

# **Framing Factory Farming in New Zealand**

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**EARTHLINGS**

*earth'ling: n. One who inhabits of the earth.*

*Since we all inhabit the earth, all of us are considered earthlings. There is no sexism, no racism or speciesism in the term earthling. It encompasses each and every one of us: warm or cold blooded, mammal, vertebrate or invertebrate, bird, reptile, amphibian, fish, and human alike. Humans, therefore, being not the only species on the planet, share this world with millions of other living creatures, as we all evolve here together. However, it is the human earthling who tends to dominate the earth, often times treating other fellow earthlings and living beings as mere objects. This is what is meant by speciesism (Monson, 2005).*

## **Abstract**

This study uncovers how factory farming is framed in New Zealand. This is accomplished by conducting a frame analysis of publications produced by industry stakeholders and the animal welfare volunteer sector. The study reveals New Zealand industry stakeholders and the animal welfare volunteer sector use three dominant frames known as the commodity/economic, food and traditional welfare frame. Each frame is influenced by the ideology of speciesism. Speciesism is a discriminatory force that uses species membership as the determining criteria whether a being is entitled to basic rights. The frames are deployed to suppress discontent consumers have over factory farming or the use of nonhuman earthlings as a resource. The study also reveals a unique relationship between industry stakeholders and the animal welfare volunteer sector. The relationship is based on the continued supply of income for both sides of the factory farming debate.

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**Attestation of Authorship**

I hereby declare that this submission is my own work and that, to the best of my knowledge and belief, it contains no material previously published or written by another person (except where explicitly defined in the acknowledgements), nor material which to a substantial extent has been submitted for the award of any other degree or diploma of a university or other institution of higher learning.

Signed \_\_\_\_\_

Date \_\_\_\_\_

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## Chapter 1: Introduction

The Food Agriculture Organization (2016) claims that 62 billion nonhuman earthlings were slaughtered and used for food globally in 2010. Out of these 62 billion, 55 billion were chickens and 1 billion were pigs. In 2010, 82 million chickens were slaughtered in New Zealand. In 2005, 1.4 million pigs were slaughtered in New Zealand (Food Agriculture Organisation). Some nonhuman earthlings used for food are not counted in the statistics. For example, cats and dogs are used as food in certain parts of the world but the numbers slaughtered are unknown. Nonhuman aquatic life are also not counted in the statistics. The Food Agriculture Organisation (2006) predicts the global human earthling population will reach nine billion by the year 2050. The increase in population correlates with an increased consumption of nonhuman earthling flesh. Global consumption of flesh in 1990 was 299 million tonnes. By 2050, it is estimated to reach 4,665 million tonnes. To raise billions of nonhuman earthlings as food, a method of intensive farming known as factory farming is required, which are also known as “concentrated animal feeding operations (CAFO), intensive livestock operations and... animal feeding operations (AFO)” (Imhoff, 2010, p. 13). Factory farming of nonhuman earthlings involves their mass confinement within industrial barns. Here, nonhuman animals are fattened up for slaughter. Some nonhuman animals such as chickens are confined to battery cages and forced to lay eggs (Amey, 2008; Davis, 2009). Factory farming is deemed costly in terms of economics (Chang, 2014; Fitzgerald, 2015; Imhoff, 2010; Smith, 2010), health (Anderson, 2011; Campbell & Campbell, 2006; Lichtenstein, et al., 1994), environmental destruction (Food Agriculture Organisation, 2006; Joy, 2011) and global poverty (Imhoff, 2010; Rifkin, 1992; Simon, 2013).

While there is an abundance of literature related to the impacts of factory farming, literature related to the analysis of how factory farming and its related impacts

are framed is limited. Particularly little is known about the framing of factory farming in New Zealand public discourses. The review begins with literature related to the analysis of factory farming based on Foucauldian theory. It then focuses on frames associated with factory farming, which are the commodity/economic, traditional welfare, new welfare, food, health and environmental frames (Abrams, 2012; Fraser, 2008).

A frame sets the terms and the limits of a specific thematic discourse. It sets the ground rules for what issues can and cannot be discussed within the discourse, and how these issues should be discussed. Frames include information, but they also exclude information based on what the frame producer deems important. They consist of “keywords, metaphors, concepts symbols and visual images” (Entman, 1991, p. 7). “Certain words and images are used repeatedly and together, thereby rendered more salient in the texts; they evoke ideas typically associated with a particular kind of public discourse” (Entman, p. 11). “Frames are so powerful because they induce us to filter our perceptions of the world in particular ways, essentially making some aspects of our multidimensional reality more noticeable than other aspects” (Kuypers, 2009, p. 181). Frame analysis “alerts us to the ways in which” stakeholders give some elements of publications “greater meaning over other components”. “This is done through conscious or unconscious decisions about who or what is included in a story and how they are depicted (Nagy & Gillespie, 2015, p. 5).

The current study conducts a frame analysis of factory farming in New Zealand. Frame analysis has been adapted from Harding’s (2006; 2009; 2010) research on the framing of First Nations/indigenous people in Canadian news media. Harding’s frame analysis reveals First Nations/indigenous people are framed as problematic and in need of correction. Subsequent frames represent Indigenous Canadians as in need of paternalistic oversight due to their alleged backwardness. Underlying such derogatory frames is the ideology of racism. Therefore, frame analysis uncovers what exists within

the frame and its underlying influences. At a basic level, and in “a discourse analytic framework” (Van Dijk, 1998, p. 22), frame and critical discourse analysis share the idea that ideologies influence communication (Bowe & Martin, 2012; Van Dijk, 1995), and that the goal of analysis is to uncover these underlying ideologies. Nevertheless, they are distinct forms of analysis. Frame analysis is descriptive and does not focus on the linguistic construction and organisation of power relations within texts (Fairclough, 2001). Instead, frame analysis is based on the researcher’s understanding of philosophical and ideological literature related to the topic of factory farming. The researcher “arrive(s) at an interpretation through an active process of matching features of the utterance at various levels with representations” that researchers have stored in their long-term memory” (Fairclough, pp. 8-9).

## Chapter 2: Literature Review

### Frames on Factory Farming

Modern day animal agriculture is presented as a serene image; as a mutual relationship between farmer and animals. The reality of modern day agriculture is anything but a serene image. Representations of modern animal agriculture as an idealised rural setting where animals live happily is a myth perpetuated by agricultural corporations (Coats, 1989). Today consumers are aware of what their food is. This awareness has led to consumers seeking alternatives or boycotting all products obtained from nonhuman earthlings (Potts & White, 2007).

The breakdown of this myth has led to several studies revealing the true nature of modern day animal agriculture. These studies have applied Foucault's style of analysis to the framing of factory farming. Foucault (1977) theorised that institutions such as schools, prisons, and the military were reformed to exert a humane method of power and control over individuals. But prior to the institutional reforms, power was exerted by literally destroying individuals in what Foucault called the "spectacle of the scaffold" (p.32), or what was once the site of torture and execution. In recognition of Foucault's analysis of historical transformations, Fitzgerald (2015) observes a similar transformation regarding the raising of nonhuman earthlings for food. Prior to the advent of factory farming, nonhuman animals were not only raised but also slaughtered within city streets. However, it was in the 18<sup>th</sup> and 19<sup>th</sup> century that a *humanised* method of raising nonhuman earthlings for food came into fruition. Individuals involved in the raising and slaughtering of nonhumans were subject to licensing and anti-cruelty statutes (Fitzgerald; Unti, 1998). With this transformation in mind, Cole also (2011) applies a Foucauldian analysis to factory farming in the 21<sup>st</sup> century. A Foucauldian analysis of institutional power uncovers the minute details applied to control subjects.

Minute details include the keeping of records, time, and attention to the physical coordination of institutionalised subjects (Foucault, 1977). By replacing the prison with factory farms, Cole discovers that nonhuman earthlings are also subjected to record keeping and time management. Just as prison inmates are subjected to constant surveillance, nonhuman earthlings are placed under surveillance. Furthermore, the surveillance systems of factory farms mimic Jeremy Bentham's panopticon, a central observation tower located within prisons (Williams III & McShane, 2010) to monitor for injured or dead nonhuman earthlings. For example, battery cages are likened to prison cells and organised in a manner for easy inspection, collection of eggs and identification of dead hens. The carceral farms or factory farms "facilitate surveillance and traceability of particular animals; a body of knowledge can be built up about their performance in relation to norms of productivity, reproductivity or the absence of disease" (Cole, p. 86). Stated alternatively, factory farms are knowledge producing institutions providing employment to animal welfare experts and researchers who reproduce knowledge related to factory farming. In addition to being knowledge producing institutions, factory farms produce physical bodies of nonhuman earthlings for public consumption. This is similar to the function of prisons producing subjects for public consumption, more specifically an outlet for public contempt (Cole; Foucault). For example, when a released inmate reoffends, the public's attitudes towards crime is hardened. Politicians are known to manipulate the public's hardened attitude for political purposes to increase spending on criminal justice services (Williams K. S., 2012).

Moreover, Levin (2009) reconnects Cole's analysis back to Foucault's analysis of human institutions claiming there is a fear that individuals are becoming factory farmed themselves within work places and schools. Just like in factory farms, "Labourers are fed into an industrial machine that abrogates their free will"

(Castronovo, 2010, p. xxi). Today, work places and schools invoke “anxieties about imprisonment, surveillance, management, and exploitation that...metaphor[ically] have their bite not in the treatment of crops and animals, but in workers being housed and watched in cubicles” (Levin, p. 80).

The idea that factory farms are an institutional site of productivity and reproductivity is echoed by Mitchell (2013) who identifies factory farming discourses “of science, slavery and production, (which often overlap)” (Mitchell, p. 302). Discourses of science, slavery and production tie into findings by Leder (2012) who identified factory farming discourses of alienation, mechanisation and capitalism. Within the discourses identified by Mitchell and Leder, nonhuman earthlings are forced to labour and are remunerated by death. Leder states that “[a]lienation from the product of one’s labor takes extreme form when the product is one’s own flesh, built up through confinement and force-feeding and made accessible by one’s slaughter” (p. 75). Like humans who are separated from their labour, nonhumans such as chickens are separated from the eggs they produce. Female pigs are separated from their piglets. In terms of mechanisation, nonhuman earthlings are transformed into machines of production. Capitalism is said to be the instigator of the alienation and mechanisation of nonhuman earthlings (Nibert, 2013; Torres, 2007), but Leder clarifies that factory farming is possible under socialism and communism as Marxist doctrine declared nonhuman earthlings are to be subordinated to the interests of human earthlings. The idea of subordination ties into a set of frames identified by Fraser (2008) and Abrams (2012). These frames are related to economics, welfare of nonhuman earthlings, environmental, food, and health.

## Commodification & Economic Frame

The commodification or economic frame involves “reducing aspects of our lives to market exchange. Viewed this way, the topic of commodification is the reduction of the person (subject) to a thing (object)” (Radin & Sunder, 2004, p. 8). In order for the objectification of the person (subject) to be successful, the person’s inherent moral worth must be disregarded (Francione, 2000). The disregard for a person’s inherent moral worth constitutes a denial of basic citizenship rights, resulting in the subordination of one group to the dominant group (Standing, 2014; 2011). Slavery is the prominent example in which one group was denied basic citizenship rights and became subordinated to a property-owning class. The subordinated class were seen only as means to an end, as a mode of production. However, despite the abolition of the institution of slavery in the nineteenth century, its features continue to exist in the relationship between one set of earthlings, known as humans, and another set of earthlings, known as animals. For the purposes of this thesis, the term earthling is used in relation to both human and nonhuman animals alike to counter the discursive effects of referring to anyone who is not human as an animal (Monson, 2005). Failing to do so reaffirms the speciesist attitude that humans are not part of nature, but are above it. Such dualistic reasoning elevates humans above their animal status to a socially constructed idea of superiority. (Francione, 1995; 2008; 1996; Regan, 1982; Singer, 2009; Torres, 2007)

Speciesism is an ideology, according to Fairclough (2001), “linked to power [...] a means of legitimizing existing social relations and difference of power simply through the recurrence of ordinary, familiar, way of behaving which take these relations and power difference for granted” (p. 2). The ideological system of speciesism allows the commodification of nonhuman earthlings into private property. Just like the discriminatory practices of racism or sexism, speciesism is a form discrimination

against nonhuman earthlings. Nonhumans are denied equal consideration on the basis of not being human or not possessing the inherent characteristics of humans.

The proclaimed absence of sentience or consciousness is the criteria which human earthlings use to determine whether nonhuman earthlings are lesser beings. However, attempts to measure sentience or consciousness amongst nonhuman earthlings are prejudicial as they test cognitive or language ability according to standards set by human earthlings. Despite the inherent bias within such measures, a declaration of consciousness by experts in relation to consciousness amongst nonhuman earthlings has been proclaimed (Francis Crick Memorial Conference, 2012). The declaration rests on an understanding of evolutionary theory, which states nonhuman earthlings would not have survived if it were not for sentience or consciousness. The ability to feel pain, due to innate possession of sentience and consciousness, has afforded nonhuman earthlings the ability to survive and reproduce (Francione, 1995; Regan, 1982; Rollin, 1989).

Nonetheless, the denial of equal consideration is associated with the concept of anthropomorphism (Dunayer, 2001; Nussbaum, 2006; Rollin, 1989; Steiner, 2005). Anthropomorphism imposes human characteristics such as cognition intelligence, emotion onto nonhumans. For example, Aristotle accepted that nonhuman earthlings shared similar qualities with humans. Just like human earthlings, nonhuman earthlings have "...the capacity to reproduce, the capacity to be aware of the world through sensory apparatus, and the capacity to desire, feel, remember and imagine" (Wells, 2011, p. 28). However, in cases where anthropomorphism was accepted, or that nonhuman earthlings possessed human earthling qualities, as was the case for Aristotle, it was neither sufficient nor satisfactory for inclusion into the moral community. This is because nonhumans did not possess a level of cognition, intelligence and emotion on par with human earthlings. St. Thomas Aquinas shared Aristotle's views of the

superiority of human earthlings over nonhuman earthlings (Francione, 1995; Preece, 2008). Aquinas established a moral hierarchy of human earthlings over nonhuman earthlings. Aquinas proclaimed human earthlings were superior in terms of rational thinking and that nonhuman earthlings were not (Francione, 1995). Rene Descartes supported this view by declaring nonhuman earthlings lack consciousness due to their inability to use language (Francione; Regan, 1982). Furthermore, Aquinas believed any kindness expressed towards nonhumans was for the betterment and consideration of other humans. The expression of kindness towards nonhumans for the betterment of humans is regarded as an 'indirect duty' (Regan, 1982). The 'indirect duties' perspective holds that humans have no moral obligations towards nonhuman earthlings and that any kindness expressed towards nonhuman earthlings is born out of charity. The indirect duties views were shared by Immanuel Kant and John Locke. Immanuel Kant stated that human earthlings have inherent moral worth and are not to be treated as a means to an end. In contrast, repeating Descartes' position that nonhuman earthlings lack consciousness, Kant affirmed nonhumans were owed no moral obligations (Regan). Locke witnessed nonhuman earthlings existing in a state of nature that had been provided by God to serve humans. For Locke, this raised the question of how humans could lay claim to nonhuman earthlings without resulting in chaos where every individual claimed monopoly rights over nature. Locke's solution was to transform nonhuman earthlings into private property in which individuals would combine their labour with that of nonhumans. This meant that any activity that removes nonhumans from their natural state within nature, such as hunting, is sufficient to deem nonhumans as private property. Both Locke and Kant accepted that cruelty to nonhuman earthlings leads to cruelty towards humans. It is for this reason that Locke and Kant objected to the selection of slaughterhouse workers for jury service. They believed the hardened

attitudes of slaughterhouse workers made them indifferent to the suffering of human earthlings and would lead to the acquittal of murderers (Francione; Wells).

Objections have been raised over the justifications for the commodification and economic frame that is underpinned by speciesism. Adams (2010) notes in cases where anthropomorphism is accepted, that is when nonhumans are said to possess cognition, intelligence and emotion, nonhumans are still denied inclusion within the moral community. There is an inconsistency when applying this logic to the sphere of human activity. In the case of humans, not everyone is capable of the same feats, but this does not mean that individuals will be denied basic rights. For example, school children are not given or denied water depending on their height or scholarly achievements.

The commodification and economic frame, underpinned by speciesism and a prejudicial interpretation of anthropomorphism has culminated in five uses of nonhuman earthlings. These five categories of uses are pet ownership, entertainment, vivisection, clothing and food (Francione & Charlton, 2013; Francione, 1995; 2008; 1996). How nonhumans are perceived within zoos differs from how nonhumans are perceived when raised as food, but they all share the idea that nonhuman earthlings are lesser than human earthlings, and thus entitle human earthling to use nonhuman earthlings as a means to an end. The end being economic profit generated by zoos and industrial animal agriculture. Zoos transform nonhuman earthlings into commodities when they are taken from their natural habitats into 'live exhibits' for public display (Dunayer, 2001). Nonhuman earthlings bred by the animal industrial conglomerates undergo a similar transformation into objects as they are referred to as *stock*, *inventory*, or *units of production*. Stibble (2001) argues that language is used to hide the true realities of factory farming, that the type of language used within the commodity and economic frame is an implicit reassertion and maintenance of speciesism . The language used is not only symptomatic of ideological power directed against nonhuman

earthlings. It is also directed against human earthlings who oppose the ideology of industry stakeholders. This has resulted in the unity of agribusiness stakeholders who wish to preserve the status quo of factory farming.

