

How Happy is Your Meat?: Confronting (Dis)connectedness in the 'Alternative' Meat Industry

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Abstract: The rise of 'happy meat' and support for small farmers has gained popularity in the alternative food movement in response to concerns about the industrialized meat industry. Looking at slaughter in the alternative meat movement, this article identifies three types of disconnectedness: socio-spatial, aesthetic, and connected. Socio-spatial disconnection is explored here through an analysis of the Mobile Slaughter Unit as a practice of slaughter alternative to industrial scale slaughter. This article uses alternative farms' web marketing materials to explain aesthetic disconnection occurring in the alternative meat movement. Connected disconnection is understood through a brief analysis of a new phenomenon of 'do-it-yourself' slaughter. This article discusses how these three sites of disconnection represent a denial of the actual connections humans share with animals.



The industrialization of the meat industry has been well-documented across the disciplines and throughout popular media,¹ along with a growing consideration for the effects of this industrialization on animal lives.² Animal rights activists in particular have been committed to exposing and documenting the conditions under which animals are raised and slaughtered in factory farms or Concentrated Animal Feeding Operations (CAFOs).³ The development of the industrialized factory farm coincided with a widespread disconnection of the consumer from the process of producing food in the United States as the population shifted away from agricultural livelihoods into urban areas.⁴ In spite of this disconnection, the ethical problems with raising animals in this way are making their way to the public eye as the politics and ethics of food production in the United States and globally become more prominent concerns. An alternative food movement⁵ has gained support in response to growing awareness and concern about environmental issues related to food miles, carbon emissions, water quality, etc;⁶ health issues related to pollution and hormone and/or antibiotic use;⁷ and ethical issues related to working conditions, corporatization and animal welfare.⁸

This movement fosters a more informed and active role for the consumers' relationship to producers and the production process. Popular public figures in the U.S. like Michael Pollan and Slow Food encourage support of local, small-scale farms as the ethical alternative to an increasingly corporatized food system. In addition to advocating more generally for localization and sustainably raised food, Pollan encourages more specifically the support (through consumption) of meat from "humanely raised," "sustainable," or "ethical" sources.⁹

"Alternative" meat producers typically market themselves as "free range," "grass-fed," "organic," "natural," or "cage-free" and represent the minority (1%)¹⁰ of meat production. The rise of "happy meat," as it is often described, has been promoted by various actors, including big business (e.g., Whole Foods Market's compassionate standards),¹¹ animal welfarists, concerned with "humane" standards (e.g., Temple Grandin),¹² farmers,¹³ and vegetarians-gone-meat-eaters.¹⁴ This "happy meat" movement arguably allows consumers uneasy with the ethics of meat-eating to justify continuing to eat meat because they are presumably both supporting the family farm and ensuring happier lives for the animals destined to become meat. For those concerned with the ethical status of animals, the aim is often that the animals have "happy lives" and "humane deaths." And yet, despite this supposed concern for the animals' deaths, relatively little public attention has been paid to what their deaths are like and how slaughter is accomplished.

This article explores this construction of "happy meat" through looking at the ways in which consumers are disconnected from the animals they are eating. I argue that this disconnection occurring in the alternative meat movement can take three different forms: (1) socio-spatial disconnection, (2) aesthetic disconnection, and (3) connected disconnection. The first type—socio-spatial disconnection—can be seen in how alternative slaughter is performed through a content analysis of documentation of the operations of the recently developed Mobile Slaughter Units (MSUs). I will argue that while these MSUs operate as an alternative to industrial slaughter, they are yet another example of the socio-spatial distancing implicit in the historical shift of populations from rural to urban spaces, away from close proximity to spaces of slaughter. The second—aesthetic disconnection—is seen in the marketing strategies of the alternative meat movement. I employ a discursive analytic method to evaluate the way slaughter is marketed (or not marketed) by small-scale "alternative" meat producers in Washington State. Using three Washington State farms' marketing materials, I explore discourses of nature, art, and the earth to deconstruct the methods by which these farms use discursive strategies to advocate connection to animal lives, while actively obscuring animal deaths. "Connected" disconnection is the third form of disconnection I identify and, in this

article, refers to a very recent phenomenon of “do it yourself” butchering as an attempt to connect with what it means to produce meat. In contrast to its reference to ‘connection,’ this third form is perhaps the most radical disconnection of all. The following section provides a theoretical foundation for understandings of connection and disconnection in relation to slaughtering animals for food. Using this theoretical base, the rest of the article is devoted to exploring, in sequence, the way these three types of disconnection are enacted in the alternative meat movement and the repercussions of such disconnections for how we think about animals more generally.

Theoretical Foundations

In order to understand these three methods by which humans are disconnected from animals in the alternative meat movement, it is first necessary to understand the ways in which we are *actually connected* to these animals. Theoretically, much work has been done to highlight the similarities between humans’ and many nonhuman animals’ experience of the world. Tom Regan, for instance, situates this similarity in his “subject of a life” framework:

[W]e are each of us the experiencing subject of a life, a conscious creature having an individual welfare that has importance to us whatever our usefulness to others. We want and prefer things, believe and feel things, recall and expect things. And all these dimensions of our life, including our pleasure and pain, our enjoyment and suffering, our satisfaction and frustration, our continued existence or our untimely death—all make a difference to the quality of our life as lived, as experienced, by us as individuals. As the same is true of those animals that concern us (the ones that are eaten and trapped, for example), they too must be viewed as the experiencing subjects of a life, with inherent value of their own.¹⁵

To recognize an animal’s inherent value with respect to their having “experiencing subjects of a life” status is to recognize that animals should enjoy the same opportunities for “continued existence” as we (at least in principle) afford humans. Regan refers to the emotional and intellectual experiences of humans and animals as a site where we can recognize commonalities. Much earlier, Jeremy Bentham made his infamous statement, “The question is not, Can they *reason*? nor Can they *talk*? but, Can they suffer?”¹⁶ Bentham was concerned not with the more complex emotions and intellect of animals; rather, he argued quite simply for consideration of animals based on a shared capacity to suffer.

Certainly since Bentham was writing, and even since Tom Regan wrote *The Case for Animal Rights*, much empirical work has been done by ethologists and animal behaviorists that complicates Bentham’s question of “Can they suffer?” and attempts to better understand the complex emotional and intellectual capacities of animals.¹⁷ Marc Bekoff, a biologist and ethologist at the University of Colorado, explores the evolution of the emotional capacities of a wide range of animals and argues

that recognition of these capacities as being similar to our own is a first step toward reaching the conclusion that they should be free from the exploitation we inflict upon them.¹⁸ Jeffrey Moussaieff Masson, former psychoanalyst, has written fairly extensively on this subject, pushing us to consider the possibilities of advanced animal emotion:

We acknowledge that certain animals see better than we do, hear more, smell more acutely, are stronger, faster, more agile, and so on. This does not make them better or superior, just different and worth studying and valuing. Why not when it comes to the emotions as well? I am sure that the ability to feel terror may well be as advanced in many other prey species as it is in humans. The need for friendship may be more powerful in many other species than it is in ours. The love of children may be highly developed, even more than in our own, in many species that form pair-bonds [...] Fidelity in geese, patience in cows, playfulness in lambs, the list could continue for pages. Just imagine how rewarding it could be to contemplate the emotional superiority of an animal when it comes to compassion or love; to think that we have something to learn.¹⁹

