WORDS TO COOK BY:

CHANGING MEANINGS OF EATING LOCAL IN HUMBOLDT COUNTY

By

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ABSTRACT

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Humboldt County has an active food system of small, sustainable farms and a vibrant cottage food industry. Yet, this system fails to address the needs of a diverse population that struggles with a disproportionate degree of poor health outcomes. In order to understand the unique challenges facing the region's food system – and how local government and advocacy groups should begin to address healthy food policy - this research thesis analyzes key texts about food, which illustrate the language and ideologies of eating local in Humboldt County. This research thesis found that the concept of eating local – consuming foodstuffs produced in close proximity or naturally indigenous to the environment – has been both a cause and effect of cultural change in Humboldt County. In order to understand how the community talks about food today – with "eating local" being a central element of the rhetoric – this thesis analyzed a collection of regional cookbooks for historic perspective. Functioning as textual archives about food, cookbooks both reflect and construct discourse about Humboldt County's food system and eating local today. Through this research, it's evident that heritage Humboldt County foods - specifically salmon, oysters, crab, beef, and dairy - decreased in cultural significance throughout the 20th century. Yet, in recent years, the discourse around eating local has amplified, with language about improving community health and

eating local tightly embedded. In effort to create a food system that truly feeds everyone's needs, this research thesis explains how the narrative around the meaning of "eating local" has shifted over time.

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INTRODUCTION

Retired forensic anthropologist Sue Jimenez lives in New Mexico with her husband and her collection of 6,372 cookbooks. In 2014, Sue Jimenez was awarded the Guinness World Book of Records designation for her then comparably modest "official" tally of 2,970 titles. Today, she continues to grow her collection, favoring cookbooks that represent the cuisine of a particular country or ethnicity; she never purchases cookbooks featuring a health fad or diet. Interviewed for a 2018 article by Sho Spaeth in *Serious Eats*, Jimenez explains her intellectual attraction to cookbooks:

The ingredients and recipes in them are far more intriguing to me, as they speak of cultures and the foods they have at their disposal. Often, the history is more fascinating than the recipes. I'm more interested in food and cultures, food in history, trends and fashions in food, food and wars, why we eat what we eat, (Spaeth 2018:7).

Motivated by the same question - why we eat what we eat – this research thesis seeks to understand how a collection of local and historic cookbooks informs discourse around eating local foods in Humboldt County. Typically organized by cultural or social group (associations, clubs, or churches) or style of cuisine (Portuguese or crockpot cooking) local foods are not always acknowledged in many of the cookbooks in the data set – often, local foods are prescriptively absent. But looking across the collection of cookbooks published and archived in Humboldt County informs the rhetoric around 'eating local' today.

Food Studies and the Anthropology of Food

Food is mutually a byproduct and pillar of culture. Anthropologists have long recognized the exchange of influence between food and culture. Consequently, a rich body of work analyzing diet, nutrition, and the intersections of food and culture frames this thesis. Classic examples are Sidney Mitnz's research on sugar and economy in the Caribbean Islands, Claude Levi-Strauss's theories on structuralism, and Pierre Bourdieu's notion of *habitus*, which asserts that individual habits are the product of social mileu (Mintz; Levi-Strauss; Bourdieu). Each theorist argues that food preferences are inseparable from culture and calls for an analysis of socio-cultural food habits. Undoubtedly, food is a valuable lens to analyze culture; yet, in order to document change, a historical perspective is essential. The term *foodways*¹ accurately describes the process of studying the co-constructing processes of food and culture on a micro-scale.

While studying foodways bears significant relevance to anthropological inquiry of food and place, the "eating habits and culinary practices" of a "people or region" change dramatically over time. Therefore, analysis must be comprehensive and continual. In this research thesis, local and historic cookbooks are a utilitarian source of material culture to document Humboldt County's foodways throughout history. The manner in which cookbooks mutually absorb and reflect food language make them primary resources to study the discourses around eating local in Humboldt County.

¹ Foodways are the eating habits and culinary practices of a people, region, or historical period.

The French philosopher and linguist Roland Barthes wrote extensively about food, arguing that patterns and habits around food function as a form of semiotic communication. "Substances, techniques of preparation, habits, all become part of a system of differences in signification," writes Barthes, adding that when signification happens, "we have communication by way of food," (Barthes 1961:29). When patterns emerge, Barthes argues that communication exists, dependent on food as a language. In his 1961 critique of American food habits, Toward a Psychosociology of Contemporary Food Consumption, Barthes theorizes that food operates as a symbolic language, writing that food functions as "a system of communication, a body of images, a protocol of usages, situations, and behavior," (Barthes 1961:23). In particular, Barthes focused on how various cultures express identity through specific dishes and cuisines, and that food preferences – seemingly chosen by individual agency – are embedded signifiers of socioeconomic class. Barthes studied American cuisine as a whole, comparing it's foodways to his native France and examines the role of sugar in American cooking. In the context of Humboldt County, Barthes might argue that local foods should function as signifiers of cultural identity for the region, writing that if we don't observe our own foodways, "we assume that it is insignificant," (23).