This preservation led to frames which ridicule opponents of factory farms. The ridicule is conveyed by inflammatory language. For example, when responding to opposition against factory farms, individuals or stakeholders concerned for nonhuman animals are labelled as "...irrational or emotional..." (Francione, 1995, p. 178). Advocates of nonhuman earthlings are declared to be "...backward or even deviant..." (Fitzgerald, 2015, p. 109). This type of pejorative labelling has resulted in advocates of nonhuman earthlings falling under the gaze of the criminal justice system. In explaining the defence of the commodification and economic frame, Cooke (2013) and Sorenson (2003) note there has been a tendency to conflate concern for nonhuman earthlings with terrorism. Concerned individuals are labelled "...radicals, extremists, terrorists" (Sorenson, p. 377). Such labels are "...often applied by governments seeking to marginalize or delegitimise disfavored groups..." (Simon, 2013, p. 44). As a result, "Actual violence of animal exploitation is ignored while actions to rescue animals are portrayed as terrorism (Sorenson, 2009, p. 252). To strengthen the legitimacy of the factory farming industry, individuals who are complicit in the exploitation of nonhuman animals reference themselves as the defenders of nonhuman earthlings (Cook, 2015). The self-representation by animal agriculture stakeholders as the defender of nonhuman interests extends into the realm of politics. Stakeholders reference themselves as believers of "Limited Government, Free Markets, Federalism" (Simon, p. 41) while lobbying for protectionist policies.

## Traditional Welfare Frame

Factory farming stakeholders are forced to balance their interests in generating a profit against the public's concern for nonhuman earthlings. This balancing act requires framing factory farming as beneficial towards animal welfare. The welfare frame is often mistaken for a rights frame. The welfare frames relate to the treatment and suffering of nonhuman earthlings (Singer, 2009). In contrast, a rights frame focuses on the emancipation of nonhuman earthlings (Francione, 2008; Francione, 2000; Francione, 1996; Francione & Charlton, 2013; Francione & Garner, 2010). Just like the commodity/economic frame, the welfare frame is constructed by concepts consistent with "ideological systems" (Lakoff, 2010, p. 72) embraced by stakeholders, in particular, farmers of nonhuman earthlings (Velde, Aarts, & Woerkum, 2002). The ideological system that underlies welfare frames is speciesism, the same ideological system that allows for the commodification of nonhuman earthlings into private property. However, there are limits as to what can be done with private property. For example, motor vehicles are regulated by speed limits when driven on roads. In the case of nonhuman earthlings, and with regards to factory farming, nonhumans may be treated in a manner that is cruel and sanctioned by the institution of factory farming. However, the cruelty inflicted upon nonhuman earthlings must not exceed what is institutionally desired. Nor should cruelty against nonhuman earthlings occur outside of these sanctioned institutions of cruelty, for example, against nonhuman earthlings categorised as pets.

Embedded within the welfare frame is a level of anthropomorphism, or the assigning of human characteristics upon nonhuman earthlings (Steiner, 2005). This level of anthropomorphism leads, for example, the pork industry to base its care of pigs according to what humans think is best for pigs. For example, within factory farms, farrowing crates allow piglets access to their mother's milk. The justification for the use

of farrowing crates is to protect workers and new-born piglets. Sows are protective and will react aggressively to interference with their new-born. Farrowing crates are also said to protect new-born piglets from being crushed (Stafford, 2013). However, the level of care provided does not move pigs from being seen as more than *inventory* (Stribble, 2003). In fact, the traditional welfare frame constitutes a form of “anthropocentrism that prohibits viewing animals as moral subjects” (Leder, 2012, p. 73).

This prohibition results in a hostility towards a rights-based frame. For example, when advocates of a rights-based frame compare factory farms with Nazi concentration camps, respondents often react with taking offence (Horn, 2014). Horn’s analysis of the responses towards a rights-based frame as offensive reveals two crucial points. The outrage is rooted in speciesist ideology which prohibits the direct comparability of nonhuman and human earthlings. Factory farming advocates who utilise a welfare frame denounce rights-based frame as an attack on human rights (Kim, 2011). Firstly, the claim that a rights based frame as an attack on human rights is an attempt to stifle discussion about the institutional exploitation of nonhuman earthlings within factory farms (Swan & McCarthy, 2003). By feigning offence, it is presumed advocates of rights-based frames will abandon their cause. Secondly, the framing of rights-based frame as an attack on human rights reveals the prejudicial views of the factory farm stakeholder. In other words, nonhumans are already regarded as lesser and not worthy of moral consideration. As a consequence, proponents of rights-based frames have indeed adopted elements of the welfare frame. For example, there is a belief that factory farms can be incrementally shut down by legislating for stronger animal welfare laws (Francione, 1996). Doing so has resulted in the co-option of stakeholders who advocate for a rights-based frame by factory farming stakeholders. For example, in the United States of America, PETA (People for The Ethical Treatment of Animals) has partnered

with supermarket chains to promote non-factory farmed flesh as a humane alternative (Torres, 2007). Freeman (2014) notes the co-option is an attempt to re-establish the rights-based frame as more pragmatic and less dogmatic. The outcome has been the diluting of the rights-based frame which now focuses on providing better treatment (Torres) rather than abolishing the cause of nonhuman suffering. As the welfare frame is embraced by factory farms, it is imperative that opposing frames are either suppressed (Parker, Brunswick, & Kotey, 2013) or assimilated.

### New Welfarism Frame

The previous section concluded with the idea that advocates of the rights of nonhuman earthlings utilise the welfare frame. This is symptomatic of what Francione (1996) classifies as the “new welfarism” (p.36). The new welfarist frame promotes the goal of seeking to end the practice of factory farming and all uses of nonhuman earthlings as a means to an end. However, they reject the use of frames promoting rights for nonhuman earthlings. This is because stakeholder groups such as PETA view rights-based frames as “politically unrealistic” (Ganer, 2008, p. 116). Accordingly, stakeholders who promote the new welfarist frame, consider the political system as the only way to achieve success. This is to be achieved by focusing on single issue campaigns such as factory farming and lobbying for incremental change. The new welfare frame promote arbitrary concepts such as humane farming practices, free range eggs and reducing the consumption of factory farmed nonhumans. The justification for new welfarist frame is based on the premise that promoting free range eggs will lead to an increase in price, and thus deter consumers from consuming eggs. However, “consumers are in fact willing to pay marginally more for food that has some kind of animal welfare assurance” (Fitzgerald, 2015, p. 119). This is utilitarianism in action as such policies seek to reduce pain and suffering, not eliminate its cause (Francione, 2000).

Utilitarianism involves assessing the outcomes associated with maintaining factory farming and its outcomes for nonhuman earthlings. With this in mind, there is very little difference between the new welfarist and the traditional welfare frame. However, new welfarism differs to traditional welfarism in their respective goals. Traditional welfarism maintains the speciesist position that it is acceptable to use nonhuman earthlings as commodities. New welfarists are allegedly opposed to speciesism, its position of treating nonhuman earthlings as property, and seeks to end all use of nonhuman earthlings as a means to an end. However, new welfarist frames are inadvertently specieist. It reproduces the unequal social relations between nonhuman earthlings and human earthlings. It is also a violation of a basic right not to be regarded as private property (Francione & Charlton, 2015). For example, in promoting incremental reform, new welfarist frames have resulted in legislation that secures factory farming practices in exchange for a lengthy phase out period (Francione, 2008).

Because new welfarist frames are rooted in the ideology of speciesism this results in the reassertion of the property status of nonhuman earthlings (Francione, 1995). Other criticisms of new welfarist frames include using single issue campaigns such as factory farming to generate charitable donations (Wrenn, 2015). The ideological aspects of the new welfarism frame has resulted in the development of an ideology known as carnism, which "...is the belief system that conditions us to eat certain animals" (Joy, 2011, p. 30). Francione (2012) disputes the existence of carnism, declaring it to be speciesist as it lends ideological support to the new welfare frame which promotes free range eggs. The new welfare frame removes the emphasis on a rights-based approach and aims to satisfy the egos of consumers. Francione claims the real problem is that of moral schizophrenia. Moral schizophrenia is the contradiction between the belief that nonhuman earthlings should not be subjected to pain and suffering (Francione, 2000; 1996) and the belief that nonhuman earthlings are suitable

for food production. Inherent within the frames of traditional and new welfare is the idea that good animal welfare leads to a good finished product. That product is food.

### Food Frame

“The word meat originally simply meant food, excluding drink. Its etymological usage did not exclusively refer to food from animal sources. It is interesting to wonder why in modernity animal foods are not described as *flesh*, *corpse* or *carcass*” (Bohanec & Bohanec, 2013, p. 31). “The term “meat” is itself deceptive.” (Singer, 2009). By using the more general “meat” we avoid facing the fact that what we are eating is really flesh.” (Singer, 2009, pp. 95-96). Croney and Reynnells (2008) highlight how nonhumans who are bred for the purpose of food are no longer deemed as living beings. They are simply food. The food frame is demonstrated by Smith (2010), who exemplifies the ‘living being to food’ rational, claims the benefit of factory farming is a cheap source of nutritious food for consumers. “For families struggling to make ends meet, a cheap meal may seem too tough to pass up” (Imhoff, 2010, p. 63). Adams (2010), Glenn (2004) and Dunayer (2001; 2003; 2000) identify the transformation of nonhuman animals into inanimate objects is achieved through euphemistic language (Preece, 2008). Adams conceptualises the rendering of nonhuman earthlings into inanimate objects such as *meat* as the “absent referent” (p.13). The absent referent results in a pig no longer being a pig, but *pork*. It is alleged that consumers are more comfortable knowing they eat *pork*, *ham* or *bacon* rather than pigs. Glenn states that “We recognize that such euphemisms are employed mainly for marketing purposes, and for the most part, we accept the practice without necessarily questioning its ethics” (p. 69). Dunayer claims language is used to dichotomise nonhumans and humans. Nonhumans are deemed irrational while humans are deemed rational. The establishment of this dichotomy justifies the use of nonhuman animals as food as beneficial for their

(nonhumans) own good. Hence why certain phrases such as “happy cow” (Glenn, p. 67) are used by agribusiness stakeholders to mislead the public. Terms such as *happy meat* are not only anthropocentric but also oxymoronic. As a euphemism, *meat* replaces flesh, and once flesh is removed from the being it belonged to, it becomes an inanimate object. The object itself is prescribed the human emotion of *happy*, however, this begs the question as to how an inanimate object could possibly be happy (Cole, 2011; Dunayer; Mitchell, 2013). It is concluded that such linguistic strategies are invented to placate feelings of discontent (Francione, 1996; Torres, 2007; Torres & Torres, 2010). This is because negative feelings could destabilise the collective internalisations over the role nonhuman earthlings serve for humans. Steiner (2005) notes the irony of nonhuman earthling agribusiness stakeholders applying human earthling characteristics to nonhuman earthlings. Normally it is advocates of nonhuman earthlings who are discredited for applying human characteristic to nonhuman earthlings (Rollin, 1989). Even when there is a concern about the quality of food, flesh that is tainted is still referred by its absent referent term. This is because, according to Schlosser (2001), “There is shit in the meat” (p.197). Schlosser’s expression delves into the health frame of consuming anything that comes from factory farming.

### Health Frame

The creation of factory farms has exacerbated the health costs associated with the consumption of nonhuman earthling flesh. Nonhuman earthling flesh sourced from factory farms are “...breeding grounds for diseases and pathogens” “...such as E.coli and Salmonella...” (Imhoff, 2010, p. 69) which have dire consequences for public health. Garner states “...the food produced from factory farms is generally of a lower quality...and is associated with human health problems”. However, the factory farming industry not only compels the public to consume more but also frames the flesh

produced as being healthy (Imhoff, 2010). Freeman (2010) notes the health frame overlaps with the environmental frame as environmental damage caused by factory farming leads to health issues for human earthlings. However, this not interpreted to suggest that flesh obtained from nonhuman earthlings who are raised outside of factory farms are any better.

### Environmental Frame

Factory farming “...is a leading cause of every significant form of environmental damage: air and water pollution, biodiversity loss, erosion, deforestation, greenhouse gas emission, and depletion of fresh water” (Joy, 2011, p. 85). Despite being the leading cause of greenhouse gases, environmental frames ignore that ending the use of nonhumans as food is a significant solution (Goodland & Anhang, 2009). Furthermore, “...an analysis of animal advocacy organisations, environmental organizations, meat industry stakeholders groups, governmental agencies, and newspapers in the United States and Canada reveals that discourses acknowledging the link between animal agriculture and global climate change have not increased” (Fitzgerald, 2015, p. 104). Some still question the link between factory farming and climate change (Whitley & Kalof, 2014). Hence, environmental frames favour solutions based on “...sustainable agriculture as the best alternative to conventional agriculture...” (Pilgeram & Meeuf, 2015, p. 101), while the use of “...animals in the industrial food system” is pushed into the background (p.108). Instead, the type of frames produced place an emphasis on promoting sustainable farming solutions such as the farming of free range nonhuman animals. Adams (1997) claims that such a response is designed to “Improve the meat supply, rather than stop eating meat” (p.28) and that it is “...a confluence of social enterprises with various interests and political agendas...” “....that support meat production and consumption” (p. 28).

## Summary

The literature review identified factory farming as an institution much like that of prisons and schools. It is within the institution of factory farming that nonhuman earthlings are subjected to observation and inspection. Beyond the Foucauldian analysis, there are several frames associated with factory farming. They are economic, welfare, new welfare, food, health, and environmental. The frames used in regards to factory farming are constructed using language associated with the ideology of speciesism. The available literature focused primarily on factory farming overseas. The literature review was unable to locate research on the framing of factory farming in New Zealand. That is why the current study aims to close this research gap.

## Chapter 3: Research Design, Methodology & Method

### Research Design

According to Letherby (2006), “Traditional research processes have been criticized for their objectification of respondents. One response has been to argue for an emancipatory process: one which recognises this power imbalance in research and aims to empower respondents through research” (p. 139). The research undertaken here does not involve research participants, but it does apply the same theory consistent with an advocacy and participatory worldview.

*An advocacy/participatory worldview holds that research inquiry needs to be intertwined with politics and a political agenda. Thus, the research contains an action agenda for reform that may change the lives of the participants, the institutions in which individuals work or live, and the researcher’s life. Moreover, specific issues need to be addressed that speak to important social issues of the day, issues such as empowerment, inequality, oppression, domination, suppression, and alienation. The researcher often begins with one of these issues as the focal point of the study. (Creswell, 2014, p. 5)*

The researcher accepts that current knowledge is ideologically influenced and is presented as pragmatic and objective (Goldberg, 2012). That is why the researcher approaches the study from a worldview that challenges current ideological beliefs which are held to be true under the guise of objectivity. Furthermore, it is posited that the current ideological system maintained as the absolute truth is false. This does not suggest the researcher subscribes to a theory of moral relativism. Rather it approaches

the study from a worldview that subscribes to universal truths that are absolute and not false. For example, the subordination of one group to benefit another has existed in multiple forms. The most prominent example is slavery. The institution of slavery was rationalised as natural for those who benefited from such a social arrangement (Adams, 1997). Defenders of slavery utilised arguments pertaining to rights or culture (Francione & Charlton, 2013). The researcher rejects such arguments as they seek to maintain inequitable social relations under the false premise of rights, fairness and justice. The researcher states that such a social relation is universally immoral.

## Methodology

Berger and Luckmann (1966) state, “man is capable of forgetting his own authorship of the human world...” (p.106) thus accepting social phenomena without question. This acceptance lends legitimacy to practices entrenched within institutions (Hook, 2010). Fairclough (2001) states discourse constitutes “...a form of social practice” (p. 18). Social practice can refer to a field of activity that operates according to its own rules (Jørgensen & Phillips, 2002). For example, the way in which police officers conduct interviews with witnesses is discourse. The analysis of this discourse, or the way in which police officers conduct interviews will reveal how the discourse is structured in terms of power relations (Fairclough). Discourse analysis can, therefore “...be used to explore many different social domains in many different types of studies” (Jørgensen & Phillips, p. 1). Beneath the institutional practices lies power relations which ideology gives rise to. The methodology that is discourse analysis has been used to uncover power relations and the ideological influences embedded within discourse.

## Research Question

How is factory farming framed in New Zealand within text-based public discourse produced by industry stakeholders and the animal welfare volunteer sector?