It is partly based on this burgeoning field of studies on animal emotion and intellect that we can begin to recognize the ways in which we are actually connected, through our emotional lives, to animals. Paying close attention to emotion is one location for understanding our connectedness to animals. A second form of connection we experience with animals comes, in part, out of feminist scholarship; it is the work that focuses on animals and discrimination. Geographer Joni Seager brings feminist environmentalist theory to bear on the way human-animal relationships are coded with long histories of discrimination and oppression. Seager presents discrimination based on species as the next significant site of discrimination to be addressed alongside more familiar struggles over race, class, gender, sexuality, age, disability, etc.²⁰ Using feminist theory to talk about animals' experience of the food industry, places animals among the other marginalized groups feminist scholars and activists work to defend.²¹

Steven M. Wise uses one location (Tar Heel, North Carolina) to trace three poignant historical moments of exploitation based on oppression: the massacre of a Siouan-speaking indigenous community, a plantation where African slaves were forced to work, and presently in that location, the largest animal slaughter facility in the world.²² Wise's work informs the connection that just as slavery was justified by the advancement of an overtly racist discourse, so too is our widespread exploitation of animals for our own ends justified by overt speciesism—by the notion that animals are somehow inferior to humans and so do not warrant equal consideration. Sexuality, race, gender, age, disability and class are all sites of discrimination both currently and historically experienced by many humans. On the basis that many of us can understand the effects of one or

more of these forms of discrimination on our own lives, we can take a step further to empathize with the experience of the oppressive effects of discrimination based on species.

This section explored briefly a couple of the most important ways in which we are *actually connected* to animals. These connections are based in understandings of shared experience through similarities in emotions and through familiar histories (like a U.S. history of slavery) of discrimination. Beginning with a framework of these fundamental connections, I will use the alternative slaughter to interrogate the intersection of this connection with the three forms of disconnection I put forth. The next section addresses the first of these forms of disconnection.

Socio-Spatial Disconnection

The first method of disconnection is socio-spatial. Despite suggestions through marketing by the alternative meat movement (reviewed in the next section) that raising and killing animals humanely enables various forms of connection, the socio-spatial separation of consumers from the process of meat production (i.e. slaughter) is tangible. This section begins by exploring a gradual historical shift in the way meat is more generally purchased and produced in the United States. I then use the empirical example of the Mobile Slaughter Unit (MSU) in Washington State because it is currently touted as the best alternative for small farmers looking to slaughter their animals and sell their meat. It should be noted that in order for most meat to be sold, the animals must be slaughtered in U.S. Department of Agriculture (USDA)-approved facilities. For most small farmers in the alternative meat movement, this means shipping their animals long distances to be slaughtered in industrial slaughter facilities. And so, for the majority of alternative meat production, the process of slaughter is not “alternative” at all. The MSU offers an option where animals may not have to leave the farm at all to be slaughtered; this process is detailed below. Despite the claim, though, that the MSU is an alternative that connects consumers to what it means to kill an animal for food, I later turn to an analysis of how the MSU still operates at a socio-spatial distance from consumers.

Historical Shifts

The U.S. American grocery store, supermarket, and farmers market are all locations where the disconnection between consumer and animal is particularly noticeable. There is rarely a hint of an actual animal in the meat aisle or farm stand.²³ Instead, there is a prepared cut of meat wrapped in plastic and Styrofoam with a tag labeled “beef” (not “cow”), or “pork” (not “pig”). These packages are also often labeled with terms (“free-range,” “organic,” and “grass-fed”) promising “happy meat”

and reassuring consumers that they can buy their way to ethical eating. Seeing flesh not as an animal that was once alive, but as meat (a food) allows the consumer to forget what is required to produce that meat (i.e. the killing of an animal). Labeling the animals in this way is a form of Cathy B. Glenn's "doublespeak" employed by the industry to obscure the process of slaughter and, in the process, "the use of these euphemisms disguises the fact that the body parts we purchase and consume are the objectified remains of former subjects."²⁴ The sterile aesthetic of packaged meat is far removed from the death of the animal. This disconnection may be rooted in the shift during the 1950s to increased consumption of meat and processed, packaged foods from grocery stores²⁵ and away from more specialized butcher shops where the silhouette of the animal was more visible. The shift in purchasing and consumption coincided with the shift of population away from rural areas into urban and suburban areas. And so, not only were consumers disconnected by the decline of butcher shops from animals as the source of meat, they were also spatially distanced by a move away from the rural places where animals are raised and slaughtered.

In 2000, 79% of the U.S. population lived in urban areas, whereas only 21% lived in rural areas.²⁶ Industrial slaughterhouses and farms where alternative practices of slaughter occur are disproportionately located in non-urban areas with only 33% of slaughterhouses located in urban areas (see Figure 1). This data reveals that the majority of the population does not live in close proximity to the majority of slaughterhouses in the United States. The physical distance or separation from slaughterhouses keeps the majority of the population from encountering or even being aware of the process of slaughter at all.

The shift of the population into urban spaces was one method of disconnection from the process of raising animals. But the spaces where animals are slaughtered also provide an interesting location for thinking about how we see or don't see animals being slaughtered. The spaces of slaughter differ between industrial scale slaughterhouses and farms that utilize the Mobile Slaughter Unit. In industrial slaughter, slaughter is generally done inside large warehouse-sized buildings; in this case, even those who live in close proximity to slaughterhouses do not see the process because slaughter happens behind closed doors. Most people in the United States never observe slaughter first-hand, because slaughterhouses are both far from where they live and closed to "civilians." In the case of the MSU, farms are generally located in rural places, apart from the majority of the

