

Motivations and the Lived Experience of Keeping
Non-Permitted Backyard Chickens in the City of Winnipeg

by

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Abstract

A shortage of academic literature exists on North American backyard chicken (BYC) keeping. This is particularly apparent when we ask why people keep backyard chickens in North American cities. This thesis examines individuals' motivations and lived experiences with raising non-permitted BYC within the City of Winnipeg, using a phenomenological approach and Hanisch's (2006) the Personal is Political theoretical perspective. Participants were motivated to keep BYC for food production, learning opportunities, leisure and companionship. Motivations were personal and often partly political. Sources of satisfaction derived from keeping BYC included food products, by-products and production, increased sense of connection, enjoyment, leisure, entertainment and companionship, learning opportunities, and doing what felt right. Fear of being found out, isolation and negative stereotypes were challenges experienced. Should the existing bylaw change, permitting BYC on residential Winnipeg properties, participants recommended imposing BYC-specific regulations and public education as a way of addressing concerns and mitigating potential issues.

Keywords: Backyard, backyard chicken, bylaw, Canada, chicken, food justice, food security, food sovereignty, lived experience, Manitoba, motivation, North America, ordinance, personal, personal is political, political, poultry, Winnipeg.

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Commonly Used Terms, Abbreviations and Definitions

ASAW — Animal Services Agency of Winnipeg.

BYC — Backyard chickens: Chickens kept in small personal flocks, typically within city limits on residentially zoned properties. BYC flocks are most commonly situated in backyards.

However, they may also be kept in side yards, front yards, as well as community gardens.

C4W — Chickens4WinnipEGGers: Community Facebook group formed in April 2010, by Winnipeg citizens in favour of a bylaw change, to allow residents living on residentially zoned properties to keep BYC (Darby Jones, personal communication, April 13, 2015).

CLUCK — Canadian Liberated Urban Chicken Association.

Food Security — Refers to one's ability to access food.

Food Sovereignty — Refers to one's level of independence and ability to be self-reliant to provide food for themselves.

Food Justice — Refers to the moral or ethical dimension of food production. Often discussed in relation to equity and fairness (Food Secure Canada, 2015).

MAFRI — Manitoba Animal, Food and Rural Initiatives; a department of the Manitoba provincial government.

WHS — Winnipeg Humane Society.

WUCA — Winnipeg Urban Chicken Association: CLUCK chapter established November 18, 2012, by members of the C4W community group.

Chapter 1: Introduction, Rationale, and Structure of the Study

Introduction

A resurgence in the keeping of backyard chickens (BYC) within North American cities is presently occurring (Salkin, 2011), with many municipal governments welcoming small flocks back into their cities and towns. One Canadian municipality that recently changed its bylaws is Vancouver, “where city council voted unanimously to change city bylaws to legalize the keeping of backyard hens” (Stevenson, 2009). Reflecting this resurgence is a growing body of how-to books, online videos, websites, Facebook groups, and blogs dedicated to BYC keeping in residential spaces.

Currently, well over 100 North American municipalities have permitted BYC keeping in some capacity (Bouvier, 2012; Carreiro & Funk, 2012; Liston, 2012). One US news article reported that, when preparing for a BYC pilot program, Orlando city staff counted 166 US cities that permit BYC keeping, including Chicago, New York, Los Angeles and Atlanta (Liston, 2012). Many Canadian municipalities also permit the keeping of small flocks, some of which include Edmonton, Vancouver, Guelph, and Waterloo (Table 1).

Due to the increased popularity of BYC-related topics in the media, Iroz-Elardo (2013) and her team examined over 200 newspaper articles during the years of 2009-2010, to better understand the public discourse surrounding the issue of BYC keeping. Results showed that BYC keeping was discussed in the media as a way to increase control of family food sources (31%), to become more sustainable (30%) and more self-reliant (25%), as well as for economic

or financial reasons (22%) (Iroz-Elardo, 2013, p. 28). Canadian BYC activist, Paul Hughes, frequently speaks about the themes related to the findings presented by Iroz-Elardo (2013), and claims that BYC keeping is not only a food security issue, but also a food sovereignty and food justice issue (P. Hughes, personal communication, July 5, 2015).

Food security pertains to one's ability to access food. Food security can be used as a term applied at a macro level (i.e., government and international food supplies) (Jarosz, 2014), or at the micro level (i.e., an individual's, family's, or community's ability to access food). The World Bank (1986) defines food security as having "to do with access by all people at all times to enough food for an active and healthy life" (v, in Jarosz, 2014, p. 171). Many factors can support or hinder one's ability to access food, including the availability of food or the cost of food. For example, if food is abundant, the opportunity to access food increases. However, if food costs are higher than what is financially attainable, the abundance of food may not be enough to guarantee access. Thus, one is food secure when one is able to *access* the food one needs.

Food sovereignty can be used to refer to the level of independence, self-sufficiency or self-reliance one has over one's food access. This term can be applied at a macro level (i.e., national groups of small farmers' right to food policy decision-making and autonomy) (Jarosz, 2014), or at the micro level, where food sovereignty is often used to denote the level of independence one has from large-scale food producers. For example, being able to produce one's own food is thought to increase independence (i.e., sovereignty) by decreasing one's dependence on food acquired from industrial farms. Some factors which can support or hinder food

sovereignty include the level of access to resources enabling one to produce one's own food (e.g., access to land, water, seeds, time, and tools, as well as bylaws allowing or disallowing food production, and knowledge or skills related to food production).

Although food security may be confused or used synonymously with food sovereignty, these terms represent different concepts. "There is no necessary link" between food security and food sovereignty (Jarosz, 2014, p. 171), as one can be food secure without being food sovereign, that is, one can have the financial ability to pay for industrially produced food, while still not being able to produce one's own food.

Food justice pertains to the moral or ethical dimension of food production and is often discussed in relation to equity and fairness (Food Secure Canada, 2015):

Food justice seeks to ensure that the benefits and risks of where, what and how food is grown, produced, transported, distributed, accessed and eaten are shared fairly. Food justice represents a transformation of the current food system, including but not limited to eliminating disparities and inequities. (Gottlieb & Anupama, in Food Secure Canada, 2015)

Food security and food sovereignty can be viewed as components of food justice. For example, it is not uncommon for municipal governments to permit BYC keeping, while limiting access only to those who can afford larger, or agriculturally zoned, properties (Bouvier, 2012). This is the case in Winnipeg, where BYC keeping is only permitted to educational establishments and to those living on agriculturally zoned land (as per the *Responsible Pet Ownership Bylaw No.*

92/2013). Ordinances such as these effectively discriminate against citizens who cannot afford larger, agriculturally zoned properties by restricting them from keeping BYC entirely. Consequently, only those from more affluent households, who can afford to live on larger properties, are likely to be permitted to keep BYC — households that are less likely to be in need of such food access opportunities. Such bylaw restrictions automatically disqualify those on lower incomes and act as barriers to families most in need of increasing their food security and sovereignty, while privileging families with higher household incomes. Thus, ordinances such as the *Responsible Pet Ownership Bylaw No.92/2013* that discriminate against specific populations, are problematic, as they promote inequity and unequal distribution of opportunities. In this way, restricting BYC keeping, so that those most in need of the food security and food sovereignty opportunities that come from keeping small flocks cannot benefit from these opportunities, becomes a food justice issue.

Although Winnipeg City Council only recently (i.e., 2013) passed the *Responsible Pet Ownership Bylaw No.92/2013*, Tom Carter, the Canada Research Chair in Urban Change and Adaptation, and a professor of geography at the University of Winnipeg, talks about the rise in public interest in topics related to food justice and urban agriculture and how he predicts this will affect municipal government bylaws in the future (Stevenson, 2009):

The public's increasing interest in local food, and in growing more of it themselves, is bound to challenge councils everywhere to rethink their bylaws around keeping of small livestock and urban agriculture in general . . . It's an

issue more municipalities will find themselves dealing with in future . . . I think each municipality is going to face this over the next few years (Carter, in Stevenson, 2009).

Should Carter's prediction, that "more municipalities will find themselves dealing with [requests to permit urban agriculture in] the next few years" (Carter, in Stevenson, 2009), come to fruition, it would be important to anticipate requests for a bylaw change, with an informed and evidence-based approach. Thus, an increased understanding of the phenomenon of BYC keeping in North America is of utmost importance.

Theoretical Perspective

After researching many theories and theoretical perspectives, the Personal is Political theoretical perspective by Hanisch (1969) was selected to examine participant motivations and lived experiences for keeping non-permitted BYC within the city of Winnipeg. Prior to this study, I had heard of the concept that personal issues are also political issues and vice versa. I had also seen and heard individuals discuss non-permitted BYC keeping in both personal and political contexts. However, I was not able to find any scientific studies using this theoretical perspective. In spite of this, the Personal is Political theoretical perspective appeared well suited to help answer the research questions of this study, due to the hypothesis that motivations and the lived experience of keeping BYC are both personal and political.

The Personal is Political theoretical perspective. In 1969, Hanisch wrote a paper titled *The Personal is Political*, where she explained what this theoretical perspective meant and how it

was developed. The Personal is Political theoretical perspective came out of the struggles of the second wave of the Women's Liberation Movement (1960s-1970s), a period when many other radical movements were taking place, such as the Civil Rights and Anti-Vietnam War movements. At this point in history, women gathered together in what were called consciousness-raising groups, where they would sit and share their experiences as women (Hanisch, 2006). After sharing their experiences, the women would examine and sum-up some of the overarching themes that existed within the group — one of the main distinguishers of qualitative research. Hanisch (1969) believed it was “[a] political action to tell it like it is, to say what I really believe about my life instead of what I've always been told to say” (para. 4). These consciousness-raising groups enabled women to better understand and form generalizations of their shared experiences across group participants (Hanisch, 2006).

Frequently, such consciousness-raising groups were viewed as nothing more than personal therapy and were criticized for not actually being political (Hanisch, 2006). Hanisch (2006) did not agree with these criticisms and thought that examining personal experiences did indeed serve as an important political action tool, as “[p]ersonal problems are political problems” (p. 4). Hanisch (2006) used the term political “in the broad sense of the word as having to do with power relationships, not the narrow sense of electoral [*sic*] politics” (p. 1). This concept, that the personal is political, serves as the backbone of this particular theoretical perspective.

Using the Personal is Political theoretical perspective. The notion that “the personal is political” has been widely applied within feminist literature, especially in arguments related to

women's equality and liberation. However, the Personal is Political theoretical perspective has not been widely used in scientific research. As Hansch (2006) said:

A theory is just a bunch of words — sometimes interesting to think about, but just words, nevertheless — until it is tested in real life. Many a theory has delivered surprises, both positive and negative, when an attempt has been made to put it into practice. (p. 2)

The application of the Personal is Political theoretical perspective to a wider range of phenomena is critical to determining its suitability for use in social science research. This is especially important when large bodies of literature (i.e., feminist literature) heavily ascribe to the assumptions (i.e., that the personal is political) put forward by this theoretical perspective. For this reason, the Personal is Political theoretical perspective has been chosen for use in this study as a means of exploring the applicability of the perspective to phenomena other than women's liberation — that is, the phenomena of North American BYC keeping, studied through a family social science lens.

The assumption when using the Personal is Political theoretical perspective is that all personal matters interconnect with those that are political. What is studied in this project is whether or not participants perceive their motivations and lived experiences to be either personal, political, or both.

Prior to this study, I had read about and heard individuals discuss the phenomenon of non-permitted BYC keeping in both personal and political contexts. For this reason, the Personal

is Political theoretical perspective will be used as a lens to help explore BYC keepers' perceptions and understandings of what is personal, what is political, and how — if at all — the personal and the political are interconnected. Deciding to keep non-permitted BYC would likely be seen as a personal choice by those keeping BYC, but it is unclear as to whether or not it would be seen as a political choice. Though keeping non-permitted BYC may not initially be viewed as a form of political action (e.g., picketing, petitioning, lobbying, letter-writing, appearing at City Hall, etc.), the practice may be experienced by participants as a form of political action where personal acts during daily living, for example, keeping BYC, serve as political actions of resistance against current political circumstances, such as living in a city that largely prohibits citizens from keeping BYC. Additionally, keeping non-permitted BYC may be experienced as a political action if the individual was aware that BYC keeping is not permitted on Winnipeg residential lots, prior to acquiring their birds. Furthermore, BYC keeping may be experienced as a form of resistance to perceived systemic problems, such as treatment of food-producing animals and as a way of addressing moral or ethical concerns in a small scale and achievable way.

According to Campsie (2010), “food is personal and political and emotional, and one of the most important issues that [we] can tackle” (in Miller, 2011, p. 14). Whether or not participants view the act of keeping non-permitted BYC as political remains to be seen. Because this theory suggests that the personal and political are intertwined, motivations for, and the lived experience with, keeping illegal BYC may then, too, be both personal and political. This study

examines if and how the personal intersects with the political when it comes to the motivations and lived experiences of citizens keeping non-permitted BYC in the city of Winnipeg.

Purpose, Rationale and Importance of this Study

Findings from this study will help address the existing gap in the peer-reviewed literature on the motivations and the lived experiences of BYC keepers. Secondly, studying the motivations and lived experiences of Winnipeg small flock keepers will contribute to the understanding of the North American BYC keeping phenomenon from a family social science perspective. Thirdly, the use of the Personal is Political theoretical perspective will contribute to the exploration of the applicability of this theoretical perspective in the social sciences. With a better understanding of BYC keepers' motivations and lived experiences, more informed and appropriate public policy governing BYC keeping activities can be implemented, being the final reason for conducting this study.

Contribute to the gap in existing peer-reviewed literature.

Presently, a shortage of academic literature exists pertaining to the phenomenon of BYC keeping in North America. This is especially true when seeking out reasons why people want to keep BYC in cities. Most peer-reviewed literature available on BYC keeping comes from studies based on African, Indian, and South American countries. In these locations livestock, including chickens, are kept within city limits as a means of coping with poverty, securing a steady supply of animal food products, or as pets (Schiere, Thys, Matthys, Rischkowsky, & Schiere, 2006). While those living in North America may keep chickens for some, or all, of the

reasons listed above, we must not assume that this is the case. Motivations for keeping BYC within North American city limits may differ due to economic, cultural, religious, or other factors. Furthermore, the motivations of individuals who keep permitted BYC may vary from those who keep non-permitted BYC.

Only recently has the phenomenon of keeping BYC in North America received academic attention, with the majority of peer-reviewed articles written after the year 2000. Because the field of study on BYC keeping in North America is quite new, especially in regards to BYC keepers' motivations and lived experiences, there may be new themes which have not been identified within the existing body of literature that might arise from this study. Additionally, of the few studies that recently have examined North Americans' motivations and lived experiences for keeping BYC, all have focused on US populations. To my knowledge, no studies exist that examine Canadians' motivations for keeping small flocks within cities. Thus, this will be the first study that explores the lived experiences of Canadians who keep small flocks of BYC.

Contribute to a better understanding of BYC keeping in North America, from a family social science perspective. Exploring of the lived experiences of BYC keepers will help clarify how BYC keeping may be relevant to families, and thus, how this phenomenon may be a relevant area of study in the field of family social sciences. To date, scholarly works which explore North American BYC keepers' motivations and lived experiences have come from disciplines dedicated to the study of poultry science (Elkhoraihi, Blatchford, Pitesky, & Mench, 2014), land use policy (McClintock, Pallana, & Wooten, 2014), and urban geography (Blecha &

Leitner, 2013). Thus, this is the first study I am aware of that explores North American BYC keepers' motivations and lived experiences from a family social science perspective.

In previously conducted studies on BYC and urban livestock keeping, scholars have found that some of the reasons North Americans keep food-producing animals are, in part, due to wanting to provide children with learning opportunities (Blecha & Leitner, 2013; Elkhoraibi, Blatchford, Pitesky, & Mench, 2014; McClintock, Pallana, & Wooten, 2014). For example, participants from Blecha and Leitner's (2013) study wanted their children to develop practical skills and to learn how to produce their own food, insuring a degree of independence from industrially farmed foods. By learning more about how BYC keepers use their livestock to provide their children with educational opportunities, we will be able to further understand the implications of BYC keeping within the family context, as well as how the keeping of family flocks might be a suitable topic for study within the field of family social sciences.

Additionally, participants from previous scholars' studies enjoyed keeping their BYC and urban livestock for economic reasons. By producing their own food, livestock keepers are able to reduce the need to purchase food, reduce the cost of groceries (McClintock, Pallana, & Wooten, 2014), increase their access to better quality produce (Canfield, 2014), and sell surplus food products, providing additional income for the household (Elkhoraibi, Blatchford, Pitesky, & Mench, 2014). Learning about BYC keepers' motivations and sources of satisfaction related to their BYC keeping experience — are they motivated for economic reasons? Do they perceive BYC as providing them with economic benefits? — can help scholars understand how the

phenomenon of BYC keeping pertains to family social sciences, as well as help identify sub-topics related to the field which merit further exploration by social scientists, such as keeping BYC for financial benefits.

Furthermore, scholars who have studied BYC and urban livestock keeping in North America have found community building and connecting as another participant-cited benefit from keeping food-producing animals (Blecha & Leitner, 2013; Canfield, 2014; McClintock, Pallana, & Wooten, 2014). BYC and urban livestock keepers believe their animals provide unique opportunities for community engagement and are “important catalyst[s] for neighbourhood sociability” (Blecha & Leitner, 2013, p. 98). With a better understanding of BYC keepers’ motivations and lived experiences, the potential to use BYC to facilitate community building can be further explored within the field of family social sciences.

Contribute to understanding the applicability of the Personal is Political theoretical perspective in Family Social Sciences. To date, no scientific, peer-reviewed studies have been found that use the Personal is Political theoretical perspective. Thus, the suitability of this theoretical perspective for use within scientific research remains unknown. This study will serve as a way to explore the applicability of this theoretical perspective within the family social sciences field. Additionally, this study will provide direction on the possible ways that this theoretical perspective may be strengthened, as well as recommendations for future use within the field of family social sciences.

Support the creation of better informed and more appropriate public policy. With a deeper understanding of why people keep BYC, more informed public policy and policymaking resources can be created, along with more appropriate public educational materials — all measures which can contribute to safer and more humane keeping of BYC in cities. For example, if a large number of people keep BYC for meat, best practices for culling can be disseminated to promote proper processing of the birds. Typically, meat birds are not kept over winter as they are culled in the fall. Thus, guidelines pertaining to winterization of coops may not need to be addressed. Conversely, if citizens keep BYC largely for eggs and/or companionship, meat processing guidelines would not be of utmost importance. Instead, having information for overwintering small city BYC flocks that are specific to one’s particular climate might be more relevant.

Additionally, knowing whether or not BYC are kept as pets could be valuable when disseminating information on what to do with sick or deceased birds. Many North American municipalities provide BYC keepers with biosecurity and chicken care information via municipal websites (e.g., the municipality of Vancouver and San Diego, see Figures 1 and 2). Provincial and state government guidelines on how to keep small flocks of BYC are also frequently published, in addition to federal BYC keeping guidelines. For example, the Canadian Food Inspection Agency (CFIA) recognizes that backyard flocks can provide a safe source of eggs, and has published a variety of online resources including posters (see page 16 of Appendix B), videos, and detailed information for Canadians wishing to keep small flocks. If North Americans

keep BYC primarily as pets, a list of local poultry resources, as well as expert and veterinarian contact information may be prepared to help ensure timely and proper animal care. Such a list could be compiled by the municipal government, community organizations, and/or community businesses. It is impossible to promote animal-owner accountability without first outlining such expectations. By outlining biosecurity standards and expectations regarding the keeping and care of BYC, the public will not only have the opportunity to become informed of such expectations, but also can be held accountable in the event that such care standards are not met.

Research Questions

The research questions used to guide this study are:

1. What motivates people to keep non-permitted BYC within the city of Winnipeg? Are people motivated by personal reasons, political reasons, or both?
2. What is the lived experience of those who keep or who have kept non-permitted BYC within the city of Winnipeg (sources of satisfaction, challenges)? Is this lived experience personal as well as political?
3. Do these individuals want a bylaw change to allow for the keeping of BYC in Winnipeg? If yes, what bylaw changes would they recommend?

Structure of the Study

This qualitative study explores the lived experience of those who keep non-permitted BYC in the city of Winnipeg, their motivations for doing so, as well as their concerns and

recommendations regarding a bylaw change, that would permit BYC keeping for those living on residential lots.

This first chapter has consisted of an introduction, an explanation of the theoretical perspective used to guide this study, followed by the purpose, rationale, and importance of this study. Lastly, the research questions used to guide this study have been presented. The second chapter provides background information on the history of BYC keeping in both North America and Winnipeg. Next, BYC keeping and the present political climate in North America, and Winnipeg, are discussed. A literature review is presented in the third chapter, outlining BYC and urban livestock keepers' motivations for keeping their animals, sources of satisfaction from keeping their animals, challenges experienced with keeping their animals, as well as opinions and recommendations regarding BYC and urban livestock ordinances. The fourth chapter outlines the methods used to determine the findings presented in this study, which are presented in the following, chapter. Finally, a discussion of the findings is presented in chapter six, in addition to the limitations and strengths of this study, as well as implications for professional practice.

Chapter 2: Background

This chapter begins with the definition of BYC keeping. Secondly, a history of BYC keeping in North America and Winnipeg is provided, and is largely composed from historical newspaper articles and texts. Thirdly, a summary of North American BYC keeping ordinances is presented, using both peer-reviewed and non-peer-reviewed sources. Last, a synopsis of the current political climate in both North America and Winnipeg is presented, also derived from both peer-reviewed and non-peer-reviewed sources.

Definitions

Most of the online and print materials available on the phenomenon of keeping small chicken flocks in North American municipalities refer to these birds as “backyard chickens.” Backyards seem to be the most common location for keeping these flocks. However, they are also kept in front yards, side yards, and in community gardens (e.g., Danny Woo Community Garden, in Seattle). Another term used to describe these small flocks is “urban chickens.” While this term does not imply coop location, as does the term “backyard chickens,” it still excludes flocks kept in suburban areas. “City chickens” is another term used to describe these flocks (e.g., in the book titled *City chicks*, by Foreman, 2010). However, this term excludes those living in municipalities not classified as cities (e.g., towns, villages, etc.).

“Backyard chicken” is the most commonly used term I have encountered. Additionally, all participants of this study kept their flocks in their backyards. For these reasons, the term backyard chicken (BYC) will be used in this thesis to describe the activity of keeping small

flocks of chickens in the city, although this term can be used to refer to flocks kept in front yards, side yards, community gardens, towns, villages, etc.

History of Keeping BYC in North America and Winnipeg

As Bartling states, "Urban food production and animal husbandry have been around as long as cities themselves" (2012, p. 24). Archaeologists have found evidence that humans may have kept domesticated chickens as early as 5400 BC in China. Domesticated chickens are thought to have originated from Red Jungle Fowl, which still exist today (Crawford, 1990; Hillel et al., 2003). Once domesticated, chickens were used by many cultures (Groeneveld et al., 2010) and transported to most continents (Crawford, 1990; Hillel et. al., 2003; Groeneveld et. al., 2010), including North America. Most domesticated bird species were used by humans for cultural purposes, as opposed to alimentary purposes. An example of this phenomenon in North America occurred during the 19th to the 20th century, where the practice of keeping chickens as a hobby exploded, largely due to what was called the hen craze:

Poultry which until then had lived mostly as domestic scavengers became immensely popular, their monetary value increased greatly, and selective breeding began in earnest . . . Only very minor attention was given to eggs and meat as food products. Poultry breeding and keeping became a favored hobby of royalty and the upper classes. Huge sums of money were spent in acquiring breeding stock both locally and from abroad, competitive showing was started, and

distinctive breeds and varieties in existence now were developed in that era.

(Crawford, 1990, p. 44)

Examples of such breeds include the Leghorn and Rhode Island Red. Both breeds are the result of the human fixation with keeping domestic chickens during this hen craze era and are the dominant breeds used worldwide within the poultry industry today (Crawford, 1990). Clearly, during this time, people were largely motivated to keep chickens as a leisure activity, enjoyed especially by those in higher society.

The earliest Winnipeg newspaper article found mentioning BYC keeping occurred in 1891; “The man who has a few feet of backyard is planning to raise his own vegetables, to the great delight of all the chickens, cows and dogs in the neighbourhood” (“The man who has,” 1891, p. 6). Chickens were kept in North American cities during World War I (1914-1918), the Depression (1929-1939) and World War II (1939-1945) for food production purposes (Mougeot, 2006). During late 1910 to early 1930, BYC keeping was discussed favourably in local Winnipeg newspapers, as a desirable activity that promoted famine relief, reduced costs of living, and provided a means of earning money for the family (“Backyard poultry to reduce cost,” 1918; “Money in chickens,” 1913; “Poultry keeping in the back yard on the city lot,” 1918; “Will tell how,” 1918). BYC keeping was encouraged, with courses on how to keep backyard poultry within the city of Winnipeg frequently taught by Prof. M. C. Herner and colleagues of the Manitoba Agricultural College Poultry Department (“Backyard poultry raising: Short course,” 1915; “Backyard poultry to reduce,” 1918; “Night lectures,” 1914; “Poultry keeping in the back

yard,” 1918). These courses were very popular, with “nearly one-hundred would-be backyard poultry keepers” attending the first lecture of the 1918 season, and “many more” expected to attend the following lecture (“Backyard poultry to reduce cost,” 1918, p. 3). An advertisement published in 1918 promoted city lot chicken keeping, stating:

A night school of 25 lessons in Poultry Raising will be conducted by the staff at the Poultry Department, Agriculture College . . . Fresh eggs when you want them at your own price from your own chickens in the back yard. You can keep half a dozen hens on kitchen waste — that would otherwise go in the garbage pail — and a little extra grain. Reduce the cost of living by producing your own eggs. Keep a few hens in your back yard and produce eggs for your own table and to sell. This series of lectures will cover all phases of back yard poultry keeping. Two nights a week . . . from 8 - 9:30pm . . . Open to men and women and boys and girls interested in poultry keeping. Tuition for \$2.00. Enrol now. (“Poultry keeping in the back yard on the city lot,” 1918, p. 12)

Regarding these courses, Professor M. C. Herner “explained that the object was to get many owners of backyards to keep a few hens that would supply the household with fresh eggs and meat for the table, and so help to keep down the high cost of living” (“Backyard poultry to reduce,” 1918, p. 3). Between 1924-1947, the War Gardens of Canada were promoted as a means of overcoming the economic crisis during the Second World War by using public urban agriculture initiatives. Household and community gardening offered food security in times of

economic crisis (Mougeot, 2006), as did the keeping of chickens (Ciment & Russell, 2007). At this point in history, motivations for keeping chickens seem to have stemmed largely from nutritional need and economic hardship. One Winnipeg article highlights the popularity of BYC keeping within the city at the start of this era:

Poultry keeping on our farms and in our backyards is increasing by leaps and bounds . . . City and town councils throughout the east are now encouraging the practice of keeping hens in backyards in proper conditions, instead of making bylaws against it. (Vialoux, 1920, p. 14)

However, it is during this time that Winnipeg local newspapers mention BYC not only in a positive light (e.g., BYC bring food security), but also in a negative light (e.g., BYC can be a “nuisance”) (Vialoux, 1920, p. 14). Vialoux's article serves as one example, as she explains that the advent of civic inspections of BYC coops would begin, to:

Encourage the proper keeping of poultry and do away with making a few hens ‘a common nuisance’. . . I will not advise any person to cram their yard with a lot of fowls and would taboo the male bird altogether in the city . . . [A] crowing rooster is distinctly out of place in the city. Six to one dozen hens is quite as many hens as the ordinary lot can accommodate in a proper run. (Vialoux, 1920, p. 14)

Poultry classes continued to be advertised in local Winnipeg newspapers and were popularly attended throughout the 1930s. Yet, a change in targeted demographics was seen around this time. Formerly, poultry keeping classes offered by the Manitoba Agricultural College

Poultry Department were targeted to Winnipeg citizens living within the city. On June 18, 1930, however, a lecture on poultry keeping, disease and nutritional needs was advertised not only to backyard poultry keepers, but also to farmers, hatchery personnel and poultry plant operators (“Poultry field day,” 1930).

Typically, it was not until after World War II (1945 onward) that regulations banning chickens within municipalities across North America began to develop (Bartling, 2012). In Winnipeg, however, such issues were already being discussed at the city council level as early as 1938: “City council laid over everything contentious Monday night . . . [including the decision on whether or not to] limit the number of chickens which can be kept in residential districts” (Council shelves hot issues, 1938).

The contentious backyard poultry and dog kennel bylaw was sent back to the health committee again by the city council Monday night. In response to numerous complaints from adjacent householders, the committee drafted a by-law tightening the restrictions on poultry raisers and dog kennels. W. M. Noble . . . said that the new bylaw would work an extreme hardship on the Jewish community [whose] religious laws require that rabbis should kill the chickens [and that the] bylaw [was] too stringent. (“Tighten by-law,” 1938, n.p.)

With the rise of industrialized farming, the public’s need to keep chickens as a food source diminished. As this need decreased, it became less desirable to use residential land for food production (e.g., backyard flocks or vegetable gardens). Thus, land was increasingly used

for leisure instead of producing food (Butler, 2012). Eventually, many North American municipalities imposed ordinances that prohibited the keeping of chickens and other livestock within city limits (Pollock, Stephen, Skuridina, & Kosatsky, 2012). As a result, society's perceptions of the proper place for such food-producing activities began to change again (Bartling, 2012), although "it wasn't uncommon, even in the 1960s, for people in towns and even in cities to keep poultry in their backyards," stated Carter, Canadian Research Chair in Urban Change and Adaptation, at the University of Winnipeg (in Stevenson, 2009). Some Winnipeg newspaper articles documented livestock being kept in Canadian cities into the 70s and 80s ("No chickens, court tells woman," 1978; "A hug for Audry's pets," 1979; "Goats must go, court declares," 1980). However, when articles featured urban animals at this time in history, they were often portrayed in a less favourable manner than in previous points in history.

"Backyard poultry flocks in town eventually disappeared because they came to be seen as a nuisance and a health risk, 'which I doubt was justified'" explained Carter (in Stevenson, 2009). Many municipalities, including Winnipeg, adopted bylaws restricting the keeping of BYC. In 1983, chickens were classified as exotic animals, and listed within the city of Winnipeg's *Exotic Animal Bylaw No-3389/83*, permitted only on properties zoned as agricultural (City of Winnipeg, 2013). Yet, some municipalities, such as New York and Chicago, did not implement restrictions on the practice of keeping BYC (Bartling, 2012), and it is still legal to keep small urban flocks in these cities today.

North American BYC Keeping Ordinances Today

Throughout history, perceptions of where chickens and livestock should, and should not, be located has evolved. Butler (2012) stated that yet another shift in perception has started. Our understanding of which animals are the “right” animals to be kept in cities, as well as where the “right places” might be to keep food-producing animals is again being redefined (Butler, 2012, p. 209). As such, many North American municipalities have changed their municipal ordinances to permit BYC keeping on residential lots. One of the most comprehensive studies addressing BYC keeping ordinances in North America was conducted by Bouvier (2012), who sampled the top 100 most populous cities within the USA. She found that 94% of the cities permit BYC in some capacity, with only three of the top 100 most populated cities clearly banning BYC (Detroit, Aurora, and Yonkers). However, some of these bylaws were quite limiting, reducing the number of cities that effectively allow BYC to 84% — still a large proportion (Bouvier, 2012, p. 10898-10899). Below, a summary of current Canadian and American BYC ordinances is presented, including scholars’ and authors’ recommendations for BYC-specific bylaws (also see Table 2). Both, peer-reviewed sources (Bouvier, 2012; Butler, 2012; Miller, 2011; Salkin, 2011; Vogel, 2011), and non-peer-reviewed sources (Beyko, 2012; Jolliffe, 2010; LaBadie, 2008) were used to develop this section.

Registration, permits, licensing and fees. Some sources report that municipalities commonly require permits, licensing or registration to keep BYC (Butler, 2012; LaBadie, 2008), while other sources report that permits, licensing or registration are sometimes (Bouvier, 2012; Miller, 2011; Salkin, 2011) or infrequently required to keep BYC (Jolieffe, 2010). Just under

40% of municipalities sampled by Bouvier (2012) require permits from citizens wishing to keep BYC.

Rooster regulations. Very frequently, roosters are prohibited via municipal ordinance. This is done by banning roosters outright, or requiring larger sized (e.g., agriculturally zoned) property in order to keep roosters (Beyko, 2012; Bouvier, 2012; Butler, 2012; Jolieffe, 2010; LaBadie, 2008; Miller, 2011; Salkin, 2011).

Flock size regulations. All sources consulted reported that many or all municipalities place limits on flock sizes (Beyko, 2012; Bouvier, 2012; Butler, 2012; Jolieffe, 2010; LaBadie, 2008; Miller, 2011; Salkin, 2011). Sometimes ordinances specify a maximum number of chickens permitted per residence, regardless of lot size. Other ordinances use lot sizes to discern how many BYC a property can suitably home (i.e., X number of chickens per Y amount of property in square feet).

Lot size and setback regulations. Implemented by some ordinances, lot sizes are used to specify a minimum property lot size required for the keeping of BYC (Bouvier, 2012; Butler, 2012; Jolieffe, 2010). One source reported lot size restriction to be most frequently used in order to determine how many BYC could be placed on a given property, based on lot size (as discussed above, in *flock size regulations*) (Bouvier, 2012). Coop setbacks are imposed to ensure BYC, and their housing structures, are located at a specified distance from neighbouring property lines, dwellings, buildings, windows, and/or streets. Setbacks are reported to be used infrequently by some sources (Butler, 2012; Jolieffe, 2010), while other sources report frequent use of setbacks

by municipal government (Bouvier, 2012; LaBadie, 2008; Miller, 2011; Salkin, 2011). In Bouvier's (2012) study, 56% of the most populated US cities use setbacks, with the average setback distance being 80 feet (p. 10908).

Animal care regulations. "Many cities regulate how the chicken coop should be built and maintained" (Bouvier, 2012, p.10910; also in Beyko, 2012; Butler, 2012; LaBadie, 2008; Miller, 2011; Salkin, 2011). Coop size and dimensions, amount of space per bird, as well as the ability to secure chickens within an enclosure, were frequently outlined in municipal bylaws regulating the keeping of BYC (Beyko, 2012; Bouvier, 2012; Butler, 2012; LaBadie, 2008; Miller, 2011; Salkin, 2011). Few municipalities go so far as to regulate food and water requirements. Most ordinances instead rely on general standards of BYC care (Butler, 2012; Bouvier, 2012; LaBadie, 2008; Salkin, 2011).

Biosecurity and sanitation regulations. Many bylaws provided sanitation regulations, with some regulation of coop cleaning practices, storage of feed, manure processing, rodent proofing, reporting of suspected poultry disease, and course of action if a bird becomes sick (Butler, 2012; Bouvier, 2012; Jolieffe, 2010; LaBadie, 2008; Salkin, 2011). In Bouvier's (2012) study, nearly half (46%) of the most populated US cities impose biosecurity and sanitation requirements of some kind within municipal ordinances governing the keeping of BYC (p. 10910).

Egg selling regulations. A few ordinances state that eggs are for personal use only, and thus, prohibit the sale of BYC eggs. Other municipalities permit egg sales, so long as the eggs

are not sold commercially (Salkin, 2011). Notably, many municipalities did not address this question, leaving decisions of whether or not to sell eggs up to the individual BYC keeper.

Slaughter. Slaughter is reported to be largely prohibited by most sources (Beyko, 2012; Jolieffe, 2010; LaBadie, 2008; Salkin, 2011). However in the most robust study (Bouvier, 2012), only 13 cities were found to impose slaughter-specific regulations. Of these cities, a mere six banned slaughter outright. The remaining seven cities permitted slaughter under specific conditions (e.g., must occur indoors, in a rat-proof structure, in a separate structure from where the fowl live, only with owner's permission, for religious purposes/sacrifice, etc.) (Bouvier, 2012, p.10916).

Scholars' and authors' recommendations, directed at North American municipalities looking at implementing new or amending existing BYC ordinances include four categories: 1) ordinance location, 2) creation of new BYC keeping ordinances, or the amendment of existing ordinances to permit BYC keeping, 3) ordinance wording and content, and 4) ordinance implementation.

Ordinance location. Scholars and authors have noted the inconsistent organization of BYC bylaws, and in some situations have encountered a notable degree of difficulty locating North American BYC ordinances (Bouvier, 2012; LaBadie, 2008; Miller, 2011) as municipal BYC keeping "information [was often] spread out through multiple sections of municipal code" (LaBadie, 2008, p. 12). BYC regulations have been found in ordinances pertaining to animal control, zoning, health code, and other bylaws (Bouvier, 2012). Ordinance location

inconsistencies result in accessibility issues and barriers to the general public's ability to find ordinance guidelines, potentially increasing non-compliance issues. For this reason it is important to provide all relevant bylaw information in one place (Miller, 2011). Municipalities should regulate BYC under one unified ordinance within the section concerning animals (i.e., animal control bylaws) (Bouvier, 2012) and keep all BYC-related provisions together in one document, rather than writing new bylaws (Miller, 2011). The most easily accessible ordinances were found on city web pages (see Figures 1 and 2), as well as online local gardening and community groups (LaBadie, 2008).

Ordinance creation or amendment. Adopting a bylaw that is already in use by another municipality with similar demographics can be helpful when governments cannot afford to invest resources into ordinance creation (Vogel, 2011). However, no one size fits all. Each municipality has different physical, environmental, social and political needs. When possible, municipalities should use components from other ordinances when developing new or amending existing BYC ordinances, instead of using a copy and paste approach (LaBadie, 2008). Additionally, existing BYC bylaws should be updated to reflect the changing needs of residents and current BYC keeping practices today (Vogel, 2011). Appropriate and sufficient opportunities for close consultation should be provided to all stakeholders, prior to creating new, or amending existing BYC policy, so that feedback from stakeholders may be included in BYC bylaw changes. Stakeholders often include citizen groups, municipal government departments, humane societies, food policy councils and local food initiatives (LaBadie, 2008; Miller, 2011; Vogel, 2011).

Ordinances should satisfy the needs of most stakeholder groups and allow for citizen input and participation in the ordinance formation process (LaBadie, 2008). Ensuring the best possible guidelines are created is in the best interest of the municipality, as it helps ensure that the bylaw is reflective of the needs of the public, increasing stakeholder buy-in, and the likelihood that residents will support and adhere to the new bylaw or bylaw amendments (LaBadie, 2008; Miller, 2011; Vogel, 2011).

Ordinance wording and content. Bylaw information in both, Canada, and the US, was “often vague, unclear, [and] incomplete (LaBadie, 2008, p. 12; Miller, 2011). Bylaws should be clearly worded, with comprehensive parameters so that they may be easily understood by the general public, ensuring increased compliance and reducing violations (LaBadie, 2008; Miller, 2011). According to Bouvier (2012), a BYC ordinance should prohibit roosters and slaughter, limit flock size to five hens, and outline general coop and enclosure requirements, without being too restrictive. When possible, municipalities should review peer-reviewed literature, as well as components of other, successful, North American municipal BYC ordinances, and use these as templates or guides from which to model new BYC bylaws or changes to existing BYC bylaws (Bouvier, 2012; LaBadie, 2008; Salkin, 2011; Vogel, 2011). A model BYC bylaw was created and published by Bouvier (2012). This ready-to-use template has been included in this document (Appendix A).

It is important that BYC ordinances do not discriminate against certain groups. One example of how this can occur is when municipalities impose restrictive lot size requirements,

licensing or permitting fees, which may automatically disqualify residents living on smaller property sizes and/or on low or modest incomes from keeping BYC (Bouvier, 2012; LaBadie, 2008).

Ordinance implementation. Salkin (2011) suggests that North American municipalities work to proactively address BYC concerns sooner, rather than later, as the practice is becoming increasingly popular. As time passes, more and more municipalities will face requests to permit BYC keeping in residential areas (Salkin, 2011; Carter, in Stevenson, 2009). Allowing BYC is the best way to see if concerns ever come to fruition. By starting with a more restrictive approach (e.g., pilot project), BYC regulations can be relaxed and tailored to the municipality's specific needs, as time and experience indicate (LaBadie, 2008). Miller (2011) recommends the use of municipal enforcement to support the successful implementation of BYC policy. However, Bouvier (2012) suggests the opposite:

Because chickens are novel to many communities, city officials naturally want to closely monitor how well owners are maintaining their flocks. But, regulating through a permitting or licensing process, dedicating a city official to overseeing it, and maintaining the records that such a process will require appears to be an inefficient use of city resources [that] does not necessarily give the city more control . . . Requiring a permit, thus, appears to provide an unnecessary; inefficient; and expensive layer to the process of legalizing hens. (p. 10919)

Although in support of a licensing or permitting approach, Miller (2011) does recommend that the administrative aspect of registration be simple and available online. Public education on BYC bylaws and bylaw changes should be provided in-person at public consultations, online, and in pamphlets (Miller; 2011). Some cities use pilot projects as a way of testing the waters, and avoiding the commitment associated with creating or amending BYC keeping bylaws. Typically, pilot projects last from one to two years in length. These pilot projects are designed to “enable municipalities to see for themselves the advantages of raising egg-laying hens while at the same time measuring the possible negative effects such as neighbour complaints, waste production, smell and possible disease transmission” (Beyko, 2012, p. 2 - 3).

BYC Keeping and the Political Climate in North America Today

Although quite a few North American municipalities now permit the keeping of BYC, many others do not. Municipalities within the “rustbelt” (i.e., upper northeast) of the US “are more likely to ban chickens” (Bouvier, 2012, p. 10901). Although it is difficult to say without a systematic analysis of Canadian municipal bylaws, the same may be true for the central Canadian provinces, including Alberta, Saskatchewan, Manitoba, and Ontario. It appears that BYC keeping on residential properties is quite commonly permitted in municipalities within the province of British Columbia, and is somewhat common in Alberta. Many municipalities within the provinces of Saskatchewan, Manitoba and Ontario (e.g., Regina, Winnipeg, and Toronto) seem to maintain prohibitions against BYC keeping on residential lots.

According to Bouvier (2012), the smaller, less populated, a North American city is, the more likely the city will be to ban small BYC flocks. The larger, more densely populated a North American city is, the more likely the city will permit the practice of BYC keeping within city limits. A pro-BYC movement exists across North America, where citizens living in municipalities prohibiting the keeping of BYC band together, with the goal of working toward changing restrictive BYC bylaws in their respective municipalities. Backyardchickens.com was created in 1999 and was one of the first online forums where North American BYC owners, and those contemplating the practice, could connect. Since then, the website has become one of the major online hubs for those interested in keeping BYC flocks in North America. As of 2009, more than 40,000 members had joined the online forum, where up to 7,000 posts were being added per day (Arnusch, 2010; Beyko, 2012).

BYC keeping has become a political issue for many individuals within both Canada and the US. Many community groups have formed, campaigning for municipal ordinance changes to permit the keeping of BYC on residential properties. One example of a US BYC group that successfully lobbied for a more BYC friendly bylaw is the Salem, Oregon, “Chicken Revolution” group called “Chickens In The Yard” (CITY). The logo used by CITY features the “Che Chicken”, a drawing of a chicken wearing a black beret hat with a white star in the centre of the hat, reminiscent in style to the widely recognized photograph depicting Cuban political revolutionary, Ernesto “Che” Guevara (see Figure 3). CITY explains their choice to use the “Che Chicken”:

The Che Chicken logo is meant to make you smile. A chicken wearing the beret of a revolutionary? There is tremendous irony in our use of this symbol. What could be more conservative than having a few chickens in your yard? Yet we have to battle for the same rights our parents and grandparents had as Americans – the right to have a few hens. No, that's not in the Constitution...but America was founded on the [*sic*] principals of life, liberty and the pursuit of happiness...and chickens make us happy. Viva la Urban Chicken Revolution! (Stearns, 2010)

CITY also released a documentary featuring the “Che Chicken” logo, titled “Chicken revolution,” and referred to citizens keeping non-permitted BYC on residential lots as “outlaws.”

