Analysis of Newspaper Coverage of Food Security through a Disability Studies Lens

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Abstract

Food security is an issue of global concern recognized by numerous international and national agencies. It has been mentioned over twenty times in the Rio+20 outcome document *The Future We Want*. It is recognized as an essential human security by the World Health Organization Commission for Human Security and as a social determinant of health. Food security agendas are enacted in many places locally to globally. Media are to inform the public on issues of importance for the public. Disabled people are part of the public and disabled people are one group experiencing over proportional levels of food insecurity. We investigated the food security coverage of various newspapers through a disability studies lens. To obtain quantitative data on the visibility of disabled people and other groups in the food security discourse the following newspapers were investigated: *The Globe and Mail* (Canada), *National Post* (Canada), *Calgary Herald* (Canada), *New York Times* (USA), *The Guardian* (UK), *The Times* (UK), and the *Canadian Newsstand complete*, a collection of 300 Canadian newspapers. Quantitative and qualitative data on what food security issues were reported was obtained from The Globe and Mail (Canada), *Calgary Herald* (Canada) and the *New York Times* (USA). We discuss how issues reported around food security are influenced by disabled people and how they could impact disabled people. We found very little to no mentioning of disabled people within food security coverage. Our data also reveals the absence of coverage of other socially disadvantaged groups such as indigenous people and immigrants and a lack of a human rights or ethics angle. We posit that many of the food security problems mentioned are of relevance to and experienced by disabled people and other socially disadvantaged groups such as indigenous people and immigrants however the reader won't make the linkage by reading the newspapers we investigated. We conclude that the utility of the newspapers covered in advancing food security for disabled people and other socially disadvantaged groups is very low.

Keywords: content analysis; newspapers; public perception, food security, disabled people, people with disabilities

1. Introduction

1.1 The Issue of Food Security

The World Health Organization webpage uses the food security definition of the 1996 World Food Summit stating that food security exists "when all people at all times have access to sufficient, safe, nutritious food to maintain a healthy and active life" (World Health Organization, 2014). However many definitions exist for the concept of food security (Food and Agricultural Organization of the United Nations, 2003) Food security is a social determinant of health (Public Health Agency of Canada, 2005; Raphael, Curry-Stevens, & Bryant, 2008). Food insecurity is, according to the Canadian Report *Household Food Insecurity in Canada 2011 a* "significant social and public health problem in Canada. In 2011, 1.6 million Canadian households, or slightly more than 12%, experienced some level of food insecurity. This amounts to nearly one in eight households, and 3.9 million individuals in Canada, including 1.1 million children. There were 450,000 more Canadians living in households affected by food insecurity in 2011 than in 2008" (Tarasuk, Mitchell, & Dachner, 2013). The same report highlighted that 66% of households on social assistance; 37% on employment insurance or workers' compensation; 35% of female lone parent; 33% of low income; 27% of Aboriginal People and 25% of people

who rent instead of owning a home experience food insecurity (Tarasuk et al., 2013). According to the Canadian Report *Household Food Insecurity in Canada 2012* "4 million individuals in Canada, including 1.15 million children, experienced some level of food insecurity. This represents nearly 13% of Canadian households" (Tarasuk, Mitchell, & Dachner, 2014). The 2012 report states that 70% on social assistance, 38.4% on employment insurance or workers' compensation. 34.3% of female lone parent; 29% of low income; 27.8% of being black 28.2% of Aboriginal People and 26.1% of people who rent instead of owning a home experience food insecurity (Tarasuk et al., 2014). Huang, Guo, & Kim reported for the US that 11.1% of households (13 million households) were food insecure in 2007 a number steady since 1998 (J. Huang, Guo, & Kim, 2010). Using the following definitions for food security (High food security: no reported indications of food-access problems or limitations; Marginal food security: one or two reported indications--typically of anxiety over food sufficiency or shortage of food in the house. Little or no indication of changes in diets or food intake) and food insecurity (low food security: reports of reduced quality, variety, or desirability of diet. Little or no indication of reduced food intake; very low food security: reports of multiple indications of disrupted eating patterns and reduced food intake) the USDA gives the following numbers: 85.5 percent (103.9 million) of U.S. households were food secure throughout 2012 meaning these households had access, at all times, to enough food for an active, healthy life for all household members; 14.5 percent (17.6 million) of U.S. households were food insecure at some time during 2012 whereby 8.8 percent (10.7 million) of U.S. households had low food security in 2012 and 5.7 percent (7.0 million) of U.S. households had very low food security at some time during 2012 (United States Department of Agriculture (USDA), 2013).

1.2 Food Security and Sustainable Development

Food security is mentioned twenty times in the Rio+20 outcome document (United Nations Conference on Sustainable Development (Rio+20), 2012). Many sources see food security as being part of the sustainable development agenda (Ewing & Msangi, 2009; Kickbusch, 2010; Martin & Rice, 2013; Morgan & Sonnino, 2008; Pinter et al., 2013)(De Schutter, 2013). Griggs et al., see sustainable food security to be an essential goal for sustainable development (Griggs et al., 2013). Griggs et al., outline six sustainable development goals for 2030 whereby goal 2 is "sustainable food security. End hunger and achieve long-term food security — including better nutrition — through sustainable systems of production, distribution and consumption" (Griggs et al., 2013). Garnett posits that three perspectives are emerging how to achieve sustainable food security (efficiency oriented, demand restraint and food system transformation) whereby each of the three approaches "reflect different conceptualisations on what is practically achievable, and what is desirable, underpinned by different values and ideologies about the role of technology, our relationship with nature and fundamentally what is meant by a 'good life'" (Garnett, 2013). The report *Health in the Post-2015 Development Agenda An analysis of the UN-led thematic consultations, High-Level Panel report and sustainable development debate in the context of health* highlights that the food security and nutrition thematic consultations linked eradicating malnutrition and food insecurity to "issues of poverty, health, water and sanitation, maternal and child care, environmental sustainability, climate change, resilience and equity"(Kickbusch & Brindley, 2013) and lists the following intervention strategies for responding to food security, hunger and malnutrition,

"1. Ensure sustainability in terms of food consumption and production

2. Increase the reliance of agriculture and food systems, especially against the effects of climate change

3. Emphasise rights-based approaches, including the right to food, and the right to sustainable tenure of land, forestry, fisheries and natural resources

4. Improve governance, focusing particularly on reducing inequality and assuring transparency and inclusion in legislative and other rule-making processes

5. Integrate social protection systems with food assistance to improve efficiency

6. Align food-based responses with public health interventions at all levels" (Kickbusch & Brindley, 2013).

In the report *Food Security, Inclusive Growth, Sustainability, and the Post-2015 Development Agenda* Food Security, five pillars of food security are outlined (Availability, Access, Utilization, Stability and Environmental sustainability) (Hanson, 2013).

