Furthermore, *Critical* Discourse Analysis "seek[s] not just to understand how language works in society, but in whose interests and with what effects on the world that is constructed in language" (Matheson, 2005, p.12); it is therefore a rich and worthwhile site and subject of critical inquiry.

Discourse analysis is often an interdisciplinary activity (Matheson, 2005) which makes the methodology of this project diverse, but not divergent. Different methodological traditions emphasize certain aspects that are useful to my methodology as a whole. Many scholars have found content analysis of media as a worthwhile pursuit to explore human-animal relationships (Kalof & Fitzgerald, 2003; Lerner & Kalof, 1999) as well as media discourses related to food issues (Lockie, 2006; Ten Eyck & Williment, 2003, 2004). Conducting content analyses in these separate, but related, areas have quite different theoretical traditions. I seek to contribute to both areas with the methodology outlined below.

I most strongly emphasize the social constructionist approach to discourse analysis and find social movements to be a well-developed literature to guide this content analysis. However, communication studies literature on discourse analysis is complementary and helps the researcher think about the impact of textual documents as communication. Both will be employed to an extent. This project focuses on discourse analysis of the newsprint media, specifically newspaper articles which have unique methodological considerations. To further discuss this methodology and its unique considerations, it is important to differentiate between three terms: discourse, ideology and frame.

Discourse.

Within the broader, interdisciplinary discussion of discourse analysis scholars find it important to distinguish what is meant by discourse. In the introduction to the edited book *Qualitative Discourse Analysis in the Social Sciences*, Ruth Wodak (2008)

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highlighted the importance of clearly defining discourse within the theoretical approach being used due to the number of definitions that exist and originate from many disciplinary threads. She laid out key definitions which included those of influential thinkers such as Michel Foucault and Jürgen Habermas. Wodak summarized Foucault's definition of discourse as "a set of relationships existing between discursive events" which allows the "cultural critic to identify both static and dynamic relationships between discursive events and to address the cause and consequences of historical change" (2008, p. 5). According to Foucault, change only happens through a shift in power structure; power is key and discipline is a technique used to produce conforming people (Wodak, 1996). A concise definition of discourse, used in a recent study drawing upon the communications literature on discourse, would be: "ways of talking about something, organizing knowledge and thereby classifying and regulating people" (Haralambos et al. 1996, cited in Lockie 2006, p. 314). This certainly draws on Foucault's ideas of power and discipline.

For Habermas the overarching goal of communication is to reach understanding and agreement. Habermas distinguished discourse from communicative action. Rather, discourse is when we "talk about the norms of action themselves [and] about utterances" (Wodak 1996, p. 29). To quote Habermas: "[i]n discourses we seek to restore, through reasoning, a problematized harmony which has prevailed in communicative action" (Habermas 1989, cited in Wodak, 1996, p. 29). Habermas' definition of discourse is more appropriate when drawing from social movement literature. Actors of social movements seek understanding from the general public about issues, for instance

injustices, which present themselves in "everyday normative language games" (Wodak, 1996, p. 29).

Wodak (1996) contrasted the theoretical foundations provided by Foucault and Habermas and finds them both useful depending upon the specific context of the empirical work. I will use this recommendation and keep them both in mind. Social movement literature identifies another set of terms that must be clearly defined and differentiated: ideology and frame. This will ultimately be very instructive to methodological concerns for analyzing newsprint media.

Ideology.

Social movement literature is very clear about what ideology is, and what questions and methods can be used to explore it. Ideology is a "system of meaning that couples assertions and theories about the nature of social life with values and norms relevant to promoting or resisting social change" (Oliver & Johnston, 2000, p. 43). The make-up of these "systems of ideas" is a combination of personal experience and cultural knowledge provided, in part, by newsprint media (William A. Gamson, 1995); Rude uses the terminology of inherent and derived ideology to differentiate between two sources for constructing meaning (Rude, 1980 in Mooney & Hunt, 1996). The construction of ideology is dynamic, people are "actively engaged in the production and maintenance of meaning" (David A. Snow & Benford, 1992, p. 136).

To directly study these systems of ideas it is necessary to go beyond the textual documents and consult the active constructors—people. As Oliver and Johnston explain, "[i]deologies are complex systems of thought that cannot be communicated accurately in

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stock phrases or sound bites..." (Oliver & Johnston, 2000 p. 48). While mass media discourses contribute to ideologies, it would be misinformed, according to social movement literature, to say that anyone could study ideologies themselves through the analysis discourse within mass media.

This is not to say, however, that media studies are useless or that the mass media are incapable of having great influence on the public construction of knowledge on important issues. As mentioned at the beginning of this section, newsprint media are a source of cultural knowledge used to formulate derived ideology. Popular mass media shape social agendas, are important to developing and maintaining controversies, and influence the hopes and fears of the public (Ten Eyck & Williment, 2004). Also, mass media are cultural tools to substantiate knowledge on issues (Ten Eyck, 2003). Sociological movement and communication studies literatures have theorized and explored ways in which news media "affects the process of constructing meaning" through the "selection, organization, and presentation" of information through the notion of framing (Altheide, 1996, p. 18).

Framing.

Framing theory is an excellent way to conceptualize the influence of media and explain how textual documents, and specifically newspapers, can be studied. The term "frame" in the sense that it is used in the social movement tradition was popularized by Erving Goffman (1974) in his work entitled *Frame Analysis.* Goffman claimed that a framework, or a schema of interpretation, "allows its user to locate, perceive, identify,

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and label a seemingly infinite number of concrete occurrences defined in its terms," answering the question: "[w]hat is it that's going on here?" (1974, pp. 21, 25).

Following from Habermas' idea of discourse, social movement actors seek not only understanding, but also action on behalf of the issue or perceived injustice. In disentangling notions of ideology and framing, Oliver and Johnston state, "[f]rames are an aspect of cultural knowledge, stored in memory, that permit social actors to move in and out of different experiences as if there were not completely new" (2000, p. 40). In other words, frames allow an actor to evoke cultural knowledge in order say something beyond the obvious. This is necessary to recruit participants to understand and to act collectively; there is a need to convey a direct message that will resonate, so much so, that it will mobilize individuals. To this end, authors expand on collective action frames or "ways of understanding that imply the need and desirability of some form of action" (Gamson, 1995, pp. 231-232).

Collective action frames have three functions: punctuation, attribution, and articulation, which further define and describe what frames actually do. Snow and Benford describe the function of punctuation as to "underscore and embellish the seriousness and injustice of a social condition or redefine as unjust and immoral..." (1992, p. 137). Attribution answers "who" or "what" is responsible for the unjust condition thus helping lead to diagnostic and prognostic conclusions (Mooney & Hunt, 1996; Snow & Benford, 1992). Articulation allows activists to "tie together" different events and experiences to render a message meaningful to an audience (Snow & Benford, 1992, pp. 137-138).

Now that I have established what framing is and what it allows actors to do within a social movement it is reasonable to move on to discuss how they are used. Frames are used by actors of social movements to provide a pre-fabricated way to consume a message. Similar to the production and maintenance of meaning, scholars have long recognized framing as a dynamic process. Snow and others discuss different types of processes, termed frame alignment, by which frames are utilized to increase movement participation (Snow, Worden, Rochford, & Benford, 1986). Mooney and Hunt add how frames can be blended and change over time (Mooney & Hunt, 1996).

Pertinent to this study is the use of framing within the newsprint media. William A. Gamson (1995) discusses collective action frames within the media and lays out characteristics necessary for the frames to be successful. These characteristics include: an entity to blame, the promotion of the idea of collective agency, and a well defined identity to a movement. Gamson discusses the way in which newsprint media use these characteristics to cover social issues. The media usually focus on human actors and down play other structural forces through the use of narrative, the dramatic format which is exciting for the audience to read. Newsprint media tend to "discourage a sense of agency" and "induce collective helplessness" (Gamson, 1995, p. 235), although they can support collective agency through coverage of successful instance of collective action. Newsprint media can also misrepresent the intended identity of a movement; they can "reinforce one part that a movement wishes to encourage at the same time that it contradicts or undercuts other parts" (Gamson, 1995, p. 235). He gave the portrayal of nuclear disarmament as an example. Nuclear disarmament was portrayed in media as a white youth movement when the movement actors wished to emphasize the issue as

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cutting across all color, ethnicity and gender boundaries. Collective frames are often adversarial in that they set up opposing sides, a "we" and a "they." Within this established opposition, especially when a group is attacking "the dominant cultural code of what is normal..." (Gamson, 1995, p. 240), mass media themselves may be targeted as an opposing actor or seen as a necessary ally.

In addition to clarifying how the newsprint media frame issues, it is important to identify how social movement researchers elicit these frames from textual documents. Mooney and Hunt (1996) extracted three master frames by analyzing historical texts about American agrarian mobilization in order to draw conclusions about the continuity/discontinuity of master frames over time. Here, frames were emergent from historical texts. Wright, Ransom, and Tanaka (2005) look at claims and claim-makers within media coverage of BSE disease to shed light upon how confidence, or skepticism, is constructed. Here, the analysis was guided by the research questions and a range of social movement concepts such as claims-making, the role of the expert, competing interests, and framing.

Communication studies contribute to the study of framing within mass media, also tracing the notion of "frame" to its use by Goffman in 1974. These two literatures are complementary, each having their own strengths. Communications studies theorize the impact of media and develop ways to study newsprint media at a variety of levels, from lexical choice to broader concepts and themes. Using this tradition, Lockie describes framing as "the repetitive use of particular ways for presenting information that help the reader, or viewer, or listener interpret the meaning and significance of that information" (2006, p. 314). It is here, in the ability to choose one frame over another,

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that journalist can indicate how the message is to be understood. Lockie, who conducted a content analysis on organic foods in media discourses, acknowledges a power dimension to journalism: "Framing allows journalists to focus on objective and balanced presentation of facts while still contributing – whether consciously or unconsciously – to the pursuit of particular political projects" (2006, p. 314).

Focusing on the frame allows the researcher to explore the ways journalists "negotiate their difficult task of making exciting copy that will attract audiences, staying on side with their sources, giving clear and authoritative accounts and avoiding accusation of bias or inaccuracy" (Matheson, 2005, p. 29). This is similar to thinking of journalists as interpretive communities (Ten Eyck & Williment, 2003) that are guided by professional conventions. When studying newsprint media it is important to acknowledge that as journalist seek to cover events or phenomenon with "news value." News values include consequence, timeline, proximity, prominence and human interest; these characteristics determine what are, and are not, newsworthy events; newsworthy events are the ones that make into print (Miller & Reichert, 2000). Given this realization, the news media should not be critiqued for overlooking events that lack news value; this is simply how news is reported. However, it may be useful to note who or what is being overlooked to make recommendation for others.

Within both literatures, framing theory allows the researcher to be very clear about what type of conclusions analysis can lead to. Many empirical studies, using a discourse analysis methodology to study mass media, contain an important caveat that highlights the importance of avoiding causal claims about the media's influence. William A. Gamson and Andre Modigliani argue that, "By examining discourse and

public opinion as parallel systems, we deliberately avoid making certain causal assumptions" (1989, p. 2). Also, the study of media discourse should not be equated with perspectives or attitudes of the public:

> It would be simplistic to draw any direct causal inferences, in either direction, between media reporting and public understanding and attitudes. Nevertheless, mass media representations of food-related issues do provide a useful focus to analyze the ways in which words, symbols, and meaning are deployed in bids to influence others and thus to order, or structure, food production-consumption networks. (Lockie, 2006, p. 313)

The same would apply in the constructionist discourse analysis of human—animal networks.

This methodology draws attention to a number of things. It highlights concepts within the text as content selected by newspapers—consciously or unconsciously— to market dominant ideologies or pursue political projects. It points to the importance of themes within the text, not simply as ways newspapers report but as a presentation style selected to have a desired resonance with the reader. Themes can also hold information about ways in which newspapers choose to present actors to blame, opposing sides, or encourage action. Finally, it draws the researchers' attention to the way in which the above categories interact to create "patterns and commonalities of knowledge and structure" across various articles (Wodak, 2008, p. 6). These methodological conclusions are used in the coding and analysis (see Coding & Analysis).

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Study Methods

A content analysis is "any technique for making inferences by systematically...

identifying special characteristics of messages" (Holsti 1986, cited in Berg, 2004). In this

project, the senders of the messages are large circulation newspapers throughout the US.

For data, this research collected articles about urban livestock agriculture, which

primarily covered people raising chickens in urban areas.

Sampling.

The sampling period for this analysis was May 2006 to May 2009. To retrieve

newspaper articles the Lexis-Nexis database was used to perform searches using the

terms **urban agriculture AND animal* OR chicken*, urban AND chicken***, and **city**

AND chicken* within US newspapers (* being a wildcard character). After collected,

the articles were screened for relevance to urban animal agriculture, and those that were

not relevant were excluded. Also 6 editorial articles were excluded to maintain a

consistent voice of newspaper staff rather than citizens. This search process supplied 94

articles from small to large newspapers throughout the US including The New York

Times, the Washington Post, USA Today, Houston Chronicle, Star Tribune, The San

Francisco Chronicle, The Plain Dealer, The Milwaukee Journal Sentinel, and many

newswires from The Associated Press. The unit of analysis was the news article.

Sampling was motivated by viewing urban livestock as a trend within broader

alternative agri-food and urban agriculture movements, movements unique to the US.

Maye et al. (2007) characterize two schools of alternative food practice: one being

distinctly European, and the other more relevant to North America based on David

Goodman's (2003) initial observations. The European school is focused on the place-based historical and cultural tradition of food products, and the US focuses more on opposition to the social and political effects of dominant supply chains (Maye et al, 2007). While the European and US trends towards urban livestock have been similarly on the rise, due to differences within alternative food practices it was considered wise to exclude European news articles. This justifies the choice to limit my search to US newspapers. Also in terms of feasibility, 94 was a reasonable sample size to code articles in their entirety (see Coding) with the given time constraints of a thesis project.

Coding.

The steps to analyzing the data included identifying concepts and themes, developing codes, repackaging the data, creating displays, and drawing conclusions. This is based upon Miles and Huberman's (1994) view of qualitative analysis involving three main steps: data reduction, data displays, and conclusion drawing. After the articles were screened for relevance, they were read a second time for content, paying close attention to emergent concepts and themes, during which notes were taken in the margins where a possible code may apply. The unit of analysis was the newspaper article and the level coded was the paragraph.

Here, it is useful to explain the specific sources that were instructive to developing the concepts, themes and tags for this research project. Concepts from Jennifer L. Blecha's dissertation (2007), which she developed through interviews and participant observation with people keeping urban livestock, were instructive in developing concepts and themes for this research project. I extracted the concepts from

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Blecha's dissertation; not all of Blecha's concepts were present in the newsprint media, and some were combined to fit the purpose of the current research (Appendix A – Research Memos). Additional concepts and themes that were not previously accounted for, or that attended to in this research methodology, were added.