Advancing Barthes argument that agency plays a minimal, if nonexistent, role in food choice, anthropologist Carole Counihan analyzes which social institutions or groups are responsible for how a community eats. "Manners and habits of eating are crucial to the very definition of community, the relationships between people," she writes in her compilation of food studies published in *Food and Culture* (2008:13). Counihan's claim pinpoints the need to document how and what a given culture eats. To analyze how

biology and economics have intersected around diets is a common point of inquiry for anthropologists. Much more than chronological record of recipes, this research thesis seeks to understand the roots of Humboldt County's relationship between food and place by analyzing discourses in cookbooks and within local food agencies.

Humboldt County as a Field Site

A geographically isolated community of 135,000 residents² located on California's northern coast, Humboldt County suffers from a disproportionate degree of economic disparity and poor health. The region's rural proximity, a five-hour drive from the nearest urban population, keeps the area isolated from the larger economic and cultural influences of California. A boom-and-bust history of resource-extractive industries – mining, timber, fishing, and marijuana cultivation - has left Humboldt County with a weak economy, minimal job opportunities, and a large population of marginalized residents who regularly experience poverty³ and its associated maladies. In a 2014 report from the Center for Health Reporting, Richard Kipling writes that while other California counties have comparable, in some cases worse, income and poverty profiles, Humboldt experiences widespread health problems that are demographically disproportionate (Kipling 2014). According to the 2017 Humboldt County Community Health Improvement Plan, many of the poor health outcomes that burden the population

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² 2015 United States Census Bureau data

³ According to the 2013 Community Health Assessment, 19% of Humboldt County residents live below the poverty line compared to 14.2% throughout California.

are directly tied to dietary disease, including diabetes, heart disease, obesity, and addiction. These statistics are further magnified for the region's tribal communities:

Native Americans in Humboldt County experience diabetes at three times the rate of the general population (Humboldt County Community Health Improvement Plan 2017).

Facing community wide poverty, addiction and disproportionate rates of dietary disease, many Humboldt County activists and elected officials repeatedly respond with dialogue about strengthening the local food economy. In 2009, the California Center for Rural Policy (CCRP) published a Community Food Assessment based on data from a countywide survey. In the report, the authors write:

Because there is a direct connection between healthy food and a healthy community, it is critical to take stock of Humboldt County's agricultural production and distribution as well as the availability of fresh food to low-income consumers [Humboldt County Community Food Assessment 2009].

Based on six months of data collection about Humboldt County's food system and barriers to food access, CCRP published the following recommendations:

- Target communities to increase use of federal food-assistance programs.
- Develop a locally appropriate food culture to encourage healthy eating.
- Connect the low-income community to fresh and nutritious foods.
- Work with ethnic populations to understand food customs and food system needs.
- Conduct more research into the prices and availability of foods offered at stores throughout the county.
- Apply techniques of local food processing and distribution that have been successful elsewhere.

Despite such calls to action, improving the health of a community through policy-driven support for eating local is not a campaign without its critics. In 2012, two scientists published *The Locavore's Dilemma: In Praise of a 10,000 Mile Diet*, putting forth the ecological benefit of reducing "food miles" has been highly exaggerated, if not entirely fabricated. In an excerpt published from Pierre Desrochers and Hiroko Shimizu book, the authors write,

The locavores' only original addition to the rhetoric of past generations of food and environmental activists is the concept of "food miles" - the distance food items travel from farms to consumers — which they use as a proxy for greenhouse gas emissions. In short, the more distance traveled, the more greenhouse gases emitted and the more overall environmental damage, [Desrochers et. Shimizu].

The researchers continue to systematically outline how eating local – already a loosely defined concept – does not guarantee the degree of ethical superiority nor environmental salvation. In circles where people regularly talk about food, debating its health value and cultural "signification," Desrochers and Shimizu's argument rattles preconceptions.

Language about the health benefits of eating local is present in a number of food agencies established to promote healthy eating and sustainability in Humboldt County. In 2017, the Executive Director of North Coast Growers Association (NCGA) wrote the following statement, published by the Humboldt County Community Health Improvement Plan:

When you are talking about food systems and access to healthy food, it is important to highlight local and fresh produce - not just because fresh is best

nutritionally, but because local farmers are vital to community wellness, economic viability and sustainability, [Humboldt County Community Health Improvement Plan 2017].

This type of language is the dominant rhetoric among agencies like the NCGA and other food activism agencies studied to contextualize this research thesis. While the eat local movement has garnered wide support nationally, research on how this model can be applied locally is largely absent. Through the platforms of community agencies like the NCGA and CCRP, the marketing message pitched stressed is that eating local is essential to improving overall public health. Conclusive findings about the validity of such public campaigns are far beyond the scope of this research thesis, but bear specific relevance to how language about eating local has evolved in Humboldt County.

Using Cookbooks as Material Culture

The gendered and economic discourses embedded in food preparation have historically relegated cooking as a task left to women. In *Romanced by Cookbooks*, Anne Bower writes that cookbooks have been a way, "To escape the mundane aspects of that "feminine" role into an elevated or new vision/version of herself as she identifies with the cookbook author, a different role or way life, a different culture," (Bower 2004). But this characterization of cookbooks is problematic: Classifying cookbooks as romantic distractions form reality is the very reason that academia has maintained ambivalence towards cookbooks as historical documents. Even anthropologists have rarely considered cookbooks as a worthwhile subject of scholarly interest, as illustrated at the Radcliffe Institute's Schlesinger Library: In 1960, a trove of 1,500 historic cookbooks were

reproached by staff members, who dismissed the cookbooks as "stereotypically feminine ephemera," (Graham 2010:2). For feminists seeking to break the shackles of patriarchy and establish economic value outside the kitchen, the antiquated smell of a cookbook reeked of regression. "We want to get out of the kitchen," explained the library's curator, Marylene Altieri (Graham 2012: 2). Yet, in 2018, the cultural mood has changed again:

Now, the Schlesinger Library, along with Michigan State University, the University of Michigan, New York University, and others, house serious and growing collections. These resources are being used by scholars interested in what happens when cultures urbanize, why we believe certain foods are good or bad for us, agricultural history, attitudes toward colonialism, how the poor eat compared to the rich, and beyond [Graham 2012:]).