The report *Renewing Innovation Systems in Agriculture and Food: How to Go Towards More Sustainability?* linked renewing innovation systems in agriculture and food to the goal of sustainability and outlines the following: the participation of all in building knowledge about food production in view of an overall; goal of food security for the community; social justice and equal employment and income opportunities, irrespective of sex or social group; sustainability of the development process for the benefit of present and future generations;

conservation and appreciation of the value of local resources and individuals, in their role as citizens, becoming masters of their own destinies (Coudel, Devautour, Soulard, Faure, & Hubert, 2012).

1.3 Media Analysis of Food Security

A variety of food security media analysis studies with different focus have been performed. One study looked at US newspaper coverage of food system contributions to climate change finding that "US newspaper coverage of food systems effects on climate change during the study period increased, but still did not reflect the increasingly solid evidence of the importance of these effects" (Neff, Chan, & Smith, 2009). One study looked at web-based social media with regard to the image of the agri-food sector in Germany (Boehm, Kayser, & Spiller, 2010). One study investigated the utility of media content analysis for identifying drought-related crises(Tänzler, Feil, Krömker, & Eierdanz, 2008), one performed a media analysis on volatile markets' dynamics and adaptive behaviour for the agri-food system (von Davier, Heyder, & Theuvsen, 2010), one focused on the coverage of genetically modified food in the US and British Media from 1993-2003 (Botelho, 2004) and one at food democracy and the construction of risk in the Canadian and U.K. Media (Chénier, 2009). No study exists that looked at how media covers disabled people and food security/insecurity.

1.4 Food Security and Disabled People

According to the UN Convention on the rights of persons with disabilities, "[p]ersons with disabilities include those who have long-term physical, mental, intellectual or sensory impairments which in interaction with various barriers may hinder their full and effective participation in society on an equal basis with others" (United Nations, 2007). The UN Convention on the rights of persons with disabilities, states in article 28: "States Parties recognize the right of persons with disabilities to an adequate standard of living for themselves and their families, including adequate food, clothing and housing, and to the continuous improvement of living conditions, and shall take appropriate steps to safeguard and promote the realization of this right without discrimination on the basis of disability" (United Nations, 2007). The lack of food security was mentioned numerous times by participants of a recent online consultation for a *disability inclusive development agenda towards 2015 & beyond* which was moderated by two leading international disability organizations and which gave voice to disabled people on numerous development issues (Wolbring, Mackay, Rybchinski, & Noga, 2013). Various sources reported on food insecurity experienced by disabled people (Hiranandani & Sonpal, 2010; D. L. Huang, Rosenberg, Simonovich, & Belza, 2012; M. Nord, 2008; Upreti, Bhattarai, & Wagle, 2013). At the same time many reports such as the Canadian Reports *Household Food Insecurity in Canada 2011* (Tarasuk et al., 2013) and *Household Food Insecurity in Canada 2012* (Tarasuk et al., 2014) give no concrete numbers of how many disabled people experience food insecurity although numbers for other social groups are mentioned. The lack of concrete numbers for disabled people might be due to lack of available data which in general is a recognized issue (World Health Organization, 2011) or simply a reflection of non-engagement with disabled people. Poverty is one cause of food insecurity (J. Huang et al., 2010; Tarasuk et al., 2013). Disabled people experience high level of poverty (Beresford, 1996; J. Huang et al., 2010; Rosano, Mancini, & Solipaca, 2009; Yeo & Moore, 2003). According to Huang et al the poverty rate in the USA for disabled people was 23.7% in 2003, in contrast to 7.7% for the so called non-disabled population (J. Huang et al., 2010). (Herman et al., 2014) reported an increased risk for obesity among people with disabilities associated with household food insecurity. (Riches, 1997) explored the relationship between hunger, food security and welfare policies in a number of First World societies and concluded that "[c]hallenges will need to be mounted at the local level concerning the inappropriateness of welfare reform and work will need to be undertaken with like- minded welfare advocacy groups such as those representing women, labour, people with disabilities and immigrant and indigenous people's organizations". (Ruysenaar, 2013) investigated the role of community gardens in South Africa envisioned to help people with disabilities "to secure food through their own production for consumption or sale". A 2009 working paper, *Disability, earnings, income and consumption* produced by the National Bureau of economic research (USA) found that "ten years after disability onset, a person with a chronic and severe disability on average experiences a 79 percent decline in earnings, a 35 percent decline in after-tax income, a 24 percent decline in food and housing consumption and a 22 percent decline in food consumption alone" (Meyer & Mok, 2009). The same study also found that "detailed consumption data further indicate that disability is associated with a decline in well-being" (Meyer & Mok, 2009) and that 24 percent of the chronic-severe group receive food stamps (Meyer & Mok, 2009). Food stamps are negatively linked with poverty and disability (Kaye, Lee, & Chen, 2013). (Kaye et al., 2013) found that people with disabilities face challenges with mobility and transportation related to food stamps stating, "it is difficult for them to get to the FS office for a face-to-face interview, have fingerprints taken, and gather the documents needed at different locations". The issue of transportation as a barrier is highlighted also by others (D. L. Huang et al., 2012). Very few articles cover

disabled people within the nexus of food security and sustainable development (e.g., Dubois, 2003). When we searched Google Scholar for the phrase combination of "sustainable food security" and "disabled people" it only led to one relevant article (Erba, 2012). Searching Google Scholar for the phrase combination of "sustainable food security" and "people with disabilities" led only to two relevant articles (Devereux, 2012; Singh, Govender, & Reddy, 2005). As to disabled people the report *Gender equality and food security: Women's empowerment as a tool against hunger* published by the Asian Development Bank suggests that "institutionalized child-care could be established under the responsibility of women who are labor-constrained because of age or disability" in order to provide some minimum income to increase some aspect of food security (De Schutter, 2013). However it also treats disability with the meaning of disease stating that "some 30% of households in the developing world are still not consumers of iodized salt, and children born to highly iodine-deficient mothers are likely to experience learning disabilities or cretinism" (De Schutter, 2013).

1.5 Analysis of Media Coverage of Food Security and Disabled People

As to an analysis of how media report on food security and disabled people not much can be found. One study mentioned the role of the media in decreasing barriers to participation in the U.S. Supplemental Nutrition Assistance Program (SNAP) for hard to reach people such as people with disabilities (Gorman, Smith, Cimini, Halloran, & Lubiner, 2013). They stated, "[f]or the SNAP Outreach Project, media messaging has two main goals: (a) to connect with the general public to increase overall awareness about SNAP and present the program in a positive light and (b) to connect with those most in need—the hard-to-reach, yet potentially eligible, populations" (Gorman et al., 2013). Interestingly the study talked about radio and TV messages but newspapers are not mentioned once.