For CITY and many other pro-BYC activist groups, keeping chickens is a fundamental right and a food justice issue. CITY advocated that keeping BYC adds to one's ability to pursue happiness, as BYC keeping “makes us happy,” and thus should be permitted to US citizens. CITY also discusses how, historically, BYC keeping was a personal choice and a right “our parents and grandparents” had (Stearns, 2010). Yet today, this personal choice is now bound by municipal bylaws that determine whether or not one is permitted to keep BYC. In this way, BYC keeping has become a political issue for CITY and many other BYC keeping activist groups, as the perceived right to keep BYC is no longer a personal choice, but is instead governed by politicians' views on BYC keeping and whether or not these civil servants deem BYC suitable animals to be kept in the city.

In Canada, the majority of pro BYC groups are connected to the *Canadian Liberated Urban Chicken Klub* (CLUCK), and are referred to as *CLUCK chapters*. Today, more than 60 CLUCK chapters exist across Canada, including the Winnipeg Urban Chicken Association (WUCA) — similar to CITY, the pro BYC group in Salem, Oregon. In 2008, Paul Hughes formed the first CLUCK group in Calgary (P. Hughes, personal communication, March 6, 2015).

“Hughes, an ex-soldier, former weekly newspaper reporter and single father who lives on disability pay of just \$12,500 a year” (Davis, 2012), kept a family flock of BYC on his residential property, in addition to a large garden (P. Hughes, personal communication, March 6, 2015). Food security and food sovereignty were both prominent motivations in Hughes’ decision to keep his flock, regardless of the fact that he was prohibited by municipal bylaw to keep BYC (P. Hughes, personal communication, March 6, 2015).

“It’s estimated Calgary has 300 [non-permitted] urban coops” (Davis, 2012). In an attempt to bring the food justice issue of BYC keeping to the forefront of the public’s attention, Hughes self-reported his illegal flock of six hens to the city of Calgary. Hughes was issued a \$200.00 fine for keeping livestock in a prohibited area within city limits and ordered to remove his flock from his residential property (P. Hughes, personal communication, March 6, 201; Davis, 2012).

For Hughes, keeping BYC is not only personal, it is political. He believes that all Canadians have a charter right to raise their own food, as per section 15 of the Canadian Charter of Rights and Freedoms, which reads (in part) “every individual is equal before and under the

law and has the right to the equal protection and equal benefit of the law without discrimination” (Canadian Charter of Rights and Freedoms, 1982; Davis, 2012). The fact that some Canadian cities permit the keeping of BYC, while others do not, is seen by Hughes as discriminatory:

Growing one’s food in any reasonable way is an inalienable human right upheld by Article 25 of the United Nations Declaration of Human Rights, to which Canada is a signatory. Hughes believes he should be able to exercise that right by raising his own chickens for eggs. And the fact that he’s prohibited from doing that in Calgary, while a Vancouverite can, is an infringement, he claims, of his fundamental freedoms of conscience, thought, belief and expression as covered in Section 2 of the Charter. (Davis, 2012)

Additionally, Hughes argues that “under Section 7 (‘Everyone has the right to life, liberty and security of the person’), ‘liberty’ includes his right to produce food for himself and his family in a manner he sees fit” (Davis, 2012). For Hughes, the fight to legalize BYC keeping across Canada has become a right-to-food (i.e., food justice) challenge — being the first such challenge, besides those in Aboriginal contexts, to be brought to a Canadian court (Davis, 2012).

Another example that demonstrates the personal and political nature of BYC keeping in Canada today is the recently released (2012) short creative film titled “Crackdown: When chickens are outlawed only outlaws have chickens” (see Figure 4). Created by Jan Keck of Red Gecko Productions, the short film documents the phenomenon of non-permitted BYC keeping in

the city of Toronto, Ontario. The film has been screened at film festivals throughout North America, including Winnipeg, where it placed second runner up for best short documentary award at the Winnipeg Real to Reel Film Festival, as well as in Montreal, Colorado, and Utah.

In this film, non-permitted BYC keeping is discussed as an “underground movement,” with Toronto BYC keepers in “hiding” for keeping illegal flocks. The video title photo and promotional photos feature a person holding a chicken while hiding their identity by wearing a hat, sunglasses, bandana covering most of their face, and a long sleeved shirt. Additionally, Toronto illegal BYC keepers are described as “freedom fighters, struggling for what they believe in.” Citizens are filmed discussing their motivations for, and sources of satisfaction from, keeping BYC, including a variety of personal and political reasons (e.g., food security and sovereignty, educational opportunities, companionship and pets, etc.). Citizens are also shown speaking at city hall meetings in an attempt to fight for the right to produce their own food. For the individuals in the film, keeping small city flocks is personal because BYC keeping is something that they see as beneficial to their family. BYC keeping is also political because of the municipal ordinance in effect, making their family flocks illegal.

Today, BYC keeping in North America is both a personal and political issue. Municipal government exists to implement ordinances that benefit the majority of the population. However, many residents do not agree with the relatively recent ban of BYC from residential properties — as indicated by the large number of the Canadian CLUCK and US BYC community activist groups. For these individuals, BYC keeping is not only a personal issue; it is also a political issue

due to the fact that BYC keeping has become heavily regulated and often banned. The issue of keeping BYC has become political due to the inherent imbalance of power that municipal governments hold and their ability to control, to an extent, the actions and behaviours of citizens. Should citizens oppose municipal government and the ordinances enacted by these governing bodies, citizens can face repercussions. It is a risk to keep BYC on residential property in municipalities where BYC keeping is not permitted. Thus, BYC keeping may be an assertion of personal power and freedom of choice in response to a perceived unjust use of municipal power.

BYC Keeping and the Political Climate in Winnipeg Today

The issue of keeping BYC in Winnipeg seems to be a contentious one. The following section outlines recent events and information regarding the BYC issue as it has unfolded in Manitoba's capital city. This includes information on decisions made at City Hall, as well as community and local organizational efforts to legalize BYC keeping for those living on residential properties. Most of the information used to compile this section has been sourced through local media (i.e., newspaper articles), municipal government documents (i.e., city hall committee documents), and the local BYC community (i.e., Facebook groups).

Recently, two attempts have been made by citizens and citizen groups to change the bylaws to permit BYC keeping on residential lots. During this time, over three Winnipeg families were featured in local newspapers for being fined due to keeping chickens on residential lots (Pontanilla, 2013). It is possible that more families were fined, but were not featured in local press articles.

The first attempt to change Winnipeg bylaws occurred in the spring of 2010, when Darby Jones started a petition advocating for a bylaw change permitting the keeping of BYC on residential properties (D. Jones, personal communication, April 13, 2015; Sanders, 2010). From this petition, a movement to permit BYC keeping on residential properties began to grow. A Facebook community called “Chickens4WinnipEGGers (C4W)” was formed, where citizens could show their support of a bylaw change, participate in BYC related dialogue through online chat, strategize on how to advocate for a bylaw change, as well as share news, information and resources related to BYC keeping. From the C4W group, a sub-group of Winnipeg citizens formed and presented the idea for a bylaw change at City Hall. The C4W sub-group asked council members to modify the *Exotic Animal Bylaw No.3389/83* so that citizens could be permitted to raise BYC on residential lots (D. Jones, personal communication, April 13, 2015). In July 2010, this request was brushed aside, as “Winnipeg’s property and development committee voted unanimously . . . to ‘receive as information’ a request to have the city allow people to keep laying hens” and was described by one reporter as a means of “effectively kill[ing] the idea” of changing the bylaw, to permit BYC keeping on residential lots in Winnipeg (Turenne, 2010, n.p.).

Two years later, in the fall of 2012, a second attempt was made to change Winnipeg municipal bylaws to permit BYC, as preparations were being made by the Winnipeg Animal Services Agency of Winnipeg (ASAW) to present the draft of a new bylaw, now known as the *Responsible Pet Ownership Bylaw No.92/2013*, to replace the existing *Exotic Animal Bylaw No.*

3389/83. Both bylaws banned BYC keeping to those living on residentially zoned properties.

Coincidentally, a Winnipeg family was fined at this time for keeping non-permitted BYC. Due to this event, and the encouragement of city councillors, Harvey Smith (Daniel McIntyre ward), and Mike Pagtakhan (Point Douglas ward), a group of citizens from the C4W Facebook community banded together again, in an attempt to lobby for a bylaw change, prior to the new *Responsible Pet Ownership Bylaw No.92/2013* coming into effect. Many concerned citizens attended and spoke at City Hall meetings:

Dozens of residents, including entire families, attended the protection and community services committee meeting in support of a motion to allow chickens in the backyards of home[s] within the city limits. There were so many people in attendance that the meeting was moved from a smaller room to the city council chamber. (Pontanilla, 2012)

From this second-wave sub-group of C4W community members, the Winnipeg Urban Chicken Association (WUCA) was formed, on November 18, 2012. A CLUCK chapter, WUCA was created to present a coordinated grassroots effort to lobby for a BYC-friendly bylaw at City Hall, as well as a way of providing the public with information on the efforts being made to change the existing bylaw and on BYC keeping how-to information. By December 11, 2012, 680 Winnipeg Citizens had signed a second online petition, in support of a bylaw change, permitting BYC on residential properties. Additionally, 940 individuals received news updates regarding the

BYC issue via the C4W Facebook group, and 3,966 individuals received news updates through the C4W City Hall Facebook events (Carreiro & Funk, 2012; also see Appendix B).

Opponents to the idea of permitting BYC on residential lots included Manitoba Agriculture, Food and Rural Initiatives (MAFRI) (Duizer, 2012), the Animal Services Agency of Winnipeg (ASAW) (Pursaga, 2013), and the Winnipeg Humane Society (WHS) (MacDonald, 2012; Winnipeg Humane Society, 2013). Further opponents included:

Councillors Scott Fielding and Paula Havixbeck [who] have both spoken out against backyard chickens in the past, citing concerns about the spread of disease and resource demands on an already taxed animal services department . . . The Winnipeg Humane Society also opposes the change out of concern it could tax their already crowded shelter; “I don't need any more animals in this building of any species, so we're against any increase in the number of animals in the City of Winnipeg. (Chickens) will get out and they will end up here and we don't want them,” said COO Bill McDonald. “It's that simple. This is a city, not a barnyard”. (Pursaga, 2013)

One Councillor, Grant Nordman, stated when speaking to “an audience representing the farm and agricultural community at the Oct. 30 Harvest Gala banquet . . . ‘don't worry boys, we're not going in that direction’ . . . as if backyard henhouses represent a threat to mainstream agriculture” (Rance, 2012).

Recommendations against permitting BYC keeping on residential lots were sent to the City of Winnipeg's Executive Policy Committee by MAFRI (Duizer, 2012), the ASAW (Pursaga, 2013), and the WHS (MacDonald, 2012; Winnipeg Humane Society, 2013). Additionally, MAFRI submitted a supplementary document created by the British Columbia Chapter of the Society for the Prevention of Cruelty to Animals (BC SPCA) in opposition to a bylaw change, where the BCSPC advised against BYC keeping in cities, due to concerns about humane treatment of BYC flocks kept by the public (BC SPCA, 2012). The most common reasons for not supporting the keeping of small flocks on residential lots included fears concerning food safety, animal health and welfare, neighbourhood livability, public health, and an influx of animals requiring care at animal shelters (BC SPCA, 2012; Duizer, 2012; MacDonald, 2012; Pursaga, 2013; Winnipeg Humane Society, 2013). In an attempt to address stakeholder concerns, C4W and WUCA members presented research on other North American BYC ordinances and the effects of BYC-friendly ordinances municipal services (e.g., animal service workloads) (Appendix B and C). Additionally, WUCA:

Put forward an extensive plan for how the city could handle urban chickens, even offering to administer a database of owners, take full responsibility for housing and re-homing abandoned, neglected or seized chickens, and, in partnership with the province, implement a plan for licensing coops. (Pontanilla, 2013)

Supports and services offered by WUCA included the administration of: 1) a BYC owner database, 2) licensing of coops/flocks and facilitation of coop checks, 3) operation of a BYC

shelter (located at Aurora Farm in Saint Norbert, Winnipeg) for the housing and re-homing of abandoned, neglected, or seized chickens, and 4) public education on how to properly and safely care for BYC in Winnipeg. WUCA offered to carry out these supports and services on its own, or in partnership with the province, ASAW, or with other partners recommended by the city of Winnipeg (Carreiro & Funk, 2012; also see Appendix B).

In May 2013, “two [additional Winnipeg] families . . . were fined for keeping backyard chickens . . . and given seven days to find a legal home for the hens” (Pontanilla, 2013). Despite C4W and WUCA efforts, a motion was passed to repeal the *Exotic Animal Bylaw No-3389/83* and replace it with the *Responsible Pet Ownership Bylaw No.92/2013*, as presented to City Hall, without an amendment allowing residents to keep BYC on residential lots. On July 17, 2013, the new bylaw was passed and chickens were re-classified from “exotic animals” to “commercial animals” (City of Winnipeg, 2013). BYC are permitted on educational establishments, however, such flocks are typically held by university agriculture programs and are not flocks for personal use. Thus, presently, personal BYC flocks are only permitted on agriculturally zoned properties (City of Winnipeg, 2013). Citizens wanting to keep chickens on Winnipeg residential lots, regardless of the bylaw, can face fines of up to \$400.00 if they are caught. The wording within the *Responsible Pet Ownership Bylaw No.92/2013* is unclear as to whether this \$400.00 fine is intended per flock, or per bird. To date, fines have been allocated per flock. Those who are fined are also ordered to remove their birds from their residentially zoned properties. Failure to comply will result in Animal Services removal of the flock (City of Winnipeg, 2013). A few families,

who were fined for keeping BYC on residential lots, were successful in extending the deadline given to remove their flocks, as well as having their fine fees reduced or exempted through the appeal process (anonymous, personal communication, October 2013). However, these citizens were still required to remove their BYC from their residentially zoned properties.

Other citizens were not so successful, and were required to pay the full amount, as well as remove their birds (anonymous, personal communication, October 2013). One citizen reported that four families were appealing or wanted to appeal their BYC-related fines in 2013, and that the city was charging \$250 simply to start the appeal process (anonymous, personal communication, October 2013).

Despite residential BYC not being legally permitted, many citizens within Winnipeg seem to either want to keep their own residential flocks or support BYC keeping on residential properties. On October 5, 2013, the Winnipeg Free Press took an online poll asking citizens “if the city allowed it, would you keep chickens in your backyard?” Out of a total of 6411 votes, 35% (n=2218) of voters replied “yes, I love fresh eggs”, 5% (n=295) of voters replied “sure, as pets”, and 61% (n=3898) of voters replied “no, supermarket eggs are fine” (Winnipeg Free Press poll results, 2013). While this data was not acquired using a scientific method and likely does not reflect the views of the entire population of Winnipeg, it does provide us with some interesting information; when votes from the two first categories are combined, nearly half of voters (40%, n=2513) expressed an interest in, or a desire to, keep BYC in Winnipeg.

Support of residential flocks can also be seen via Facebook group membership and “Likes”. As of July 20, 2015, the C4W community Facebook group had 1,065 members and the WUCA Facebook page had 308 “Likes”. Additionally, favour toward residential BYC may be demonstrated by organizations and businesses providing supports to the local BYC keeping community. For example, BYC keeping workshops are taught within Winnipeg by organizations such as Fort Whyte Farms, as well as by Manitoba farmers, and chicken breeders. Because the issue of illegal BYC keeping has been widely covered within local Winnipeg media, such activities seem to have a political undertone. The fact that citizens affiliate themselves with online BYC groups and pages, as well as the fact that BYC workshops are being facilitated within the city, for Winnipeg residents, indicates that BYC keeping within the city is currently supported and encouraged by many individuals and organizations within Winnipeg. By providing supports to enable citizens to keep BYC, these organizations and businesses undermine or dismiss the *Responsible Pet Ownership Bylaw No.92/2013* that prohibits BYC keeping to those living on residential properties.

A further indicator of the political nature of BYC keeping may be seen when analyzing a voicemail message left on my personal cell phone, discrediting attempts to understand the phenomenon of BYC keeping in Winnipeg. I suspect that the individual who left this message, who self-identified as Dr. John (Jon) Hansen (Henson), learned about this research study and acquired my personal cell phone number from seeing a participant recruitment poster (Appendix D), where my phone number and research agenda are listed. The voicemail message was left 6

months after all participant interviews had been conducted and the recruitment of participants had finished. Below, is the verbatim transcript of the voicemail message left by this individual (italics denote emphasis in speech rhythm, volume and tone. Phone number removed to maintain the privacy of the caller):

Hi there, it's Dr. John (Jon?) Hansen (Hanson?) calling here. Doctor of science, arts and education. Bachelor of science in medicine and medical degree. I cannot actually *believe* that someone funded you, or that you are *actually* doing this backyard chicken keeping study. This is, *this is bizarre*. Uh, it's, *it's unreal*. If you want, I don't know if you really want to talk to me any further about it, but my number is ###-###-####. This looks like *a huge waste*. Thank you. Bye.

(Author's personal voicemail, August 21, 2014 at 6:00pm)

It appears that, in this individual's mind, a better understanding of BYC keepers' motivations and lived experiences is irrelevant and unimportant, as he discredited attempts to understand this phenomenon by describing this study as "a huge waste". While this message cannot be used to make general assumptions on how the issue of BYC keeping is perceived by all Winnipeg residents, it does capture some strong emotions related to the issue of BYC keeping in Winnipeg. It is unclear as to why this individual does not support the scholarly exploration of local BYC keepers' motivations and lived experiences. However, this individual's disapproval of this study could be tied to an unfavourable stance on the issue of BYC keeping — especially since BYC keeping has received substantial coverage by local media within the past five years.

The fact that this individual made the time to call and leave a detailed voicemail message and their phone number is telling in and of itself. This voicemail, likely left in reaction to having found a participant recruitment poster, is another example of how contentious (i.e., political) the issue of BYC keeping on residential properties in Winnipeg has become today.

Chapter 3: Literature Review

The existing body of peer-reviewed academic literature on BYC keeping in North America is very new and thus quite limited. The body of scholarly literature on BYC keeping stems from the following academic journals and areas of study: Law and public policy (Bartling, 2012; Beyko, 2012; Bouvier, 2012; Salkin, 2011; Salkin & Lavine, 2011), land use policy, community and urban planning (Butler, 2012; McClintock, Pallana, & Wooten, 2014; Miller, 2011; Vogel, 2011), urban geography (Blecha & Leitner, 2013), urban agriculture and food security (Arsenault, Chapman, Grant, Hanavan, & Macleod, 2010; Bellows, Robinson, Guthrie, Meyer, Peric, & Hamm, 2005; Dubbeling & Gunther, 2006; Schiere, Tegege, & van Veenhuizen, 2000; Tremante, 2005), public and community health (Pollock, et. al., 2012; Yendell, Rubinoff, Lauer, Bender, & Scheftel, 2012), poultry sciences (Elkhoraibi, Blatchford, Pitesky, & Mench, 2014), and veterinary sciences (Grunkenmeyer, 2011).

Motivations for keeping BYC have been lightly discussed (i.e., hypothesized) by many of the scholars listed above. However, to my knowledge, only two peer-reviewed scientific publications have specifically explored motivations and lived experiences of those keeping BYC (Blecha & Leitner, 2013; Elkhoraibi, Blatchford, Pitesky, & Mench, 2014). While participants from the study conducted by Blecha and Leitner (2013) were BYC keepers who kept their flocks solely on city properties, participants from the study conducted by Elkhoraibi, Blatchford, Pitesky, and Mench (2014) included both city and rural BYC keepers. Although the study conducted by Elkhoraibi, Blatchford, Pitesky, and Mench (2014) does not provide findings solely

on BYC keepers located within North American cities, this source has been included in this literature review as very few scientific studies exist on this phenomenon in question.

Two further studies are included in this literature review, although they focus more broadly on urban agriculture and livestock, and not specifically on BYC keeping (Canfield , 2014; McClintock, Pallana, & Wooten, 2014). These sources are included because a high number of participants in both studies keep or have kept BYC. In the study conducted by McClintock, Pallana, and Wooten (2014), 90% of respondents (n = 128) kept chickens at the time of the study. In Canfield's (2014) study, BYC keeping was practiced by nearly all participants, and discussed in 14 out of the 15 interviews conducted.

All four studies discuss components of the phenomena explored in this thesis: BYC keepers' motivations, sources of satisfaction and benefits, challenges, and ordinance recommendations. However, all four studies focus on BYC keeping solely in the US (Blecha & Leitner, 2013; Canfield , 2014; Elkhoraibi, Blatchford, Pitesky, & Mench, 2014; McClintock, Pallana, & Wooten, 2014). Due to this gap in the literature, no findings from Canadian studies could be included in this literature review. The headings of this chapter reflect this literature gap. Thus, where North American BYC keeping is referenced throughout the majority of this document, the headings in this chapter refer to the US specifically.

This chapter outlines BYC keepers' motivations for keeping small flocks, their sources of satisfaction and perceived benefits from keeping their small flocks, challenges encountered with

keeping their birds, as well as perceptions and recommendations regarding BYC ordinances — as presented within the existing body of peer-reviewed literature.

Motivations for Keeping BYC and Livestock in the US

Motivations presented in the literature for keeping BYC include using flocks for food production, increasing food security and food sovereignty, becoming better connected to food, for enjoyment, for leisure, as a hobby, for companionship, and as therapy tools. US BYC and livestock keepers were also motivated to keep BYC because they felt they had the right conditions and for political reasons.

Food-related reasons. US BYC keepers were motivated to keep their flocks for food-related reasons, including to produce their own eggs and meat, to increase their food security and food sovereignty, and to become better connected to their food.

For food production. Food production (i.e., eggs and meat) was often cited as a primary reason for keeping BYC (Blecha & Leitner, 2013; Canfield, 2014; Elkhoraibi, Blatchford, Pitesky, & Mench, 2014; McClintock, Pallana, & Wooten, 2014). US BYC keepers wanted to improve their access to superior quality of food and perceived the food acquired from their small flocks to be superior in nutritional value, taste, freshness, as well as to be more humanely raised and safer to consume compared to eggs and meat produced by industrial farms (Blecha & Leitner, 2013; Canfield, 2014; McClintock, Pallana, & Wooten, 2014).

To increase food security and food sovereignty. BYC keepers living in the US also wanted to increase their food security and food sovereignty by becoming more independent of

industrial farms, by producing some of their own food and claiming autonomy from city government. (Blecha & Leitner, 2013; Canfield, 2014; McClintock, Pallana, & Wooten, 2014). Producing their own food was also seen as a way to save money, as US BYC keepers no longer needed to purchase eggs and/or meat products, especially higher quality food products, which can be costly (e.g., pasture-raised eggs) (Canfield, 2014; Elkhoraibi, Blatchford, Pitesky, & Mench, 2014; McClintock, Pallana, & Wooten, 2014).

To become better connected to food. Getting to know where food comes from, how it is produced, and getting to know food-producing animals were further motivations for keeping US BYC flocks, as discussed in the literature (Blecha & Leitner, 2013; Canfield, 2014; McClintock, Pallana, & Wooten, 2014). Furthermore, becoming better connected to nature, to the land (Canfield, 2014; McClintock, Pallana, & Wooten, 2014), to neighbours and community (Canfield, 2014; McClintock, Pallana, & Wooten, 2014), and to agricultural, historical, and cultural traditions, by keeping BYC (Canfield, 2014; Elkhoraibi, Blatchford, Pitesky, & Mench, 2014; McClintock, Pallana, & Wooten, 2014).

Creating learning opportunities. All four studies discussed US BYC keepers wanting to keep their flocks as a way to create learning and educational opportunities (Blecha & Leitner, 2013; Canfield, 2014; Elkhoraibi, Blatchford, Pitesky, & Mench, 2014; McClintock, Pallana, & Wooten, 2014).

Enjoyment, leisure, hobby, and companionship. US BYC keepers wanted to keep their birds as pets and for companionship (Canfield, 2014; Elkhoraibi, Blatchford, Pitesky, & Mench,

2014), for leisure, hobby, and for fun (Canfield, 2014; Elkhoraibi, Blatchford, Pitesky, & Mench, 2014), to participate in local poultry competitions (i.e. 4-H club) (Elkhoraibi, Blatchford, Pitesky, & Mench, 2014), and to use their birds as gardening partners (i.e., pest control, manure suppliers) (Blecha & Leitner, 2013; Canfield, 2014; Elkhoraibi, Blatchford, Pitesky, & Mench, 2014; McClintock, Pallana, & Wooten, 2014).

To use birds as therapy tools. One study stated that some US BYC keepers wanted to use their birds as therapy tools (Elkhoraibi, Blatchford, Pitesky, & Mench, 2014).

Having the right conditions. Canfield (2014) stated that US BYC keepers were motivated to keep their animals because they felt that they had a suitable property for BYC and urban livestock keeping. Participants in this study also discussed neighbour encouragement or support as another motivating factor. A third aspect to having the right conditions was knowing that others in their community already kept food-producing animals (Canfield, 2014).

Political reasons. Blecha and Leitner (2013) discuss participant responses and how BYC keeping appears to be a way for participants to reimagine and recreate alternative food systems, economic systems, and urban life; “chicken keepers are not raising chickens simply to save money or to pursue an eccentric hobby, but rather as an explicit effort to promote and enact alternative urban imaginaries . . . The Performance of everyday practices reshapes urban imaginaries” (Blecha & Leitner, 2013, p. 86). Specifically, concerns for animal wellbeing, distrust of industrial food production, and inhumane animal treatment practices were commonly reported reasons for US residents to keep BYC (Blecha & Leitner, 2013; Canfield, 2014;

McClintock, Pallana, & Wooten, 2014). Environmental or ecological reasons, including reducing food miles, using BYC as food recyclers, and practicing more organic gardening (i.e. organic fertilizer, organic pest control), were further motivations discussed as reasons why US BYC keepers wanted to keep their flocks (Blecha & Leitner, 2013; Canfield, 2014; McClintock, Pallana, & Wooten, 2014). Additionally, concern about current global events bringing societal disruption (e.g., climate change, peak oil, economic troubles, impending wars, etc.) were discussed as reasons for keeping US BYC flocks (Canfield, 2014; McClintock, Pallana, & Wooten, 2014). Thus, it appears as though motivations for keeping BYC may be in part influenced by a desire to resist perceived systemic problems (e.g., inhumane treatment of food-producing animals, pollution associated with long-distance transportation of commercially produced food, etc.), and as a way of addressing moral or ethical concerns in a small, attainable way.

In summary, scholarly reported reasons for US BYC keepers to keep BYC include being motivated for food-related reasons, for learning opportunities, for enjoyment, leisure, hobby, and companionship, to use BYC as therapy tools, having the right conditions, and for political reasons.

Sources of Satisfaction and Benefits Experienced by US BYC and Livestock Keepers

Sources of satisfaction and benefits experienced by US BYC and livestock keepers included, 1) satisfaction from the food production process, food products, and byproducts, 2) satisfaction from increased sense of connection to others, to food, to food-producing animals, to

historic ways and to cultural traditions, 3) enjoyment, leisure, entertainment, and companionship, from keeping BYC, 4) satisfaction from creating learning opportunities, and 5) satisfaction from doing what is moral or ethical.

Satisfaction from food production process, food products, and byproducts. US BYC keepers experienced satisfaction from the food products they produced, as well as the production process itself (Blecha & Leitner, 2013; Elkhoraibi, Blatchford, Pitesky, & Mench, 2014). These individuals perceived the food products they produced through keeping their BYC flocks to be superior in quality compared to industrially produced foods. Specifically, US BYC keepers perceived their home-raised foods to be more nutritious, tastier, safer to consume and raised more humanely (Blecha & Leitner, 2013; Elkhoraibi, Blatchford, Pitesky, & Mench, 2014).

Byproducts of food production enjoyed by participants included becoming more food secure and sovereign through the keeping of their own flocks and not needing to purchase eggs and meat (Blecha & Leitner, 2013; Canfield, 2014). US BYC keepers also enjoyed the economic benefits of keeping BYC, as not needing to spend money on egg or meat products helped these individuals save money, as well as provided the opportunity to barter with home-raised food products, instead of spending money (Canfield, 2014; McClintock, Pallana, & Wooten, 2014).

Increased sense of connection. From keeping BYC, US citizens experienced an increased connection to others, including neighbours, and community members (Blecha & Leitner, 2013; Canfield, 2014; McClintock, Pallana, & Wooten, 2014). Two studies specifically mentioned a source of satisfaction came from feeling more connection to neighbours and

knowing these neighbours enjoyed their animals (Canfield, 2014; McClintock, Pallana, & Wooten, 2014). US BYC keepers also enjoyed an increased sense of connection to food-producing animals as a consequence of keeping their birds (Blecha & Leitner, 2013). Increased connection to historical and traditional ways was also discussed as a source of satisfaction experienced by US BYC keepers (McClintock, Pallana, & Wooten, 2014).

Enjoyment, leisure, entertainment, companionship. Companionship, attachment and enjoyment from pet relationships were discussed among all four studies as being a source of enjoyment or satisfaction among US BYC and livestock keepers (Blecha & Leitner, 2013; Canfield, 2014; Elkhoraibi, Blatchford, Pitesky, & Mench, 2014; McClintock, Pallana, & Wooten, 2014). Additionally, feeling a sense of responsibility was another source of satisfaction experienced from US flock keepers (Blecha & Leitner, 2013). US BYC keepers enjoyed being near to their birds, and discussed the stress relieving qualities of keeping small flocks and the relaxation they experienced from keeping their birds (Blecha & Leitner, 2013).

Creating learning opportunities. All four studies discussed US BYC and livestock keepers experiencing enjoyment or satisfaction from being able to create learning opportunities for themselves, for children, for neighbours, and for community members (Blecha & Leitner, 2013; Canfield, 2014; Elkhoraibi, Blatchford, Pitesky, & Mench, 2014; McClintock, Pallana, & Wooten, 2014).

Doing what is moral or ethical. US BYC keepers were happy they were able to provide humane treatment to their food-producing animals (Blecha & Leitner, 2013; Elkhoraibi,

Blatchford, Pitesky, & Mench, 2014; McClintock, Pallana, & Wooten, 2014). US BYC keepers discussed environmental and ecological benefits from keeping their flocks as sources of satisfaction (i.e., being able to create a low-waste, and low input, BYC keeping system, which was perceived to be environmentally friendly) (Blecha & Leitner, 2013; McClintock, Pallana, & Wooten, 2014).

Thus, US BYC keepers experience satisfaction and benefits from keeping BYC-related to the food production process, the food products themselves, and the byproducts of food production (e.g., manure as organic fertilizer). US BYC keepers also experience an increased sense of connection from keeping their birds (i.e., to neighbours, to animals, and to historical or cultural ways), as well as enjoyment, entertainment, companionship and relaxation. BYC keepers in the US enjoyed creating learning opportunities, and liked being able to do what they perceived to be moral and ethical (e.g., keep BYC as a way to provide hens with ethical treatment).

Challenges Experienced by US BYC and Livestock Keepers

US BYC and urban livestock keepers experienced challenges related to flock predators (Blecha & Leitner, 2013; Elkhoraibi, Blatchford, Pitesky, & Mench, 2014), soil and vegetation management (Blecha & Leitner, 2013; Elkhoraibi, Blatchford, Pitesky, & Mench, 2014), zoning regulations (Canfield, 2014; Elkhoraibi, Blatchford, Pitesky, & Mench, 2014), and worry that their BYC keeping might upset neighbours (Blecha & Leitner, 2013). Some US flock keepers also experienced challenges in finding reliable chicken sitters (Elkhoraibi, Blatchford, Pitesky, & Mench, 2014). Some US BYC keepers discussed the increased commercialization of BYC

keeping as being a challenge and how they struggled with the increased temptation to spend more money than they initially planned on their flocks.

US BYC and Livestock Keeper Opinions and Recommendations Regarding BYC

Ordinances

Only one study, discussed participants' opinions on BYC and urban livestock ordinances: McClintock, Pallana, and Wooten (2014) state that US BYC and urban livestock keepers often thought that some form of municipal regulation was needed to control the keeping of urban animals. Often, participants in this study discussed regulations addressing noise, hygiene, and maintenance standards. Most BYC and urban livestock keepers were opposed to limits on animal numbers per property, but were supportive of setbacks and minimum space requirements (McClintock, Pallana, & Wooten, 2014). "This makes sense, given their emphasis on maintaining good relations with neighbors and humane conditions for their livestock" (McClintock, Pallana, & Wooten, 2014, p. 437). Additionally, nearly 90% of participants wanted regulations allowing them to barter or sell surplus food products, including eggs (McClintock, Pallana, & Wooten, 2014).

Chapter 4: Method

The following chapter has been divided into nine sections: Interpretive (hermeneutic) phenomenological approach, epistemology, personal location, participant recruitment, participation and informed consent, data collection, explication of data, ethics and confidentiality, and reflexivity. The purpose of this chapter is to explain what methods were selected to conduct this qualitative study, as well as explain why these methods were used.

Interpretive (Hermeneutic) Phenomenological Approach

Interpretive phenomenology was used to govern this study, as data pertaining to the lived experience is located within people's stories. Phenomenology is used to study experiences from the perspective of those who experience them (Lester, 1999) and seeks to understand what it is like to live a certain experience (Letts, Wilkins, Law, Stewart, Bosch, & Westmorland, 2007). By using a phenomenological approach, researchers are able to "enter into an individual's lifeworld and use the self to interpret the individual's experience" (Letts, Wilkins, Law, Stewart, Bosch, & Westmorland, 2007, p. 2).

Laverty (2003) explains that meaning "is found as we are constructed by the world while at the same time we are constructing the world from our own background and experience" (p. 8). Phenomenologists believe that "we experience a thing as something that has already been interpreted" (Finlay, 2009, p. 11), and, therefore, place an emphasis on the importance of the researcher's personal perspectives and how these influence interpretations (Lester, 1999). Thus, while some research approaches encourage the minimization of or control for personal bias,

phenomenology operates from a different premise. Phenomenological interviews are “reciprocal: both researcher and research subject are engaged in the dialogue” (Groenewald, 2004, p. 13). With this understanding, phenomenologists believe that “all research is value-laden, since researchers bring their biases, prejudices and assumptions to the research, and these colour the findings” (Wilcke, 2002, p. 4). Attempts to distance oneself from personal assumptions are seen as futile and to be avoided. Using an interpretive phenomenological approach, researchers are able to freely acknowledge their presuppositions, as these are seen to be inseparable from the data, as well as vital to deriving meaning from the data. Phenomenological researchers are encouraged to use critical reflection continually throughout the research process to apply further reflexivity to their studies.

Because we as researchers are intertwined with the data as interested and subjective actors rather than detached and impartial observers (Plummer, 1983; Stanley & Wise, 1993; in Lester, 1999), we are able to a) acknowledge the existence of our pre-existing knowledge, and b) acknowledge the use of this knowledge in meaning-making and the explicitation (analysis) of data (see *personal location* and *reflexivity* sections in this chapter). Thus, by acknowledging from where we, as researchers, come, and what our assumptions or beliefs consist of in relation to the topic of study, we are able to better recognize how these may influence our research, and offer transparency to those who read and utilize our work.

Epistemology

“A researcher’s epistemology according to Holloway (1997), Mason (1996), and Creswell (1994) is literally her theory of knowledge, which serves to decide how the social phenomena will be studied” (in Groenewald, 2004, p. 7). In other words, epistemology governs *how* researchers decide which methods they will use to study their topic of interest. For this study, I chose a qualitative design, as this form of research is used when a problem or issue needs to be explored in depth.

Qualitative research is particularly appropriate when seeking out unheard or silenced voices (Creswell, 2007). As stated previously, to my knowledge no research exists which captures the voices of those who keep non-permitted BYC in North America. A qualitative research design allows me to delve deeply into participant stories, yielding descriptively rich data. Additionally, because I wanted to conduct an in-depth exploration of participants’ motivations and lived experiences, a qualitative study allows me to meet this goal, as data collection consists of interviews where stories of lived experiences are told.

Epistemologically, phenomenological approaches are based in a paradigm of personal knowledge and subjectivity . . . and are powerful for understanding subjective experience, gaining insights into people’s motivations and actions, and cutting through the clutter of taken-for-granted assumptions and conventional wisdom. (Lester, 1999, p. 1)

Therefore, a phenomenological approach was chosen to govern this study as it supports the exploration of citizen's motivations for keeping non-permitted BYC and helped me to learn about their lived experiences.

Furthermore, I believe it is impossible for a researcher to truly set aside preconceptions or biases for any length of time, let alone the length of time it takes to complete a research study. I feel it is more realistic to critically reflect on one's pre-understandings about the topic of study, and acknowledge the existence of assumptions. Additionally, reflecting on how my presuppositions might influence my perception of the data — instead of attempting to control for bias or distance myself from personal preconceptions by means of bracketing — adds transparency to the research. While we all hold assumptions, it is important that we critically reflect on these so as not to confuse assumptions with facts. By using an interpretive phenomenological approach, I sought to address this gap within the literature, focusing on “illuminating details and seemingly trivial aspects within experience that may be taken for granted in our lives, with a goal of creating meaning and achieving a sense of understanding” (Wilson & Hutchinson, 1991; in Laverly, 2003, p. 7).

Personal Location

Creswell (2007) posits that as researchers, “We present our data, partly based on participants' perspectives and partly based on our own interpretations, never clearly escaping our own personal stamp on a study” (p. 43). Thus, in Creswell's view, to better understand the researcher's personal location will aid in better understanding the research study as a whole. The

following section outlines my personal and political views, history, and figurative location pertaining to the issue of BYC keeping in Winnipeg.

In 2011, my partner became interested in keeping BYC because our family in San Diego kept small flocks in their backyard. I was completely against the idea at first, as I had seen the way small flocks of chickens were kept overseas, where my extended family resides. I did not know BYC keeping could be done in other ways. I wanted to convince my partner that keeping BYC in the city was a bad idea, so I began to research the topic. However, this tactic backfired when I began to realize that BYC were being kept successfully in North American municipalities without issues related to noise or smell — my primary concerns.

I learned that roosters (male chickens) were not needed to keep small flocks of BYC, and that hens (female chickens) were often said to be quieter than dogs, by those who kept BYC in Winnipeg, as well as in poultry keeping magazines, blogs and websites. I learned that predator and rodent issues are not an inevitable part of keeping BYC, and that such issues can be easily controlled with proper flock management, as well as secure enclosures.

As I learned more about BYC keeping, my views began to change. I wanted to be permitted to keep my own BYC flock. I was personally motivated to keep hens because I wanted to secure a low-cost, reliable source of fresh protein in the form of eggs. From a nutritional standpoint, this would also allow me to understand firsthand what feeds went into the production of eggs. Furthermore, I have never been able to keep a pet cat or dog due to severe dander

allergies. Hens, I thought, could serve as an alternative for animal companionship, thus being another reason (i.e., motivation) that I yearned to be able to keep my own flock of BYC.

Unfortunately, I learned that personal BYC flocks were only permitted to a select few residents in Winnipeg — those who lived on agriculturally zoned land — making it illegal for me to keep my own BYC. After doing more research, I found that more than 100 North American municipalities allow their residents to keep BYC, including Chicago, New York, San Diego, Vancouver, and Victoria. Upon learning this, my motivations for wanting to keep BYC changed. Not only was I interested in keeping BYC for personal reasons, I was now politically motivated; I began to view the prohibition against BYC as an infringement on my ability to be more food secure. Ultimately, it became a food justice issue. I wanted to practice a more sustainable way of life, and keeping my own hens would help me attain this goal, in part, by enabling me to consume more locally produced foods. I did not want to continue to financially support industrial egg farms due to my concerns pertaining to animal welfare and the living conditions of hens kept in very small cages, often called battery cages. Additionally, I was becoming more concerned with the pollution and sustainability issues that seem to be inherent in large-scale industrial farming. Instead of trying to guess whether or not the eggs I was purchasing aligned with my personal ethics and political views, I could instead keep my own hens. I felt that keeping BYC was something that I could do, something that was within my power, to create change. The fact that my city did not allow the majority of its citizens to keep BYC felt unfair, and was frustrating, especially since many other larger North American cities permit BYC keeping.

Consequently, I emailed the city mayor and councillors asking them to review the existing bylaw. I joined the *Chickens for WinnipEGGers* (C4W) Facebook group and connected with other citizens who were interested in legalizing BYC to the wider Winnipeg community. As a group, we began to speak regularly at City Hall, and write reports on the issue (see Appendices B and C). We founded a not-for-profit BYC advocacy organization and CLUCK chapter called the *Winnipeg Urban Chicken Association* (WUCA), on which I sit on the board as chair. I co-authored a document titled *WUCA: Winnipeg Urban Chicken Association - Report to Council* (Carreiro & Funk, 2012; see Appendix B), which I presented at City Hall. Again, the issue of allowing BYC in Winnipeg had become not only a personal issue, but also a political one. When I think about why I would like to be permitted to keep my own small flock, it is nearly impossible to separate my personal motivations from my political ones. For me, they are inseparably intertwined; as Hanisch said, “the personal is political” (2006). This study and its methods came out of the intersection of my academic, personal, and political interests and experiences.

Participant Recruitment

Due to candidates being engaged in an activity not permitted by municipal Winnipeg bylaw, reluctance to participate in this study was anticipated. For this reason purposeful sampling was used. Recruitment strategies consisted of word of mouth, as well as advertising using hardcopy and digital posters. Posters were posted in public spaces within the city, as well as online (*Winnipeg Urban Chicken Association* (WUCA) website, *Chickens for WinnipEGGers*

(C4W) Facebook group, and WUCA Facebook page) (see Appendix D). Additionally, I posted a picture of my recruitment poster to my personal Facebook timeline, as a status update. Many (50+) people within my Facebook friend network shared this Facebook status so that it appeared on their own profiles, or as a personal message directed to another individual or group within their respective friend network.

A total of 10 participants were successfully recruited using these methods, creating a sample large enough to reach saturation (Creswell, 2007). Some participants reported more than one recruitment method when asked how they learned of this study. Six participants found out about the study by word of mouth, five participants learned about it online through Facebook, and one participant learned about the study by reading a hardcopy poster. Participants selected for this study were required to meet the following criteria: be 18 years of age or older, and currently keep, or have kept, non-permitted BYC within the City of Winnipeg, on a residentially zoned lot.

Participation and Informed Consent

Each participant was given the opportunity to read the information and consent form (Appendix E) and ask any questions prior to confirming their participation in this study. Informed consent was provided both in writing (signed information and consent form) and orally (captured via audio recorder). Participants received a copy of the consent form for their records. Although psychological discomfort and/or harm was unanticipated, participants received a list with local crisis support contact information as a precautionary measure, (Appendix F).

Participants were informed that they would not receive monetary payment for their participation and that participation was completely voluntary.

Data Collection

Six data collection tools were used during this research study including a background questionnaire (Appendix G), a semi-structured interview schedule (Appendix H), field notes, reflective notes, verbatim participant interview transcripts, and member check notes. The background questionnaire was used to gather demographic information. Semi-structured interviews were conducted, as they provide rich opportunities for acquiring data due to their structured, yet flexible nature. A semi-structured interview schedule (Appendix H) was employed consisting of a series of open-ended interview questions, follow-up questions, and probing questions. Interview questions pertained to the participant's experiences, feelings, beliefs and convictions relating to BYC keeping (Welman & Kruger, 1999, 196; in Groenewald, 2004, p. 12). Using an interview schedule heightened the likelihood that the same questions would be posed to all participants, while allowing participants some control over the interview process, and an opportunity to discuss other points related to this topic.