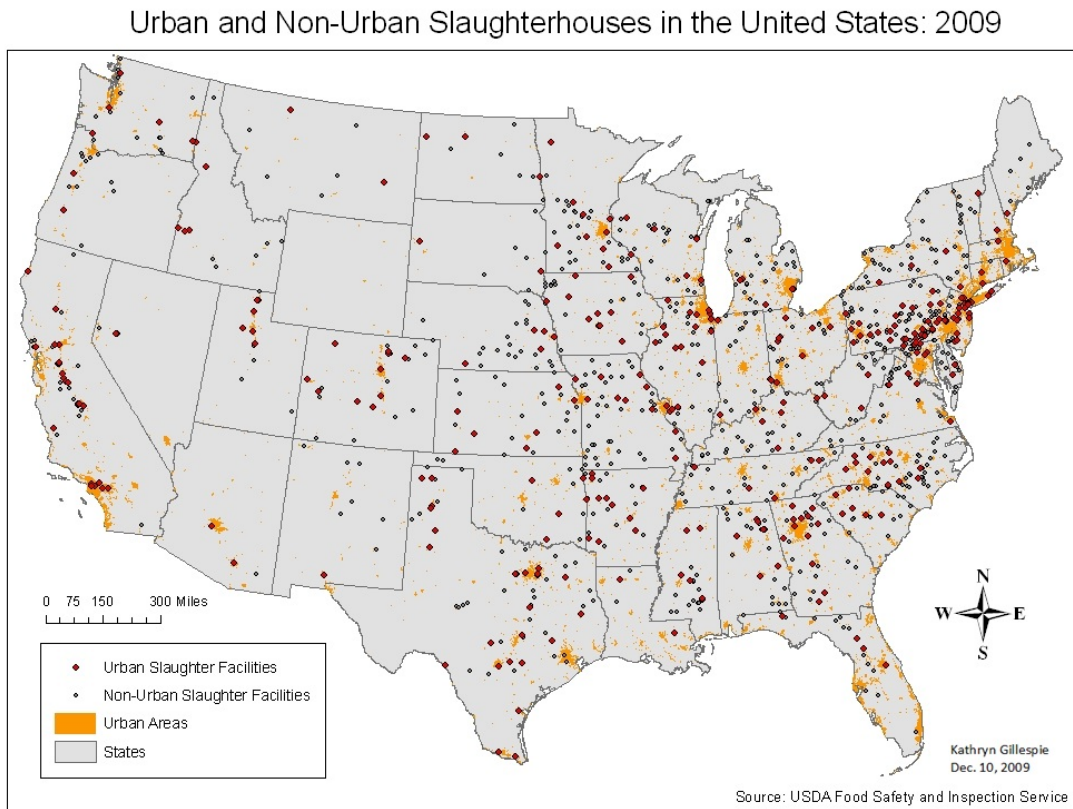


Figure 1. *Urban and Non-Urban Slaughterhouses in the United States: 2009*

population, but the space where this kind of slaughter occurs is different. Whereas industrial slaughter is performed indoors, much of the MSU slaughter process is done outdoors. The animals are pulled into the trailer slaughter unit only after they have been stunned and bled. MSU slaughter can be observed by the consumer who obtains permission to be on the farm during slaughter, an opportunity no doubt only rarely exploited.

Mobile Slaughter Units

Small-scale meat operations face difficulties in having their animals slaughtered for sale as smaller USDA facilities have closed and/or consolidated.²⁷ Federal guidelines require that all meat intended for sale must be from animals slaughtered in a USDA-approved facility. The cost of operating independent USDA-approved facilities is prohibitive for many smaller scale producers. These producers are often forced to ship their animals away to USDA slaughter facilities.²⁸

To retain greater control over the slaughter process, small-scale producers (like Thundering Hooves and Skagit River Ranch, two of the farms reviewed in the next section) have turned to a recently developed alternative. Mobile Slaughter Units (MSUs, also called Mobile Processing Units or MPUs) are semi-trailer trucks with the trailer converted into a USDA-approved slaughter facility. These trucks travel to the farms where the animals are raised, slaughter the animals onsite, and deliver the carcasses to a “cut & wrap” facility to be butchered and packaged.²⁹ The MSUs are intended to handle small-volume; for example, a standard 36 foot trailer can slaughter “10 beef, 24 hogs, or 40 sheep per day with two butchers.”³⁰

MSUs have begun to emerge across the United States after the first was opened on Lopez Island, Washington by the Island Grown Farmers Cooperative (IGFC) in 2002. Initially, the MSU was developed on Lopez Island as a solution to the difficulty and expense of having animals shipped off-island to be slaughtered and processed. More generally, the MSU offers a solution for farmers who are concerned with retaining control over the transport and slaughter process.

Normally, a farmer would have to ship his/her animals sometimes hundreds of miles to reach a slaughterhouse.³¹ “Transport of livestock is undoubtedly the most stressful and injurious stage in the chain of operations between farm and slaughterhouse and contributes significantly to poor animal welfare and loss of production.”³² Of note in this quotation is the claim that transport is “the most stressful and injurious stage”, which omits the fact that slaughter itself is really the most injurious to the animal since being slaughtered or slain is the ultimate injury. What the FAO refers to here is less about the actual wellbeing of the animal for the animal’s sake and more about the animal being injured because it compromises the quality of the meat (shown in the statement about “loss of production”). A less altruistic reason behind the emergence of MSUs is that animals slaughtered in MSUs tend to produce higher quality meat. When animals are transported they experience fear, which produces adrenaline. Adrenaline negatively affects the quality and taste of the meat, which will not be as profitable for the farmer.³³

The effects of transporting livestock include stress, bruising, trampling, suffocation, heart failure, heart stroke, sunburn, bloat, poisoning, predation, dehydration, exhaustion, injuries, and fighting.³⁴ This transport is hard on the animals because the trucks do not protect the animals from harsh weather conditions (either extreme heat or extreme cold), the animals are deprived of food and water, the transport vehicles are kept in disrepair and/or are overloaded during transport. If animals are slaughtered by a MSU that comes to the farm where they are raised, it eliminates the risks associated with transporting live animals long distances. The fact that animals slaughtered by an MSU

are rarely transported long distances while still alive certainly has a positive effect on the experience of the animal. Not being transported reduces the trauma that can occur for an animal on the long journey to a slaughterhouse. Additionally, the MSU reduces the food miles for meat by requiring decreased consumption of fossil fuels. In this way, the MSU has less of a negative environmental impact.

The MSU also enables farmers to oversee the slaughter of their animals. “MSUs are considered the ‘most humane’ way to slaughter animals for meat.”³⁵ For many farms, the MSU comes on a monthly basis, and often other farmers come to a common location to have their animals slaughtered at the same time (which then in fact does require the transport of animals). The MSU trailer is divided into two rooms: the processing room and the cooler room. The MSU arrives at the farm with all of the equipment needed as well as one or two butchers (depending on number of animals being slaughtered) and a USDA certified inspector. The inspector is there for the entire day to oversee the slaughter process and USDA regulations apply to the farm site when an MSU is present. The animals must have an area where they can relax while the inspector inspects them prior to slaughter. There must be a chute or small enclosure where the animals are stunned and the stunned animal must fall near to a concrete pad, a patch of clean grass, or dry dirt.³⁶

The animals are brought out into a chute (or small enclosed area) and stunned, typically with a captive bolt stunner (so the head can be sold for consumption). Once the animals are stunned, they are dragged out of the chute to the concrete pad, grass or dirt where their throats are cut and they bleed out (a process that generally takes about five minutes). Once the animals have bled out completely, they are then dragged into the back of the truck, washed with water, and hoisted up. The animal’s head is cut off first, then the feet, followed by the hide. The animals are then eviscerated and any part of the animal that will not be sold can be composted on the farm. Following evisceration, the animal (now carcass) is split in half, cleaned, and sprayed with an acid solution before the halves are moved into the cooler room in the truck. At the end of the day, the MSU takes the carcasses to the ‘cut and wrap’ facility. For the IGFC, this facility is located in Bow, WA (about 45 miles from Lopez Island). The IGFC runs its own USDA approved “cut and wrap” facility, but other MSUs may simply use or partner with already-established “cut and wrap” facilities. This is where the meat is aged, cut into pieces appropriate for sale, and packaged.³⁷

How 'Alternative' is the MSU?