Simple codes were developed by creating a tag and a definition. Thus began the iterative process of applying the tag and adjusting the definitions until the data filed under that concept was complete and consistent. At the beginning of the coding process a colleague from each focal area, animal studies and community food and agriculture studies, gave feedback on the analysis in progress. Each read 10% of the data; articles were selected using a random number generator (www.random.org). First, the colleagues read the articles while taking notes on emergent concepts and themes (same process as researcher). Second, I met with each to discuss their notes in relation to the developing code book. This called attention to concepts in each area of study that were initially overlooked (Appendix A – Research Memos).

One colleague also applied the working codes on a subset of the data in order to improve the operational definitions (rule) of concepts and themes. This process involved applying the tags to one or two articles, meeting and discussing our discrepancies. The codebook was changed to reflect our new common understanding of the operational definitions of concepts and themes. Then the tags were applied again, and at a second meeting discrepancies were discussed. This cycle was performed once more, at which point the colleague and I agreed discrepancies were few and the operational definitions were greatly improved.

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Two tables with the concept and theme names, definitions, rules, examples, and notes were constructed (Appendix B – Coding Tables). The first table listed all the concepts and the second listed all the themes. Concepts had to do with the content of the text and usually appeared explicitly and often in similar ways. These concepts were further separated into two broad categories: concepts developed as food and agricultural ideas, and, concepts developed as animal ideas. There is overlap between these two sets of concepts; where the concept was placed is simply representative of where it first occurred to the research, not a statement of which literature first identified or takes ownership of the concept. Themes, on the other hand, were about the presentation of the text and were often implicit and appeared in a variety of ways. All concepts and themes were relevant in the analysis of the data.

Concepts developed with my understanding of alternative food literature included: food and agricultural knowledge, distrust in industrial agriculture, regain control, health, taste, organic, local, ecological ethic, community building, and household budget (Appendix B – Coding Tables). Three interrelated codes dealt with notions distant agricultural production. "Food and agricultural knowledge" was defined as the absence of, or desire to reconnect with, agricultural skills or knowledge; information for this code was identified when the text described an absence of food knowledge or skills, or described a desire to reconnect by growing or raising food. "Distrust of industrial agriculture" was defined as a critical perspective of the dominant industrial-scale agriculture production, food processing, and distribution system; data for this code were identified when the text described a dependence on industrial agriculture, including grocery stores, and a general distrust of the safety of this system. "Regaining control"

was defined as the desire to regain control over food by being a producer rather than a consumer; data for this code were identified when the text stated the desire to grow or raise your own food, become self-sufficient, or become less of a consumer.

Continuing the description of food and agricultural concepts, "health" was defined as physical, mental, or spiritual well-being of humans, and data were identified when the text stated a production scheme contributed to or deducted from the well-being of humans. "Taste" was defined as expectations of freshness, flavor, color, and texture of eggs of meat foods, and data were identified when the text stated that certain food has superior taste or freshness, flavor, color, texture. "Organic" was defined as best practices of growing food and raising animals that reduce or eliminate the use of chemicals, and data were identified when the text stated the idea of organic, cultivation by organic methods, or the benefit of food being free of antibiotics, pesticides, hormones. "Local" was defined as proximate production of food, and data were identified when the text mentioned the idea of local food, the people who champion this idea, or the proximate cultivation including processing and packaging. "Ecological ethic" was defined as concern for ecological sustainability, and data were identified when the text expressed a concern for the environment and the necessity to protect it through ecologically sound or sustainable practices that may involve energy efficiency or waste reduction. "Community building" was defined as creating or strengthening relationships between individuals and families within a neighborhood, and data were identified when the text stated that raising chickens promoted the creation and strengthening of non-transactional relationships between individuals and/or families within a neighborhood. "Household budget" was defined as the acquisition, or balance, of resources (financial and otherwise)

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at a household level; data were identified when the text stated that raising chickens saves money or is costly, contributes income, or contributes eggs as a specific need for the household.

Concepts developed with my understanding of animal studies literature included: pets, personalities, humane, conceptualization of urban spaces, nuisance, and production (Appendix B – Coding Tables). The "Pets" concept was defined as referring to chickens as pets or companion animal, and data were identified when the text referred to a chicken as a pet, referenced the chicken providing companionship, or used names to refer to an individual chicken. "Personalities" was defined as the description of an individual chicken's personality, and data were identified when the text described the behavior or the sentiment of an individual or a small group of chickens, or explicitly stated that chickens have personalities. "Humane" was defined as ethical care and responsible provisioning for chickens, and data were identified when the text referred to humane or inhumane treatment, or described requirements for adequate or inadequate care and provisioning which is linked to the animal's well being. "Conceptualization of urban spaces" was defined as conceptualization of urban space to be strictly human with modern or progressive time dimensions; data were identified when the text stated what does or does not belong in an urban area, or city should or should not be like, in terms of space and time. "Nuisance" was defined as the idea of chickens as disturbances or pests, and data were identified when the text explicitly termed chickens as pests or nuisances, or described them as a disturbance to the neighborhood. "Production" was defined as the idea of chickens as food, and data were identified when the text stated that chickens (rare case goats) are livestock, farm animals, poultry, or mentioned eggs or chicken meat as

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food (in rare cases milk and honey). The miscellaneous concept was used to collect concepts and themes unaccounted for at the time, or stand-out negative cases (see Validity/Reliability).

Themes, which focused on the presentation of the text, included: strong emotion, ordinance, contention, and humor (Appendix B – Coding Tables). "Emotion" was defined as emotion suggesting a bond of companionship between humans and chickens, and data were found when the text used emotion as a descriptor of a relationship between owner and chicken. "Contention" was defined as disagreement on any aspect of the practice raising chickens; data were identified when the text described disputing opinions or opposition between chicken owners, neighbors, and city officials about any aspect of raising chickens. "Ordinance Information" was defined as current and proposed laws prohibiting or allowing chickens and other animals in the city; data were identified when the text described an ordinance allowing or disallowing chickens, or, listed further details about stipulations and requirements of ordinances, zoning, permits, laws, city code, etc. "Humor" was the use of humor related to the chicken or other farm animals, and data were identified when the text used puns and metaphors or referenced common jokes, fables or children's songs related to chickens and other farm animals.

Analysis.

Data coding and repackaging was performed in the qualitative data analysis software NVivo (QSR International, 2009). When the tags of concepts were applied in a clear and consistent manner, the next step was repackaging the data. "Repackaging," means that the tags were used to pull data from each article, reduce and organize it in a

way that allowed something to be said about the research questions. The first step in data

reduction was to write summary statements for each concept and theme within an article.

For instance, NVivo pulled all data coded "pets" and organized the data segments

(paragraph level) under the author of each article. Then the researcher read the data, and

created a summary statement. The result was a "Repackaging memo" for each article

(Figure 1).

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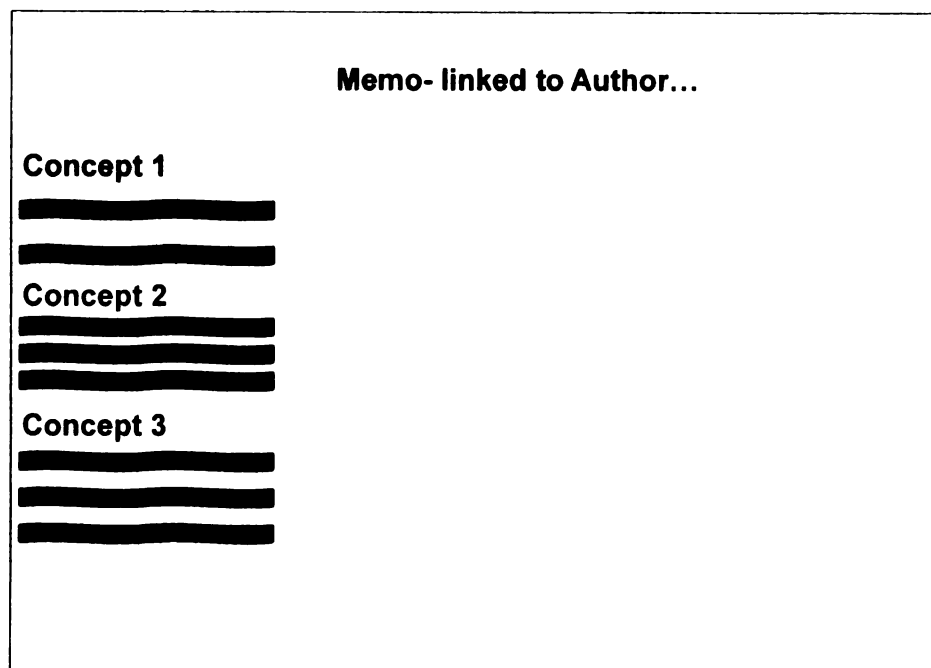
Figure 1. Repackaging memo. This figure illustrates the document used to summarize concepts and themes that occur within an article, one was created for each data unit (newspaper article).

After summary statements for concepts and themes were written for each article a display was created for each concept or theme to compare data across articles (Figure 2). The display was ordered by concept (Miles & Huberman, 1994). This was a useful way to organize the data so that I could easily look at information for a specific concept and compared data across units. A grand summary statement was written at the bottom of each column to represent how the concept or theme, as a whole, was portrayed across the articles.

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Article	Concept 1
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Summary Statement	■■■■

Figure 2. Concept-ordered display. This figure illustrates the document used to summarize data for each concept or theme across data units (newspaper articles).

At this point, methodological questions were consulted to further guide the analysis. The questions asked: "How does content or presentation: market dominant ideologies, emphasize seriousness, blame parties, form identities, encourage action, or make copy exciting?" These are certain aspects of the data deemed important by the research methodology. Through a process of reflecting on the grand summary statement and these methodological questions, conclusions were drawn.

Validity & Reliability

Maxwell describes validity as "the correctness or credibility of a description, conclusion, explanation, interpretation, or other sort of account" (2005, p. 106). A researcher may strive for the goal of validity by confronting specific qualitative validity threats (ways I may be wrong) with evidence being collected throughout the research

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project (Maxwell, 2005). In content analysis, the brunt of validity threats comes to bear on the interpretation of text by the researcher and the drawing of conclusion from analysis. This largely has to do with researcher bias.

Maxwell mentions two "validity tests" which are useful for this project. "Searching for discrepant evidence and negative cases" is a valuable way to continually confront the threat of researcher bias by attending to the evidence indicating 'how might I be wrong.' One example of how this happened in this study was the use of miscellaneous category to catch minority events that were divergent from hypothesis that I was formulating. These negative cases were a constant reminder of 'how I might be wrong' and significantly affected how conclusions were drawn. Another way in which the threat of researcher bias was attended to was the consultation of colleagues, from each area of study, about the analysis in process. As Maxwell put it, "Asking other for feedback is a valuable way to check your own biases and assumptions and flaws in your logic or methods" (2005, p. 112).

The second validity test mentioned is the use of "quasi-statistics" as a way researchers of content analysis can "assess the *amount* of evidence in your data that bear on a particular conclusion or threat..." (Maxwell, 2005, p. 113). For instance percentages are a common ways that researchers back-up the strength of a qualitative conclusion; chickens are viewed as pets in 75% of all articles. In the end, Maxwell contends, when designing and reporting on a qualitative study the research must report "evidence that could challenge your conclusions or make the potential threats implausible" (2005, p. 109) clearly and fully in order for those who are reading or witnessing the research to judge if the conclusions are trustworthy or not.

A moment is necessary to discuss the relationship between reliability and validity. Many quantitative content analysis studies use inter-coder reliability as a component of the methods, which is directly related to the validity of the project. Maxwell describes this relationship: "Quantitative and experimental researchers generally attempt to design, in advance, controls that will deal with both anticipated and unanticipated threats to validity" (2005, p. 107). This is the utility of reporting a measure of inter-coder reliability. However, because my research design was built upon social constructionist foundation contending that knowledge is constructed and emphasizing the interpretive nature of data, it would go against its tenets to expect and strive for a high level of agreement between researchers; in fact, it is the potential differences between researcher interpretations that contribute to the validity of the study. Of course, this contribution from differences can only be made if feedback from colleagues is sought.

Thinking more in terms of my research paradigm the process of inter-coder agreement, in which a second researcher attempts to understand and apply codes in which the primary research has designed, has great importance to the study. The negotiation that occurs between researchers, attempting to understand codes and then apply them, can greatly improve the definitional and operational clarity of the codes. First, this can illuminate concepts or themes in which the researcher was overlooking. Second, improving the operational clarity of the codes ensures that all relevant data makes its way to the analysis. Reporting the process through which this happened (see Coding), the number of iterations and changes, significant and seemingly insignificant, can improved the trustworthiness of the analysis and conclusion, thus contributing to validity. It is for these reasons, that a percentage of agreement will not be reported in this study.

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CHAPTER 4

Results

Data sources included 94 articles which were coded and analyzed for this study. Table 1 shows all the data sources with date of publication and author (for full title see Appendix C). The articles are numbered 1-94, from the oldest to the most recent article; this is how the data sources are referenced in the results section. Figure 3 shows the distribution of articles over the three years sampled. There is an increasing frequency over the sample period. This chart is to simply familiarize the reader with the articles sampled. No conclusions are drawn on the change of content or presentation across the three years. The articles are primarily about urban chicken-keeping, although four articles discuss other animals including bees, rabbits and goats. The results are organized under each concept or theme for clarity. Data are presented primarily in the form of passages from the news articles. The frequency in which the code occurred among articles and titles also provide an idea of the centrality of concepts and themes throughout this portion of the mass media (Table 2). Table 2 lists the occurrences in descending order; this is the order in which concepts and themes are discussed.

Table 1. Data sources. Date of

25	1/26/2008	Kim Palmer
26	4/9/2008	Leslie Cole
27	4/22/2008	Judy McGovern
28	6/1/2008	NA

60	1/8/2009	Joy Powell
61	1/26/2009	Ann Fischer
62	1/30/2009	Rodger L. Hardy

Table 1. Data sources. Date of publication and author of newspaper articles arranged from oldest to most recent.