Marx's theory of labor specialization to cooking: Food preparation has been historically delegated to those possessing a minimum social and economic capital (Tucker 1978). A 1944 New York Times cartoon published in America's most popular cookbook, *The Joy of Cooking*, illustrates the irony of the country's middle-class fascination, yet distance, from cooking. A woman festooned with the trappings of high society sits gracefully on a fainting couch thumbing through the *Joy of Cooking*: From the hot kitchen, her harried maid glares (Mendelson 1996:2). The image implies that reading a cookbook is often a leisurely activity, whereas actual cooking is manual labor. Setting aside the economic discourse of who cooks for whom temporarily, we see that the simple pleasure of reading of cookbook still transmits information *about* food.

"As researchers pay more attention to these grease-spattered guidebooks, they're unveiling a surprisingly lively, emotional, and even political world, writes Ruth Graham in her 2012 article, Vintage Cookbooks Reveal Secrets of America's Past. Graham is referring to the significant change in American's attitude towards cooking in the past few decades. While chefs have evolved from underpaid manual laborers to modern day celebrities, hardcover cookbooks have continued to enjoy sales at rates that outpace their digital counterparts: It appears that cooking is one of America's favorite national pastimes. Yet, this cookbook publication doesn't correlate to increases in actual food preparation. Instead, we read cookbooks to imagine a daily life rich with delectable shortbread and pots of homemade soup. Our love for collecting and consuming cookbooks as literature or entertainment speaks to our desire to mimic old-fashioned ways and our reverence for simpler times. In the context of this thesis, local historic cookbooks are windows into the daily lives, real and imagined, of those who lived in Humboldt County before us. "Old cookbooks hint at how American families actually lived – the tools they had available, the ingredients they favored – and what they valued, be it frugality or fanciness," writes Graham (2012:1).

In another analysis of documenting regional food histories, Pricilla Parkhurst Ferguson makes a parallel argument to Graham in her article, "Culinary Nationalism," published in *Gastronomica: The Journal of Food and Culture* in 2010. She argues that cookbooks are "culinary consciousness raisers," which give cultural context to an ingredient or dish, regardless whether the recipe is ever prepared. She labels recipes as "primary indicators of identity," which can connect a cookbook reader to a specific culture, class or historical period (2010:102).

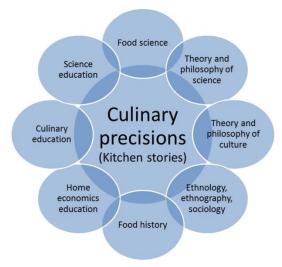
Cookbooks scholars like Counihan, Ferguson, and Graham provide documented evidence in how social scientists can use cookbooks to study a cultural group or period in history. As Ruth Graham explains, "Cookbooks give historians insight into cultural moods," and "help to trace conversations and public arguments, especially those conducted by women, who traditionally had few outlets (2012:3). Historian Sandra Sherman writes, "as cultural documents, cookbooks are extraordinary," and Ruth Graham calls cookbooks, "a snapshot of past domestic and political habits and perspectives," (2012:4). To illustrate their utility, the Schlesinger Library at Harvard University held an exhibit called, "Cookbooks to Treasure: Culinary Rarities from the Schlesinger Library." In promotion of the 2015 exhibit, the library wrote:

Ubiquitous, utilitarian, underappreciated, the cookbook is among the most prolifically published how-to manuals in history. Cooking our food seems to be the engine of human progress, credited with enlarging brains, increasing fertility, encouraging settled living, and freeing humanity for pursuits beyond mere survival. Yet, even very humble cookbooks acquire outsized importance when they document lost ways of life [Radcliffe 1].

Viewing cookbooks as historic portals that share [non-linguistic] communication - beyond the explicit functions that launched them - about a specific group or time period, is a common theme in the study of cookbooks. In *Culinary Precisions as a Platform for Interdisciplinary Dialouge*, Erik Fooladi and Anu Hopia discuss the literary term, 'culinary precisions,' and its meaning to cookbook scholars. "Culinary precisions represent valuable parts of a society's cultural heritage and provide rich research material

for various scientific fields, including cultural history and sociology," write the authors. (Fooladi et al. 2013:1). Using an infographic, the authors compare how culinary precisions and kitchen stories relate to various academic disciplines including food history and ethnography (Error! Reference source not found.). Regardless of the moniker, the key finding is that valuable information about people and place are passed on through stories about food; quite often, cookbooks are a record of such stories.

Figure 1 - Culinary Precisions Infographic



THEORY

Social scientists regard theory quite differently than the physical sciences, who claim that objective and quantifiable data is required for a theory's validity.