The MSU functions as an alternative to more mainstream methods of slaughter. Elizabeth Poett (president of the California-based Central Coast Agricultural Cooperative or CCAC) says of the MSU, "It's beyond humane. There is no stress for the animal because it never leaves the ranch."³⁸ In many ways, the Mobile Slaughter Unit *is more* humane than conventional slaughter practices. It offers the producers an option that requires little to no transport of live animals and results in more control on the part of the producers to oversee the slaughter process. Certainly the MSU operates on a much smaller scale than more industrial slaughterhouses, with its capacity to process 24 pigs per day,³⁹ compared to Smithfield Foods' largest slaughter facility processing 32,000 pigs per day.⁴⁰ The reduced scale of the MSU translates to slower production speeds, which *may* reduce the number of mistakes (i.e., HMSA violations) during the slaughter process (though I have not found data to support this suggestion). Additionally, the presence of a concerned farmer during the slaughter process *may* prevent instances of animal abuse common in industrial slaughter facilities, just as the presence of an unconcerned farmer could have the opposite effect.

While there are certainly significant differences between the conditions of MSU and mainstream slaughter practices, there are important similarities. The actual process of slaughter is very similar and is not held to any higher standards than the process outlined in the federal regulations for humane slaughter. Steve Greco, one of the CCAC butchers says, "It functions the same as any livestock slaughter facility, except it is much more condensed and put on wheels."⁴¹ This similarity is one that alternative meat producers work hard to conceal through obscuring the process of slaughter with the romanticized aesthetics of the family farm. It is at this point that I turn to the second form of disconnection, aesthetic disconnection.

Aesthetic Disconnection: Marketing 'Alternative' Slaughter

The socio-spatial disconnection of humans from animals can be seen in the last section's review of the physical distance from slaughter. This encompasses a broad disconnection that most likely involves the majority of consumers in that most consumers are removed from the tangible slaughter process and so, rarely have to confront the animals they eat face-to-face. Aesthetic disconnection applies to those consumers who choose to actually do some research into how the farms they support raise and slaughter their animals. To explore marketing strategies of alternative farms, I conducted a discursive analysis of online marketing materials from three small farms' websites. After surveying a wide range of website marketing materials from small farms in

Washington State, I identified three discourses common in the promotional materials: (1) a grounded connection to the earth, (2) an ethereal connection to Mother Nature, and (3) an artistic or artisanal representation of farming. I identified these frequently-employed discourses among alternative meat producers and selected three farms that are generally representative of the broader pool. In the broader pool, there was often overlap of these discourses in farm marketing materials; for the purposes of this project, I tried to choose samples in which one of these discourses dominates the marketing materials of that particular farm. Prior to reviewing the specific discourses of the three farms, it is important to note a number of general terms under which the majority of all farms surveyed market themselves.

General Marketing Labels for Alternative Meat Production

Ninety nine percent of meat sold in the United States comes from animals raised and slaughtered in industrialized factory farm/ CAFO settings.⁴² The other one percent is accounted for by alternative, often small-scale, family-run, meat producers. These farms raise animals labeled as “free range,” “grass-fed,” “organic,” “natural,” or “cage-free.” These terms need to be unpacked in order to understand what they mean in the case of meat production. These terms are all used to advance the discourse of “happy” animal *lives* (while ignoring animal deaths) and represent a continued resistance to referring to slaughter in labeling.

Free Range

“Free range” (or “free roaming”) implies that animals are allowed to roam freely on pasture with access to wide-open outdoor space. In reality, “free range” is a term that has regulations only for poultry and not for pigs, cows, sheep, or any other livestock. In defining “free range,” the USDA states that: “[p]roducers must demonstrate to the Agency that the poultry has been allowed **access** to the outside.”⁴³ Access to the outside does not guarantee that the birds have spent any time on pasture, but that there is a door to the outside that can give the birds access to some kind of yard. Oftentimes, this door is rarely opened, and when the door is open, the birds may rarely be encouraged to go through it.⁴⁴ It should be recognized that use of the term “free range” to describe the conditions of non-poultry livestock lacks any backing by federal regulations or official guidelines.

Grass Fed

“Grass fed” evokes the image of cattle grazing on open pasture, eating grass from the fields. The USDA requirements state: “grass and forage shall be the feed source consumed for the lifetime of the ruminant animal.”⁴⁵ The USDA standard for “grass fed” “requires access to the outdoors during the growing season,” which means in many places, according to Dr. Patricia Whisnant, “that six months out of the year [during non-growing season months], animals can be kept confined as long as they are fed grass and forage.”⁴⁶ New legislation for raising dairy cows, which went into effect in June 2010, says, “[t]he season will be determined by local conditions and agricultural authorities, like organic certifiers or county conservation officials, not by the [farm] alone [and] the grazing season must last at least 120 days.”⁴⁷ “Grass fed” meat can also come from animals who have been fed hormones and antibiotics and so does not necessarily comply with other labeling standards (such as “organic” or “free range”/ “pasture raised”).

Organic

“Certified organic” is a certification regulated by the USDA. For food to be “certified organic,” the producers must not use *most* synthetic fertilizers and pesticides; antibiotics and irradiation are prohibited. Certified organic foods may not be genetically modified. Animals raised under organic standards must be fed organic feed and have access to the outdoors.⁴⁸ As we see with the term “free range,” this access to the outdoors is often no more than the presence of the door or “the opportunity to look outside through a screened window.”⁴⁹

Natural

“Natural” implies a practice that is at one with nature. The USDA defines “natural” as “a product containing no artificial ingredient or added color and is only minimally processed (a process which does not fundamentally alter the raw product) may be labeled natural.”⁵⁰ When talking about meat, “natural” refers only to the fact that artificial ingredients have not been added to the meat and that the meat is not highly processed. “Natural” requires no standards for how the animals were raised, what they ate, or how they were slaughtered. When talking about the content of meat, what the animal eats is important; an animal can be fed manure, dead animals, and other waste while alive and still be called “natural” at the grocery store or farm stand.⁵¹

Cage-Free

“Cage-free” refers most often to laying hens who are kept to produce eggs. Hens are kept in barns or large warehouses where they are free to roam around. “Cage-free” does not mean that they have access to the outdoors.⁵² Typically, cage-free hens are debeaked (their beaks are seared off) because, although they generally have more space than in caged operations, chickens kept in such close quarters will peck at each other and cause injuries, infections and death.⁵³

While this collection of terms may initially provide some sense of comfort to the concerned consumer and evoke images of a return to a more harmonious relationship among humans, animals and the land, reviewing the reality behind the terms helps to show that these labels do not guarantee processing in accord with what the terms promise. The labels also say nothing of the way the animals are slaughtered. Instead, they advance discourses of animals, nature, farming families, and harvest. To explore discourses of slaughter on farms that market themselves under these labels, I will review the web marketing of three small-scale alternative meat producers in Washington State and explore the ways in which discourses not directly related to slaughter may obscure the process of slaughter itself.

Thundering Hooves⁵⁴: A Grounded Connection to the Earth?