Data Sources

#	Date	Author		#	Date	Author		#	Date	Author
1	6/7/2006	Khalil Hachem		25	3/26/2008	Kim Palmer		60	1/8/2009	Joy Powell
2	6/23/2006	Daniel Connolly		26	4/9/2008	Leslie Cole		61	1/26/2009	Ann Fischer
3	7/11/2006	Kerri Sandaine		27	4/22/2008	Judy McGovern		62	1/30/2009	Rodger L. Hardy
4	8/4/2006	Julia O'Malley		28	5/1/2008	NA		63	2/10/2009	Newswire
5	8/15/2006	Newswire		29	5/3/2008	Judy McGovern		64	2/19/2009	Newswire
6	8/31/2006	Erin Hoover Barnett		30	5/6/2008	Judy McGovern		65	2/22/2009	John Mulcahy
7	9/11/2006	NA		31	5/30/2008	Chad Lawhorn		66	2/24/2009	Monte Whaley
8	10/1/2006	Jennifer Bleyer		32	6/3/2008	Newswire		67	2/26/2009	Drew Dixon
9	12/14/2006	Meggan Linsday		33	6/4/2008	Newswire		68	2/26/2009	Rod Dreher
10	4/23/2007	Josie Huang		34	6/9/2008	Janine Zu ga		69	3/1/2009	Nancy Bowmann
11	6/20/2007	Emma Pollin		35	6/16/2008	Carolyn Feibel		70	3/16/2009	Karen Auge
12	6/22/2007	Judy Keen		36	6/22/2008	Lloyd Jojola		71	3/17/2009	Donald W. Meyers
13	7/10/2007	NA		37	7/5/2008	Robert J. Smith		72	3/20/2009	John Latimer
14	7/20/2007	Grant Slater		38	7/6/2008	Newswire		73	3/21/2009	Jonnelle Davis
15	9/5/2007	Peter A. Thomason		39	7/7/2008	Molly Bloom		74	3/25/2009	Stephen Deere
16	9/6/2007	Katherine Ullmer		40	7/23/2008	Lorraine Ahearn		75	3/26/2009	Jeremiah Stettler
17	9/7/2007	Josie Huang		41	8/6/2008	Matt Tullis		76	3/31/2009	Brian Meyer
18	9/12/2007	John Metcalfe		42	8/7/2008	Ray Gronberg		77	4/1/2009	Donn Esmonde
19	9/13/2007	Tracy Jordon		43	8/10/2008	Ben Karp		78	4/4/2009	Brian Meyer
20	9/19/2007	Catherine Price		44	8/11/2008	Jeremiah Stettler		79	4/5/2009	Newswire
21	12/11/2007	Newswire		45	8/21/2008	Newswire		80	4/8/2009	Gregg Hennigan
22	12/12/2007	Catherine Price		46	8/30/2008	Fran Henry		81	4/9/2009	Jennifer Todd
23	2/11/2008	Mark Konkol		47	9/1/2008	Diana Nelson Jones		82	4/12/2009	Rene Romo
24	3/17/2008	Judy McGovern		48	9/17/2008	Newswire		83	4/17/2009	Nancy Bowmann
				49	9/21/2008	Jessica Flemming		84	4/21/2009	John Ferak
				50	9/21/2008	NA		85	4/22/2009	Karen Herzog
				51	10/7/2008	Joy Powell		86	4/22/2009	Newswire
				52	10/7/2008	Jessica Flemming		87	4/26/2009	Maki Becker
				53	10/20/2008	Nancy Bowmann		88	4/30/2009	Joel Warner
				54	11/16/2008	Gabriel Baird		89	5/5/2009	Christopher N. Osher
				55	11/24/2008	Scott Rochat		90	5/11/2009	Dean Narciso
				56	11/29/2008	Nancy Bowmann		91	5/12/2009	Newswire
				57	1/2/2009	Jason Cato		92	5/12/2009	Newswire
				58	1/2/2009	Newswire		93	5/12/2009	John Faherty
				59	1/2/2009	Trevor Hughes		94	5/14/2009	Andrea Higgins

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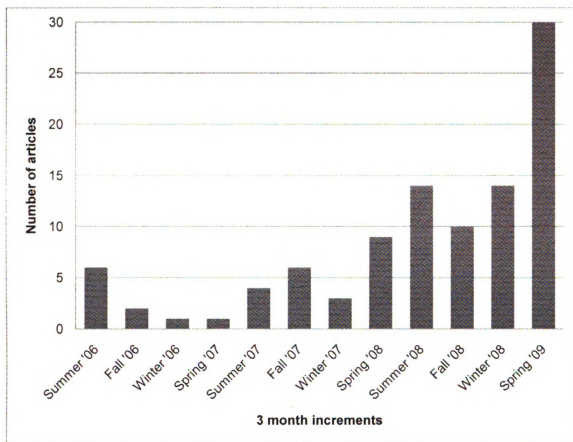
Figure 3. Frequency of newspaper articles over sample period. This figure illustrates the number of newspaper articles published from May 2006 to May 2009.

Table 2. Concept and theme occurrences. Number of times a concept or theme occurred among the sample of newspaper articles listed in descending order.

Concept and Theme Occurrence	
Concept/Theme	Article Occurrence
Ordinance Information	91
Food Production	84
Contention	83
Nuisance	79
Urban Space	66
Pets	62
Ecological Ethic	60
Humane	60
Humor	55
Food and Agriculture Knowledge	42
Taste	38
Health	38
Regain Control	33
Household Budget	30
Livestock	30
Personalities	26
Local	24
Emotion	23
Community	22
Organic	18
Distrust of Industrial Agriculture	16

Ordinances Information

Discussion of ordinances or the legality of raising chickens was present in 91 of the total 94 articles in the sample. Of these, 50 titles indicated the subject of legality. This demonstrated the centrality of the topic within the data. The data under this concept defined the function of ordinances—to protect the public from health threats and nuisance, thus preventing complaints. One passage read:

In Salt Lake County, the chicken-raising movement has the backing of Mayor

Peter Corroon, who argues the proposed ordinance for urban hens would promote

47

sustainable living, while including sufficient safeguards to protect health and minimize any neighborhood nuisance. (75)

This function was used in many articles to justify allowing or disallowing animals, or regulation of its practice.

The discussion of ordinances and other rules imply direction to ordinance trends, changing or drafting new ordinances to allow or disallow chickens and other livestock. This was done by citing other cities' policies and recent changes in rules. Articles that provided direction (of ordinance trends) referenced cities with long-standing chicken friendly ordinances, or ones that have recently changed to allow chickens (46 %). A typical example states, "The majority of large cities allow chicken-keeping, with conditions. Detroit, Portland, Maine, and Washington, D.C., are among the few that don't. New York City, Los Angeles and Chicago all allow an unlimited number" (47). Even though this passage mentioned cities that prohibit chickens, the use of "majority allow" and "few don't" relays direction. There were also articles that solely reported on surrounding cities that did not allow or had recently banned chickens and/or other livestock (17 %).

This data also frequently referred to the persistence of this practice despite legal prohibitions. For example, an article titled "Chicken Noise has Some Within Cities Crying Foul, Owners Maintain Urban Birds Despite Laws," reported, "Clucking chickens and early-rising roosters persist in some Northwest Arkansas subdivisions, despite cities giving urban chickens the heave-ho long ago" (37). In addition to this, there were many

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accounts of people being caught raising chickens when it was illegal; this suggests the same type of persistence.

Food Production

Eggs were the most prominent motivation for raising chickens. A majority of articles presented the concept of eggs, meat, milk and honey as food (95 %). The food products, primarily eggs, of this small-scale practice were recognized to be superior in nutrition, taste, ecological soundness and humane treatment of animals when compared to conventional products. There was often a sense of appreciation and pride for this superior product. For instance, one passage read,

> For Chris Magnuson of Robbinsdale, it's satisfying to cook with eggs laid by her
>
> three hens. 'I feel more connected and pride of ownership,' she said. 'When I
>
> make pancakes, I love cracking our own chicken eggs.' (25)

My discussion of subsequent concepts (taste, health, ecological ethic, and humane) explore additional reasons for this sense of pride in the home-raised products.

Contention

The concept of contention was present in 88% of the articles sampled and contained information about disputes over some aspect of urban chicken ownership. It also contained accounts of law enforcement upon the owners of illegal chickens within the city limits; the enforcement of ordinances was usually a result of neighbor complaints. The neighbor complaint resulted in a "city response," which was typically an order to remove birds from the city limits. In some cases, enforcement agencies granted

temporary allowance while the city revisited the ordinance. The city response caused a "resident response." This consisted of appealing to the city to keep the chickens, usually in the way of an appeal to the city council or attempts to secure a zoning variance. A typical account was presented as follows:

> They were surprised to get a Sept. 5 letter from the city saying a complaint had been received. The planning and zoning office said the chickens and coop violated zoning allowing animal husbandry in agricultural, but not residential districts, of the city.

> The city told the Dorstens in a Sept. 29 letter the rooster's departure was not enough. The code does not allow administrators to consider the intent of the owners, such as raising a farm animal versus keeping a pet.

> An appeal of zoning administrators' order was filed Tuesday, Oct. 14, with a Board of Zoning Appeals hearing set Oct. 28. If the Dorstens don't like the board decision, they can appeal to court. (53)

In these accounts many chicken owners attempted to organize to change the laws prohibiting chickens.

Various nuisances were usually reported as the cause of initial complaints. Nuisances are discussed further in the next section. In addition to nuisances the articles presented other social factors as attributing to neighbor conflict. Class and culture clashes were noted by a few articles as contributing to neighbor conflict and the perception of raising chickens.

David Garcias, Imperial Beach's code compliance officer, said he gets about a dozen complaints a year regarding backyard chickens. Garcias said many involve Latino and Asian immigrants who may not realize what was allowed in their home countries is not allowed in Imperial Beach.

Class bigotry seems to be the unstated force behind most urban chicken opposition, said Dennis Harrison-Noonan, a chicken owner and carpenter from Madison, Wis. Harrison-Noonan has kept busy building coops since his city allowed backyard chickens in 2004. (34)

The discussion of class was not a common occurrence, but its presence is worth noting.

Nuisance

Nuisance was also a prevalent concept, it occurred in 88 % of the articles sampled. Nuisances related to keeping urban chickens included odor, noise, attraction of pests or predators, loose animals, sight of slaughter and transmission of disease. Many of the articles openly discussed these nuisances. For example, one article reported, "On the other hand, there are chicken foes who worry about whether the animals would be noisy, smelly and attract pests" (61). In addition to this, stipulations of model and proposed ordinances discussed within the articles made nuisances evident. Stipulations included a limit to the number of animals, rooster bans, enclosure requirements, and required distances from neighbor's property.

Public health and the transmission of disease was a stand-out concern. The presentation of risk from raising urban chickens varied considerably. The testimony on the transmission of common bacterial and viral vectors ranged from a drastic increase in

risk to marginal risk with the proper management of birds and manure. Also, there was discussion of avian flu. For example, one article read,

> Gary Riggs, a veterinarian in Barberton, Ohio, who specializes in birds, says backyard chickens are at higher risk for avian flu because they are not 'under the intense bio-security control that commercial producers have.' It's a good idea for cities to require permits, he says, so they can react quickly if there's a flu outbreak. (12)

An opposing presentation of risk is viewed in another article, which read,

> Thomason said there is no bird flu in the United States. Also keeping chickens in backyards would be a controlled environment and preventing the mixing of wild ducks and geese and chickens reduces transmission in the case of an outbreak of avian flu, he said. (1)

These are drastically different accounts of risk. The newsprint media discussion expressed public concern and proposed measures to minimize risk, such as roofs on enclosures and permitting to track the presence of animals.

Conceptualization of Urban Spaces

The articles held a range of conceptualizations about cities; the concept of conceptualization of urban spaces was present in 70 % of the articles sampled. Some articles portrayed chickens and other livestock as not belonging in the city. One article reported a resident saying, "We live in a city. They belong on a farm," (59) and another read, "I moved to the city to have nothing to do with that style of life, and here it is

coming to my back yard" (25). There were general concerns about noise and smell of farm animals, and roosters were especially unwelcome because of noise. There was also fear that chickens would lead to other livestock in the city. For instance, one council member described it as a "slippery slope," (30) and an animal control officer said, "When we go out and tell them they can't have chickens at all in Springdale, they are usually surprised, but if we let chicken in, it would lead to pigs and then goats and we can't let that happen" (37). Overall, this perspective viewed raising chickens as a rural activity, which was incongruous, inappropriate, disrupting, and/or incompatible with an urban setting. This perspective was present in 29 out of 66 articles containing this concept.

Another perspective in the articles viewed raising chickens as a rural activity that should be allowed in the city. One article reported a chicken owner saying, "I wanted to bring a little bit of the country into the city" (47). One newspaper had a news series with this theme. It explained this as, "In our occasional series, Country in the City, we'll explore how once-popular rural practices are taking hold in cities and suburbs. Later this spring and into summer, we'll take a look at the resurgence of vegetable gardening and the upswing of interest in keeping bees" (25). The appeal of keeping chickens under this perspective was the idea that the practice was revolutionary, radical, novel or counter-cultural.

Yet another perspective viewed chicken-keeping as belonging in cities now, as well as in the past, as a practice with merit. One article read:

Some people...they kind of like the nostalgia of keeping chickens in their yard because their great-grandparents did, or a lot of people say, 'bringing a little

country into the city,' I don't see it that way. I don't think it should be black or white. I see some gray there, that you can have a lot of urban gardening for people to at least supplement their food supply, if not produce a good amount of it. (36)

Passages falling into this category often countered allegations of noise and smell associated with chickens by comparing them to acceptable urban pets and wildlife (see Pet vs. Livestock). This perspective was present in 41 out of 66 articles containing this concept.

A slightly different way of viewing what does and does not belong in urban areas was to consider urban chicken-keeping as either progressive or regressive. Some data recognized that this was once a popular practice but claimed that times have changed. For example, one article reported a councilman as saying:

I grew up in the center of Lebanon, between Sixth and Seventh (streets), and we had a grocery store. And we had chickens. Over the period of years, Lebanon has changed, (and) unfortunately many people today in the urban community don't take care of their properties the way they should. (72)

Other passages acknowledged raising chickens as a dated practice but also recognized its persistence. One reporter reflected:

When U.S. District Judge Harold Barefoot Sanders died last year at 83, The New York Times remarked that he was born 'in a Dallas young enough for little H.B. to raise chickens in the back yard.' Well, my kids are doing so today in our back yard; it's legal to have hens in Dallas, but not roosters. (68)

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Others passages presented raising chickens as a progressive practice because of its contribution to efforts striving to create ecological sustainability and healthy communities.

Pets vs. Livestock

The articles held a set of concepts that looked at the representation of the chicken. One of the most apparent representations was the conflicting notions of chickens as livestock and chickens as pets. A pet versus livestock was an open debate due to its assumed relevance to rules and ordinances. One article recognized this by saying, "Because they straddle the line between livestock and pets, chickens are allowed in some unexpected places" (19). Mostly attributed to the chicken-owners, many articles presented chickens as pets (66 % of articles). Sometimes the reports referred to the chickens directly as pets. In one passage, an owner attempted to persuade the reporter by saying, "They have names. They are our pets" (34). Other passages stated it as if it was commonly agreed upon, "They're really easy pets," (36). Moreover, others argued that chickens and goats are superior pets. For example, discussing a goat, this passage read, "Now they're [neighbors] like, 'He's better than a dog. He doesn't bark" (43). The articles also suggested that chickens are pets through names. For example, a reporter said, "The hens are Lu-Lu, Lady Penelope, Dorothy and Trudy. Then there is Scrappy, the aptly named rooster that rules the coop behind Shelly Danko-Day's house in Highland Park" (57). As pets the hens had a productive role but the articles also emphasize that role of providing companionship.