Anthropology falls somewhere in the middle in viewing how deterministic theory must be when shaping research design and the interpretation of data. In his 2010 analysis of anthropological theory, Roy Ellen writes, "Theory should not be something that constrains and terrorizes, but rather something that serves and liberates us," (2010:388).

To study how the language and customs around local food have impacted a region's food system is a classic example what Ellen calls, "A departure from overarching theory and retreat into ethnography," (2010:389). An intermediary mode of research that falls in-line with postmodern critiques of the objective claims, sociologist Robert Merton coined the term middle ground theory in 1949. Developed as a tool to guide empirical research, middle-range theory is ideally suited for research on local food language and customs, which result from both colloquial preferences and larger social structures. In this manner, Merton's theory allows the data to be focused at hyper-locally, while still framed by grand theories about human interaction and culture (Merton 2007). The French sociologist Emile Durkheim stressed that data needs to shape research without pre-conceived theories pushing the data in a particular direction (Seale et al. 1998). This data-then-theory approach, modeled after the tradition of ethnography, motivates this research on the language of local food and its impact on culture.

In the middle of the 20th century, tastes and customs around food aspired to model an emergent American cuisine, a cultural phenomenon highly relevant to Pierre Bourdieu's conception of *habitus*: The French sociologist coined the term in *The*

Anatomy of Taste, published in 1976 (Bourdieu). Rather than arguing that individual preferences for chicken versus salmon or coffee versus tea are a matter of taste,

Bourdieu's notion of habitus posits that our preferences are shaped by social structures.

Habitus is comprised of an individual's tastes, sensibilities and dispositions and is a product of an individual's position within a given society (Bourdieu 1976). In researching Humboldt County cookbooks, Bourdieu's notion of habitus is continually illustrated in the evolution of discourses about local food customs over time.

In this thesis, geography is the primary constant of analysis, achieved by limiting the scope of the data set to Humboldt County. But in addition, many other variables - including religion, ethnicity, kinship, and agency - also weigh heavily on an individual's food preferences. In *Eating Agendas: Food and Nutrition as Social Problems*, sociologist Donna Maurer and nutritionist Jeffery Sobal critically analyze how humans make food choices. The researchers write that social structures are the primary forces of influence on food choices, acting on society as one organism and stripping individuals of choice. Maurer and Sobal are describing agency theory, which questions how much individual choice impacts culinary habits and consumption (Mauer et al. 1995). Agency theory is at play when analyzing whether individuals are autonomous operators exercising free will when deciding what to cook, eat, and feed their families.

METHODS

Historic Cookbooks of Humboldt County

"One could say that an entire "world" (social environment) is present in and signified by food," writes Roland Barthes, (1962:26). But where do we find such signifiers? In lieu of conducting lengthy surveys about food choice and eating locally with Humboldt County residents, cookbooks offer accessible units of information that represent food discourse in Humboldt County. Due to their public access in Humboldt County's historical archives, thirty-five cookbooks were documented and analyzed in the data set (Table 2). To analyze each cookbook individually, in addition to their significance as a collection, the following documentary notes were recorded for each cookbook:

- 1. Publication date, author (if applicable) and the affiliated social group
- 2. The institution where each cookbook is housed (Table 1).
- 3. Introductory paragraphs or chapter headings
- 4. Recipe narratives (text preceding or written in between recipes)

Next, the recipes were scanned for five local foods – salmon, oysters, crab, beef, and dairy - which emerged as the most economically and culturally significant food groups to Humboldt County. While dialogue about organic vegetables and grains is common throughout the contemporary cookbooks in the data set, the five food groups were traceable throughout the chronological data set: Each is either indigenous to the region or can be traced to early agriculture in Humboldt County. Furthermore, salmon, oysters,

crab, beef, and diary have always played a sizeable role in the region's local economy, but as reported in qualitative interviews, this has decreased steadily over time. Archival notes (see APPENDIX A) were recorded on the five key foods in each cookbook in the data set; cumulatively, tracking these five foods pinpointed the language and attention give to local food in Humboldt County throughout history.

At the outset of this research thesis, it was expected that *recipes* – as opposed to cookbooks – would provide significant data about the language used for guidance and instruction in local food preparation customs. To this end, recipes published in other archival sources were documented, including recipes published in Humboldt County newspapers. The archival notes (see

APPENDIX B) derived from micro-fiche records of *The Times-Standard*⁴ - throughout the month of October 1980 - are illustrative of this research. Each week, the newspaper published a Food section, printing 3-5 recipes and often a column discussing the holidays, entertaining, or general food preparation techniques. All of the October recipes from 1980, including Bourbon Loaf, Rock Lobster Balls and Colonial Style Venison Stew were obtained from national Associated Press (AP) or Newspaper Enterprise Association sources (NEA). As the food writers were creating recipes for a national American audience, dialogue about cooking with specific Humboldt County foods are entirely absent during this period. For example, in October 1980, NEA writer Aileen Claire published an article entitled, "Lobster Stretches Party Budget" and details three accompanying recipes that incorporate South African lobster. Though the *Times*-Standard has been a Humboldt County newspaper since 1854, the food discourse transmitted in the weekly Food section in 1980 was far more representative of national food preferences and customs at the time. In this sense, the *Times-Standard* Food section archives are illustrative of how national food discourses were a homogenizing force on regional foodways throughout America.