Thundering Hooves is a fourth-generation “pasture ranged” and “pasture finished” farm in Walla Walla, Washington where they raise chickens, turkeys, cattle, goats, sheep and pigs for meat. “Pasture finished” is a term Thundering Hooves developed to indicate that their animals were never sent to a feedlot or CAFO.⁵⁵ Their website is designed in earth-tone shades of green and brown with a background of a wide-open field of grass at the top of the main page. An image of a lone rancher on horseback herding cattle through a snow-covered field is framed by “Pastured goodness from our family farm to you! Thundering Hooves.”⁵⁶ Small thumbnail images of farm animals surround this main photograph; an image of a cow is placed above the word “Beef,” a pig is labeled “Pork,” etc. The animals lose their animal names and are, instead, identified as the meat product that will be produced by their slaughter. This method of labeling the animal as a consumable product is a step in disconnecting the consumer from the animal itself and represents the commodification of the animal while still alive, a reference again to Cathy B. Glenn’s “doublespeak.” The implication is that the animal’s purpose is solely to become “beef” or “pork” and dismisses the fact that each of these animals is an individual cow or pig with interests of his/her own. It can be seen as a *necessary* site of

disconnection, for if the consumer were to see the animals as individuals, it may be more difficult to be complicit in their killing.

Thundering Hooves' philosophy is that "Nature Knows Best" and they use no hormones or antibiotics in raising their animals. They feed their animals species-appropriate food; in other words, cattle are fed grass (not grain as in CAFOs) and pigs are fed a vegetarian diet rich in "salad greens."⁵⁷ Their pastures are certified organic and their animals range freely in the pastures. Because of the high demand for the meat they produce, Thundering Hooves has developed a network of 'Producer Alliances' with other local farmers who raise animals according to their standards.⁵⁸

Thundering Hooves' slaughter process is described as follows:

All Thundering Hooves meats are processed from start to finish under USDA inspection. Animals are harvested at our farm in our own USDA mobile Abattoir. The carcasses are transported to our Meat Shop in Walla Walla where the meat is appropriately aged for optimal tenderness and flavor then cut & wrapped under USDA inspection. Our meat and poultry are stored in a USDA approved commercial freezer at our processing facility.⁵⁹

The use of the term "harvested" instead of "slaughtered" or "killed" is a particular point of interest. "Harvest" literally means "autumn" and comes from German *herbst*, the Latin *carpere* meaning "to pluck," and Greek *kaptos* meaning "fruit."⁶⁰ "Harvest" implies that the slaughter of animals is akin to picking fruit from a tree, digging up potatoes, or cutting broccoli. To harvest something suggests a significantly less violent act than what is actually required to turn a living animal into meat (stunning, cutting the throat, bleeding out, skinning, disemboweling, and dismembering the animal versus reaching up and plucking an apple from the branch of a tree). This violence is obscured by the use of the word "harvest," evoking instead images of the bountiful gathering of produce in autumn and a suggestion that animals, along with this bounty of vegetables and fruits, are converted into food by means of simply "gathering" meat. Harvest is also seasonal; vegetables and fruits are harvested when they are ripe so that they do not rot. Animals, however, do not have a season and will not rot if they are not killed.

Skagit River Ranch: An Ethereal Connection to Mother Nature?

The Skagit River Ranch is a small-scale, certified organic, family farm located in the Skagit Valley (in northwestern Washington). They raise cattle, pigs, and chickens for meat and sell fresh eggs from their laying hens. Like Thundering Hooves, Skagit River Ranch uses no antibiotics or hormones and is committed to the importance of feeding the animals healthy and species-appropriate foods. They believe "that by being good stewards of the land and using sustainable,

organic, humane methods, Mother Nature will bless [them] back with healthy, clean food – a gift [they] are honored to share with you.”⁶¹

Contrary to the rich earthy colors used on Thundering Hooves’ website, Skagit River Ranch’s website has a pale sky blue background with what looks like a watercolor painting in pale colors of the ranch itself. The image shows a picturesque barn next to a dense green forest. Behind the barn is a river (most likely meant to be the Skagit River) and behind the river are the rolling foothills of the Cascade Mountains with a snowy peak (probably Mt. Baker). Whereas Thundering Hooves promotes itself as being “of the earth” (even their name refers to the sound of an animal in contact with the earth), Skagit River Ranch presents a more ethereal vision of farming. The watercolor representation of the farm in pale colors refers to their quasi-religious relationship to Mother Nature. Mother Nature has blessed them with “healthy, clean food - a gift [they] are honored to share with you.” They have been “chosen” by Mother Nature to receive this bounty of healthy meat (which is presumably bestowed upon them without any of the violence or blood or messiness that comes with killing an animal for meat). By buying their meat, the implication is that you too can partake in this blessing from an ethereal Mother Nature and be a part of something that transcends the earthly inconvenience of slaughter. There is no question of ethics or morality entailed in eating Skagit River Ranch’s meat because Mother Nature has given permission to consume a part of Her with every steak, sausage, chop, or drumstick.

Skagit River Ranch’s description of slaughter echoes that of Thundering Hooves: “Our beef is harvested between May and December while the grass is still growing and full of nourishment. A USDA certified mobile processing unit comes to the farm, then transports the carcasses to a cut and wrap facility where they hang for a minimum of two weeks.”⁶² They make no mention of the slaughter of their pigs or chickens, though one might assume that they are also slaughtered by the mobile processing unit. Again, we see the use of the word “harvested” instead of “slaughtered,” and there is a distinctive gap in this description between the arrival of the MPU and the transport of the carcasses to the cut and wrap facility. The slaughter process in general is left largely to imagination, external research, or perhaps even Mother Nature’s benevolent hand.

Seabreeze Farm: Farming as Art?

Seabreeze Farm is a decade-old farm located on Vashon Island in the Puget Sound area. They sell pork, beef, veal, chicken, lamb, eggs, cheese, and milk. In addition to raising animals for meat and dairy, they have a restaurant, winery, and full-service butcher shop attached to the farm.

They market themselves as high-end and “beyond-organic.”⁶³ Their website uses various shades of green and on their homepage is a large photograph of a very young calf looking out at the viewer. The top banner is a series of photographs of cows in a pasture, a selection of meats hanging in a butcher shop, a shelf filled with wine, a basket overflowing with reddish-brown eggs, and a flock of chickens in a field. Seabreeze introduces itself in the following terms:

Welcome to...our pasture. We are passionate about grass. We want our animals to live, love, breath, frolic, eat and[,] when the time comes, die in it. Grass is green. Green is good. Good and green and gorgeous and delicious. We love the palette of the fields,[sic] and what it does for our palates. [C]olor=flavor. Find us at a market, our restaurant, our butcher shop, our farm, facebook, twitter and our website. We're growing grassy-green-goodness everywhere. Enjoy grazing our site...⁶⁴

[O]ur farm...is solar energy. one big solar panel. a pasture. sunlight is the fuel which feeds the grass which is the engine of our system. at the core of the operation are wonderful creatures of the bovine species. cows. they are central to our endeavors, and they are prime grazers of grass. right behind them come the sheep. the sheep are very adaptable and graze whatever the cows don't like. behind them come the chickens and pigs, which eat some grass, but more importantly, like to eat the partially processed grass that the cows and sheep leave behind. following that come the wonderful humans of sea breeze farm, shepherding, guiding, tending, feeding. It's a beautiful system, and is remarkably effective at converting sunlight into eggs, meat and milk.⁶⁵

There is a poetic lilt to this introduction to Seabreeze, which makes the reader feel that what this farm is doing is more than just farming or animal husbandry: it is poetry and art. They refer to the palette of fields, as if the fields and the animals in the fields are supplies to be used in the artistic production of the food they sell. The colors (of the animals) are converted to flavor (of the meat) with the skilled hand of an artist's brush (i.e., stunner and knife). Furthermore, by eating what they produce, you aren't really eating meat, but the “grassy-green-goodness” of the fields and “beautiful sunlight” that fuels their farm. The implication here is that you are consuming art by eating sunlight. Their animals convert sunlight into food, which is actually a biological cycle of sunlight growing the grass, which is eaten by the animals and, when the animals are killed, is converted into food for humans.