Initially, I planned to research motivations for keeping BYC within Winnipeg, focusing solely on whether or not motivations were personal, political, or both. During my first interview, a participant suggested that the scope of the study be broadened to include other aspects of BYC keeping related to the lived experiences (e.g., sources of satisfaction from keeping BYC). In response to this request, the overarching research questions, and subsequently

the interview questions, were modified to better capture data on the lived experience of keeping BYC within the city. Because these modifications occurred at the onset of this study, I am confident that these modifications did not have any adverse effect on the consistency of the data collected, nor my ability to compare participants' responses.

Interviews were conducted throughout December 2013 - March 2014, and were conducted at a location mutually agreed upon by the participant and researcher. Often this location was at my own home. Eight interviews were conducted face-to-face in person, while the remaining two interviews were conducted using a video chat program called Skype. Interviews lasted as long as participants wished to share information, or until the topic was exhausted and participants no longer introduced new perspectives. No interviews surpassed the estimated length of two hours. Participants interviewed in person were provided with a visual list of interview questions in large font at the onset of the interview, so that they could read and follow along as the questions were posed. Skype interviewees received a digital list of these questions. An audio recording device was used during both in-person and Skype interviews. When used in person, the device was placed on the table in front of participants as a gesture of transparency, with the function of capturing the conversation with clarity. For Skype interviews, the participant was told that the conversation would be audio recorded and that they should tell the researcher when this device should be turned on and off. The batteries of this device died during the middle of the last participant's interview. Consequently, some of participant's responses were not captured via audio recording. To address this, I wrote this participant's responses by hand within my field

notes. Fortunately, the answers provided during this time were one to two sentence answers and thus, I am confident that the participant's intended meaning was successfully captured.

Following all interviews, a debriefing script was read to participants (Appendix I).

Field notes were written sparingly during the interviews, and concerned significant statements in accordance with the audio track (e.g., eggs for food @ 06:32 mins). Immediately after each interview, I wrote notes with more detail, called reflective notes, including key ideas, concepts, short phrases, personal opinions, biases and thoughts. Additionally, reflective notes were documented spontaneously throughout the research and explicitation (analysis) process within my research journal. Verbatim transcriptions were prepared corresponding to the audio recordings and anonymized.

Explicitation of Data

Researchers who use a phenomenological approach often refer to data analysis as *the explicitation of data*. This consists of submerging oneself within the data (i.e., audio recordings, transcriptions, memos, field notes and reflective notes). The data are often studied for a) literal content, b) the number (or significance) of times a meaning was mentioned, c) how the meaning was discussed (non-verbal or para-linguistic cues) (Groenewald, 2004), and d) how many participants discussed a meaning. This process is an inductive one, where the researcher seeks out themes from within the data, instead of developing a set of codes prior to data analysis, which can be viewed as forcing codes upon the data. The researcher develops meaning from the

data and clusters the data into codes and themes. Ultimately an exhaustive description of the data is presented along with an interpretive account of the data (Creswell, 2007).

The first step in the data explication process was my initial submersion and familiarization with the data. I listened and re-listened to the audio recordings while I developed the audio transcripts to verify their accuracy. Due to the fact that I had not found any preexisting literature on North American's motivations for keeping BYC at the time of my literature search (2012 - 2013), I decided to use the emergent categories approach in the explication of my data. This approach is characterized by permitting categories to emerge from the data, instead of assigning data to predetermined categories. This approach can help reduce the likelihood that data is forced into categories. A researcher may have preconceived ideas of what themes may come through their data, but with this approach, the researcher actively attempts to keep these preconceptions at bay, to be as open as possible to *all* themes which may emerge — not simply the themes that fit into a predetermined list.

I used the computer software *NVivo* to code my data. Initially, only passages which stood out or surprised me were coded. As recommended by Hycner (1999, p. 154), I then looked “for the themes common to most or all of the interviews as well as the individual variations”, while paying close attention to “unique or minority voices” (in Groenewald, 2004, p. 21). Next, I began developing, clustering, expanding, collapsing and condensing codes into overarching themes. This stage was often done using post-it notes and organizing themes into tables using the *Apple Numbers* computer program.

Member checking (also called member validation/validity, respondent validity, validity checking, or informant feedback) was employed in two stages. Preliminary member checking was employed by asking clarification questions at the time of the participant interview (e.g., “so what you are saying is...?” or “It sounds like you said...? Is that correct?”). Secondary member checking was conducted, as Cresswell (2007) suggests, after the interpretation of the data had begun, and themes began to be developed (p. 209). Follow-up conversations were held with participants over the phone, email, Facebook, or in-person, depending on the participant’s choice. As Carlson (2010) recommends, I informed participants of the purpose of our conversation and what they could expect during the member checking session (see Appendix I for script). I presented each participant with a summary of the main themes discussed during their semi-structured interview. Participants were provided with the opportunity to give feedback. I also presented participants with the quotations I had extracted from their interview, and asked them for feedback and permission to use these within the published study. I took brief notes during the conversation and expanded these into field notes once the member checking session was completed.

Next, an exhaustive description of the phenomenon was developed, including participant quotes. All quotes that include italicized text denote audible participant emphasis captured via audio recording unless otherwise noted. Finally, the data were interpreted using interpretive phenomenology, my own presuppositions as a researcher, and the personal is political theoretical perspective.

Ethics and Confidentiality

Interviews were not conducted until the project received approval from the University of Manitoba Human Ethics office. The ethics protocol submission can be found in Appendix J. Due to the illegal nature of BYC keeping in most of Winnipeg, participant trust and confidentiality was of utmost concern. Identifying information was collected via consent form, however, pseudonyms were used in all other documents. No gender differences were anticipated. A list of fifteen gender neutral pseudonyms was created, each numbered according to their placement on this list (e.g., 03-Alexi). Participants were assigned pseudonyms and numbers chronologically, according to the date they were interviewed. All transcripts, audio recordings, and corresponding files were anonymized. These files, as well as code keys, have been securely stored via a) password protected computer, b) password protected documents, and c) a locked filing cabinet in a secure location, protected by a key. The passwords and key locations are known only to me. I will keep all data for five years following the publication of this study as my master's thesis. After this time (October 2020), any data that includes identifying information will be destroyed. All anonymized data will be kept. No deception was used in this study, nor the withholding of any information about the research or purpose of this study. Upon completion of this study, a summary of my research findings will be made available to all participants. These findings will be written in lay-person terms with every attempt to avoid the use of academic jargon. This is done primarily to demonstrate my appreciation of the time given by the participants, as well as a means of demonstrating transparency.

Participants were told that gender neutral pronouns would be used within this study to help maintain their anonymity. This was conveyed both verbally as well as in print via the information and consent form (Appendix E). As of 2010 in Sweden, *hen* is the recognized gender neutral alternative to she (*hon*) and he (*han*) (Gender-specific; n.d.). Many suggested gender-neutral pronouns exist in the English language today. However, to my knowledge, none exist in any major English dictionaries.

There is no widely accepted gender-neutral pronoun used in the English language. Although using “they” to refer to a single individual is grammatically incorrect, I have heard many people request to be referred to as “they” (instead of he or she) in my everyday life. I have also heard people request to be referred to as “ze”, or other variations of this gender neutral pronoun in my own personal life. I looked for suitable gender neutral pronouns within the sixth print edition of the Publication Manual of the American Psychological Association, but could not find a gender neutral alternative pronoun to “she” or “he”. Creel, in a 1997 American Philosophical Association Newsletter (in Gender-specific; n.d.) suggested using “ze” (he or she) and “zer” (her or his) as gender neutral pronouns. For these reasons, I chose to use “they”, “ze” and “zer” when referring to participants in this study.

Reflexivity

Part of conducting an interpretive phenomenological study is taking stock, and continually checking-in with our personal location, prejudices, assumptions, and biases, as a means of discovering how these affect the results we garner while working with our data.

Due to my prominent activist role within the Winnipeg BYC movement, I am privy to the power inherent in this position. Some participants may have recognized me as being affiliated with WUCA or by my activity in the Winnipeg BYC movement. Additionally, I am privy to power inherent to my role as a researcher. These explicitly powerful social and academic roles could have influenced both participant decisions to participate in the study, as well as participant interview responses. In an attempt to balance these differences in power between myself and my participants, I a) provided participants with all information surrounding the study, and ample time to review or ask questions about the study prior to requesting participant consent, b) ensured participants knew they were not obliged to participate, c) ensured participants knew they could stop participating at any time without fear of penalty or repercussion, and d) used semi-structured interviews to allow participants some control over what was discussed during the interviewing process.

Chapter 5: Findings

This chapter begins with a description of the sample. Next, five themes that emerged from the data are presented, including participants' motivations for keeping non-permitted BYC, sources of satisfaction derived from keeping non-permitted BYC, challenges experienced with keeping non-permitted BYC, perceptions of the existing *Responsible Pet Ownership By-law (No. 92/2013)* and concerns about changing this bylaw to permit BYC keeping in Winnipeg, as well as recommendations for a bylaw change in Winnipeg, permitting BYC keeping. Lastly, a summary of the major findings uncovered through this study is presented. Italics are used within this chapter to denote emphasis in speech rhythm, volume and tone.

Who Participated in This Study?

Of the 10 participants, seven self-identified as female, and the remaining three participants self-identified as male. Participants began keeping BYC at a mean age of 46.2 years. The youngest age at which a participant began keeping their BYC was at 22 years old, with 88 years being the oldest a participant was, when they began keeping their flock. Nine participants were born in Canada. No participants self-identified as visible minorities, (i.e., as First Nations, Metis, Inuit, or living with a disability). Two participants self-identified as living in low-income households, one participant self-identified as coming from a higher-income household, and seven did not disclose household economic information.

A total of three individuals had BYC in the city at the time when interviews were conducted (December 12, 2013 - March 10, 2014). Reasons for not having BYC at the time of

interviews, as reported by the remaining seven participants, included a) the BYC were kept seasonally from spring to fall, as they were used primarily for meat, b) the Animal Services Agency of Winnipeg had fined the family for keeping BYC and ordered the removal of the birds, c) the BYC had died or were put down, and d) the family's BYC flock was stolen. At the time of the interviews, participants had kept BYC in Winnipeg for an average of 2.25 years, with four years being the longest and one year being the shortest length of time. Two participants mentioned having prior experience keeping BYC. One participant spoke about family BYC keeping during their childhood, while the other participant reported having kept BYC in another North American municipality for three years prior to keeping their BYC Winnipeg flock.

Nine out of the 10 participants knew that they were not permitted to keep BYC within the city of Winnipeg. Seven out of nine individuals stating that they definitely knew BYC keeping was not permitted on their properties prior to taking up BYC keeping within the city, with two out of the nine participants initially reporting that they did *not* know that they were not permitted to keep BYC on their property. With further discussion these participants clarified that they *did* know it was not permitted, however they did *not* know that the bylaw was being enforced. The sole individual who did not know whether or not it was not permitted to keep BYC within the city reported having heard "rumours, but never looked it up."

When participants began keeping their BYC, they lived in households consisting of an average of 3.2 people. The smallest household consisted of two people, and the largest, of five people. Not including the participants' own ages, the youngest household member was two years

of age and the oldest was 84 years of age. Eight out of 10 participants came from differing postal code catchment areas, with only two participants coming from the same catchment area, creating a geographically diverse sample. Participants' postal code catchment areas are not be disclosed within this document, to avoid breaching ethics and confidentiality agreements.

Most participants did not consider themselves to be active members, or a part of the political movement to legalize or permit BYC keeping in Winnipeg. One participant previously considered zerself as part of the political BYC movement, but not at the time when interviews were conducted. Others simply viewed themselves as supporters, but not active members. However, a few individuals identified as being part of the political movement. Even though most of these individuals were not directly involved in organizing within the local movement, they still identified as part of the BYC keeping movement. For some participants this identification extended beyond the local BYC scene and included a larger, global BYC movement. One participant, Dev, spoke about this stating:

I guess I felt, even if I wasn't actively involved in the political group, I felt like I was part of this movement to bring chickens to Winnipeg and part of a world movement to have backyard chickens. I felt like I was part of that so that felt really good . . . I feel like I'm part of it because I am doing it, because I have chickens.

Theme 1: Motivations for Keeping Non-Permitted BYC in the City of Winnipeg

Participants had many motivations for keeping BYC in the city of Winnipeg. As Dev said, “my reason for wanting [BYC] go beyond [keeping] the chickens.” Four themes, related to motivations for keeping non-permitted BYC within the city emerged from the data: a) Keeping BYC for food-related reasons, b) keeping BYC to create learning opportunities, c) keeping BYC as a leisure activity and as “pets with benefits,” and d) keeping BYC in part for politically inspired reasons. These initial motivations for taking up BYC keeping were often interconnected, as can be seen within the subsequent quotes taken from participant interviews.

Keeping BYC for food-related reasons. Compared to all other motivations discussed, food was the most frequently cited reason people were motivated to keep BYC. All participants spoke about being motivated to keep BYC for either eggs, meat or both. Of the 10 individuals interviewed, eight stated they acquired their BYC with intentions of using them for eggs. Three of these participants stated that they planned to use their chickens solely for egg production purposes, while the remaining five said they were open to the idea of using their birds for meat in the future, but had not at this time. Two participants acquired BYC primarily for meat, but did enjoy the “bonus” of eggs laid by their seasonal flock. Thus, for participants of this study, both eggs and meat were important motivations to keep BYC.

To increase access to superior quality of food. Many participants spoke about wanting to increase their access to superior quality food, compared to the food products available from supermarkets. Some participants, like Cal, spoke of the nutritional value of the eggs and meat they were able to produce as being superior to those available at a supermarket; “the biggest

motivation were the health benefits of eating my own grown food. Eggs are extremely healthy and when you are feeding the chickens yourself you know what they are getting in feed.” Alexi also spoke about this, stating, “it feels more nutritious [to eat our own BYC eggs], than having the eggs from big companies, I would say . . . [another motivation for keeping BYC is] the nutrition of the eggs, and knowing that they’re eating a lot of good food.” Additionally, participants were also motivated to keep BYC as a way of accessing fresher, and better tasting food products; “so part of it [my motivations] would be . . . having the fresh eggs,” said Lee.

To become more food secure and sovereign. Becoming more food secure and self-sufficient, as well as gaining easier access to food were all priorities for the individuals interviewed. While some participants spoke indirectly about issues related to food security, many other participants identified motivations for food security directly; “I was motivated by issues of food security,” said Lee. Dev also spoke directly about food security being a key motivator, stating “to me, again, it comes back to the food security. I think that's just the biggest reason. And [both my children] feel really strongly about that too . . . food security is a really big reason.”

Typically, participants spoke about food sovereignty issues indirectly, commonly discussing these motivations as “self-sufficiency,” and “self-reliance.” Some participants spoke about wanting an increased level of independence so that they could have eggs and/or meat on hand when they needed or wanted these food products. Other participants wanted to be prepared with their own supply of eggs and meat in the event of a food crisis or emergency. When talking about motivations related to self sufficiency and food sovereignty, Alexi stated:

Well, I guess I would say self-sufficiency. Like that is what got us going initially . . . our primary motivation was to [become] one more step [closer] to being as self-sufficient as possible as we can, here, in the city.

Although they knew they would not become completely food sovereign simply by keeping BYC, participants were motivated to increase their level of food sovereignty — even if this did not result in complete independence from industrial farming — by keeping BYC. As Sky stated, “I mean, with a couple of hens in your backyard you're not entirely sufficient but you know, they give us enough eggs.”

To feel more connected to the food they and their families ate. Nearly all participants began keeping BYC because they wanted to feel more connected to the food they and their families were eating. With the highly industrialized food system in North America, many participants spoke about feeling disconnected from their food. Alexi speaks about this motivation, stating “knowing where it comes from . . . There's nothing like fresh eggs and knowing where they come from . . . You can't get that feeling or knowing from store-bought eggs.”

The disconnection from food due to industrialized farming practices was particularly troubling for half of the participants due to the fact that they could not know how the animals used in the production of their food were treated. These individuals frequently perceived the methods used by the industrialized food system to be problematic. Keeping BYC allowed these

participants to become more connected to their food and to acquire some of their food products in what they perceived to be a more ethical manner. Sandi talks about this, stating:

Currently in North America the provision of eggs is done in a very hen-unfriendly way, with you know, with the battery farms, with egg laying hens that have a very short, very hard, very miserable life. And one of my major motivations was to be able to absolutely ensure that the eggs that I got had nothing to do with that industry. That was a significant motivation. It drove both my wife and I to getting backyard hens . . . If I take care of them myself I know exactly what happens, down to the exact distance between the [chicken coop] and my door . . . And to protect a population of birds, because I figure [that] four birds in my backyard, that's four that aren't stuffed in cages somewhere in an industrial barn just outside the city.

Ash, too, shared Sandi's concerns about industrialized farming practices and the motivation to become better connected to zer food by keeping zer own BYC, stating "I didn't want to have to think about the tiny little pen [the chickens are kept in] every time I had eggs Benedict." By keeping their own BYC, participants had an intimate knowledge of the conditions from which some of their food was acquired. This gave participants a greater ability to provide themselves and their family members with food that aligned with their food consumption ethics.

I was "motivated by the local food thing", said Lee, as ze discussed how sourcing more of zer food locally helped zer feel more connected to zer food. This was discussed by many other

participants who felt that by keeping their own BYC they would feel better connected to their food, as they would have intimate knowledge of how it was raised and processed.

For economic reasons associated with food access. Almost half of the participants spoke about being motivated to keep BYC for financial or economic reasons related to food accessibility, with two of these individuals self-identifying as belonging to low-income households. These individuals wanted to keep BYC as a means of saving money, by raising their own food. This enabled these participants to feed themselves and their families BYC eggs and/or meat without needing to spend money on these food products at the store. Dev spoke about zero motivations to keep chickens as a means of reducing the cost of food for her family:

A big part of why we're doing it is to save money and have kind of cheaper food . . . because we, we are a low income family so you know, . . . money was always kind of a worry and a concern. But because of the support that we had with somebody giving us this coop, and you know, it doesn't cost a lot of money to feed chickens [so we could do it]. Keeping our costs down has been really important . . . I think that of course the large, the large-scale chicken farms are really grotesque, and so it comes back to food security again, because if you were to buy something that's even free range, it's quite expensive.

Acquiring ethically raised and ethically processed food was perceived by these participants to be a financial challenge. For this reason, participants stated that the economic barriers to accessing ethically produced food was one of the main motivating factors in acquiring their birds. Jessi,

too, spoke about being motivated initially to keep BYC due to the high financial cost of purchasing ethically grown and processed food at the grocery store:

I would try to purchase free-run eggs when I could. However, given being on a fixed income and a small budget and that sort of thing, it gets pretty expensive. So sometimes I would do it and sometimes I didn't. And I think I felt some guilt complexes around that because definitely how factory farmed eggs are produced is not something that I was comfortable with. And even to a certain degree a lot of the labeled free-run eggs are questionable too, right? They're better, but they're not what I knew I could provide chickens in my care. And so for sure, that was a piece of it, a piece of the motivation.

These participants decided to take up BYC keeping as a means of saving money, while improving their access to food that aligned with their eating ethics.

Environmental reasons associated with food production. Many participants talked about being motivated to keep BYC for environmental reasons associated with food production. "I guess I would say our motivations [were to] be more environmental," said Alexi. Participants often talked about the environmental impact of the industrialized food system, of wanting to live more sustainably, and of wanting to source their food more locally in attempt to reduce their "carbon footprint." Sandi wanted to keep BYC so that ze could "have at least part of my diet supplied to me in a sustainable, environmentally conscious, sort of way."

Further motivations for keeping BYC which were related to food, and wanting to live more environmentally friendly, included cycling biodegradable waste (i.e., kitchen scraps) through chickens to produce food (i.e., eggs and/or meat). Ash talks about this:

What motivated me was, um, to put less stuff into the landfill . . . I originally got them because they would eat all scraps and leftover stuff from the garden. So it was basically an environmental thing . . . I wanted to not throw away things. No more methane gas. I wanted to . . . stop contributing to that.

Some participants spoke about being motivated to keep BYC as a way to offset their personal environmental and ethical infractions, committed during everyday life. These participants spoke about ways they live that are not as environmentally friendly as they would like to be living. To these participants, keeping BYC was a way to “make it up”, or redeem themselves of their environmental infractions. Sam states:

This [keeping BYC] felt like something I could do, you know? If I could have this closed loop in my, in my yard, I could maybe get away with the odd infraction otherwise, right? Like driving the car to work on a cold, miserable day when I could walk instead. Almost like carbon credits in one sense (laughing).

For Sam, keeping BYC was a way not only to reduce zer carbon footprint, but was also a moral act used to justify other perceived non-environmentally friendly “infractions” ze committed in other areas of zer life. Similarly, many participants acknowledged that they were not living fully off the grid, but felt that small steps towards living in a more environmentally responsible way

mattered. Thus, by keeping BYC, participants were able to provide their families with eggs and/or meat in what they deemed to be an environmentally responsible way. BYC keeping helped participants feel that they were able reduce their carbon footprint. Although they could not address all their moral and ethical concerns, BYC served as a means to address or offset some of these concerns.

Having “the right conditions” to keep BYC. Some participants were motivated to keep BYC because they felt that they had suitable or “the right” conditions for keeping BYC. These conditions included knowing others were keeping BYC in the city, living in the right neighbourhood and having neighbours’ support to keep BYC, and having enough resources to keep a small flock (i.e., space, knowledge, experience, skills, time, and money).

Knowing others are keeping BYC in the city. Knowing that other people within the city or their neighbourhood, kept BYC was a motivation for some participants. Sam talks about learning that someone else in her neighbourhood kept chickens, and how this was a motivating factor which propelled her to begin keeping her own BYC flock:

My partner was walking the dog in our neighbourhood and he saw a woman that had a chicken in her front yard and . . . that was all it took to get [some chickens. I thought] “that’s it, dammit! (animatedly pounds clenched fist on the table) I’m gonna get them! If somebody else in my neighbourhood has them and is obviously getting away with it, I’m gonna do it.” And um, that was kinda the . . . real turning point there . . . it changed from an idea to a decision as soon as I

heard that there was another woman in my neighbourhood who was doing it and getting away with it . . . I didn't feel like I could strike out completely solo, and do it without knowing anyone else that was doing it.

Living in “the right neighbourhood”. Living in “the right neighbourhood” and having neighbour support were two more motivating factors which influenced participants’ decision to keep BYC. Alexi spoke about wanting to keep BYC for some time, but did not feel comfortable doing so in the neighbourhood ze and zer family previously lived in. “Before we moved into this neighbourhood, it didn't feel appropriate to do it,” said Alexi. However, after moving to a new neighbourhood, it seemed more appropriate to keep BYC, motivating zer family to begin keeping a small BYC flock. Living in the right neighbourhood was also a motivator for Ash, “we had a decent neighbourhood” to keep BYC. Similarly, Gene stated “my neighbours are quite reasonable,” confident that BYC keeping would not be perceived as a problem by zer neighbours. Some participants talked about explicit neighbour support being a motivating factor for taking up BYC keeping. Alexi talked about this, saying “they were all very encouraging and very supportive.”

Having enough resources. Having enough resources (i.e., space, knowledge, experience, skills, time, and money) to keep a small flock on their residential property was another motivating factor related to having the right conditions to keep BYC. Gene talked about having enough experience and suitable yard space as a motivation for keeping zer BYC, “I have raised chickens in the past and I thought ‘I would like to have some chickens’. I have a nice yard and I

thought they would be quite suitable.” Ash, spoke about how having enough time and money were factors which helped motivate zer to keep BYC, “I had the time [and] I had enough money . . . to look after them”. Alexi discussed how zer previous experience keeping BYC helped zer feel more knowledgable, and thus more comfortable to keep a small flock in the city being another factor that helped inform zer decision to keep BYC, “part of it is we had had them before, and they are good pets to have, easy to keep and fun.”

Keeping BYC as a leisure activity and as “pets with benefits.” Over half of participants chose to keep BYC as a new leisure activity. “It just seemed like a fun thing to try . . . just an exciting thing to do. People have all kinds of hobbies, and I just thought that, you know, why not try it,” said Lee. Gene also spoke about beginning to keep BYC as a leisure activity:

When you get older there aren't too many things that you can do anymore. But keeping backyard chickens is not a very demanding vocation, and it's something where you can see the chickens growing . . . We aren't too heavy into gardening anymore . . . and I need something to do, something that isn't too strenuous and something to be concerned about. And that's why I have the chickens - because *it's something*, you know? . . . And I enjoy them. They are my little darlings . . . Just paying a little attention to them. Feeding them, being concerned, it's something to do every day.

Some participants were motivated to keep their flock because they wanted BYC as pets.

Typically, those who wanted BYC as pets thought the birds would be “useful pets” or “pets with benefits.” Sam talked about this when ze said “I was honestly a little bit bored with my cat and dog only in the house. And I don't have kids and I don't really want them, so I was just like, *hum, what else can I get?* I wanted something useful.” Sky echoed this desire to have a pet that was useful, stating “what motivated us was the idea that we could have pets that were practical . . . You don't get eggs from a dog or cat.”

Keeping BYC to create learning opportunities. The majority of participants from this study were motivated to keep their small flocks because of the learning opportunities BYC could provide. Participants wanted to provide learning opportunities for themselves, for the children in their lives, for their family, for their friends, for their neighbours, for their community, as well as the general public.

To provide learning opportunities for themselves. Nearly all participants spoke about wanting to keep BYC for their own personal growth and learning. “It definitely started out as a learning opportunity and it always has been a learning opportunity,” Dev stated. Participants were very interested in learning how to keep BYC within the city. “I was motivated to get the birds because I thought it was an interesting thing to do, it [would be] a good learning experience,” stated Lee. Sam, too, was motivated by a desire to learn “I felt like chicken keeping would be a skill, you know? [I wanted to] know what it takes to look after a chicken and know how to keep it healthy and all that stuff.” The sole participant who did not express learning as a

motivating factor had already kept BYC for three years in another North American city, where keeping BYC is permitted.

To provide learning opportunities for children. In addition to their own learning, over half of participants talked about being motivated to keep BYC as a means of providing new learning opportunities for the children in their lives. These children ranged in age from one year old to emergent adulthood. Participants wanted to teach children how to care for animals and where food comes from. Sandi spoke about how by keeping BYC, ze could:

Educate my children about this whole concept of where food comes from and where *our* food comes from, and what needs to be done to maintain a flock of egg-producing chickens, in this case, or any kind of food-producing animal.

Participants also wanted to create opportunities to discuss food production independent of industrialized food systems with children. Ash spoke about the importance of exposing zer grandchildren to personal food production, stating:

My youngest grandson [asked me,] *why do you have broccoli in your yard?* He thought that broccoli came from *Safeway!* . . . But how does a kid learn where broccoli comes from? Or where eggs come from? So this way they were at least exposed to where broccoli came from, . . . where pears [and] raspberries came from, and they finally, *they finally knew* where eggs came from! That a chicken was *an actual thing* that you had to feed, give water and take care of, and the eggs came from the *chicken*.

To provide learning opportunities for neighbours, community, and the general public.

In addition to providing learning opportunities for oneself and children, participants spoke about wanting to keep their birds as a way of creating learning opportunities for their neighbours, their community, and the general public. Participants wanted to use their flocks to help shift public views pertaining to BYC keeping in the city, through modelling and education. Although not typically discussed as a primary motivating factor, over half of the individuals interviewed stated that this was a motivating factor in acquiring their backyard flock. Participants hoped that keeping BYC might provide them with the opportunity to discuss BYC keeping within the city with neighbours, family and friends. Additionally, participants hoped that these interactions might help these individuals become more personally interested and invested in the idea of allowing BYC keeping on residential lots within the city. For Sandi, part of the motivation to keep the family flock was to use the birds as a way of “inform[ing] the public,” educating others, and changing the ways people perceive the practice of BYC keeping:

I *do* think that some of these personal motivations are what drives my desire to inform the public . . . sometimes people think it as being strange, that you would have backyard hens in [the city]. And I'm really trying to change that attitude, [and also] that it is not about your social class. It's about your own opinions and your own aspirations. And I think by [keeping chickens] I can manipulate the way society has certain beliefs about certain people.

For Sandi, creating opportunities for others to learn about BYC, as well as challenging public perceptions on *who* should keep BYC was part of her motivations to keep non-permitted BYC.

Personal and political motivations for keeping BYC. All participants were asked whether they thought any of their motivations for keeping illegal backyard chickens were political. Following Hanisch (2006), the term political was used in a broader sense, and was explained to participants as having to do with power relationships or power dynamics, not in the narrow sense of electoral politics. Over half of the participants interviewed identified their motivations for keeping non-permitted BYC as stemming in part from political motivations. The remaining participants did not identify any of their motivators as stemming from political reasons and felt they were motivated to keep BYC solely for personal reasons. Next, participants were asked if their personal motivations intersected with their political motivations. The same participants who initially identified their motivations as being in part political responded affirmatively to this question, with over half of participants being motivated to keep non-permitted BYC for both personal and political reasons.

Participants who were both personally and politically motivated to keep BYC. Typically, when participants stated they were motivated by both personal and political reasons, these individuals spoke of these two types of motivations as being interconnected or inextricable from one another “I have both kinds of motivations and um, I don't necessarily see them, I don't necessarily separate them out,” said Cal. Some participants, such as Sam, stated explicitly that the “political is personal” and vice versa:

It's all personal to me. I don't feel that I have, like, political *is* personal. If you're claiming political opinions, they are personal, in my opinion. So, I find it hard to differentiate them . . . The personal and the political overlap so much.

For the participants who did identify their motivations as being in part political, keeping non-permitted BYC was often discussed as being the morally or ethically “right thing to do” despite the municipal bylaw. “I decided to . . . do what I wanted to do and what I felt was just and right. So yeah, I guess you can say that's political,” said Jessi. To these participants, the bylaw preventing them from lawfully keeping their BYC was perceived as unfair, unjust or wrong. Dev spoke about this, stating:

You should be allowed to have chickens, you should be allowed to have your own garden and grow your own food. So again it goes back to the food security . . .

What motivated me to do it . . . with knowing that it was illegal, [was] maybe just that I think *they* [the politicians] *are wrong* (laughing). And so, I feel *really strongly* about it. So even though I knew I was breaking the law all along, I just, it's sort of like this activist kind of [thing], *let's do this anyways, no matter what!* . . . Kind of like an activist feel . . . to do it anyways even though it is illegal.

For Dev, and many others who identified their motivations as political, keeping BYC was a way of resisting an unfair bylaw and asserting their own decision-making power to do what they felt was ethically or morally right, despite a bylaw which indicated otherwise. “It was personal at

first but it became political because it was not permitted,” said Sam. Cal speaks further to this point stating:

I think that backyard chickens and gardens are kind of an exercise of democracy, where people take, where people take ownership for their own lives and their own, their own existence . . . [Keeping BYC], it's a way of demonstrating, it's a symbolic act.

Keeping BYC was also a way to demonstrate disapproval with what participants perceived to be an unfair bylaw, reclaim decision-making power, and promote change. Sandi began keeping zer BYC partly in defiance of what ze perceived to be an unjust bylaw:

I knew it wasn't allowed and there were bylaws against it, and I kind of saw it as a bit of a revolt against the authorities telling me what to do. I don't know if that makes sense? Sort of dropping the gauntlet on the city because I didn't feel that it was right to impose that, that kind of bylaw for that kind of reason. You know, you could allow citizens to have three vicious dogs in their backyard, but three passive hens were against the bylaw? So I kind of felt that — well maybe it's a bit of a libertarian attitude — that I've the right to do what I want and a *don't put your laws in my face*, kind of a thing. And so, that made me feel good internally anyway, . . . proving that the bylaw is not right.

Additionally, keeping BYC as a way of providing opportunities for public education was identified as a politically-charged motivation, as Jessi discussed:

Part of my personal motivations would just be to prove and to educate how easy it is, and how it *does* make sense, and I have had lots of people come and want to check out the chickens, which provided an educational piece there, which I think ties into that municipal political side of it.

Participants who identified their motivations as political often saw BYC keeping as a solution or means of addressing ethical and moral concerns. Subverting the industrialized food system in North America by keeping non-permitted BYC enabled participants to address concerns specifically related to the environment and the humane treatment of food-producing animals. By keeping BYC, participants were able to educate others (e.g., children, community, the public) and help change public perceptions about city flocks — another motivation frequently discussed as political. Dev spoke about this, stating:

That's probably one of the underlying reasons why we wanted to have chickens. Sort of like, do it anyway and maybe that will help to make the change. Because I would like to see the policies changed around chickens. Yeah . . . and I mean if more people did it, you know, if more people do, then it's a bigger group.

Many participants who identified their motivations as political discussed how they likely would not have identified their motivation as political, were they asked at the time when they initially acquired their birds. However, looking back, they now would identify these motivations as politically charged. Cal stated “when I first got — decided to do it, I don't know that I clearly

articulated all of these, all of these (political) reasons. I just thought it was a good idea. It would be fun and interesting.” Lee also spoke about not initially identifying zer motivations as political:

I wasn't really motivated by politics because like, I wasn't really aware. I knew that technically there was a bylaw, but I wasn't concerned . . . I wasn't doing it because I felt like I had a complete conviction like, *we should! Food security is important and I'm gonna show them!* Like, it wasn't like that at all . . . You know, when I did it initially I probably would have said no, [my motivations are not political]. I just didn't even care.

Lee continued speaking about zer perception of zer motivations now and that the very fact that ze disregarded the bylaw was a political act in itself:

I didn't even realize how tightly regulated our food system and food production was, and simple acts of civil disobedience, like keeping BYC, are political because we are so tightly regulated . . . Just the fact that I just sort of, I just didn't even consider the importance of the bylaw, that probably in itself was a political act. I just totally disregarded the bylaw probably because I just didn't think it was fair . . . A lot of what I do is political . . . It's just the difference between something being *legal* and *lawful*. And it's the difference between acting on *morality* or *technicality*, and I think the government acts far too often on technicality. And so, I didn't really care what they thought (laughing), like I wasn't too concerned.

Participants who did not perceive their initial motivations to be political. Notably, many of the themes discussed among participants who did *not* consider themselves to be politically motivated were also discussed among those who *did* consider themselves to be politically motivated. For example, Alexi did not consider zero environmental concerns relating to food production to stem from political motivations, but viewed these motivations solely as personal; “as much as possible we try to source our food locally . . . I guess I would say [one of] our motivations would be [to be] more environmental . . . I don't think that would be political, I wouldn't call it political.” For Sandi, however, environmental motivations with regards to food production were politically charged:

My desire to keep chickens does stem from some of my political motivations and my desire to change things . . . Having my own hens in my backyard means that my eggs really have a zero carbon footprint. That really, there is no trucking eggs in, there is no refrigerating eggs, it's just walk to the back, pick them up, bring them inside. And that really is a motivation for backyard hens to me. There is really no need to transport these things so far away that they become almost an environmental travesty.

Frequently, participants who did *not* identify their motivations as being partly political spoke about themes related to power relationships, and reclaiming power through the action of keeping non-permitted BYC. As mentioned, Alexi did not consider zero motivations to be

political. However, Alexi spoke about keeping BYC as an act of “civil disobedience” where ze was able to assert power through making the choice to keep a backyard flock:

So, we knew it was illegal but we thought we’d sort of done our homework in terms of [consulting with neighbours] who it would affect, [and] even that sort of conversation with the police officer. I think that I thought, (shaking fist) *we can do this!* Sort of our little act of civil disobedience (laughing).

As mentioned, less than half of participants who participated in the study stated that they were not motivated to keep their birds for political reasons, that they were motivated to keep their BYC solely for personal reasons. Ash spoke about this, stating:

Like, I’m not doing it deliberately to break the law . . . and say *screw you, this law stinks!* . . . I think that my motivation is that they are just a darn good pet. They were useful in multiple ways and they were, they were a good pet. They were pleasant to have around, and I don’t think it’s political. . . . I’m not politically motivated, no.

Personal and political motivations for continued keeping of BYC change over time.

Participants also spoke about motivations for continuing to keep their BYC, and how these often became (more) politically charged over time, compared to when they were initially motivated to acquire their flock. As Cal stated, “I would say that the political motivations, if that’s what we are calling them, have sharpened somewhat, and the personal ones have remained the same.”

This shift was true for many participants who identified their motivations as being partly

political. Additionally, one participant stated that although her motivations to keeping BYC were not initially political, over time they became political. Ash states:

The political part of it now is more important than it initially was because it was successful. Because we like them, everyone liked them . . . So that has changed . . . interestingly enough . . . But my attitude, I don't have any more of a screw you attitude than I had before. I just don't. It would be unpleasant.

Thus, motivating themes for acquiring BYC frequently overlapped among participants who identified their motivations as solely personal, compared to those who identified their motivations as both political and personal. The motivating factors discussed by both groups of participants did not vary significantly. What varied was whether or not individuals affixed political meaning to their motivations.

Theme 2: Sources of Satisfaction Experienced

Participants experienced tremendous satisfaction from keeping their small-scale city flocks, with many speaking about their quality of life being enhanced or improved, “the presence of the chickens in their coop in the backyard is pleasant and agreeable. They are not noisy, they just add, they add an element of character and quality of life to our surroundings,” said Cal.

When asked about their experiences and sources of satisfaction from keeping BYC, participants listed many. As Sam stated, there are “lots of satisfactions, lots of little things that just add up, you know?” Some of the sources of satisfaction experienced by participants were anticipated, while others were unexpected, “The expected [sources of satisfaction] were mostly driven by my

motivations, the unexpected ones were the icing on the cake,” said Sandi. All participants expressed feeling more satisfaction from keeping BYC than they had originally anticipated when they began keeping their birds. Ash talked about her motivations and how she initially imagined what BYC keeping would be like, compared to what she actually experienced:

My motivations and how it turned out were so different. . . . (spoken softly) it’s funny, eh? But that’s almost how it is with everything you do in life. Your motivation — it doesn’t turn out that way, but it’s almost better (nodding and smiling).

Sources of satisfaction from keeping BYC were derived from the food products, the increased sense of connection participants felt from keeping their flocks, enjoyment, entertainment, leisure, and companionship from keeping their birds, being able to create learning opportunities, and experiencing a sense of pride from doing what felt right.

Satisfaction from food products provided by the BYC. The food BYC provided was the most commonly discussed satisfaction by participants of this study. Specifically, participants experienced satisfaction from the actual food products provided by the BYC (i.e., eggs and meat), from increased access to superior quality food products, and from growing their own food and becoming more food sovereign.

Satisfaction from the eggs and meat BYC provided. All participants spoke about experiencing satisfaction from the eggs and/or meat they acquired from their backyard flock. Sam, as well as many other participants, enjoyed the abundance of eggs which BYC keeping

brought, “Just having the eggs on hand, you know? Not having to go to the store for my breakfast.” Cal also spoke about how all zer family members derived satisfaction from the food acquired through the BYC, stating “everybody enjoys eating the eggs.”

Satisfaction from increased access to superior quality food. Nearly all participants spoke of how they enjoyed the quality of food that was provided to them by their BYC. Most participants felt that the food they acquired from their own flock was tastier, safer, and healthier compared to store bought eggs and/or meat. Cal described the food products ze acquires from zer flock as “fresh, high-quality food.”

Participants, such as Sandi, were satisfied with the abundance of food products they were able to access as a result of keeping their BYC “it has also provided me with ongoing eggs.” Alexi talks about the satisfaction of being able to better access high quality food, simply by walking out the back door, to the chicken coop; “that we could have fresh eggs! Like, just go outside in the morning, when we want a fresh egg, and get it, and bring it in . . . simple as that!”

Sam, who had zer flock stolen — which essentially reduced zer food access — reminisced fondly about the satisfaction of being able to access, what ze perceived to be, higher quality eggs, compared to those bought in a store, and how satisfying those eggs were to eat:

Oh god, those eggs were so good . . . such a perfect food . . . it's protein and full of all kinds of ridiculously — well, when they're eating bugs and grass, like they normally would, they are super healthy for you . . . I felt like I was a little healthier with those homegrown eggs. anything that stops me from having to go to

the store makes me happy . . . I like to produce whatever I can [and] I don't want to have to [go to the store to buy eggs].

Being able to access high quality food provided a great degree of satisfaction for Sam. The fact that ze no longer had BYC influenced zer ability to access high quality eggs, and was experienced as a deep loss — signifying the importance of access to high quality food.

Satisfaction from growing their own food and becoming more food sovereign. Over half of participants spoke about experiencing satisfaction from being able to grow some of their own food supply. Jessie spoke of the satisfaction ze experienced from growing zer own food:

There is something about taking that egg straight from the nest box into the frying pan that is really, really satisfying. It's like picking the first tomato of the year from your garden, or fresh carrots from the ground, or peas. Yeah, it's very satisfying . . . I enjoy the greater independence that comes with [keeping BYC] through the food production.

Sam also talked about the pride ze felt from growing zer own food, dependent on no one else but zerself, “I made this happen! . . . I was providing for myself and it was a satisfying thing.” Cal, too, spoke of the satisfaction of being able to grow zer own food, and “contribute . . . to my own and my family's food security.” By raising their own food, participants were able to fulfill some of their food needs on their own, independent from the industrial food system. Sandi speaks about raising zer own food by keeping BYC, and how this permitted zer to become more food sovereign, another source of satisfaction ze experienced:

There's some great pleasure I get out of being able to fulfill my own needs, and to grow things, and to sort of complete the cycle all by myself . . . it's a really big sense of achievement for me, to be able to do that. And whether it's growing potatoes in my backyard or if it's keeping chickens, it's very similar. It allows me to get that same level of satisfaction and happiness that I am providing for my family, and I am providing for myself, and it depends on nobody else.

A few participants, including Sam, discussed zer ability to become food sovereign ,not only through the acquisition of food products from zer BYC flock, but also by using zer BYC eggs to trade and barter with others in zer community for foods, goods, and services:

It's such a satisfying way to get something. It makes you feel proud for having gotten something, whereas you know, 'Oh look, I went to the store with my money and look what I got', anyone can do that! But being able to orchestrate something — an agreement with someone, to trade — is such a valuable thing, and our society kind of loses that. [It's a way to] build community, it's that involvement, that meeting of people . . . [When I'm bartering, I'm] out and about, and more involved with people in a meaningful way. And that's, that's gold, man. You need that. Yeah! That's something that makes you happy to be alive, that kind of thing. You know, and maybe I'm being a little dramatic here, but in a big sense I think that's very much true. Just being able to subvert our system, it's a different kind of economy, when you, you have something of value that I don't have. We

can swap! What a, what a trusting, wonderful thing to do. . . that's valuable to me.

It's great! And having eggs [from my BYC] was a nice way to do that.

Being able to “subvert” the “system” is important for Sam. The eggs from the BYC ze raised provided Sam with the ability to become less dependent on money as currency, increased zer ability to source food independent of the industrial food system, increased zer food sovereignty, and zer ability to be more self-reliant.

Satisfaction from increased sense of connection. From keeping BYC, participants felt an increased sense of connection to their food, to others, and to their historic ways and cultural traditions.