Because local newspapers routinely printed national food content – today, largely replaced by cooking blogs – is why regional cookbooks were selected as the primary source of material culture to analyze. In order to document language about eating in Humboldt County, the data needed a degree of distinction from national discourses. This is not to suggest that recipes derived from historic and local cookbooks existed in a

⁴ The Times-Standard has been published in Eureka, California since 1854.

vacuum, untouched by spheres of mainstream American influence. Rather, the primary methodological approach observed the thirty-five cookbooks as a collection, or unit of information, which documents how language about local food has shifted over time. In this manner, the research thesis both absorbs and reflects Pricilla Parkhurst Ferguson's primary argument. In "Culinary Nationalism," Ferguson writes, "more than ever food and cuisine are tied to place," with countries using "culinary distinction as a marker of identity," (2010:105). What are such markers in Humboldt County? By studying Humboldt's historic cookbooks as material culture, this research thesis strives to answer Ferguson's call for "culinary nationalism."

The Humboldt Food Policy Council

In order to contextualize the data from historic cookbooks with contemporary language about eating local, qualitative interviews with gatekeepers working directly in Humboldt County's food system were conducted. In total, eight interviewees were identified and selected because of their role as voting members of the Humboldt Food Policy Council (HFPC), "a network of diverse Humboldt County food systems stakeholders," (Humboldt Food Policy Council). Founded by the California Center for Rural Policy, the HFPC's mission is "to enhance a regional food system that is equitable, culturally appropriate, and both environmentally and economically sustainable by facilitating collaborative partnerships of diverse stakeholders throughout the food system," (Humboldt Food Policy Council). The HFPC lists their organization's goals in their charter, which includes educating the community about the local food system and striving improvement through public policy changes (see

APPENDIX *C*). A summary of the job titles or community leadership roles held by each of the eight interviewees is summarized in Table 4. Interviewees such as the General Manager of the North Coast Co-op or the Program Manager for Humboldt County's Healthy Communities division possess expert knowledge on the unique issues facing Humboldt County's food system. In addition to possessing expert knowledge about eating local, the eight interviewees are also primary influencers of the region's food system by virtue of their advocacy roles and job titles in the community. The goal of the qualitative interviews was to record language used about local foods today, so that the relationships towards local food represented in historic cookbooks can be contextualized with a contemporary analysis.

DATA ANALYSIS

Cookbooks

Culinary consciousness raisers, cookbooks tie food to place, and they do so whether or not we put the recipe in the oven and on the table. Actually executing the dish may be the most obvious mode of using the recipe, but it is by no means the only one. As much as we read recipes for instructions, we seek a sense of particular tastes and foods and places and how they fit together," [Ferguson 2010:102]

Four primary institutions (Table 1) house sizeable collections of historic cookbooks in Humboldt County. In total, thirty-five cookbooks (Table 2) were included in the data set for this research thesis.

Table 1- Humboldt County Institutions with Collections of Historic Cookbooks

Institution	Location	Open to the Public?
Humboldt State University Library: Humboldt Room	1 Harpst Street, Arcata	No
Humboldt County Library: Humboldt Room	1313 3 rd Street, Eureka	Yes
Clarke Historical Museum	240 E Street, Eureka	Permission required
Humboldt County Historical Society	703 8 th Street, Eureka	Yes
Ferndale Museum	515 Shaw Street, Ferndale	Yes - cookbooks for sale.

Table 2 - Historic Cookbooks Published in Humboldt County

Cookbooks	Year	Organization	Collection
Thou preparest a table before me	unknown	1 st Congregational United Church of Christ	Private Home, Eureka
From the Kitchen of the Ladies Bible Study	unknown	Church of the Nazarene, Eureka	Humboldt Historical Society
Fish is Delicious	unknown	By Richard Salmon. Published in New York City, stamped with "Humboldt Federal Savings Bank"	Clarke Historical Museum
Prize Recipes of Dungeness Crab	unknown	Del Norte County Chamber of Commerce	Humboldt Historical Society
Redwood Country Cooking	unknown		Humboldt Historical Society
Fortuna's Kitchen Secrets	unknown	First Christian Church, Fortuna	Clarke Historical Museum
Cooking Favorites of Arcata	unknown	Arcata Eagles Auxiliary No. 1846	Humboldt Historical Society
Some of the Nation's Best Cooks Live In Humboldt County	unknown	Affiliated with YMCA	Clarke Historical Museum
St. Mary's Ladies Guild Cook Book	unknown		Clarke Historical Museum
Sandwiches Fresh or Frozen For the Carried Lunch For Special Occasions	unknown	Prepared by Ruth E. Crawford, Home Advisor, at the request of homemakers in Humboldt-Del Norte Counties	Clarke Historical Museum
Freshwater Chronicle & Cookery	unknown		Clarke Historical Museum
A Cookie Cookbook	75 th Anniversary	First Baptist Church of Arcata	Humboldt Historical Society