This text seems to imply also that animals at Seabreeze are not slaughtered, but die in the pastures “when the time comes.” Which “time” does this refer to? Certainly not a time when they die of old age; we know from their list of meat products that they sell veal, for instance, which comes from very young calves who are far from full-grown (and even further from old age). The “time” they are referring to then is the time determined by market conditions convenient for the farmers at

Seabreeze. And yet, there is no mention of the point of slaughter anywhere on the Seabreeze website; instead of slaughtering, the “wonderful humans of sea breeze [apparently] farm, shepherding, guiding, tending, feeding.”⁶⁶ The duties of the humans at Seabreeze do not include mention of slaughter, which would bloody their transcendent artistic representation of themselves.

Absence of Slaughter and the Suggestion of Glass Walls

The common thread in all three of these websites is a lack of any explicit conversation about slaughter. The process of slaughter is obscured or ignored via the language used (i.e. harvesting, dying when the time comes, etc.) or by a complete lack of any mention of the slaughter process (e.g. Seabreeze Farm). Both Thundering Hooves and Skagit River Ranch state that they use MSUs to “harvest” their animals, but it is only through further research that we have any sense of what this process looks like. As noted, Seabreeze Farm omits any reference to the fact that animals are slaughtered, or to the process by which the slaughter occurs. Consumers who do not go the extra step to investigate the MSUs on their own are able to consume the “artisan sunlight” meat that was “harvested from the earth” with “Mother Nature’s blessing” just for them without the inconvenience of thinking about the animal’s actual death.

It is this effort to obscure the process (and the consumers’ willingness to let it be obscured) that enables consumer disconnection from slaughter. The concealment of slaughter in the marketing materials of alternative meat producers benefits both producers and consumers; if consumers were to be confronted by slaughter whenever they wanted to consume meat, they would surely suffer internal conflict. This may lower the consumption of meat, which would negatively impact the producer. This marketing of alternatively produced meat provides an interesting spin on the familiar adage, “If slaughterhouses had glass walls, everyone would be a vegetarian.”⁶⁷ Most commonly, this saying is used to refer to industrial scale slaughter where slaughter literally happens behind closed doors and opaque walls. And alternative slaughter not performed by the MSU (i.e. slaughter performed in industrial-scale slaughterhouses) is done in this same way. However, applied to the case of alternative meat production, the walls separating consumers from slaughter can also be metaphorical.

In spite of the fact that MSU slaughter is done mainly in outdoor spaces with no physical walls (glass or cement), there are still methods by which the consumer can disconnect from the process of alternative slaughter. This disconnection may happen through an appeal to consumer connection to the farm. Some small-scale alternative meat producers in Washington hide themselves

behind metaphoric walls by claiming that there are no walls. One of the most appealing things about the marketing websites of these alternative farms is the suggestion of full disclosure. Animals are raised by families (who are presumably more trust worthy than the large faceless corporation) in wide-open spaces (where they can presumably be witnessed leading their “happy lives”) where they eat the foods they would naturally eat. Anyone can read on the websites about what the animals eat, how they are cared for, how the family has been farming this way for generations (tradition has powerful appeal). But this idyllic vision of full disclosure is a wall of its own kind because of the processes it conceals. Consumers are shown the picturesque beauty of animals grazing and the promise that buying their meat is an invitation to be a part of that beauty and tradition. There is also the unspoken implication by the producers that to buy this meat is different from buying meat raised on factory farms; to buy this meat is to buy meat produced without any of the violence or suffering that is difficult to think about.

There is a kind of “silent collusion” between the producers and the consumers.⁶⁸ While producers conduct the process of slaughter under cover of concealment, consumers for their part cultivate standard forms of ignorance. Jacques Derrida writes: “[n]o one can deny seriously, or for very long, that men do all they can in order to dissimulate this cruelty or to hide it from themselves, in order to organize on a global scale the forgetting or misunderstanding of this violence.”⁶⁹

Some consumers feign ignorance; aware there is something wrong with slaughtering animals, they pretend to know less than they do.⁷⁰ There is also a collective “forgetting or misunderstanding of this violence”; consumers dismiss what education they do have about animal slaughter so they do not have to question their complicity in this violence.⁷¹ There is also quite simply what Weston terms “the wish not to know,” which refers to a lack of interest in seeking out education about processes of slaughter for fear that what they will find will require a profound shift in behavior and belief system.⁷²

An interesting challenge to the “wish not to know” the specifics of animal slaughter is the empirical example used in the next section on connected disconnection. The recent phenomenon of do-it-yourself butchering offers the opportunity for the consumer to slaughter and butcher an animal for their own consumption. I will now turn to an analysis of this new, though still quite uncommon, trend.

Connected Disconnection: Do-it-Yourself Butchering

I am aware that connected disconnection is a contradiction in terms, and yet I use this slightly awkward term in this sense as referring to the “connection” that consumers and do-it-yourselfers claim to experience with the animals they slaughter. To be clear, this is a distinctly different definition of connection from the *actual connection* described at the beginning which humans and animals inherently share.

In response to the socio-spatial disconnection that occurs between consumer and animal in both industrial and alternative meat production, and also as a response to the aesthetic disconnection of the alternative meat movement, a recent phenomenon of “do-it-yourself” (DIY) butchering classes has emerged. This represents a tiny group of consumers who pay to learn how to slaughter an animal themselves. At Home Acres Farm in Everett, Washington, farmer Bruce King offers a course called “Pasture to Primal,” which guides participants through the process of killing and butchering a pig that they purchase from the farm. The class is six hours long and costs \$500 USD.⁷³ Participants shoot the pigs using a rifle to stun, but not kill, them. The pig must be alive when he/she is “stuck” (the carotid artery is cut with a knife), so that the heart will continue to beat, pumping the blood out of the body. Afterwards, they scald and skin the pig, disembowel the pig, and butcher the pig into various cuts of meat which the participant takes home for later consumption.⁷⁴

The class is targeted for “people who want to buy whole live pigs for BBQ, who raise their own pigs and want to process them themselves, or people who are considering raising pigs and would like to know what it's like to kill and process a pig.”⁷⁵ However, a recent *New York Times* article featuring this particular class describes a slightly different patron—two brothers celebrating one of their 30th birthdays by slaughtering a pig.⁷⁶ In the *New York Times* article, we see a sensationalized, even celebratory, version of DIY slaughter. One of the brothers, named Christian, in the DIY butchery class said that as he ate the pig he had slaughtered and butchered, “the odor of the slaughter came back”:

“That faint smell reminded me of being covered all over my arms in this animal’s death,” Christian said. “It was more profound than I expected, because it was an olfactory experience, like a smell you remember from childhood. Every time I ate a tamale from this pig, I remembered it laying on a pallet and being shaved.” And this was a good thing: it was “the connection to my food I really wanted to capture,” he said.⁷⁷

This quest for a consumer-food connection is used to justify killing and eating animals. In fact, for many consumers, taking on the death of the animal personally, is a means to more ethical eating. “By learning to slaughter and butcher, they say, they can honor their pigs and eat them,

too.”⁷⁸ Additionally, Christian’s reference to the olfactory nostalgia experienced when later eating the pig seems to invoke a more unconscious nostalgia for what farming used to be: where a farmer raised, killed, butchered and ate an animal himself.