Using a disability studies lens which "refers generally to the examination of disability as a social, cultural, and political phenomenon in contrast to clinical, medical, or therapeutic perspectives on disability"(Center on Human Policy Law and Disability Studies Syracuse University, 2013) we answered two research questions. Are disabled people mentioned in the food security coverage of newspapers? What themes are evident in the food security coverage and are the themes covered of relevance to disabled people? To obtain quantitative data for research question 1 the following newspapers were investigated: The Globe and Mail (Canada), *National Post* (Canada), *Calgary Herald* (Canada), *New York Times* (USA), *The Guardian* (UK), *The Times* (UK) and the *Canadian Newsstand complete*, a collection of 300 Canadian newspapers. To obtain quantitative and qualitative data on research question 2 we limited ourselves to three newspapers *The Globe and Mail* a Canadian newspaper of national reach, the *Calgary Herald* a Canadian newspaper of local reach, and the *New York Times* a US newspaper of national reach. We discuss which issues reported around food security are impacting disabled people and we discuss the way forward related to media engagement.

2. Method

2.1 Data Source and Sampling

To obtain quantitative data on the frequency of mentioning of disabled people and other social groups in the articles mentioning food security and food insecurity the following newspapers were investigated: *The Globe and Mail* (Canada), *National Post* (Canada), *Calgary Herald* (Canada), *New York Times* (USA), *The Guardian* (UK), *The Times* (UK), and the *Canadian Newsstand complete*, a collection of 300 Canadian newspapers. We accessed *The Guardian* (UK) and *The Times* (UK), through their webpage to search for the keyword combinations outlined in Table 1. We accessed the Globe and Mail (Canada), *National Post* (Canada), *Calgary Herald* (Canada), *New York Times* (USA), and the *Canadian Newsstand complete*, a collection of 300 Canadian newspapers through Proquest databases which in turn we accessed through the University of Calgary. *The Globe and Mail* (Canada), *National Post* (Canada), *Calgary Herald* (Canada), *New York Times* (USA), and the *Canadian Newsstand complete*, a collection of 300 Canadian newspapers were searched between 1980 and 2013. *The Times* (UK) was searched from 1995-2013. *The Guardian* (UK) was searched whereby it is not clear how far back the research results went (see footnote in Table 1).

To obtain quantitative and qualitative data on what food security issues are reported on we limited ourselves to three newspapers *The Globe and Mail a* Canadian newspaper of national reach, the *Calgary Herald* a Canadian newspaper of local reach, and the *New York Times* a US newspaper of national reach. Each of the newspapers also has different ownership. Articles from these newspapers were collected using University of Calgary Proquest online databases. We used the phrase "food security" as the search term. We chose "food security" as it gave many more hits than "food insecurity".

Articles identified were downloaded on July 1st, 2013 as PDF through the Proquest database and imported into ATLAS.ti[©], a qualitative data analysis software which allows the researcher to analyze imported sources of data

that can consists of PDF, Word, html, audio and video files.

All articles in the three newspapers *The Globe and Mail*, the *Calgary Herald* and the *New York Times* that mention the phrase "disabled people" or "people with disabilities" in their articles that contained the phrase "food security" or "food insecurity" were identified and also downloaded as described before.

2.2 Data Analysis

After we imported all our newspaper files as PDF's, we performed hermeneutical keyword coding. We focused on coding a) the mentioning of the phrase "disabled people" and "people with disabilities" and the mentioning of every other social groups and b) themes linked to the topic of food security. We employed two different coding strategies: a deductive strategy where we used the autocoding function of Atlas.ti that allows one to search all documents in one go for a given word or phrase. We used the auto-coding function to search for words that reflect certain social groups "people with disabilities', "disabled people", "indigenous people", "First Nations", "Inuit", "aboriginal people", "immigrant", "women" and "children" .

However the auto-coding was not meant to identify all social groups and was not meant to identify the themes of food security evident in the articles. To generate a full list of social groups mentioned in the articles and to identify all food security themes in the articles we employed an inductive and iterative coding strategy, in which articles were read and when a theme was identified we used the free coding option to generate a phrase that represents the theme and added this phrase to the coding list. Once the coding was finished we used Atlas-ti to 1) generate the frequency of certain themes present in the different newspapers (quantitative data) and 2) retrieve quotes from the newspapers for a deeper analysis (qualitative analysis). Both authors performed the coding to increase reliability, and differences were resolved during our discussions.

2.3 Limitations

We only focused on three newspapers for the qualitative content analysis of themes linked to food security, two in Canada and one from the USA. We also focused on English language newspapers not covering French language newspapers such as the ones in the Canadian Province of Quebec. This does not allow for a generalizable conclusion on which food security issues are reported in Canada or the USA or outside these two countries. As to the quantitative data of visibility of social groups in the food security coverage we provide data on some newspapers n=2 UK, n=1 USA and n=300 Canada. However no conclusion can be drawn as to the visibilities of who is mentioned within newspaper food security coverage of other regions of the world. Also we cannot generalize results for the US or the UK given the limited sample or even Canada due to focusing on English language newspapers (although the sample is much larger). However, for the newspapers we covered (especially for Canada) the results give some insight we posit to be useful. Furthermore nowadays comments from readers often happen through the webpage of the newspapers. These comments evident on the newspaper's webpage are not present in the articles downloaded from the Proquest database. This means our study was not equipped to look at the public sentiment toward various articles based on web-based comments. This might be a possible future research angle, along with looking at French language media content.

3. Results

3.1 Quantitative Data of Mentioning of Social Groups in Media Articles Containing the Phrase "Food Security" or "Food Insecurity"

Table 1. Mentioning of social groups in media articles containing the phrase "food security" or "food insecurity"

	Canadian Newsstand complete (n=300 newspapers) 1980-2013	The Globe and Mail 1980-2013	National Post 1980-2013	Calgary Herald 1980-2013	New York Times 1980-2013	The Guardian (The UK) Not defined-2013[*]	The Times (UK) 1995-2013
Food security	**10315**	**376**	**186**	**184**	**313**	**11300**	**281**
Food security and "Aboriginal people"	60	1	0	1	0	3	0
Food security and "Children"	2815	87	40	37	66	3480	56
Food security and "disabled people"	13	0	0	1	0	81	2
Food security and "people with disabilities"	59	1	0	1	0	29	0
Food security and "Farmer/s"	3687	164	72	71	174	4920	120
Food security and "First nations"	168	1	3	1	0	5	0
Food security and "Immigrants"	238	6	3	2	7	576	17
Food security and "Indigenous people"	23	2	0	2	2	204	0
Food security and "the poor"	413	35	14	9	28	815	22
Food security and "Women"	1403	40	19	24	45	2830	30
Food insecurity	**1052**	**34**	**38**	**128**	**63**	**926**	**35**
Food insecurity and "Aboriginal people"	27	0		2	0	0	0
Food insecurity and "Children"	465	14	0	15	31	499	13
Food insecurity and "disabled people"	0	0	0	0	0	25	0
Food insecurity and "people with disabilities"	13	1	0	0	0	9	0
Food insecurity and "Farmer/s"	213	12	12	6	17	589	14
Food insecurity and "First Nation"	6	0	1	0	0	0	0
Food insecurity and "Immigrants"	15	0	0	1	5	85	3
Food insecurity and "Indigenous people"	9	1	0	1	1	29	0

Food insecurity and "the poor"	79	6	4	0	7	151	3
Food insecurity and "Women"	204	6	10	5	13	435	4

* The Guardian (UK) gives only ten pages of hits although it provides a larger numeric number of hits. It does not tell the reader how far back articles are searched. However using "food security" and "disabled people" the 10 pages of articles went back till 2005.