## Method

The goal of this study is to identify how factory farming is framed in New Zealand within the text-based public discourse produced by industry stakeholders and the animal welfare volunteer sector. For this purpose, the study utilises frame analysis as exemplified by Harding (2006). This method is appropriate as it allows for the exposition of “key assumptions underlying dominant discourse” (Harding, p. 207). To identify and analyse frames, the researcher must read each publication/text related to the topic of study. While reading the publication/text, attention should be paid to “...keywords, metaphors, concepts symbols and visual images...” (Entman, 1991, p. 7). “Certain words and images are used repeatedly and together, thereby rendered more salient in the texts; they evoke ideas typically associated with a particular kind of public discourse” (Entman, p. 11). For example, the literature review has revealed the commodity/economic frame signifies nonhuman earthlings as private property or units of economic production. When reading the publications/text, the researcher should highlight terms relative to the field of economics, such as ‘production’ or ‘profit’. In this instance, it can be said the publication/text utilises a commodity/economic frame. Appendix C provides step-by-step instructions for detecting frames.

## Chapter 4: Findings

Stakeholders were selected on criteria established by Freeman (2014).

Freeman's criteria allow a wide range of stakeholders to be included in the study while limiting the number of included stakeholders to a level manageable for a Master's thesis. The criteria for selection included the following: Promotion "...of food-related advocacy pieces aimed at the public, and a national or international presence in scope" (Freeman, p. 104) and promotion of nonhuman animal welfare.

Based on the above criteria, the following stakeholders were identified. The Royal New Zealand Society for the Prevention of Cruelty to Animals (RNZSPCA), Ministry of Primary Industries (MPI), Save Animals From Exploitation (SAFE), Egg Producers Federation of New Zealand (EPFNZ), Poultry Industry Association New Zealand, New Zealand Pork Industry Board (NZPIB), World Animal Protection New Zealand (WAPNZ), Farmwatch and the New Zealand Vegan Society.

Publications were obtained directly from identified selected stakeholders. This involved ordering print resources from stakeholders as well as printing available texts from stakeholder websites. Only information on factory farming was collected. Publications not relevant to factory farming of pigs and chickens in New Zealand or selected stakeholders were discarded. Publications consisted of "commercial or organisational documents and mass media outputs" (Walliman, 2010, p. 82) produced by stakeholders. This encompasses stakeholder press releases, policy documents, magazines, website literature.

As part of the process to locate stakeholder publications relevant to factory farming, Index New Zealand (INNZ) and Newztext databases were used to locate citations of publications produced by New Zealand stakeholders. The following search

terms were entered into each database: *Factory farming, pigs, chickens, SPCA, Save Animals from Exploitation, Egg Producers Federation New Zealand, New Zealand Pork, World Animal Protection New Zealand, battery cages, sow stalls, gestation, farrowing crates, meat chickens, broiler chickens, Farmwatch*. Specific Keywords were used as certain stakeholders do not use the term *factory farming*. The citations obtained from INNZ were entered into the AUT library catalogue to retrieve the relevant publications. However, INNZ and Newztext were not relied upon to retrieve publications.

The findings are based on the frame analysis of publications produced by the selected stakeholders. A total of 228 publications were analysed. The listing of each frame analysis of stakeholder publications is categorised according to their membership of industry stakeholders or animal welfare volunteer sector. Industry stakeholders are listed in the following order; MPI, NZ Pork, PIANZ and EPFNZ. The animal welfare volunteer sector is listed in the following order; SPCA, SAFE, VSANZ Farmwatch, WAPNZ. Stakeholders were separated based on whether they supported or opposed factory farming.

The analysis of stakeholder publications is preceded by a description of the stakeholder, which is followed by the frames used by the stakeholder. The chosen date range for the collection of publications produced by stakeholders is 2000 – 2015. There are two reasons for the selected date range. Firstly, the Animal Welfare Act 1999 came into force on 1<sup>st</sup> January 2000. By the year 2000, all of the identified stakeholders were established and were producing publications related to factory farming. Secondly, a specified date range ensures consistency across all stakeholders because not all stakeholders have been established at the same time. Without a specified date range, publications from one stakeholder may exceed what has been produced by another stakeholder, thus biasing the data collection.

According to Standing (2016), "...statistics orient public debate and policy thinking" (p.181). While the current study does not test any hypothesis, quantitative data does provide insight as to which frames are dominant for a particular stakeholder and across the selected time period (Tables 1, 2 & 3).

**Table 1**

*Frame used by animal welfare sector*

Frame	%
Commodity/Economic	49
Food	10
Traditional Welfare	41
New Welfare	0
Health	0
Environmental	0

**Table 2**

*Frame used by industry stakeholder*

Frame	%
Commodity/Economic	34
Food	42
Traditional Welfare	14
New Welfare	0
Health	5
Environmental	4

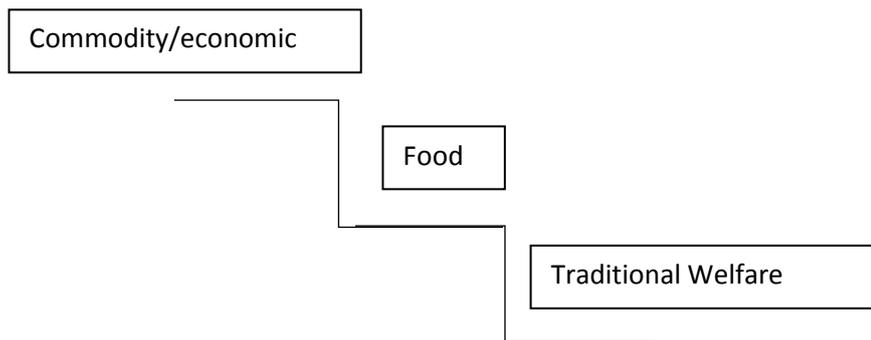
**Table 3**

*Overall frame count*

Frame	%
Commodity/Economic	39
Food	37
Traditional Welfare	21
New Welfare	0
Health	0
Environmental	3

The analysis revealed a step ladder pattern, which shows the commodity/economic frame serves as a foundation for the two subsequent frames of food and traditional welfare frame.

Figure 1: Frame step ladder pattern.



The stepladder pattern demonstrates a dependent relationship between the different frames. There can be no food frame without reference to a broader commodity frame and no traditional welfare frame without reference to the food frame. The ordering of the frames within the findings section follows the pattern in the above illustration. The analysis of the commodity/economic frame will be presented first. This will be followed by the food and traditional welfare frame. There are three alternative frames which were used infrequently. They are the environmental, health and new welfare frame. The previously mentioned frames have been excluded from the step ladder pattern as demonstrated above. This is due to their low frequency of appearance across industry stakeholder and animal welfare sector publications.

## **Frame analysis of MPI publications**

The Ministry of Primary Industries (MPI) is a government regulatory agency. It is a combination of the Ministry of Agriculture and Forestry, Ministry of Fisheries and Food Safety Authority. MPI enforces various acts legislated by the New Zealand Parliament. Much of the legislation is related to food safety, border security. The relevant Act for the purpose of this thesis is the Animal Welfare Act 1999. (Ministry of Primary Industries, 2016). The frame analysis of 39 MPI publications produced between 2000 and 2015 revealed the use of five frames: Commodity/economic, food, traditional welfare, environmental and human health.

### **Commodity/economic frame**

The commodity/economic frame is represented by the terms “owners of pigs”, “production system”, “stockmanship” and “stock person” (Ministry for Primary Industries, 2010, p. 3). Each term signifies the commodity status of nonhuman earthlings. The use of Production system symbolises the nature of the commodified layer hen or pregnant pig. Layer hens are transformed into egg-producing machines. Pregnant pigs become breeding machines for piglets. In the case of broiler chickens or chickens raised for their flesh, the bodies of said chickens are production systems. Inputs such as grains are fed to broiler chickens to help attain slaughter weight. The output is the flesh taken from the broiler chicken. The commodity/economic excludes the concept that nonhuman earthlings are sentient beings. All ideas within the commodity/economic frame are designed to reassert the belief that nonhuman earthlings are inanimate objects to be used as a resource (Francione, 1995). Overall the commodity/economic frame lays the foundation for a specific use of nonhuman animals. In the case of factory farming, which the MPI is authorised to regulate, nonhuman earthlings are used as a food resource.

## **Food Frame**

The commodity/economic frame establishes that nonhuman earthlings can be used as a resource. The food frame designates a specific use of nonhuman earthlings, and that use is that of food. The food frame was exemplified on the front cover of the MPI's Animal Welfare (Meat Chickens) Code of Welfare 2012 publication. The word *meat* is used to reference the flesh of dead nonhuman animals sold within retail outlets. However, *meat* itself is a euphemism. The Online Etymology Dictionary (2016) indicates *meat* is derived from Old English and Germanic, and that *meat* simply referred to food. The label meat chickens repeat the historical origins but also reinforces the belief that nonhuman animals can be used specifically for food. Another aspect of the food frame is that it acts an intermediary between the commodity/economic and traditional welfare frame.

## **Traditional welfare frame**

The food frame asserts nonhuman earthlings are a credible source of food. However, the existence of the New Zealand Animal Welfare Act 1999 indicates that any use of nonhuman earthlings as food should be tempered by consideration for the nonhuman earthlings. This means that to consider the welfare of nonhuman animals who are used as food is to ensure their existence does not result in unnecessary pain and suffering. The desire to reduce pain and suffering is demonstrated by the traditional welfare frame. Within the traditional welfare frame, concepts such as humane are prevalent. To be humane is not an end in itself. It is a means to an end. For example, The claim "Good stockmanship is the most important determinant of good animal welfare" (Ministry for Primary Industries, p. 5) conveys more than it reveals. Firstly, the claim raises the question of why the welfare of nonhuman animals commodified for the purpose of food is of any consideration. The answer can be found with the

commodity/economic and food frame. Because nonhuman earthlings are utilised for a specific purpose, that purpose being food, it is imperative that nonhuman earthlings provide a profitable return. The traditional welfare frame in this regard conveys the idea of caring for nonhuman earthlings as an indirect duty. The care provided to nonhuman earthlings is that not for the sake of nonhuman earthlings, but rather the financial interests of the stakeholder. For example, references are made to the nutritional needs of hens.

*Food and water are essential for maintaining good layer hen welfare. Nutrient composition, feed availability, quality of feed, absence of contaminants in the feed and water, and access to the feeders and drinkers are all important features of any management system (Ministry for Primary Industries, p. 9)*

In the above example, food and water are the two variables required for achieving hen welfare. The goal of feeding layer hens is not for the sake of hens themselves, but for the sake of securing profits. Poorly kept hens who have not eaten will produce fewer eggs and diminish the stakeholder's profits (Davis, 2009). The commodity/economic and the welfare frame are used in a manner that protects the retail value of nonhuman earthlings but also focuses on reducing costs to factory farm operators. This is because it is deemed a "sunk cost" (Kishtainy, 2014, p. 154) to feed a nonhuman who is unable to be sold. That is why the welfare frame was also applied to the killing of nonhuman animals within factory farms. The MPI concept of *humane destruction* (p.31) outlined below provides examples of how nonhuman earthlings are to be killed. Methods of humane destruction involve:

- (i) *Electrical stunning followed by neck dislocation and exsanguination*
- (ii) *Neck dislocation alone*
- (iii) *Gas using a mixture of inert gases and/or carbon dioxide*
- (iv) *Immediate fragmentation/maceration for unhatched eggs and day-old chicks*

The above extract contains euphemisms describing the process of killing nonhuman earthlings within factory farms. For example, instead of slitting a layer hen's throat to let the blood drain out, the less well-known term of *exsanguination* is used. If the phrase *slitting a nonhuman's throat to let the blood drain out* was applied, then it would arouse conflict within the reader's mind as to whether such a practice is *humane* and can be reconciled with the concept of *animal welfare*. The act of suffocation is also provided with a euphemism. The process of suffocating hens until they are dead is explained in detail.

*When using gas, the procedure must ensure the collapse of every hen with 35 seconds of exposure to the gas. Layer hens must remain in the gas for at least a further two minutes following the collapse and be inspected to ensure that they are dead upon removal from the gas. (Ministry for Primary Industries, p. 31)*

Use of collapse instead of loses consciousness hides the fact nonhuman earthlings are conscious beings, and by extension, sentient (Francione, 2000). This is also an attempt to exclude a concept that undermines the commodity/economic frame. The answer to the question of whether nonhuman earthlings are conscious or sentient has been the determining factor of their commodification. The philosopher Renee Descartes asserted that nonhuman earthlings lacked consciousness and are insentient (Regan, 1982). Descartes reasoning has served as the basis for commodification. However, in order to placate those who were not convinced of Descartes belief, the traditional welfare frame was developed to ease protests (Francione & Charlton, 2013; Francione & Garner, 2010). The implicit denial of consciousness and sentience is carried further by using the phrase *humanely destroyed*. It is important to examine the concept of *humane*. According to Bohanec and Bohanec (2013), "...humane is commonly defined as being characterised by tenderness, compassion and sympathy for people and animals, especially for the suffering or distressed". However, the use of

nonhuman earthlings as a resource is incompatible with the concept of humane. As a comparison, Francione (1995) highlights the practice of slavery being subjected to regulations requiring the humane use of slaves. Francione continues by stating that humane slavery would not be accepted today as the practice of slavery is regarded as immoral. This discrepancy is evident in the following extract which calls for layer hens to be humanely destroyed

*Layer hens should be humanely destroyed using a mixture of inert gases with a lower concentration of carbon dioxide (i.e up to 30%) to produce an atmosphere with less than 2% oxygen by volume (Ministry for Primary Industries, p. 32)*

The term *humanely destroyed* is a euphemism, one that is important to the traditional welfare frame. In terms of welfare, death is presented as quick and painless for nonhuman earthlings. Destroyed is used in place of killed. The combining of 'humanely' and 'destroyed' signifies pairing of the commodity/economic and traditional welfare frame. This is because inanimate objects are destroyed while living beings are killed. In one instance, the commodity status of nonhuman earthlings is reaffirmed as an inanimate object. At the same time, any claim that a nonhuman earthling is considered sentient and should not die is suppressed by a concept designed to humanise death. The traditional welfare frame also differs in configuration based on the nonhuman earthling that is being farmed. Under the welfare frame, the killing of hens is described by the use of euphemistic language. However, the same euphemisms do not apply to pigs within factory farms.

*(a) When pigs have to be killed it must be done by persons competent in the handling and killing of pigs and death must be confirmed by inspection of the animal.*

*(b) When a pig needs to be killed it must be handled, restrained and killed in such a manner as to minimise unnecessary pain and distress prior to death.*

*(c) Pigs must be rapidly rendered insensible and remain in that state, until death.*

*(d) Animals rendered insensible by a blow or shot to the brain must be bled out immediately to ensure death occurs before recovery from stunning (Ministry for Primary Industries, 2010, p. 31).*

In comparisons to the killing of hens, factory farmed pigs do not warrant humane destruction. Instead, killed is used repeatedly in relation to pigs.

Exsanguination is applied to the slitting of a chicken's throat, but pigs "...must be bled out immediately..." (Ministry for Primary Industries, 2010, p. 31). This can only involve the slitting of a pig's throat. The pigs code of welfare provides step by step instructions for killing pigs.

*(i) Use a captive bolt pistol, held against the head at the point of the intersection of a line between each eye and the opposite ear; or*

*(ii) Shooting with a rifle direct at the same site, but held several centimetres away from the head; or*

*(iii) Shooting with a 12-gauge shotgun, loaded with buckshot, directed behind an ear from a distance of 20 centimetres toward the opposite eye (Ministry for Primary Industries, p. 32)*

To reiterate, the killing of pigs as part of the traditional welfare frame is steeped in the idea that death must be quick and painless. The methods of killing pigs within factory farms deemed unproductive is anthropocentric. It is impossible to determine from the nonhuman's perspective the pain they feel. Which is why the desire to offer a quick and painless death is based on human judgement. Unfortunately, such a judgement is not proven to be correct. Undercover investigations into slaughterhouse using similar methods of killing as used by the MPI has shown that nonhuman earthlings are fully conscious during the dismemberment process (Warrick, 2001).

Because factory farms are not designed with the same facilities as slaughterhouses, attempts to kill nonhumans deemed unproductive will cause suffering (Freeman, 2014).

Another example of the traditional welfare frame is the response to undercover video footage provided by activists. The MPI investigated two pig factory farms that were shown on video recordings to violate the 2010 pigs code of welfare. The MPI reported back on its inability to prosecute factory farm operators.

*MPI investigators visited the piggery and found no animal welfare concerns.” The Ministry for Primary Industries did not have sufficient evidence to lay charges following two animal welfare investigations into incidents at piggeries earlier this year (Ministry for Primary Industries (Ministry for Primary Industries , 2014, p. 1).*

The tone of the text seeks to neutralise the video evidence demonstrating the living conditions of pigs inside factory farms. The neutralising tone is further cemented by the claim that veterinarians aided in the assessment. The MPI has pointed out there is no bias from the veterinarians. Their qualifications and status are highlighted by pointing out the veterinarians as experts in pig veterinary science. This is done to discredit the evidence presented in the video footage.