The “connection” Christian claims to feel is one tied up in sentimental nostalgia for a past where the majority of U.S. Americans were farmers. And yet his experience is very different; he has not raised the pig and so has no personal relationship with the animal; and this is also presumably a one-time experience, a birthday celebration, not to be done each time he and his brother decide to eat meat. Christian explains the connection he feels to his food after seeing the pig die and butchering his/her body. And yet, what would happen if he continued to slaughter every animal he ate? Even Michael Pollan, advocate for consumer-food connection and “happy meat,” explains how quickly one has to disconnect from what it means to slaughter an animal. In *The Omnivore’s Dilemma*, Pollan slaughters chickens for a day at Polyface Farm and explains that after slaughtering a few chickens, he became numb to the task and thought less about the implications of each chicken’s death.⁷⁹ Gail Eisnitz’s *Slaughterhouse* shows this desensitizing process in how the violence of slaughter can impact our relationship to violence by encouraging other kinds of violence and by missing a connection to the individual animal.⁸⁰

Beyond the confines of Washington State, this phenomenon is also growing rapidly in U.S. gourmet food havens like New York City and San Francisco.⁸¹ Butchery classes are over-registered with lawyers, gourmet chefs, and gourmet foodies in general, who see butchery as an artisanal activity.⁸² In fact, those “same food connoisseurs who once revered only celebrity chefs or restaurant impresarios are now turning their attentions to a humbler, more rustic food world.”⁸³ A Manhattan lawyer can step away from the office for a weekend and, in the midst of New York City, learn the “art” of butchering an animal, a practice that presumably is supposed to connect him with a rustic farming lifestyle.

The advertised patrons of such a business venture reveal that, at a cost of between \$500 USD⁸⁴ for a one-day slaughter/butchery class and up to \$10,000 USD⁸⁵ for a more involved butcher training program, these classes seem to be reserved for those with large expendable incomes. Because the cost is prohibitive for many people, this phenomenon seems to suggest that a connection with the rustic, with slaughter, and with the art of butchery is reserved for those who can pay for it. In fact, at The Brooklyn Kitchen, Tom the Butcher auctioned off spaces in one of his pig butchering classes to the highest bidders: “OK, if you’re one of those people that have been hassling

me to get into a sold out pig class here's your chance to show that you have more money than sense and bid for a spot in the last pig butchering class until the Fall on eBay.”⁸⁶

This attention to privilege in the DIY movement is a location for mentioning the interesting contradiction to the industrial slaughter industry, where a high percentage of those who perform slaughter are most often highly disenfranchised members of the population. Slaughterhouse workers in the U.S. today are increasingly immigrants predominantly from Mexico and Central America, African Americans, and former convicts of the US criminal justice system.⁸⁷ Slaughterhouse work is extremely dangerous, violent, and hard on the body, but because slaughterhouse workers are overwhelmingly poor, there is often little choice but to take work in the slaughter industry.⁸⁸

I draw this comparison with the workers in the slaughter industry to point out the disjunction between the two very different methods by which slaughter and butchering are enacted: one as an extracurricular activity for gourmet connoisseurs, the other as a form of livelihood, which is often an “only alternative.” But I also bring up industrial slaughter because of the way DIY slaughter is said to operate as a humane alternative. Even, “[s]ome animal-welfare activists say that this new celebration can, in fact, achieve a larger good. People who slaughter their own animals can spare the animals the horrors of the factory killing floor, where animals often meet their end in a state of panic, said Temple Grandin.”⁸⁹

While non-industrial scale slaughter *may* alleviate some of the horrors associated with the scale and speed of industrial slaughter, there is also no guarantee that do-it-yourselfers will perform the slaughter correctly the first time. Additionally, this statement seems to suggest that when a consumer participates in DIY slaughter, they refrain from supporting the industrial factory farm. Yet, one-time (or even multiple) participation in DIY classes does not in any way ensure that participants will stop consuming meat from industrial sources in their everyday lives. Rather, it aids in constructing a false sense of assuagement about the practice of eating meat because participants can say they have faced slaughter and know what it means.

It is in this claim to knowing what it means to slaughter an animal and what it means to eat meat that one of the most fervent disconnections occurs. All of the justifications for DIY slaughter as a way to connect to food, to become an artisan, to embody rusticity, and to make slaughter more humane are enlisted to conceal what the process really does. DIY slaughter connects participants to the violence against the animal, and not to the animal him/herself. This “connection” is a wholly false connection. DIY slaughter denies the *actual connection* we have with animals. Animals are still, in DIY slaughter, conceptualized not as individual animals but as products ready to become meat, yet

again enacting Cathy B. Glenn's "doublespeak." In the concluding section, I draw together an analysis of the ways in which these three forms of disconnection represent denials of the actual connection we have with animals.

Conclusion

George Orwell, in his dystopic novel *1984*, employs a framework, useful for this article, called "doublethink." "*Doublethink* means the power of holding two contradictory beliefs in one's mind simultaneously, and accepting both of them."⁹⁰ Doublethink requires us to see the thing clearly, in this case the *actual connection* between humans and animals. Recall that the actual connection between humans and animals is one of shared experiences of emotion, intellect, and the familiarity of discrimination. The fact that we have seen that actual connection clearly, through film, text, conversation, or our own personal relationships with individual animals, requires us to replace the thing (our recognition of our actual connection) with something else (the various disconnections discussed in this article) that enables us to continue doing what we want (e.g., eating animals).

The act of replacing the actual connection with the claims to connection seen in the socio-spatial disconnection, the aesthetic disconnection and the connected disconnection necessarily denies that the actual connection exists. Yet, the moment we deny the existence of that actual connection, we acknowledge its existence. In order to conceal that the actual connection has first been acknowledged and then denied, proponents of the alternative food movement use "doublespeak"⁹¹ to conceal what they have done. "The process has to be conscious, or it would not be carried out with sufficient precision, but it also has to be unconscious, or it would bring with it a feeling of falsity and hence of guilt."⁹² Terms like "free range," "grass fed," "organic," "natural," "cage free," "humane slaughter" and "happy meat" are constructions that enable these disconnections. Slaughter in the food industry is not "humane," and meat is not "happy." Slaughter is inherently violent and is naturally at odds with "humane," which implies "care" and "kindness." Meat is dead and does not have emotion; it is the animal prior to slaughter who has emotions. Yet, these terms are employed as covert agents of doublethink, at once revealing and concealing the processes they obscure.