Connection to food. Nearly all participants talked about experiencing satisfaction from feeling better or more connected to their food, “It feels good to, to have, to know where our food comes from” and “it's local. As much as possible we try to source our food locally,” said Alexi. Many participants derived satisfaction from knowing what was involved in the production of their eggs and/or meat. This knowledge helped them feel more closely connected to the food they ate, “I wanna know what's in those eggs, you know? [By keeping my own chickens] I knew damn well what was in those eggs and what made them so tasty,” said Sam. “I knew exactly what they were eating — barring grubs and grass, you know? But I mean, I knew what was available for them to eat in the backyard. So I knew what they were eating and where it was coming from,” echoed Ash.

Many participants talked about experiencing satisfaction from the connection they felt by participating in the natural cycle, circle, or loop of food production. “Eating soup made from the chickens that I had raised, you know, that was good to do. You know, I just realized . . . it completed the circle in a way,” said Cal. Sam too, experienced satisfaction from being more closely connected to zero food through the recycling of organic waste products to produce eggs:

What we didn't eat, the waste products from the vegetables like the carrot tops, would go to the chickens. And then we eat the eggs, their waste fertilizes my garden, and it's a loop. It's a perfect loop. And ah, well, I guess it isn't perfect because it's illegal (laughing), but to me it seems perfect, or it seems right, not perfect.

Connection to others. All participants spoke about how keeping BYC helped them to further connect with people they already knew or helped them foster new connections with people they did not previously know. This was the second most frequently discussed satisfaction experienced by participants of this study. Keeping BYC provided participants with the opportunity to have new conversations and interactions with family, friends and neighbours. “It was an interesting family project to some extent. My granddaughters enjoyed seeing the chickens and everybody, *everybody* who came by was interested and curious. So it was a very, it was an interesting social project as well,” said Cal. Nearly all participants talked specifically about feeling more connected to neighbours as a result of keeping BYC. Participants perceived this “neighbour bonding” or “community building” to take place largely because the BYC were a

“conversation piece.” Participants spoke about bonding with friends and neighbours through the sharing of eggs and/or manure. Additionally, neighbours frequently wanted to learn about the chickens and keeping BYC in the city. All participants experienced satisfaction from such interactions and told stories of neighbours initiating these conversations, including Gene:

The neighbours all enjoy looking over the fence and asking me how the girls are doing, how are the eggs coming. It's a neighbourhood project, really. Everybody has got a little curiosity. They don't want chickens themselves, but it's an interesting thing . . . *How are they doing? Are they happy?* . . . We talk over the fence, kibbutz back and forth. We enjoy it.

This enhanced connection with neighbours was especially prominent in Ash's neighbourhood. So much so, that even when away at work during the day, many of Ash's neighbours would feel at ease to go into the backyard, on their own, to visit the chickens:

I would know that people had been back there when I came home because there would be a sweater that wasn't mine that would be lying over the chair. And then a couple days later they would come back and get their sweater [laughing]. Yeah! Isn't that crazy?! . . . Like they would come over and they would sit there you know for an hour or whatever just to chill out in the backyard watching the chickens . . . They loved those darn chickens . . . It was shocking! I think that was good for our neighbourhood. Like, that wasn't, that wasn't *the reason* that I got

them! But they made this neighbourhood better! . . . If I get chickens again people will be really, *really* happy.

Many participants spoke about the satisfaction they experienced from new relationships that had developed between themselves and people of different generations. Typically, these participants spoke about new relationships with younger neighbourhood people and feeling satisfaction from finding “common ground” or “something to bond over.” Ash talked about how her family was able to form relationships with many of the neighbourhood children because of their interest in the chickens. Ash remembers:

One little boy that lives down the street . . . he would cook one egg from [our] chickens and one egg from the store and he would do these huge comparisons on them — colour, how they splattered out into the pan. He was devastated when the chickens left. But he would come all the time, and since the chickens left, now he comes over to see the guinea pigs.

Even after the chickens were put down, the relationship between Ash and the little boy continued. “They were really like a community builder . . . The neighbourhood kids would come by and people would walk and stop and talk to us, stop and look at the chickens and that was really nice,” said Dev. Sam also spoke about the satisfaction of connecting with younger people in the neighbourhood through keeping BYC, particularly with a young neighbourhood girl. In Sam’s opinion, such a relationship would likely not have formed in the same way, were it not for the birds. Keeping the BYC is “a community building experience”:

One kid in particular would always, *always* come and ask; [Sam], *can I come feed your chickens? Please? I just want to see them. Please, pleeeaaase?* And if I seemed hesitant she would be like, begging me! . . . And even throughout the summer, and even after the chickens had gone she would still come by. Because she was bored, or she had a fight with her friend . . . I had a friend out of it suddenly, you know? And that would never, ever have happened if I hadn't had those birds. So yeah, it's a community-building experience on a small-scale sense.

Nearly all participants, including Sandi, expressed surprise at how much more connected they felt to the people in their various communities as a result of keeping their BYC, “it has brought our neighbourhood closer in a way that I never would have expected. I was actually concerned initially that it would break it apart or that we would have conflicts with our neighbours. But no, it’s been quite the opposite.” Sam echoed:

When people talk about community building . . . it’s not something that is tangible, you know? So building community — what does that mean? I never really had any cause to ponder until I had these chickens . . . My neighbour is a Filipino man, and he always kept to himself . . . never much conversation because of the language barrier. And so, I brought these chickens home, and my neighbour was in his backyard and happened to see over, and *he beamed at me!* . . . He was so excited at the fact that I had these birds. . . . It was just a point of

connection . . . I didn't even have to say a word to the guy, and look, now we are smiling at each other and suddenly we have a slight relationship.

Although Ash got along well with most people in the neighbourhood there was one neighbour who did not get along with the family: “[our relationship], it wasn't that good.” Ash talks about how their relationship with these neighbours improved dramatically due to the BYC:

I was shocked! [She would] sit in that gazebo and want to hear the chickens because she had grown up on a farm and said that she had not realized how soothing that noise was. [Stammering] Those people *loved* those chickens! We would come home, and they would . . . put egg cartons in our mailbox with little notes attached! . . . *Thanks for the eggs, blah blah blah, enjoying the chickens.* Oh yea! It was craziness! Those chickens, I could go on for twenty minutes about the neighbourhood and those chickens if you want to hear about it . . . We talked more to them since we got those chickens than we ever did, and we have lived here since 2000 . . . After we got chickens, it [provided] a topic of conversation . . . We *never* had that prior.

During the member checking process, Ash reported that zer family recently acquired a new flock of chicks, as they missed having chickens:

I got eight chicks a week ago and the chairs are all set up back there [in the backyard] already! We've already had neighbours come over to visit the chicks. Yeah! It's true! Chickens are a great thing for the neighbourhood. Even the

crotchety neighbours — well they aren't anymore, but they used to be crotchety towards us — they came over with their grandchildren, and lots of others, too.

Yeah, all the neighbours are so happy. Over the moon, happy.

One participant, Lee, became connected with zer life partner because of their mutual interest in chicken keeping:

Oh yeah! I think it was important for me. I mean, actually it helped me form relationships that I might not have had with people who share similar interests. Like in fact, my partner and I, we met in 2009 and [ze] farms. [Ze] immigrated here and started farming when ze was 18 [years old] — like just raising broilers on rented land outside of Winnipeg. And we met at a barbecue in well, 2008 or 2009 and [ze] was roasting chickens that [ze] had raised and then I proceeded to tell [zer] about my backyard chickens, which [ze] was really interested in. So, I may have to thank my relationship to my backyard birds (laughing).

In addition to experiencing satisfaction from being more or better connected to neighbours, some participants felt that by keeping BYC they became better connected to a larger BYC keeping community, group, or movement. For example, Dev felt connected to a larger city-wide and world-wide movement, as a result of keeping BYC:

Even though I wasn't actively involved in the political group, I felt like I was part of this movement to bring chickens to Winnipeg, and part of a world movement to have backyard chickens. I felt like I was part of that, so that felt really good.

Some participants experienced this by connecting face-to-face while attending gatherings, meetings or information sessions where BYC keeping was discussed. Thinking back to an information session, Lee remembers:

There were lots of people at that presentation, which was really quite surprising to me, like 50 to 60 people . . . It felt kind of good. Like, because before that, I hadn't really connected into the community at all. Like, I didn't know that any other people wanted to do this even . . . I think it was important for me. I mean actually it helped me form relationships that I might not have had with people who share similar interests.

Online forums dedicated to BYC keeping, such as backyardchickens.com, or Facebook groups and pages also provided some participants with the satisfaction of feeling connected to like-minded others. Sam spoke about this, stating:

I don't keep up with the chicken forums online anymore but even that is, in a sense, in a wide sense, community building . . . It's not like I had any *super meaningful* relationships there, but it was building a resource . . . They [the people on the online forums] give a shit about the same things as you do, you know? It's nice to know that there's other people out there. 'Cause when I started this, truly, I was the only person that I knew of that wanted to do this kind of thing, and people really thought I was kind of a freak.

Connecting with “like-minded” others helped some participants feel less isolated in their desire to keep BYC and in their experiences relating to keeping small flocks in the city. Even though ze no longer keeps BYC in the city, Lee talks about how the experience of keeping chickens in the city has allowed zer to better connect and empathize with others who want to keep BYC within city limits today:

I can empathize with the people that are currently trying to do this. Like I think that every experience opens us up a little bit so that we can become more understanding. I'm really happy that I did it because now I can understand where other people are coming from . . . I can share that with other people [who don't understand because] I can kind of understand why people want to do it.

Additionally, many participants spoke about feeling better or more connected to farmers and food producers as a result of keeping their own backyard flock. Cal talked about this, saying:

I see the raising of backyard chickens as an identification, and in a small sense, as solidarity with farmers and food producers. They work in order to grow food for me and I, I spend money on that food. But this also helps me identify more closely with the *process* of food being raised and with those who do the work of . . . that food raising, [with] the food growers.

Connection to historic ways and cultural traditions. A few participants talked about how keeping BYC helped them feel more connected to the people of their historic and/or cultural

roots. One participant, Sam, spoke about experiencing a sense of satisfaction from feeling better connected culturally as a result of keeping BYC:

I come from pioneering people. [BYC keeping], it's something that I am motivated to do, and I can't even put my finger on why. Um, I'm Mennonite! What can I say? (laughing). I'm hardwired to preserve and not waste. And I can't trace how this is so deeply ingrained in me.

Similarly, keeping BYC helped Dev feel more connection to “the old ways” and the people of that time, who kept chickens in the city of Winnipeg:

There is a lot of history around it, like in the olden days in the North End . . . there used to be, you know, like there was the chicken lady on certain corners of the blocks and stuff. And people would go there to get their chickens or their eggs . . . And people tell stories about that.

Enjoyment, entertainment, leisure and companionship. All participants spoke about experiencing enjoyment from keeping their BYC. Frequently, participants described BYC keeping as a leisure activity or hobby, and spoke about the satisfaction they experienced from the responsibility of keeping their backyard flocks. Participants enjoyed tending to their flocks and performing routine daily flock management tasks. When asked “what parts of keeping the chickens do you enjoy?” Gene replied, “just paying a little attention to them. Feeding them, being concerned, it's something to do every day.” To the same question, Lee replied, “the responsibility of having to wake up really early and having to let them out. Like, feeling like

there is a certain routine that is different from having a pet animal . . . Yeah, it was an enjoyable experience.” Participants derived satisfaction from spending time with their chickens and viewed their chickens as sources of entertainment. “It’s something to entertain you, and I sit out in my garden in the summertime and . . . I sit and I listen and I talk to them,” said Gene. Jessi also speaks about enjoying spending time with the chickens in the backyard:

I enjoy the raising of the chickens. I enjoy their antics and behaviour and watching them and hanging out with them. I like to sit on my back deck . . . with a coffee in the morning and watch them scratch around, it's awesome (smiles widely).

Many participants spoke about how this entertainment quality translated into stress reduction, another satisfaction participants enjoyed. Ash states:

They provided entertainment. You know what I mean? . . . They were entertaining [and] they were very relaxing. Every night we would come home, and we would sit outside with the chickens for like an hour . . . They were good. They were just totally relaxing and made you glad that you came home.

Participants enjoyed keeping their BYC for companionship reasons. Some participants called their chickens “pets,” some called them “part pet, part livestock” or “pets with benefits,” while others saw them solely as “food-producing animals” or “livestock.” Some had no hesitation as to how they would classify their flock. Other participants seemed to experience some inner conflict, or confusion, with how to classify their birds. Initially Dev, who kept the

birds for eggs, struggled when talking about the chickens and whether or not to classify them as pets:

They are all of our family's favourite pets (laughing). And I know that they are not pets, they are not *really* pets but, and I feel like that's not a good way to describe them for the cause, but they are the best. They are our favourite animals to have. Even though I love dogs too, but chickens are just, they're so . . . I don't know what it is but they bring people together somehow, and differently than dogs do . . . I don't know what it is but they are fascinating (laughing).

Jessi swayed back and forth on how to classify the birds. Even though ze does not see them solely as pets, Jessi does experience satisfaction from the relationship ze has with the birds:

I enjoy them. There is definitely a bit of a, not necessarily a pet aspect to it but there is an entertainment, sort of pet, sort of entertainment aspect to it. I enjoy letting them out and letting them wander around the yard and feeding them scraps. It's, it's pleasant. It's nice having them . . . I have a personal relationship with them, I have an attachment to them, which would make it difficult to kill them . . . I enjoy having my chickens . . . they're part livestock, part pet and . . . they are important to me.

Many participants did not expect to experience this connection or attachment to their birds. Sky talked about this, and how ze and zer family become more attached to the flock as time passed “They became pets and we became more attached to them as time went by . . . I didn't realize

how sociable chickens were. They are very engaging, they are very entertaining.” Ash talks about the satisfaction derived from keeping the birds as pets:

They were great! Number one! They were great pets. They were very friendly, they were like an answering machine — they were always happy to see you when you came home no matter how bad of a day you had . . . They were just good . . . I liked them, you can tell! Yeah, I liked them, they were really great.

Ash’s attachment to the flock is apparent when ze talks about worries of being ordered to remove zer flock, and of the time they had to put the family flock down:

If they slap me with a \$400 fine it would have been worth every penny. I would have been more upset that I had to get rid of my chickens and that I had to pay the stupid \$400 bucks . . . It was a very sad day when — I mean those chickens are buried in the backyard, (pause, eyes fill with water), I don't cry about it but (pause, quick inhale and exhale), it was sad. We went and picked them up from the vet . . . Oh, it was terrible! . . . So yeah, I gave up the chickens, but it was sad. It was just awful (shakes head).

Sam also talked about the satisfaction ze experienced from zer attachment to zer birds, saying “They are endearing little things, they really are! I mean clearly we’re getting into the anecdotal stuff here, but let us feel a little emotion for our chickens here! You love them, you know?!”

Of the participants who kept their birds primarily for meat, many enjoyed spending time near or with their flock. Most of these participants listed this as an unanticipated satisfaction. Lee

stated “I spent a lot of time watching the birds, like, I really enjoyed watching them.” Some of the participants expressed attachment and affection toward their birds “we love them! We really like them,” said Alexi. Gene, referred to zer flock using terms of endearment:

I have raised them, and they’re my little darlings out there, in the cold. Yeah, we will keep them, see how they go. There’s no guarantees on their life. We might have chicken soup one of these days and that will be it. But in the meantime they are out there, enjoying life.

Regardless of how they classified their chickens, over half of participants derived satisfaction from the connection they experienced to these animals.

Participants were not the only ones who seemed to enjoy the BYC. In the opinion of all participants, neighbours also experienced satisfaction from being near the BYC. Lee spoke of one neighbour becoming particularly interested in the chickens, despite her initial apprehension about the birds “We would see her up at like seven in the morning in her bathrobe, outside by the coop, watching the birds (laughing). Like just absurd! . . . She’d take lettuce from her garden and throw it over the fence for them . . . But yea, the neighbours really took to it.” Dev also talked about experiencing satisfaction from neighbours’ enjoyment of zer birds:

The neighbour really close to us loves them and is really sad that they are gone. And she's the only one that's really, really in touch with them, you know? Like close enough to be in any way affected by them . . . We had had them for so long and had only received positive feedback . . . The neighbour misses the chickens,

yeah . . . she really wants them. She even phoned [our] city councillor [to say that she wants them to be permitted within the city].

Creating learning opportunities. Many participants achieved a sense of satisfaction from creating learning opportunities from keeping BYC. Specifically, participants spoke about experiencing satisfaction from creating learning opportunities for children, for their family, friends, neighbours and community, the general public, as well as for themselves. Sandi spoke about experiencing many of these sources of satisfaction, stating:

Being able to tell people about it (BYC) and to teach people what it's like — and I love teaching regardless. Whether it's teaching related to my work, or it's teaching related to my kids, or teaching the public about chickens. That's certainly a satisfaction.

Creating learning opportunities for themselves. Over half of participants spoke about feeling satisfied with the learnings they acquired through keeping BYC. Most of these participants experienced a sense of accomplishment from learning how to raise chickens “successfully” as well as “learning that I could do it, and do it well.” One participant spoke about the satisfaction ze experienced from learning to build a chicken coop, stating:

I had very little building experience, and it was really satisfying for me. I was really curious about different designs, and I really enjoyed researching different coops and figuring out what would work in my space. Building my own coop — I

think partially because I'm a woman, and I didn't have a lot of experience — was really fun, and interesting, and a challenge.

Many of these participants spoke about being satisfied to learn about chickens and that the birds had distinct “characters” or “personalities”. Typically this satisfaction was unanticipated. Dev states:

They were very affectionate and cute and unique, you know? You get to know their personalities . . . It was lovely to get to know them. They are so, they are just so soft and just such unique — each one, each one is unique. Definitely all have personalities. And it was just really interesting getting to know, getting to realize that about chickens . . . I just realized that I felt really good about having chickens . . . And of course they are really delightful little creatures . . . And you learn a lot from them, you learn a lot of things when you have chickens.

Creating learning opportunities for children. Jessi speaks about experiencing satisfaction from being able to create learning opportunities for children, stating “I like having my niece or friends’ kids come over and being able to show them the chickens and teach them. I think I really enjoy that.” Dev remembers:

We took our chickens into a school, and you know, the kids were asking lots of questions and they got to hold them. And that was an inner-city school, so many of those kids — all, all of those kids hadn't been around chickens before . . .

Those kids hadn't really come across them. And it was just really good, it felt really good. I want to do more of that.

Thinking about “all those [neighbourhood] kids,” Ash remembers:

They actually saw a chicken in a box, and 10 minutes later there would be a warm little egg there . . . The kids learned a lot of stuff and they don't think that eggs come from Safeway anymore. Like all kids within a hundred yard radius know that eggs come from chickens, including my grandchildren . . . They know what to feed chickens . . . they know how to pick up a chicken, they know all that stuff that they didn't know before.

For a few participants, keeping BYC brought the opportunity to teach children to think about what is ethically or morally right, compared to what is legally permitted. Dev talks about the satisfaction he experienced from modelling and teaching his children to stand up for what they believe in by keeping BYC, stating:

It was important to us because I guess I wanted [my kids] to have that experience of being an activist and, you know, sort of standing up for what you believe and doing it anyway. And so that's important. [So] that was an important reason to do it too, [to keep BYC] anyway . . . It was a really good learning experience to say why you think you should be able to have chickens, and to sort of speak out, you know?

Sandi, echoed “things need to change and I think that by passing on these beliefs at a very early age through my personal interactions with my children, I’m hoping to afford a larger scale change.”

Creating learning opportunities for family, friends, neighbours, community and the general public. Participants experienced satisfaction from creating opportunities for their family, friends, neighbours, community, and the general public to learn about BYC keeping in the city. Most participants enjoyed teaching others about how to care for chickens, egg production, moulting, housing, and other basic BYC keeping information. Additionally, some participants enjoyed educating others as they felt that this information could help change how BYC keeping within the city was perceived. For instance, Lee stated “in a sense it’s advocating . . . for doing it . . . Like if you can give people information, you can support people and say, *hey I’m doing it . . . regardless of what the bylaw says, you can do it too.*” Dev, also, enjoyed using zer chickens as a means of public education, or “outreach.” Bringing zer BYC to be seen in the front yard by zer neighbours allowed Dev to disseminate information and address popular misconceptions related to BYC keeping:

Putting the chicken in the front yard, or telling people that we had chickens, having people come over and see the chickens — it was really satisfying to be able to share that. Like little five-year-old kids would be like “oh! I never, like, done this before” and like, “what? there’s eggs? Is there going to be a baby?” You

know? Like lots of misunderstandings about chickens and . . . I felt really good about being a part of that sort of outreach to people.

Pride from doing what feels “right”. Nearly all participants experienced satisfaction from keeping BYC because they believed that what they were doing was morally or ethically right, despite the municipal bylaw disallowing BYC keeping in Winnipeg. Lee talked about this, stating “It’s just the difference between something being *legal* and *lawful*. And it's the difference between acting on *morality* or *technicality*.” Ash talks about BYC keeping as “an ethics thing”:

For God sakes, I mean it's not like we got a crack house happening . . . I mean it's not a real, it's not like we've got a meth lab happening. Like on the scale of what's illegal, like it's closer to the — well I guess it's still illegal but that's an ethics thing, right? . . . The amount of garbage that we had from throwing out stuff was greatly reduced. I mean they ate everything from leftover Chinese food, rice, to pickerel. Like they ate all from my garden, when I would pull-up the garden in the fall, all the plants, they would eat . . . They lessen[ed] the stuff that we put into the landfill.

For Ash and other participants, the environmental benefit of being able to reduce the family’s organic waste by feeding it to the BYC was ethically more important than abiding by the city bylaw.

Many participants felt it was important for food-producing animals to be treated humanely. As Ash stated “I knew that the hen was happy to provide that [egg]. It wasn't a forced

situation, and they had a choice of what to eat from the yard — like they could choose! Not just whatever was put into their trough. That's important.” Participants including Sam, often spoke about not agreeing with industrialized farming methods commonly used to produce eggs and meat, as well as their distrust of the industrialized food system:

I'm very skeptical of what I buy in the store. I read labels, and I distrust the kinds of terminology that they are using and put on the eggs just to get you to buy them because they are, [because] it sounds a little bit more grassroots, you know? It's BS, it's spin. So, when I have chickens in my backyard, I don't even have to think about these things. It's a joy.

For Jessi, BYC keeping was a means of addressing these concerns and supporting the humane treatment of food-producing animals via direct action “obviously if I'm caring for these birds, then I know how they're treated. Those eggs that I get from them, I'm not purchasing them from the store, so I'm supporting something different, something that fits with that.” Knowing that their food consumption practices better aligned with their morals provided participants with peace of mind and a feeling of satisfaction from raising their chickens humanely. For the participants who kept their birds for meat, humane treatment of the chickens was important not only when the chickens were alive, but also at the time of their death. Cal spoke about feeling satisfaction from knowing the BYC meat was acquired in a humane way, stating:

A real satisfaction came with butchering them on my own . . . in fall . . . I butchered them myself. I had never done that . . . and it worked out really, really

well . . . It was actually very satisfying, and particularly because right around the time when I butchered them, there was this news thing that came around . . . about how some of the McDonald's chicken[s were] . . . being treated cruelly and . . . lots of them had been pecked very badly because there were eight of them in a small, small cage, and they would just kill — kill the birds afterwards, in not very nice ways. And when I realized that I had done it in a way that they died basically instantly, and there was no suffering . . . it just felt like a humane way for animal slaughtering to happen. So that was a source of a satisfaction . . . Everybody in the family appreciates the ethical treatment of the animals.

Knowing that the butchering process was “instant” or “final,” as well as was “pain-free” or executed in a way that the birds did not “suffer” was important to these individuals and seen as a morally or ethically right way to consume meat. Influencing the way others thought about the food they consumed and the ethics of eating was another satisfaction for participants. These participants often spoke of their conviction to educate others about the importance of the humane treatment of food-producing animals. Some participants talked about how friends, family and neighbours became more interested in the welfare of food-producing animals because they had connected with the BYC. Ash remembers:

A couple of people that came over said the chicken would look right at them in the eye and say they'd never looked the chicken in the eye before. And I think that made chickens, I think it humanized them . . . So they went like, “hey, that

chicken is like a real living thing. Like a dog or cat . . . That chicken is looking right at me.” And I would say, “well yeah, it's a live thing.” . . . There was some spinoff value there. Like they would think the next time they were shopping where those eggs had come from and which eggs they were going to buy off the shelf . . . they would say that to us!

Sandi spoke about the satisfaction of using BYC as a means of influencing a political shift in the general public’s perception of BYC keeping, toward what ze deemed was ethically or morally right:

I flaunt them . . . I use it as a tool to try and educate people about what the bylaws are, and that they’re unreasonable. [I’d say] “You can come over anytime you like, and I’ll show you what it’s like” . . . It’s sort of evolved into a tool to motivate change.

For these participants, keeping BYC was morally, and ethically, satisfying, as they felt they were doing the “right thing” despite the *Responsible Pet Ownership Bylaw* that indicated otherwise.

Theme 3: Challenges Experienced

Half of the participants spoke about the bylaw prohibiting them from keeping BYC as a source of stress and a challenge. Not all participants held a flock at the time of the interview. It is possible that more participants might have reported the bylaw as a source of stress or a challenge, had they been actively keeping BYC at the time of the interview. Nearly all participants discussed worrying at one time or another about being found out and reported, for

keeping BYC within the city as a challenge. This was the most frequently cited challenge — nearly three times more than any other challenge discussed. Not surprisingly, when participants discussed this challenge, they often worried specifically about people finding out that they kept non-permitted BYC, having their flock reported to the ASAW, the ASAW coming to their property and looking for their BYC, having their BYC taken or ordered away, being fined for keeping BYC and consequential financial ramifications, time and energy used in court to reduce, or eliminate, fine fees, as well as time, and energy, used in court seeking permission to keep their flock. Jessi talks about the challenge of worrying about being found out, stating:

I guess my biggest concern and still is, is a city bylaw officer showing up. Um, because for one, I have a relationship with my birds — they're part livestock, part pet. And so I don't want to have to get rid of them. I — it's important, they are important to me. The potential financial implications is a little scary as well. But yeah, I would say that those are, and were, my two biggest concerns . . . I care about these birds and don't want them to get taken away from me. Or, I don't want to have to suddenly have a \$2,000 fine or to have to deal with the hassle of having to go to court and having to challenge it because that's really stressful and time consuming, and it takes up a lot of energy that I don't want to direct in that regard.

Some families checked with neighbours prior to acquiring their backyard flock, to be sure their neighbours would not be opposed to having BYC nearby, while others acquired their flocks without consultation. Regardless of whether the matter was discussed in advance with

neighbours or not, all participants spoke of experiencing positive interactions with their neighbours regarding their BYC (see Theme 2: Sources of satisfaction). However, many participants still worried that neighbours might suddenly become displeased with the birds, and report their flock. Alexi “still had some worry” about this, even after consulting with zero neighbours, prior to acquiring the family flock:

They were all very encouraging and very supportive. So we knew it was illegal, but we’d thought we sort of done our homework in terms of who it would affect . . . I think it is still something that concerns us, and I think we would continue to monitor as we go along . . . It’s about being good neighbours and having good communication with your neighbours and honest communication.

Many participants felt the need to keep secret the fact that they kept BYC within the city. Sam spoke of this, saying “You know, it’s just such a hush-hush operation. I would have to be fairly careful to who I actually talked [to] about it.” This frequently experienced need for secrecy contributed to participants’ feelings of isolation and was perceived to create difficulty or challenges with networking and connecting with other local BYC keepers, connecting with and accessing local poultry experts, resources, and supports, as well as accessing goods and services (e.g., feed, veterinary care). Although participants typically strived to keep their BYC keeping a secret, as time passed some became less concerned about keeping their flock a secret. However, most participants were still somewhat cautious as to whom they spoke with about their BYC, although they often no longer guarded their BYC keeping secret as tightly as they did initially.

Half of participants, including Sky, listed misinformation and negative perceptions about chickens as a challenge they experienced, stating “they have chickens tagged as these horrible creatures that are disease ridden, and I don't think it's fair.” Jessi spoke of her frustration with the challenge of misinformation:

Most of the concerns, I think, are based out of fear and ignorance and prejudice.

So, it's frustrating . . . And given that we are allowed to keep pigeons and dogs and cats and rabbits and snakes and guinea pigs and gerbils and everything else, it seems arbitrary and unfair that we can't keep chickens, and that it is just based on a bias against, against farming, against sustainability, against — yeah, people's ideas of what cities should be — even though cities all over the world do have chickens.

Lee, spoke about feeling discrimination from both urbanites as well as the rural farming community:

I still feel like there's this real feeling of people who live rurally and keep animals discriminating against urban people, like “oh they wouldn't know what to do with the birds,” you know? And then there is all this, there is sort of the urban people with perimeter-itus that are like “oh, we could never keep chickens, you know? No way that we are going to have chickens in Winnipeg! This is a city, not a farm!” . . . I just don't think it's fair, you know? People can keep rabbits, people

can keep pigeons, and people can keep dogs and cats. Why shouldn't they be able to keep a chicken?

Many participants longed to become more involved in helping the public learn about urban BYC keeping, but were worried about becoming too public with their BYC keeping. Thus, the need to keep their flocks a secret also impacted participants' perceived ability to teach others or address misunderstandings about BYC keeping in urban settings — consequentially adding to isolation experienced. Jessi spoke about this challenge and said:

Like, there's lots of neighbourhood kids who come by and play and ask questions, and I've just done my best. Like I don't let them into my backyard because it is illegal and because they'll talk. I love teaching kids about food. I have done it for work and volunteer and done lots of different projects around gardening and urban agriculture and all sorts of mentoring. And so not being able to do that because I have to keep them pseudo-secret is frustrating.

Although participants spoke about initially being concerned with how to care for their flocks, these concerns were short-lived and dissipated as they became more experienced in keeping their birds. Common participant concerns prior to, and at the onset of, keeping their BYC flocks included concerns about predators, and finding “chicken sitters” to look after their birds while they were on vacation, not knowing where to source the chicken breeds they wanted for their BYC flock, not knowing how to winterize their coops, not knowing what to do with an ill bird or a bird that had stopped laying, and not knowing how to kill a chicken. However, these

concerns did not manifest into actual challenges experienced by the participants of this study. Thus, all remaining challenges experienced by participants were related to the existing bylaw, which did not legally permit them to keep their BYC flocks.

Theme 4: Concerns Related to a BYC Bylaw Change in Winnipeg

Perhaps not surprisingly, all participants were in favour of a bylaw change. However participants did hold reservations with a bylaw change permitting BYC on residential lots in Winnipeg, including concerns about a) neighbourhood livability, b) animal welfare, and c) to what extent food production would be permitted.

Neighbourhood livability concerns. Participants often spoke about noise being a concern, and thus, a reason for having reservations about permitting BYC keeping within the city. Noise concerns typically included discussions about flock size (too many birds per property) and roosters. “[I wouldn't want the BYC] to be offensive to neighbours, either the noise, or the smell,” said Alexi. “I would have reservations in terms of the number of chickens that people can raise,” stated Cal. Anticipated concerns related to smell included flock size, manure storage and processing, as well as the location of coops.

Animal welfare concerns. Many participants held reservations about permitting BYC in the city due to concerns about animal welfare. “Hen welfare is my biggest reservation regarding the bylaw change,” said Sandi. The humane treatment of the birds was important to participants at all life stages — including end of life and the culling of birds. Alexi speaks about the importance of humane slaughter, stating; “I wouldn't want to have them just dumped in the

garbage . . . That would be my biggest concern. It should [be done] humanely. That it's done in a way that . . . isn't cruel to the chickens.” The birds’ living conditions were also commonly discussed. Participants worried whether appropriate and adequate shelter would be provided to the birds, and whether or not new BYC keepers would know (how) to winterize their coops. The number of bird to space ratio was also discussed as a concern, “I would hate to hear stories like ‘oh so-and-so kept, you know, too many chickens in such a space,’ and all that. That would be a horrible thing to hear,” said Sam.

Frequently, concerns about animal welfare were discussed by participants in relation to coop structure and space per bird. Jessi, spoke of her animal welfare concerns relating to the shelter:

I think what I’d be most concerned about would be . . . just that they are kept, and cared for, in an adequate shelter . . . Just general animal welfare concerns, which should be the same for the treatment of any animal that somebody is caring [for], and I think it would not be difficult to do better than most factory farms and how the hens are raised.

Participants worried about where the birds would be housed, about coop structures and if the public would know how to built coops adequately to address their birds’ basic needs (i.e., winterization), as well as whether or not the BYC would have access to green space. Dev speaks about some of these concerns:

[I wouldn't want someone to keep] them in their garage or something . . . [or] just get chickens and throw up some kind of thing. They would have to think about the fact that they would need to create a coop that involves some kind of winter, winterization, insulation . . . the hens' welfare, yeah, over the winter . . . it does get pretty cold.

Participants feared a lack of knowledge on chicken husbandry could lead to irresponsible pet-ownership, potentially resulting in neglected or abandoned animals. Frequently, these reservations stemmed from an overarching concern regarding potential public perceptions of BYC as being trendy, resulting in citizens acquiring birds without adequate knowledge of how to care for these animals. Sandi also talks about cold Winnipeg winters, animal welfare, and fears that some people might not fully understand the needs of a BYC living in Winnipeg:

I would not want any animals to suffer . . . I worry that there would be people who [might think] "Oh I can have a chicken, that's really cool! Let's get 4 or 5 chickens! And it's going to be perfectly ok! And I'm going to get some eggs in the morning, and it will just be great." And then they're gonna walk in one January day, and they're all gonna be frozen to death. And that's what I don't want to see.

Additionally, some participants worried about cockfighting and did not want such activities "in anyway permitted . . . [the bylaw] would have to be carefully written, so that it doesn't, it doesn't open up the . . . undesired possibilities of . . . cockfighting, or any of those sorts of things," said Cal. Thus, all animal welfare concerns were related to fears that people

might not fully understand how to keep chickens, or related to neglect or maltreatment of the birds. As Lee said, “some people are responsible pet owners, and some people just aren’t.”

Food production concerns. Most participants thought that citizens should be permitted to give or gift eggs to others outside of their immediate household. Some participants were concerned that the selling of eggs might lead to citizens keeping BYC for profit, leading to inhumane treatment of the birds, while other participants felt it was important that the selling of eggs be permitted. Most participants saw no harm in selling extra eggs as long as the bylaw specified a maximum number of birds to prevent commercial use, the occurrence of neighbourhood nuisance, and animal welfare issues.

Some participants were concerned about home slaughter and how this would be permitted, if at all. Only a few participants felt that such activity should not be permitted within the city. A few other participants were concerned that it would not be legal to perform home slaughtering. Some felt that it should be permitted to use the birds for meat, while others, like Lee, spoke about their confusion as to whether or not home slaughter should be permitted:

The urban agriculture thing is interesting to me . . . I think it needs to be explored. Like why can’t — like why is a farm animal a farm animal? Like why can't it live in the city? I don't know . . . One issue though that comes up is . . . the difference between urban agriculture . . . and the pet angle . . . Like I know that wouldn't be a problem for some people, you know, dispatching birds. Can you do that in the

open? I don't know. Maybe you have to do it in your basement? Gosh, I don't, I don't know. That's a tough one.

Additionally, participants, such as Cal, maintained concerns about the food security aspect they wished to see in a revised bylaw, allowing BYC keeping on residential lots:

I would want the law to make it very clear that . . . this is a food security issue and not an animal or pet issue . . . For someone who doesn't have a particularly substantial income, this might be an excellent way of improving their access to really good food. So I want, I want the bylaw to reflect that this is a positive thing for people, in terms of their health, and for their own food security.

Theme 5: Participant Recommendations for a Bylaw Change Permitting BYC

Should BYC keeping become permitted within the city, nearly all participants saw a need for some degree of regulation to address the public's, as well as their own, concerns. As Sandi said "I'm not against *a* bylaw; I am against *this* bylaw (i.e., *Responsible Pet Ownership Bylaw No.92/2013*)." Amending existing bylaws to encompass regulations regarding BYC keeping was a common suggestion. "A lot of the issues that people think they have with hens are covered by a heck of a lot of other bylaws. So things like noise bylaws, sanitation bylaws [are already covered]," Sandi continued. Alternatively, participants recommended that a new bylaw, specific to BYC or urban farming, could be created. A further suggestion was that amendments to existing bylaws, or the creation of a new bylaw, be modelled after other North American municipalities that permit BYC keeping on residential lots. Additionally, participants suggested

that Winnipeg citizens, BYC community members in Winnipeg, and stakeholder organizations should be consulted prior to amending existing bylaws or creating new bylaw(s) related to BYC keeping. Stakeholders listed by participants included D'arcy's A.R.C., the WHS, and the WUCA.

When discussing BYC keeping on residential lots, two means of mitigating concerns were commonly discussed: regulation and public education.

Regulations recommended by participants. Typically, regulation was seen as a way of providing clear-cut expectations, as well as legal grounds to address any improper keeping of BYC. Most participants emphasized the need for a clearly written bylaw that could be easily understood by the general public. Gene stated “make it simple,” and Cal recommended “that it be very clear that the owners, or raisers, of the chickens [know] what their responsibilities are.”

Registration, permits, licensing and fees. Nearly all participants spoke about and were in favour of some type of registration, permit, or licensing component as part of BYC bylaw regulations. Some participants, including Ash, spoke about how permits could be useful in the event of an avian influenza outbreak “If you need[ed] a permit . . . then they would know where the chickens are . . . If they said I have to get a permit, I would go get the permit. I have no objections with them knowing that I have chickens here.” Sandi spoke about the logistics of employing a licensing system, proposing that the city employ a user-based licensing system for BYC within the city:

You would have to have a bylaw to cover accommodation, and courses, and licenses to have chickens, just like licenses to have dogs. [People ask] “well, who is going to cover the cost of that?” And I mean, it’s a touchy question. Obviously people worry about the city [and that it] is already in a deficit . . . The fact is, I think *most* people who are motivated to have chickens would probably pay a small licensing fee to have them. So I think it would have to be a user-based licensing fee. I can’t see any other way it would be.

However, a few participants did not agree with a licensing or permitting system. These participants worried that fees might hinder low-income families’ ability to keep BYC.

Additionally, some felt that fees would interfere with one of the main reasons they wanted to keep BYC — for economic reasons. Cal spoke about this saying:

I don't think that people should have to, for instance, pay licensing fees to have their backyard chickens — whereas dogs and cats are supposed to be licensed . . . It’s a sustainability thing . . . I want the bylaw to reflect that . . . so it’s, it’s a different set of issues than [for] keeping pets, which are [kept solely] for personal satisfaction.

Coop checks. Coop checks were suggested by some participants as a means of either a) acquiring a license (i.e., one must pass a coop check prior to receiving a licence, in order to keep BYC on their lot), and/or b) as a way of investigating whether or not BYC are being kept

according to bylaw regulations (i.e., investigation upon complaints). Dev talks about option a) acquiring a licence prior to being permitted to keep BYC, stating:

Before they are allowed to have chickens, maybe they need to . . . have someone come and say “okay yeah, you are ready to have chickens, you have got the right set up,” if they [the city councillors] are worried about whatever they are worried about . . . that would be a way to get around that [and address concerns].

Sam recommended coop checks be done solely by either “the city” (i.e., ASAW) or in partnership with a community organization invested in the humane care of animals (i.e., D’arcy’s A.R.C. or WUCA); “there [could] be people going out and checking [the conditions of BYC coops), whether it’s community based or somebody employed by the city.”

Only hens permitted, no roosters. Nearly all participants recommended that roosters not be permitted within city limits due to noise concerns. Gene spoke about flock sizes and roosters, stating “I agree with them [the city councillors]. And you know, we couldn't tolerate a large flock, somebody got 25 or something [birds] and a bunch of roosters. That's out of the question.” Cal, too, said “I think it's quite *unreasonable* to consider roosters as an okay part of it. I think that neighbours have to be respected.” Additionally, some participants thought that a “no rooster” regulation could help diminish the likelihood of cockfighting taking place within the city.

Limited flock sizes. Nearly all participants felt that a limited number of hens should be permitted per residential property within the city. Sandi states:

[The bylaw] would need to have a specific number of allowed hens, probably for a given amount of space that you have. So for an X number of square foot lot, you would be allowed X number of chickens, no more than X number of chickens regardless of the size of your lot. So you know, that's a fairly simple approach.

Between three and 10 was the most common number of birds recommended by participants, per property, with an average of 4.5 birds per flock. Participants felt that limiting flock sizes would help mitigate concerns regarding animal welfare, noise, and smell.

Lot sizes and setbacks. Half of the participants recommended that the number of birds should be limited based on lot size. However a few participants worried this might prohibit those living in the inner city from being able to keep BYC, as smaller lot sizes are prevalent in these areas. This was a concern, as participants felt that these populations would be most in need of the food security opportunities that BYC keeping could provide. Participants, including Jessi, cautioned against making lot size restrictions prohibitive for those living on such properties:

Some bylaws [in other municipalities] create restrictions based property sizes and so people with however many square feet of yard can have however many chickens, that sort of thing. Or however far apart from other buildings — and that can be restrictive especially when so many older neighbourhoods have, you know, 25 by 90 foot lots, which is plenty of room for raising chickens. You really don't need much space, relatively speaking . . . So yeah, I guess I wouldn't, I wouldn't want to see the restriction based on the size of land.

Discussing setbacks (i.e., minimum coop distance) from neighbouring dwellings, Sandi said:

Another thing is controlling how close it, [the coop,] is to neighbours because you know, my neighbours are perfectly happy with having a chicken run right next to their fence but some others might not. So that would be reasonable. Clearances from other buildings and things like that.

Shelter. All participants wanted regulations about the accommodation of the birds to be included in BYC bylaws. Dev spoke about her hopes for regulations surrounding BYC coops, stating:

I just feel that if the city had some rules around that, that would probably be very nice for the chickens. That people wouldn't just get chickens and throw up some kind of thing. They would have to think about the fact that they would need to create a coop that involves some kind of winter winterization, insulation or something . . . [for] the hens' welfare.

Participants recommended using structure regulations already outlined by other municipalities, when designing or amending a BYC bylaw for Winnipeg. Additionally, some participants suggested that BYC shelters must comply with, or surpass, the most recent industrial poultry farming standards.

Humane treatment at all stages of life. All participants valued the humane treatment of BYC. Participants suggested that regulations regarding the humane treatment of the birds be included in a new or amended bylaw to allow BYC keeping in Winnipeg. A few participants, like

Ash, thought that expectations pertaining to the humane care of BYC should be similar to those outlined for dogs, cats, or other pet animals; “I think there has to be rules . . . and it has to be the same as dogs. [The bylaw] should regulate [that BYC need to] have *this big* of the pen, just like with a dog.”

Some participants recommended that a regulation specifically disallowing cockfighting be included. “[The bylaw] would have to be carefully written so that it doesn’t, it doesn't [allow] cockfighting or any of those sorts of things,” said Cal. Participants thought that this would help prevent such activity from occurring and give reason for removal of a flock, should such activity take place. Participants also recommended that the bylaw explicitly articulate whether or not BYC keepers would be permitted to use flocks for meat, and to cull their birds within city limits. One participant was opposed to the use of BYC for meat, while many others thought the use of the birds for meat could be permitted. Regardless, nearly all participants agreed, that should a chicken be culled, or put down, the bird must be “humanely destroyed” “without suffering.”

Appropriate storage of manure and feed. Some participants suggested that manure be stored and processed within gardening compost bins. Additionally, participants suggested that chicken feed be stored appropriately and securely to avoid attracting rodents. Dev states:

I know that there is always some concern about . . . storage of chicken food and storage of chicken poop and stuff. It's sort of a non-issue, but I mean, they can always have some rules around that. You know, keep your chicken food in a

garbage can or something with a lid, or something like that, and then have compost bins, or something.