As to disabled people we also tried to search the content of some non-Western countries based English language newspapers such as the Star (Malaysia), the Times of India (India) and China Daily (China). However all search engines had a problem with searching two sets of phrases such as "food security" and "disabled people" or "food security" and "people with disabilities". As for the Star (Malaysia) we read the n=79 hits for the phrase "food security" we obtained for the last two years (the time frame one could search) and found that none of the articles covering disabled people. The China Daily did not allow for phrase combinations but it allowed one to start searching for the word "food" which gave 102492 hits, then search within these documents for the word "security" which led to 13586 hits and then search within these documents for the word disability which led to 42 hits. However given that the words were all individually present in the article none were relevant as they did not cover food security linked to disabled people. The Times of India did not allow us to search in such a way that the numbers where small enough to look at the article. At least the Malaysian Star and the China Daily results indicate that disabled people are as invisible as table 1 highlights for other newspapers. However we did not add them in the table as the search procedure was different.

3.1.1 Discussion

Media are seen to enable social participation (D. P. Nord, 1988), to help setting the discussion agenda for society and are to create the boundaries within which debates takes place (Wallack, 1990). Our data (Table 1) reveals that the newspapers we investigated created boundaries around the food security debate that excludes disabled people. Given that disabled people are at higher risk of experiencing food insecurity than non-disabled people (Hiranandani & Sonpal, 2010; D. L. Huang et al., 2012; M. Nord, 2008; Upreti et al., 2013), that many of the determinants of food insecurity are experienced by disabled people to a heightened extend (Beresford, 1996; Meyer & Mok, 2009; Rosano et al., 2009; Yeo & Moore, 2003) and that disabled people are seen to experience numerous unique barriers in obtaining food security (D. L. Huang et al., 2012; Kaye et al., 2013), we argue that this is a problematic oversight. Interestingly, an article published in March 2013 in the newspaper *The Guardian* with the title *Put disability on the food security agenda*, states, "[d]isability is under-represented in food security policy and practice, but the development community can take steps to address it" (Edge, 2013) and "[t]o a great extent, disability in development remains stuck in the 'special needs' section of targeted projects on health, education and welfare" (Edge, 2013). These thoughts are mirrored in statements made in a recent *online consultation for a disability inclusive development agenda towards 2015 & beyond* such as "[f]urther, 80% of persons with disabilities worldwide live in developing countries with acute poverty conditions and very limited access to basic needs including food, clean drinking water, clothing, accessible housing, medical care, education, employment, transportation and other crucial social services and facilities for their survivorship and development. These situations lead them to be the poorest of the poor and live with limited access to social services and economic opportunities. This greatly causes poor quality of their lives, economic hardship, social exclusion and a feeling of despair. Our lived experiences several studies and surveys have indicated that many development programmes for poverty eradication at national, regional and international levels have lacked disability inclusion. This has regulated to non-integrative process of persons with disabilities into social and economic development agenda" (Participants of the UN Department of Economic and Social Affairs (UNDESA) and UNICEF organized Online Consultation - 8 March - 5 April Disability inclusive development agenda towards 2015 & beyond, 2013).

In the recent *online consultation for a disability inclusive development agenda towards 2015 & beyond* one respondent stated, "[i]n a time of insecurity for food, water, jobs, and public monies the general social preference toward 'us and people like us/versus '/others'/becomes more intense. There are more people without visible disability and therefore the'/without' disability//group'/has a louder voice in the social struggle for resources"(Participants of the UN Department of Economic and Social Affairs (UNDESA) and UNICEF organized Online Consultation - 8 March - 5 April Disability inclusive development agenda towards 2015 & beyond, 2013).

Table 1 highlights that lack of being mentioned is not only a problem for disabled people. Other socially disadvantaged groups such as immigrants and indigenous people were also rarely mentioned in the newspapers we investigated and therefore these newspapers are just as problematic to them. Many of the reasons outline above for including disabled people such as the argument of culture of access also hold true for other socially disadvantaged groups.

It is well known that newspapers are influenced by their environment including ownership, funding, need for circulation, advertisement revenue and the readers preference for reading like-minded news (Abbring & Van Ours, 1994; Allport & Faden, 1940; Anderson, 2009; Bulkow, Urban, & Schweiger, 2013; Carragee & Roefs, 2004; Gentzkow & Shapiro, 2010; George, 2007; Gilens & Hertzman, 2000; Illia, Lurati, & Casalaz, 2013; McCauley, Blake, Meissner, & Viswanath, 2013; Price, 2003; Reddaway, 1963; Reese, 2001; Roberts & McCombs, 1994; Schudson, 2002; Shoemaker, Vos, & Reese, 2009; Sill, Metzgar, & Rouse, 2013; Weaver & Elliott, 1985; White, 2013; Winseck, 2002).

This might account for how a topic like food security/insecurity is covered and the invisibility of socially disadvantaged groups. Especially the readers preference for reading like-minded news (Arceneaux, 2011; Gentzkow & Shapiro, 2010; Stroud & Muddiman, 2013) is very problematic from a disability studies perspective as the main societal sentiment is to look at disabled people through a medical lens and as such many topics such as food security/insecurity are not linked to the social reality of disabled people. Given the prevalent medical model understanding of disabled people we posit that it's likely that newspaper owners, newspaper advertisers and many journalists have the same bias and as such would not find anything missing disabled people wise in the food security coverage of newspapers. If the dynamic of readers preferring to reading like-minded news (Arceneaux, 2011; Gentzkow & Shapiro, 2010; Stroud & Muddiman, 2013) is really that prevalent then this might also account for the low coverage of other socially disadvantaged groups such as indigenous people in the Canadian newspapers covered.

Question is what can be done besides demanding more visibility in newspapers? Given the literature that outlines who and what is influencing reporting it seems that in the end what is needed is a change in perception of disabled people away from the medical focus to the social focus. If readers, advertisers, owners and journalists would really buy into that angle that would very likely decrease the invisibility of disabled people. However that is a process that takes place outside the newspapers. We do not see newspapers to take the lead in moving their readers and advertisers to this sentiment. *The Guardian* article with the title *Put disability on the food security agenda* concluded, "[f]ood security for all: The food security agenda post-2015 should be about equity, human rights, sustainable and inclusive development and sustainable and inclusive growth. Beneficiaries should be included in the design, implementation and monitoring of programmes, which make programmes more likely to succeed. Ask yourself, are disabled people involved in all stages of the project cycle in your organisation – project identification, project design, implementation and monitoring, and project evaluation?" (Edge, 2013). Disabled people ask for a long time to be involved by people who work on topics that impact disabled people. However in order for the public to gain the knowledge of what has to be done, it seems that newspapers are not the source. Maybe social media is a way to go. This approach however depends on people spreading the word on social media already thinking about including disabled people and knowing how to include them and that enough disabled people have the capacity (time and energy wise) to contribute to such networks, which is often difficult given the daily struggle they have (Wolbring et al., 2013). Another issue that one would have to address is that disabled people need to have access to the information to know what they can contribute to the discussion which means the information on the topic has to be provided in ways that is accessible to disabled people which is often not the case. The social media approach also is problematic for disabled people who are not linked to social media or the internet in general. Even if more articles like *The Guardian* article *Put disability on the food security agenda* (Edge, 2013) would exist that say exactly what has to happen and what the problem is they can only raise the visibility of the issue, they cannot fix it, that has to come from other players from NGO's to policy makers, government, academia, public at large and business.