*We completed a thorough investigation of both incidents with the help of independent vets who are experts in pig veterinary science. We did not find evidence to prove animal welfare offending beyond reasonable doubt. “When we find evidence of offending we put those responsible before the courts. The maximum penalties are very significant, five years in prison and a \$100,000 fine for individuals. (Ministry for Primary Industries (p. 2)*

### **Human Health Frame**

The human health frame was demonstrated by a report discussing the risks of a potential swine flu pandemic. The report highlighted the risks of importing pig flesh. The outbreak of foot and mouth disease is used as an example to illustrate the consequences of relaxed importation.

*Feeding of swill has been the cause of many outbreaks of trans-boundary diseases worldwide. The virus causing the outbreak of foot and mouth disease in the United Kingdom in 2001 probably entered the UK livestock population through a poorly managed swill-feeding operation. Outbreaks of classical swine fever in Germany have been related to swill-feeding with meat remnants of infected wild boars. (Biosecurity New Zealand, 2010, p. 5)*

The concern over foot and mouth disease is compared to the risk of importing an unknown virus into New Zealand. The use of the human health frame is based on a genuine concern for human health. Just like the indirect duties owed to nonhuman earthlings under the traditional welfare frame, concern for human health is not taken into consideration for its own sake. Instead, the concern over the risk of importing tainted pig flesh is based on the concern for profits (Adams, 1997). For example, Adams highlights the British government's response to the foot and mouth outbreak. The response instructed citizens to continue eating cow flesh while the impact of the disease was minimised.

### **Frame Analysis of NZ Pork publications**

New Zealand Pork was established by the Pork Industry Board Act 1997. The goals of the stakeholder are to ensure a high demand for pig flesh, thus guaranteeing profits. (New Zealand Pork, 2016). Two sets of stakeholder publications were analysed. The first set consisted of 33 media releases produced between 2011 and 2015. The media releases were in response to issues related to the factory farming of pigs. The second set consisted of 23 electronic newsletters titled Pork Outlook produced between 2013 and 2015 were analysed. Pork Outlook provides information to individuals involved in the farming of pigs. Information includes the number of pigs farmed and slaughtered. The following frames were: Commodity/economic, food, traditional welfare, environmental and human health.

## Commodity/economic frame

NZ Pork's use of the commodity/economic frame is exemplified by the term "pig production" (New Zealand Pork, 2014b, p. 1). The placement of 'Pig' which precedes 'production' demonstrates the stakeholder's view of pigs as economic units of production. In this regard, pigs are reduced to inanimate objects (Nibert, 2013). This is because the breeding of pigs for slaughter is an activity directed by the stakeholder in response to consumer demand (Williamson, 2011; Murphy, 2007). The sentiment behind the production of pigs is no different to that of any other commodity, for example, the production of vehicles. If vehicles are in high demand, producers will respond to meet that demand. Another example of the commodity/economic frame was highlighted by the statement regarding pig flesh imports:

*The total volume of pork imported to New Zealand in May 2014 was 3,356t (4,555t CWE) up 8.39 % on last month and up 6% on the same month last year. (NZ Pork, 2014a, p. 1)*

Any trace of pigs as living beings is eliminated. They are deanimalised for quantitative data. Pork is used as a euphemism for pig flesh, deanimalising pigs and commodifying them as food resource (Adams, 2010; Schreiber, Mathews, & Elliott, 2003). This, in turn, leads into the food frame.

## Food Frame

Production involves producing goods and services for consumption. In the case of pigs, it is food. Terms such as *bacon* or *pork* were qualified with the claim of "100% NZ bacon & ham..." (New Zealand Pork, 2014b, p. 3). The origins of the *100% NZ bacon & ham* lie within the economic difficulties faced by NZ Pork. Unlike the factory farming of eggs and chicken flesh, NZ Pork must compete with foreign stakeholders who can sell pig flesh at a lower price (Statistics New Zealand, 2000). To counter the

effects of lower priced imports, NZ Pork has developed a marketing strategy that encourages consumers to purchase pig flesh produced within New Zealand.

*NZPork is focussed on making more summer meals 100% pork meals and from October 21st the 'Make Your Summer Sizzle with 100% New Zealand Pork' campaign will heat up. We will be convincing consumers to add pork to their summer menus, focussing on how to cook pork alongside the variety and great taste pork can bring to any meal. (NZ Pork, 2013b, p. 3)*

The above statement by NZ Pork reasserts pigs as food. This is done by the repeated use of the euphemism *pork*. The use of *pork* is paired with the terms *cook*, *taste*, and *meal*. Combined, the terms illustrate the activity of eating food. The success of this illustration is dependent upon removing any evidence that consumers are eating a nonhuman earthling, which is why pig is replaced with *pork*. The encouragement for consumers to eat *pork* is further stated by NZ Pork's Chairman, Ian Carter.

*Pork is the world leader in animal protein, but only number three in New Zealand. Our target must be first place", Mr Carter said. (Carter, 2012, p. 1)*

The declaration that *pork* is a good source of *protein* is relevant to nutritional intake. To acquire the *protein* consumers must eat the flesh of pigs. As part of the strategy to ensure an increased consumption of *pork*, NZ Pork has promoted its commitment to higher welfare standards.

## **Traditional Welfare Frame**

NZ Pork assures consumers that domestic pig flesh is produced with the highest consideration for the welfare of nonhuman earthlings.

*We pride ourselves on our assurance to the world that we have high standards of animal welfare and even isolated cases of poor animal welfare can have a negative impact on our reputation as a responsible agricultural producer. (NZ Pork, 2013a, p. 2)*

One example of an isolated case of poor *animal* welfare was disclosed by an activist group who documented conditions inside a factory farm. Writing on behalf of NZ Pork, Reed (2014) responds:

*We expect farms to be appropriate for food production, that is, they are hygienic, clean, and well maintained in addition to being confident that animals' basic needs are being met. (p. 1)*

The phrase *food production* emphasizes the status of pigs as commodities and a food resource. The term is also a euphemism for the operations of a factory farm, which is then followed up by the expectations of the environment in which pigs are raised. The ideal conditions of a factory farming are described as hygienic, clean and well maintained. It is implied that such conditions offer a pleasant experience for pigs. The conditions within factory farms are emphasised by the claim animals' basic needs are being met. The empirical evidence regarding the provision of veterinarian care to pigs as part of their basic needs does not validate the statement made. Reports made by former farm hands employed within factory farms have indicated that it is better "...to kill any diseased animals with a blow to the head – the profit margin was considered too low to allow for treatment of individual animals" (Rollin, 2010, p. 6). The descriptions of the conditions within factory farms and the claim that the basic needs of pigs are met

is an example of anthropomorphism. The stakeholder has applied their personal judgement as to what is good and bad for pigs, and what their basic needs are. The stakeholder's anthropomorphism is further expressed by the label of *100% NZ pork*. It implies the pig who are raised for their flesh are New Zealand citizens. The idea of citizenship rights is a social construct reserved for human earthlings. The commodity/economic frame deprives nonhuman earthlings of basic rights and is the reason why their utilisation as food is permitted (Francione, 1995; 2000). The effect of this anthropocentrism is to conform to the consumer's preconceived idea of the role nonhuman earthlings play as food.

### **Human Health Frame**

Outbreaks of swine flu overseas have forced consumers to reconsider their consumption of pig flesh. In a survey undertaken by NZ Pork, "Four in five Kiwi consumers say biosecurity controls on imported pork should not be relaxed." (NZ Pork, 2011b, p. 1). Because of consumer concerns, NZ Pork has outlined the risks that imported pig flesh would have.

*Pork imported to New Zealand from countries with PRRS must currently undergo treatment to deactivate the disease. Under the new proposals, this requirement would be eliminated. This opens the door for transmission of the disease.* (New Zealand Pork, 2011, p. 1)

NZ Pork is concerned about the proposed elimination of disease testing requirements. It is not known what effect a potential outbreak of PRRS (Porcine reproductive and respiratory syndrome virus) would have on the human population. However, NZ Pork's use of the human health frame is not concerned with protecting consumers. NZ Pork has used the human health frame, based on consumer concern, as means to argue for stricter controls on imported foreign pig flesh.

## **Environmental Frame**

The statement “NZ Pork views good environmental stewardship as critical to a successful future for our industry” (NZ Pork, 2013b, p. 1) focuses on ensuring factory farming operations survive. There is no direct concern for the environment. The environment is regarded in the same manner as the nonhuman earthlings within factory farms. It is a commodity or an economic input (Polanyi, 2001). Any consideration for the environment is the result of an indirect duty (Regan, 1982). Just like the application of indirect duties owed to nonhuman earthlings, care afforded to the environment is based on a financial incentive for the stakeholder (Francione, 1995).

## **PIANZ frame analysis**

The Poultry Industry Association of New Zealand (PIANZ) is dedicated to advancing the financial interests of farmers who raise chickens for their flesh. According to the official PIANZ website, “The Poultry Industry Association of New Zealand (PIANZ) represents the interests of more than 99% of poultry meat producers in New Zealand. It ensures that producers meet exacting standards in animal welfare, stockmanship and food safety” (Poultry Industry Association of New Zealand, 2016, p. 1). The analysis of 60 publications drawn from the media archive of the Poultry Industry Association New Zealand revealed the following frames: Commodity/economic, food, traditional welfare, and human health.

## **Commodity/Economic Frame**

PIANZ use of commodity/economic frame ignores the status of chickens as living beings. The extract below demonstrates that any attachment to nature chickens have is erased by specific terms.

*NZFSA Principal Advisor (Risk Management) Judi Lee says the manual sets out recommended minimum standards for meat chicken (broiler) production. (Poultry Industry Association New Zealand, 2007, p. 1)*

Chickens raised for their flesh are referred by their prescribed industrial name. The industrial name is *broiler chickens* or *meat chickens*. Chickens raised for flesh are not *hatched*, they are *produced*. Such terms assist consumers in alienating the product they purchase from the nonhuman earthling from it was obtained.

*PIANZ have addressed every aspect of production including shed construction, visitor restrictions, shed entry, water supply, vermin and wild bird control, harvest and cleanout. (Poultry Industry Association New Zealand, 2007, p. 1)*

The use of the term *harvest* contributes to the separation of chickens from nature. *Harvest* is applicable to the farming of crops, which lack sentience (Francione & Charlton, 2013). To apply *harvest* to the farming of chickens is to equate living beings who are sentient with insentient plants. The separation of chickens from nature and into an inanimate object is central to the commodification of chickens. Because chickens are equated with crops, it becomes easier to categorise them as a food resource.

## **Food Frame**

The food frame was presented visually. This was done by presenting the finished product of factory farming chickens. Several publications from 2006 presented chicken flesh in retail packaging. In one specific publication titled “It’s just common sense!”

(Brooks, *It's Just Common Sense!*, 2006, p. 24), an image of chicken flesh in retail packaging is juxtaposed next to the text. The image of chicken flesh sustains the idea of what society considers to be chicken, which is simply a source of food. Any notion that a chicken was once a living being is erased (Adams, 2010). This is indicative of an approach to separate from the consciousness of consumers about what it is they are consuming.

### **Traditional Welfare Frame**

The use of the traditional welfare frame was used by PIANZ to defend itself from public scrutiny. PIANZ declares it takes the welfare of nonhuman earthlings seriously.

*We understand some people may not like the methods employed to grow our poultry flocks but animal health, animal welfare and wellbeing are given the highest priority by our producers within the systems we use (Poultry Industry Association New Zealand, 2011, p. 1)*

PIANZ needs to ensure that consumers do not question the use and treatment of nonhuman earthlings. That is why traditional welfare frame is used to placate public concerns over the use and treatment of chickens (Bohanec & Bohanec, 2013). The analysis did not uncover the use of *humane* or any other euphemism commonly used by stakeholders such as the RNZSPCA or MPI. The extract above also contains a contradiction. The claim that *...animal welfare and wellbeing are given the highest priority...* does not conform to reality. Chickens raised for food are slaughtered at approximately six weeks (Amey, 2008). Any consideration towards the needs of chickens is to maximise a profitable return for the stakeholder.

*The New Zealand Industry's animal welfare standards are rated among the best in the world and we work closely with MAF and NAWAC to review and develop new or enhanced standards as updated science-based research becomes*

*available. We also regularly review animal welfare practices in our industry.*  
(Poultry Industry Association New Zealand, 2011, p. 1)

PIANZ cites the former Ministry of Agriculture (MAF) and Forestry and National Animal Welfare Advisory Committee (NAWAC). MAF and NAWAC are government institutions, and therefore possess institutional legitimacy. Both organisations are staffed by educated individuals and are seen by the public as reliable experts to be trusted. By citing the above organisations, PIANZ links its factory farming operations with the legitimacy of MAF and NAWAC. This creates an image of respectability and allows PIANZ to share in the legitimacy of both government institutions, thus securing the trust of the public.

### **Human Health Frame**

The content of the publication titled *It's just common sense!* (Brooks, 2006) focuses on the risk of Campylobacter. Campylobacter is a bacterium that infects chickens and can infect humans who consume tainted chicken flesh (Davis, 2009). Placing an image of chicken flesh next to the text is designed to distract the reader who has little interest in food safety. The reasoning behind this claim is that individuals would alert authorities if a dead nonhuman earthling, one that is not culturally acceptable to consume, was sold at a retail store. The fact that certain nonhuman earthlings are deemed culturally acceptable does not change the fact consumers are purchasing a dead nonhuman earthling. Nonetheless, the article itself is written in a manner that would likely appeal to stakeholder representative or an academic. As the subject matter is related to food safety, a set of instructions is provided to the conscious reader to safeguard their health. No recommendation is made to avoid consuming chicken flesh.

*...can put to use following the simple four step rule of Clean, Cook, Chill and Cover.* (Brooks, 2006, p. 1)

Furthermore, providing instructions on food hygiene and tempting the reader with the image of chicken flesh is the result of commodity status of chickens. The health frame is also used to present PIANZ as paternalistic or demonstrating a concern for consumer health. Writing on behalf of PIANZ, Executive Director, Michael Brooks states:

*The other concern for me is that again none of the receivers of this unlicensed product have been prosecuted. Poultry from this operation clearly went to distributors and may well have ended up in shops, restaurants and takeaway bars as well as on the plate at home. (Brooks, 2009, p. 1)*

On initial observation, the desire to have unlicensed flesh recalled demonstrates a concern for human health. This raises the issue of whether unlicensed flesh is worse than licensed flesh. Flesh obtained from licensed *farmers stills* carries the risk of campylobacter (Bohanec & Bohanec, 2013).

## **EPFNZ frame analysis**

A Total of 16 media publications produced by Egg Producers Federation of New Zealand (EPFNZ) was analysed. The following frames were identified:

Commodity/economic, food and traditional welfare.

### **Commodity/Economic Frame**

The Egg Producers Federation of New Zealand (EPFNZ) use of the commodity/economic frame is emphasised by the term *farming*. Farming is traditionally associated with the cultivation of crops (Gorlinski, 2012). The EPFNZ use of *farming* is applied to hens who lay eggs. Doing so neutralises any concerns that arise from using hens as a resource. This occurs by using a term synonymous with the cultivation of crops which connects one sentient subject, in this instance hens, with that of an insentient subject, crops (Francione, 2000; Francione & Charlton, 2013). Furthermore, farming is a capitalist enterprise that is subject to demand and supply (Williamson, 2011). However, it should be noted that alternatives to capitalism, such as socialism also utilise the commodity/economic frame (Szybel, 1997). Therefore, the way in which hens are spoken of will consist of terms used within the field of economics. This is the purpose of the commodity/economic frame, and that is to erase any sign hens as living sentient beings. Such a process is simplified by what Adams (2010) terms as the “absent referent” (p. 66).

The status of hens as a commodity is the result of a hierarchy which nonhuman earthlings are graded upon (Steiner, 2011). Within New Zealand, cats and dogs are elevated above all other nonhuman animals. This is evident by local protests over the killing of cats and dogs in China for food (AP, 2016). One explanation for this discrepancy is the physical distancing between consumers and the hens which lay the

eggs (Fitzgerald, 2015). Human earthlings in New Zealand prefer the companionship of cats and dogs in preference to other nonhuman earthlings (Potts & White, 2007). It is important to note that cats and dogs are also commodities, and their preferential treatment over hens is the result of anthropomorphic cultural attitudes held by human earthlings. Dogs and cats are arbitrarily assigned a higher level of emotional capacity by human earthlings (Adams, 2010; Francione & Charlton, 2013; Torres, 2007). However, the same level of emotional reciprocity, albeit anthropomorphic in origin, can be shared between human earthlings and nonhuman earthlings such as pigs and chickens (Bohanec & Bohanec, 2013). There has been an increase in the ownership of hens as pets in New Zealand (Willis, 2012). This ownership is dependent on the hens providing eggs for their owners. Nevertheless, the commodity status of layer hens is distinct in comparison to that of cats and dogs. This distinction is highlighted by claims of individuals failing to seek legal reparation for the loss of their cat or dog. Such legal action is taken under the premise that nonhuman earthlings such as cats and dogs have legal rights. They do not (Francione, 1995; Francione & Garner, 2010).