Selling of BYC food products. Conflicting participant views existed on whether or not citizens should be permitted to sell eggs. One participant, Sam, spoke about wanting to sell zero eggs, and about how the selling of BYC eggs could be permitted, similar to the sales of home-made jams:

[I would want to be] able to sell my eggs . . . I imagine there could be some basic rules on that kind of stuff, you know? If you can make jam, you don't have to have an ingredient list on it, right? As long as it's not sold in a store, and that kinda thing.

Another participant, Cal, spoke about why he thought the selling of eggs should not be permitted, stating "make it clear that the eggs are for personal — the eggs and chickens are for personal use, and not for commercial use". Due to Cal's concern that people might keep larger, inhumanely-raised flocks, he did not agree that the selling of BYC food products should be permitted. Regardless of participants' stance on this question, participants from both sides of the argument agreed that the bylaw should explicitly state whether or not egg sales would be permitted.

Public education recommended by participants. Many participants spoke about the importance of public education, in conjunction with regulations, on BYC keeping in Winnipeg. Public education was discussed as a way of educating the public and preventing compliance

issues, due to lack of knowledge regarding the keeping of BYC in cities. Participants spoke about public education taking the form of information and general guidelines (e.g., plain language information on the city of Winnipeg website), as well as workshops or courses on how to keep BYC in Winnipeg. Some participants spoke about having taken workshops or courses prior to keeping their BYC, and valuing the information they received from such opportunities. These individuals wanted similar opportunities to be available to novice BYC keepers. Dev spoke about her desire to see BYC workshops, stating:

I think would be great if there was like some education around keeping chickens, so people didn't end up keeping them in their garage or something. Like if they had some sort of workshops, or something like that, where people could come and learn how to do this, and this is what is expected in Winnipeg . . . like a how-to workshop.

Sandi spoke about having literature available on the topic of BYC raising within the city, in addition to a course that could be required, prior to being permitted to keep BYC on one's property:

To have three or six hens you would have to see a presentation on how to keep them, you know, the basics. So . . . maximum number of hens, make sure that their accommodations is suitable . . . make sure that the space that you have for them, the free-run space, is suitable. Another thing is controlling how close it is to

neighbours . . . [A] sort of basic course on how to take care of them . . . Those are some of the things that it should cover.

Some participants thought the city could develop and provide a workshop or course on BYC keeping expectations and care. Other participants suggested that the city use existing BYC keeping workshops or courses developed by local institutions, organizations, or community members, who already provide these services and specialize in chicken keeping within the city.

Summary of Major Findings

Ten Winnipeg citizens who currently keep or had previously kept BYC on residentially zoned properties were interviewed regarding their motivations and lived experiences with keeping non-permitted BYC. Five themes emerged from the data: 1) Motivations for keeping non-permitted BYC, 2) sources of satisfaction derived from keeping non-permitted BYC, 3) challenges experienced with keeping non-permitted BYC, 4) perceptions of the existing *Responsible Pet Ownership By-law (No.92/2013)* and concerns about changing this bylaw to permit BYC keeping in Winnipeg, and 5) recommendations for a bylaw change in Winnipeg, permitting BYC keeping.

Theme 1. Participants were motivated to keep small, non-permitted BYC flocks for food-related reasons (e.g., eggs, meat, improved quality, etc.), for learning opportunities (i.e., for self, children, neighbours and community members), for leisure and companionship (e.g., pets with benefits, something new to try, etc.), as well as personal and often political reasons (e.g., BYC keeping seen as a way to affect change, by resisting the industrial food production system).

Theme 2. Sources of satisfaction from keeping non-permitted BYC included food products (i.e., eggs and meat), the food production process and byproducts, an increased sense of connection (i.e., to food, others, culture, and history), enjoyment, leisure, entertainment and companionship, being able to create and provide learning opportunities (i.e., for self, children, neighbours, and community members), and doing what felt right (i.e., acting on morality instead of technicality).

Theme 3. Challenges experienced by participants related to keeping their small, non-permitted, BYC flocks included fear of being found out, experiencing isolation (i.e., from other local BYC keepers, the wider BYC community, and poultry specialists), as well as misinformation and negative stereotypes about BYC keeping in cities.

Theme 4. All participants thought that the existing *Responsible Pet Ownership By-law (No.92/2013)* was unfair and unjust, and wanted the bylaw changed to allow BYC keeping on residential lots in Winnipeg. When asked if they had any concerns related to changing the bylaw to permit BYC keeping on residential lots, participants spoke about concerns pertaining to neighbourhood livability (i.e., smell, noise), animal welfare (i.e., neglect due to misinformation), and the extent to which food production would be permitted (i.e., would egg sales be permitted? Would culling birds for meat be permitted?).

Theme 5. Although participants had concerns with changing the existing bylaw, they still wanted the city to permit BYC keeping on residential lots. To mitigate concerns which could arise with a bylaw, participants recommended the city provide regulations and public education

on residential BYC keeping. Participant bylaw recommendations included requiring keepers to acquire permits or licenses to keep BYC, coop-checks, the prohibition of roosters, flock size limits, the use of setbacks and lot size requirements, outlining expectations on shelter, animal care, sanitation, and slaughter, as well as weather, or not, sales of food products would be permitted. Public education on bylaw recommendations and expectations was suggested as a proactive means of curtailing any BYC keeping challenges related to bylaw compliance.

The next chapter provides a discussion of these findings, as well as study limitations, strengths, and implications for professional practice.

Chapter 6: Discussion and Implications

Interpretation of Findings

Introduction. In this section, an interpretation of the findings is presented. Both, an interpretive phenomenological approach, and the Personal is Political theoretical perspective are used to guide the interpretation of findings. Notable findings from previous scholars' studies on BYC and urban livestock keeping have been incorporated into this discussion, to help situate the results from this study within the existing literature.

As previously discussed in Chapter one, when using the Personal is Political theoretical perspective, the term political is meant to refer to power relationships, and not the narrow sense of electoral politics (Hanisch, 2006). According to the Personal is Political theoretical perspective, all personal matters should interconnect with those that are political, and vice versa (Hanisch, 2006). Thus, it was hypothesized that motivations and experiences for keeping illegal BYC would be both personal and political.

All participants spoke about themes related to power relationships. Over half of the participants interviewed explicitly identified their motivations for keeping non-permitted BYC as stemming, in part, from political reasons. Many of these participants discussed their personal motivations and lived experiences as being inextricably intertwined or interconnected with their political motivations and lived experiences. The remaining participants explicitly stated that they did not identify any of their motivations or lived experiences as political. However, themes related to power relationships were commonly discussed by both participant groups — those

who identified their motivations and lived experiences as personal as well as political, and those who identified their motivations and lived experiences as solely personal. Thus, motivations and lived experiences related to keeping non-permitted BYC in Winnipeg were both political and personal for nearly all participants.

Themes commonly discussed by both groups of participants, that were related to power relationships, included keeping BYC as direct action against the commercial food production system, as direct action against the city of Winnipeg's *Responsible Pet Ownership Bylaw (No. 92/2013)*, as direct action against myths and stereotypes regarding BYC keeping in cities, as well as direct action in support of social change by educating children. These themes are discussed further in the subsequent paragraphs.

BYC keeping as direct action against the commercial food production system.

Almost all participants perceived the commercial or industrialized food system to be problematic and commonly referred to this system as a major reason they felt the need to keep BYC. Specifically, these participants felt that the commercial food production system hindered their ability to know and feel connected to their food, to eat according to their food consumption ethics, and ultimately, to become more food secure. For most participants, keeping BYC was a way to address and solve perceived problems related to the industrial food production system.

BYC keeping increases food access (i.e., food security). Participants felt that the food choices available to them through the industrialized food system at commercial supermarkets were limited (e.g., poor quality, too costly, raised and processed in ways that were inhumane and

harmful to the environment). Nearly all participants kept their birds for food security reasons, as they felt that keeping BYC would allow them to better access some of their food. BYC keeping was specifically seen as a way to increase access to good quality and ethically produced foods. Scholars, too, found that improving access to better quality food was important to North American BYC and livestock keepers, and a primary motivating factor for these individuals to keep their food-producing animals (Blecha & Leitner, 2013; Canfield, 2014; Elkhoraibi, Blatchford, Pitesky, & Mench, 2014; McClintock, Pallana, & Wooten, 2014). As McClintock, Pallana, and Wooten (2014) state, “these animals clearly *are not* simply pets. They play functional roles that traditional pets do not“ (p. 437). The BYC kept by participants of this study, too, had a functional role, to provide food, as well as help participants improve their long-term food accessibility. As Canfield (2014) found, participants kept BYC as a way to re-work their access to food and resist the industrialized food system. The eggs and meat acquired through BYC keeping allowed participants to address perceived problems with industrial farming by providing an alternative means of accessing food, allowing participants to resist the purchase of industrially farmed foods.

BYC keeping helps people feel better connected to their food. Participants of this study wanted to feel more connected to their food, and felt that it was difficult to experience this sense of connection when consuming industrially produced foods. Nearly all participants felt that the industrialized food production model limited their ability to know and feel connected to their food. Similarly, knowing where food comes from and how it is produced was another major

reason participants in other scholarly studies wanted to keep urban livestock and BYC (Blecha & Leitner, 2013; Canfield, 2014; McClintock, Pallana, & Wooten, 2014). By keeping BYC, participants — of this study, and other scholarly studies — were able to acquire an intimate knowledge of how some of the food that they and their family consumed was produced. Consequently, these individuals were able to make, what they perceived to be, better food consumption choices, which aligned with their food consumption ethics (e.g., food-producing animals should be humanely treated and have a good or happy life) (Blecha & Leitner, 2013; Canfield, 2014; McClintock, Pallana, & Wooten, 2014). Keeping BYC was a way for participants to become better connected to some of the animals that produced their food, as well as the food products these animals produced (i.e., eggs and meat). Furthermore, keeping BYC helped participants become empowered to take control over the sources from which they acquired their food, enabling them to resist the consumption of industrially farmed foods and, instead, eat according to their food consumption ethics more easily and more frequently.

BYC keeping is a more ethical way to consume animal-produced food products.

As previously mentioned, many participants began keeping BYC as a way to distance themselves from the commercial food production system. Participants spoke about their disapproval of the methods used by commercial livestock farms to produce food, and frequently perceived these methods to be inhumane and non-environmentally friendly. Consistent with findings published in previous scholarly studies, participants were very concerned about the humane treatment, and animal welfare, of food-producing animals, as well as the impact of industrial farming on the

environment (Blecha & Leitner, 2013; Canfield, 2014; McClintock, Pallana, & Wooten, 2014). Keeping a small flock reduced participants' need to purchase industrially farmed eggs and meat, and provided participants with further opportunities to resist the commercial food production industry. Withholding financial support of commercially produced eggs and meat allowed participants to assert their decision-making power as consumers. Thus, participants were able to subvert the industrialized food system by producing their own food products in, what they perceived to be, more sustainable and environmentally friendly ways, independent of the industrialized food system, by ensuring the animals used to produce their food products were raised in accordance with their food consumption ethics.

BYC keeping empowers people to become more independent and self-reliant (i.e., food sovereign). Participants of this study frequently spoke of how they did not agree with or trust the industrialized food production system. Distrust of the industrial food production system was also found to be a reason that Canfield's (2014) participants kept urban livestock, as they wanted to claim autonomy from corporate food systems and city government. Similarly, participants of this study yearned to become more self-sufficient and independent of the industrial food production system (i.e., food sovereign) through the raising of BYC.

For many of the BYC keepers who participated in this study, raising their own flocks is political and related to power because of the emancipating effect keeping a small flock had on participants' ability to provide for themselves and their family. Although not entirely independent of the commercial food system, by producing their own eggs and meat, participants were able to

become more food sovereign and further reclaim the role of food producer, in addition to being food consumers.

Summary of BYC keeping as direct action against the commercial food production system. Nearly all participants perceived their reliance on the commercial food system as problematic to some degree and that this food production model limited their ability to know their food, as well as access quality and ethically produced foods. Most participants did not want to be as dependent as they were on commercially produced foods. Instead of simply being industrial food consumers, these individuals also wanted to be food producers so that they could be more independent and less reliant on industrial farming. For many participants, keeping small flocks is a direct response against large-scale industrial farming. Participants decided to keep their own BYC flocks, in part, so that they could raise their own eggs and meat, increasing their ability to access food (i.e., become more food secure), to become better connected with their food so that they knew the foods that they ate aligned with their food consumption ethics, and to become more independent of the industrialized food system (i.e., become more food sovereign).

BYC keeping as direct action against the city of Winnipeg's Responsible Pet Ownership Bylaw (No.92/2013). The *Responsible Pet Ownership Bylaw (No.92/2013)* was another issue related to power frequently discussed by participants, as the bylaw does not permit citizens on residential lots (i.e., participants of this study) to keep BYC on their properties. Canfield (2014) was the only scholar who discussed themes related to power relationships as they related to municipal government, stating that urban livestock keepers kept their animals as a

way to claim autonomy from city government. Elkhoraibi, Blatchford, Pitesky, and Mench (2014) reported that BYC keepers experienced challenges with regards to bylaw compliance. However, these issues seem to have more to do with understanding ordinance regulations, as opposed to experiencing the actual ordinance itself as problematic.

All participants, except one, knew that the *Responsible Pet Ownership Bylaw (No. 92/2013)* did not permit the keeping of BYC on residential properties prior to acquiring their flocks. However, these participants decided to keep BYC on their properties regardless of this ordinance. Some participants spoke about the decision to keep BYC as a way of overcoming or subverting the bylaw, as they perceived the bylaw to be unfair or unjust. By keeping BYC, these participants felt they were able to demonstrate their opposition to the *Responsible Pet Ownership Bylaw (No.92/2013)* through non-compliance. A few participants spoke about how they began keeping BYC partly in defiance of the existing bylaw and the Winnipeg city council members who did not support the legalization of BYC on residential lots. These participants believed that by keeping non-permitted BYC they were able to prove to themselves and to those around them (e.g., neighbours, community, and the general public) that keeping BYC is a viable option for food production within cities, that the existing *Responsible Pet Ownership Bylaw (No.92/2013)* was wrong, and that the city cannot stop them from keeping BYC. Clearly, for these participants, keeping BYC is political and a form of direct action, challenging the existing bylaw itself, as well as Winnipeg city councillors and government employees who upheld the ban of BYC keeping on residential properties in Winnipeg.

While some participants stated that they were not preoccupied with whether or not BYC keeping was permitted by Winnipeg city ordinance, these same individuals commonly spoke about themes related to power (e.g., BYC keeping being an “act of civil disobedience,” or resisting the unfair bylaw). A few participants explicitly stated that although they would not have classified their BYC keeping as political at the time when they began keeping their flocks, they now did classify this action as a personal and political act.

As mentioned previously, the *Responsible Pet Ownership Bylaw (No.92/2013)* was perceived by all participants to be both unfair and unjust, as the bylaw prevented citizens from being able to legally raise their own food. Participants believed they had the right to grow their own food and that the current bylaw infringed on these rights. Thus, for these participants, keeping non-permitted BYC was a food justice issue, as the bylaw did not permit participants to do what they perceived to be fair and just (i.e., keep BYC), rendering the act of keeping non-permitted BYC political.

BYC keeping as direct action against myths and misconceptions regarding BYC keeping in cities. Participants used their BYC to teach others about how to keep small city flocks. Additionally, many participants used their BYC flocks as a way of inspiring others to think more critically about the importance of doing what is moral as opposed to what is legal. For example, numerous participants used their flocks in attempt to change the way that BYC keeping in cities was understood by friends, neighbours, community members, and the general public. These participants used their BYC as an education tool to support and justify a bylaw

change permitting BYC keeping on residential lots by demonstrating that small flocks can be kept successfully in cities. Keeping small flocks on residential properties became a way for many participants to assert power by actively disrupting commonly held myths and stereotypes about chickens and by modelling new and alternative ways of how to keep city flocks.

Additionally, for many participants, BYC keeping was used as a political tool to challenge larger, societal perceptions of how food is grown or raised and to advocate for environmental and sustainable food production practices, as well as the humane treatment of food-producing animals. These participants used their BYC as political tools to inspire others to think more critically about their food consumption choices and whether or not these choices aligned with their food consumption ethics. In this way, the daily act of keeping BYC was used to challenge societal norms (e.g., what is considered acceptable treatment of food-producing animals), and to push forward participants' own personal and political agendas, in an effort to create larger social change. While scholars commonly listed providing others with educational opportunities as a satisfaction experienced by US BYC and urban livestock keepers (Blecha & Leitner, 2013; Canfield, 2014; Elkhoraibi, Blatchford, Pitesky, & Mench, 2014; McClintock, Pallana, & Wooten, 2014), no scholarly sources reported BYC keepers using their birds as political tools to address myths and misconceptions about BYC keeping.

BYC keeping as direct action to support social change by educating children.

Nearly all participants used BYC keeping as a way to teach children how to produce some of their own food, as they wanted children to learn skills of how to become more food secure and

sovereign by producing food products for themselves. Using BYC and urban livestock to help teach children about how to grow their own food was also discussed in peer-reviewed literature (Blecha & Leitner, 2013; Canfield, 2014; Elkhoraibi, Blatchford, Pitesky, & Mench, 2014; McClintock, Pallana, & Wooten, 2014). BYC and urban livestock keepers wanted the children in their lives to learn about where food comes from, both in “a practical” and “philosophical sense”, as well as to learn how to become more independent from supermarkets, and gain an appreciation for “where food comes from” (in Blecha & Leitner, 2013, p. 95; Canfield, 2014; Elkhoraibi, Blatchford, Pitesky, & Mench, 2014; McClintock, Pallana, & Wooten, 2014).

Spending time teaching children how to raise BYC was seen by many participants of this study as a long-term strategy to promote change in the way society viewed BYC keeping in cities. Teaching children about food production was important because it allowed participants to pass down their personal and political values onto children (e.g., the importance of the ethical treatment of food-producing animals and sustainable food production practices). Many participants viewed children as torch carriers or “leaders of the future,” who would in turn, impart their understandings and views of BYC keeping — seeped in experiential knowledge, having been taught how to keep BYC in their childhood — onto others, throughout the duration of their lives. Thus, teaching children how to keep BYC and how to produce their own food was another way participants took action and worked to push forward their personal and political visions pertaining to food.

A few participants spoke about how they wanted to teach the children in their lives to stand up for what they believe was right. Some participants used their BYC keeping as a way to model how “standing up for what you believe in” can look and that activism can take place not only at city hall, but also through short conversations with others about BYC or by the simple, everyday act of keeping BYC when the *Responsible Pet Ownership Bylaw (No.92/2013)* does not permit BYC on residential lots. For these participants, it was important to model moral-based decision-making. It was also important for these participants to be able to teach children about the impact their personal choices have and how simple, everyday, choices can bring wider social change. Through keeping BYC, these participants were able to teach the children in their lives to do what is ethically right, to stand up for moral issues and to know that their actions can affect change and that they are not powerless.

When discussing the phenomenon of BYC keeping in North America, no scholars reported the use of food-producing animals specifically to educate children to become agents of social change or as empowerment tools to teach children to stand up for what they believe in. However, BYC keeping was political for many participants in this study, as it helped them teach the children in their lives that they hold the power to make small changes and that these small changes can, in turn, help affect larger, social change.

Discussion summary. While not all participants explicitly identified their experiences and motivations as *both* personal and political, the majority of participants did. Nonetheless, all participants frequently discussed themes related to power relationships. Considering the findings

presented in chapter five, and discussed in this section, it appears that non-permitted BYC keeping is, indeed, a largely personal, as well as political, phenomenon.

The BYC keepers who participated in this study are problem solvers, who use their personal decision-making power to overcome issues related to food security, food sovereignty, and food justice by keeping their own flocks. Instead of accepting the widely used food production model in North America, participants decided to take matters into their own hands, and keep BYC as a means of addressing their concerns with the industrialized food system. Instead of accepting what they perceived to be an unjust bylaw, participants decided to keep BYC despite the ban of BYC flocks on residential lots, imposed by the *Responsible Pet Ownership Bylaw (No.92/2013)*. Instead of allowing BYC myths and misconceptions to remain unchallenged, participants used their BYC as a way to educate others by demonstrating how small flocks can be kept successfully in cities. Instead of adhering to an unjust bylaw, participants took action by educating the children in their lives about BYC keeping, how to become more food secure, why BYC keeping is “the right thing to do,” as well as the importance of becoming more food sovereign and that this can be done successfully by keeping BYC in the city.

Although food products were one of the main motivations for keeping BYC, as well as sources of satisfaction experienced by all participants, it is clear that BYC keeping is about more than simply being able to produce eggs and meat. As Blecha and Leitner (2013) stated, BYC keepers “are not raising chickens simply to save money or to pursue an eccentric hobby, but

rather as an explicit effort to promote and enact alternative urban imaginaries [as the] performance of everyday practices reshapes [these] urban imaginaries” (p. 86). This finding was true for nearly all participants of this study. Keeping BYC flocks was a micro level tactic used to assert personal decision-making power in an effort to promote societal change at a larger, macro scale. BYC keeping was a way for participants to resist, disrupt, and subvert the commercial food production industry, the *Responsible Pet Ownership Bylaw (No.92/2013)*, myths and misconceptions about chickens, and BYC keeping in cities, while empowering community members, in particular children — who were seen as society’s future leaders — to learn how to become more food secure, more food sovereign, and that BYC keeping is a food justice issue because “we have the right to grow our own food.”

Study Limitations

The main limitation with this exploratory study pertains to the generalizability of findings. Because of the small sample size and the fact that participants were recruited solely from Winnipeg, the findings derived from this study are not expected to be representative of other North American municipalities. Additionally, no participants from this study self-identified as being from any visible minority groups (i.e., First Nations, Métis, Inuit, persons living with disabilities, etc.). Although a more homogenous sample was acquired, the sample used in this study is unlikely to be representative of all Winnipeg citizens who keep BYC, as well as all North American BYC keepers.

Another limitation is that many participants spoke about learning of this study by virtual recruitment posters (e.g., posters on Facebook pages and groups). Individuals on these Facebook pages and groups may be more likely to perceive BYC keeping as both personal and political, compared to Winnipeg BYC keepers who do not frequent local BYC-related groups and pages. This recruitment limitation may have contributed to a potentially non-representative sample, which may not be reflective of all Winnipeg citizens who keep non-permitted BYC. Furthermore, a sample from a different municipality where BYC keeping is permitted may reveal differing results — especially pertaining to whether or not BYC keeping is perceived to be personal and political — compared to the findings presented in this study, which focused solely on the perceptions of BYC keepers who keep illegal flocks.

Although all attempts were made to help participants feel safe to speak their truth, participants may have downplayed themes that they thought might be deemed inappropriate or unimportant by the researcher. It is possible that participants may have wanted to support my research by being “helpful,” resulting in responses that do not reflect their full experiences. Furthermore, participants may have felt pressure to respond a certain way, due to my being a researcher and/or BYC community member. Reliability and validity issues could have arisen due to participants responding according to what they thought I, a researcher, and a member of the BYC community, wanted to hear. Thus, the findings produced from this study may not be as reliable or valid as those produced by a researcher *without* membership in the BYC community, due to self-reporter bias.

Member checking occurred 1-1.5 years after the semi-structured interviews had taken place. It is plausible that participants might not have fully remembered what they said at the time of the semi-structured interview — which could have affected participants' ability to be critical of the interview summaries presented to them — being another limitation of this study.

Lastly, because the Personal is Political theoretical perspective (Hanisch, 1969, 2006), is composed of loosely defined definitions and descriptions, that are predominantly discussed in a women's liberation context, the application of this theoretical perspective to the study of BYC keeping in Winnipeg was challenging. Participants were told that the term "political" was used in this study, as Hanisch (2006) described, "in the broad sense of the word, as having to do with power relationships, not the narrow sense of electoral [*sic*] politics." However, it is possible that this explanation was not explicit enough, leading to differing understandings of the meaning of the term "political", limiting the generalizability of participant responses. This is another limitation of this study, as well as the applicability of the Personal is Political theoretical perspective, as participants' perceptions of what the term "political" implied may have been inconsistent with the definition provided to them during the interview. Recommendations to address this challenge and other limitations are presented in the implications and recommendations section.

Study Strengths

Although the findings from this study cannot be generalized, they can provide scholars with a scientific stepping-stone from which to better understand the motivations and lived

experiences of a select group of individuals who keep non-permitted BYC in Winnipeg.

“Phenomenological methods are particularly effective at bringing to the fore the experience and perceptions of individuals from their own perspective and therefore at challenging structural or normative assumptions” (Lester, 1999, p. 1). No other study, to my knowledge, captures the voices and lived experiences of those keeping non-permitted BYC in Canada. This qualitative study provides a unique contribution to the existing body of knowledge by providing rich descriptions of the motivations and lived experiences of those keeping non-permitted BYC within the city of Winnipeg. Being able to hear the voices of Canadian BYC keepers enriches our understanding of this phenomenon significantly, as these findings can be compared to those of scholars who have researched BYC keeping in the US, who have found similar results as to those presented in this thesis (Blecha & Leitner, 2013; Canfield, 2014; Elkhoraibi, Blatchford, Pitesky, & Mench, 2014; McClintock, Pallana, & Wooten, 2014).

Furthermore, this study provided participants with the opportunity to express their motivations for keeping non-permitted BYC and to speak about their lived experiences in a safe and anonymous context, without fear of retribution. Due to my established role as a BYC activist, a greater feeling of safety, rapport and trust may have been experienced by participants during the interview process. This may have reduced participants’ anxiety and enhanced participants’ experience of being interviewed. Consequently, it is possible that richer data and a larger participant sample were gained due to these factors. Thus, my own personal location as a BYC advocate within Winnipeg, combined with the participants’ personal location, coincided to

produce a unique set of findings, likely unachievable for a researcher without membership in the BYC keeping community.

The use of semi-structured interviews provided methodological strength to this study, as enough rigidity was maintained to ensure all participants were asked the same questions, while providing flexibility in allowing participants to retain some control over what was discussed. For example, the use of semi-structured interviews permitted participants to bring up topics that they perceived as relevant — some of which I did not initially anticipate exploring. This flexibility added depth to interview discussions, and enriched the findings produced through this study.

Member checking was another methodological strength of this study, which occurred 1-1.5 years after the semi-structured interviews (3 months prior to my thesis defence). Speaking with the participants at this time provided me with the opportunity, not only to verify my understanding of the data, but also to verify that the findings presented are still current. This is another strength of this research study.

By using a phenomenological approach, I was able to capture the stories and lived experiences of those keeping BYC. As mentioned previously in chapter three, very few scholars have studied BYC keepers' lived experiences. Thus, the findings from this study contribute to a deeper understanding of this phenomenon, being another strength of this thesis.

Notably, when the literature search was initially conducted (2012), no scholarly studies pertaining to the motivations and lived experiences of North American BYC keepers were found. However, while recruiting participants, conducting interviews, transcribing interviews and

analyzing the data, a few scholarly studies containing findings on the motivations and lived experiences of North American BYC and urban livestock keepers were published (Blecha & Leitner, 2013; Canfield, 2014; Elkhoraibi, Blatchford, Pitesky, & Mench, 2014; McClintock, Pallana, & Wooten, 2014). Because these publications were found only after the data was analyzed and findings were written, I was not aware of these scholars' findings during the time my study findings were being assembled. Consequently, the influence of these scholars' findings on the direction of this study, including the data analysis and finding formulation process, was extremely limited. Being blind to the findings of other scholars during the data collection and analysis phase adds strength to the findings presented within this thesis, as this increases the likelihood that the emergent categories approach was successfully employed (i.e., permitting categories to emerge from the data on their own, as opposed to imposing upon the data a set of pre-determined categories). The successful application of the emergent categories approach is important as it increases the trustworthiness of the data explication process, especially when a phenomenon is newly being explored.

Using the Personal is Political theoretical perspective in this study aided in forming a preliminary assessment of how this theoretical perspective can be used within the family social science discipline. This theoretical perspective was helpful as it provided a theoretical base to ground the study, that is, the assumption that the personal is also political. With this theoretical assumption, it was possible to create a hypothesis about the phenomena in question (i.e., that BYC keepers' motivations and lived experiences would be both personal and political). The

Personal is Political theoretical perspective was also used as a tool to guide the exploration of BYC keepers' lived experiences, and in the formation of research and interview questions (i.e., do participants speak about themes related to power relationships when discussing motivations for keeping BYC and their lived experiences as BYC keepers?). Additionally, this theoretical perspective provided an interpretative lens to focus the explication and interpretation of the data, as they pertained to personal and political themes experienced by the BYC keepers (e.g., underlying themes related to reclaiming or asserting power). For these reasons, the Personal is Political theoretical perspective helped strengthen the results found through this study.

Lastly, this study contributes to a more informed understanding of the phenomenon of BYC keeping in Canada and North America from a family social science perspective. Prior to this thesis, no peer-reviewed family social science studies were used to explore North Americans' motivations and lived experiences of keeping BYC. Addressing this gap within the literature is another strength of this research study.

Implications and Recommendations

This section provides direction on how the findings from this study may be used to enhance our understanding of BYC keeping in North America, as well as to guide further research on this phenomenon, especially within the field of family social sciences, and to support appropriate and informed public policy regarding BYC keeping in North American municipalities.

The following recommendations may be of interest to academics studying the phenomenon of BYC and livestock keeping in North America, as well as those interested in topics related to urban agriculture, urban farming, food security, food sovereignty, and food justice, as well as the use of animals to enhance community connections, mental health, stress reduction, and as educational tools. The recommendations may also be of interest to scholars from the field of family social sciences, as well as personnel working within municipal government (i.e., department of animal services), at humane societies, and at animal shelters.

Theoretical implications. The Personal is Political theoretical perspective was used in this study as a way to explore the applicability of this perspective in the discipline of family social sciences, as well as the applicability of this perspective to the study of a phenomenon that is not associated with women's liberation studies (i.e., non-permitted BYC keeping in Winnipeg).

Although the Personal is Political theoretical perspective, as described by Hanisch (1969, 2006), contains loosely defined terms and descriptions, these are predominantly discussed in a women's liberation context, hindering the application of this theoretical perspective to the study of wider social phenomena. The lack of theoretical definitions and the gap in discussion of how this theoretical perspective might be used when studying social phenomena other than women's liberation issues was a challenge when using the Personal is Political theoretical perspective in this social science study (see study limitations).

Recommendations to strengthen the Personal is Political theoretical perspective for further use by the social science community include expanding the definitions and explanations

used when referring to this theoretical perspective, as well as exploring the versatility of this theoretical perspective, for use in future social science research.

Expand definitions and explanation of the Personal is Political theoretical perspective.

Bryman, Teevan, and Bell (2009) describe a theory as an “explanation of observed regularities or patterns” (p. 3). Common components of a theory include definitions, descriptions of the phenomena of interest, and relational statements, which connect two or more variables (Bryman, Teevan, & Bell, 2009). Thus, expanding Hanisch’s (1969, 2006) explanation of what the term “political”, as well as providing supplementary definitions and explanations of additional key terms, is necessary to develop a better understanding of the applicability, the limitations, and the strengths of the Personal is Political theoretical perspective for use in family social science research.

As previously mentioned, Hanisch (2006) uses the term “political” “in the broad sense of the word as having to do with power relationships, not the narrow sense of electoral [*sic*] politics”. During data analysis, it became apparent that the term political may be better used, not only to describe power relationships, but also power dynamics. Relationships are never static, as they are constantly changing and evolving. The term “dynamic” conveys this sense of action or movement. This distinction can help strengthen scholars’ assessment of personal and political phenomena, as the word “dynamic” more completely captures the ever-changing nature of relationships. In this way, future scholars may be more likely to explore personal and political phenomena as they pertain to power relationships and the dynamics of these relationships, as

opposed to simply viewing relationships to power as relatively static or established, potentially leading to more accurate social science research.

Additionally, clarification should be provided regarding Hanisch's (2006) definition of the term "political." As presented above, Hanisch (2006) stated that the term "political" is meant to be used "in the broad sense of the word . . . not the narrow sense of electoral [*sic*] politics". This is not to mean that issues of electoral politics cannot play a role in influencing a given personal and political phenomenon. Indeed, issues related to electoral politics (i.e., city of Winnipeg municipal *Responsible Pet Ownership Bylaw No.92/2013*) were important components of participants' personal and political lived experiences, as presented in the discussion and findings sections of this study. In order to circumvent any misunderstandings (e.g., that the Personal is Political theoretical perspective cannot be used to understand municipal or electoral political issues), it is important that a clear explanation of how the term political is meant to be used is provided, highlighting the fact that issues related to electoral politics are not rendered irrelevant when using the Personal is Political theoretical perspective.

An expanded definition and explanation of the term "political" has been provided to better capture the intended meaning of the term "political", for use when applying the Personal is Political theoretical perspective to social science research: The term political is used in the broad sense of the word, as having to do with power. Issues of electoral politics may be relevant factors that influence how a phenomenon is experienced. However, it is important to note that the term

“political” is not meant to refer to electoral politics, and that it is instead meant to refer to power relationships and dynamics.

Explore the versatility of the Personal is Political theoretical perspective. Another recommendation to strengthen the Personal is Political theoretical perspective, for further use by the social science community, is to apply the theoretical perspective to phenomena not typically associated with women’s liberation. By applying the Personal is Political theoretical perspective to research exploring phenomena that is not related to women's liberation, a better understanding of the versatility of this theoretical perspective can be acquired. Developing a deeper understanding of the applicability of the the Personal is Political theoretical perspective can provide social scientists with increased opportunities for exploring and understanding various personal and political phenomena, adding depth to our understanding of social phenomena which affect the lived experiences of families.

Another way of exploring the versatility of the Personal is Political theoretical perspective is to assess whether or not it can be used in conjunction with other previously developed and tested social science theories. One example of a theory that might be complementary to the Personal is Political theoretical perspective is Bronfenbrenner’s (1979) Ecological Systems Theory. The Personal is Political theoretical perspective and the Ecological Systems Theory may be complementary, as both theoretical approaches assume that personal issues (i.e., issues related to the microsystem) affect and are affected by political issues (i.e., issues related to the mesosystem, exosystem, and the macrosystem). Further research assessing

the similarities, differences, and ways these two theoretical approaches — as well as other theoretical approaches — might be complementarily used in family social science research is needed to further our understanding of the applicability and versatility of the Personal is Political theoretical perspective.

Implications for scholarly and professional practice. Prior to this study, no peer-reviewed sources explored Canadians' motivations and lived experiences for keeping BYC. Additionally, to my knowledge, no research studies on the phenomenon of BYC keeping has been conducted by scholars from the family social sciences discipline. Although this thesis addresses these gaps within the literature, further research is needed on Canadian BYC keepers' lived experiences, especially using a family social science approach. Furthermore, additional exploration of the applicability of the Personal is Political theoretical perspective in the field of family social sciences is needed. The following paragraphs provide recommendations and implications for future study on BYC keeping in North America by family social science scholars, as well as implications for professionals working in the municipal government or animal services.

Compare the lived experiences of individuals keeping permitted BYC to those keeping non-permitted BYC. Further exploration is needed on the similarities and differences in the lived experiences of North American BYC keepers who are legally permitted to keep BYC compared to the experiences of those who are not permitted to keep BYC due to municipal bylaw prohibition. An important reason for studying both, those who are permitted to keep BYC, as

well as those who are not permitted to keep BYC, is due to the potential for finding differing themes when results from both sample groups are compared. For instance, no scholars reported the use of food-producing animals specifically to educate children to become agents of social change. It is possible that this finding is unique to samples from municipalities where BYC keeping is not permitted, as participants who keep illegal BYC may perceive the act of keeping BYC in such jurisdictions as a more political experience, compared to those who keep legal flocks. However, it cannot be known whether or not this hypothesis is true without further investigation. For this reason, additional social science research is needed to explore BYC keepers lived experiences when keeping flocks in jurisdictions that permit the practice compared to keeping BYC in jurisdictions that ban the practice.

Cost-benefit analysis of BYC keeping. One motivation commonly discussed by participants for keeping BYC was the perceived superior quality of the food products acquired from raising hens (e.g., increased nutritional value). Future social science studies assessing the quality of BYC food products can help clarify whether or not these motivations can be realized or whether they exist solely within the perceptions of those keeping BYC. For example, a study could be conducted that assesses the quality of eggs produced in backyards compared to specialty eggs sold in grocery stores, with higher price tags (i.e., free range, nest laid, etc.). This information would help scholars form an accurate cost-benefit analysis of BYC keeping, by providing a fair assessment of what BYC eggs are worth compared to similar quality products available for purchase at grocery stores.

Participants also spoke about being partly motivated to keep BYC for economic reasons, as they believed their birds provided them with the opportunity to reduce the cost of food through the production of eggs and meat. Due to the limited focus of this study, the actual financial costs of keeping a small city flock were not assessed. The scholarly literature available on the financial advantages that come from keeping small family flocks is largely restricted to low and middle income countries, and thus cannot be generalized to BYC keepers in North America (Pollock, 2012). Family social scientists, interested in family resource management, should consider assessing the financial costs and benefits associated with keeping a small family flock in North America. Start-up costs associated with keeping a small flock may include the purchase of chicks/hens, coop structure and/or materials to build coop structure, fencing, feed and water equipment, as well as permitting or licensing fees where applicable. Ongoing costs may include poultry feed, calcium supplements, grit, scratch grain, bedding materials, and veterinary services. Additionally, depending on the region that BYC are kept, flock start-up and ongoing costs may vary, due to environmental differences, such as climate, varying licensing fees, flock care guidelines imposed by the municipal government, and differing predator-proofing equipment needed.

One method of exploring the costs of keeping BYC can be done by tracking all BYC-related expenditures, as well as the quantity of eggs, meat, and manure secured by keeping BYC. Barter transaction, as well as revenue-generating transactions from egg, meat, and manure trades or sales should be tracked as part of a cost-benefit analysis of BYC keeping. Keeping BYC is

often promoted as a way to increase food security. However, if start-up and ongoing costs, in certain North American regions, render BYC keeping inaccessible to certain demographics (i.e., lower income families), municipalities should change the way they promote BYC keeping. Thus, a comparative study assessing the cost of keeping BYC in varying geographic locations in North America should be conducted to determine whether or not financial differences related to keeping BYC exists, based on geographic location. Studies assessing differences in start-up and ongoing costs of keeping BYC may help scholars determine whether or not BYC keeping is attainable for those living on lower incomes, based on geographic location.

Scholarly studies that present the financial costs and benefits related to keeping BYC may also be used in municipal BYC-specific public education strategies. Municipalities may use the information from such scholarly studies to help citizens become better informed so that they can make better choices on whether or not BYC keeping, and the financial costs associated with keeping a small flock is right for their family. Furthermore, if citizens are provided with the opportunity to become informed of current, accurate, and scholarly BYC keeping information, the risk of hens being sent to animal shelters — a commonly reported fear cited by city councillors and animal service agency personnel — may be reduced. For these reason, the cost of keeping family flocks should become an area of targeted research for family social scientists, especially those concerned with family resource management and household costs of operation.

Accessibility of BYC keeping for low-income families. As briefly mentioned in the previous section, many cities promote BYC keeping as a way to promote food security.

However, often these same ordinances outline standards of care and lot/setback requirements which effectively render BYC keeping unattainable to lower income families who would benefit most from such food security initiatives. In these situations, municipalities reward those living in economically privileged households (e.g., with larger lot sizes) by permitting the keeping of BYC and consequently, discriminate against lower income families who cannot meet such lot-size standards. Both participants of this study and Bouvier (2012) discussed concerns about, and cautioned against, restrictive bylaws that might render BYC inaccessible to lower income families.

Comprehending the costs of keeping BYC is relevant to family social scientists, as it is important to assess whether or not BYC keeping is, in reality, an attainable means of improving food security for low-income North Americans. Notably, two participants from this study identified as belonging to low-income households. Thus, it would seem possible for individuals on low incomes to keep BYC while on a limited budget. However, because participants voluntarily self-identified as being from low-income households (i.e., this information was not sought out using the interview schedule), no income bracket was used to determine what participants defined as “low income”. Further study on the start-up and ongoing costs associated with keeping small family flocks is needed, in order to determine whether or not BYC keeping is an accessible means of increasing low-income families’ food security. Family social scientists interested in topics related to family resource management, poverty, food justice, and equal access issues should consider addressing this gap in scholarly literature through scientific study.

Explore community-building, reduced isolation and stress relief possibilities of BYC.

Municipalities, such as Winnipeg, frequently cite neighbourhood liveability as a concern when debating whether or not to permit BYC keeping. However, participants of this study spoke at length about experiencing satisfaction from the community-building opportunities BYC keeping brought to their neighbourhoods and communities. Participants reported that their neighbours and community members enjoyed the presence of their BYC and often sought out opportunities to spend time with participants' birds. Findings from this study echo the findings of previously published academic works, reporting BYC and urban livestock as community-building facilitators (Canfield, 2014; McClintock, Pallana, & Wooten, 2014). Bombford, et. al. (2003) state that "urban livestock production can bring community interests together and encourage . . . interaction" (p. 19). For instance, in one study, slaughter was discussed as a positive experience for neighbours, who often watched or participated in harvesting animals for meat (McClintock, Pallana, & Wooten, 2014, p. 435).

Due to BYC providing increased opportunities for socialization and community-building, it is possible that small flocks may contribute to reduced feelings of loneliness and isolation among BYC keepers, as well as neighbours. To my knowledge, no published, scientific, data exist on the use of BYC to reduce loneliness or social isolation. However, *HenPower*, an award-winning project run by Equal Arts and based in the United Kingdom provides older adults with BYC keeping opportunities, in an attempt to combat loneliness, depression, and improve wellbeing (Age UK, 2015). One older adult who has participated in the *HenPower* project stated:

I've made some great friends through *HenPower*. What I like about *HenPower* is that you're not entertained, you're involved. You make decisions for yourself and you work as a group, I love to tell people how it's changed my life, about how it's changing older people's lives. (Age UK, 2015, p. 53)

A 2013 study, conducted by Northumbria University, demonstrated that *HenPower* “significantly improves the health and wellbeing of older people, significantly reduces depression among older people, reduces loneliness and depression among older people, [and] reduces the need for anti-psychotic medication” (Age UK, 2015, p. 53). Thus, it seems that BYC keeping can play a large role in reducing individuals' experiences of isolation and loneliness by increasing opportunities for social interaction and connection. Further study is needed by family social scientists on the use of BYC to reduce loneliness and isolation.

Participants also spoke about experiencing reduced stress from keeping BYC, and that community members and neighbours, too, experienced reduced stress from being near participants' BYC. It is possible that keeping BYC may have similar beneficial effects on mental health and stress reduction, as does the keeping of dogs, cats, and other companionship animals. These findings echo those found by Blecha and Leitner (2013), who reported that US BYC keepers experienced stress-relief, relaxation, peace, psychological and mental restoration, and respite from the stress of everyday urban life from keeping their BYC.

Providing scientific information on whether BYC have a positive or negative affect on communities would support municipal government staff in making appropriate, informed, and

evidence-based decisions regarding the question of whether BYC keeping should be permitted on residential municipal lots. Although the findings from this study, which indicate BYC have a positive effect on communities, cannot be generalized, the findings from previous scholarly studies indicate that neighbourhood livability concerns, related to permitting BYC flocks in cities, may not be as significant an issue as some might expect. Further study is needed to explore the experiences of those living beside or near backyards housing North American flocks. Family social scientists are called to address this gap in the existing literature by exploring the role of BYC as community builders in North American municipalities, from the perspective of the neighbours and community members of North American BYC flocks, in addition to the BYC keepers'. Studies exploring BYC keeping and the shared community experience would be of use to those involved in municipal government bylaws and policy, in fields related to community engagement, and those who work to support in community building efforts.