3.2 Food Security Issues Mentioned in the Globe and Mail, the Calgary Herald and the New York Times (Table 2-14)

One other important issue from a disability studies perspective is what issues are covered around food security. We present in section 3.2. food security issues mentioned in *The Globe and Mail*, the *Calgary Herald* and the *New York Times* (Tables 2-14).

Table 2. Food security issues mentioned in *The Globe and Mail* 2010-2013

Theme evident	Frequency count, n=
Ensuring Food security within Canada is a priority	15
Ensuring Global food security is an issue and priority	15
Urban Food Gardens-raise awareness of food security	8
Lack of food security brings attention to global climate change	5
Supporting farmers for food security	3
Economic relationship to food security	3
CIDA themes	3
Mandatory home economics in education system as a first step to target children (obesity prevention)	2
Locally sourced foods	2
Food Security models	2
G8 Summit	2
Over population and food security	2
Bee colonies and food security	2
Foreign Aid addressing Food Security in Africa/poor countries	2
Beef Industry	1
Higher prices can bring income to needy families and let them contribute to Food security	1
Listeria scare and high oil prices have created a disagreement over land use	1
Global Agriculture and Food Security Program	1
Scaling back on food subsidies	1
Oomycetes (fungi) destroying crops	1
GM foods and cloned livestock	1
Agriculture and food security	1
Free the children	1
Food security awareness	1
XL foods in Canada	1
Technology as a solution to food security	1
Camp David Summit	1
Soil microbiology and food security	1
Food waste from restaurants	1
Changing consumer behavior	1
Food security needs in China	1
Quinoa	1
Tracking contaminated food in Canada	1

Table 3. Food security issues mentioned in *The Globe and Mail* 2000-2009

Theme evident	Frequency count
Food security is an important issue and priority globally	16
Agriculture important for food security	10
Biofuels	7
Helping/supporting farmers contributes to a country's economic growth and food security	4
Food Security key issue for Canadian International Development Agency	3
G8 summit	3
Rich countries seeking food security by acquiring land in Africa/Asia/Developing countries	3
People should seek out local sources to ensure food security	3
Canada established food security as a priority but has been conspicuously moving away from Africa	2
Importance of the potato to food security	2
Food Security is a central development challenge for the 21st century	2
Education about issues related to food security	2
Foreign Aid for Food Security	1
Ensuring local food security	1
Food security and obesity	1
Disappearance to farm land is a threat to food security	1
Subsistence farming in Africa doesn't enable food security	1
Western greed compromises food security in Africa	1
War in Eritrea takes away resources	1
600 million in foreign aid given largely to Global Agriculture and Food Security Program to assist female farmers	1
In Canada, farmers are not encouraged to produce an unwanted output (farmer support)	1
Nutritional awareness for urban aboriginal communities (includes issues around food security and diabetes)	1
Only solution to food security is to grow more food in more countries	1
Canada has established urban food security as a priority	1
Canadian relief agencies should buy more food internationally rather than domestically	1
Food Security exposes inefficiency of the global economic system	1
"Freeganism" may breed anxiety about food security	1
Issues with Indonesia's water system will constrain food security	1
Challenges of urban food security cannot be solved through "grow more" solutions	1
Threat to food security in India	1
HIV undermining families food security	1
Affordable housing, food security and public health all interconnected	1
Food security for seniors (Canada)	1
Having rural areas own supply of food (ex. Discussed Nelson and Kootenay)	1
Plumpy'nut in India	1
Economic crisis has created food security issues in developing countries	1
Global Food Security Initiative	1

Ability to purchase food is crucial for food security in an urban setting	1
Municipal level that constrains food security in developing world	1
High demand for omega 3 fatty acids squeezing fish-food supply	1
UN food and Agriculture Organization	1
Happiness product of food security (and other things)	1
Food Security and the environment	1
Improving food security in Afghanistan	1
Climate change and food security	1
A country's instability leads to problems with food security	1
Feed the Future	1

Table 4. Food security issues mentioned in *The Globe and Mail* 1990-1999

Theme evident	Frequency count, n=
Food Security must be recognized as a key issue	11
Japan banned commercial imports of rice for national food security	7
Foreign Aid for African Food Security	2
Patenting animals, plants and human genetic materials impacts food security	2
Food Security and Food Safety	2
Agriculture and Food Security	2
Dwindling grain stocks threaten global food security	2
Southern African Development Community's Food Security Technical and Administrative Unit	1
Food Security is a problem in Africa	1
Rice Markets in Japan	1
Agricultural policies in Sweden	1
Food security is not an issue in the West	1
Greater reliance on US agriculture due to a reduction in tariffs	1
Regulation of non-renewable resources (ex. Land) for the sake of national food security	1
Food security an issue raised by Japan	1
GATT regulations	1
High cost of housing and food threatens food security	1
Physicians lobbying against social security, food security, education etc. (social determinants)	1
Rio Summit	1
Food security vs. health security	1
Food security demands changes in the priorities of international finance	1
Will increasing the amount of food make any difference to the hungry	1
Food security is precarious	1
UN Food and Agriculture Organization will ensure seed exchanges continue	1
Allowances in trade rules	1
Green revolution technologies in Asia	1
Abundant prey provides food security (birds of prey)	1

FoodLink Program	1
RAFI (Global Network on Food Security)	1
Divisions in global agreement towards pesticides, subsidies and free trade	1
Increases Global population	1
Workers should be ensured food security	1
Infant food security	1
Food security in Pasbul	1
USA wants to end farm subsidies (except those for food security and income support)	1
Surrender to foreign pressure without food security (South Korea)	1
De Zeeuw Text	1
Food security comes from an open market and plenty of suppliers	1
Bring food security to India's farm belt	1

Table 5. Food security issues mentioned in *The Globe and Mail* 1980-1989

Theme evident	Frequency count, n=
Food Security Act of 1985	13
Food security is an issue	7
Food security in Japan	6
Food security resolution through policy	5
Increasing world food security	3
Issues in agriculture leading to lack of Food security	3
International trade and tariffs	3
Increasing world food security	3
Issues in agriculture leading to lack of Food security	3
International trade and tariffs	3
Japan's food security plan	3
Food security should be a cultural value	3
Food security must include peace	2
Foreign Aid focus	2
Drop in cereal stocks	2
Locust swarms threaten African food security	1
Agricultural policies	1
Agricultural technology	1
Food security more difficult than military security	1
GATT regulations	1
Food security mostly an issue of low income and poor distribution not inadequate supplies	1
Diminishing safety margins for global food security in 1988	1
Country's debt payments could feed the hungry	1
Food as a political weapon	1
SADCC	1
EEC (world wheat market)	1
Loss of plant genetic resources threatens food security globally	1
Low income countries lack protection of minimum food security stocks	1