Mrs. Summer Carson's Collection of Cookbooks	1904	n/a	Humboldt Room, HSU
Eureka Cook Book	1907	Ladies League of the First Congregational Church, Eureka	Humboldt Historical Society, Clarke Historical Museum & HSU Humboldt Room
Eureka Woman's Club: Cookbook	1932	Eureka Woman's Club	Humboldt Room, HSU
Cook Book	1935	The Mother's Club of the First Presbyterian Church, Eureka	Clarke Historical Museum
Baptist Church Cook Book	1941	The Grandmother's Club, Eureka	Humboldt Historical Society
Dorcas Gem Cook Book	1953	Dorcas Society of Our Savior's Lutheran Church, Ferndale	Humboldt Historical Society
Congregational Church Cookbook	1959	League Circle of Women's Fellowship	Humboldt Historical Society
The Cowboy Cookbooks of Viola Russ McBride	unknown	n/a	Ferndale Museum
Congressman Don and Ollie Clausen's Cook Book	1965	The Clausen Family	Humboldt Historical Society
First Baptist Church 70 th Anniversary Cookbook	1976	American Baptist Women of Arcata	Humboldt Historical Society
First Covenant Church Cook Book & History	1979	First Covenant Church	Humboldt Historical Society
Eating with Emblem	1980	Eureka Emblem Club No. 298	Humboldt Historical Society
Swauger's Station 1897 Loleta Cookbook	1982	Written by Mary O'Neil and Esther Carr	Clarke Historical Museum
American Baptist Women	1983	American Baptist Church	Humboldt Historical Society
A Tribute to the Working Women	1987	American Business Women's	Humboldt Historical Society

		Association, Farthest West Chapter, Eureka	
Taste of Humboldt: An Historical and Ethnic Cookbook of Humboldt County, California	1987	Published by the Cookbook Committee of Humboldt State University. Edited by Gayle Karshner	HSU Library & Humboldt County Library
Alice Birney's Eagles Are Cookin'	1993	Alice Birney Elementary School	Clarke Historical Museum
Old Favorites from Ferndale Kitchens: The Museum Cookbook	1994	Written by Wendy Crisp Lestina	Ferndale Museum
What's Cooking at the Arcata United Methodist Church	1994		Clarke Historical Museum
Managing the Munchies	2005	Written by Nancy Only	Humboldt Room, HSU
Locally Delicious: Recipes & Resources for Eating on the North Coast	2009	Published by Locally Delicious, a non- profit	HSU,Humboldt County Library & local bookseller
A Gathering of Recipes and Stories from the Yurok Aboriginal Territory	2009	By Jeanne Riecke	unknown
Sweet Memories: The Mother's Day Book	2018	Ferndale Museum	Ferndale Museum

Throughout the chronology of the collection, several of the cookbooks dedicate a percentage of their pages to recipes featuring salmon, crab, oysters, beef, and dairy. For example, in the one of the oldest books in the collection, published in 1907, five oyster recipes appear in *Eureka Cook Book*, in addition to three salmon recipes and two crab. There is no literature printed with the recipes in the cook book, published by Ladies League of the First Congregational Church, but the large sample of oyster recipes is representative of what women were likely to prepare in their homes in 1907.

In another early 20th century cookbook, *Fish is Delicious*, ⁵ by Richard Salmon, the entire cookbook is dedicated to promoting the health benefits, convenience, and "deliciousness" of eating fish. In between recipes for baked halibut and clam chowder, Salmon writes that fish has earned an unfavorable reputation for being too much trouble to cook. Though Salmon was not a Humboldt County resident, his cookbook was distributed by Humboldt Federal Savings Bank in Eureka. In order to showcase a Humboldt County staple, fish, the Humboldt Federal Savings Bank gave away copies of *Fish is Delicious* to their customers (Clarke Historical Museum) to promote and preserve local. In this manner, the cookbook is a symbolic of what daily culinary habits were when fish -and fishermen- were far more abundant in Humboldt County's cultural landscape.

It's evident that the number of seafood recipes, particularly oyster and crab recipes, decrease toward the 21st century. **Error! Reference source not found.** illustrates a chronology of seafood recipes from subset of cookbooks, published between 1907 and 1987, housed at the Humboldt County Historical Society⁶.

Table 3 - Local Seafood Recipes in Humboldt Historic Society Cookbooks

Cookbook	Year	Salmon Recipes	Oyster Recipes	Crab Recipes
Eureka Cook Book	1907	3: Salmon Turbots, Salmon Croquettes, Boiled Salmon	5: Oyster Chowder, Oyster Stew, Oyster Pie, Oyster Loaf, Creamed Oysters	2: Creamed Crab, Crab Spanish
Eureka Woman's Club Cookbook	1932	-	3: Oysters Gallia, Escalloped Oysters, Oyster Stew	4: Crab and Shrimp Mold, Crab Cakes, Deviled Crab, Crab Casserole

⁵ Publication date unknown, but estimated between 1920-1940 by Clarke Museum

⁶ Due to their nature as ubiquitous ingredients, dairy and beef proved difficult to track in the same manner.