Notes

¹ A few examples include Tony Weis' *The Global Food Economy: The Battle for the Future of Farming*, Alexander Cockburn's "A Short Meat-oriented History of the World," William Cronon's *Nature's Metropolis: Chicago and the Great West*, and Steve Striffler's *Chicken: The Dangerous Transformation of America's Favorite Food*.

² Examples include Noilie Vialles', *Animal to Edible*, Jim Mason's and Peter Singer's *Animal Factories: What Agribusiness is Doing to the Family Farm, the Environment and your Health*, Charles Patterson's *Eternal Treblinka: Our Treatment of Animals and the Holocaust*, David Wolfson's "Beyond the Law: Agribusiness and the Systemic Abuse of Animals Raised for Food or Food Production."

³ See Humane Society of the United States (HSUS) or People for the Ethical Treatment of Animals (PETA), among many other animals rights organizations.

⁴ Wendell Berry, *The Unsettling of America: Culture & Agriculture* (Berkeley: Sierra Club Books, 1997).

⁵ See Slow Food International, <http://www.slowfood.com>, Julie Guthman's *Agrarian Dreams*, and Michael Pollan's *The Omnivore's Dilemma*.

⁶ For example, see Lucy Jarosz's "Energy, Climate Change, Meat and Markets," or Gowri Koneswaran's and Danielle Nierenberg's "Global Farm Animal Production and Global Warming: Impacting and Mitigating Climate Change."

⁷ Dick Heederik et al. "Health Effects of Airborne Exposures from Concentrated Animal Feeding Operations;" Ellyn Ferguson's "FDA Pushes Limiting the Use of Animal Antibiotics."

⁸ See, for example, Bob Torres' *Making a Killing: The Political Economy of Animal Rights*, Tony Weis' *The Global Food Economy: The Battle for the Future of Farming*, Steve Striffler's *Chicken: The Dangerous Transformation of America's Favorite Food*.

⁹ Michael Pollan, *The Omnivore's Dilemma* (New York: Penguin Books, 2006).

¹⁰ Jonathan Safran-Foer, *Eating Animals* (Little, Brown & Company, 2009).

¹¹ Whole Foods Market, "Compassionate Standards for Farmed Animals"

<http://www.wholefoodsmarket.com/pdfs/cattle.pdf>

¹² Temple Grandin for the American Meat Institute's *Recommended Animal Handling Guidelines and Audit Guide 2007 Edition*.

¹³ Catherine Friend, *The Compassionate Carnivore* (Da Capo Press, 2008).

¹⁴ Megan Lane, "Some Sausages are More Equal Than Others" (*BBC News* Feb.1, 2007).

¹⁵ Tom Regan, "The Case for Animal Rights," in *Ethics in Practice*, edited by Hugh LaFollette (Malden, MA: Wiley-Blackwell 2002), 144.

¹⁶ Jeremy Bentham, *An Introduction to the Principles of Morals and Legislation*. (New York: Hafner Press 1948), 311.

¹⁷ To name just a few examples: Jonathan Balcombe's *Second Nature: The Inner Lives of Animals*, Marc Bekoff's *The Emotional Lives of Animals*, Oliver H.P. Burman, et al, "Anxiety-Induced Cognitive Bias in Non-Human Animals," Nadine Reefmann's "Ear and Tail Postures as Indicators of Emotional Valence in Sheep."

¹⁸ Marc Bekoff. *The Emotional Lives of Animals* (Novato, CA: New World Library, 2007).

¹⁹ Jeffrey Moussaieff Masson. *The Pig Who Sang to the Moon: The Emotional World of Farm Animals*, (New York: Ballantine Books 2003), 13.

²⁰ Joni Seager. "Pepperoni or Boccoli? On the Cutting Wedge of Feminist Environmentalism." (*Gender, Place and Culture* 10: 167-174).

²¹ For example, see Josephine Donovan's and Carol Adams' edited volume, *The Feminist Care Tradition in Animal Ethics: A Reader* and Carol Adams', *The Sexual Politics of Meat*.

²² Steven M. Wise, *An American Trilogy: Death, Slavery, and Dominion on the Cape Fear River*. (Merloyd Lawrence, Da Capo Press 2009).

²³ Carol Adams, *The Sexual Politics of Meat* (New York: Continuum, 1990).

²⁴ Cathy B. Glenn, "Constructing Consumables and Consent: A Critical Analysis of Factory Farm Industry Discourse" *Journal of Communication Inquiry* (28) 63 (2004): 69.

²⁵ Erika Endrijonas, "Processed Foods from Scratch: Cooking for a Family in the 1950's," in *Kitchen Culture in America*. ed. Sherrie Inness. (Philadelphia: University of Pennsylvania Press, 2001), 157-174.

²⁶ U.S. Census Bureau, *United States--Urban/Rural and Inside/Outside Metropolitan Area 2000 Summary File* http://factfinder.census.gov/servlet/GCTTable?_bm=y&-geo_id=01000US&-_box_head_nbr=GCT-P1&-ds_name=DEC_2000_SF1_U&-redoLog=false&-mt_name=DEC_2000_SF1_U_GCTP1_US1&-format=US-1 (accessed on Feb. 7, 2010).

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⁵⁵ Thundering Hooves, <http://www.thunderinghooves.net/> (accessed on Jan. 30, 2010).

⁵⁶ Ibid.

⁵⁷ Ibid.

⁵⁸ Ibid.

⁵⁹ Thundering Hooves, “FAQ,” <http://www.thunderinghooves.net/> (accessed on Jan. 30, 2010).

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⁶² Ibid.

⁶³ Seabreeze Farm, <http://www.seabreezefarm.net> (accessed on Feb. 6, 2010).

⁶⁴ Seabreeze Farm, “Home,” <http://www.seabreezefarm.net> (accessed on Feb. 6, 2010).

⁶⁵ Seabreeze Farm, “Farm,” <http://www.seabreezefarm.net> (accessed on Feb. 6, 2010).

⁶⁶ Ibid.

⁶⁷ Paul McCartney, *Glass Walls* (2009), People for the Ethical Treatment of Animals.

⁶⁸ Anthony Weston and David Abram, *An Invitation to Environmental Philosophy*, (New York: Oxford University Press, 1999).

⁶⁹ Jacques Derrida, *The Animal That Therefore I Am*, (New York: Fordham University Press, 2008), 26.

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⁷¹ Ibid.

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⁸⁶ The Brooklyn Kitchen, <http://tomthebutcher.blogspot.com/2009/04/last-class.html> (accessed Nov. 28, 2010)

⁸⁷ Charlie LeDuff, “At a Slaughterhouse, Some Things Never Die,” in *Zoontologies: The Question of the Animal*, edited by Cary Wolfe, 183-198 (Minneapolis: University of Minnesota Press, 2003).

⁸⁸ See Gail Eisnitz’s *Slaughterhouse*; Steve Striffler’s *Chicken: The Dangerous Transformation of America’s Favorite Food*; Eric Schlosser’s *Fast Food Nation*

⁸⁹ Williams.

⁹⁰ George Orwell, *Nineteen Eighty-Four*, (New York: Harcourt, Brace & World, Inc, 1963), 95.

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