Table 6. Food security issues mentioned in *The Globe and Mail*1978-1979

Theme evident	Frequency count, n=
Cereal stocks	2
Food Security is an Issue	1
New food security systems- New food aid convention and a network of nationally held but internationally co-coordinated reserve stalks	1
Reserve stocks	1
Grain agreement to improve world food security	1

Table 7. Food security issues mentioned in the *Calgary Herald* 2010-2013

Theme evident	Frequency count, n=
Food security is an issue and concern	14
Feed the Children and PotashCorp partner to provide food security to subsistence farmers	4
Climate impact on food security	3
Freeing children requires food security	2
G8 summit promises must be kept	2
Thousands die from hunger each day (Somalia)	2
Engage young people in the issue of food security	2
High risk if failure to deal with food security in Africa	1
G8 officials release "accountability" report	1
Foreign aid to Africa	1
Need for next generation farmers in Australia	1
Ability to store water for farmers during dry season is crucial	1
Teaching children about the issue of food security	1
UofC students tasked with the issue of urban food security	1
Secure food security in Asia through supply of potash	1
Unitarian church exploring food security	1
Culinary garden at SAIT	1
Food security is a heavy issue for children	1
Availability of grain, rising food prices and fertilizer supply are issues concerning food security	1
Eating local can increase food security	1
Food security is one of the core pillars of Free the Children's adopt a village development model	1
Food security is Harper government priority	1
KAIROS	1
Local solutions put a focus on food security	1
Food security definition	1
Landshare Canada	1
A Better World (volunteer organization)	1
Price of meat in Canada	1

Activists against seal hunts, Arctic fishing and polar bear hunting have a negative impact on food security	1
Canada should play a dominant role in global food issues	1
Calgary livestock bylaw is unconstitutional	1
Global demand driven by food security	1
Food security less of a concern to Canadians compared to obesity	1
Growing your own food	1
Food security also looks at sustainability, accessibility and quality	1
Economic problems raise concerns for food security	1
Drying seeds over winter	1
Northern Gateway pipeline threatens food security	1
Food security will suffer with complete reliance on local food	1
City lacks jurisdiction over household food security (ex. Backyard chickens)	1
Solving wheat's genetic code	1
Sustainable increase in crop yields to support food security	1
Water basins	1
Clinton's charity work in Ethiopia and Haiti involving food security	1
The Global Agriculture and Food Security Program	1
Food security interest from sovereign states	1
Marketplace interventions effective in lowering food prices	1
Saskatchewan as a major exporter of agricultural products is key to food security	1
Ensuring food security puts a high demand on water (China)	1
"Food security crises"	1
Bangladesh seeking grain purchase in India for food security purposes	1

Table 8. Food security issues mentioned in the *Calgary Herald* 2000-2009

Theme evident	Frequency count, n=
Canada's foreign aid for food security in Africa	8
Food security is an important issue	5
Maintaining food production based in Canada (local agriculture/community garderns)	4
Climate change threatens food security	3
GFSA	3
Food security is an important issue	3
Healthy agriculture is important to Albertan food security	2
Calgary food summit	2
Viable agriculture enhances food security	2
Drought threatens Zimbabwe's food security	2
The potato as a good option to improve food security (alternative to cereals)	2
G-8 Summit	2
Food security definition	2
Production of food part of food security "big picture"	2
Raising money for food security in Sierra Leone	1

Decline of Lesotho's food security	1
GM crops	1
Key to food security is helping farmers in poor countries increase yields	1
Supporting farmers is essential to have food security	1
Several north American cities have made food security a municipal issue	1
Food security issues are very politically charged debates in Europe	1
USA is seeking to erase specific targets for food security	1
Annual household food security report (USA)	1
Farming techniques to tackle food security (Scotland)	1
British need to find a way to produce more food with fewer resources	1
GMO corn/rice research (China)	1
UN's Food and Agriculture Organizations Food Security Summit	1
Sustainable food security will come from science and technological advances	1
Overconsumption by world's obese costs $20 billion annually	1
Thai rice cartel to fix rice price would worsen food security	1
Food Security in Alberta	1
Food security should be Jean Chretien's legacy not twinning the Trans Canada	1
Food security in the DPRK (North Korea) is worsening	1
Irrigation can support food security through drought	1
Bridging the borders towards food security conference	1
AIDS threatens food security	1
Chinese government facing concerns over food security	1
Barack Obama is making advances in food security	1
Issues with obtaining food security in eastern Chad for the people of the Kalma camp (Darfur)	1
Food security means seed security	1
Food security over food production	1
Maasai Food Security Project	1

Table 9. Food security issues mentioned in the *Calgary Herald* 1990-1999

Theme evident	Frequency count, n=
Importance of recognizing food security as an issue	7
Fluctuating cereal supplies	4
Defining food security	3
Food security results in delaying pregnancy and having fewer children	2
Food security is a basic human right	2
Food security as FAO international goal	2
Second world food summit	2
Oxfam-Canada	1
Building food security locally	1
Food security is the basis for getting a country's economy going	1
International gathering on food security to discuss feeding undernourished people	1
Food policies to ensure food security	1

Increasing food production does not solve food security	1
Mathematical measure of food security is misleading	1
Ineffectual action on food security	1
World marine fisheries	1
Crop yields of grain in Asia	1
Ban on rice imports (Japan)	1
Farmland being converted to crops destined for export (Calgary)	1
Food security in Japan	1
Farming should be adapted to each countries priorities	1
National food security plan	1
Japanese closed rice market	1
Food security unit (Zimbabwe)	1

Table 10. Food security issues mentioned in the *Calgary Herald* 1980-1989

Theme evident	Frequency count, n=
USA's distain with Japanese import policies	2
Drought in Southern Africa destroys food security	1
Industrialized countries should open up their markets to 3rd world countries	1
Food Security is an important issue globally	1

Table 11. Food security issues mentioned in the *New York Times* 2010-2013

Theme evident	Frequency count, n=
Food security is an important issue and concern	12
New Alliance for Food Security and Nutrition	3
Food security as a priority in Russia	3
Achieving food security in the face of climate change	3
L'Aquila Food security initiative	3
Food security in Africa	2
African peasant farmer using their own corn seeds vs. GMO seeds is better for food security	2
Local farming essential to food security	2
Food security in India	2
Food fraud in food producing countries	2
National food security bill	2
$22 billion promised from G8	2
Agricultural support better than food aid	2
Somalia's food security the worst in the world	2
Green revolution	1
Mimicking a volcano would interfere with monsoons in Africa and Asia-food security would be threatened	1
Bringing small scale irrigation to Africa	1
Working with farmers in Africa	1