Michael Guthrie of the EPFNZ (2015) demonstrates further how the commodity status of chickens is expressed within commodity/economic frame. The expression "...layer hen farming systems" (Guthrie, p. 1) excludes the notion that hens are sentient beings. Hens become an input into a production system with the outputs being eggs. Guthrie does not use factory farming in regards to egg laying hens. Instead, he uses a term that distances the reality of factory farming from the stakeholder. This distancing is similar to the distancing of consumers from factory farms. An urbanised population is separated from the facilities which produce food for human earthlings (Fitzgerald, 2015).

Another example of the commodity/economic appears in the press release titled *EPF support conviction of John Garnett* (Egg Producers Federation of New Zealand, 2014). The press release praises the conviction of John Garnett. Garnett misled the public over the sales of free range eggs. Eggs which had been obtained from hens living in battery cages had been marketed as free range.

*The Egg Producers Federation, which represents free-range, barn, colony and conventional cage farmers in New Zealand, has welcomed the sentencing of former Whangarei egg farmer John Garnett who duped consumers by falsely labelling and selling-cage-raised eggs as free range. Free-range eggs command a significantly higher premium because of their significantly higher cost of production* (Egg Producers Federation of New Zealand, 2014, p. 1)

Free range eggs also denote a less cruel method of using chickens as a resource. A survey by Potts and White (2007) revealed that consumers believe keeping hens inside battery cages is cruel. That is why free range eggs are marketed towards consumers who are aware of the suffering of hens in factory farms (Bohanec & Bohanec, 2013). However, there is an industry fear that a complete switch to *free-range egg* farming will increase costs for producers and thus decrease spending by consumers. EPFNZ stresses that *free-range eggs* are dearer compared to eggs produced within battery cages. “Free-range eggs command a significantly higher premium because of their significantly higher cost of production” (Egg Producers Federation of New Zealand, p. 1). Evidence indicates the claim of high production costs deterring the consumption of eggs is inaccurate. For example, Austria replaced battery cages with colony cages but experienced an increase in consumption of eggs. The increased consumption is attributed to inelasticity of egg prices and the greater number of eggs produced by hens. An increase in the supply of eggs will reduce prices which will increase consumption (Francione & Garner, 2010).

## **Food frame**

Frame analysis has revealed there is no alternative term used by EPFNZ to reference eggs. Unlike the terms pork and bacon, eggs are designated as eggs. Unlike the chickens that are used as food, eggs are inanimate objects and insentient. Eggs are simply unfertilized sex cells produced by hens. They “...are periodically shed from...” from a hen’s body, just “...the same as in other vertebrate females (Davis, 2009, p. 29). There is a basic understanding that eggs have the potential to become chickens and that eggs are property of hens. By knowing this information, a minority of individuals have chosen to avoid consuming eggs. (Potts & White, 2007). However, EPFNZ reports 226 eggs are consumed by one individual annually in New Zealand. (Egg Producers Federation of New Zealand, 2016a). Because there is an acceptance by the majority to consume chicken eggs, there is no need for EPFNZ to apply an alternative name. This is because it would be counterproductive for the EPFNZ utilise an alternative name, one that is reflective of the true nature of eggs.

## **Traditional Welfare Frame**

Welfare concerns for layer hens are rooted in their status as commodities. It is the eggs which generate a profit for the stakeholder. That is why welfare consideration for hens are established on the basis of income. In a consumer survey commissioned by EPFNZ, it was discovered that costs influence consumer’s decision about what type of eggs they purchase. Choices involve battery caged, and colony caged eggs.

*Some people who currently “reject cage eggs” do not reject Enriched Colony eggs. (Egg Producers Federation of New Zealand, 2010, p. 1)*

Consumers are aware of the cruelty experienced by layer hens confined to battery cages (Bohanec & Bohanec, 2013). This awareness is the rationale behind the

decision to boycott eggs that have come from battery cages (Potts & White, 2007).

Stakeholders such as EPFNZ, according to Bohanec and Bohanec, "...know that if the public becomes aware of the misery farmed animals endure, consumers will start to ask questions, and seek alternatives..." (p. xxix). EPFNZ have responded by increasing the size of and renaming cages. The term *enriched colony* has replaced *battery cage*.

*Enriched colony* conveys a sentiment that is less cruel. It suggests that the needs of layer hens will be met. It also assures consumers that layer hens are not subjected to unnecessary suffering.

### **Frame analysis of SPCA publications**

The first anti-cruelty laws date back to back to the 17th century. The colony of Massachusetts established laws protecting domesticated nonhuman animals from cruelty in 1641. By 1822 cruelty towards nonhuman animals was an offence under the common law in the state of New York (Francione, 1996). In the same year, the first anti-cruelty laws were passed in the United Kingdom. The laws were known as the "Ill-Treatment of Cattle Act" (Unti, 1998, p. 241) and "Martin's Act" (Ritvio, 1998, p. 305). The Society for the Prevention of Cruelty to Animals was created the 1824 (SPCA). In 1840 the SPCA became the RSPCA. The RSPCA operated its own private constabulary which enforced anti-cruelty statutes. Following its inception in 1824, the RSPCA expanded into the British colonies.

As New Zealand was a colony of the British Empire, all English laws were enforceable in New Zealand (Wells, 2011). The Protection of Animals Act 1835 was the first anti-cruelty law enforced in New Zealand. The Royal New Zealand Society for the Prevention of Cruelty to Animals (RNZSPCA) was established in 1872 with branches located in Auckland, Wellington, Christchurch and Otago. The first New Zealand made law protecting nonhuman animals was the Cruelty to Animals Act 1878, which was

replaced by Cruelty to Animals Act 1880. The updated statute was replaced by the Police Offences Act 1884. The act granted RNZSPCA inspectors the legal authority to enforce the law (Wells). During the 20th century, numerous acts that were amended, created and repealed. This pattern culminated in the creation of the Animal Welfare Act 1999. The Animal Welfare Act 1999 sets out the criteria for stakeholders seeking enforcement authority. The RNZSPCA is the only Non-Government Organisation (NGO) stakeholder that can enforce the Animal Welfare Act 1999.

Today, the RNZSPCA is a registered charity that operates 45 branches across New Zealand. Clive Pole Smith is the current President and Chair of the National Board for the RNZSPCA (Smith, 2014). The RNZSPCA receives both charitable donations (Smith, 2014) and government funding. Government funding in 2013 amounted to \$300,000 (Ministry of Primary Industries, 2013). RNZSPCA provides services related to the care of neglected nonhuman earthlings, adoption services and prosecuting cases of nonhuman animal cruelty. Other services include fundraising, educational and training programmes. All RNZSPCA services are performed by paid staff and volunteers.

The frame analysis was drawn from the RNZSPCA publication known as *Animals' Voice*. *Animals' Voice* is the official magazine of the RNZSPCA and is published four times per year. The magazine contains articles related to the care of nonhuman animals, advertisements, photographs of companion animals and letters to the editor. The magazine has no specific audience and is directed towards the public.

As the timeframe for the study is 2000-2015, magazines from between 2003-2015 were obtained from the archive service provided by the Auckland City Library. Publications produced between 2000-2002 were unable to be obtained. An attempt was made to obtain the missing publications from the RNZSPCA, however, no response was

received. The analysis revealed the use of the commodity/economic, food and traditional welfare frame

### **Commodity/economic frame**

The RNZSPCA use of the commodity/economic frame asserted the idea that nonhuman earthlings are resources. The advertisement depicting chickens in a field within the summer 2005/2006 edition of *Animals' Voice* demonstrates the commodity/economic frame. The image is headed with the title "Our hens speak for themselves!" (SPCA, 2005, p. 43) and is accompanied by the subtitle "Frenzs 100% Genuine Free Range Eggs" (SPCA, p. 43). The caption "Our hens speak for themselves!" is a hyperbole that conveys an approval of the exploitation of nonhuman earthlings, in this particular case, the exploitation of hens for their eggs. The image conveys the idea the hens are content and agree with their own exploitation. It is the farmers who are directing the message of this supposed self-content exploitation.

### **Food Frame**

The advertisement aligns with the commodity/economic as it transforms egg-laying hens into a commodity. However, the advertisement also establishes the specified use of layer hens, and that is the laying of eggs. The term free range eggs assert that chickens are laying eggs for human earthling consumption. Free range acts as a qualifier for the eggs, but it also differentiates eggs produced by battery caged hens. Qualifying eggs with either free range or caged eggs is an aspect of the traditional welfare frame.

## **Traditional welfare frame**

The summer 2005 -2006 edition of *Animals' Voice* which depicts chickens in an open field also illustrates that pain and suffering present within factory farming systems does not exist in humane farming and free range farming. The concepts of humane farming and free range farming are euphemisms deployed for an intended purpose. The purpose is to demonstrate that it is possible to use nonhuman earthlings that result in the least amount of cruelty. It also reasserts the idea that prohibiting the use of nonhuman earthlings cannot be allowed to enter the frame. It should be noted that *humane farming* and *free-range farming* are designed to placate the audience from feelings of guilt that may arise using nonhuman earthlings as a resource (Williams, 2008). For example, the New Zealand public has been exposed to the conditions prevalent within poultry and egg factory farming operations. This has led to some consumers boycotting eggs obtained from layer hens in battery cages and opting for eggs produced from layer hens not confined to battery cages (Potts & White, 2007). Consumers believe that eggs produced from free range layer hens are less cruel. This belief has been shaped by the RNZSPCA who have used the traditional welfare frame to promote programs such as blue tick accreditation scheme. The blue tick accreditation scheme allows consumers to decide which products obtained from nonhuman earthlings meet legislative welfare standards. The success of the blue tick accreditation scheme is the result of the RNZSPCA having institutional legitimacy. The public view the RNZCPA as the authority on issues related to the welfare of nonhuman earthlings. This, in turn, has led to the public trusting the RNZSPCA. The way in which traditional welfare frame is used does not provide the public with the full picture. In regards to free range farming of eggs, the public believes that allowing hens to roam freely and lay eggs removes any element of cruelty. This belief is shaped by the RNZSPCA suppressing what happens to male chicks and hens who experience a decline in egg layer. Males are unwanted by the

egg industry and are therefore thrown into an industrial grinder or gassed to death.

(Amey, 2008). Hens who are unable to lay enough eggs to meet demand are also killed (Amey). This will involve either gassing or slitting of the hen's throat (Ministry for Primary Industries, 2012).

The traditional welfare has other uses beyond placating audiences. It can also be used to provoke hostile emotions. Writing for *Animals' Voice*, Bob Kerridge highlights the event in which an individual slaughtered his pet dog and ate its flesh. The killing of the dog is described explicitly by Kerridge.

*He made the decision to kill the Staffordshire terrier by hitting it on the head with a hammer before cutting its throat then cooking it in a backyard pit with a view to eating it.* (Kerridge, 2009, p. 32)

No euphemisms are used to describe the killing of the dog. The way in which the dog was killed is comparable to nonhuman earthlings raised for food. Kerridge uses the incident to advocate for the prohibition of consuming dogs and cats. The prohibition does not extend to any other nonhuman earthlings. The reason for this exclusion can be attributed to New Zealand society eating farmed nonhuman animals such as pigs and chickens. It is claimed that domestication of dogs has led to the development of an affectionate bond not demonstrated by any other animal. This claim rests on a great assumption and one that is anthropomorphic.

*Dogs were the first to befriend and domesticated by humans and it is unlikely that any other animal has developed the same affectionate bond with us as that displayed by dogs.* (Kerridge, 2009, p. 32)

The statement from Kerridge above assumes that dogs are capable of the same emotions as humans. It also reiterates the traditional welfare frame as the focus is on treatment and cruelty. The cruel way the dog was killed evokes a strong emotional

response from Kerridge. The traditional welfare frame exists on the premise that any use of nonhuman earthlings for should minimise pain and suffering, not eliminate it. That is why the concept of sentience is omitted from Kerridge's argument. The ability to feel pain is inherent to all nonhuman earthlings (Francione, 2000). The omission of the concept of sentience, which is regarded as the only quality necessary for equal moral consideration for nonhuman earthlings is an attempt to ensure the emotional sentiment offered to dogs is not shared with nonhumans raised for food within factory farms.

### **Frame Analysis of SAFE publications**

Save Animals From Exploitation (SAFE) was established in 1932. It was originally known as the "Auckland Branch of the British Union for the Abolition of Vivisection (BUAV)" (Wells, 2011, p. 184). As more forms of nonhuman animal exploitation expanded, the group became known as "Safe Animals From Experiments" (p.184) in 1978. SAFE underwent another name change in 1987. *Experiments* was replaced with *exploitation*. Today SAFE is a registered charity. SAFE conducts protests, undercover video investigations, political lobbying, collecting signatures for petitions and educating consumers to reduce their consumption of nonhuman earthling *products*. SAFE's goal is to the end the exploitation of all nonhuman earthlings (SAFE, 2016). This goal is to be achieved "by raising awareness, challenging cruel practices, changing attitudes and fostering compassion so that they are no longer exploited or abused by humans" (SAFE, p. 1). The frame analysis consisted of 32 press releases produced by SAFE from 2012 to 2015. The press releases were collected from the archive section of the official SAFE website. Attempts were made to retrieve earlier press releases but this was unsuccessful. The analysis revealed the use of the commodity/economic, food, traditional welfare and environmental frame.

## Commodity/Economic Frame

The commodity/economic frame transforms nonhuman earthlings into inanimate objects that produce a profit. This profit is generated due to the commodity status of nonhuman animals. In the following extract, SAFE openly declares the income generated from the use of animals.

*Out of the \$20 billion earned annually from animal agriculture just a tiny fraction (0.03%) is allocated to animal welfare, risking the integrity of the whole system. This is a true indication of how little value has been placed on animal welfare by successive governments. (SAFE, 2012, p. 1)*

There is no criticism on SAFE's behalf as to why nonhuman animals are regarded as commodities. Instead, there is an acceptance to operate within the commodity/economic frame. SAFE's only criticism pertains to the lack of funding dedicated to the protection of nonhuman animals. This indicates that SAFE approves of nonhuman earthlings existing within a commodity/economic frame. There are instances where SAFE indicates it understands the economic factors attributable to the commodity/economic frame. SAFE's executive director, Hans Kriek states:

*"... proposals to allow practices that breach welfare standards to be carried out indefinitely and for 'economic factors' to be given primary consideration will lead to the continuation of all kinds of cruel factory farming practices"* (SAFE, 2012a, p. 1)

There is a recognition that economic imperatives will triumph over the indirect duties owed to nonhuman earthlings. To clarify, indirect duties are actions targeted towards nonhuman earthlings, but not for the personal benefit of nonhuman earthlings (Regan, 1982). For example, the provision of food and water is not for the sake of the nonhuman earthling. It is to ensure that nonhuman earthlings are well fed so that a greater slaughter weight is attained to maximise profits (Francione, 1995). If indirect

duties take precedence over economic gain for stakeholders, then a diminishing of profits is to be expected. This can occur when stakeholders feed nonhuman earthlings more than what is required. Upon slaughter of the nonhuman earthling, an oversupply of flesh is produced, thus causing prices to fall (Fitzgerald, 2015; Nibert, 2013). However, SAFE's concern over the lack of funding is contradicted by the belief that welfare regulations can be reinforced by using profits generated from nonhuman earthlings used as a resource. The reasoning that nonhuman animals can be protected by increased funding generated from their exploitation is tautological. Any increase in funding for the protection of nonhuman animals is caused by their use as commodities (Francione, 1995). In other words, to protect nonhuman earthlings, as envisioned by SAFE, their exploitation must continue unabated. Increased funding requires that exploitation occurs on a greater scale.

It also ignores the economic factors behind such a circular relationship. Any increase in prices will be passed onto consumers, either at the checkout counter or through tax subsidies (Simon, 2013). It is consumer demand which contributes to the commodification of nonhuman earthlings (Bohanec & Bohanec, 2013; Fitzgerald, 2015; Francione & Charlton, 2013). For example, prior to 2012, Austria prohibited the use of traditional battery cages. It was said the prohibition on traditional battery cages would lead to a price increase and a reduction in the demand for eggs. The empirical data suggests otherwise. According to Francione and Garner (2010), "...overall egg production in Austria was 89,271 tonnes in 2005 and 90,197 tonnes in 2006. (p. 50). The consumption of eggs did not decline, it increased. This is an example of consumer demand for eggs being inelastic. This means an increased price has no effect on consumer demand (Francione & Garner). Switching to larger cages will result in infrastructure costs, resulting in a temporary externality that is offset by an increased supply of eggs to be sold for profit. Furthermore, costs that pose an internalisation risk

to stakeholders will be offset by government subsidies, thus shielding stakeholders from lost profits (Fitzgerald; Simon, 2013; Stigler, 1971).