Additionally, further research is needed to determine the mental health and stress-reducing benefits of keeping small flocks in North American municipalities — for the BYC owners, for family and community members, and for neighbours. Furthermore, BYC may help reduce social isolation by providing a point of connection between BYC keepers and those around them. Family social science scholars dedicated to exploring topics related to loneliness, isolation, and supporting community resilience would benefit from studying the use of BYC in addressing these issues. Additionally, BYC keeping may be of use to those who work in communities, with the aim of increasing neighbourhood connections and community relations

(e.g., older adult care homes, communities polarized by discrimination, violence or traumatic events, etc.).

Determine municipal cost of permitting BYC keeping on residential lots. Another frequently cited reason municipal governments do not permit BYC keeping within urban areas pertains to fears related to increased workload for animal services and humane societies. This is the case in Winnipeg, where conflicting reports exist as to whether or not an increase in animal services workload would come to fruition, following a bylaw change permitting BYC keeping on residential properties (Appendices I and J; MacDonald, 2012; Winnipeg Humane Society, 2013). According to Butler (2012), “Municipal governments and planners are likely to face increasing pressure to address the question of urban livestock” (p. 210). Because of the lack of peer-reviewed articles addressing this question, it is difficult to know how large of a burden citizens’ BYC keeping places are on North American municipal animal service departments and humane societies. More studies analyzing the cost associated with permitting BYC in North American municipalities must be conducted. One way to assess the cost of permitting BYC keeping on residential properties would be to analyze the percentage of annual calls or hours spent on cases related to BYC in municipalities that permit BYC keeping on residential lots, and to contrast these results with the with total workload of various other municipalities. Additionally, costs associated with BYC on residential lots could be compared to the cost of permitting other animals (e.g., dogs, cats, etc) to provide context, and demonstrate how costly it is to permit BYC, compared to permitting other animals. Scholarly research is needed to assess the municipal costs

associated with permitting BYC keeping on residential lots so that city councillors and municipal employees can make informed and evidence-based decisions on BYC keeping bylaws.

Decrease biosecurity, poultry health, and public health concerns, by permitted BYC keeping on residential properties. Biosecurity and public health concerns are frequently mentioned by city officials when requested to amend bylaws, allowing BYC keeping within cities. However, most of the literature to date addressing such concerns is aimed at biosecurity standards and implementation of such standards within industrial agricultural settings. Due to the fact that BYC are frequently kept in small numbers as pets and typically have access to green space, industrial poultry guidelines may not be relevant to keeping BYC in cities. Research capturing which specific biosecurity concerns should be taken into consideration when permitting BYC keeping within cities is needed. Further research on the effectiveness of proposed biosecurity measures is needed.

Additionally, participants also spoke about their experiences of feeling isolated from poultry experts — largely due to the fact that BYC keeping is illegal in Winnipeg, and needing to keep their flock a secret — which hindered their ability to connect with veterinarians and other poultry-related service providers. Isolation impacted participants' ability to reach out for support, including unanswered questions related to hen health and disease. BYC keepers' increased connection to poultry health professionals is critical in ensuring the timely reporting of potential biosecurity issues. Municipal governments must critically evaluate the benefits of banning BYC from citizens living on residential lots and whether these benefits outweigh the potential negative

outcomes that can arise when citizens keep BYC flocks in secret. If BYC are permitted on residential properties, keepers will be able to connect more easily with poultry health experts, thereby decreasing their experience of feeling isolated from these professionals. Municipalities may reduce BYC keepers' isolation by providing, or supporting the facilitation of, poultry keeping courses or workshops, where face-to-face connections to local poultry experts may take place.

In this way, BYC keepers may be better prepared in the event that they are faced with a poultry health issue, by being connected to reputable and local poultry experts. A bylaw permitting the keeping of BYC on residential lots, coupled with a) flock or coop registration, and b) public health education, would likely increase BYC keepers' reports to government or poultry experts regarding poultry health issues, should they arise, as keepers would no longer fear repercussions (e.g., fines) as a result from seeking expert advice. Thus, by permitting BYC keeping in cities, flock keepers may become less isolated and more likely to seek professional advice from poultry experts in the event that they are faced with a biosecurity or poultry health issues. Consequently, public health, poultry health, and biosecurity concerns may become more manageable, as BYC keepers will no longer feel the need to keep their flocks a secret.

Furthermore, if BYC keepers are free to connect with reputable and local poultry experts, and form their own poultry health networks — without fear of being fined and having their flocks removed — they will likely be better equipped to identify, and appropriately address any biosecurity or poultry health concerns that may arise while keeping their BYC flocks.

Finally, BYC keepers' awareness and level of understanding of poultry disease and biosecurity protocol is another concern, when deciding whether or not BYC keeping should be permitted within a city. Studies assessing the biosecurity and disease identification knowledge of BYC keepers would demonstrate how critical an issue this may be and where knowledge gaps may exist. One way of conducting such a study would be to survey BYC keepers' awareness and knowledge of poultry disease and biosecurity protocol. Another way to assess the biosecurity and disease awareness of citizens might be to provide an educational course or workshop and conduct a pre- and post-evaluation of the knowledge citizens had prior to taking the course or workshop, compared to their knowledge after taking the course or workshop. Such a study could double as a means of evaluating the efficacy of the course or workshop, as well as a way to identify which biosecurity and poultry health topics should be covered more thoroughly. Information from such a study may be of interest to municipal governments wishing to provide such courses or workshops to the public, as well as independent poultry breeders or organizations that provide BYC keeping information to the public.

Conclusion

Raising BYC in cities has become a popular practice in North America (Salkin, 2011). However, there is a large gap in academic knowledge on this phenomenon, especially regarding Canadian motivations and lived experiences with keeping BYC on residential municipal properties. This qualitative study was conducted to address this void in the literature by providing an opportunity for the voices of those with lived experiences keeping BYC in

Winnipeg to be heard. Semi-structured interviews were used as the main source of data collection. Hanisch's (2006) the Personal is Political theoretical perspective was used in data explication, in addition to an interpretive phenomenological approach. The sample included ten individuals who currently keep or had previously kept illegal BYC on Winnipeg residentially zoned properties.

The findings from this study reveal why people, who are members of family structures, keep BYC, and what it is like, in their experience, to keep small, illegal, family flocks. Participants were motivated to keep BYC for food production, learning opportunities, leisure and companionship. Sources of satisfaction were derived from food products, increased sense of connection, enjoyment, leisure, entertainment and companionship, learning opportunities, and doing what felt right. Fear of being found out, isolation and negative stereotypes were lasting challenges experienced when keeping non-permitted BYC flocks in Winnipeg.

Participants recommended regulations and public education to mitigate concerns, should the Winnipeg *Responsible Pet Ownership Bylaw No.92/2013* change, permitting BYC keeping to those living on residential Winnipeg lots. Participants recommended three approaches with regards to changing bylaws to allow BYC keeping on residentially-zoned lots within Winnipeg. The first recommendation was to use the existing *Responsible Pet Ownership Bylaw No.92/2013* to regulate BYC keeping or create a new bylaw specific to BYC keeping or urban agriculture/farming. This recommendation was also discussed by Bouvier (2012), LaBadie (2008), Salkin (2011) and Vogel (2011). The second recommendation participants provided regarding a BYC

bylaw change was to model a new bylaw or amend the existing *Responsible Pet Ownership Bylaw No.92/2013* after other North American municipal bylaws, where BYC keeping on residentially-zoned lots is successfully regulated. This was also recommended by Bouvier (2012), LaBadie (2008), and Vogel (2011). The last recommendation provided by participants was to consult with community members, local organizations, and key stakeholders, prior to amending the existing *Responsible Pet Ownership Bylaw No.92/2013* or creating a new bylaw addressing BYC in the city of Winnipeg. LaBadie (2008), Miller (2011), and Vogel (2011), too, discussed this recommendation.

Nearly all participants spoke about motivations and lived experiences of keeping BYC in relation to family and community (e.g., BYC keeping to educate children, neighbours, and community, to secure better quality food for family, etc.). Participants frequently spoke about family and community, when discussing their lived experiences of keeping BYC in Winnipeg. This demonstrates that the phenomenon of BYC keeping is relevant to the field of family social sciences and confirms that the phenomenon of BYC keeping in North America is worthy of family social scientists' attention and further exploration.

Keeping BYC is empowering, as it provides keepers with the opportunity to garner greater autonomy over their food access, increasing their ability to become more food secure and food sovereign. BYC keeping was used by participants as a problem-solving tactic to address systemic problems which impact both participants and their families on a personal and political level. Many participants kept BYC as they believed they had the right to grow their own food

(i.e., food justice), as well as to resist the industrial food production system, to resist the perceived unjust and unfair *Responsible Pet Ownership Bylaw No.92/2013*, to help dispel myths and misconceptions about BYC keeping in cities, and to support wider social change by educating others —especially children— about keeping BYC in cities. Thus, for many participants, keeping their own flock enabled them to actively change their reality, by creating solutions these problems.

Municipalities should work to proactively address BYC issues sooner rather than later; if “chicken lovers are not present in your community today, chances are they are coming soon,” predicts Salkin (2011, p. 7). As LaBadi (2008, p. 15) recommends, rather than asking the question of whether or not to permit BYC on residentially-zoned land, city councils should approach the issue instead by asking “how” it can be done — especially since there are so many North American municipalities where BYC are being kept successfully on residential lots. Learning why people are motivated to keep BYC is the first step in creating relevant bylaws, public policy and educational materials regarding BYC. Such measures can, in turn, help ensure that adequate biosecurity practices and proper animal care are provided — for the sake of the animals and neighbours, as well as the general public’s health and safety.

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Table 1:

Select Canadian Municipalities Which Permit BYC Keeping

Municipality, Province	Bylaw information (e.g., name and number)	Source
Airdre, City of Alberta	Not explicitly prohibited in bylaws.	Beyko, 2012
Brampton, City of Ontario	s. 11, Animal Control Bylaw No. 261-93	Beyko, 2012 Jolliffe, 2010
Edmonton, City of Alberta	One year pilot project started August 18, 2014. No bylaw currently.	Kent, 2015
Esquimalt, Township of British Columbia	Zoning Bylaw, 1992, No. 2050, Amendment Bylaw [No. 181], 2008, No. 2694 Animal Bylaw, 2002, No. 2495 (Part 6), Amendment Bylaw [No. 1], 2008, No. 2692	Beyko, 2012 Jolliffe, 2010
Fort Saskatchewan, City of Alberta	“Chicken” included in definition of “domestic animal”, Animal Control Bylaw, C1-02	Beyko, 2012
Gatineau, City of Quebec	Chapter 6, Animal Control Bylaw, No. 183-2005	Beyko, 2012 Jolliffe, 2010
Gibsons, Town of British Columbia	Not explicitly prohibited in bylaws.	Beyko, 2012
Grand Prairie, City of Alberta	Not explicitly prohibited in bylaws.	Beyko, 2012
Guelph, City of Ontario	s. 1, Exotic and Non-Domestic Animals Bylaw, No. (1985)-11952)	Beyko, 2012 Jolliffe, 2010
Moncton, City in New Brunswick	s.100 Urban Agriculture, Zoning Bylaw, No.Z-213 (p.81)	Moncton, 2014
New Westminister, City of New Brunswick	Not explicitly prohibited in bylaws.	Beyko, 2012
Niagara Falls, City of Ontario	Schedule “C”, Animal Control Bylaw, No. 2002-129	Beyko, 2012 Jolliffe, 2010
North Vancouver, City of British Columbia	s. 7, Animal Control Bylaw No. 9150 and Zoning Amendment Bylaw 8250, Small Creatures Limitation Bylaw, 1970, No. 4213	North Vancouver, 2012 and 2014

Municipality, Province	Bylaw information (e.g., name and number)	Source
Oak Bay, District of British Columbia	ss. 26-28.2, Animal Control Bylaw, No. 4013	Beyko, 2012
Peace River, Town of Alberta	Part 1, s.1, Animal Control Bylaw, No. 1832	Beyko, 2012
Quinte West, City of Ontario	Backyard Hens Licensing and Control Bylaw, No. 11-138	Beyko, 2012
Red Deer, City of Alberta	Chicken Bylaw, No. 3517/2014	Red Deer, 2014
Richmond, City of British Columbia	Part 3, Animal Control Regulation Bylaw, No. 7932	Beyko, 2012
Rosland, City of British Columbia	s. 9.1, Animal Control Bylaw, No. 2357	Beyko, 2012
Saanich, District of British Columbia	s. 38, Animals Bylaw, 2002, No. 8556	Beyko, 2012
Surrey, City of British Columbia	Part 4(B), s. 7, Zoning Bylaw, No. 12000	Beyko, 2012
Turner Valley, Town of Alberta	Animal Control Bylaw 13-1027 and amending Bylaw 14-1035	Turner Valley, 2014 and n.d.
Vancouver, City of British Columbia	ss. 7.15-7.16, Animal Control Bylaw, No. 9150	Beyko, 2012 Jolliffe, 2010
Victoria, City of British Columbia	Urban agriculture resolution/declaration in place. No regulation against BYC	Beyko, 2012 Jolliffe, 2010
Waterloo, City of Ontario	s. 8 and Schedule "C", Animal Control Bylaw, No. 09-047	Beyko, 2012 Jolliffe, 2010
Whitehorse, City of Yukon Territories	s. 49, Animal Control Bylaw, No. 2001-01	Beyko, 2012

Table 2:

North American Poultry Ordinance Themes and Recommendations

Source	Themes and Recommendations
<p>*Beyko, 2012: List of 21 CND municipalities which do not explicitly prohibit BYC keeping, or have created specific regulations allowing BYC.</p>	<p>Themes:</p> <ul style="list-style-type: none"> • Ordinances typically regulate maximum number of chickens, size and dimensions of coops and BYC care guidelines. • Generally prohibited to use chickens for meat. However some municipalities do not address whether or not slaughtering is permitted. • Roosters are typically forbidden. • Some cities initially use pilot projects (typically one to two year’s length) prior to creating new/ amending existing bylaws to permit BYC keeping. <p>No ordinance recommendations</p>
<p>Bouvier, 2012: Analysis of the top 100 US cities by population according to the 2000 census, “to give a snapshot of what kind of laws govern the most densely populated urban areas” (p. 10900).</p>	<p>Themes:</p> <ul style="list-style-type: none"> • “The more populous a city, the more likely it is to allow” it, and “the smaller the city, the greater chance that the city will ban chickens” (p.10900). • 94% of cities permit BYC in some capacity. Only 3 of the top 100 cities clearly ban chickens (Detroit, Aurora, Yonkers). However, some bylaws were quite limiting, effectively reducing the number of cities which allow chickens to 84% • Chicken-related bylaws were located inconsistently within city codified ordinances. Were found in animal control regulations, zoning regulations, health codes, etc. • Chickens were often defined as pets or as domestic animals • Chicken keeping controlled through regulations re: space requirements, flock size, lot size (often used to determine flock size), coop setbacks, coop structure requirements, permits, slaughtering, and roosters. <p>Recommendations:</p> <ul style="list-style-type: none"> • Regulate Chickens under unified ordinance within the section concerning animals (i.e. animal control bylaws), • Chickens should be limited to small flocks, • Lot size should not be restricted. Instead use setbacks, • Outline sanitation expectations and requirements, • Outline coop and enclosure requirements. However, avoid being too restrictive as this can prevent innovation, • Prohibit outdoor slaughtering and roosters, • No permits/licensing (insufficient use of city resources and can be costly barrier for those on modest to low incomes. • Model ordinance developed (see Appendix A of this document).

Source	Themes and Recommendations
<p>Butler, 2012: Analysis of 22 US municipality ordinances that have recently been revised to allow urban livestock. Municipalities range from small towns (<40,000 pop.) to large metropolitan centres (>1.3 million pop.).</p>	<p>Themes:</p> <ul style="list-style-type: none"> • Municipal codes usually control urban agriculture using zoning, animal control, public health ordinances (p.195). • Ordinances contain regulations re: minimum lot sizes, setbacks, number of animals (per species and total animals per property), structures, animal feed, animal treatment. • All municipalities studied permitted chickens. Chickens and bees were the only animals not highly limited and widely permitted on residential lots. Many banned roosters unless on agricultural or large residential lots. • Municipalities rely almost exclusively on setbacks and limits on number of birds. Most municipalities allow <8 birds/property, use permitting/licensing system and provide animal care and housing guidelines. • Many require administrative oversight to manage the permitting program, conduct inspections, and identify code violations by departments of health, agriculture, animal control, and/or land development and building. One municipality relies on a nongovernmental organization to manage training and permits. <p>No ordinance recommendations.</p>
<p>*Jolliffe, 2010: Analysis of 15 North American BYC ordinances including: Brampton, Burnaby, Chicago, Esquimault, Gatineau, Guelph, Halifax, London, Kamloops, New York City, Niagara, Seattle, Vancouver, Victoria, and Waterloo.</p>	<p>Themes:</p> <ul style="list-style-type: none"> • Few municipalities require permits to keep BYC. • Most municipalities place limits on numbers of chickens to control for noise and neighbourhood livability. Few municipalities permit roosters in part for this reason. • Lot size requirements are commonly outlined, however some are so restrictive that they essentially prohibit BYC keeping to anyone living on residentially zone land (i.e. minimum lot size = 1 acre). • Distance from coop structure to other buildings is sometimes outlined, however many municipalities do not include this as a requirement. • Some bylaws provide sanitation regulations regarding coop cleaning, manure processing, rodent proofing, poultry disease and course of action if bird becomes sick (i.e. City of Waterloo, p. 171: Diseased birds must be taken to a veterinarian. If the disease is communicable, must report to Regional Medical Officer of Health). • Animals treatment and standards of care are frequently outlined (i.e. amount of space per bird), The majority of bylaws specify that hens may be kept for egg production only and not meat production. <p>No ordinance recommendations</p>

Source	Themes and Recommendations
<p>*LaBadie, 2008: Analysis of 25 US BYC ordinances.</p>	<p>Themes:</p> <ul style="list-style-type: none"> • Most ordinances were difficult to locate. Often vague, unclear, incomplete, with information spread out through multiple sections of municipal code. Results in accessibility issues and barrier to general public's ability to comply with ordinance. • Most accessible ordinances were found on city web pages, as well as local gardening and community online groups, were usually clear and comprehensive. • 8 Common regulatory themes found: Number of birds permitted, regulations of roosters, permits/fees, chicken containment restrictions, nuisance clauses, slaughtering restrictions, coop setbacks. • Unique regulations: Feed storage, mobile coops (to protect turf, avoid waste/pathogen build-up), veterinary care must be provided to hens if ill/injured, minimum sq. footage for coop based per X number of birds, multifamily dwelling regulations, and additional birds permitted with 1,000 sq. feet more than minimum. <p>Recommendations:</p> <ul style="list-style-type: none"> • Ordinance should be clearly stated, easily understood and accessible to the public. This helps ensure compliance and reduce violations. • No one size fits all. Each city has different physical, environmental, social and political needs. Municipalities should use components from other ordinances when developing new/amending existing BYC ordinances. • Ordinances should satisfy the needs of most stakeholder groups • Ordinances should not discriminate against certain populations (i.e. smaller property sizes/ lower income families) rendering BYC keeping inaccessible to such populations. • Ordinance should allow for citizen input and participation in ordinance formation process. Helps ensure bylaw fits the needs of the public and increases chance it will be supported by the public. • Allowing BYC is the best way to see if concerns ever come to fruition. Starting with a more restrictive approach (i.e pilot project), regulations can be amended, relaxed and tailored to the municipality's specific needs as time and experience indicate.

Source	Themes and Recommendations
<p>Miller, 2011: Analysis of BYC policy in Vancouver, Seattle and Niagara Falls with the goal of supporting BYC policy changes at the municipal government level.</p>	<p>Themes:</p> <ul style="list-style-type: none"> • Strong bylaws have clearly worded parameters, local government support and commitment, and are rooted in information gathered by thorough public consultation. • All BYC bylaws were located within policy addressing the keeping of animals (i.e. animal control bylaw) • All municipalities banned roosters, defined setbacks from dwellings/lots, as well as defined a maximum number of birds (between 4-10 hens). • Vancouver required hens be registered, as well as provided coop and run space/structure requirements. Chicken care guidelines were provided by the city. • Seattle provided voluntary hen registry, but did not provide coop and run space/structure requirements. Chicken care guidelines were provided by the city. • Niagara Falls did not require nor provide opportunities for hen registration, but did provide coop and run space/structure requirements. No chicken care guidelines were provided by the city. • Local food or sustainability initiative stakeholders were consulted by all municipalities. The involvement of a food council or similar entity was found in both Vancouver and Niagara, but not in Seattle. • “In general, the cities were satisfied with their guidelines and had not encountered any major problems with their policies” (Miller, 2011, 29). <p>Recommendations:</p> <ul style="list-style-type: none"> • Public consultation prior to creating and implementing BYC policy • Keep the process simple by a) providing all bylaw information in one place (i.e. municipal government webpage), b) ensuring administration aspect of registration is simple and available online, c) Update relevant bylaws and keep all provisions together in one document, rather than writing new bylaws. • Provide public education on BYC bylaws and bylaw changes in-person at public consultations, online and in pamphlets. • Gain city council support and commitment to sustainability and green policies. • Use food policy councils and local food initiatives to help guide BYC bylaw changes. • Provide appropriate opportunities for stakeholders (i.e. citizen groups, municipal government departments, and humane societies) to voice concerns and/or support re: BYC bylaw changes. This is in the best interest of the municipality, as this helps ensure the best guidelines possible are created, as well as increases stakeholder buy-in. • Use municipal enforcement to support the successful implementation BYC policy.

Source	Themes and Recommendations
<p>Salkin, 2011: Analysis of US municipality BYC bylaws (exact number of bylaws reviewed not provided).</p>	<p>Themes:</p> <ul style="list-style-type: none"> • Chicken-related controls imposed by Federal and State Government regulation (i.e. USDA, focus mainly on food safety), as well as nuisance bylaws, zoning and land use bylaws, etc. • Municipal ordinances often outline guidelines pertaining to number of birds, setbacks for coops, coop structure, maintenance and chicken care, slaughter, restrictions against roosters, as well as feed storage and pest/predator control guidelines. • Some municipalities outline that chickens may be kept for personal use only, effectively prohibiting the selling of food products, while others permit this as long as it is not commercial. • Some municipalities require permits/licensing in order to keep BYC. Proof of neighbour consent may also be required. <p>Recommendations:</p> <ul style="list-style-type: none"> • Municipalities should work to proactively address BYC issues sooner rather than later as the practice is becoming increasingly more popular. As time passes, more and more municipalities will face requests to permit BYC keeping in residential areas. • Municipalities should review the components of other municipalities' successful BYC ordinances and use these as ordinance forming guides.
<p>Vogel, 2011: Content analysis of 50 Hamilton County (US) BYC bylaws exploring themes and trends in BYC policy.</p>	<p>Themes:</p> <ul style="list-style-type: none"> • Space and health are overarching themes in Hamilton County poultry ordinances. No ordinances implied or described as pets. • Ordinances were commonly expressed using words and themes related to 1) public health, 2) Land use, 3) public health and land use combined, and 4) prohibition of poultry. • “Generally permitted” and “essentially prohibited” were the two most common ordinance stances on BYC keeping. The least common stances were to “permit”, “restrict”, allowed on “case-by-case” basis, or to outright “prohibit” BYC keeping. <p>Recommendations:</p> <ul style="list-style-type: none"> • Create BYC ordinances by closely consulting with stakeholders and community. This promotes successful bylaw creation and understating by policy makers & citizens. • Adopting BYC bylaw already in use from other municipality (i.e. one-size-fits-all approach) can be helpful when governments cannot afford to invest resources into ordinance creation. However bylaws should be updated to reflect the needs and purposes of their residents.

Note. Due to the lack of peer-reviewed studies comparing BYC ordinances, non-peer-reviewed sources have been included in this table, denoted with an asterisk (*).

Figure 1. City of Vancouver BYC keeping and registration information. Example of online BYC keeping registration and public educational information from city of Vancouver website. Includes steps to keeping backyard hens with information on city bylaws, how to care for hens, and how to register a flock of BYC.

CITY OF VANCOUVER

3-1-1 Areas of the city

Google site search

Green Vancouver | Your Government | About Vancouver | Parks, Recreation, and Culture | Home, Property, and Development | People and Programs | Streets and Transportation | Doing Business

Home > People and Programs > Food > Growing food > Backyard chickens

People and Programs

- Housing and homelessness
- Building community
- Grants and awards
- ▾ **Food**
 - Vancouver Food Strategy
 - ▾ **Growing food**
 - Community gardens
 - Sharing garden spaces
 - Gardening naturally
 - Watering your garden and lawn
 - Gardening classes
 - Backyard chickens**
 - Beekeeping
 - Urban agriculture guidelines
 - Urban Agriculture Policy for parks
 - Buying and sharing local food
 - Street food vending
 - Getting involved with local food issues
 - Food and your health
 - A healthy city for all
 - Donating and volunteering

Learn the rules for backyard chickens, and register your chickens with the City

As part of City efforts to help you get involved in your own food production, you can now keep chickens in your backyard.

There are several important rules you need to comply with in order to keep your backyard chicken coop from being a nuisance for your neighbours:

- A maximum of 4 hens (no roosters), 4 months or older, per lot is allowed
- Ducks, turkeys, or other fowl or livestock (such as goats) are not allowed
- Eggs, meat, and manure cannot be used for commercial purposes
- Backyard slaughtering is not allowed

Steps to keeping backyard hens

There are three steps to follow if you want to keep chickens in your backyard:

1. Review the City bylaws.
2. Learn how to care for hens.
3. Register your hens with the City.

Step 1: Review the City bylaws

The City bylaws explain all of the rules and requirements for keeping backyard hens, including the size and location of your coop, and other important details.

These bylaws both protect the health of people living in the area, and ensure the hens are treated humanely:

- Animal Control Bylaw
- Zoning and Development Bylaw

Step 2: Learn how to care for hens

Next, you should read the following basic hen care documents before getting your hens:

- How to prevent and detect disease in backyard flocks and pet birds
- Basic hen care and chicken coop design requirements
- Humane considerations for backyard hens
- Resources for backyard hen owners

Step 3: Register your hens with the City

After you review the basic care documents and zoning regulations - and you build your coop - you can go ahead and purchase your hens.

Once the hens are purchased, you need to register your hens with the City. Registration is free, and you can do it online.

Ask. Tell. Connect.

Phone 3-1-1

Outside Vancouver: 604-873-7000

Speak your own language

9-1-1 Emergencies **7-1-1 TTY**

More ways to contact us →

Contact the Food Policy team

For questions on supporting the local food system, contact the Food Policy team at foodpolicy@vancouver.ca.

Concerned about backyard chickens?

If you are concerned about backyard chickens, contact Animal Control at 3-1-1.

Animal Control staff will be able to help you with such concerns as:

- Pests, insects, or wildlife drawn by the backyard chickens
- Noise or smell from the chickens
- Chickens that are injured, abandoned, stray / at large, or neglected
- The owner is not registered for Backyard Chicken Program

The number of chickens

Figure 2. Keeping chickens in the city of San Diego. Example of public educational handout from city of San Diego website.

KEEPING CHICKENS in the CITY OF SAN DIEGO



In January 2012 the City of San Diego amended its Municipal Code to allow residents of single family homes, community gardens, and retail farms to keep and maintain chickens. The specific regulations are located in Section 42.0709 and can be found by downloading the following: [Chap 04 Art 02 Div 07, Animals and Poultry](#).

The number of chickens that may be kept on your property is based on how far the chicken coop is from your property lines (zone setback). Generally, most single family homes in the City of San Diego would be allowed up to five chickens provided the chicken coop were located in the rear yard, 5 feet from side property lines, and 13 feet from the rear property line.



For specific information regarding the zone setback for your property go to the following link and type in your address: [View your property by address](#). You will then receive the zone name for your property. A link to "More Info" takes you to another page that directs you to the regulations for your zone. When viewing the regulations go to the Development Regulations Table for your zone and look up "Setback Requirements." You can also call the Development Services Department's information line at (619) 446-5000, provide your address and request the name of your zone and the zoning setback information. You will receive a return call with the information.

BENEFITS

There are many benefits that come with backyard chickens.

- A healthy adult hen generally lays up to 300 eggs a year. Five hens would supply approximately 30 eggs a week which would meet the needs of a typical family of four.
- Backyard eggs contain 25 percent more vitamin E, 33 percent more vitamin A, and 75 percent more beta carotene.
- Home raising reduces the need for transporting eggs from farm/factory to store to home resulting in a reduction in carbon emissions and packaging materials.
- Many see a benefit in knowing that the chickens are raised and fed in humane conditions.
- Chicken manure can be added to compost piles or used directly as a fertilizer when tilled into the soil.

RISKS

Health risks that can result from handling chickens or anything in the areas they occupy. Young children and those with immune impairment are especially at risk. Chickens may have Salmonella germs in their droppings and on their bodies even though they appear healthy. Salmonella can make people sick with diarrhea and fever, often with vomiting and abdominal cramps

REDUCING THE RISKS

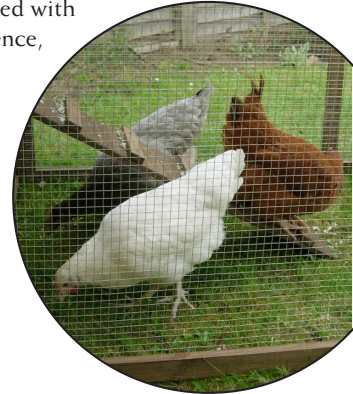
- Do not let children younger than 5 years of age handle or touch chickens without supervision.
- Wash hands thoroughly with soap and water immediately after touching chickens or anything in the area where they occupy. Avoid touching your mouth before washing your hands. Use hand sanitizer if soap and water are not readily available.
- Adults should supervise hand washing for young children.
- Wash hands after removing soiled clothes and shoes.
- Do not eat or drink in the area the chickens occupy.
- Do not let chickens inside the house or in areas where food or drink is prepared, served, or stored, such as kitchens, pantries, or outdoor patios.
- If you have free-roaming live poultry, assume that where they live and roam is contaminated.
- Clean equipment and materials associated with raising or caring for chickens such as coops, feed containers, and water containers, outside the house, not inside.



SUMMARY OF REGULATIONS

Chickens may be kept and maintained within on property developed with a with a single family residence, a community garden, or a retail farm in accordance with the following:

- No roosters are permitted.
- Up to five chickens may be kept when the coop is located outside of all required setbacks.
- Up to fifteen chickens may be kept when the coop is located 15 feet from all property lines and outside of all required setbacks, whichever is greater.
- Up to 25 chickens may be kept when the chickens are located at least 50 feet from any building used as a residence.
- A chicken coop shall be provided and must be predator proof, easily cleaned, well vented and large enough to provide for the free movement of the chickens.
- The outdoor enclosure shall be predator proof, easily cleaned, fenced to keep the chickens on the property and a minimum of 10 square feet per chicken.



FREQUENTLY ASKED QUESTIONS

Are chickens dirty?

As with any animal, chickens can be "dirty" if they are not properly cared for. A chicken that is properly cared for is just as clean as a well cared for dog or cat.

Are chickens noisy?

Roosters are noisy and prohibited. A hen will cackle at times during the day, and will occasionally squawk, but these, and most other sounds, are not very loud, and are quieter than most everything else that occurs in the surrounding neighborhood. Hens sleep once it is dark.

FAQS CONTINUED...

Should you have more than one hen?

Yes. Chickens have a strong social structure.

Do you have to have a rooster for a hen to lay eggs?

No. Without a rooster, hens will still lay eggs. Roosters are only necessary to create fertile eggs. Non-fertile eggs are as nutritious as fertile eggs.

At what age do hens start laying eggs?

Typically hens will start to lay when they are 5- 6 months of age.

How long do they lay eggs before they become non-laying hens?

Peak production generally occurs at two years of age and slowly declines thereafter. For this reason it is a good practice to vary the ages of your hens so that the older hens may "retire" while the younger ones continue to produce eggs.

How long do chickens live?

The typical life expectancy seems to be 5 to 10 years depending on care and protection from predators.

How do you deal with excrement?

It makes excellent compost, especially when combined with materials high in carbon such as the shavings, straw, and sawdust which are often used for litter. The mixture of these makes a balanced mixture for a compost pile.



OTHER INFORMATION RESOURCES

- USDA Food Safety & Inspection Service: www.fsis.usda.gov
- Centers for Disease Control (CDC) - Handling Chicks: www.cdc.gov
- San Diego County Veterinarian - Dead Animal Disposal: www.sdcountry.ca.gov
- Internet searches will provide many sites on how to get started and what you need to do to keep and maintain healthy egg laying chickens.



THE CITY OF SAN DIEGO

Figure 3. Poster featuring the “Che Chicken” logo. By BYC activist group “Chickens In The Yard” (CITY), from Salem, Oregon. Poster features a drawing of a chicken wearing a black beret hat with a white star in the centre of the hat, reminiscent in style to the widely recognized photograph depicting cuban political revolutionary, Ernesto “Che” Guevara. This poster demonstrates the political nature of BYC keeping in North America, especially in municipalities where BYC keeping is not permitted. Poster obtained from <http://www.salemchickens.com/> and also used as the cover for CITY’s documentary titled “Chicken revolution” (see <https://www.youtube.com/watch?v=vHrAlekBP5k> to watch documentary trailer).



Figure 4. Crackdown film promotion posters. Short creative film titled “Crackdown: When chickens are outlawed only outlaws have chickens”, by Jan Keck of Red Gecko Productions (2012). Film documents the “underground movement” of non-permitted BYC keeping in the city of Toronto, Ontario.



Appendix A: Model BYC Ordinance by Bouvier

Below is a model ordinance designed for a city to either adopt or use as a starting point when deciding whether to allow hens in the city and how to regulate them:

(a) Purpose. The following regulations will govern the keeping of chickens and are designed to prevent nuisances and prevent conditions that are unsanitary or unsafe. No person shall keep chickens unless the following regulations are followed:

a. Number. No more than six (6) hens shall be allowed for each single-family dwelling.

b. Setbacks. Coops or cages housing chickens shall be kept at least twenty-five (25) feet from the door or window of any dwelling or occupied structure other than the owner's dwelling. Coops and cages shall not be located within five (5) feet of a side-yard lot line, nor within eighteen (18) inches of a rear-yard lot line. Coops and cages shall not be located in the front yard.

c. Enclosure. Hens shall be provided with a covered, predator-proof coop or cage that is well-ventilated and designed to be easily accessed for cleaning. The coop shall allow at least two square feet per hen. Hens shall have access to an outdoor enclosure that is adequately fenced to contain the birds on the property and to prevent predators from access to the birds. Hens shall not be allowed out of these enclosures unless a responsible individual, over 18 years of age, is directly monitoring the hens and able to immediately return the hens to the cage or coop if necessary.

d. Sanitation. The coop and outdoor enclosure must be kept in a sanitary condition and free from offensive odors. The coop and outdoor enclosure must be cleaned on a regular basis to prevent the accumulation of waste.

e. Slaughtering. There shall be no outdoor slaughtering of chickens.

f. Roosters. It is unlawful for any person to keep roosters.

(b) Permit. A permit shall not be required if the above regulations are followed. If a person wishes to keep more than the maximum allowed number of hens, wishes to keep hens within the setback required, wishes to keep hens in a multi-family dwelling, wishes to keep hens on a parcel of land that is unconnected to a dwelling, or wishes to keep a rooster, a permit will be required. An application for a permit must contain the following items:

a. The name, phone number, and address of the applicant.

- b. The size and location of the subject property.
- c. A proposal containing the following information.
 - i. The number of hens the applicant seeks to keep on the property.
 - ii. A description of any coops or cages or out-door enclosures providing precise dimensions and the precise location of these enclosures in relation to property lines and adjacent properties.
 - iii. The number of roosters the applicant seeks to keep on the property.

d. If the applicant proposes to keep chickens in the yard of a multi-family dwelling, the applicant must present a signed statement from any and all owners or tenants of the multi-family dwelling consenting to the applicant's proposal for keeping chickens on the premises.

e. If the applicant proposes to keep more chickens than allowed in the above ordinance or wishes to keep a rooster, the applicant must present a signed statement from all residents of property adjacent to or within 50 feet of the applicant's property consenting to the applicant's proposal for keeping chickens on the premises. If the applicant proposes to keep chickens within a required setback, the applicant must present a signed statement from all residents of the property affected by that setback.

(c) Permit Renewal. Permits will be granted on an annual basis. If the city receives no complaints regarding the permit holder's keeping of chickens, the permit will be presumptively renewed and the applicant may continue to keep chickens under the terms and condition of the initial permit. The city may revoke the permit at any time if the permittee does not follow the terms of the permit, if the city receives complaints regarding the permit holder's keeping of chickens, or the city finds that the permit holder has not maintained the chickens, coops, or outdoor enclosures in a clean and sanitary condition (Bouvier, 2012, p.10920).

Appendix B: WUCA Report to Council 2012



**Report to Council
December 2012**
Prepared by
Natalie Carreiro & Jen Funk



“I have been involved in looking after intensive laying operations for 25 years.

However, since being retired, I have been thinking of keeping my own small flock. The problem is that even with all my years of experience, I do not know how to keep a backyard flock, as all the hens I have looked after were contained in an industrial environment. I have learned though that keeping backyard hens is way different.

Backyard hen keepers care and look after their small flocks way better than some large egg producers do. The coops they house their flocks in are insulated and they choose winter hardy heritage birds. Their birds are allowed to move around every day and live a normal happy life, unlike the large egg producers with birds that sit cramped up in a cage everyday of the year, for their whole lives.

Large egg producers and everyone else involved could learn a lot from backyard hen keepers if they were given the chance and people actually listened to them.

I know I have.”

(B. Edmondson, Retired Calgary Egg Farm Manager, December 7, 2012)

Can I use information from this document?

Yes! Feel free to use any information you'd like. Please cite us as your source whenever referencing information obtained from this document.

Want to contact WUCA?

If you have questions about us, this report, or backyard hens (BYH), please email us at winnipegchickens@gmail.com To learn more about WUCA, visit us at wuca.wordpress.com

Front cover photos:

Coop: By 'Sushifish' at Backyardchickens.com

Eggs in basket: [The Innovation Diaries.com](http://TheInnovationDiaries.com)

Hen in grass: [Kitchen Gardeners International](http://KitchenGardenersInternational.com)

Egg & spoon: [What's Cooking in your World?](http://WhatsCookinginyourWorld.com)

Polish hen in snow: [Norfolk Garden Chickens](http://NorfolkGardenChickens.com)

Girl with hens: Eartheasy.com/Blog



Introduction

The *Winnipeg Urban Chicken Association* (WUCA) is in favour of a Bylaw change to allow for Winnipeg city hens, with parameters set in place to safeguard the health of urban hens, as well as protect the rights of neighbours.

WUCA wants to work with City Council, Animal services, and any other stakeholders. For this reason we have prepared this document as an accompaniment to the recommendations which shall be presented at the Protection & Community Services Committee Meeting by Leland Gordon, Chief Operating Officer at Animal Services, on January 14th, 2013, 9:30 am.

Our aim is to minimize the amount of time spent by city council on this issue, while ensuring all information pertinent in making the decision to allow backyard hens is accessible and available.

All information herein has been offered to the Chief Operating Officer prior to finalizing his report with recommendations to City Council. This document has also been shared with all our City Councillors and Mayor. Additionally, we have made this document available for public viewing via:

- WUCA [website](#) & [Facebook page](#)
- Chickens for WinnipEGGers [Facebook Group](#)
- Canadian Liberated Urban Chicken Klub (CLUCK) [Facebook group](#)
- Sharing with stakeholders and media

The following summarizes over two (2) years of research on backyard hen keeping within over 100 Canadian and American municipalities which permit the keeping of backyard hens (BYH) from:

- Peer reviewed literature
- Government websites & documents
- Books in print
- Online websites and blogs
- Media (print & online)



"I can't say that I would have envisioned chickens as an issue, but I've heard from a lot of people about them, and it seems like it's something maybe we ought to pay a little attention to."

**Stacy Rye, Missoula City Councilwoman
(LaBadie, 2008, 4)**

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WUCA: About us

The *Winnipeg Urban Chicken Association* (WUCA) is a not-for-profit organization with the aim of ensuring the safe and humane treatment of Winnipeg backyard chicken flocks.

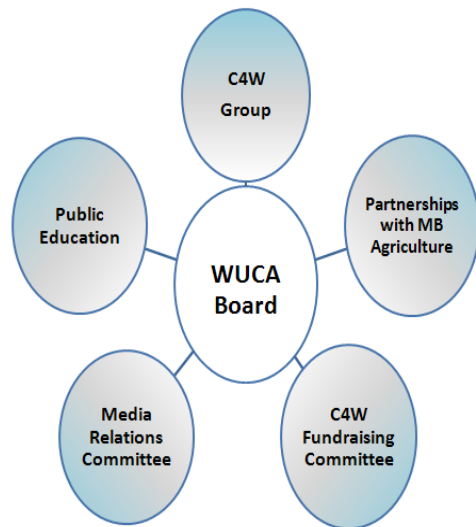
Our objectives:

WUCA shares knowledge and provides resources to people and organizations that support the raising of chickens in an urban setting. Our goals are to ensure the safe and humane treatment of backyard chicken flocks, the safety of their eggs as a food supply, and to promote an understanding of the benefits of raising chickens in an urban setting.

One of the main reasons WUCA was created was to establish a formal transitional shelter for any potentially lost, abused, abandoned, or unwanted hens as of November 19, 2012 (please see section 14 “Will BYH burden Animal Services?” for details, as well as WUCA’s [Memorandum of Understanding](#)).

Structure:

Committees & activities are overseen by the WUCA Board ([WUCA Bylaws](#)), and include partnerships with Manitoba agriculture (supervision of the transitional chicken shelter), focus group, action group, public education, media relations, and fundraising committee (see diagram at right).



Support:

As of December 11th, 2012, **680 Winnipeg Citizens** have signed the WUCA *Chickens for WinnipEGGers* (C4W) [petition](#). Additionally, **940** receive updates on the process of legalizing Winnipeg hens through our online C4W group, and **3,966** through the C4W event.

Contacting WUCA:

If you have questions about us, this report, or backyard hens (BYH), please email winnipegchickens@gmail.com. To learn more about WUCA, visit us at wuca.wordpress.com

Backyard Hens are already in Winnipeg

Presently, a surprising number of Winnipeg residents keep backyard hens (BYH). This number has grown dramatically since 2010, when residents initially asked City Council to allow BYH. Many Winnipeg residents keeping BYH go unnoticed. This fact is telling of the nature of hens (they are quiet, clean, and make good neighbours), as well as of backyard hen keepers (most go unreported due to neighbour's support of BYH keeping within the city). Nonetheless, WUCA wants to ensure that BYH are being kept safely and enjoyably for everyone. This is one of many reasons we brought the issue of legalizing hens to Winnipeg City Council October 29th, 2012.

Acknowledging the current need for a Bylaw allowing BYH:

Currently, there are no expectations placed on Winnipeg BYH keepers or guidelines to control for the manner in which BYH are kept.

Additionally, it is *impossible* to know exactly how many residents keep BYH, nor the location of such flocks in Winnipeg, as BYH keepers have no way of registering their hens or coop (although many residents say they want to, as is done in other cities).

Without knowing where BYH flocks are being kept, there is no accountability and there is no way for the city to contact BYH owners, should the need arise.