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Many articles represented chickens as livestock or farm animals (32 % of articles). This terminology was used in variety of contexts but especially when discussing permitting and ordinances. For instance, one article reported, "'There is quite a movement,' says Doug Kelley, director of Denver Animal Care and Control, which issues city permits for livestock such as chickens" (80), or, "The city ordinance regulating the owning of farm animals was written in 1994 and forbids all nondomestic animals, including cattle, swine, sheep, goats, fowl and horses" (72). In some instances, the representation as livestock had a negative connotation, such as this passage, "My concern is the value of my house...We're talking about livestock" (37). Giving a similar negative connotation, one article read, "They believe they [chickens] are farm animals and believe they should stay on the farm" (66).

Ecological Ethic

The articles presented one motivation to raising urban chickens as a concern for the environment. The concept of environmental ethics occurred in 67 % of the articles sampled. Ecological services provided by chickens included the reduction of food waste, manure for fertilizer, and insect or weed control. One article reported, "Olivia's mother, Stacey Collins, added that she will use the chicken droppings as compost for her garden, and then feed the chickens older vegetables" (17). The data presented these services as having specific appeal to gardeners; they recognized chicken keeping and gardening as interrelated activities. Following from the last example, the report continued, "It's really quite a lovely circle of being able to use things and keep nature the way it should be" (17). Broader goals often stated in the data included "reducing carbon footprint by saving fuel from food transport" and "getting back to nature." The data also associated

the practice with a sustainable lifestyle. For instance, a reporter summarized, "They describe chickens as a fun and feathery part of an environmental, self-reliant lifestyle" (35).

Humane

The welfare of hens was presented as a concern in the majority of articles. The concept of humane occurred in 63 % of articles sampled. Some owners explicitly stated that their practice, of raising urban chickens, was more humane than industrial production. For example, one article read, "I can raise (chickens) in a more humane way. Have you ever seen how they treat those chickens on those (commercial) farms? It's awful" (57). Other passages displayed a strong sense of responsibility to provide good conditions and treatment for their hens. For instance, one article read, "Chickens are very sensitive to getting sick. It's important keeping the poop cleaned up and the air circulating and giving them enough room and clean water," (46). Another article read, "Probably the biggest deal is setting up your coop, getting your area prepared for you animals before you get them, because they need to have adequate space" (36). However, there were a few instances in which the data portrayed a lack of concern for chicken welfare. For example, one article described a chicken-owners experience when she failed to properly secure her chicken coop. It read:

Noble's seven-member brood was thinned out considerably in July, when five were killed by weasels, she said. The same predator later got the two initial survivors, she said. Noble plans to get more chickens in spring, and said she will put a door on the coop. 'Live and learn,' she said. (57)

Overall, the data emphasized the proper treatment of chickens and the value of chicken lives, even though this passage suggests otherwise.

Humor

Humor was another way of representing chickens and other animals in these articles. The concept of humor was present in 59 % of the articles sampled. This included puns, jokes, metaphors and references to songs and folklore. The use of humor was common in titles (40 % of articles) as well as in the body of articles (40 % of articles). The humorous remarks were mostly about chicken or animal behavior. Examples of titles that used this type of humor include: "Mankato council scratches urban chickens proposal," "Chickens routed from roost, for now: West Side henhouse runs afoul of city ban," "Residents of city crow about their chickens," "Chicken policies pecking at council," and "Couple's chickens ruffle city feathers." In addition to this, there were food-related uses of humor. For instance, one article read, "Still, you can't make an omelet without breaking a few bureaucratic eggs. And Tobias says she still plans to offer a second class at the Gardens on June 7" (21). Similarly another article read, "There are plenty of ways to rebuild a city. The universal message: Don't put all your eggs in one basket" (77). Occasionally, puns had to do with the femaleness of hens. Title demonstrating this include: "Hot Chicks: Legal or Not, Chickens are the chic new backyard addition" and "Urban chickens: Crowing rooster spoiled the hen party at a Hillside home."

Distant Production

There were three interrelated concepts having to do with distant agricultural production. The concept of food and agriculture knowledge, which states that people are disconnected with the knowledge of where their food comes from and there is a desire to reconnect through practice, occurred in 45 % of the articles sampled. On many occasions, the data cited raising urban chickens as one way to reconnect. One article reported:

> On the other hand, Ms. Forys sees owning chickens as a way to reconnect with where her meals come from. 'Over the past two generations we've become completely separated from our food,' she said. 'There's something really wrong with that.' (20)

Youth were of particular interest in discussing the absence of this knowledge; chicken-keeping was presented as a way to re-instill this food knowledge. On raising urban chickens, one article read, "It's been great for my daughter and her friends who don't have an appreciation [for] where food comes from," and later, "It's education at its most basic to know where food comes from" (67). The articles provided many sources of further information on the subject of raising backyard or urban chickens including classes, tours, websites, books, and magazines.

A minority of articles contained the concept of distrust in industrial agriculture; 17 % of articles sampled presented this criticism of industrial agriculture. The data contained general criticisms such as, "concerns about mass food production" (36) or "major reservations about industrial agriculture" (25). They also mentioned specific

problems with the food system such as food safety, humane treatment of animals, food security, rising prices of food, and provision of quality (further detail provided in other sections). Raising hens was presented as a practice to cope with the distrust in industrial agriculture or mass produced foods. As explained in this article:

> For this generation of backyard farmers, the attraction is not so much a desire for an endless supply of free eggs or even nostalgia for a lost way of life. Rather, it's driven by growing disgust among a segment of the population for industrial mass-produced food. (70)

These reports presented chicken-keeping as helping to ease concerns and worries about the one or all of the issues listed above.

Simply stated, raising chickens for eggs was presented as part of growing your own food. This concept, occurring in 35 % of the articles sampled, was often described as "raising your own food," being "self-sufficient-reliant-sustaining," or having "more control" over food. This was a shift to viewing urban dwellers as producers, as this article read, "Right now, we usually buy them [eggs] at the growers market or someplace local. But we thought we'd try it ourselves." (36). While the data consistently supported the goal of self-sufficient citizens, not all data agreed that raising urban chickens was a necessary part of achieving this goal. In one example, a person saw the practice as unnecessary. The passage read: "For people who want fresh eggs, we have the Farmers Market that we're investing in and farmers outside town who we're supporting through our greenbelt program" (30). Other negative cases similarly supported people being able to grow their own food but not raise urban chickens. This was rare.

Taste

Within the articles, supporters of this practice lauded the eggs, meat and milk for its superior quality. The concept of taste occurred in 40 % of the articles sampled. This was done by simply using "fresh" as a descriptor of the eggs or by giving an in-depth description of superior flavor, texture and color. One report read, "I have to tell you that the eggs are wonderful...When you bake with them, they're so much fluffier. They taste better. The yolks are really this beautiful orange-yellow color" (36). A common way this appeared in articles was by comparison between home-raised and store-bought products. For example, "There are others, of course, who just want some nice scrambled eggs for breakfast, and nearly everyone agrees that fresh eggs taste better...Much better...The thought of buying a store-bought egg? I can't go back" (93). Only one article reported that not everyone can taste the difference between home-raised and store-bought.

Health

Food from raising one's own chickens is viewed as healthier; the concept of health occurred in 44 % of the articles sampled. This was presented as "higher nutrition," "more wholesome," "free of preservatives." For example, one passage read:

> The best part is, the more weeds, grass, and insects your chickens munch, the
>
> healthier they, and your eggs will be. (Recent trials by Mother Earth News
>
> showed pastured, homegrown eggs to be vastly higher in omega-3s, beta-
>
> carotene, and Vitamin E, and lower in cholesterol, than factory-farmed eggs). (11)

There were many similar claims with less supporting evidence. On occasion, the practice of raising chickens, and urban farming in general, was presented as a path to greater community health. There was only one article that reported an opposing view on the health and safety of backyard eggs. In this passage a chicken-owner discussed the members of her household, it read, "They'll eat the eggs, and if I'm gone for a few days, they'll help, although some of my roommates are more scared of eggs from the back yard than from the grocery store" (25). Generally, this practice was associated with healthy living. The title of one article read, "Urban chickens the latest healthful living trend" (93). This distinction is slight but worth making.

Household Budget

Some practitioners sold extra eggs to neighbors, crossing the line of community-based interaction to a transactional relationship. The concept of house hold budget occurred in 34 % of the articles; this frame reported the practice as a way to supplement income or groceries. However, there were conflicting reports on whether this was a cheap, costly or a break-even activity. A reporter did the math saying, "It isn't a money making operation when dealing with small flocks. Blake said it costs more to feed the chickens than the couple will likely get back in eggs. He pays $16 for a 50-pound bag of feed" (34). Other passages claimed that keeping chickens saved money on grocery bills. The cost of this activity also depended on the desired quality of the egg: as a source of cheap protein or "top of the line" organic eggs.

The current cost/benefit analysis was sometimes irrelevant. In some cases, the practice of raising chickens was a form of preemptive self-sufficiency in the face of rising

food costs. One article reported, "I think, in the long run, food is going to get more expensive, so I try to grow as much as I can...I like eggs, and I'm trying to not patronize grocery stores as much" (57). Expenses involved in raising chickens were reported to include chicks or chickens, equipment and monthly feed. The largest, and most variable, expense was the chicken coop.

Personalities

The concept of personalities, which suggested that chickens were represented as having personalities, occurred in 28 % of the articles sampled. This was explicitly stated in some instances. For example, one article read, "People think chickens are dumb, but they have lots of 'chickenality'" (46). Chickens were generally described as being entertaining and docile. In addition to this, individual personality traits were listed. A reporter wrote:

> For Watts, chickens cross the road from livestock to pets, with distinct
> personalities. Buttercup is a big eater; Effie is adventurous; Minnie is the beauty;
> Tilda is small and sweet; and bossy Meg is tops in the pecking order. Watts looks
> forward to the day when the fugitives can resume their 'eggcellent' adventure in
> the backyard coop. (77)

This passage also demonstrates the typical relatedness of personalities to previously discussed concept of pet.

Descriptions of typical and unique chicken behavior were common. This included descriptions of rooster calls, the softer hen noises, scratching in the dirt, and observations about social hierarchy. But there were also unique behaviors and rituals

reported. A reporter described an owner saying, "She coos about how they recognize her when she enters the pen, how one in particular likes to jump into her arms" (49), or, "Every morning, the hens greet her with three fresh eggs and purr and bawk for treats -- plump raisins they eat from her palm" (23); these are both seemingly unique interactions.

The claim to personality and unique descriptions of behavior gave a sense of individuality to chickens. However, one passage gave an opposing representation. The article that read:

> One Australian company took a different approach to that. Rentachook, founded
> six years ago, is basically a 'chicken rental' business. Customers buy two hens
> and a coop, plus a feeder, waterer, food and straw but can return the animals and
> equipment within six weeks if they find it's more than they can handle. Rentals
> are $360, of which all but $100 is refundable. (55)

Rather than reinforcing a perspective of individuality, this showed chickens as an expendable commodity. This representation was rare.

Local

The lifestyle association was even more prominent with the concept of local food; this concept occurred in 26 % of the articles sampled. Raising urban chickens was viewed as a closely associated trend to local food, as part of the local food movement or local living. One article read, "Growing interest in the local food movement and urban farming has made city chickens a hot issue nationally" (78). Another article reported, "Fresh eggs are the latest rage hatched by urban local food enthusiasts who say nothing

beats an egg with a deep golden yolk, still warm from the henhouse" (85). This was the sole way the idea of local food was presented.

Other "types" of people, which are not mutually exclusive to the local types previously presented, associated with urban chicken-raising were youth in 4-H raising animals to show in county and state fairs and recent immigrants. These were rarely mentioned, only in a few articles.

Emotion

One way the presentation of the articles contributed to the representation of the chicken was through emotion. The concept of emotion occurred in 24 % of the articles sampled. Drawing upon the pet-like relationship, emotion was used to suggest the bond of companionship. On occasion positive emotions such as love or friendship were used to describe the relationship between the humans and the laying hens. One article reported, "We really love these four," and "They are so sweet and loving..." (60). Negative emotions described situations in which the owner had to part with the chickens, a chicken was hurt, or a chicken went missing. For example, one article read:

> 'It makes me sad, but at the same time, the good thing is if I can get the law
>
> changed, then they won't be illegal anymore,' she said, during a recent afternoon
>
> visit to their pen. She gave Lila, top hen in the pecking order, a nuzzle. (4)

Community

The practice of raising chickens was presented in some articles as a community-building activity. The concept of community was present in 23 % of the articles sampled.

This typically involved sharing eggs, but keeping chickens also allowed community members to share knowledge, experiences, stories, work, and gatherings. One report read:

> Chickens are good for the life of the city. My chickens get people talking to each other, talking to me. Children in the area are interested in the chickens. Elderly resident remember growing up with chickens when they were young. Chickens really are a good community builder. (23)

Children were involved in many of the claims to community-building through chicken-keeping (12 out of 24 articles). One article read, "It's been fascinating...All my neighbors know about them, and some of the neighborhood kids love to come over and collect the eggs. They're really curious about them, and they love to feed them" (94).

Organic

Organic eggs were often presented as a motivation and benefit of raising chickens; the concept of organic occurred in 19 % of the articles sampled. Chicken-keepers with this motivation wanted food free of unwanted chemicals, hormones and additives. In addition to this, urban chicken-keeping and organic living were presented as associated and mutually increasing trends. For example, one article reported, "The biggest growth I see is the organic group that wants to know where their eggs are from...A lot of urban people fall into that family" (14) or "The measure is headed back to a council committee so aldermen can further discuss what to do about the birds that are part of a growing organic food trend in cities" (12).

CHAPTER 5

Discussion

This section discusses the results, places the findings in conversation with the literature already introduced, draws conclusions about the impact of newsprint media on the readers, and states its implications for food movements and further research. Empirical, theoretical and methodological literatures are used as starting points for the discussion. This evokes knowledge already produced so that this study may build on it, and calls to mind ways in which researchers have studied newsprint media to guide conclusions drawn in the current study.

The results point to interesting conclusions about how newsprint media portray this alternative practice to readers. Specifically, the results demonstrate how the mass media market dominant perspectives of livestock and agriculture as "out of place" and unwelcome in cities. They also mischaracterize the practice of keeping urban chickens solely as part of new local and organic food movements. However, the results also suggest that mass media hold alternative perspectives on livestock and agriculture in the cities, and, on some levels, encourage the acceptability of urban chicken-keeping and further citizen action to allow for the practice.