## **Food Frame**

SAFE use of euphemisms is no different to that of stakeholders such as the NZ Pork. For example, ham and pork are used when referring to the flesh of pigs.

*SAFE call on the public to skip Christmas hams after new, horrific, footage of factory pig farming is released. (SAFE, 2014a, p. 1)*

*That is why we are calling for a New Zealand-wide boycott of all pork. We are calling on consumers to send an immediate message to the pork industry by skipping this year's Christmas ham. (SAFE, p. 1)*

Within the same publication, SAFE calls upon consumers to boycott ham and pork. While ham and pork are two different euphemisms for pig flesh, there is no mention by SAFE if the boycott should include bacon. This raises the question of whether SAFE permits the continued purchasing of bacon. Encouraging consumers to boycott *ham* and *pork* during Christmas indicates the campaign is temporary. Consumers who choose to boycott ham and pork during Christmas can return to their normal consumption habits after Christmas. The publication does not make the connection that *ham* or *pork* is sourced from a sentient being. The application of ideas inherent within the food frame is also applied to chickens.

*...SAFE is very disappointed with the limited scope of the just-released code for chickens raised for meat, referred to as broilers by producers....Chickens bred for their meat are among the worst-treated animals in the food industry... (SAFE, 2012d, p. 1)*

There is a limited understanding by SAFE that chickens are utilised for food. The term *meat* is derived from Old English and Germanic, which referred to food

(Bohanec & Bohanec, 2013; Online Etymology Dictionary, 2016; Singer, 2009).

However, there is still a reluctance by SAFE to state that chickens are bred for their flesh. SAFE continues to substitute flesh for *meat*. Any concern for chickens raised for their flesh is embedded in how chickens are treated. The treatment chickens correspond to the traditional welfare frame.

### **Traditional Welfare Frame**

The term welfare places an emphasis of the cruelty within factory farms and is indicative of the traditional welfare frame. For example, in Secret Colony Battery Cage System Exposed, the living conditions of hens is described as “dark”, “grim” and “cramped” (SAFE, 2012b, p. 1). Such adjectives focus on the treatment of chickens. By highlighting the conditions faced by chickens, SAFE demonstrates that welfare standards are not enforced. The decision to focus on the treatment of chickens within factory farms allows SAFE to critique factory farming stakeholders from a position that was developed by factory farming stakeholders (Simon, 2013; Stigler, 1971). Another example of critiquing factory farming stakeholders from traditional welfare stance is demonstrated below.

*Colony battery cages do not provide the hens with the opportunity to display their normal behaviour as required by the Animal Welfare Act, so why bring in another cruel system that again breaks the law? asks Mr Kriek. (SAFE, 2012e)*

SAFE criticises factory farming stakeholders for not adhering to the Animal Welfare Act 1999. SAFE’s criticism is indicative of accepting that chickens should continue to exist within a commodity/economic frame. Once chickens have become commodified they are utilised as food. This utilisation should be conducted, according to SAFE’s criticisms, in a manner that minimises harm.

## **Environmental Frame**

The environmental frame was used in relation to the proposed construction of a dairy factory farm. While not related to the factory farming of pigs and chickens, and irrespective of the nonhuman earthling farmed, factory farms are problematic for the environment (Joy, 2011; Tudge, 2013).

*It's not right for the animals, it's not right for the environment, and it's not right for New Zealand. If we allow these mega-farms to start up in New Zealand, we are going to lose a precious part of what it means to be a Kiwi. (SAFE, 2014b, p. 1)*

Rather than presenting evidence linking factory farming to the environmental pollution, SAFE bases its argument on a matter of rights. However, much of this rhetoric is an appeal to New Zealand's clean, green image that has become a selling point for overseas visitors (Ministry for the Environment, 2011). Utilising the environmental frame to include the notion that factory farms are harmful to the environment may not resonate with the audience. This is because the consumption habits of the public, as well as the marketing techniques of suppliers, drive the demand for an increased supply of products obtained from nonhuman earthlings (Murphy, 2007; Simon, 2013; Williamson, 2011). By linking the environmental harm attributed to factory farming to the concern for New Zealand's clean, green image, SAFE hopes to elicit a positive response from the public. This positive response may come in the form of changing consumption habits.

## **Vegan Society frame analysis**

The Vegan Society of Aotearoa New Zealand (VSANZ) is dedicated to promoting the ideology of veganism. The frame analysis was based on a single magazine article published in 2012. The author of the article is Jasmine Gray. Despite adhering to veganism, the author utilises frames that were consistent with the ideology of speciesism. The fact the stakeholder is aware of the ideas central to the commodity/economic frame is indicative of their adherence to the ideology of veganism.

### **Commodity/economic frame**

*I am a vegan who believes that we should not treat animals as production units who merely exist for the use of humans and that humans do not have the right to take the life of any animal other than on genuine welfare grounds. As such, I oppose farming animals for any reason and would like to see an end to egg production entirely. (Gray, 2012, p. 7)*

The above extract contains the statement that nonhuman earthlings should not be treated as production units who exist for human earthling use. The author is focused on a single use of nonhuman earthlings, and that is their use of food. However, issues related to a single use of nonhuman earthlings are framed from a perspective that does depart from the property status of nonhuman earthlings (Francione, 1996; Francione & Charlton, 2015). This begs the question of what role can nonhuman earthlings be treated in? The question itself is presented using the traditional welfare frame, which is dependent upon the commodification of nonhuman earthlings. Opponents of the author's viewpoint can seize upon the term *treat* and propose solutions, using the traditional welfare frame, that seek to improve the treatment of nonhuman earthlings.

## Food Frame

*...Kiwis rarely see chickens and the only relationship they have with them is when they consume their flesh or eggs.... (Gray,2012, p.5)*

Reference is made to the fact that chickens and their eggs are used as a food.

The author makes use of the correct term known as *flesh*. However, this is subsequently replaced by the term *meat*. Etymologically, *meat* referred to food (Bohanec & Bohanec, 2013; Online Etymology Dictionary, 2016; Singer, 2009).

## Traditional Welfare Frame

*Current welfare arguments are being played out in the media, and the political arena is still centred around whether or not a chicken should have the ability to move about, perch, and dust bathe. I wonder how many decades it will take before the public even thinks about allowing production chickens to meet their mums and participate in chicken society properly, despite that fact that these are just as important to a chicken's welfare as the ability to move. (Gray, p. 5)*

The author understands the traditional welfare frame focuses on treatment rather than use (Francione, 1995; 2000). In criticising the traditional welfare frame, the author does not apply euphemisms in describing the lives of nonhuman earthlings used in factory farming operations. Unlike other stakeholders such as the MPI, the outcome for factory farmed chickens is described explicitly.

*But even with vast improvements in chicken's living conditions, nothing would save production chickens from an unnatural and premature death. Where chickens would naturally live for 12 years, in the case of layer hens (egg-producing chickens) the production systems (cages, barn and free range) see all hens killed at just two years of age. Broiler (meat) chickens are killed at just six weeks of age, and (perhaps the most shocking and well-kept secret of the chicken industry) the brothers of the layer hens are gassed or ground alive at just one day of age. (Gray, 2012, p. 5)*

What happens at the end of a *layer* hen or *meat* chicken's lifespan, as dictated by factory farm stakeholders, is not described as *processed*, but simply *killed*. The outcome of unwanted male chickens is stated as either *gassed* or ground alive. The refusal to use euphemisms leads the author to anthropomorphize chickens.

*Mother hens will teach their children how to communicate, how to participate in chicken society, and what to eat. Chicks also learn from their siblings and even from watching videos. As chickens develop, research has also shown that they have the ability to keep memories, to think about the future, to count, and perform basic geometry. (Gray, 2012, p. 5)*

The author anthropomorphizes chickens based on a human earthling family structure. Hens are labelled as *mothers* and *chicks* the status of children. While the relationship between hens and chicks mimic that of human mothers and their children, such labels as used by the author serve to aid in the understanding of other species for the benefit human earthlings (Regan, 1982; Rollin, 1989).

*It is not just a chicken's intellect that some people might find impressive and surprising; their emotional depth is equally impressive. I recently read a story about two chickens called Violet and Chickweed that brought a tear (or many) to my eye. The brother and sister pair were rescued at a very young age and taken to a sanctuary in the US. The siblings were very attached and spent all of their time together. Sadly and unexpectedly, Violet died from an undetected infection. Chickweed was devastated by this and stood by watching as Violet was buried. For weeks after Violet's death, Chickweed would return to the spot he had last seen her and just stand there silently. Chickweed became angry and during the day would rage around the yard and at night would sit in his coop alone, drooping with sadness. His carers said that he did become less angry over time, but that he was never the same after the loss of his beloved sister. (Gray, p. 5)*

The emotional and interpersonal lives of factory farmed chickens are described and is contrasted with the inadequacies of the traditional welfare paradigm. To anthropomorphize in the manner above would result in derision from factory farming stakeholders. It would be met with claims of *irrationality*, *unscientific*, and *emotive* (Rollin, 1989). However, ideas congruent with the traditional welfare frame are based

on concepts bestowed upon nonhuman earthlings by human earthlings. For example, colony cage dimensions are determined by humans who claim to be acting in the best interests of nonhuman earthlings.

*The nesting area is a small rubber mat hidden behind a few rubber flaps and the scratching area is another rubber mat, these two 'big welfare improvements' have to be shared among the 60 hens who inhabit a colony cage. The perches provided will provide some relief for the hens from the sloping wire floor, but they are also obstacles that will inhibit the hens' ability to exercise and move about freely. Overseas experience has also found that hens can get stuck under the perches and become injured, sometimes fatally. (Gray, 2012, p. 7)*

The supposed improvements of colony cages are mentioned but are offset by the number of hens kept inside the colony cage. Pointing out the flaws within the traditional welfare frame indicates an effort to engage with its ideas and offer criticisms.

### **New Welfare frame**

Despite being aware of the outcomes of using nonhuman earthlings as a resource, there is a discrepancy between the stakeholder's ideology and their recommendations. While there is an acknowledgement that change will not come overnight, it is suggested that welfare improvements should be relied upon to lead the way. This type of thinking is indicative of the New Welfare frame.

*However, I am aware that emancipation will not happen overnight and that millions of hens will pass through egg production farms in the following years without the chance of freedom. Because of this, I have come to realise that we must campaign for meaningful welfare reforms alongside vegucation (vegan education), so that animals who will realistically never see freedom can live lives as free from suffering as possible (Gray, 2012, p. 7)*

The new welfare frame is characterised by a desire to see an end to all forms of exploitation of nonhuman earthlings. Within the frame exists the belief that greater regulation or further welfare reforms will achieve the goal. This is incorrect as

regulation and welfare reforms reassert the ideological beliefs inherent within the commodity/economic and traditional welfare frame (Francione, 1996). In the regards to the extract above, the underlying factors behind why millions of hens are confined to factory farms is not questioned. Consumer demand for eggs or the flesh of nonhuman earthlings is not taken into consideration. The disregard for the above factors coincides with the reluctance to use the term *veganism*. Instead, the author uses the term *vegucation*. Based on the author's desire to pursue welfare reforms, *Vegucation* can be taken to mean mitigating suffering and working towards humanising the factory farming of nonhuman earthlings. The concluding sentence contains the phrase *free from suffering as possible*, which relates to a central idea within the traditional welfare frame. This idea maintains that all use of nonhuman earthling must mitigate suffering arising from that use. In other words, the author focuses on the effect, not the cause. There is also a contradiction which is highlighted by the desire for hens to have freedom while pursuing welfare reforms. Increased regulation based on the intention to mitigate the suffering of hens reinforces the commodity status of hens. All of this indicates the author has chosen to mask their ideological beliefs behind pragmatism (Goldberg, 2012). To be openly ideological about the direction the stakeholder wishes to take will invite criticisms pertaining to a lack of objectivity from opposition stakeholders.

## **Farmwatch Frame analysis**

As a stakeholder, Farmwatch is not directly involved in any factory farming operations. Farmwatch primarily conducts undercover investigations of factory farming operations in New Zealand. Between 2013 and 2015 Farmwatch investigated several factory farms where pigs and chickens were raised for their flesh. The frame analysis uncovered the use of the commodity/economic, food and traditional welfare frame.

### **Commodity/Economic Frame**

*Farmwatch investigated a pig farm in Canterbury and documented the appalling conditions....What we found is not uncommon on New Zealand pig farms and is completely legal (Farmwatch, 2013, p. 1)*

The phrase *pig farm* indicates there is no rejection of the commodity/economic frame or the idea that pigs are private property. The statement that what is found within pig farms is legal is not questioned. This indicates there is an acceptance of the commodity status of pigs.

### **Food Frame**

Because of the reluctance to question the commodity status of nonhuman earthlings, Farmwatch accepts that nonhuman earthlings are a food resource. An example of this assumption lies in the headline *Vigil for Chickens Raised for Meat*. Farmwatch does not clarify that chickens are raised for their flesh, as it is the flesh of chickens that is rendered into food. Nonetheless, the decision to continue to use *meat* implicitly reaffirms that chickens are to be used as a food resource without reflecting on their worth as commodities.

## Traditional Welfare Frame

The traditional welfare frame used by Farmwatch differed from pro-factory farming stakeholders. Unlike stakeholders such as the MPI and NZ Pork who value good animal welfare as means to safeguard profits, Farmwatch's use of the traditional welfare frame is like that of other stakeholders such as SAFE and the SPCA. It is a rejection of the conditions found within factory farms.

*Farmwatch investigated a pig farm in Canterbury and documented the appalling conditions. Sows were confined in farrowing crates, unable to turn around and piglets were kept in concrete pens, covered in their own faeces. What we found is not uncommon on New Zealand pig farms and is completely legal.*  
(Farmwatch, 2013, p. 1)

Describing the conditions of the factory farming is consistent with the traditional welfare frame. Unlike the SPCA, the traditional welfare frame is used by Farmwatch to encourages readers to stop eating nonhuman earthlings.

*The best way to help us put an end to this cruelty is to choose compassion over cruelty and stop eating animals!* (Farmwatch, 2013, p. 2)

Farmwatch's encouragement to stop eating nonhuman earthling appears to contradict the sentiments expressed in their use of the food frame. No effort is made by Farmwatch to highlight the euphemistic language that arises from the commodification of nonhuman earthlings. For example, *meat* is a euphemism for the flesh of nonhuman earthlings consumed by human earthlings. This indicates an implicit acceptance of nonhuman earthlings as a resource. The instruction to stop eating nonhuman, which is embedded in the traditional welfare frame is aimed at the cessation of consuming nonhuman earthlings. There is no empirical evidence to indicate that Farm watch's suggestion is viable. The first anti-cruelty law was established during the colonial period of the United States of America in 1641 (Francione, 1996). This was followed by

anti-cruelty laws in the United Kingdom in 1822 (Wells, 2011). However, as Francione (1995; 2000) has demonstrated, changes in welfare legislation further entrench the status of nonhuman earthlings as commodities or economic units of production, thus facilitating their use as food resources. Another explanation for the use of the traditional welfare is to ensure the public does not become disinterested in the advocacy work of Farmwatch. As an NGO, Farmwatch is dependent on public donations. The public may withdraw donations should Farmwatch introduce ideas incompatible with the traditional welfare frame (Francione, 2013; Torres, 2007).

Nonetheless, Farmwatch's suggestion is not entirely clear. While Farmwatch is hopeful that readers will stop eating *animals*, it is ambiguous as to what this means for chickens who lay eggs. The message itself remains within the traditional welfare frame which upholds the belief that nonhuman earthlings can be used as a resource. Furthermore, the phrase *compassion over cruelty* is synonymous with the concept of *humane* farming, which is also consistent with the traditional welfare frame. The phrase *compassion over cruelty* proposes that nonhuman earthlings can still be used as a resource. However, this use must not entail more suffering than is required (Francione, 1995; 2000; Francione & Charlton, 2013).

### **World Animal Protection New Zealand Frame Analysis**

World Animal Protection New Zealand (WAPNZ) is an NGO that aims to improve the welfare of nonhuman earthlings. The frame analysis of WAPNZ publications was limited to three documents found within the date range. The following frames were detected from the analysis of publications produced by World Animal Protection New Zealand (WAPNZ): Commodity/economic (15), food (0) and traditional welfare (48). For this frame analysis, three publications were identified as fitting within the criteria for the selected date range.

## Commodity/Economic Frame

The commodity/economic frame, as used by WAPNZ, does not explicitly refer to nonhuman earthlings as economic units of production. The only instance in which nonhuman earthlings are regarded as commodities is based on the following question.