WUCA: Providing solutions

WUCA recognizes Winnipeg residents are already keeping laying hens, and that according to local breeders, the number of citizens keeping BYH has been increasing. Today, we have the unique opportunity to address potential challenges **before** any negative impacts are felt due to lack of foresight and prevention.

WUCA aims to support the City of Winnipeg in addressing this need by:

1. Establishing a transitional shelter for any potentially lost, abused, abandoned, or unwanted hens as of November 19, 2012.
2. Providing public education on respectful and safe BYH keeping through online dissemination sources (facebook, website, etc.) and by providing BYH workshops,
3. Offering our research findings to any stakeholders wishing to know more about how BYH keeping works in 100+ major North American municipalities today.

The Benefits of Legalizing BYH in Winnipeg

- 1) Sustainability
- 2) Nutritional Benefits
- 3) Learning Opportunities
- 4) Getting to Know Neighbours
- 5) Companionship & Stress Relief
- 6) Conserving Heritage Breeds

1) Sustainability:

On April 25, 2009, the Mayor and the Council committed to taking a lead role in creating a sustainable Winnipeg (The City of Winnipeg, 2010). "What Winnipeggers told us: Winnipeggers spoke passionately [...] and demanded decisive action in several key areas, including [...] increased opportunities for waste reduction" (p. 36). From the "SpeakUp Winnipeg" community consultations, a document titled "[A Sustainable Winnipeg](#)" was created to capture citizens' voices and concerns regarding sustainability (The City of Winnipeg, 2010).

Allowing BYHs can help create a more sustainable Winnipeg specifically by:

- a) Providing families with food security
- b) Supporting local Manitoba agriculture & businesses,
- c) Providing Winnipeg with natural weed & pest control,
- d) Natural & Locally Produced Fertilizer
- e) Providing Winnipeg with additional waste management strategies,
- f) Reducing our carbon footprint

a) Food Security

Local groceries have 2-3 days of food supply during normal (non-crisis) times. If the food delivery and supply lines are severed, grocery shelves can be emptied within hours. Raising BYH provides citizens with a reliable & readily available source of protein in the form of daily fresh eggs. Eggs from BYH are a great way for residents to acquire protein, and can be far more accessible than purchasing other protein options which can be costly (see section 2 for more on nutritional value). Legalizing BYH can help Winnipeggers become in control of the food they feed to their families, as well as make our city more resilient to societal stressors and emergencies such as natural disasters, mass food recalls, trucking strikes, recessions, etc.

"It seems that if we want to be a town that does its part for sustainability, this is something we ought to consider. I think we want to allow folks to use their good judgment and move toward more sustainable food practices."

Mayor John Engen, Missoula, MT,
(LaBadie, 2008, 14)

b) Stimulate Local Manitoba Agriculture & Business

Many city residents wish to keep urban hens for ecological reasons. Because of this, many would likely be inclined to purchase hens, grain and supplies from local Manitoba businesses. Legalizing BYH could create unique opportunities to stimulate local Manitoban agriculture. Various other egg suppliers have not felt negative impacts on their business due to BYH Bylaws being passed in other municipalities (see appendix E).



**MB
Breeders**

By legalizing BYH in Winnipeg, the demand for hens increases. This creates new opportunities for local breeders to generate increased revenue by selling hens to Winnipeg citizens, in addition to revenue generated from existing clients.

**MB
Grain
Farmers**

Many BYH keepers in other cities enjoy creating their own feed consisting of various seeds & grains obtained directly from local farmers, or carried at local feed stores.

This provides local grain farmers with the unique opportunity to generate revenue from a new BYH market, in addition to revenue generated from existing clients.

**MB
Poultry
Supply
Businesses**

Feeders, water founts, bedding, heat lamps, calcium supplements, etc. are needed to sustain BYH keeping as a hobby.

Such supplies are sold at local poultry supply stores in Winnipeg.

Legalizing BYH provides poultry supply stores with the opportunity to attract & develop regular clients from an entirely new cohort, increasing revenue generated which would otherwise be impossible, in addition to revenue generated from existing clients.



c) Organic Insect & Weed Control

Hens eat garden pests (mosquitoes, canker worms, slugs, grasshoppers, wasps, mice, etc.), as well as eat invasive weeds and their seeds (Foreman, 2010). BYH are organic pesticides, herbicides, and fuel-free rotor-tillers. People with BYH are less likely to use harmful chemicals and pesticides in their gardens. Instead, they desire their yard to be healthy and environmentally friendly. They consider chickens an extension of their gardens because they eat weeds and bugs and provide fertilizer (Palermo, 2010).

Legalizing BYH in Winnipeg can aid in achieving directive number five (5) within the "[A sustainable Winnipeg](#)". Our Mayor and Councillors committed to "provide[ing] safe and effective pest and weed control in city operations (2010, p. 39). BYH and their keepers could become part of a small-scale pest and weed control solution with no direct implementation costs to the city.

d) Natural & Locally Produced Fertilizer

Whereas waste from dogs and cats typically cannot be used for compost because of the parasites and human diseases it may harbor, BYH provide natural and locally produced fertilizer (Pollock, et. al., 2012). This fertilizer is highly sought after by gardeners, as it is easily composted without any transportation costs.

Composting hen droppings will not smell if using basic composting guidelines (i.e. balancing browns and greens) and will not attract pests if kept in an enclosed unit. Chicken manure is a great addition to sustainable urban gardens, and according to Dr. Jim Hermes, OSU Extension Specialist, "once added to the compost or tilled into the soil, the odor-causing compounds are no longer able to cause objectionable odors" (Palermo, 2010).

e) Waste Management & Tax Saving Strategy

Chickens are omnivores. A hen eats about 84 to 100 pounds of food/year (Foreman, 2010), some of which can be kitchen scraps and yard waste biomass which would otherwise need to be picked up, transported and dumped at the Brady Road Landfill.

How much of a difference can BYH really make for a city like Winnipeg?
Keep reading...

In Diest, Belgium, 3 hens were given to 2,000 homes in an attempt to reduce waste destined for landfills. Dealing with biodegradable trash costs the city about \$600,000 per year – 25% of which could be composted in residents' backyards.

(Diest: Mijn Stad, 2012; Foreman, 2010).

(1 hen) (7 pounds food waste/month) (12 months) = approx. 84 pounds
Big deal, you think. That's not so much. But what if Winnipeg had 2,000 homes with 6 hens?
(6 hens) (84 pounds of food waste/hen/year) (2,000 homes) = 1,008,000 pounds
(504 tonnes) of biomass diverted from the Brady Road Landfill, and a **savings of \$21,924**
in tipping fees (\$43.50/ tonne) per year. The tax savings in not having to handle,
transport and store all that biomass waste by reusing them onsite is staggering, especially
since no operating costs exist.

This is great news for our Mayor and Councillors; Listed within direction 3 of the "[Sustainable Winnipeg](#)" document, Winnipeg City Council committed to implementing "solid waste diversion enabling strategies":

- 1) Create a comprehensive, city-wide waste reduction strategy, encompassing garbage, recycling and organics that establishes a baseline and targets,
- 2) Enhance waste reduction/ diversion education and awareness programs for citizens,
- 3) Establish a waste reduction/ diversion education and awareness initiative for the Winnipeg Public Service (The City of Winnipeg, 2010, p. 38).

Allowing residents to keep 6 laying hens falls in line with the City's commitment of creating a more sustainable Winnipeg.

"It's simple accounting: the more residents recycle and divert tonnage away from their trash, the lower their taxes will be."
(Foreman, 2010, p. 26)

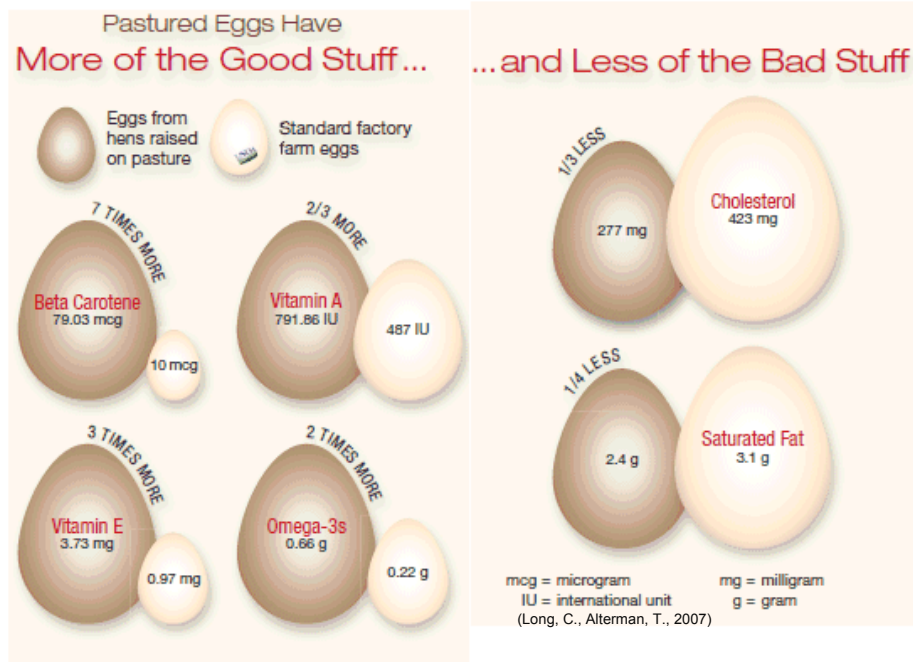
f) Reduced Carbon Footprint

Eating locally and reducing the need to transport food & fertilizer long distances play a large role in fostering a sustainable community (Palermo, 2010). Raising BYH reduces the need for transporting eggs from farm/factory to the store, and then finally to the home - resulting in a reduction in carbon emissions and packaging materials (The City of San Diego, 2012). Becoming a more sustainable Winnipeg becomes easier with the availability of eggs from backyards - no fuel is needed to collect eggs from a BYH (Harrison, Pray, Doolittle & Chambless, 2010; Urban Agriculture Kingston, 2010).



2) Nutritional Benefits

BYH provide families with accessible organic eggs, without the harmful effects of antibiotics, hormones, or other chemical additives (Urban Agriculture Kingston, 2010). Studies show that eggs from hens who are allowed to graze on grass are also more nutritious (Long & Alterman, 2007; Foreman, 2010; Ussery, 2011), containing 1/3 less cholesterol, 1/4 less saturated fat, 2/3 more vitamin A, 2 times more omega-3 fatty acids, 3 times more vitamin E, and 7 times more beta carotene, as depicted in the picture below.



3) Learning Opportunities

Many learning opportunities exist – for children and adults alike - when caring for BYH. Parents are able to teach children where some of their food comes from, about nature’s cycles (many hens stop laying and rest in the winter), and develop a deeper appreciation for our food. Hens allow children to learn responsibility when providing care for a family pet, as well as develop empathy and respect for other living beings.



4) Getting to Know Neighbours

Owning BYH can become a community building activity. Many Winnipeg residents boast about how they have become better connected to their community simply by keeping BYH. Some report feeling less isolated and believe that if they were in trouble or needed assistance, they could now call on neighbours to help out - people they did not know prior to keeping hens:

"We have met close to 15 neighbours from in and around our area. Most of those people would walk by, but we never talked - we didn't have a reason to! Now we do, and it's lovely to get to know one another, and to see how much they enjoy seeing our girls."

(Winnipeg BYH keeper, 2012)

"The neighbours come by to see the hens on their way to and from work, and on walks in the evening. Some even come by to sit, watch the hens and visit on weekends. It's great! They are such conversation starters - we never would have met some of these folks otherwise."

(Winnipeg BYH keeper, 2012)

"It's fun watching neighbours getting to know each other, too. They both just happen to come by the coop at the same time, and they start chit-chatting away."

"Then you see them chatting again when they walk by each other a couple days later. It feels really nice. This is a rough area and so people tend to keep to themselves, so it feels nice to see, you know, that sort of thing can happen here."

(Winnipeg BYH keeper, 2012)



5) Companionship & Stress Relief

Watching BYH hens is soothing and relaxing, similar to watching fish in an aquarium. Just as therapy dogs, cats, rabbits, and horses exist, so do therapy chickens (Foreman, 2010). Typically, this is not the major motivating factor in keeping BYH, although many keepers soon boast about the stress-relieving benefits they experience from keeping hens. BYH

make great pets for those with allergies to cats and dogs, as they are hypoallergenic.

The Centers for Disease Control (CDC) and Prevention (2012) state that owning a pet can help decrease:

- Blood pressure
- Cholesterol levels
- Triglyceride levels
- Feelings of loneliness

...And increase:

- Opportunities for exercise and outdoor activities
- Opportunities for socialization

"Sitting in the backyard with an iced tea at the end of a long workday and watching the girls hunt for bugs helps me unwind.

It's like all that stress just falls to the wayside, and I can just enjoy being present in the moment.

[...] It can sound silly, and I wouldn't have believed it - but it's true. When it comes to relaxing, watching the hens does better than any stress-relieving pill ever could!"

(Winnipeg BYH keeper, 2012)

These CDC findings are echoed by Wells (2009, in Pollock, et. al., 2012).

6) Conserving Heritage Breeds

The vast majority of chickens raised today are industrial bred and represent only a few breeds (Leghorn, Rhode Island Red). One concern with focusing on two or three lines of poultry breeds is a lack of genetic diversity, increasing the birds' susceptibility to disease. A new variant of an old disease or a new disease could wipe out the world's industrial chicken and egg production (Miller, 2010). BYH owners can play a role in ensuring genetic diversity continues to exist within North American flocks through keeping heritage breeds.

The commercial focus on only a few breeds has led to the listing of many poultry breeds as endangered, some critically (Miller, 2010). One of these endangered breeds includes the *Chantecler* (Rare Breeds Canada, 2012; Ussery, 2011); the first of only two Canadian breeds, developed to withstand our cold northern winters (The American Livestock Breeds Conservancy, 2012). If hens are legalized in Winnipeg, BYH keepers can become a part of the conservation solution. Increased breeding of heritage breeds can help ensure the survival of the Canadian *Chantecler*, and 53 other endangered breeds - instead of becoming rare zoo specimens or part of genetic libraries (Ussery, 2011).

FAQs on Backyard Hens

(Adapted from [Keeping Chickens in the City of San Diego](#), 2012)

1) Don't hens belong on the farm?

Once dogs and cats were seen as strictly working farm animals. This perception has changed. Dogs and cats are now viewed as companion household pets.

The *Gallus gallus domesticus* (chicken) is a domesticated bird that has been kept in urban settings up until the mid 1900's. Only within "the past few decades" have hens been removed from cities, to farms (Pollock, et. al, 2012, 734).

Today, over 100 North American municipalities encourage raising backyard hens including Victoria, Guelph, Niagara Falls, San Diego, Seattle, Portland and New York (for full list, see appendix A).

2) Are hens smelly or dirty?

As with any animal, hens or coops can smell if they are not properly cared for. A hen that is properly cared for is just as clean as a well cared for dog or cat. A coop that is properly ventilated and cleaned will not smell.

3) How do you deal with excrement?

Hen droppings make excellent compost, especially when combined with materials high in carbon (leaves, pine shavings, & straw which are often used for bedding). Use your nose; if it starts to smell, add more carbon.

4) Are hens noisy?

No. Unlike dogs which tend to bark if they see or hear another animal, hens are a "prey" species that stay still and quiet in response to a perceived threat or unusual situation. Some hens sing a short 'egg song' after laying. Hens sleep through the night once the sun sets. Traffic, dogs barking, lawn mowers, and children playing all rank higher in decibel levels than hens (see appendix C). Roosters are noisy. WUCA suggests roosters be prohibited.

Uncle Sam Expects You To Keep Hens and Raise Chickens



Two Hens in the Back Yard for Each Person in the House Will Keep a Family In Fresh Eggs

EVEN the smallest back yard has room for a flock large enough to supply the house with eggs. The cost of maintaining such a flock is small. Table and kitchen waste provide much of the feed for the hens. They require little attention—only a few minutes a day.

An interested child, old enough to take a little responsibility, can care for a few fowls as well as a grown person.

Every back yard in the United States should contribute its share to a bumper crop of poultry and eggs in 1918.

**In Time of Peace a Profitable Recreation
In Time of War a Patriotic Duty**

For information about methods of Back-Yard Poultry Keeping suited to your location and conditions, write

**Your State Agricultural College
or
The United States Department of Agriculture
Washington, D. C.**

This Space Donated by the Publisher

5) Do you need to have a rooster for a hen to lay eggs?

No. Without a rooster, hens will still lay. Roosters are only needed for fertile eggs. Non-fertile eggs are as nutritious as fertile eggs.

6) At what age do hens start laying eggs?

Typically hens will start to lay when they are 5- 6 months of age.

7) How long do hens lay eggs?

Peak production generally occurs at two years of age and slowly declines thereafter. For this reason it is good practice to vary the ages of your hens so that the older hens may “retire” while the younger ones continue to produce eggs. “Heritage breeds lay less-frequent, larger eggs after their peak laying years” (May, 2012).



8) How long do chickens live?

Typical life expectancy for a BYH is 5 - 10 years depending on care and predator protection.

9) Should you have more than one hen?

Yes. Chickens have a strong need for socialization (LaBadie, 2008) and maintain a hierarchical social structure, similar to dogs and other pack/flock animals. Hens generate body heat and huddle together to conserve energy during Winnipeg winters. For both these reasons, WUCA recommends keeping a 4- 6 hens at a time, which is the most common number of hens allowed in other North American municipalities (LaBadie, 2008).

10) Will BYH attract rodents?

No. Rodents are already present within our city. Rodents can be attracted to spilled or unsecured chicken feed, just as they can be attracted to spilled or unsecured dog or cat food, wild bird seed, koi ponds, or garbage. Chicken feed should be stored in rodent & weather proof containers with securely fitted lids. Coops should also be rodent-proofed with ¼ inch gauge hardware cloth (not chicken wire). Additionally, Hens eat mice and can help control rodent populations in cities.



11) Isn't Winnipeg too cold for BYH?

No. Hens fare better in colder climates than in the heat (Ussery, 2011). Some breeds – like the Canadian *Chantecler* – were developed specifically to withstand harsh northern winters (ALBC, 2012, Henderson, 2012). Today, BYH are kept in many cold winter cities including Chicago, Illinois and Anchorage, Alaska. Coops are insulated & runs are tarped for winter.

12) Will BYH bring health risks?

Health risks can result from handling hens or anything in the areas they occupy. The same is true when handling other pets such as cats or dogs (Polloc, et. al., 2012). Specifically, chickens may have Salmonella germs in their droppings and on their bodies even though they appear healthy. Salmonella can make people sick with diarrhea, fever, vomiting and/or abdominal cramps (CDC, 2012).

The Canadian Food Inspection Agency (CFIA) recognizes that backyard flocks can provide a safe source of eggs, and has published a variety of online resources including [posters, videos, and detailed information](#) for Canadians wishing to keep small flocks

Reducing risks:

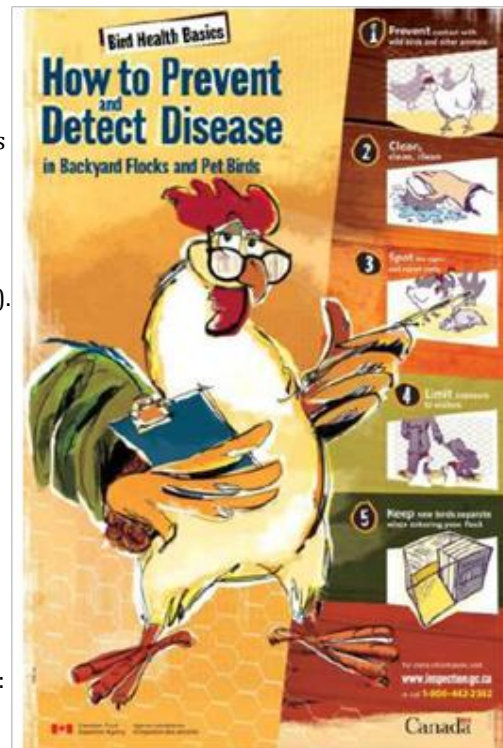
Acknowledging that Winnipeggers already keep BYH & supplying “educational” information on how to keep flocks safely is key to prevention (Grunkemeyer, 2011).

The CFIA has developed 5 key guidelines on “**How to Prevent and Detect Disease in Backyard Flocks and Pet Birds**”:

1. Prevent contact with wild birds and other animals
2. Clean, clean and clean
3. Spot the signs and report early
4. Limit exposure to visitors
5. Keep new birds separate when entering your flock

In addition to these, WUCA recommends the following: (adapted from [Keeping chickens in the city of San Diego](#))

- **Do not let children younger than 5 years of age touch hens without adult supervision.**
- **Wash hands** thoroughly with soap and water immediately after touching hens or anything in the area hens occupy. Use hand sanitizer if soap and water are not available.
- **Adults should supervise hand washing for young children.**
- Wash hands after removing soiled clothes and shoes.
- **Do not eat or drink in the area the chickens occupy.**
- Do not let hens inside the house or in areas where food or drink is prepared, served, or stored, such as kitchens, pantries, or outdoor patios.
- **Always assume that wherever your hens have been is contaminated.**
- Clean equipment and materials associated with raising or caring for hens such as coops, feed containers, and water containers outside the house whenever possible.



13) But what about Avian Flu?

"[T]he perceived risk of AI [Avian Influenza] from backyard flocks is probably overestimated due in part to media attention on this issue" (Pollock, et.al., 2012, 737-8)

"Backyard poultry is a solution, not the problem"

(GRAIN, 2006, 3)

"Bird flu does not evolve to highly pathogenic forms in backyard poultry operations, where low-density and genetic diversity keep the viral load to low levels. Backyard poultry are the victims of bird flu strains brought in from elsewhere. [...] It is in crowded and confined industrial poultry operations that bird flu, like other diseases, rapidly evolves and amplifies" (GRAIN, 2006, 8)

"Inferences from data on Asian backyard chicken flocks must be made cautiously as social and environmental conditions, and thus exposure routes and transmission, may vary greatly from North America. Similarly, risks in commercial flocks, including risks to poultry workers, may not be representative of those in backyard flocks and their keepers due to differing circumstances" (Pollock, et.al, 2012, 736).

"The risk of avian influenza development is not appreciably increased by backyard hens. Urban hen keepers should be encouraged to follow the advice of CFIA: Bird Health Basics - How to Prevent and Detect Disease in Backyard Flocks and Pet Birds",

(Interior Health, in City of Vancouver, 2012, 9)

"Health authorities in Canada consider the risk of H5N1 reaching North America, or other HPAI subtypes spreading among backyard hens, to be **extremely limited**, particularly if biosecurity measures, such as those recommended by the CFIA, are followed" (City of Vancouver, 2010, 9, emphasis added).

"Overall, the risk of pathogen transmission given backyard chicken keeping appears to be low and does not present a greater threat to the public's health compared with keeping other animals allowed by similar bylaws such as dogs and cats"

(Pollock, et. al., 2012, 741; echoed by Yendell, et. al., 2012).

14) Will BYH burden Animal services?

WUCA is aware of Animal Services concern that amending a Bylaw to allow for city hens would result in increased workload. We see this barrier in supporting the Bylaw change as valid, and worthy of discussion, as we, too are committed to the wellbeing of urban hens.

BYH can easily be kept in conditions that **meet and exceed the highest standards** set forth in the [Poultry Layers Code of Practice \(PLCP\)](#), published by the National Farm Animal Care Council and written by the Canadian Agri-Food Research Council (2003). **The PLCP has no enforcement provisions**, thus a new or amended Bylaw (similar to the existing [pigeon control Bylaw](#)) that regulates the care of BYH could provide high assurance of chicken safety and care. Such a bylaw would fall in line with and support the Winnipeg Humane Society's [call for more humane treatment of livestock](#) (see appendix B) and allow hens to exhibit natural behaviours such as spread their wings, scratch, dust bathe, preen, etc.

"We're at 6500 calls for the year so far. We don't even get ten calls a year about chickens"

Raj Gill, Bylaw officer
Animal Control, Kamloops, BC.

"There were more problems when we didn't have a bylaw in place"

John, Animal Control Officer
Animal Control, Minneapolis

WUCA Support: Transitional Chicken Shelter

WUCA is eager to offer formal support to Animal Services, should BYH become legal in Winnipeg. As of November 19th 2012, WUCA has entered into a formal partnership ([Memorandum of Understanding](#)) with local chicken breeder, Louise May, to establish a transitional shelter for chickens that have been deemed lost, abused, neglected and/or unwanted. Informally, this service has existed for many years. By formalizing this partnership we hope to convey the message that WUCA is ready and willing to take in and re-home any lost, neglected, abused or unwanted chickens. Our goal is to eliminate any chicken-related workload from Animal Services and other existing shelters.

WUCA has researched experiences of Animal Services departments in various municipalities that allow BYH. "These departments do not report a significantly higher workload as a result of chickens being allowed in their regions (under 0.4 percent in all cases). Officers have been uniformly supportive of their programs" (MacDonald, 2012, 1).

"Very minimal part of our work, almost nothing at all, maybe five calls a year"

Victoria Simpson, Pound and Adoption Specialist
Animal Control Services, Victoria, BC

"We have had pretty good success. [...] The bylaw has actually helped prevent problems we had in the past, to be honest."

Jay Desrochers, Executive Director,
Niagara Falls Humane Society

15) Won't neighbours be opposed to BYH?

Research shows that where hens are allowed, neighbors are supportive, and are not inconvenienced either by excessive sound levels or smell: "Half of them felt that the project was a "resounding success". Another 29% felt the project had mitigated results and another 7% said they didn't know. Those who said the project had mitigated results qualified their answer by saying that the project should be considered a success if the city imposes a strict regulatory framework to govern the keeping of chickens within city boundaries" (Post Carbon Greater Moncton, 2010, 13).

Winnipeg by-laws presently exist to address smell, noise, and responsible care of pets (the [pound Bylaw](#), the [pigeon control Bylaw](#)). Just as neighbours can report noise, smell or inadequate pet-care complaints of dogs or cats, they would be able to report such concerns related to BYH using the same system currently in place.

Neighbour consent is not required to keep dogs, mow lawns, or allow children to play outdoors - all of which rank louder than hens on a decibel scale (see appendix C). Thus, neighbour consent should not be required to keep hens, unless such consent is required for the fore mentioned sources of urban noise pollution.

"We just moved into our new house this year. We didn't know for a while, but our neighbours have chickens! It's cool and they were so quiet, (laughing) we didn't even know. Sometimes we feel bad now 'cause our dogs bark sometimes. They make more noise than the chickens do."

Winnipeg BYH Neighbour, 2012

Other North American Municipalities that have legalized BYH

A variety of documents studied by WUCA have compared Bylaws allowing for BYH within North America. Most notably, [Labadie, 2008](#); [Post Carbon Greater Moncton, 2010](#); and [Hamilton, 2012](#). See appendix A for a list of over 100 North American municipalities that have legalized BYH keeping.

Proposed Winnipeg Bylaw amendments

"By forming a just and well thought out pro-chicken ordinance, cities can allow citizens the right to keep chickens while also addressing the concerns of other stakeholder groups. With that said, city councils should approach the issue of urban chicken keeping with a "how" rather than a "yes" or "no", as a growing list of pro-chicken cities across the nation shows that it can be done successfully" (LaBadie, 2008, 15).

If BYH are to be legalized in Winnipeg, WUCA suggests that the exotic animals Bylaw (3389/83) is amended to *exclude* hens. Additionally, WUCA suggests that BYH be legalized under the Pound Bylaw (2443). Alternately, a new Bylaw could be created specifically to address and articulate regulations on urban agriculture (i.e. "Urban Agriculture Bylaw").

"Regulation is important in disease prevention, minimizing nuisance factors, and in ensuring animal welfare. In hopes of addressing these issues, some jurisdictions have implemented the following regulations: (1) licensing of birds, (2) prohibiting chicks and roosters, (3) limiting the number of hens allowed, and (4) providing specifications on coop construction, waste management and food storage" (Pollock, et. al., 2012, 740)

Legalizing BYH would allow regulations and expectations to be placed on present and future BYH keepers, as a means of ensuring BYH keeping can be enjoyed by all. The regulations proposed by WUCA would surpass those of the [Poultry Layers Code of Practice](#). WUCA recommends a permit process similar to that which already exists for pigeons, where keepers must "apply yearly to the Public Health Inspector for a permit permitting the keeping of said pigeons" ([Pigeon Control By-law No. 978/75](#), City of Winnipeg, 2008)

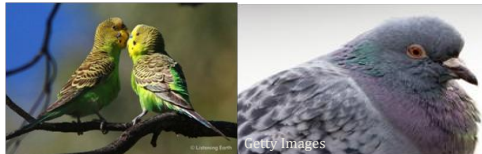
A key factor is that any new Bylaws be easily understood and accessible "to the public, which will help ensure compliance and reduce violations" (LaBadie, 2008, 13). Articles clarifying the minimum requirements for the keeping of BYH and enforcement provisions will allow for ample regulation, increased compliance, and thus promote cost recovery.

WUCA recommends the following:

1. Roosters and chicks are prohibited. Only hens 6 months and older are permitted.
2. Home slaughter is prohibited
3. Maximum of 6 hens per property
4. Coops must be 4.0 metres from any dwelling (not including the owners dwelling)
5. Coops shall be vented & large enough to provide for free movement of hens
6. The outdoor enclosure shall be predator proof, easily cleaned, and fenced to keep the hens on the property and a minimum of 10 square feet per hen
7. Hens must be confined to coop between 9 p.m. and 8 a.m.
8. Feed must be stored securely in rodentproof & waterproof containers
9. Manure must be composted in an enclosed bin.
10. All other animal control Bylaws will apply (i.e. noise, odour, animals-at-large, etc.)
11. Sale of eggs or manure is prohibited
12. Backyard hen permits/registration must be obtained from the city of Winnipeg

Concluding remarks

According to Winnipeg Bylaws, the following birds are legally permitted:



- **Exotic Birds** (Parrots, Parakeets, Cockatoos, etc.): Max. number unspecified/unknown.
- **Pigeons:** Max. 150 pigeons ([Pigeon Control By-law No. 978/75](#)).

WUCA is puzzled as to why the *Gallus gallus domesticus* is listed as an exotic animal and prohibited, when other birds – particularly exotic birds – are legally allowed to be kept by residents without registration or permits ([Exotic Animal By-law No. 3389/83](#), City of Winnipeg, 2003). This confusion is further compounded, as the CFIA has established [joint guidelines](#) addressing the proper keeping of small chicken flocks and pet birds.

In 2010, City Council was asked by Winnipeg residents to amend the exotic animal Bylaw to allow for BYH. The reasons for this being turned down are unclear. Direction 4 listed in the "[A Sustainable Winnipeg](#)" document states that partnerships with communities, businesses and other public sector agencies should be fostered to achieve joint goals towards a sustainable Winnipeg (p.18).

Bylaws regarding BYH should allow "for citizen input and participation in the ordinance forming process to assure that the ordinance fits the needs of, and is supported by the community"
(LaBadie, 2008, 13).

Today, residents are again asking that the issue of allowing BYH within the city to be revisited, and that all information available on this subject of BYH be considered prior to making a decision. Additionally, WUCA requests to be included in all meetings with stakeholders where decisions regarding this issue (formal or informal) take place, in accordance with direction 4 of the "[A Sustainable Winnipeg](#)" document.

"Allowing for the keeping of chickens is the best way to see if the concerns surrounding chicken keeping ever come to fruition, and the ordinance can then be adjusted accordingly. In many cases, cities adopt a more restrictive ordinance as that is what will pass public approval and city council. Then as time passes with few complaints or nuisances, those regulations become more relaxed and tailored specifically to the needs of the city and its residents"
(LaBadie, 2008, 14).

It is WUCA's aim to work *with* the city and all other stakeholders on this issue, as we believe BYH can help create a more sustainable Winnipeg for all.

To contact WUCA, email us at winnipegchickens@gmail.com

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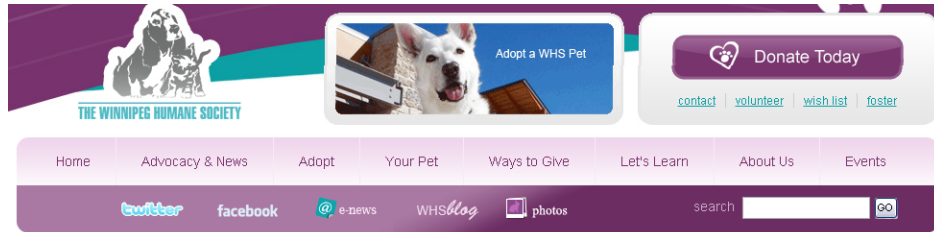
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Appendix A: North American municipalities that have legalized BYH

1. [Brampton, Ontario](#)
2. [Esquimalt, British Columbia](#)
3. [Gatineau, Quebec](#)
4. [Guelph, Ontario](#)
5. [Fort Saskatchewan, Alberta](#)
6. Fredericton, New Brunswick
7. Kamloops, British Columbia
8. Kingston, Ontario
9. [Niagara Falls, Ontario](#)
10. [North Vancouver British Columbia](#)
11. [Oak Bay, British Columbia](#)
12. [Peace River, Alberta](#)
13. [Richmond, British Columbia](#)
14. [Rosland, British Columbia](#)
15. Rupert, British Columbia
16. [Saanich, British Columbia](#)
17. Smithers, British Columbia
18. [Surrey, British Columbia](#)
19. Terrace, British Columbia
20. Trenton, Ontario
21. [Quinte West, Ontario](#)
22. [Vancouver, British Columbia](#)
23. [Victoria, British Columbia](#)
24. [Waterloo, Ontario](#)
25. West Vancouver, British Columbia
26. [Whitehorse, Yukon Territories](#)
27. Albuquerque, New Mexico
28. Alton, Illinois
29. Anaheim, California
30. Anchorage, Alaska
31. Asheville, North Carolina
32. Atlanta, Georgia
33. Austin, Texas
34. Baltimore City, Maryland
35. Baton Rouge, Louisiana
36. Belmont, Massachusetts
37. Berkeley, California
38. Boise, Idaho
39. Brockton, Massachusetts
40. Burlington, Vermont
41. Canton, Ohio
42. Cambridge, Massachusetts
43. Camden, Maine
44. Caspet Wyoming
45. Cedar Rapids, Iowa
46. Chapel Hill, South Carolina
47. Charlottesville, Virginia
48. Chicago, Illinois
49. Cleveland, Ohio
50. Colorado Springs, Colorado
51. Dallas, Texas
52. Davis, California
53. District of Columbia
54. Denver, Colorado
55. Des Moines, Iowa
56. Egg Harbor City, New Jersey
57. Enid, Oklahoma
58. Evansville, Indiana
59. Fayetteville, Arkansas
60. Flagstaff, Arizona
61. Fort Collins, Colorado
62. Fruita, Colorado
63. Gig Harbor, Washington
64. Gilbert, Arizona
65. Glenwood Springs, Colorado
66. Goldendale, Washington
67. Grand Forks, North Dakota
68. Green Bay, Wisconsin
69. Hamstead, New Hampshire
70. Houston, Texas
71. Honolulu, Hawaii
72. Irvine, California
73. Knoxville, Tenn.
74. Laguna Niguel, California
75. Lake Forest, California
76. Lakewood, California
77. Lansing, Michigan
78. Lawrence, Kansas
79. Laramie, Wyoming
80. Laredo, Texas
81. Las Vegas, Nevada
82. Little Rock, Arkansas
83. Long Beach, California
84. Los Altos, California
85. Los Angeles, California
86. Louisville, Kentucky
87. Madison, Wisconsin
88. Meredith, New Hampshire
89. Miami, Florida
90. Minneapolis, Minnesota
91. Mission Viejo, California
92. Missoula, Montana
93. Mobile, Alabama
94. Monticello, Minnesota
95. Nampa, Idaho
96. Naperville, Illinois
97. Nashville, Tennessee
98. New Orleans, Louisiana
99. New York City, New York
100. Oakland, California
101. Olympia, Washington
102. Omaha, Nebraska
103. Pekin, Illinois
104. Portland, Maine
105. Portland, Oregon
106. Prescott Arizona
107. Raleigh, North Carolina
108. Richmond, Virginia
109. Sacramento, California
110. San Francisco, California
111. Santa Ana, California
112. Santa Fe, New Mexico
113. Saint Louis, Missouri
114. San Jose , California
115. Saint Paul, Minnesota
116. Salt Lake City, Utah
117. San Antonio, Texas
118. San Diego, California
119. Santee, California
120. Seattle, Washington
121. Sioux City, Iowa
122. Spokane, Washington
123. Syracuse, New York
124. Tacoma, Washington
125. Tampa, Florida
126. Topeka, Kansas
127. Vancouver, Washington
128. Wichita, Kansas
129. Yuba City, California

Appendix B: Winnipeg Humane Society-Factory Farming: Farm Animal Welfare Accessed Dec.7, 2012 from <http://www.winnipeghumanesociety.ca/factory-farming> (see next page for full text)



Factory Farming: Farm Animal Welfare

"We cannot solve the problems we have created with the same thinking that created them." -Albert Einstein

The Winnipeg Humane Society is working to eliminate practices which cause farm animals distress and suffering through educating the consumer, lobbying government, and consulting with farm groups.

Factory farming

Factory farms that use intensive confinement systems deny animals many of their most basic behavioural and physical needs. Either through confinement in cages or overcrowding in feedlots and pens, the animals aren't able to interact socially in a normal manner. These unnatural conditions often lead to aggression amongst the animals, as well as boredom, frustration and stress.

The livestock industry often claims that these animals would not reproduce so well if they were stressed. However, we can look at puppy and kitty mills to see that this logic isn't true.

Drugs and hormones are routinely fed to these animals to combat the potential for disease outbreak, which is a much higher risk with so many animals so closely confined. These drugs are also given to speed up the animals' growth.

Pigs

90 percent of pigs in Manitoba are raised on factory farms, crowded into pens with no straw for rooting in or nesting.

- Sows, the females used for breeding, are individually confined in gestation crates and then farrowing crates so small that they can't even turn around. They must carry out all of their life functions (eating, sleeping, urinating, defecating, giving birth to their young and nursing their young) in this one small area.
- The weanling pigs are living in pens on slatted or concrete floors above pits containing their own urine and feces, breathing the fumes of ammonia and hydrogen sulfide that rise from their waste.

Chickens

- Laying hens used to produce eggs live in battery cages - at least three and as many as eight per cage.
- Each bird has a living space only the size of an average mouse pad (approx. 64 sq. inches)
- Battery hens are never able to spread their wings, stretch or preen their feathers.
- Battery hens are never able to "dust" on the ground or perch, as chickens naturally want to do.

What you can do!

- Educate yourself and your friends about how farm animals are raised.
- Ask for humanely raised meat at your local grocery store.
- Consider decreasing the amount of meat you eat.

USEFUL LINKS

- www.howwatchmanitoba.org
- www.humanefood.ca
- www.factoryfarm.org

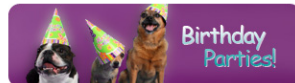
events

Calling all Teachers!



adopt a pet

Meet Mowgli



WUCA Report to Council: December 2012

Winnipeg Humane Society-Factory Farming: Farm Animal Welfare (text):

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What you can do!

- Educate yourself and your friends about how farm animals are raised.
- Ask for humanely raised meat at your local grocery store.
- Consider decreasing the amount of meat you eat.

USEFUL LINKS: www.hogwatchmanitoba.org, www.humanefood.ca, www.factoryfarm.org

WUCA Report to Council: December 2012

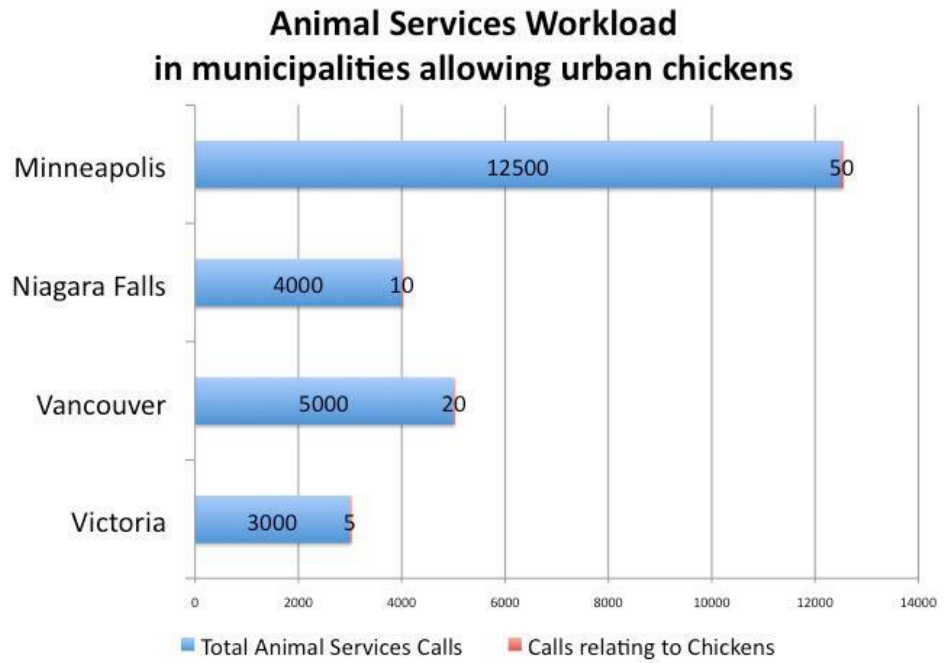
Appendix C: Noise pollution sources and associated decibel levels

Noise Pollution Source	Decibel Level	Source:
Clothes washer	47-78	Chepesiuk, 2005
Rainfall	50	American Tinnitus Association (2012)
Dishwasher	54-85	Chepesiuk, 2005
Bathroom exhaust fan	54-55	Chepesiuk, 2005
Microwave oven	55-59	Chepesiuk, 2005
Normal conversation	55-65	Chepesiuk, 2005
Alarm clock	60-80 80 (2 feet away)	Chepesiuk, 2005 American Tinnitus Association (2012)
Vacuum cleaner	62-85	Chepesiuk, 2005
Chicken cluck	70	Foreman, 2010
Electric can opener	81-83	Chepesiuk, 2005
Average traffic	85	American Tinnitus Association (2012)
Gasoline-powered push lawn mower	85-90 87-92	Manuel, 2005 Chepesiuk, 2005
Average motorcycle	90	Chepesiuk, 2005
Rooster Crow	90+	Foreman, 2010
Dog Barking	90+	Foreman, 2010
Weed trimmer	94-96	Chepesiuk, 2005
Screaming child	105	American Tinnitus Association (2012)

WUCA Report to Council: December 2012

Appendix D: Animal Services Workload

Source: MacDonald, K. (2012). Towards a backyard hen by-law in Winnipeg. Winnipeg Urban Chicken Association.



WUCA Report to Council: December 2012

Appendix E: Letters of support

To: (email removed)
From: edward.hageman@
Date: Fri, 16 Nov 2012 10:33:11 -0500
Subject: RE: Backyard Hens

I am not aware of any negative impacts. Generally we are talking of such small numbers and seasonal production that sales of consumer eggs in the area are not negatively affected.

Sent: Friday, November 09, 2012 1:35 PM
To: Hageman, Edward (AGR)
From: (email removed)
Subject: Backyard Hens

Hello,

My name is (name removed) I am from Winnipeg, Manitoba, Canada. Our city council is in the early stages of considering allowing residents within the city to keep a small number of backyard hens. I know that residents of Belmont, Brockton, and Cambridge are permitted to keep a certain number of laying hens within city limits, I was curious to know if amending bylaws in these cities has had any significant negative impact on egg producers in Massachusetts. Any information you could provide would be greatly appreciated.