United Nations food program in Rome	1
Food safety and food security	1
Progress in women's education increases food security (China)	1
Massive societal shift must occur for people to choose healthier foods (USA)	1
Foreign Aid from USA	1
Largest barriers to food security don't have anything to do with farming	1
Better farming technology to increase crop yield	1
Vertical farms	1
Rooftop agriculture	1
Defining low food security in the USA	1
Japan's food security	1
American tax dollars should be used to create sustainable food security nationally	1
Fertilizer subsidies in Malawi	1
Fisheries	1
Potatoes	1
Feed the Future program	1
Very low food security for 1 in 20 American households	1
Palm olive cultivation	1
Chinese food security	1
Disappearance of glaciers threat to food security	1
14.6% of American had very low food security in 2008	1
Rethinking the global food system is key to long term food security globally	1
Palestinians want their own food security, separate from Israel	1
Great potential for Brazil's food security	1
Impact on the ecosystem from the Xayaburi dam	1
Food security in Rwanda	1
Price of corn and American ethanol policy will lead to widespread inflation	1
American food security programs	1

Table 12. Food security issues mentioned in the *New York Times* 2000-2009

Theme evident	Frequency count, n=
Assessing USA's issues with food security	8
Protecting food from terrorism (USA)	6
Local farming key to food security	5
Food security is an important issue that must be ensured	5
Households with children exposed to high food insecurity rose in 2007	4
Using the term acute hunger vs. low food security (USA) and other terminology for affect	4
Food Security in Africa	2
Why should USA sacrifice their food security for poorer countries	2
Accessibility influences peoples food choices	2
Ending hunger in America through mandating school meals and summer feeding programs	2
Potatoes ensuring food security	2

Free trade to solve world food security crisis ignores a country's sovereignty	2
Toxic corn in Zambia	2
Richer nations buying land in Africa for food security	1
Decimated banana crops in East Africa due to disease	1
Hilary Clinton bolstering food security in Africa	1
European model for food security could be used in North Africa	1
Planting grains in East Africa due to climate turning dry	1
Biotechnology	1
War with Eritrea taking away resources	1
Europe's policies on food security should be urgently reviewed	1
Withdrawal of production support for small farmers has threatened food security (USA)	1
Family farms replaced with corporate farms worldwide	1
Paying big grain farmers to grow food (USA)	1
Food and seed patents	1
Working lands alliance- saving states farmland	1
Children's obesity issues	1
Food insecurity prevention	1
China and India free trade	1
Barred export of Indian goods	1
Agriculture industry must meet certain standards to maintain food security	1
International response to the global hunger crisis-increase food production through innovative agriculture	1
Current management of global food security doesn't work	1
Golf courses impact food security	1
Chinese use semi dwarf varieties to establish food security (grain)	1
USA should promote the growth of small farms and limit industrial agriculture to improve food security	1
Discussion of food security in Kuwait	1
Strong rural economy will lead to food security (USA)	1
Food security impact by big companies (ex. Walmart-Carbon footprint and Coca Cola- fresh water)	1
Biofuels	1
Rising food prices and climate in the Middle East leads to food insecurity	1
Concern for food security overriding China's previous commitment to free trade	1
Food security plight in Somalia	1
Rapid price swings dampen country's desire to stockpile rice	1
Japan's food security	1
Food security in Israel	1
One country's act to promote food security is another country's food insecurity	1
Ensuring grain is available to the poor at an affordable price	1
Bird flu	1
Competition and food security	1
Lack of plant diversity	1

Subsidies to protect food security-USA following European model	1
Chinese food security	1
No need to ensure food security in USA today	1
War in Sudan prevents food security	1
Food security in Afghanistan a critical national security goal	1
Food security is a basic human right	1
School voucher program to administer food benefits (Brazil)	1
Laissez-faire economic policy prevent the government from providing food security- India	1
World stockpiles of rice	1
Damage to crops, livestock and fisheries in Burma threatens food security	1
Ants burying seeds for food security	1

Table 13: Food security issues mentioned in the *New York Times* 1990-1999

Theme evident	Frequency count, n=
Japanese rice market	9
Food Security Act of 1985	4
African food security	2
Food security is a large, important issue	2
Overfishing	2
UN's FAO's Food Security Committee	2
42% of Somalis do not have enough food	1
Farmers turning to growing Marijuana at the expense of growing food (Malawi)	1
Subsidies, import barriers and export incentives meant to protect European small farmers	1
USA's agricultural production policy	1
Measuring food security study (USA)	1
Global seed exchange for important crops	1
USA government's investment in Plum island	1
Food security at risk in Russia	1
S.A.D.C has assigned Zimbabwe to have food security as an area of development	1
Clinton to deliver news of increased financing for food security	1
Putting food security ahead of agribusiness campaign (USA)	1
World food summit in Rome	1
The world has more food security than any other time in history	1
Genetic resources for agriculture	1
The national food security council (Brazil)	1
Food security in Somalia	1
Famine in Zimbabwe-rural poor most vulnerable	1
Global food security is important not just production	1
Food Security wheat reserve	1
Grants for indigenous NGO, community associations and church groups for increased food security (Africa)	1
Conversion of wetlands to agricultural land (USA)	1

World food security	1
Replacing the Food Security Act of 1985	1
There is no longer global food security	1
Increase production to ensure household food security	1

Table 14. Food security issues mentioned in the *New York Times* 1980-1989

Theme evident	Frequency count, n=
Food Security Act of 1985-lowering prices farmers receive (USA)	21
Food security is an issue and concern and it must be improved	9
Food security in Japan	5
Food Security Act of 1985 causing slaughter of dairy cows	3
Low levels of global cereal stocks	3
Food security wheat reserve	2
Food security issue made bigger than it is	2
UN's FAO year end report (1988) world is at a turning point between security and shortage	2
Food security impedes international agriculture trade	2
Increase food production in deficit countries to have world food security	2
Invading the desert in Egypt	2
Food Security in Africa	1
African women farmers	1
Drought in Zimbabwe	1
Explosion in chicken population in Upper Volta Africa gives food security	1
USA does not have a policy on world hunger and food security	1
Agricultural exports threatens family farm survival and national food security in USA	1
Irrigation supports food security	1
Bad harvest in grain producing countries will impact world food security	1
USA believes free market and the food production capability of USA and other export countries is enough to ensure global food security	1
Danger in creating too much food if focus is on food security	1
Food security almost as important as national military security	1
Americans say national security is ok but food security can be provided by the Americans	1
European more sensitive to food security than the Americans	1
Need to protect agriculture to preserve food security	1
USA ready to talk about improving international food security	1
Japan's rice market	1
Consumers back the "food security argument"	1
Food storage in Sudan to ensure Food Security	1
Food security arrangements in Africa	1
Food Security act of 1985 gave authority to oversee tests of gene altered organisms (USA)	1
Enactment of the Food Security Act of 1985	1
Reagan veto of farm relief	1
An agriculture industry that produces to make a profit is the key to food security	1