Cookbook	Year	Salmon Recipes	Oyster Recipes	Crab Recipes
Baptist Church Cook Book	1941	1: Salmon Salad	1: Escalloped Oysters and Macaroni	1: Crab Salad
Dorcas Gem Cook Book	1953	4: Salmon Noodle Ring, Salmon Loaf, Salmon Casserole, Swedish Baked Salmon	-	2: Crab and Rice Casserole, Crab Louis
Congregational Church Cookbook	1959	1: Salmon Baked in Paper	-	3: Crab and Rice Casserole, Jan's Crab Salad Souffle, Crab on a Bun
First Baptist Church 70 th Anniversary Cookbook	1976	-	-	1: Crab Louis Salad Dressing
First Covenant Church Cook Book	1979	2: Baked Salmon, Salmon Loaf	-	4: Crab Louis, Crab Potato Salad, Crab Casserole, Chicken-Crab Casserole
Eating with Emblem	1980	-	-	2: Sea Queen Casserole, Seafood Casserole
American Baptist Women	1983	-	-	-
A Tribute to The Working Women	1987	2: Dilled Salmon Pie, Salmon Loaf	-	-

Other cookbooks in the data set also reflect a patterned divergence from talk about local seafood and agriculture. In *Mrs. Summer Carson's Collection of Cookbooks*, an archival record housed at Humboldt State University, a booklet titled, *Oysters in Appetizing Forms*, describes over a dozen methods of preparing oysters. The 1904 collection of recipes was assembled by Mrs. Carson, the wife of Humboldt County

lumber baron, William Carson. While today's Humboldt Bay oysters are almost exclusively served grilled or on the half-shell, simple preparations, Mrs. Carson instructs her readers on how to prepare oysters a dozen different ways including oysters bisque, scalloped oysters, fricasseed oysters, spindled oysters, and oysters on toast. As the oldest cookbook included in the data set (Table 2), *Mrs. Summer Carson's Collection of Cookbooks* suggests that oysters were everyday staples in 1904, in contrast to the luxury menu item oysters are today.

Moving toward the collection of midcentury cookbooks, the overall tone and content of the recipes shift substantially, taking a visible departure from local foodstuffs to mimic the classic dishes of midcentury American cuisine. Casserole, fruit salad, and jello recipes might appear to simply be passing fads, but the dishes are the byproduct of the industrial revolution and post-war era, which celebrated the science and convenience of packaged and processed food. In the *Congregational Church Cookbook*, published in 1959 by the League Circle of Women's Fellowship, only one salmon recipe appears and no mention of oysters. Three crab recipes are published, but the shellfish is used in a Crab and Rice Casserole, a Crab Salad Soufflé, and Crab on a Bun: each of these recipes uses canned crab and large amount of mayonnaise, a ubiquitous ingredient in the 1950's. Few of the seafood recipes published in this era are dependent on fresh seafood - which is often indicative of 'local' - as illustrated in the ingredient lists. By scanning the recipe's ingredients, it's evident that canned food actually held a higher status than fresh seafood in recipes from this time period.

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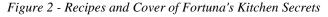
⁷ Midcentury indicates cookbooks published from 1940-1970

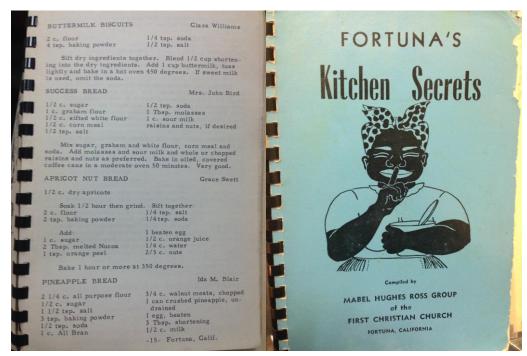
Among other books in the data set, such as the *Baptist Church Cook Book* (1941) or the *First Baptist Church 70th Anniversary Cook Book* (1976), it appears that the church groups purchased a preset booklet of recipes from a national publishing company. In this manner, preference for the industrialized tastes of midcentury America were directly imported into local foodways via the cookbooks published by Humboldt County church groups and civic societies. The numerous recipes dishes like Green Salad Mold and White Pineapple Salad made from jello, mayonnaise, and canned soup are symbolic of Bourdieu's theory of habitus in action: As these foods became the hallmarks of good taste across the country, Humboldt County residents absorbed the national lexicon of cuisine into regional foodways. In "A Social History of Jello-O Salad," published in *Serious Eats* in 2015, author Sarah Grey writes,

In the mid-19th century, the Industrial Revolution was beginning to transform the United States economy. Railways were on the rise, and so was factory production; both brought radical changes to American food systems. Jell-O tapped into one of the biggest culinary currents of the era... many women in the emerging American middle class began linking changes brought into their homes by industrialization and scientific advances – gas stoves, electric irons, the telephone – to the domestic work they performed every day, reimagining housework [Grey 2015].

Within the data set of cookbooks, the pattern of cultural homogenization is even visible through representations of labor-economy in American kitchens. For example, in *Fortuna's Kitchen Secrets* (Figure 2), the cover depicts a stereotypical image of an African-American female cook. A working-class community colonized by European

settlers in 19th century, Fortuna's cultural heritage is cattle ranching and dairy. The farm town has never had a sizeable community of African-Americans, though the First Christian Church chose to use the "Mammy" caricature to represent their cookbook. The Jim Crow Museum at Ferris State University explains, "The mammy image served the political, social, and economic interests of mainstream white America," (Jim Crow Museum of Racist Memorabilia). While the cookbook cover does not explicitly incriminate the First Christian Church of abject racism, but the depiction is a clear example of the church's group mimicry of mainstream, mid-20th century American values – inclusive of institutional racism.