Thanks,
(name removed)

WUCA Report to Council: December 2012

From: [redacted] [@sparboe.com](mailto:[redacted]@sparboe.com)
To: (email removed)
Subject: RE: Backyard Hens
Date: Mon, 12 Nov 2012 19:11:30 +0000

Thank you for contacting Sparboe Farms about backyard hens and the impact on egg production. We are located about an hour west of Minneapolis/suburbs, and distribute our eggs nationally.

We have not seen an impact on our egg sales. I hope you find the answers that you are researching!

Thanks,
Patti Barth
Manager of Sales Operations
Sparboe Farms



From: (email removed)
Sent: Friday, November 09, 2012 12:06 PM
To: Consumer Website Address
Subject: Backyard Hens

Hello,

My name is (name removed). I am from Winnipeg, Manitoba, Canada our city council is in the early stages of considering allowing residents within the city to keep a small number of backyard hens. I know that residents of Minneapolis and St. Paul are permitted to keep a certain number of laying hens within city limits, I was curious to know if amending bylaws in these cities has had any significant negative impact on egg producers in Minnesota. Any information you could provide would be greatly appreciated.

Thanks,
(name removed)

Appendix C: Chickens4WinnipegGers Document

Written by MacDonald & Kirczenow (2012). Full text used with permission on April 11, 2015.

Towards a Backyard Hen Bylaw in Winnipeg

A Summary report by “Chickens for WinnipegGers” submitted to Leland Gordon, Chief Operating Officer, Winnipeg Animal Services and presented at Winnipeg City Hall.

Prepared by Ken MacDonald on November 14, 2012

Contact: (email and phone number listed here)

Dear Mr. Gordon,

Thank you for agreeing to meet with representatives from our group. As a basis for our conversation, we are pleased to provide you with this summary of our findings. We can provide you with further details and references for each section upon request. A more detailed report is also attached.

Introduction

“Chickens for WinnipegGers”, with over 800 members in our Facebook group, is petitioning City Council to allow hens to be kept in Winnipeg backyards for the purpose of egg production. We recognize that there are many stakeholders in this process. It is our intention to hear, acknowledge, and address any concerns they may have. Our Steering Committee is actively researching the best practices in jurisdictions that allow backyard hens. We want to ensure that backyard hens will be kept safely and enjoyably for all concerned.

Safety

Over 85 North American municipalities currently allow the raising of backyard chickens. Our research shows that backyard hens can easily be kept in conditions that meet the highest standards set forth in the Poultry Layers Code of Practice, published by the National Farm Animal Care Council. This Code has no enforcement provisions, so any Bylaw that regulates the care of hens could in practice provide a higher assurance of chicken safety. The Canadian Food Inspection Agency recognizes that backyard flocks can provide a safe source of eggs, and publishes resources for owners.

Animal Services' Experience in Other Jurisdictions

Our group has researched the experiences of Animal Services departments in several other municipalities that allow chickens. These departments do not report a significantly higher workload as a result of chickens being allowed in their regions (under 0.4 percent in all cases). Officers have been uniformly supportive of their programs.

Research suggests that amending the current Pound Bylaw might be the most effective approach. Articles clarifying the minimum requirements for the keeping of hens for eggs, and enforcement provisions, will allow for ample regulation and cost recovery. Our report is attached to this document.

Chickens are Good Neighbours

Our research shows that where hens are allowed, neighbors are supportive, and are not inconvenienced either by excessive sound levels or smell. A 2010 pilot henkeeping project in Moncton independently verified these findings.

Economic Impact

There are many local businesses that will excel in providing urban chicken owners with quality supplies and information. We are connecting with feed supply businesses, farmers, breeders, and others who can profit from this initiative.

Providing Solutions

Our group is committed to providing hen owner peer support and resources. We recognize that chickens in an urban setting require care at all stages of their life, which the average citizens may require education and assistance to provide.

Annual Fall Slaughter Program

Chickens for WinnipEGGers have had preliminary discussions with several small- scale farmers who currently process their own poultry each fall on their own property outside the city limits. There have been several offers to host an annual fall slaughter program for elderly hens. This could be managed by the farms themselves to host a workshop on how to slaughter and process chickens for a fee. Very elderly birds could also be euthanized and composted at these workshops.

Administering Lost or Confiscated Poultry

Aurora Farm, (www.aurorafarm.ca) a 160-acre livestock and crop farm within the city limits, has offered to build a facility for the temporary housing and short-term quarantine of poultry that have been found or confiscated by Animal Services. A voluntary re-homing program will also be established for unwanted poultry.

Support Systems for Chicken Owners

Chickens for WinnipEGGers has a website presence that is informative and supports all aspects of backyard hen care and management. Trained volunteers could further that support by providing online question and answer forum and site visits to potential new hen owners. This

forum could also provide connections to breeders, “chicken-sitters” and veterinarians who specialize in birds.

SUMMARY

As you can tell, we are passionate and enthusiastic about urban chicken ownership! We believe that this will have a positive effect on our city as it has many others. Chickens for WinnipEGGers would like to offer Animal Services our assurance that we will continue to work with your department as required, if hens are allowed in Winnipeg. We would like to ask for your support of this initiative.

Animal Services and Urban Chickens

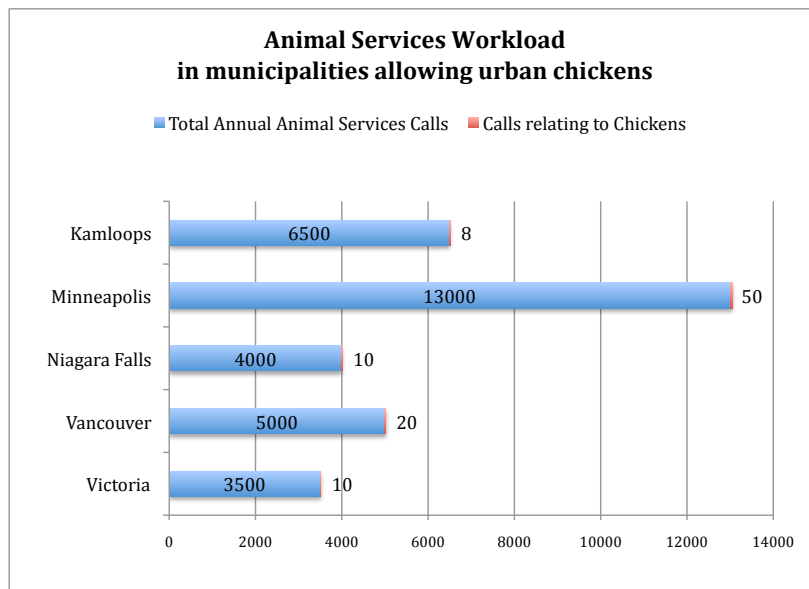
A Report for Chickens 4 WinnipEGGers By Trevor Kirczenow, November 2012

Contact: (email listed here)

How are Animal Services Agencies impacted in municipalities where backyard hens are permitted?

We gathered the opinions of Animal Services employees in many Canadian and American municipalities where hens are permitted. We wanted to identify problems, and potentially avoid them in Winnipeg.

The chart below shows the total number of calls handled by municipalities in the last year and the number that relate to chickens. These are estimates by the employees and not audited figures. In all cases the figure is less than half of one percent of their workload. It’s worth noting that the most memorable chicken- related calls to these officers were not due to backyard poultry. For example, high school students released eight factory-farmed hens in downtown West Vancouver as a prank. In Victoria, several were thrown into an office window at the Provincial Legislature. None of these hens were found to come from backyard flocks, and were released to local farmers.



West Vancouver is not listed in the chart because the figures require an Access To Information search. However, the SPCA there reports that they have had no cases referred to them where chickens were confiscated due to mistreatment.ⁱ In Olympia, Washington, their Code Enforcement department reported in 2009 that in over six years of their backyard hen program, they had received “five or less” complaints per year.ⁱⁱ

CAPITAL COSTS TO MUNICIPALITIES

We asked employees what facilities had to be built or maintained by Animal Services especially because of chickens being permitted in their municipalities. This was a deal-breaker in London, Ontario, which turned down an initiative in 2011 to allow urban hens. London’s Animal Welfare Advisory Committee informed their Council that Vancouver “had to invest \$20,000 to build housing for chicken rescue purposes”. They said this had deterred Calgary from initiating a program, too.ⁱⁱⁱ

However, Vancouver has not spent any of that money. Sarah Hicks, their Animal Services Manager, says, “We did ask for money to be set aside when the by-law was implemented [in 2010] just in case we needed a designated chicken location. So far we have not needed special space.... We have not added any additional resources.”^{iv}

No municipality reports needing special resources or facilities to deal with chicken problems. In Kamloops, Bylaw Officer Raj Gill "One time, there were three roosters that nobody took

ownership of. We put them in a multipurpose room and then called a farmer. We keep a rolodex of people that we'd call if there was a problem."^v

Likewise, West Vancouver has a completely walled indoor dog iso-kennel they could use as a holding area prior to relocation. They also use the space for other problems such as pregnant dogs, and two 350-pound pigs they confiscated.^{vi} Occasional multipurpose space seems to be adequate for animal-control needs pertaining to chickens.

BYLAW VARIATIONS AND EFFECTIVENESS

Municipalities deal with backyard hens in a variety of ways ranging from fairly casual to highly regulated. In Victoria, there is no bylaw governing urban chickens, which have been allowed since the 1970s. Any number of hens are allowed, as long as they are kept for eggs, for consumption by the residents. Ian Fraser, their Senior Animal Control Officer, reports that his department can use their pound bylaw to deal with any problems such as trespassing (if a hen gets out of its enclosure) or unsanitary conditions. He feels that municipalities can simply use their existing animal control bylaw as long as it covers all animals, not just dogs and cats. Winnipeg's current Pound Bylaw 2443/79 does specifically cover trespass of fowl and any resulting damages, and allows for recovery of "any expenses to which the City may be put".^{vii} Officer Fraser suggests that any cost-recovery fees should take into consideration that it may take more time to apprehend poultry than dogs: "It most likely takes more than one officer. You can lure a dog with a treat, but birds can fly, and can make a fool out of anyone trying to get them." Officer Fraser added that "coops should be better than a hockey net on a piece of plywood." Predators such as wild mink can be a hazard for backyard flocks in Victoria. He felt that a bylaw giving minimum coop standards would adequately address concerns.^{viii}

We learned that over-regulation can lead to problems. In Minneapolis, Animal Control Officer John reports, "By statute, we have to do have a pre-inspection of the coop, and we do an annual follow-up check, which are lower priority calls, and those are time consuming. It would streamline the process if we could just do yearly checks on problem coops."^{ix}

A Bylaw (or amendment to a current Bylaw) that specifies a certain number of hens and the quality of their upkeep would place no particular burden upon our Animal Services department, as long as onerous obligatory inspection measures are not also in place.

Vancouver meets these challenges with a streamlined online chicken registration and concise wording within their Animal Control Bylaw that addresses hens' minimum needs.^x This method seems the most elegant and effective. These examples are attached to this report.

CHICKENS MAKE GOOD NEIGHBOURS

Moncton, New Brunswick, is another community that was cautious to allow hens. In 2009 and 2010 they permitted a test coop as part of a study that measured the impact on the surrounding neighbourhood. An independent survey registered no complaints. Survey respondents reported no unusual predators, noises, or smells.^{xii} 50% of respondents felt the project was “a resounding success”, and 29% more called it a “success” as long as the city imposes a regulatory framework to govern the keeping of chickens within city boundaries. 14% provided no answer and 7% were undecided, and nobody judged the project a failure. The city is now going ahead with a municipal bylaw allowing hens.^{xii}

IN THEIR OWN WORDS: ANIMAL SERVICES EMPLOYEES

All the Animal Services employees we contacted are positive and even enthusiastic supporters of backyard flocks in their municipalities.

Jay Desrochers, Executive Director, Niagara Falls Humane Society: "Ever since the bylaw has been introduced several years ago, there hasn't been a problem. We seem to be able to work with the animal owners to resolve any problems, like the size of their coops or the number of hens. **We have had pretty good success, I'd say.** It's very few calls we receive about problems, maybe ten out of several thousand. It's almost nonexistent. **The bylaw has actually helped prevent problems we had in the past, to be honest.**"^{xiii}

Raj Gill, Bylaw Officer, Animal Control, Kamloops: "We're at 6500 calls for the year so far. We don't even get ten calls a year about chickens."

Victoria Simpson, Pound and Adoption Specialist, Victoria: She says that the backyard hens are "A very minimal part of our work, almost nothing at all, maybe five calls a year. Sometimes a chick will turn out to be a rooster and we'll get a complaint from a neighbour before the owners have dealt with it."^{xiv}

John, Animal Control Officer, Minneapolis: "We generally don't have a lot of problems. The most common complaint is roosters, which we do allow though a permit process, with 80 percent of the neighbours consenting within 100 feet of the property line. Generally we don't have complaints; it's not a problem. Very, very rarely do we get complaints about mistreatment. It's pretty low on our priority list. **There were more problems when we didn't have a bylaw in place.** Off the top of my head we get maybe fifty calls a year out of 12 or 13 thousand. **It's been very popular.**"

Georgia Sabol, Code Enforcement, Olympia, Washington: "...We in code enforcement were not keen on the chickens being allowed. However, that attitude has completely changed."xv

Summary:

Residents of many municipalities have enjoyed success in maintaining backyard hens. Programs seem to be revenue-neutral or minimally revenue-positive, with enforcement cost recovery options available through the existing pound bylaw. Animal Services employees in many of these areas agree that with proper guidelines in place, there is very little increase in their workload. The Officers we contacted were all very positive about urban hens in their jurisdictions.
[Next page: Example of Canadian Ordinance permitting BYC]

An Example of management:
 Vancouver's online hen registry and educational resources:
<http://vancouver.ca/people-programs/backyard-chickens.aspx>



3-1-1 Areas of the city



Google site search



- Green Vancouver
- Your Government
- About Vancouver
- Parks, Recreation, and Culture
- Home, Property, and Development
- People and Programs
- Streets and Transportation
- Doing Business

Home > People and Programs > Food > Growing food > Backyard chickens

- People and Programs**
- Housing and homelessness
 - Building community
 - Grants and awards
 - ▾ **Food**
 - Vancouver Food Strategy
 - ▾ **Growing food**
 - Community gardens
 - Sharing garden spaces
 - Gardening naturally
 - Watering your garden and lawn
 - Gardening classes
 - **Backyard chickens**
 - Beekeeping
 - Urban agriculture guidelines
 - Urban Agriculture Policy for parks
 - Buying and sharing local food
 - Street food vending
 - Getting involved with local food issues
 - Food and your health
 - A healthy city for all
 - Donating and volunteering

Learn the rules for backyard chickens, and register your chickens with the City



As part of City efforts to help you get involved in your own food production, you can now keep chickens in your backyard.



There are several important rules you need to comply with in order to keep your backyard chicken coop from being a nuisance for your neighbours:

- A maximum of 4 hens (no roosters), 4 months or older, per lot is allowed
- Ducks, turkeys, or other fowl or livestock (such as goats) are not allowed
- Eggs, meat, and manure cannot be used for commercial purposes
- Backyard slaughtering is not allowed

Steps to keeping backyard hens

There are three steps to follow if you want to keep chickens in your backyard:

1. Review the City bylaws.
2. Learn how to care for hens.
3. Register your hens with the City.

Step 1: Review the City bylaws

The City bylaws explain all of the rules and requirements for keeping backyard hens, including the size and location of your coop, and other important details.

These bylaws both protect the health of people living in the area, and ensure the hens are treated humanely:

- Animal Control Bylaw
- Zoning and Development Bylaw

Step 2: Learn how to care for hens

Next, you should read the following basic hen care documents before getting your hens:

- How to prevent and detect disease in backyard flocks and pet birds
- Basic hen care and chicken coop design requirements
- Humane considerations for backyard hens
- Resources for backyard hen owners

Step 3: Register your hens with the City

After you review the basic care documents and zoning regulations - and you build your coop - you can go ahead and purchase your hens.

Once the hens are purchased, you need to register your hens with the City. Registration is free, and you can do it online.

Ask. Tell. Connect.

Phone 3-1-1

Outside Vancouver:
604-873-7000

Speak your own language

9-1-1 **7-1-1**
Emergencies **TTY**

More ways to contact us →

Contact the Food Policy team

For questions on supporting the local food system, contact the Food Policy team at foodpolicy@vancouver.ca.

Concerned about backyard chickens?



If you are concerned about backyard chickens, contact Animal Control at 3-1-1.

Animal Control staff will be able to help you with such concerns as:

- Pests, insects, or wildlife drawn by the backyard chickens
- Noise or smell from the chickens
- Chickens that are injured, abandoned, stray / at large, or neglected
- The owner is not registered for Backyard Chicken Program

Excerpt from Vancouver Animal Control Bylaw 9150
<http://vancouver.ca/your-government/animal-control-bylaw.aspx>
Excerpt from Section 7 – Regulation of Animals:

7.15 Registration of hens

A person must not keep a hen unless that person first registers with the city: (a) electronically by:

(i) accessing the city's animal control computer website at
<http://vancouver.ca/animalcontrol/>,

(ii) accessing the link from that website to the on-line registry at <http://vancouver.ca/commsvcs/licandinsp/animalcontrol/chicken/index.htm>,

(iii) reading the information on keeping hens at the on-line registry site,

(iv) completing the application at the on-line registry site including the following mandatory fields:

(A) the date,

(B) the person's name, address and postal code,

(C) confirmation that the person resides on the property where he or she will be keeping hens,

(D) confirmation that the person has read the information referred to in clause (iii), and

(v) submitting the application to the on-line registry site; or - 10 -(b) by requesting, by telephone to 311, the mailing to that person of the information on keeping hens and an application form, and by:

(i) reading such information,

(ii) completing the application including the mandatory fields referred to in subsection (a)(iv), and

(iii) submitting the completed application to the city;

and such person must promptly update, and provide to, the city any information given when any change occurs.”

Keeping of hens

7.16 A person who keeps one or more hens must:

(a) provide each hen with at least 0.37 m² of coop floor area, and at least 0.92 m² of roofed outdoor enclosure;

(b) provide and maintain a floor of any combination of vegetated or bare earth in each outdoor enclosure;

(c) provide and maintain, in each coop, at least one perch, for each hen, that is at least 15 cm long, and one nest box;

(d) keep each hen in the enclosed area at all times;

- (e) provide each hen with food, water, shelter, light, ventilation, veterinary care, and opportunities for essential behaviours such as scratching, dust-bathing, and roosting, all sufficient to maintain the hen in good health;
- (f) maintain each hen enclosure in good repair and sanitary condition, and free from vermin and obnoxious smells and substances;
- (g) construct and maintain each hen enclosure to prevent any rodent from harbouring underneath or within it or within its walls, and to prevent entrance by any other animal;
- (h) keep a food container and water container in each coop;
- (i) keep each coop locked from sunset to sunrise;
- (j) remove leftover feed, trash, and manure in a timely manner;
- (k) store manure within a fully enclosed structure, and store no more than three cubic feet of manure at a time;

- (l) remove all other manure not used for composting or fertilizing; - 11 -
- (m) follow biosecurity procedures recommended by the Canadian Food Inspection Agency;

- (n) keep hens for personal use only, and not sell eggs, manure, meat, or other products derived from hens;
- (o) not slaughter, or attempt to euthanize, a hen on the property;
- (p) not dispose of a hen except by delivering it to the Poundkeeper, or to a farm, abattoir, veterinarian, mobile slaughter unit, or other facility that has the ability to dispose of hens lawfully; or

- (q) not keep a hen in a cage.

Chickens in an urban setting

Georgia Sabol

Thursday, March 12, 2009 7:51:06 AM

Our city council decided to allow hens in the City of Olympia six or seven years ago. As I said over the phone, it would be difficult to go back and find out exactly how many chicken complaints per year prior to allowing them. I am sure that since hens are allowed we have fewer complaints, I'd say five or less per year. The complaints are mostly about roosters crowing. We've had several complaints about someone having too many hens.

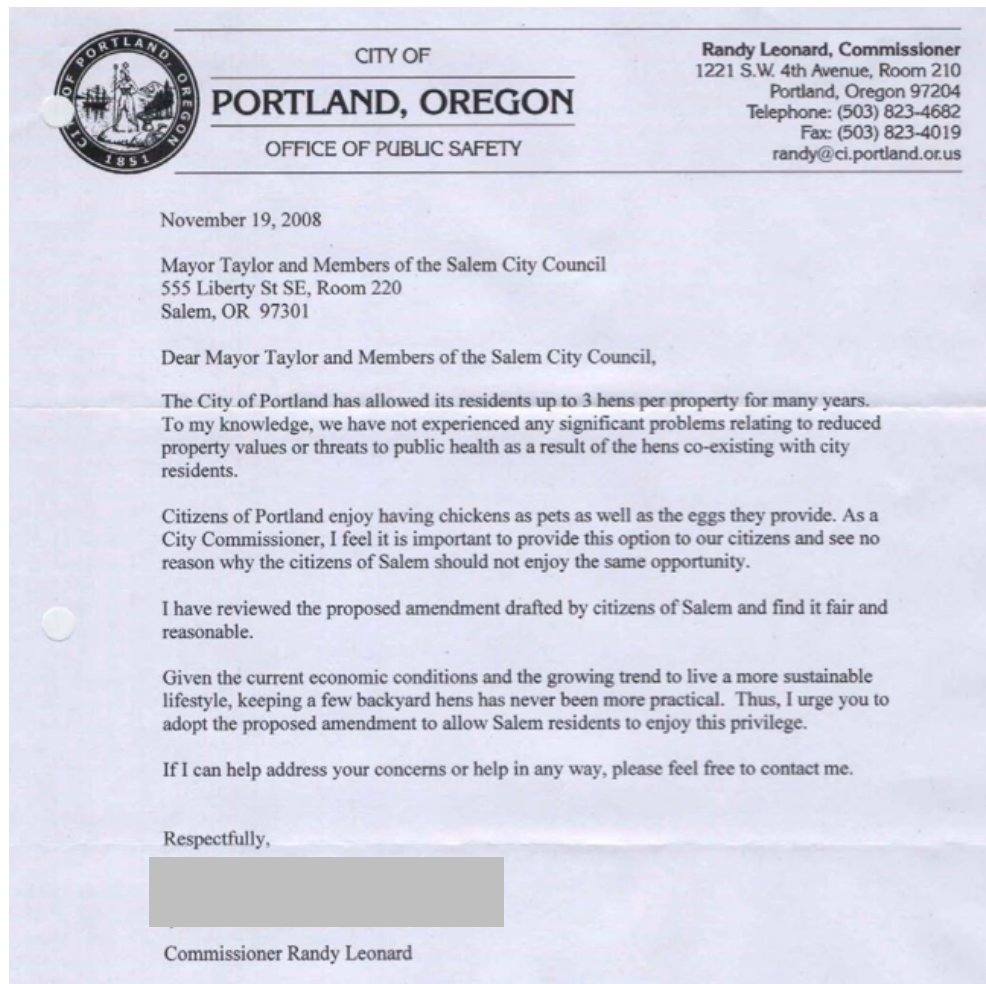
I believe that we now receive fewer complaints because the "chicken advocates" were good about educating new owners care of their hens. It seems that we never get complaints about hens out wondering loose anymore. Good fences (pens) do make good neighbors.

I also should mention that we in code enforcement were not keen on the chickens being allowed. However, that attitude has completely changed.

Georgia Sabol

Code Enforcement Officer Community Planning & Development (phone number listed here)

Letter of Support - City of Portland, Oregon:



NOTES

- ⁱ Telephone interview by Ken MacDonald with Lisa, Animal Care Attendant, West Vancouver SPCA. November 5, 2012.
- ⁱⁱ Email to Salem Chickens from Georgia Sabol, Code Enforcement Officer, Community Planning & Development, City of Olympia, Washington. March 12, 2009. Accessed November 6, 2012 at https://www.facebook.com/download/440103626049202/Salem%20Chickens%20-%20Research_Packet_Sept_2010.pdf
- ⁱⁱⁱ <http://council.london.ca/meetings/Archives/Reports%20and%20Minutes/Community%20and%20Neighbourhoods/CNC%20Reports%202011/2011-08-16%20Report/The%2014th%20Report%20of%20The%20Community%20and%20Neighbourhoods%20Committee.pdf>
- ^{iv} Email to Ken MacDonald from Sarah Hicks, Manager, Animal Control, City of Vancouver Licences & Inspections, Animal Services Branch. November 2, 2012.
- ^v Telephone interview by Ken MacDonald with Raj Gill, Bylaw Officer, Animal Control, City of Kamloops. November 5, 2012.
- ^{vi} Telephone interview by Ken MacDonald with Lisa, Animal Care Attendant, West Vancouver SPCA. November 5, 2012.
- ^{vii} Winnipeg By-law 2443/79, sections 7, 13, 14. Accessed 6 November, 2012 at <http://www.winnipeg.ca/CLKDMIS/DocExt/ViewDoc.asp?DocumentTypeId=1&DocId=428&DocType=C>
- ^{viii} Telephone interview by Ken MacDonald with Ian Fraser, Senior Animal Control Officer, Victoria Animal Services. November 5, 2012.
- ^{ix} Telephone interview by Ken MacDonald with John [last name withheld], Animal Control Officer, City of Minneapolis. November 2, 2012.
- ^x Vancouver Animal Control Bylaw 9150. <http://vancouver.ca/your-government/animal-control-bylaw.aspx>
- ^{xi} https://www.google.com/url?q=http://archives.nben.ca/environews/media/mediaarchives/11/March/Rapport_Ferme_urbaine%2520_ENG__18-01-11X.pdf&sa=U&ei=tMiZULbXOYyDrQH28YHoCw&ved=0CBgQFjAI&client=internal-uds-cse&usg=AFQjCNGT8nB76CmGZQtdWuWUXGN1EUrjWw
- ^{xii} <http://www.cbc.ca/news/canada/new-brunswick/story/2012/07/26/nb-urban-farm-delays-951.html>
- ^{xiii} Interview by Ken MacDonald with Jay Desrochers, Executive Director, Niagara Falls Humane Society, November 2, 2012.
- ^{xiv} Telephone interview by Ken MacDonald with Victoria Simpson, Pound and Adoption Specialist, Victoria, BC. October 29, 2012.
- ^{xv} Email to Salem Chickens from Georgia Sabol, Code Enforcement Officer, Community Planning & Development, City of Olympia, Washington. March 12, 2009.

Appendix D: Recruitment Poster



UNIVERSITY
OF MANITOBA

Looking for Participants for a Research Study on Illegal Winnipeg Backyard Chicken Keeping

Are you interested in participating in a study looking at why people keep illegal backyard chickens in Winnipeg?

- Are you 18 years or older?
- Do you live in Winnipeg?
- Do you currently keep **or** have you kept chickens in Winnipeg?
- Are you willing to be interviewed for approximately 1.5-2 hours?

My name is Natalie Anne Carreiro, and I am a master's student at the University of Manitoba. Many scholars have ideas on why they think North Americans keep backyard chickens, but nearly no researchers have asked *actual backyard chicken keepers* what motivates them and why they keep their chickens.

The information gathered from this study will be used for my master's thesis. I hope to gain a better understanding of what motivates Winnipeggers to keep backyard chickens, and why it is important for them.

All personal and identifying information I collect will be kept confidential. I am unable to provide payment to participants, although by participating you will provide much needed insight in understanding this topic.

If you **or** someone you know is interested in participating or have any questions please contact me at (204) ###-#### or (email listed here).

Appendix E: Information and Consent Form



Department of Family Social Sciences

RESEARCH STUDY INFORMATION & CONSENT FORM

You are invited to participate in a research study conducted by Natalie Carreiro, graduate student in the department of Family Social Sciences, Faculty of Human Ecology at the University of Manitoba. **Thank-you for considering participating in this study.**

You are free and encouraged to ask any questions before your decision to participate in this research study. You may ask questions **any time before, during, or after the completion** of this study. You are free to end your participation in this study at **any time without consequence**. You may also refuse to answer **any questions** you don't want to answer and still remain in the study. There are no 'right' or 'wrong' answers.

STUDY DETAILS

Study title: Motivations for keeping illegal backyard chickens in the city of Winnipeg.

Interviewer: Natalie Carreiro (email listed here)

Supervisor: Dr. Wilder Robles (email listed here)

Human Ethic Coordinator: Margaret Bowman (email listed here)

Purpose: It is currently illegal to keep backyard chickens on most properties in the city of Winnipeg. It is only legal to keep backyard chickens on properties zoned as agricultural. The purpose of this study is to understand Winnipeggers motivations for keeping illegal backyard chickens. Specifically, I would like to learn about:

- a) What motivated you to take-up the practice of keeping illegal backyard chickens?
- b) If you knew BYC keeping was illegal prior to taking-up the practice?
- c) What motivates you to continue keeping illegal backyard chickens?

Compensation for participation: No formal/informal compensation is available as compensation for your involvement in this study. This includes and is not limited to payment, favours, social gain, legal support, special considerations and/or treatments.

Interview process: You will be asked to participate in one interview, with an expected length of 1.5-2 hours. If you consent, I will audiotape the interview so that I can accurately transcribe what you say, and to make sure I don't miss anything you say during the interview.

Confidentiality: Your anonymity is important to me. All efforts will be made to ensure confidentiality of any information you provide me with during this study. No information containing identifiers will be shared with third parties. Pseudonyms/random number assignment will be used to protect your confidentiality and privacy. I will not refer to you by name during the interview, to ensure your anonymity on the recording. All files and audiotapes will be stored in a locked and secure location, only known to me. I will keep all data for five years following the publication of this study as my master's thesis. After this time period, any data that includes identifying information will be destroyed. All anonymized data will be kept indefinitely.

Potential risks and discomforts: Even with the measures taken by the researcher to safeguard your information, there is still a chance that the researcher's files could be subpoenaed and used against you in the court of law. For this reason the researcher will make every attempt to remove all identifying information from all data as soon as possible. At present, individuals may be fined a maximum of \$400.00 for keeping backyard chickens on land not zoned as agricultural in the city of Winnipeg (Winnipeg's *Responsible Pet Ownership Bylaw*). Although harm is foreseen to be unlikely, due to the personal nature of interviews sensitive topics may arise and place you at risk of psychological discomfort and/or harm. For this reason and your convenience, a counselling information sheet has been included at the end of this consent form.

Potential benefits to participants and/or to society: A potential benefit may be the opportunity to share your motivations for keeping backyard chickens anonymously. Nearly no studies ask actual people why they keep illegal backyard chickens in North America. Your participation could contribute to a greater understanding of what motivates individuals to keep illegal backyard chickens, specifically in Winnipeg.

Use of data: I will use the data I gather from this interview to write my master's thesis. If accepted, there is also the possibility that my findings will be published within peer-reviewed journals and conferences.

PARTICIPATION AND WITHDRAWAL

You can choose whether to be in this study or not, without consequences of any kind. If you volunteer to be in this study, **you may withdraw at any time** without consequences of any kind. You may exercise the option of removing your data from the study. You may also choose not to answer any questions you don't want to answer and still remain in the study.

I have read all the information listed above. I confirm that the purpose of the research, study procedures, possible risks and discomforts as well as benefits have been explained to me. All my questions have been answered. By signing this form I express my willingness to participate in this study.

Print first name (do not include last name): _____

Middle name initial: _____ **Gender:** _____ **Age:** _____

Phone: (____) _____ **Email:** _____

Please circle 'Y' (yes) or 'N' (no):

Are you a Winnipeg resident? Y / N

Do you agree to be audio-taped? Y / N

Have you received a copy of the Information and Consent Form? Y / N

Have you received a copy of the Counselling Resources list? Y / N

Would you like me to email you a 1 page summary of my research findings? Y/N

Can I contact you in the future if I have questions about what you said today? Y/N

Signature: _____ **Date:** _____

Appendix F: Counselling Resources Handout

COUNSELLING RESOURCES IN WINNIPEG

The following agencies provide low cost or free counselling in Winnipeg. Please call for current drop-in times or to book an appointment:

- Aurora Counselling Centre: 204-786-9251
- Aulneau Renewal Centre: 204-987-7090
- Family Centre: 204-947-1401
- Fort Garry Women's Resource Centre: 204-477-1123
- Jewish Child and Family Counselling Services: 204-477-7430 (open to all faiths and cultural groups)
- Klinik Community Health Centre: 204-784-4059
- Ma Mawi wi Chi Itata Centre (Aboriginal): 204-925-0300
- Mount Carmel Clinic: 204-589-9419
- North End Women's Centre: 204-589-7374
- Pluri-elles (French Language): 204-233-1735

For immediate phone counselling, call the Klinik Crisis Line (open 24 Hrs) at (204) 786-8686 **or** TTY (204) 784-4097.

Appendix G: Background Questionnaire

Please Print:

First name: _____
(do not include last name)

Middle initial: _____

First 3 characters of your Postal code: ___ ___ ___

Gender: _____

How many people live in your household (including yourself)? _____

What are their ages? _____
(your age) _____

Please check 'Yes' or 'No':

- | | | |
|--|------------------------------|-----------------------------|
| Were you born Canada (Optional)? | <input type="checkbox"/> Yes | <input type="checkbox"/> No |
| Do you identify as First Nations, Métis or Inuit? | <input type="checkbox"/> Yes | <input type="checkbox"/> No |
| Do you identify as a visual minority? | <input type="checkbox"/> Yes | <input type="checkbox"/> No |
| Do you identify as someone living with a disability? | <input type="checkbox"/> Yes | <input type="checkbox"/> No |
| Do you currently keep illegal BYC in Winnipeg? | <input type="checkbox"/> Yes | <input type="checkbox"/> No |
| How did you find out about this study? | | |

Thank-you for completing this questionnaire!

Appendix H: Semi-Structured Interview Guide

Introduction:

The purpose of this research study is to understand why Winnipeg citizens are motivated to keep illegal BYC? You have the choice to participate in this study. You are free to stop participating in this study at any time, without needing to give explanation. There are no right or wrong answers. You can choose not to answer any question without consequence. If you want to skip a question, just say “skip”. I would like to use an audio recorder to make sure I don’t miss anything you say. Do I have your permission to tape record your interview? I am going to use a participant ID code, instead of your name to maintain anonymity on the audio recording. Have you had enough time to look over the information and consent form? Do you have any questions? If you do have any (other) questions, you can ask me at any time. You can also email me. My email is listed on the information form that you now have a copy of. As mentioned in the consent form, this interview will take about 1.5 - 2 hours. If you need a break at any time, just let me know. Do you have a cell phone? Would you turn it to vibrate during the interview? Does everything sound okay to you to begin?

Probes:

- How so?
- Can you tell me more about that?
- Can you explain what you mean by _____?
- Could you elaborate more on the part where you said _____?
- What about _____? Can you say more about _____?
- Anything else you’d like to add?
- Do you have anything else you’d like to say before we move to the next question?
- There are no right or wrong answers

Clarification:

- Whatever comes to mind
- There are no right or wrong answers

Interview Questions:

1. When did you start keeping illegal BYC in Winnipeg?
 - a. Can you tell me a little about your flock (establish rapport)
2. What motivated you to begin keeping illegal BYC in Winnipeg?
3. Do you continue to keep illegal BYC in Winnipeg? Why? Why not?
4. How long have you kept/did you keep illegal BYC in Winnipeg?
5. Is BYC keeping important to you? Your family/household members? Why? How? Why not?

6. Did you know BYC keeping was illegal/not permitted to you before you took-up the practice?
 - a. When & how did you find out it was illegal/not permitted to you?
 - b. Do you think it is just or fair that BYC keeping is illegal/not permitted to Winnipeggers who don't live on land zoned as agricultural?
7. Do any of your motivations for keeping illegal BYC stem from political motivations?
*Political is used in the broad sense of the word, as having to do with power relationships, not the narrow sense of electoral politics (Hanisch, 2006)
8. How do/did your personal motivations to keep illegal BYC connect with your political motivations, if at all?
9. Do you consider yourself a part of the political movement to legalize BYC in Winnipeg?
10. Did you have any concerns about to keeping illegal BYC before you started?
(what were they?)
 - a. Do these things still concern you?
 - b. Do you have any other concerns about keeping illegal BYC now, which you didn't have before you started keeping BYC?
11. Are/were your BYC keeping practices affected because BYC keeping is illegal in Winnipeg?
12. Would you do anything differently if BYC keeping were legalized in Winnipeg?
13. Are you in favour of a Bylaw change in Winnipeg to allow/legalize BYC? Why? Why not?
 - a. What do you think a suitable bylaw should cover? (Not exhaustive list, just some key points that pop into mind)
 - b. Do you have any reservations about a bylaw change to allow/legalize BYC keeping in Winnipeg?
14. What were/are your main satisfactions from keeping BYC? (Expected? Unexpected?)
15. Any other motivators for keeping BYC before we close?
16. Any other points you'd like to talk about? Think are important to include/discuss? (If no, read debriefing script)

Appendix I: Participant Contact Scripts

1) Phone, Word of Mouth, Recruitment and Referral script:

Hello, I'm Natalie and I am a graduate student at the University of Manitoba. I'm doing a study that looks at why people keep backyard chickens in Winnipeg. Would you or anyone you know be interested in participating in this study? You don't need decide now, but I can give you a copy of the information and consent form with all the details. You can read it over and contact me with any questions you might have. If you decide you are interested you can use the same contact information to let me know. You can also pass this info on to anyone you know who you think might be interested in participating in this study. Thank-you for your consideration.

2) Online Recruitment Script:

Hello Everyone! My name is Natalie Carreiro. I am a graduate student at the University of Manitoba doing a research study for my thesis that looks at why people keep backyard chickens in Winnipeg. I am looking for participants to be interviewed. Unpaid interviews would be 1.5 - 2 hours long. You qualify for this study if you:

- Are you 18 years or older;
- Live in Winnipeg;
- Currently keep or have kept chickens in Winnipeg

Many scholars have ideas on why they think North Americans keep backyard chickens, but nearly no researchers have asked *actual backyard chicken keepers* what motivates them and why they keep their chickens.

The information gathered from this study will be used for my master's thesis. I hope to gain a better understanding of what motivates Winnipeggers to keep backyard chickens, and why it is important for them. All personal and identifying information I collect will be kept confidential. I am unable to provide payment to participants, although by participating you will provide much needed insight in understanding this topic.

IMPORTANT: To protect your anonymity, please do not reply to this message. Instead please private message (PM) me, call me at (204) ###-####, or email me at (email listed here). Please do not hesitate to contact me if you have any questions. You will NOT be obliged to take part in this study, even if you ask for more information. If someone you know is interested in participating in this study, feel free to share this information with them. Thank-you for taking the time to read this post and for your consideration.

3) Debriefing script:

That's all the questions I have. Do you have anything else to say before we end the interview? Thank-you so much for your time. Do you have any questions for me before we close? If you have any questions about this study, you can contact me at any time. You can also contact my supervisor if you have any concerns about this study. Here is a resource list for you to keep, just

in case you experience any trauma as a result of participating in this study. The agencies listed here can be called regarding issues not related to this interview as well. I will contact you once I am done all the interviews to check and make sure I understood what you said today accurately. Again, thank you so much for your time.

4) Member checking:

Participant phone contact script:

Hello (participant name). I am contacting you today to check my understanding of what you said on (date) during the BYC interview. If you have time right now we can discuss this, or we can arrange an alternate time. What do you prefer? *(Note: If participant does not have time to discuss, I will schedule a time that works better, and then contact them using this same script again. If participant does have time, will go over my data. Following this, I will ending the conversation)* Okay, that is all I wanted to ask you. Thank-you for your time. Do you have any questions before we end today? *(answer all questions to best of ability)*. I will send you an email with the summary of my findings when they are completed *(give approximate date)*. Was this still your email address *(recite email)*? Thanks again for your time.

Participant online contact script:

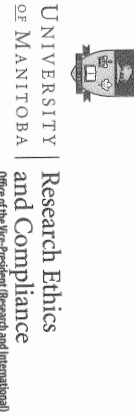
Hello (participant name), I am contacting you today to see if we can meet or schedule a phone conversation so that I can check my understanding of what you said during the BYC interview we did a while back. Could you let me know if you'd be open to this and if so, when would work for you? It should not take long, maybe about 30 mins max. I would tell you about the things (themes) I heard you talk about in the interview, as well as show you some quotes I'm thinking of using in my thesis. Then I'd ask you for your thoughts on these and if you think I understood you correctly. I'm hoping to connect with everyone who participated within the next week or so. Feel free to email or call (204-###-####) with your reply. Thanks for your time.

5) Email with summary of research findings script:

Hello (participant name). I am contacting you today as you had indicated on your signed information and consent form that you would be interested in receiving a one page summary of my research findings, when available. I am happy to say that my research is now completed and I have attached a PDF document containing a summary of my findings in this email. If you would like to read my thesis in full, please click on the link below. You will be taken to an online version of my thesis stored through the University of Manitoba at MSpace: **(MSpace link to be inserted here)**. As always, do not hesitate to contact me if you have any concerns or questions. Thank-you again for your participation in this study. Take care!

- Natalie Carreiro, BH Ecol., MSc (Candidate), (Phone number & email)

Appendix J: Ethics Approval and Amendment Approval



Human Ethics
208-194 Duke Road
Winnipeg, MB
Canada R3T 2N2
Phone +204-474-7122
Fax +204-269-7173

APPROVAL CERTIFICATE

November 26, 2013

TO: Natalie Carreiro
Principal Investigator
(Advisor W. Robles)

FROM: Susan Frohlick, Chair
Joint-Faculty Research Ethics Board (JFREB)

Re: Protocol #J2013:150
"Motivations for Keeping Illegal Backyard Chickens in the City of Winnipeg"

Please be advised that your above-referenced protocol has received human ethics approval by the Joint-Faculty Research Ethics Board, which is organized and operates according to the Tri-Council Policy Statement (2). This approval is valid for one year only.

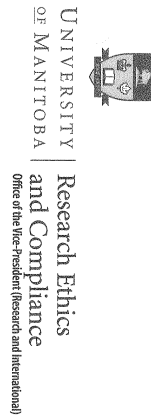
Any significant changes of the protocol and/or informed consent form should be reported to the Human Ethics Secretariat in advance of implementation of such changes.

Please note:

- If you have funds pending human ethics approval, please mail/e-mail/fax (264-0325) a copy of this Approval (identifying the related UIM Project Number) to the Research Grants Officer in ORS in order to initiate fund setup. (How to find your UIM Project Number: <http://umanitoba.ca/research/ors/lmrt-faq.htm#r0>)
- If you have received multi-year funding for this research, responsibility lies with you to apply for and obtain Renewal Approval at the expiry of the initial one-year approval otherwise the account will be locked.

The Research Quality Management Office may request to review research documentation from this project to demonstrate compliance with this approved protocol and the University of Manitoba *Ethics of Research Involving Humans*.

The Research Ethics Board requests a final report for your study (available at: http://umanitoba.ca/research/orec/ethics/human_ethics_REB_forms_guidelines.html) in order to be in compliance with Tri-Council Guidelines.



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AMENDMENT APPROVAL

December 12, 2013

TO: Natalie Carreiro
Principal Investigator

FROM: Kelley Main, Acting Chair
Joint-Faculty Research Ethics Board (JFREB)

Re: Protocol #J2013:150
"Motivations for Keeping Illegal Backyard Chickens in the City of Winnipeg"

This will acknowledge your request dated December 10, 2013, requesting amendment to your above-noted protocol.

Approval is given for this amendment. Any further changes to the protocol must be reported to the Human Ethics Secretariat in advance of implementation.