*Are there economic and societal barriers to improving animal welfare?* (World Animal Protection, 2014, p. 2)

The question may be perceived as aligning with the traditional welfare frame. The justification for this conclusion centres on the concept of *animal welfare*. However, closer analysis of the question reveals the commodity/economic frame has been applied. This is because the answer to the question is *yes*. The barriers to improving animal welfare, beyond the current level, is the commodity/economic status of nonhuman earthlings. Any improvements that seek to further alleviate the suffering of nonhuman earthlings creates externalities (Kishtainy, 2014; Kishtainy, 2014). While the welfare considerations of nonhuman earthling such as layer hens are slightly improved, the financial costs are said to fall upon on stakeholders and consumers. According to the Egg Producers Federation of New Zealand (2016), eggs are sold at \$4 a kilogramme, which is attractive to low-income families. The EPFNZ has warned that improvements made towards the farming of egg will increase the costs for the stakeholder and consumers (Egg Producers Federation of New Zealand). It is the status of nonhuman earthlings as commodities which dictates the level of care which can be provided. It is costlier for stakeholders to provide veterinary care for nonhuman earthlings raised within factory farms. That is why pigs who become sick within factory farms are killed to stop them from consuming grains (Francione, 1995; Rollin, 2010).

## Food Frame

WAPNZ alludes to the practices that occur within factory farms. WAPNZ does not explicitly state the reasons behind these practices. For example, all that is stated is that farmed nonhuman earthlings are subjected to practices requiring their death.

*...painful husbandry procedures, commercial slaughter, and specific requirements for farmed animals. ...There are also codes for layer hens, pigs and meat chickens. (World Animal Protection, 2014, p. 5)*

It is apparent that slaughtering nonhuman earthlings is a means to an end. That end is characterised as that of food. This is further demonstrated by the use of *meat* which precedes *chickens*. To reiterate, the etymology of *meat* lies in old English and Germanic, which simply meant *food* (Bohanec & Bohanec, 2013; Online Etymology Dictionary, 2016; Singer, 2009). WAPNZ reference to the codes of welfare for pigs, hens and chickens bred for their flesh highlights the concern of mitigating pain that arises from using nonhuman earthlings as food.

## Traditional Welfare Frame

WAPNZ use of the traditional welfare frame is overt. The reason for this overtness lies in goals of the stakeholder. WAPNZ seeks to increase welfare standards that oversee the use of nonhuman earthlings for food. For example, in the press release titled *New Zealand leads the way on our Animal Protection Index*, WAPNZ declares New Zealand to be a leader in welfare standards afforded to nonhuman earthlings. This indicates that all nonhuman earthlings raised for food, primarily on factory farms, receive the best care.

### **Summary of Findings.**

Using table 1, table 2 and table 3, the combined percentages for each frame usage is as follows. The total usage for commodity/economic frame is 39%. The usage of the food frame is 37% and 21% for the traditional welfare. Usage for the health frame and environmental frame is both 3%. The new welfare frame was used on one occasion. The findings corroborate the literature review in terms of identified frames. In terms of the date range for which the publications were obtained, no alternative frames were detected. There is a consistency for all stakeholders to use the frames that pertain to their ideological beliefs.

## Chapter 5: Discussion

This thesis sought to answer the following research question: How is factory farming framed in New Zealand in the public discourse of industry stakeholders and the animal rights volunteer sector? For this discussion, the question will be broken down into the following sub-questions and answered in their respective order.

1. How is factory farming framed by industry stakeholders in New Zealand?
2. How is factory farming framed by the animal welfare volunteer sector in New Zealand?
3. What frames dominate the New Zealand public discussion overall?
4. What are the likely social effects of the dominant frames according to the existing research literature?

### How is factory farming framed by industry stakeholders?

The primary use of nonhuman earthlings by human earthlings is food (Food Agriculture Organisation, 2016). The food frame is characterised by euphemisms that distract the audience from the fact they are eating the flesh of dead nonhuman earthlings. The food frame allows consumers to feel comfortable about their purchasing choices. The commodity/economic frame is represented by de-animalising, objectifying terms that render nonhuman earthlings as insentient (Adams, 2010; Ladd, 2011; Schreiber, Mathews, & Elliott, 2003). For example, pigs are transformed into *stock* or *inventory* and are no longer seen as living beings. They are regarded as tools to be exploited, or a means to an end. In the case of factory farming, that *end* is food. The raising of nonhuman earthlings for food requires that industry stakeholders provide a standard of care. This standard of care is enshrined in the traditional welfare frame. The traditional welfare frame constitutes a field of ideas that allow the softening of cruelty that arises

from the institutional use of nonhuman earthlings (Francione, 1995). Two subsequent frames utilised by industry stakeholders are the health and environmental frame. The content of both frames describes the negative outcomes that arise from factory farming and possible solutions. Underlying both frames is a concern for profits and how to mitigate the external consequences of factory farming.

Sykes and Matza's (1957) criminological theory on neutralisation techniques provides an insight into how frames contribute to constructing reality (Berger & Luckmann, 1966). The theory was developed to understand the rationalisation of those who were found to break the law. "Sykes and Matza listed five forms of neutralisation, which they called denial of responsibility, denial of injury, denial of the victim, condemnation of the condemners and appeal to high loyalties" (Williams III & McShane, 2010, p. 153). The neutralisation techniques of *denial of victim*, *denial of injury* and *appeal to higher loyalties* are relevant to the context of this thesis. The *denial of victim* serves to justify the harm inflicted on the victim. The harmful act performed, by the transgressor, against the victim is seen as necessary to correct the wrongful behaviour of the victim. The effect is the victim is viewed as criminal while the transgressor is viewed as the law-abiding citizen. The *denial of injury* arises when the transgressor disputes the claim that someone was hurt. It is a dismissal of any claim of injury made by the victim as the result of the transgressor's actions (Sykes & Matza, 1957). Transgressor's *appeal to higher loyalties* in order to justify their actions. The *loyalties* are embedded in a sub-cultural framework mandating its own norms. The neutralisation techniques identified by Sykes and Matza (1957) are used by individuals who face moral or legal accusations in society. In the context of factory farming neutralisation techniques are used by industry stakeholders to justify transgressive, violent acts committed against nonhuman victims.

*Denial of the victim* is the outcome of the commodity/economic frame, which makes heavy use of euphemisms in order to erase any signalling that nonhuman earthlings are sentient beings. Industry stakeholders such as the MPI refer to nonhuman earthlings as *stock*. Nonhuman earthlings who are not fit for consumption, are not *killed* but are *destroyed*. To state that nonhuman earthlings are to be *killed* would undermine the purpose of the commodity/economic frame. As the recent example of airport security dog Grizz demonstrates, portraying nonhuman earthlings as sentient beings that are killed (rather than destroyed) can cause “worldwide uproar” (Stuff, 2017, p. 1). In comparison, a dog named Marly, who was “destroyed” (Stuff, 2016, p. 1) did not garner the same attention. To state that nonhuman earthlings are *destroyed* serves to place them into the realm of insentient objects.

Nonhuman earthlings who are killed are regarded as sentient. Joy (2011) attempts to explain this phenomena as the result of carnism, an “invisible belief system” (p. 29). According to Joy, “Carnism is the belief system that conditions us to eat certain animals” (p. 30). Based on Joy’s theory, human earthlings feel a greater sense of respect for nonhuman earthlings who are regarded as pets. Whereas nonhuman earthlings who are not regarded as pets are viewed with indifference. In the above examples, neither Grizz and Marley were raised as a food resource. Both nonhuman earthlings were dogs and are common household pets in New Zealand. It is because of this fact that Joy’s explanation is rejected by Francione (2012) on the grounds that “there is nothing invisible about the ideology of animal exploitation” (p.1). In the above example, the difference in public outrage over the two incidents can be explained by what Francione (2000) calls “moral schizophrenia” (p. 1), or the unequal consideration afforded to nonhuman earthlings. The difference in empathy stems from the fact that a nonhuman earthling’s commodity value is established through its institutional use (Francione, 1995). Grizz was a public service dog killed due to his roaming around on the airfield

causing flights to be delayed. Marley was a pet that killed a kiwi bird, an endangered species and a national icon. Both dogs were resources used for a purpose. One provided security services and the other provided pet ownership to a human earthling. Grizz and Marley's values were determined by the roles they occupied as resources. Grizz was seen as more valuable than Marley because the institutional use as a service dog gave him a higher status than a pet. Equally, pets are given a higher status than factory farmed nonhuman earthlings. However, all nonhuman earthlings are considered a resource, they are legally denied the status of victims. Even the killing of Grizz is considered a legal killing, not a murder. It is a denial of victim status that circumvents any discussion of whether nonhuman earthlings may legally be considered victims or not. If a human earthling was to be shot because he or she is roaming around on the airfield, a shooting would not be considered justified.

The *denial of the victim* is also evident in the food frame, which labels the flesh of nonhuman earthlings euphemistically. Pig flesh is either renamed *pork*, *bacon* or *ham*. All three labels are categorised as *meat* rather than flesh. The flesh of chickens is referred to as *poultry meat* or *chicken meat* and presented to the consumer as a finished *product*. Effort is put into concealing the fact they are living beings. The finished *product* is a decapitated, featherless body that is presented as a meal ready to be eaten. Historically *meat* simply meant food (Bohanec & Bohanec, 2013; Online Etymology Dictionary, 2016; Singer, 2009). The euphemistic labelling denies victim status of nonhuman earthlings and thus aids to convince consumers that nonhuman earthlings are suitable for consumption. However, this neutralisation is tempered by cultural norms which mandate that not all nonhuman earthlings are fit for consumption (Berger & Luckmann, 1966).

The research findings reveal that the MPI, NZ Pork, PIANZ, EPFNZ use the economic/commodity frame in 34%, the food frame in 42% and the traditional welfare

frame in 14% of their publications. Hence, New Zealand industry stakeholder discourse on factory farming is dominated by the food and economic/commodity frame. Both frames are speciesist in their underlying ideology.

#### How is factory farming framed by the animal welfare volunteer sector?

Overall, the New Zealand animal welfare volunteer sector primarily uses the commodity/economic frame (49%) in its discourse on factory farming. The consequence of this framing is that animal welfare volunteer stakeholders apply the traditional welfare frame at a similar rate (41%) in an attempt to convince consumers that eating nonhuman earthlings is morally justifiable under the conditions that the animal welfare sector formulates (Francione & Charlton, 2015).

Like their industry stakeholder counterparts, the animal welfare volunteer sector utilises the commodity/economic frame, food frame, traditional welfare frame and environmental frame. The health frame was not used by any stakeholder within the animal welfare volunteer sector. The VSANZ was the only stakeholder to use the new welfare frame. Thus, the research findings reveal that all stakeholders in the New Zealand animal welfare sector accept the commodity status of nonhuman earthlings (Francione, 2000; 1996). This is, for example, evident in stakeholders' desire to formulate policies about layer hens that are rooted in the traditional welfare frame as well as utilitarianism. The maxim of increasing the size of a layer hen's cage may prove beneficial to a layer hen but will prove costly to consumers. Francione (1995) states that any attempts to minimise the harm inflicted upon nonhuman earthlings results in a balancing of interests. This is because nonhuman earthlings are considered the property of human earthlings and the interests of human earthlings will always take precedent. Returning to the above example, the act of increasing the size of a layer

hen's cage will be judged as a negative by industry stakeholders as it impacts on consumer spending power.

The acceptance of the commodity status of nonhuman earthlings is enshrined in the Animal Welfare Act 1999, which ensures that the profits obtained from the use of nonhuman earthlings are not compromised. The Animal Welfare Act only moderates and modifies industry activities but does not prohibit them.

The welfarism discourse that dominates the welfare volunteer sector implicitly condones the use of nonhuman earthlings as food. For example, the RNZSPCA openly advocates for the consumption of eggs obtained from *free range farms* (RNZSPCA, 2005). WAPNZ lobbies for legislative changes that make the raising of nonhuman earthlings for food more *humane* (World Animal Protection, 2017). The commitment to welfarism by both the RNZSPCA and WAPNZ has resulted in compliance with industry interests, by assisting consumers with their choice to consume *products* derived from nonhuman earthlings. For example, the RNZSPCA's *blue tick* accreditation scheme has been developed to inform consumers whether the eggs or nonhuman flesh they purchase has met the *high welfare* standards of the RNZSPCA (RNZSPCA, 2016b). The *blue tick* scheme is based on the MPI codes of welfare and commercial slaughter publications (RNZSPCA, 2016b). Both the codes of welfare and commercial slaughter publications provide instructions on how to kill nonhuman earthlings. The layer hen code of welfare states "Electrical stunning followed by neck dislocation and exsanguination" (Ministry for Primary Industries, 2012, p. 31) is a desirable method for killing hens. The commercial slaughter code of welfare publication states "Birds must not be decapitated if they have not been first stunned" (Ministry for Primary Industries, 2016, p. 23). Nonhuman earthlings are subjected to the above procedures in order to attain the *blue tick* approval. In cases where nonhuman earthlings are subjected to procedures that deviate from the *blue tick* accreditation scheme, the response from the

RNZSPCA is one of condemnation. This was demonstrated when an individual decapitated a chicken with his teeth (Ensor, 2016). In one instance the RNZSPCA approves of the killing of chickens, but in another disapproves the killing of a chicken. The difference in reaction is a matter of institutional use of nonhuman earthlings. In the latter case, the outrage stems not from the fact the chicken was killed but the fact unnecessary suffering was imposed. In other words, nonhuman earthlings can only be subjected to suffering that is part of institutional guidelines. Killing nonhuman earthlings for food is acceptable to the RNZSPCA. The killing of nonhuman earthlings outside of institutional settings is deemed unacceptable as there is no profit to be made (Francione, 2008). Furthermore, the indirect duties doctrine states that unjustified harm inflicted upon nonhuman earthlings correlates with bringing harm upon human earthlings (Regan, 1982; Steiner, 2005). In the above illustrations, the killing of nonhuman earthlings for food is justified whereas killing nonhuman earthlings without a purpose is unjustified. However, the RNZSPCA does not endorse the killing of all nonhuman earthlings for food. Nonhuman earthlings such as cats and dogs are regarded as pets and are culturally prohibited from being used as food in New Zealand. The explanation for the dichotomy between why one group of nonhuman earthlings is regarded as food and another group can be explained using Sykes and Matza's (1957) typology of *appeal to higher loyalty*. Writing on behalf of *Animals' Voice*, the flagship publication of the RNZSPCA, Kerridge (2009) appeals to a higher loyalty by stating that civilised nations prohibit the consumption of nonhuman earthlings regarded as pets. The sentiment here is that New Zealand is a civilised nation because it does not kill nonhuman earthlings regarded as pets for food.

The unique finding of this study relates to the appearance of the new welfarist frame which was used by the VSANZ. The new welfare frame differs from the traditional welfare frame in one aspect. It seeks to end all use of nonhuman earthlings

through incremental legislative reforms (Francione , 1996) whereas the traditional welfare frame does not. The VSANZ is the only stakeholder from the animal welfare volunteer sector that utilised the new welfare frame. VSANZ adheres to the ideology of veganism which rejects the use of nonhuman earthlings as a resource whether be it as food, clothing or pets (Francione, 2000; Torres, 2007).

### What frames dominate the public discussion overall?

The frames which dominate New Zealand’s public discourse on factory farming overall are: the commodity/economic frame (39%), the food frame (37%) and the traditional welfare frame (21%). The dominance of the commodity/economic, food and traditional welfare frame is attributable to the concept of frame resonance. For a frame to be successful it must resonate with the audience. “Frames have a natural advantage because their ideas and language resonate with a broader political culture. Resonance increases the appeal of a frame by making it appear natural and familiar (Gamson, 1992, p. 135). Each frame is used in a manner which shapes “reality by imposing meaning on actions [...] within familiar categories and narratives” that “emphasise certain faces and downplay others; their presentation of issues, therefore, shapes public perceptions and views of appropriate responses” (Sorenson, 2009, p. 238). The ideas within frames must be ideologically acceptable to the audience. For example, the animal welfare volunteer sector utilises frames that are hierarchical or privilege human earthlings above nonhuman earthlings. The privileging of human earthlings over nonhuman earthlings is the result of speciesism. Francione (2000) states that the “use of species to justify the property status of animals is speciesism” (p.xxix). Speciesism declares that “no animal belongs to the member of the moral community because no animal belongs to the ‘right’ species – namely, *homo sapiens*” (Regan, 1982, p.155). Speciesism proclaims that “nonhumans feel, as well as think, less than humans. Analogously, racists have

contended that people of color feel injury and deprivation less than whites.” (Dunayer, 2001, p.3). The frames used by industry stakeholders and the animal welfare volunteer sector are speciesist. This means that both industry stakeholders and the animal welfare volunteer sector engage in specieist discourse and may, therefore, be considered active promoters of speciesism.

What are the likely social effects of the dominant frames according to the existing research literature?

According to Freeman (2014), animal welfare stakeholders who favour “working with the meat industry to institute higher animal welfare standards often use utilitarian arguments about it being more effective at both eventually promoting veganism and currently reducing the amount of suffering billion of animals endure” (p. 89). The historical and empirical evidence contradicts the beliefs of the animal welfare volunteer sector.