Stating the implications for food movements is particularly important to this study. This study does not intend to critique the way news is reported. Journalist seek stories that are newsworthy and should not be criticized for overlooking aspects of phenomenon that social scientist find important and interesting. However, recognizing this, the discussion hopes to identify gaps in the mass media portrayal of urban chicken-

keeping and state possible implications this has for alternative food and agriculture

movements, so that in the end, practitioners may disseminate information to supplement

the mass media portrayal.

The discussion is organized into two sections: how the public is reading food and

agriculture movements, and, the discursive forces in media. These two sections were

arrived at through reflection on results and the definitions of discourse. The results for

concepts and themes of the study and organized into a mind map (Figure 4). Some

concepts were strongly related, others were less so, and some were not related at all. This

process allowed me, as the researcher, to view the interaction of concepts and themes,

leading to a useful way to organize the discussion. The concepts and themes settled into

two groups; results spoke to either Habermas' or Foucault's definition of discourse.
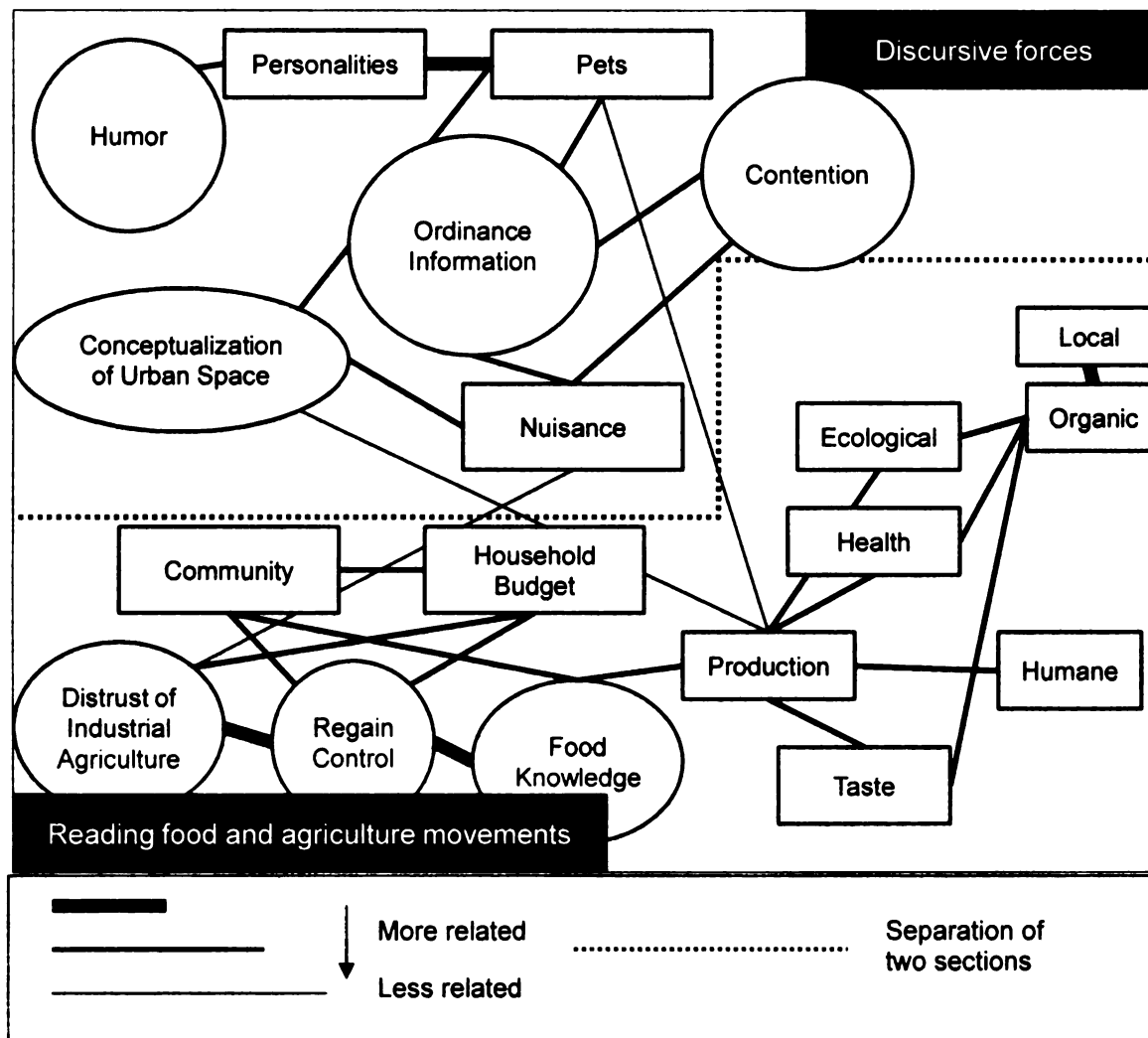
Figure 4. Mind map of results. This figure illustrates the final organization of results under concepts and themes as the researcher interpreted them to relate to each other, producing two sections: "Reading food and agriculture movement" and "Discursive forces."

Public Reading of Food and Agriculture Movements

Findings elaborate on how the public is reading food and agriculture movements. This section of results relates back to Habermas' definition of discourse as the way we attempt to reach understanding on important issues. Data under concepts developed as food and agriculture spoke to how the alternative food movement is interpreted by readers who are unfamiliar. The results demonstrate that the interpretation is a

superficial, glossy presentation with little depth. Newsprint media do a poor job of describing the underlying motivations of the alternative food movement.

Three main conclusions were drawn related to how the public reads food and agriculture movements through newsprint media on backyard chickens. First, media are diagnostic and prognostic of the industrial food system; the solution characterized in keeping urban chickens. Second, media provide a generalized identity for urban chicken keepers. Third, media market a set of alternative values but do so alongside conventional motivations and means.

Distant production, Problems and Personal Solutions.

Backyard chicken-keeping is framed as a personal solution to distant production but not presented as contributing to systemic change. The concepts of distant production emphasize media's competency with alternative food discourse, including the use of Kloppenburg et al. and Lyson's ideas of distancing. Data under "food and agricultural knowledge" presented the absence of knowledge about food production, and the skills to produce, as a widely acknowledged problem. The articles contain a wide range of specific concerns about conventional food production including ecological sustainability, health, taste, and the humane treatment of animals; food production which does not take these values into consideration is a problem.

The practice of raising chickens is presented as one way to counter the undesirable effects of "distancing" and cope with concerns about industrial food production. This is largely framed as a personal solution, calming anxieties and educating children. Researchers determined that journalists strive to maintain good

70

standing with common sources, including many corporate and governmental entities (Miller & Reichart, 2000). In this way journalist tend to maintain the status quo, in the context of this study industrial agriculture is the status quo. Recognizing this, urban chicken keeping is not presented as being able to challenge the dominance of industrial agriculture; the practice is not recognized as contributing to systemic change.

Another way to discuss this relationship, focus on individual rather than systemic change, is the newsprint media's presentation of a more self-sufficient urban dweller. The articles fail to connect this individual self-sufficiency to broader change within the food system. A few passages directly undercut the systemic change potential of this practice by viewing it as completely unnecessary. One article pointed-out that fresh eggs are always available at the farmers market.

Through this thesis I strived to present, as Blecha has through her research, urban chicken-keeping as an alternative space of production to maintain culture ties or express dissatisfaction with dominant food systems. Scholars of alternative economics and food geographies acknowledge the doubt associated with small spaces of hope to be transformative against the prevailing powers of the dominant system (Holloway, 2007). The presentation of newsprint media on urban chicken-keeping echo this doubt of transformative potential, viewing it as only being able to confront the immediate effects of food system distancing.

Identity formation, local and organic types.

Local and organic "types," or the stereotypical people associated with local and organic causes, are presented as the generalized identity of urban chicken keepers but this

is a narrow view of actual participants of the practice. The presentation within newsprint media strongly typifies the person who raises urban chickens. To a lesser degree, data under concepts of ecological ethic, health, and taste present urban chicken-raising as part of a sustainable, healthy, new-urban cuisine lifestyle. Furthermore, the pervasive association of the practice with local and organic types elaborated on the narrow definition of who are raising chickens in urban areas.

Jennifer Blecha (2007) noted the practice of urban chicken keeping among white, well-educated, middle- and upper-middle class residents of Seattle and Portland. This identity is re-enforced and this audience targeted through the presentation of these articles. The literature on urban livestock agriculture in North America identifies a diverse population of practitioners including "working" or lower-class and recent immigrants hoping to maintain links to their culture and rural life (Gaynor, 1999; Bellows et al, 2000; Wolch & Lassiter, 2002). These practitioners were nearly absent from news print media. Few divergent "types" are associated with the practice or urban livestock. Possible examples are youth raising chickens with 4-H and recent immigrants, but these representations are sparse. Newsprint media portray a relatively narrow scope of people keeping backyard chickens. This mischaracterizes the practice of urban chicken-raising.

Considering alternative food practices and urban agriculture as oppositional movements, activist-scholars have put forth an agenda of social inclusivity and equity; this is a large part of the movement's identity. Patricia Allen (2004) discusses the way in which historically dominant ideologies have reinforced inequalities in race, gender and class, some of which the alternative agri-food movement has not addressed or overcome sufficiently. The media present a partial identity of urban chicken keepers which

conflicts with reality and the all-inclusive identity alternative food movement claims. The homogenous presentation of urban chicken-keepers in media is potentially damaging to broader alternative food movement recruitment and action. Associating this practice with "new" food movements also downplays the historical persistence of the practice in urban areas. This will be discussed in length in the following sections.

Alternative Values alongside Conventional Motivations and Means.

Newsprint media on backyard chickens strongly markets alternative food values through concepts of ecological ethic, humane, taste, health and community. However, they presented individualistic motivations and promoted pet-keeping as a means, which is rather acceptable or conventional. For instance, many articles presented one benefit of raising chickens as the abundance of eggs to share with neighbors which has a community-building effect. Improving neighborhoods and communities through learning about and growing food is an important objective of alternative food movements. Urban chicken keeping is presented as a community-building activity but also framed as a way to save and make money. The media discuss the cost/benefit analysis of raising eggs and selling the eggs to neighbors.

In her study Blecha (2007) concluded that the relatively small amount of attention paid to the cost/benefit analysis by the people raising chickens was evidence that practitioners were operating by non-capitalist economics. The focus of eggs for income is interpreted as evidence of a re-injection of capitalist values or a focus on transactional relationships within food markets. In this way, the newsprint media market the social value of community but also appeal to the individualism that capitalism supports. Pet-

keeping is the promoted means to pursue these alternative food values, such as community, ecological sustainability, and health, and is socially acceptable and non-threatening to the status quo of industrial agriculture.

Discursive Forces at Work in Media

In this second section, the findings relate back to Foucault's definition of discourse as power-knowledge that regulate people thinking and their relationships. Data demonstrate the presence of dominant perspectives which spoke to the regulation Foucault discusses in his definition. Furthermore, the centrality of ordinances to the media discussion took regulation from a discursive realm to a practical realm. Meaning the centrality of ordinance contained information about how discursive forces govern our thinking and how this translates to the actual placement of activities. Dominant perspectives on urban space and dominant ways of categorizing animals largely regulate the reader's thinking.

Three main conclusions were drawn about how discursive forces are at work through newsprint media. First, media present dominant and alternative perspectives on the proper placement of agriculture and animals. Second, the legality of keeping chickens is central in the media, but cases of resistance and change are also present. Third, the categorization of chickens as livestock or as pets impacts human identities, the social acceptability of the practice, and the moral context of human—animal relationships.

74

Conceptualization of Urban Space.

There is a range of conceptualizations of urban space including both dominant and alternative perspectives within the newsprint media on urban chicken keeping. This research finds further evidence of the pervasiveness of the dominant perspective of livestock as "out of place" in urban areas but also finds elements that begin to dismantle the perspective's hold on society. The potential effects of this on the readers are discussed.

The dominant perspective, of livestock as "out of place" in urban areas, is present in the newsprint media. The historical development of this perspective is explained in animal geographies and urban agriculture literatures (Philo, 1995; Mugeot, 2005, Schiere et al 2006). Within newsprint media this perspective is taken for granted in order for the reporter to say something beyond the "obvious." As Oliver and Johnston noted, "Frames are an aspect of cultural knowledge, stored in memory, that permit social actors to move in and out of different experiences as if they were not completely new" (2000, p. 40). In the same way journalist accept the notion of livestock as out of place in cities as common knowledge. There is little need to explain why residents may be upset about chickens moving in next-door; rather the onus is placed on defending the practice. Even some supporters of urban chicken-keeping subscribe to this dominant perspective, being attracted by its "radical" nature. This overlooks the historical persistence of urban livestock agriculture, which urban agriculture literature states very clearly: urban livestock has always been part of city life (Schiere, et al., 2006).

The alternative perspective of agriculture and animals as having advantages and disadvantages is also present. The assumed cultural knowledge of the dominant perspective is contested within newsprint media. Resistance to this perspective is evident in arguments within media that begin to dismantle this dominant perspective. Comparisons of livestock to acceptable pets and wildlife in cities expose the flaws in the dominant perspective logic. For instance, the noise of chickens is compared to cackling crows or barking dogs. The alternative perspective views noise and usable manure as reasonable trade-offs for the benefits of healthier, environmentally sound, better tasting, more humane eggs and animal companionship.

Maintaining the status quo, of urban spaces too, suggests that the dominant perspective in newsprint media will regulate most readers' thinking. The presentation of an alternative perspective will most likely resonate with readers already familiar. However, ideas that expose flaws within the dominant perspective, especially the comparisons of chicken to acceptable pets and wildlife, may make convincing bids to readers. If a reader is on the fence the contestation may allow the reader to think non-linearly.

Ordinances, Contention, and Nuisance.

Findings among these concepts of ordinance information, contention, and nuisance describe the legality of keeping chickens in urban areas, which regulates the readers' thinking. The occurrence of these three concepts of ordinances, contention and nuisance are among the highest out of all the concepts and themes. Ordinances are informed by the historically dominant perspective of agricultural animals as out of place in cities; the centrality in the newsprint media regulates readers' thinking to view this

perspective is correct. However, representations of resistance and change are also present and can counteract this effect.

The prevalence of the ordinance concept emphasizes the legality of the practice. It is important to view ordinances as practical structures to guide the placement of animals which are historically informed by dominant discourses. This is evident in the animal geographies and urban agriculture literatures (Gaynor, 1999, 2007; Philo, 1995). Data under "ordinance information" define the function of ordinances to the reader as protecting residents from possible nuisance caused by livestock including odor and noise. The centrality of ordinances within newsprint media emphasizes this function, reinforcing their necessity, possibly inflaming concerns and fears held by the public.