No nation can depend strictly on the USA for food security	1
European community has a system of assistance to agriculture to ensure food security	1
Carry over stocks for world food security	1
Lack of food security in Bangladesh	1
Donor countries should assist global food security through changes to national agriculture policies to increase production	1
Helping developing countries formulate "food sector strategies"	1
The World Food Council	1
Public must take a more active interest in food security (USA)	1
Rising energy costs consumers (USA)	1
Slowing of world food output reduces global food security	1

3.2.1 Discussion

If the issues highlighted within the food security coverage would not be applicable to disabled people the invisibility might not be as consequential. However from the list of issues covered in the food security related coverage in the newspapers covered (Table 2-14) it is evident that numerous themes are of direct importance to disabled people and could have covered disabled people as a topic. One could even make the point that the majority of topics are of relevance to disabled people. To just discuss some themes of importance to disabled people and where the newspapers could have covered disabled people in the media write up of food security. All newspapers have articles with the message that ensuring food security is important. All highlight the importance of local food security and local measures and policies that should and could be taken (Anuradha Mittal Director of the Oakland Institute, 2004; Dann, 2008; Leeder, 2009; Munsey, 2012). These are areas of obvious importance to disabled people. Disabled people face certain barriers in gaining food security to a higher degree than non-disabled people such as poverty (Beresford, 1996; J. Huang et al., 2010; Meyer & Mok, 2009; Rosano et al., 2009; Yeo & Moore, 2003) and unique barriers such as challenges with mobility and transportation (D. L. Huang et al., 2012; Kaye et al., 2013) and barriers to specific programs such as the U.S. Supplemental Nutrition Assistance Program (SNAP) (Gorman et al., 2013).

The *Calgary Herald* and the *New York Times* both link food security to being a basic human right (Ruth W. Messinger President American Jewish World Service 2010; Stockland, 1996; Weiss, 1999), albeit not often, which by itself is a problem. However within the human rights coverage marginalized people including disabled people could have been covered which was not the case. *The Globe and Mail* did not once link food security to human rights. *The Globe and Mail* mentioned linkage between obesity and food security. Food security and obesity is also known to be linked to disabled people (Herman et al., 2014). The *Calgary Herald* mentioned accessibility issues. One article in the *Calgary Herald* stated, "[f]ood security means all citizens have access in a dignified manner to a safe, nutritious, affordable and appropriate diet"(Hobsbawn-Smith, 2006), another, "[f]ood security doesn't just look at food security, but at sustainability, accessibility and quality, she said, noting it differs from hunger in that it looks past availability to accessibility, adequacy, acceptability and agency"(Dixon, 2011). These articles could have covered disabled people given the access issues they face. *The Globe and Mail* only mentioned "accessibility to markets" (Leeder, 2011). The *New York Times* did not use the term accessibility. *The Globe and Mail* covered three times the aspect that food security is linked to cultural values. A 1983 article stated, "[i]n the past, the concept of food security could never become a cultural value, because food insecurity was then the norm. Only more recently, since it has been shown that enough food could be produced to satisfy all human needs, has food security become a moral and humanitarian issue. Now it is also becoming a fundamental political exigency, because large pockets of hunger are inconceivable. Hungry multitudes can rock the entire human system" (Globe and Mail, 1983). From a disability studies stand point for food security to be a cultural value it would have to ensure access for marginalized groups such as disabled people (if we belief that inclusion is part of our culture). The *Calgary Herald* linked economic problems to concerns for food security. Economic problems raise concerns for food security (Woo, 2013). Affordability is an issue covered in all newspapers (Dolnick, 2010; Globe and Mail, 1999; Israelson, 2012; Laucius, 2013; MacIsaac, 2003; Riches, 2003; Stainsby, 2013; Waldie, 2011; Webber, 1992; Zeller, 2004). Given that disabled people are overly represented among the poor this could have been another topic where disabled people could have been covered. Sustainability was a theme mentioned in various ways. This is another discourse that in general is seen in need of disabled people to

be present (Wolbring & Burke, 2013; Wolbring & Rybchinski, 2013). However readers do not obtain knowledge that would make them realize that need.

4. Conclusion & Further Research

As stated before a recent article in *The Guardian* with the title *Put disability on the food security agenda* concluded, "[f]ood security for all: The food security agenda post-2015 should be about equity, human rights, sustainable and inclusive development and sustainable and inclusive growth. Beneficiaries should be included in the design, implementation and monitoring of programmes, which make programmes more likely to succeed. Ask yourself, are disabled people involved in all stages of the project cycle in your organisation – project identification, project design, implementation and monitoring, and project evaluation?" (Edge, 2013)

Our data clearly show that the reader of any of the newspapers covered would never gain the impetus to ask themselves the question of whether disabled people are involved in food security actions or to gain the thought that they should be involved and they would not link equity, human rights, sustainable and inclusive development and sustainable and inclusive growth to disabled people. The reader would also not be triggered to think about how disabled people are impacted by intervention strategies for responding to food security, hunger and malnutrition, such as the six proposed by (Kickbusch & Brindley, 2013) we mentioned in the introduction. Our data also show that the reader never obtains the thought of whether immigrants or indigenous people are involved and how useful food security actions are for them. We argued earlier that an increase in coverage of disabled people and other socially disadvantaged groups might depend on a change in what readers want to read and how advertisers, newspaper owners and journalists perceive disabled people and other marginalized groups. We posit media strategies that take out the middle person may be more useful. Disabled people and other socially disadvantaged groups could be part of food security covering facebook sites of organizations and initiatives (of which quite a few exist) and influence the discourse through these facebook pages. However this by itself is not enough as many disabled people lack access to the internet and for many disabled people web content is not readable due to lack of compliance with the W3C web design accessibility guidance which is another hurdle for many to overcome besides having access to the internet in the first place. For many disabled people local face to face organizing is important which however for many disabled people will work only if the local organizing is intellectually and physical accessible. Another issue disabled people are facing is that they experience so many problems in life such as unemployment, lack of education, poverty, lack of social networks (Wolbring et al., 2013) that even if there would be ways for them to be visible many of them might simply not have the energy to take part. From a disability studies perspective increasing the visibility of the food security problems disabled people face is needed but for them to be actively involved in the discussion around food security many barriers have to be removed. As is, many difficulties still have to be tackled that require actions from NGO's, governments business and public at large (for example see many of the problems and solutions to the problems mentioned at the online consultation for a disability inclusive development agenda towards 2015 & beyond (Participants of the UN Department of Economic and Social Affairs (UNDESA) and UNICEF organized Online Consultation - 8 March - 5 April Disability inclusive development agenda towards 2015 & beyond, 2013).

It is easy to obtain data showing the low media coverage of disabled people related to many social issues. Indeed given literature around what influences news-making it is not surprising that they are not visible. As to further research envisioned we plan to obtain qualitative data on what disabled people think about food security, its discourse and its media coverage.

Acknowledgments

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