The first New Zealand legislation to protect nonhuman earthlings was “the Protection of Animals Act 1835” (Wells, 2011, p. 161) but it was only enforceable once New Zealand was colonised. Today, the Animal Welfare Act 1999 is the primary legislation that oversees the use of nonhuman earthlings as a resource. Prior to the passing of the Animal Welfare Act 1999, former Green MP Sue Kedgley hoped the legislation would help pave the way to end factory farming (Wells). The failure of the legislation to end factory farming is demonstrated by the fact that the consumption of nonhuman earthling flesh in New Zealand is 74.8kg per capita (OECD, 2016). Nevertheless, the animal welfare volunteer sector continues to pursue welfare reforms.

The inability of legislation to make a difference has been validated by recent developments in New Zealand. At the time of writing this study, an investigative report into the labelling of *battery caged eggs* as *free range* was released (Tait & Reid, 2017).

The investigation revealed that a supplier continued to sell caged eggs to New Zealand supermarkets, claiming the eggs were sourced from *free-range farms*. Prior to the investigation, SAFE used the traditional welfare frame to urge a New Zealand supermarket chain to discontinue its supply of *battery caged eggs* and opt for *free range eggs* (SAFE, 2017). SAFE assumes prohibiting the sale of cheaper *caged eggs* will drive up the demand for *free range eggs*. This will force consumers to either pay the premium or forgo eating *eggs*. The basis for SAFE's assumption originates from rational choice theory. Rational choice theory "assumes that everyone wants to maximise positive outcomes and minimise negative ones" (Williams K. S., 2012, p. 311). The assumption that prohibiting cage eggs and forcing consumers to buy cage free eggs will result in more consumers forgoing eating eggs ignores individual desires, political and economic factors. In terms of individual desires, much of society wants to consume *products* derived from nonhuman earthlings (Norwood & Lusk, 2011). Politically, there is no reliable mechanism in place to enforce supposed welfare improvements (Francione, 2008). Economically, the current financial climate is one where individuals have easy access to cheap credit (Alpert, 2013). This means that any price increases can be compensated for by purchasing items on credit.

Commonly, human earthlings do not want nonhuman earthlings to suffer (Bohanec & Bohanec, 2013). This is demonstrated when cases of cruelty towards nonhuman earthlings are brought to public attention (Francione & Charlton, 2013). However, the dominant discourse on factory farming in New Zealand has resulted in public attitudes that display moral schizophrenia. For example, the cat and dog *meat* festival in China was met with outrage (AP, 2016). Cats and dogs slaughtered for food are viewed with empathy while chickens and pigs are not. Another aspect of using the traditional welfare frame to focus on the consumption habits of another nation is the tendency to combine othering discourse (Said, 1979) with a concern for nonhuman

earthlings. This leads to the belief that *less civilized* people eat particular nonhuman earthlings (Francione & Charlton, 2015). This sentiment was demonstrated by Kerridge (2009) in an open letter published in the RNZSPCA's *Animals' Voice* where he condemned an individual for killing and eating his pet dog.

Minimising the suffering of nonhuman earthlings is an attempt to make consumers feel comfortable about consuming living beings. Because of the scale of factory farming, there is no credible way to confirm whether the treatment of nonhuman earthlings has improved (Simon, 2013). Any welfare reforms that are implemented are symbolic as the enforcement of legislation pertaining to nonhuman earthlings is costly and inefficient (Francione, 1995). The combination of each factor indicates that consumers are not paying for a *product* that is in accordance with regulation. Consumers are paying for an idea. Industry stakeholders cater to the *ethical* consumer by promoting an ordinary *product* as meeting welfare requirements. Since the beginning of the 20<sup>th</sup> century, industry stakeholders have sought to influence public discourse on products their industry is profiting from. Nibert (2013) refers to this as the "Corporate Engineering of Public Consciousness" (p.175), which results in consumers becoming enamoured by ideologically constructed narratives produced by industry stakeholders (Rivera-Ferre, 2009). Consumers continue to receive information from industry stakeholders that is designed to secure profits (Fitzgerald, 2015; Hauter, 2012; Winders & Nibert, 2004).

The framing of factory farming by the animal welfare volunteer sector is comparable to what Balafoutas, Kerschbamer, & Sutter (2015) refer to as a "Second degree moral hazard" (p. 1). A moral hazard results in individuals engaging in high-risk activities in which a second party must pay for the outcomes of the high-risk behaviour. For example, the 2007 financial crisis was the result of banks who engaged in high-risk financial activities knowing that governments would financially reimburse them

(Kishtainy, 2014). A second-degree moral hazard arises when the supplier of a service can extract income from the actions of those who produce a product. In the case of the animal welfare volunteer sector, the continued use of nonhuman earthlings by animal agriculture stakeholders financially benefits the RNZSPCA, SAFE, Farmwatch and WAPNZ.

The failure of SAFE's campaign to prohibit the sale of *caged eggs* not only benefits industry stakeholders. The failure of this campaign will also benefit SAFE. They will initiate another campaign that uses the traditional welfare frame to call for more reforms and regulations. The outcome will be the same. There will be an increased demand for *free range eggs* (Rodgers, 2015). SAFE has suggested that profits obtained from the sale of nonhuman flesh should be used to establish a regulatory body dedicated to *animal welfare* (SAFE, 2012b). Thus, stakeholders within the animal welfare volunteer sector seek to derive a profit from the use of nonhuman earthlings. SAFE's 2015 annual report shows their total income as \$1,134,510 and their total expenditure as \$609,387 (McGregor Bailey, 2015). Hence, the traditional welfare frame serves SAFE to secure a more than adequate income.

The VSANZ is the only stakeholder from the animal welfare volunteer sector to utilise the new welfare frame. The new welfare frame has the same effect as the traditional welfare frame. It proclaims that incremental legislative reforms are beneficial to nonhuman earthlings. This means consumers can continue to consume nonhuman earthling *products* obtained from a *free-range farm*. By using the new welfare frame, VSANZ contradicts its adherence to the ideology of veganism. This was demonstrated by Gray (2012) who outlined the need for welfare reform campaigns in conjunction with "vegucation" (Gray, p. 7). VSANZ concepts of *vegucation* is guided by its misunderstanding of veganism. VSANZ defines veganism as the rejection of meat (fish, shellfish, livestock or poultry) eggs, dairy products, honey, gelatine or use leather,

fur, silk, wool, cosmetics or soaps derived from animal products (Vegan Society of Aotearoa New Zealand, 2017). However, VSANZ definition of veganism stops short of rejecting the use of nonhuman earthlings for entertainment, pets and vivisection (Francione & Charlton, 2015, p.72). This is because VSANZ does not wish to alienate certain sections of the population. For example, 58% of New Zealanders either have a pet cat or a pet dog (Roy Morgan Research, 2015). By accepting the ownership of pets, VSANZ can pursue its goal of expanding as a charity (Vegan Society of Aotearoa New Zealand), and charitable donations are an important source of revenue (Fisher, 2006; Polman, 2010). Rejecting the ownership of pets would likely reduce the number of individuals who will support VSANZ goal and net income.

It is argued here, that the new welfare frame exemplifies what Stigler (Stigler, 1971) referred to as 'regulatory capture'. Government regulatory bodies such as the MPI are tasked with enforcing legislation such as the Animal Welfare Act 1999. According to Stigler's concept of regulatory capture, industries that are the target of regulation exert control over the regulatory agency. In other words, regulatory bodies are beholden to special interest groups. How a regulatory body is captured differs from one instance to another. For example, individuals who were formerly employed by an industry stakeholder who was the target of regulation may become employed by the regulatory body because of their intimate knowledge of the industry (Simon, 2013). In other instances, industry employees may pressure or manipulate employees of the regulatory body to act in the interest of industry stakeholders. For example, in 2006, animal welfare inspectors met with employees of NZ Pork to discuss the intended prosecution of a factory farm operator who had violated the pig welfare code (New Zealand Parliament, 2006). Following the meeting, the decision to prosecute was negated (Morris, 2012).

Industry stakeholders are able to derive benefits from the regulatory body such as implementing protectionist policies and restricting the entry of competitors (Friedman & Friedman, 1980). For example, the raising of chickens for their flesh is conducted by three firms known as Tegal, Ingham and Brinks. Together they form an oligopoly (Kishtainy, 2014). The consequences of regulatory capture and the formation of an oligopoly allows firms to dictate legislation to further their interests. For example, in order to protect domestic profits, the import of poultry flesh is heavily regulated. Anyone or any firm who wishes to import poultry flesh must first apply for import registration (New Zealand Legislation, 2017). Registration imposes transaction costs on the applicant (Chang, 2014). From an economic standpoint, regulatory capture benefits a small group while undermining the free market enterprise system (Standing, 2016). In terms of justifying why imports should be restricted, industry stakeholders deploy the health frame to show concern for the protection of consumer health. When stakeholders capture a regulatory body, their profits are maximised through protectionist policies such as direct and indirect subsidies (Simon, 2013).

By capturing the new welfarist frame, which promotes the use of *free range eggs*, for example, industry stakeholders are able to cater to a niche market known as the ethical consumer (Parker, Brunswick, & Kotey, 2013). It also allows animal agriculture stakeholders to present themselves as “moral champions by supporting” (Francione & Charlton, 2015, p. 46) *humane* alternatives such as *cage-free eggs*. Another aspect of regulatory capture in regards to the new welfarist frame is that industry stakeholders are able to influence consumers to a greater extent than the animal welfare volunteer sector. Unlike the VSANZ who utilise the new welfare frame for advocacy goals, industry stakeholders are able to derive a profit from the new welfarist frame by the use of price signals (Bronk, 2013; Friedman & Friedman, 1980; Hayek, 1945; Sowell, 2015). To demonstrate how price signals convey information, take the

example of the EPFNZ claim that “free-range eggs command a significantly higher premium because of their significantly higher cost of production” (Egg Producers Federation of New Zealand, p. 1). It is implied that consumers can expect a price increase once traditional battery cages are replaced with colony cages. A price increase will convey to consumers that welfare improvements are costly. However, Norwood and Lusk (2011) show that a dozen *cage free eggs* are sold at a markup of \$0.97 whereas a dozen *caged eggs* are sold at a markup of \$0.69, so the industry indeed makes a higher profit from the sale of *cage free eggs*. In other cases, regulatory capture allows industry stakeholders to obtain subsidies which prevent industry stakeholders from having to carry any cost increases in expense of their profit. Such cost increases are often externalised onto the public, not at the checkout counter, but through consumer tax contributions. This creates the impression amongst consumers they are paying a lower price when in fact they are not. (Simon, 2013).

Irrespective of whether welfare improvements are made or not, industry stakeholders will continue to derive a profit from the exploitation of nonhuman earthlings. The price signals that result from the new welfarist frame, which seeks to make the use of nonhuman earthlings more *humane*, are attractive to consumers. The result is that the new welfarist frame maintains the status quo. The VSANZ are inadvertently supporting the activities of their industry stakeholders by their use of the new welfarist frame.

The combination of the new welfare frame and Stigler’s (1971) theory of regulatory capture explain the transformation that has taken place in the United States where the convergence of industry stakeholder and animal welfare volunteer sector interests has resulted in an “Animal Rights Industry” (Torres, 2007, p. 91). Dauvergne and LeBaron (2014) state: “Over the last two decades activist organisations have increasingly come to look, think and act like corporations” (p.1). While there is no

direct evidence for the existence of an *animal rights industry* in New Zealand, there appears to be a shift towards the corporatisation of nonprofit organisations. At the time of writing, *animal* activists are gathering in Wellington to discuss strategies to increase funding for their campaigns (NZ Vegetarian Society, 2017).

## Chapter 6: Conclusion

The factory farming of nonhuman earthlings is a profitable enterprise. However, it raises ethical concerns over the use of nonhuman earthlings as a resource. The competing factors of profits versus ethics have resulted in the need to frame discourse on factory farming from a certain standpoint. That is why the framing of factory farming in New Zealand relies on three dominant frames: the commodity/economic, food and traditional welfare frame. All three frames are based on the ideology of speciesism. Each frame makes use of euphemisms to distract the audience from the true nature of factory farming nonhuman earthlings in the 21st century. Nonhuman earthlings come to be viewed as stock, a piece of meat and the outcome of free-range farming. By using the above frames, it can be said that industry stakeholders and the animal welfare volunteer sector promote the ideology of speciesism.

The frames were not only used to distract audiences from the fact that they are consuming nonhuman flesh but also to assist in the self-preservation of stakeholders. The concept of second-degree moral hazard and the theory of regulatory capture demonstrate that frames are used to protect the financial interests of both industry stakeholders and the animal welfare volunteer sector. The traditional welfare frame, as used by industry stakeholders, allows consumers to feel comfortable about purchasing products derived from nonhuman earthlings. The animal welfare volunteer sector uses the traditional welfare frame and the new welfare frame to extract donations under the guise of helping nonhuman earthlings.

This is the first and only study to examine how industry stakeholders and the animal welfare volunteer sector frame the discourse of factory farming in New Zealand. Mainstream academic research tends to be orientated towards the discrimination faced by human earthlings based on racist ideology. The practitioners of such research speak

often of social justice but exclude nonhuman earthlings from their rhetoric. The topic of public discourses on factory farming represents only a narrow research area in respect to the exploitation of nonhuman earthlings. That is why the current study should serve as a basis to conduct further research into speciesism and to examine the best outcome for nonhuman earthlings. However, the solution cannot come from the same speciesist frames used by industry stakeholders and the animal welfare volunteer sector.

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## Appendices

## Appendix A: Industry frame specific terms

Table A-1

### *MPI*

Commodity/Economic	Food	Traditional Welfare	Health
Farrowing system	Pork	Welfare	Disease
Production	Egg	Humane	
Stock	Broiler chicken	Suffering	
Stock person	Meat chicken	Pain	
Farmer	Chicken nugget	Stun	
Production systems	Layer hen	Destruction	
Imported			
Exported			
Economic			
Farrowing pens			
Farrowing crates			
Economies of scale			

Table A-2

### *NZ Pork*

Commodity/economic	Food	Traditional Welfare	Health	Environment
Farrowing crates	Pork	Welfare	Disease	Environmental
Sow stalls	Ham		Human Health	
Import	Bacon		PRRS	
Export	Meat			
Production	Food			

Table A-3

### *PIANZ*

Commodity/economic	Food	Traditional Welfare	Health
Production	Broiler	Welfare	Human health
Exports	Meat		Food safety
Imports	Poultry		Antibiotics
Farming	Sunday roast		Bird flu
	Poultry meat		
	Chicken meat		
	Breasts		
	Tenders		
	Boneless		

Table A-4

*EPFNZ*

Commodity/Economic	Food	Traditional Welfare
Production	Eggs	Welfare
Exports		Enriched
Imports		Standard
Farming		Free range
Colony cages		
Battery cages		
Industry		

## Appendix B: Animal welfare volunteer sector frame specific terms

Table B-1

*SPCA*

Commodity/economic	Food	Traditional welfare
Battery hen	Meat	Abuse
Cage	Eggs	Beak trimming
Farming		Conditions
Hatchery		Cruelty
Battery cage		Dignity
		Free range
		Humane
		Pain
		Protection
		Respect animals
		Standards
		Suffering
		Torture
		Gassing

Table B-2

*SAFE*

Commodity/economic	Food	Traditional welfare	Environment
Farmed animals	Meat	Welfare	Pollution
Cage system	Bacon	Cruelty	Clean green
Production	Pork	Humane	
Broiler	Ham	Protection	
Colony cages		Regulation	
Battery cages		Treatment	
Factory farming		Discomfort	
Farming		Conditions	
Layer hen		Abused	
Egg farmers		Slaughter	
Farming systems		Kill	

Table B-3

VSANZ

Commodity/economic	Food	Traditional welfare	New welfare
production	eggs	welfare	vegucation
layer hens	meat	welfare reforms	
production systems	broiler	suffering	
		meaningful welfare reforms	

Table B-4

*Farmwatch*

Commodity/economic	Food	Traditional welfare
Farrowing crate	Welfare	Compassion
Caged egg farm	Pork	Conditions
Battery cages	Bacon	Cruelty
Colony cages	Ham	Free range
Farms	Broiler	
Fattening pens	Meat chicken	
	Egg	

Table B-5

WAPNZ

Commodity/economic	Food	Traditional welfare
Production	Broiler	Humane
Economic		Compassion
		Regulations
		Protection

## Appendix C: Frame detection guide

The following guide demonstrates how to go about locating key terms that correspond to specific frames.

1. Terms that correspond to identified frames should be highlighted. This should be done for each publication or text produced by New Zealand stakeholders within the selected time period that is related to factory farming
2. Once all terms related to the identified frames have been highlighted, they should be categorised per the identified frames in the literature review.  
  
Appendix A and B contain terms associated with the identified frames as used by each New Zealand stakeholder. It should be noted the lists provided are not exhaustive or final. Researchers may add further terms which correspond to the identified frames.
3. The terms which correspond to their respective frame should be added up. For example, if the for term *humane* is used in 50 instances within one selected publication or text, it can be said the traditional welfare frame was utilised 50 times for that publication. This step should be repeated for each publication produced by the selected stakeholders as part of the study.
4. The highlighted terms that correspond to the identified frame within all publications should be calculated to find the total usage of the respective frame.