The data under "contention" identify a process of neighbor complaint, city response, and resident response. This narrative was often told within newsprint media. Upon complaint, the ordinances are enforced or city officials choose to revisit the rules. Real limitations do exist such as time and financial resources in terms of revising or adding enforcement responsibilities to city budgets. However, this demonstrates the power of the law making and enforcing bodies to the reader. As the methodological literature stated news media tend to do, this presentation of top-down power has potential to "discourage a sense of agency" and "induce collective helplessness" (Gamson 1995, p. 235), This effectively regulates readers' thinking to the dominant perspective.

The presentation of "contention" and "nuisance" is where the dominant and alternative perspectives of urban spaces battled it out in the textual world. It is already established that the dominant perspective of urban space as strictly human and

unwelcoming of livestock is assumed by newsprint media. However, the conflict seen within newsprint media agrees with Gaynor's (1999, 2007) findings in Australia and supports diverse positions on the matter.

While the data of these concepts and themes emphasize the legality and the power of the law makers, the data under "ordinance information" simultaneously downplays the importance of legality by giving countless examples of people continuing the practice despite the law. Residents are taking action into their own hands by keeping chickens in urban areas; some are simply unfortunate to get caught. This finding aligns with the observation of Bingen et al. that, "Continuing reports of 'guerilla' initiatives confirm that in the absence of deliberate and open public policy discussions, city residents are willing to take 'garden action' into their own hands" (2009, n.p.). This resistance presented in newsprint media might mitigate the previously mentioned regulation of readers' thinking.

The media imply ordinance trends progressing towards allowing urban chickens. This could encourage further action from residents. Rather than media "discouraging a sense of agency" and "inducing collective helplessness" (Gamson 1995, p. 235), they can support collective agency through coverage of successful instance of collective action. Media showcase successful efforts to overturning chicken prohibitions. One such high profile cases is the efforts of an organization known as the "Poultry Underground" in Madison, WI, which in spring of 2004 changed chicken-related rules.

It is clear that ordinance construction is a direct response to nuisance; the function of ordinances, after all, is to protect the public from nuisance. There is some reinforcement of this "need to protect" but many passages take a non-contentious stance

and acknowledged that it was just a matter of making it work through rules. This is reminiscent of Schier et al.'s take on urban livestock agriculture:

> "Those trained in the linear mode of thinking tend to recommend removal of animals if they smell; they will tend to prohibit all livestock even if only a number cause problems. Non-linear thinking is more creative. It distinguishes between stakeholders, functions of animals and urban contexts before deciding whether urban livestock keeping is good, bad or in-between." (Schiere, Tegegne, & van Veenhuizen, 2000, p. 4)

All urban activities have tradeoffs. Council people described specific concessions that would make the practice acceptable. This may be evident of the progress made with city planning and government officials to think in this non-linear way about urban agriculture in general (Kaufman, 2008). Public health and disease was a standout nuisance with drastically different representations. Other studies have looked at the presentation of risk in the mass media and find that, depending on the claim-makers or experts cited, risk can often be a volatile but influential theme; mass media coverage can affect fears held by the general public (Ten Eyck & Williment, 2004; Wright, et al., 2005).

Representation of the Chicken.

The representation of chickens and goats among concepts and themes of pets, personalities, emotion, and humor support previous empirical research on human— animal identities. The notion of chickens and goats as pets is pushed by chicken-keepers but resisted by journalist and public officials. Some accepted the simultaneous ascription

of "pet" and "livestock." Also, the comedic representation affects the characterization of urban chicken keeping and thus contributes to the human and animal identity equation.

The representation of chickens as pets or as livestock is one way these animals are represented in newsprint media. As mentioned in the results, this is an open debate among the articles because of its assumed relevance to ordinances; owners believe that if the animals are pets then they are not subject to ordinances prohibiting livestock. The representation of chickens as pets (66 %) occurs in more articles than references to them as livestock (32%). The terming of chickens as pets is associated with urban chicken owners and supporters, exclusive to the alternative perspective of urban space which is welcoming of these animals. Also, the animal's position comes to bear on the human's identity. The identity of chickens to a great extent socially defines the practice and thus the human. Is the chicken a pet or livestock? Is the practice, then, pet-keeping or animal husbandry? Is the human a pet owner or a farmer?

While representation of chickens as pets is more prominent (number of occurrence) than the representation as livestock, the second is used in a broader set of contexts throughout the media. The representation as livestock is used by journalist, and others, especially in the discussion of ordinances, rules, and the general legality of the practice. This suggests that the historic and official representation of chickens and goats is that of livestock. This demonstrates a persistent emphasis on productive capabilities and economic value of food animals. This presentation of livestock broadly and officially used can be viewed as regulating the categorization of animals in the readers, even though some make a bid to view animals differently.

It is important to note the perspective present within the media that did not see these representations as conflicting. Holloway (2001) studied the simultaneous ascription of "pet" and "livestock," and its moral implications. Practitioners of hobby farmers presented the same belief as urban chicken-keepers: their practice was morally superior compared to conventional production. However, Holloway (2001) finds the relationships of hobby farmers still problematic because of the productive intentionality and the recreation of distancing at a micro-scale; the most problematic aspect of this being the eventual slaughter for meat. Humane treatment of animals is a concern present throughout these articles, often also stated as a motivation of chicken keepers. The presence of this simultaneous ascription of "livestock" and "pet" in the media markets this as a morally superior option to the reader, but Holloway suggests this complex relationship is still riddled with moral discrepancies.

Personalities of the animals are also described. This could be seen as the media's acknowledgement of animal subjectivity, such that we associated with other pets. However, Hollway (2001) again warns the presumptuous acceptance of this conclusion. He holds that the explanation of animal personalities is very one-sided and anthropomorphic, which does not necessarily signify an improvement in the moral status of these animals. The presentation of emotion alongside concepts of chickens as "pets" and "personalities" makes a stronger bid for more intimate human—animal relationships.

Another point of analysis, however, is the way in which the terming as "pets" and especially the assigning of names to chickens plays up the novelty of the practice, thus making the copy more exciting and entertaining. Personalities of chickens are generally described as funny and entertaining. Humor is certainly used to make copy exciting and

entertaining. This could be simply a comedic representation of the chicken, which is supported by some of the personality accounts. However, as Blecha noted:

> Raising farm animals in US cities might easily be seen as an eccentric hobby, or at best an insignificant tilt at the corporate food windmill. This view, however, is a perfect example of capitalocentrism, or more specifically corporate-food-centrism, that frames alternatives as 'deviant or exotic or eccentric.' (Jennifer L. Blecha, 2007, p. 85)

The use of humor could, then, be scrutinized as de-emphasizing the seriousness of the practice, delegitimizes the diagnostic and prognostic aspects of articles. This could place emphasis on the practice as being an eccentric hobby. However, this point of analysis should be tempered with the principle of news value—humor could be the only way the journalist feels that this practice will get any news attention, thus bring the activity to broader populations.

Further Research

This discussion indicates further research to be conducted. Much of this research has been limited by the "desired invisibility" of the practice due to its illegal status. However, as this practice becomes more acceptable and incorporated into ordinances, this invisible practice may be made visible again. Permitting schemes seem to be a popular way to track who is keeping chickens within a municipality. If access is allowed, this could be used to conduct survey research with the purpose of clarifying the demographics, attitudes and motivations of chicken-keepers. Evaluation among these participants could also increase the effectiveness of ordinances or other rules regulating

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urban livestock agriculture. Survey research could also be used to further explore the perceptions of community members who are not keeping chickens.

This research identified a process of complaint, city response, and resident response within the newsprint media. This process is deserving of further study for its potential to clarify claims used to argue for or against allowing agricultural animals in urban areas. This could target a range of actors including chicken-keepers (which again could be identified with permitting schemes), government officials, and other active community members attending public hearings or city council meetings. Topical interviews, which explore "what, when how, why or with what consequences something happened" (Rubin & Rubin 2005) could be used to explore the process that already happened or which is still in progress. This would be a great follow-up to the qualitative interviews with urban agriculture practitioners and other community members conducted by Kaufman and Bailkey (2000).

There is a wide range of chicken keepers, but, as the newsprint media was useful in clarifying, different segments are viewed in drastically different ways. New urban chicken-keepers champion local and organic lifestyles but recent immigrants may have very different motivations for keeping chickens. The identities of these different groups have been researched initially (Belcha, 2007; Wolch & Lassiter, 2002), but could be explored further. Moreover, research on how the new trend is affecting long-time urban chicken keepers is important to developing urban agriculture in cities.

Jennifer Blecha (2007) has described the imaginaries of urban chicken-keepers in Pacific North West and school farm in MI, but more qualitative research could be

conducted in other unique circumstances including the formation of urban community

egg co-ops. Cooperative or community-supported operations are interest of many

alternative food scholars, community eggs co-ops could be another way to explore

potential alternative to the dominant food system.

CHAPTER 6

Conclusion

The examination of the portrayal of urban chicken keeping in the newsprint media provides valuable empirical evidence for gaps in the media coverage. Like other studies conducted on the media (Lockie, 2006), this study should not be viewed as an indictment of the media; this is how news is reported and it is not likely to change any time soon. The gaps in the media on the portrayal of urban chicken keeping were simply not newsworthy in terms of the journalistic profession. However, this is how many people are being introduced to the alternative practice for the first time and the newsprint media certainly have an effect on readers, giving them the illusion that the limited portrayal is the full extent of this practice. That is why the conclusions for scholars and practitioners are vital to this study; because their role is to balance out the newsworthy aspects of this practice with those that are also very important to its transformative potential. This study points to places that scholars and practitioners should be aware of in order to counter the shortcomings of the media representation of this possible alternative practice. Because urban chicken keeping has potential to provide the context in which agriculture and animal lives take place, which urban people are all too often distanced from—with deleterious effect– the results of this study highlight areas that should be of particular interest to alternative food practitioners.

The media diagnoses problems with the industrial food system and gives one solution in raising urban chickens. It also markets alternative food values but suggests individualistic motivations and means of pursuing these objectives. Becoming more self-

sufficient is great goal on a household level but practitioners should emphasize how this small practice of food production connects individuals to those in their community and producers rurally and globally. It's important to create and strengthen these linkages between all participants of the food system.

The media present a partial and narrow identity of people keeping chicken in urban areas. The narrow presentation of identity of urban chicken-keepers is a reminder to practitioners that agriculture in cities is not completely novel. The people of particular class and culture who are absent in the newsprint media hold valuable knowledge and are important to vibrant and successful urban agriculture system in any city. As practitioners promote urban agriculture activities, including raising chickens and other animals, it is important to keep these overlooked populations in mind.

The media holds the dominant perspective but perhaps more importantly it sows the seeds for dismantling its hold on society. The dominant perspective on urban space and the perception of this activity as eccentric are obstacles to enacting alternatives. These will be ongoing struggles to view urban agriculture as an activity with its own merit. Even if policy comes around, as the media suggests in this study, it is still necessary to win over the minds of the public.

The focus on legality of raising chickens reinforces the power of ordinance drafting bodies as having the final say but residents are taking chicken action despite the laws. The development of ordinances as presented in the newsprint media, as the analysis suggest, is hopeful because most articles implied that ordinances are changing to allow for this practice. However, given the previous conclusion of overlooked segments

of chicken-keepers, it is yet to be seen how this new found legality effect all people keeping chickens. The heightened visibility of urban chickens may welcome these people to share their knowledge but could increase skepticism about further regulation. The focus on ordinances did emphasize their function to protect residents from nuisance. This increased regulation could include USDA oversight on egg and meat production or banning of roosters and could further encourage people on the fringe to avoid participating in permitting schemes all together.

Finally, the representation of chicken in the media, as pets or livestock, zany pets or serious food producers does come to bear on the social acceptability of the practice. The convergence of these two categorizations can be an opportunity to confront our contradictory treatment of animals. The media was only able to skim the very surface of this notion with owners proclaiming the practice as more humane and attempting to see the animals as individuals. But, it is clear that urban chicken keeping is providing a newfound context of lives' of food animals. Alternative food practitioners should view this as an opportunity to engage with animal ethics. Chicken keepers made a bid to view food animals differently in the news media, although this was severely undercut by the presentation of the media. This is something practitioners should encourage people to consider.

Overall, this research allowed me to study an alternative food practice, while also involving animals as an integral part rather than background elements. The consideration of food animals was centrally involved in the purpose of the study and this was maintained throughout the methods, discussion and conclusion. My take on distancing,

as a psychological and physical process, also contributes a specific articulation to theory on alternative agriculture and animals.

This theoretical articulation informed the purpose of the research: how can raising urban chickens in the US provide the context in which food production and animal lives happen? Viewing this practice as a potentially transformative activity outlined the main objective of this research to explore how the newsprint media affect the acceptance, proliferation and appeal among the general public. This research has yielded suggestions for scholars and practitioners as they promote urban agriculture activities. These can be summarized as: 1) the historical and global persistence of urban livestock agriculture, 2) the whole spectrum of chicken-keepers and their diverse narratives, and 3) the real potential of this practice as a small, but significant, space of hope for alternative food and improved human-animal relationships.

APPENDICES

APPENDIX A

Research Memos

Four research memos are listed to further explain the process of code
development used for this study. The first memo is a diagrammatic representation of the
process used to combine and alter pervious concepts to fit to the purpose of the current
study. The next three memos are written notes taken after meeting with colleagues
consisting of detailed suggestions for changes in codes. The tables document the former
code and the improved code.

Blecha's Concepts

Food Systems
- Unease with distant production (DISPRO2)
- Health (H)
- De-skilling of urban residents (DISPRO3)
- Local (LCF)
- Organic (ORG) – not necessary?, final thought yes.

Urban Agri-Ecology
- Long-distance transportation (DISTRAN)
- High amount of processing & packaging (PROPAC)

Urban Landscape & Urban Life
- Community vs. individualistic (COMM)
- Sense of place vs. highly mobile (PLAC)- not found?
- Pollution and trash reduction (POLWAST)
- Green space (GRE)- not found?
- Appropriate animal types for urban setting (dog vs. chicken dispute)

Non-capitalist Economics
- Resistance of role as consumer (DISPRO3)

Additional
Concepts:
- Education (ED)
- House Hold
  Budget (HHB)

Ecological Ethic

DFU concept

Figure 5. Research memo May 15, 2009. This figure illustrates how Blecha's (2006) concepts were listed and combined to fit the emergent concepts and themes of the current study.

91

Research Memo 6/17/2009

Amy and I came to the agreement that distant production was too complex to be consistently coded. It needs to be parsed into smaller, more concise concepts.

Table 3. Research memo 6/17/2009. Former and improved codes after first meeting with Amy.

Research Memo 6/17/2009		
Former Code		
Distant Production (DISPRO)	Definition	Rule
	Distant production that has rendered people dependent on the dominant, industrial mode of agricultural production and lacking knowledge and skills of food and a desire to reconnect, sometimes as a consumer but also as producers.	When the text describes a dependence on (absence of knowledge or skills), or the dangers of (food safety), the dominant system of production and a desire reconnect through education or practice (production) that allows people to be self-sufficient and gain control.
		Example
		Ludlow says the chickens eat leftover food and provide a daily lesson for children about where their food comes from. OR "In no small part, I think, it is taking control of your food supply," Curry said of the fowl renaissance.

Table 3 continued.

Improved Code			
Distant Production (DISPR0)	Definition	Rule	Example
1. Food and Ag. Knowledge	Absence or desire to reconnect with food skills or knowledge	When the text describes an absence of food knowledge or skills and a desire to reconnect through education about growing/raising food.	I think society would be better off if we were more connected with where our food came from." [DISPR0] Ludlow says the chickens eat leftover food and provide a daily lesson for children about where their food comes from. [EC0, DISPR0] Pam Karstens, who keeps chickens on Madison's near east side, has taught a "City Chickens 101" class for Mad City Chickens, the Madison group of chicken owners that began as a "chicken underground."

Table 3 continued.

2.	Distrust of Industrial Ag.	Distrust of the dominant, industrial-scale agriculture production and food processing and distribution system (including grocery stores)	When text describes a dependence on industrial agriculture, including grocery stores, and a general distrust of the safety of this system.	Some chicken buyers say they are seeking a local, sustainable and safe supply of eggs. [LCF, ECO, DISPRO] In most cases, the backyard birds are raised for eggs, and the movement is rooted in people's ability to produce their own food and concerns about mass food production. [PRO, DISPRO]
3.	Regaining control	Regaining control over food by being a producer rather than simply a consumer	When the text states the desire to grow/raise their own food to gain control, become self-sufficient, and become less of a consumer.	"You're producing your own food and eliminating food waste," said Willcutt, who has raised chickens since he was a little boy [DISPRO]. "In no small part, I think, it is taking control of your food supply," Curry said of the fowl renaissance.

Research Memo 6/19/ 2009

After meeting with Amy a second time she brought the idea of chickens/animals as "pests" or "nuisance" this should be reconciled with the Misc category that you have been developing.

Small alterations to codes include:

- Remembering Linda's suggestions to combine Names with Pets.
- Roosters not belonging — added example and content to DFU
- Came to an understanding that if an Ordinance bans anything, this is not an example of DFU...just want personal opinions/statements here.

Table 4. Research memo 6/19/ 2009. Former and improved codes after second meeting with Amy.

Research Memo 6/19/ 2009			
Former Code			
	Definition	Rule	Example
Naming (NAM)	Names are given to chickens	When the text uses a name to refer to an individual chicken	Joe the hen.
Chickens as Pets (PET)	Chicken(s) is referred to as a pet rather than a livestock/farm animal	When the text refers to a chicken as a pet or providing companionship.	Rob Ludlow, for one, tells people his pets make him breakfast.
Improved Code			
Chickens as Pets (PET)	Chicken(s) is referred to as a pet rather than a livestock/farm animal	When the text refers to a chicken as a pet or references the chicken providing companionship or uses names to refer to an individual chicken.	Rob Ludlow, for one, tells people his pets make him breakfast. OR Joe the hen.
Former Code			
Production (PRO)	Idea of chickens used for food production	When the text states that chickens are livestock/farm animals/poultry and/or the use of chickens or eggs as food.	

95

Table 4 continued.

Improved Code		
Production (PRO)	Idea of chickens used for food production	When the text states that chickens are livestock/farm animals/poultry and/or the use of chickens or eggs or chicken meat as food.	The next time she thinned her flock, she and her boyfriend invited friends and made rooster burgers flavored with oregano, marjoram and rosemary from the garden. OR
Former Code		
Humane Treatment (HMN)	Ethical care and provisions for chickens	When the text refers to humane or inhumane treatment or describes requirements for adequate/inadequate care and provisions for chickens	She considered it health, humane and a much better alternative…
Improved Code		
Humane Treatment (HMN)	Ethical care and provisions for chickens	When the text refers to humane or inhumane treatment or describes requirements for adequate or inadequate care/provisions and links directly to the animal's well being.	She considered it health, humane and a much better alternative…
New Concepts		
Miscellaneous (MISC)	Catch-all for other concepts that seem important to animal or agricultural issues.	When the text mention "mercy kills" of injured animals or cavlier attitude towards death.	NA
Nuisance (NVS)	Animals as pests or nuisances.	When the text explicitly describes the chicken as pest/nuisance or a disturbance to the neighborhood.	Others look at chickens as pest, especially early rising roosters.

Research Memo 6/ 29/2009

After meeting with Kathryn I made changes to codes contention and nuisance and the addition of a new code Humor, after Kathryn took note of the excessive use of puns.

Kathryn also led me to general conclusion about taking a wide range of things under a code (per say nuisance) and being comfortable sorting things out later. This makes it much easier to code consistently. Also a general conclusion that the codes could be re-arranged between ones that focus on content (usually concepts) and one focusing on presentation (usually themes).

Table 5. Research memo 6/ 29/2009. Improved codes after meeting with Kathryn.

Research Memo 6/ 29/2009			
Improved Code			
	Definition	Rule	Example
Contention (CONT)

This code is focused on the presentation of the text as a contentious issue | Disagreement on allowing raising chickens or any aspect of the practice. | When the text describes disputing opinions or opposition between chicken owners, neighbors, and city officials about any aspect of raising chickens, concerns and rebuttals. | |
| Nuisance (NVS)

This code is a concept and is focused on the content that has to do with chicken as nuisance | Animals as pests or nuisances. | When the text describes the chicken as pest/nuisance or a disturbance to the neighborhood. This is opened up to hypothetical—we want it all! | |

Table 5 continued.

New Concepts			
Humor (HMR)	The use of humor related to the chicken or other farm animals	When the text uses puns and metaphors or references common jokes, fables or children's songs having to do with chickens and other farm animals.	"ruffle city's feathers" "putting all eggs in one basket," "why did the chicken cross the road," "the sky is falling" (chicken little) "runs afoul"

Note: **indicate new thoughts on the codes

APPENDIX B

Coding Tables

Table 6. Final concepts. Description of study concepts through definitions, rules, examples and notes.

Final Concepts

Concept/ Tag	Definition	Rule	Example	Notes
Pets (PET)	Chicken(s) as a pet or companion animal.	When the text refers to a chicken as a pet or references the chicken providing companionship or uses names to refer to an individual chicken.	Rob Ludlow, for one, tells people his pets make him breakfast. OR Joe the hen.	This includes naming of chickens, watch closely for this!
Personalities (P3R)	The description of an individual chicken's personality	When the text describes the behavior or the sentiment of an individual or a small group of chickens or states that chicken(s) have personalities.	...one in particular likes to jump into her arms.	*Amy's understanding of anthropomorphism- I included weak descriptions like docile, quiet, and amusing/entertaining*
Humane Treatment (HMN)	Ethical care and provisioning for chickens	When the text refers to humane or inhumane treatment, or, describes requirements for adequate or inadequate care and provisioning which links directly to the animal's well being.	She considered it health, humane and a much better alternative...	*Also descriptions of coops (protection from predators) and care that can be inferred or read in context to have to do with the animals well-being, even though human interest maybe a motivator also. This may include ordinance; inspections and coop requirements.*

99

Table 6 continued.

Conceptualization of Urban Space (DFU)	Conceptualization of urban to be strictly human or shared spaces with modern or progressive time dimension	When the text states what does or does not belong in an urban area, or city should or should not be like; space (urban vs. country activity/animal) and time (progressive vs. regressive)	"We live in a city. They [chickens] belong on a farm." OR Goats make ideal city-dwellers, Willcutt said. AND "Now they're like, 'He's better than a dog. He doesn't bark.'"	*This includes comparisons to cats and dog in the context of being a better urban dweller, statements about roosters not belonging but does not apply to ordinances restricting animals*
Nuisance (NVS)	Chickens as disturbances or pests	When the text explicitly terms chickens as pests or nuisances, or, describes them as a disturbance to the neighborhood.	Others look at chickens as pest, especially early rising roosters.	*This is opened up to all hypothetical nuisances, odor noise, etc.— things that can be easily read as nuisance like distance requirements for coops, # limit to chickens, disease, need to inspections*
Production (PRO)	The idea of chickens as food	When the text states that chickens are livestock/farm animals/poultry and/or the use of chickens or eggs or chicken meat as food (in rare cases milk and honey).	The next time she thinned her flock, she and her boyfriend invited friends and made rooster burgers flavored with oregano, marjoram and rosemary from the garden. OR	*Must be mention of use as food, the mention of slaughter as in ordinances banning slaughter does not warrant this code, almost any mention of eggs but not eggs for hatching or as food for non-human predators*
Miscellaneous (MISC)	Catch-all for other concepts that seem important to animal or agricultural issues.	*"mercy kills" of injured animals or cavlier attitude towards death, *chickens as spectacle "show birds"*	*Unloading or giving away extra animals, *keeping chickens as an "underground" activity, *Anything else worth note*	

Table 6 continued.

Distant Production (DISPRO)	Definition	Rule	Example	Example Cond...
4. Food and Ag. Knowledge DISPRO1	Absence or desire to reconnect with food skills or knowledge	When the text describes an absence of food knowledge or skills and a desire to reconnect through education about growing/raising food.	I think society would be better off if we were more connected with where our food came from." Pam Karstens, who keeps chickens on Madison's near east side, has taught a "City Chickens 101" class for Mad City Chickens, the Madison group of chicken owners that began as a "chicken underground."	Ludlow says the chickens eat leftover food and provide a daily lesson for children about where their food comes from. *This includes tours, classes, books, and websites with information/ knowledge about raising animals; learning opportunities*
5. Distrust of Industrial Ag. DISPRO2	Critical perspective of the dominant, industrial-scale agriculture production and food processing and distribution system (including grocery stores)	When text describes a dependence on industrial agriculture, including grocery stores, and a general distrust of the safety of this system.	Some chicken buyers say they are seeking a local, sustainable and safe supply of eggs.	In most cases, the backyard birds are raised for eggs, and the movement is rooted in people's ability to produce their own food and concerns about mass food production.
6. Regaining control DISPRO3	The desire to regaining control over food by being a producer rather than simply a consumer	When the text states the desire to grow/raise their own food, become self-sufficient, and become less of a consumer.	"You're producing your own food and eliminating food waste," said Willcutt, who has raised chickens since he was a little boy.	"In no small part, I think, it is taking control of your food supply," Curry said of the fowl renaissance.

101

Table 6 continued.

Health (HLTH)	Physical, mental and/or spiritual well-being of humans	When the text states food, the practice of producing food, or a production scheme contributes or takes from the well-being of humans	Brown, 41, said hens provide a reliable food source that is tastier and healthier than mass-produced eggs. OR Chicken raisers say the husbandry is fun and not as costly or demanding as a would-be farmer might imagine.	*Must be health related to food or food production NOT general public health in terms of disease, joy or happiness*
Taste (T@ST)	Expectations of freshness, flavor, color, and texture of eggs of meat foods.	When the text states that certain food has superior taste or freshness, flavor, color, texture, ect..	For months, Marci Davis watched them grow. One fell ill and died, but the three others became colorful hens that laid eggs with large, thick yolks OR Urban chicken owners say they enjoy getting fresh eggs.	*This counts fresh as a adjective of eggs – look out for this!*
Organic (ORG)	Best practices of growing, food and raising animals that are reduce or eliminates the use of chemicals	When the text states the idea of organic, the people who champion it, or the benefit of food being free of antibiotics, pesticides, hormones.	But with food prices rising, concerns about salmonella and growth hormones making national headlines and a faith that encourages preparedness, Dunn says backyard hens make sense.	*This code was created to avoid inferences about the health or taste properties often claimed to accompany organic food.*
Local Food (LCF)	Proximate production of food	When the text mentions the idea of local food, the people who champion this idea, or the proximate cultivation, processing or packaging.	Urban chicken farming has become a popular way of life in cities across the U.S. that have seen a surge in the "buy local" concept	

Table 6 continued.

Ecological Ethic (ECOL)	Concern for the environment and ecological sustainability	When the text expresses a concern for the environment and the necessity to protect it through ecologically sound or sustainable practices that may involve energy efficiency or pollution and waste reduction.	Others say chicken waste makes an excellent compost material and garden fertilizer. Still others use chickens to help cut down on insects that can harm plants and produce. OR To her, keeping chickens was "the ultimate green family experience."	*If implicitly indicated or within context to infer that the text is discussing ecological sustainability then, code as ECO*
Community Building (COMM)	Creating or strengthening relationships between individuals and families within a neighborhood.	When the text states that raising chickens and associated activities promote the creation and strengthening of non-transactional (consumer/ producer, money usually involved) relationships between individuals and/or families within a neighborhood.	The neighbors bring their kids over to play with the chickens. OR Chickens really are a good community builder."	*Neighbors must be coming together over chicken related activities, not just gardens or general green activities. For instance working with others to raise chickens would warrant this code.*
Household budget (HHB)	The acquisition, or balance, of resources (financial and otherwise) at a household level	When the text states that raising chickens saves money, or is costly, in terms of food expenditures, contributes income, or contributes eggs as a specific need for the household.	It isn't a moneymaking operation when dealing with small flocks. OR It saves money on the grocery bill.	*This can be saying it saves money or is costly, either side of the argument.*

Note: Concepts "pet" through "production" were developed from animal literature. Concepts "distant production" through "household budget" were developed from alternative food and agriculture literature. The concept "miscellaneous" was developed from methodological purposes.

103

Table 7. Description of study themes through definitions, rules, examples and notes.

Final Themes				
Theme/Tag	Definition	Rule	Example	Notes
Strong emotion (EMO)	Emotion suggesting a bond of companionship between human and chicken(s)	When the text uses emotion as a descriptor of a positive relationship between owner and chicken	...birds that are loved and fed well.	*Can be positive (loved chickens) or negative (sad chickens are taken away).*
Contention (CONT)	Disagreement on any aspect of the practice raising chickens	When the text describes disputing opinions or opposition between chicken owners, neighbors, and city officials about any aspect of raising chickens, concerns and rebuttals.	Opposing council members Diggs Brown and Wade Troxel said they fear the chickens will causes health problems and add to greenhouse pollution.	*This code is focused on the presentation of the text as a contentious issue; indicator words and presenting sides of an argument*
Ordinance Information (ORD)	Current and proposed laws prohibiting or allowing chickens in the city.	When text describes an ordinance allowing or disallowing chickens or other farm animals, or further details about stipulations and requirements of ordinances, zoning, permits, laws, city code, etc (current or proposed).	Many other cities require permits for chickens. LaBadie said, with fees ranging from $5 to $50.	*Any mention of ordinance, current or proposed (future).*
Humor (HMR)	The use of humor related to the chicken or other farm animals	When the text uses puns and metaphors or references common jokes, fables or children's songs having to do with chickens and other farm animals.	"ruffle city's feathers" "putting all eggs in one basket," "why did the chicken cross the road," "the sky is falling" (chicken little) "runs afoul"	*Especially found in titles of articles but also throughout*

104

APPENDIX C

Data Sources

Table 8. Full data sources. Reference information of newspaper articles including dates of publication, authors, source newspapers, and titles, arranged from oldest to most recent.

Full Data Sources

Number	Date	Author	Newspaper	Title
1	6/7/2006	Khalil Hachem	Ann Arbor News (Michigan)	Chicken ban to continue: Ypsilanti City Council turns down request for backyard chicken keeping
2	6/23/2006	Daniel Connolly	Associated Press Online	Ark. City law restricts chicken ownership
3	7/11/2006	Kerri Sandaine	Lewiston Morning Tribune (Idaho)	Pet chickens plucked from city's guest list: Clarkston council refuses to change rules
4	8/4/2006	Julia O'Malley	Anchorage Daily News (Alaska)	Urban chickens: Crowing rooster spoiled the hen party at a Hillside home
5	8/15/2006	Newswire	UPI	Alaskan fights city rule on chickens
6	8/31/2006	Erin Hoover Barnett	The Oregonian (Portland, Oregon)	Chickens gone missing, and other tales of the urban free-range
7	9/11/2006	NA	Grand Rapid Press (Michigan)	Family counting on keeping its chickens: City variance needed so 4 hens can stay
8	10/1/2006	Jennifer Bleyer	New York Times (New York)	Urban tactics: In the land of co-ops, coops
9	12/14/2006	Meggan Linsday	Saint Paul Pioneer Press (Minnesota)	Teen hopes to overturn city's ban on chickens: Girl wants to raise urban hens for their eggs
10	4/23/2007	Josie Huang	Portland Press Herald (Maine)	Birds, bees likely to get Westbrook's OK to stay: City officials propose to allow certain 'hobby' farm animals, such as chickens and honeybees, in residential areas

Table 8 continued.

11	6/20/2007	Emma Pollin	East Bay Express (California)	On Ruling Your Roost: A little yard space and some determination are all you need to become an urban chicken farmer
12	6/22/2007	Judy Keen	USA TODAY	Chicken owners in cities score coop coup: Urban dwellers bring a touch of the rural to their backyards by raising birds
13	7/10/2007	NA	The Salt Lake Tribune	Food Briefs: Learn to raise urban chickens, etc.
14	7/20/2007	Grant Slater	The Associated Press	Man's new best friend?: More urban, suburban residents turn to chickens as pets
15	9/5/2007	Peter A. Thomason	Ann Arbor News (Michigan)	Raising chickens helps connect city-dwellers to agrarian roots
16	9/6/2007	Katherine Ullmer	Dayton Daily News (Ohio)	New ordinance prohibits wild animals: Bellbrook City Council clarifies horses, cows, pigs, goats, bees and chickens as off limits
17	9/7/2007	Josie Huang	Portland Press Herald (Maine)	South Portland allows chickens, with restrictions: The city says OK to 120 hens, which can't be slaughtered and must have 'harmonious' coops
18	9/12/2007	John Metcalfe	Seattle Weekly	Let's Goat Crazy!: Pygmy goats are awfully cute, but is the city council's bid to equate them with cats and dogs such a good idea in a modern metropolis?
19	9/13/2007	Tracy Jordon	Morning Call (Allentown, Pennsylvania)	In Easton lawbooks, chickens scratched: New ordinance bars farm animals from city, family's neighbors squawked over hens
20	9/19/2007	Catherine Price	New York Times (New York)	A chicken on every plot, a coop in every backyard
21	12/11/2007	Newswire	The Associated Press State & Local Wire	Duluth group hopes chickens can become legal city residents
22	12/12/2007	Newswire	The Associated Press State & Local Wire	Ban on pet chickens cooped up in Chicago City Council
23	2/11/2008	Mark Konkol	Chicago Sun Times	Don't call her chicken: Word of move to ban poultry from homes spurs hen owner to take on City Hall
24	3/17/2008	Judy McGovern	Ann Arbor News (Michigan)	Proposal calls for chickens in city

Table 8 continued.

25	3/26/2008	Kim Palmer	Star Tribune (Minneapolis, MN)	Chickens aren't just for barnyards anymore, back-yard coops are popping up in cities and suburbs nationwide as more urbanites decide that raising their own eggs is a good thing, but some of their neighbors aren't so sure
26	4/9/2008	Leslie Cole	Newhouse News Service	Eggs in the city: Urban dwellers form co-op to run coop
27	4/22/2008	Judy McGovern	Ann Arbor News (Michigan)	Chicken plan cooped up but measure to permit hens in city may reach council again
28	5/1/2008	NA	Denver Westword (Colorado)	Clucked Up: Raising chickens in the city isn't all it's cracked up to be
29	5/5/2008	Judy McGovern	Ann Arbor News (Michigan)	Chickens to land on table 2nd time Neighbor OK may be offered to city council
30	5/6/2008	Judy McGovern	Ann Arbor News (Michigan)	Hen rules may find roost City wants input on revised chicken plan
31	5/30/2008	Chad Lawhorn	Journal-World (Lawrence, Kansas)	Chickens and the city: Health officials concerned fowls will spread disease
32	6/3/2008	Newswire	Chattanooga Times Free Press (Tennessee)	City eyes urban chicken coops
33	6/4/2008	Newswire	UPI	City approves chicken ordinance
34	6/9/2008	Janine Zuga	The San Diego Union-Tribune	Fine feathered friends; City-dwellers want to overturn ban so they can keep chickens as pets
35	6/16/2008	Carolyn Feibel	The Houston Chronicle	Chicks in the city: It's legal in Houston to keep chickens as eco-friendly pets, but break the rules and you might lose, pluck for pets that cluck
36	6/22/2008	Lloyd Jojola	Albuquerque Journal (New Mexico)	Egging Them on: Group teaches city dwellers the ins and outs of raising chickens
37	7/5/2008	Robert J. Smith	Arkansas Democrat-Gazette (Little Rock)	Chicken noise has some within cities crying foul; Owners maintain urban birds despite laws
38	7/6/2008	Newswire	The Associated Press State & Local Wire	Some clucking over Ark. cities' chicken bans
39	7/7/2008	Molly Bloom	Austin American-Statesman (Texas)	Chickens in the city?: More folks flock to idea
40	7/23/2008	Lorraine Ahearn	News & Record (Greensboro, NC)	On the street: Urban chickens home to roost

Table 8 continued.

41	8/6/2008	Matt Tullis	The Columbus Dispatch (Ohio)	City chickens: Siblings' flock among animals from Franklin County at state fair
42	8/7/2008	Ray Gronberg	The Herald-Sun (Durham, NC)	Clucking limited on owning chicken: City officials will begin writing rules for backyard fowl
43	8/10/2008	Ben Karp	Star Tribune (Minneapolis, MN)	City law really gets their goat: Minneapolis residents want to be able to tend goats, pigs and bees in their city, as their St. Paul neighbors can
44	8/11/2008	Jeremiah Stettler	The Salt Lake Tribune	Urban chickens - green pets or foul fowl?
45	8/21/2008	Newswire	The Associated Press State & Local Wire	City of Sonoma may let residents keep chickens and rabbits
46	8/30/2008	Fran Henry	Plain Dealer (Cleveland)	Everywhere a cluck-cluck: Chicken farms are even springing up in cities like Cleveland
47	9/1/2008	Diana Nelson Jones	Pittsburgh Post-Gazette (Pennsylvania)	Residents of City Crow About Their Chickens
48	9/17/2008	Newswire	The Associated Press State & Local Wire	More city residents can own chickens
49	9/21/2008	Jessica Flemming	St. Paul Pioneer Press (Minnesota)	Burnsville boy to City Council: Please let me keep my chickens
50	9/21/2008	NA	Telegraph Herald (Dubuque, IA)	City does not have ban on chickens, roosters
51	10/7/2008	Joy Powell	Star Tribune (Minneapolis, MN)	Goodbye to Rachel and McCluck?: An 11-year-old boy has been fighting City Hall to lift Burnsville's ban on back-yard chickens
52	10/7/2008	Jessica Flemming	St. Paul Pioneer Press (Minnesota)	Here a chick? Burnsville City Council to decide on ending chicken ban
53	10/20/2008	Nancy Bowmann	Dayton Daily News (Ohio)	City: Urban chickens must go: Couple to appeal Troy ruling, saying two hens are their pets, not just farm animals.
54	11/16/2008	Gabriel Baird	Plain Dealer (Cleveland)	What came first, the chicken or the legislation?: City takes step to allow residents to raise fowl
55	11/24/2008	Scott Rochat	The Associated Press State & Local Wire	Chickens finding a place in some US cities
56	11/29/2008	Nancy Bowmann	Dayton Daily News (Ohio)	Troy couple appeal zoning board ruling against keeping pet chickens in backyard: Board says feathered friends violate city codes against agricultural animals

Table 8 continued.

57	1/2/2009	Jason Cato	Pittsburgh Tribune Review	In city neighborhoods, clusters of cluckers produce meat, eggs
58	1/2/2009	Newswire	UPI	Urban chickens gaining in favor
59	1/2/2009	Trevor Hughes	USA TODAY	Chickens given roosts in urban backyards: Residents raise hens for thrifty and tasty eggs
60	1/8/2009	Joy Powell	Star Tribune (Minneapolis, MN)	Chickens, dogs on Burnsville's agenda: Will the City Council change ordinances regarding chickens? One boy hopes so.
61	1/26/2009	Ann Fischer	The Columbus Dispatch (Ohio)	City should welcome urban chickens
62	1/30/2009	Rodger L. Hardy	Deseret Morning News (Salt Lake City)	Elk Ridge may change code to allow pet chickens in city
63	2/10/2009	Newswire	The Associated Press State & Local Wire	Mankato council scratches urban chicken proposal
64	2/19/2009	Newswire	The Associated Press State & Local Wire	Maine's largest city OKs backyard chickens
65	2/22/2009	John Mulcahy	Ann Arbor News (Michigan)	Proposal on chickens to be done Mayor requests Ypsilanti staff draw up ordinance for permits in the city
66	2/24/2009	Monte Whaley	The Denver Post	A question of hen, not if, in Longmont: The City Council will probably vote tonight to allow residents to raise chickens in their backyards
67	2/26/2009	Drew Dixon	Florida Times-Union (Jacksonville)	Couple's chickens ruffle city feathers: Atlantic Beach, they've gathered 100 signatures in an effort to change the law
68	2/26/2009	Rod Dreher	The Dallas Morning News (Texas)	One way to cope?: Grow your own
69	3/1/2009	Nancy Bowmann	Dayton Daily News (Ohio)	Troy's lawyer says city rightly denied couple's bid for chickens
70	3/16/2009	Karen Auge	The Denver Post	Shift in urban pecking order: More cities welcome chickens as consumers get picky about food
71	3/17/2009	Donald W. Meyers	The Salt Lake Tribune	Provo examines Colorado city's chicken ordinance
72	3/20/2009	John Latimer	The Lebanon Daily News (Pennsylvania)	City resident makes pitch for chickens
73	3/21/2009	Jonnelle Davis	News & Record (Greensboro, NC)	City Council to weigh in on chickens

109

Table 8 continued.

74	3/25/2009	Stephen Deere	St. Louis Post-Dispatch (Missouri)	Chickens vs. property values: From Webster Groves to Wentzville, cities have faced off against residents keeping the multipurpose pets in backyards, sometimes with drastically different solutions
75	3/26/2009	Jeremiah Stettler	The Salt Lake Tribune	Chicken policies pecking at council
76	3/31/2009	Brian Meyer	Buffalo News (New York)	Chickens routed from roost, for now: West Side henhouse runs afoul of city ban
77	4/1/2009	Donn Esmonde	Buffalo News (New York)	City chickens deserve an 'eggception'
78	4/4/2009	Brian Meyer	Buffalo News (New York)	Discussion seeks ways to allow city residents to keep chickens
79	4/5/2009	Newswire	The Associated Press State & Local Wire	Buffalo task force ponders urban chicken farming
80	4/8/2009	Gregg Hennigan	The Gazette (Cedar Rapids, Iowa)	Backyard chicken advocates take up the cause in Iowa City
81	4/9/2009	Jennifer Todd	Intelligencer Journal (Lancaster, Pennsylvania)	Foiled chicken: Nonprofit given 5 days to remove flock from city
82	4/12/2009	Rene Romo	Albuquerque Journal (New Mexico)	Chicken Activists Petition Cruces; City Set To Weigh Zoning Change
83	4/17/2009	Nancy Bowmann	Dayton Daily News (Ohio)	Judge rules in chicken flap; Upholds Troy city ban on keeping the fowl as pets in a residential area.
84	4/21/2009	John Ferak	Omaha World-Herald (Nebraska)	World-Herald Exclusive Bellevue's bid to evict chickens ruffles feathers: You might say city has egg on its face, turns out a couple didn't run afoul of the law, but can urban cluckers save scratch?, want to keep chickens?, a chicken checklist
85	4/22/2009	Karen Herzog	Milwaukee Journal Sentinel (Wisconsin)	Legal chicken: City dwellers in Madison can keep backyard egg layers, but local residents do it on the sly and lobby lawmakers
86	4/22/2009	Newswire	The Associated Press State & Local Wire	Milwaukee suburb may join urban chicken movement
87	4/26/2009	Maki Becker	Buffalo News (New York)	The farm plots thicken: Urban gardens are no longer a rare breed
88	4/30/2009	Joel Warner	Denver Westword(Colorado)	Denver's urban gardeners are digging their backyard farms

Table 8 continued.

89	5/5/2009	Chirstopher N. Osher	The Denver Post	Zoning in on a new code: Denver's building regulations, which seem no longer welcome at anyone's door, are getting a makeover.
90	5/11/2009	Dean Narciso	The Columbus Dispatch (Ohio)	Poultry now chic for city dwellers; Officials pushed to ease rules on raising chickens
91	5/12/2009	Newswire	The Associated Press State & Local Wire	Salem to consider chickens inside city limits
92	5/12/2009	Newswire	The Associated Press State & Local Wire	KC suburb to allow test of urban chickens
93	5/12/2009	John Faherty	The Associated Press State & Local Wire	Urban chickens the latest healthful living trend
94	5/14/2009	Andrea Higgins	The Washington Post	Hot Chicks: Legal or not, chickens are the chic new backyard addition

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112

REFERENCES

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