By the 1980's, the reverie for heavily processed dishes, the darlings of the post-WWII era, began to fade from American culinary customs. Correspondingly, the national trend is visible in Humboldt County cookbooks. Nearing the end of the 20th century, local foods start to make a reappearance in a few of cookbooks in the Humboldt County data set. In *Swauger's Station* (Figure 3), published in 1982 by Esther Carr and Mary O'Neil, the authors provide four pages on how to prepare locally caught Humboldt County crab. In the introduction, the authors write:

You too, can enjoy crab – a delicacy of Humboldt Bay. People travel many miles for the chance of eating crab at its best. Great quantities are shipped to many parts of the United States. Crab is in season for about seven months of the year. Dates vary from year to year. Crabs are not caught during the period of growing another shell (Figure 3)

The how-to guide illustrates Carr and O'Neil's effort to revitalize what was once a common practice – preparing local crab. In addition to preserving knowledge about a Humboldt County heritage food, the title of the cookbook, *Swauger's Station*, is a nod to community history: Swauger's Station was the original name of Loleta, when it was first established in 1884. The community was renamed Loleta, the Wiyot word for "pleasant place at the end of the water," when a larger depot station was built in 1894.

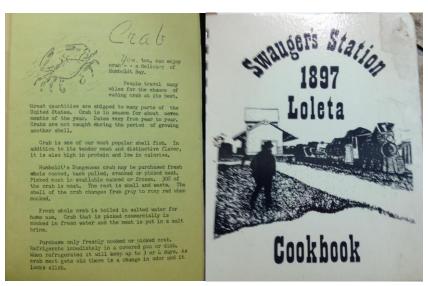


Figure 3 - Cover and inside pages of Swauger's Station 1897 Loleta Cookbook

Around the turn of the 21st century, the data set illustrates that cookbooks have evolved even further away from mass-produced national tastes. In 1987, Gayle Karshner published *Taste of Humboldt*: *An Historical and Ethnic Cookbook of Humboldt County* and in 2005, Nancy Only wrote, *Managing the Munchies*. Each cookbook is structured around preparing locally sourced foods and patently designed to use food as a unique "indicator of identity" for the region. For example, in *Locally Delicious*, published in Arcata in 2009, the cookbook's introduction reads as follows:

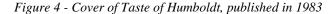
The first goal of Locally Delicious is to encourage residents of the North Coast to obtain a larger percentage of food from our region. The second is to contribute to the further development of the regional food economy. The third is for Locally Delicious to serve as a template for other regionally-based cookbooks, [Locally Delicious 2009].

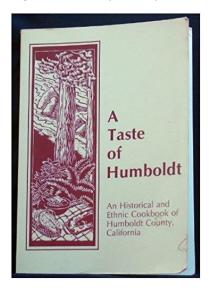
Published by an organization established to promote eating local foods – and claiming that doing such will improve the health of the region - *Locally Delicious* is transparent

that their cookbook is designed to motivate eating local foods. In promoting the cookbook, the authors write, "Everything from appetizers made with local cheese, to desserts made with local fruits are featured in this informative reference book for living a local life," (2009).

In *Taste of Humboldt: An Historical and Ethnic Cookbook of Humboldt County* (Figure 4), author Gayle Karshner strives to communicate a story about the people and place of Humboldt County. The introduction reads,

This cookbook is designed to acquaint its readers with the history and peoples of Humboldt County through the recipes from its kitchens. Today, Humboldt is a unique mixture of Native Americans and many immigrant cultural groups - nowhere is this more apparent than in the kitchens of our county [Karshner].





Containing recipes for Native American Pumpkin Bread, Finnish Herring Salad, and Swiss Leek and Chestnut Soup, Karshner's selection of recipes provides a narrative of the people who have called Humboldt County home. She also upholds the tradition of

community cookbooks by crediting each recipe to a specific community member; stories about the contributing cook or a history of the dish accompany several recipes. A recipe by Mary C. Borges tells readers that her Alcatra recipe, a Portuguese pot roast, was typically served at the Festival of the Holy Spirit in Ferndale; located in southern Humboldt County, Ferndale was largely settled by Portuguese immigrants in the 19th century. Today, the Festival of the Holy Spirit, which originated in the 13th century after a period of prolonged starvation in Portugal, is still celebrated at the Portuguese Hall in Ferndale (Ferndale Musuem).

Four cookbooks (Table 2) from Ferndale were included in the data set: Each communicates facts and reflections on the cultural history of Ferndale. In *Old Favorites From Ferndale Kitchens*, published in 1994, author Wendy Crisp Lestina calls the cookbook, "a historical paean to cooks in the past." After inheriting a collection of rusted metal boxes filled with recipes from her aunt, Lestina recalls how she almost threw the old recipes away:

I intended to toss the lot – I don't "cook like that," I muttered before I'd read a single one – but I didn't. Instead, I curled up before a fire on a rainy night and began reading the fading instructions, written in many hands on the stained, smudged cards. As I did, the names, the places, the people and their lives passed before me: images, aromas, tastes – decades of history through the food we prepared and shared, [Lestina].

Analyzing the Humboldt County cookbooks chronologically, it's evident that a cultural loss of knowledge about eating local foods was manufactured by the industrial

revolution. Today, the detrimental impacts of this reality are the most visible in Humboldt County's tribal communities. Located northwest from the Hoopa Valley, the Yurok tribe is the largest group of Native Americans in California, with over 5,000 enrolled members (Yurok). Historically, the Yurok lived on a healthy diet of seafood and plants; beached whales on the Pacific coast were a major source of protein for the community (Yurok). Today, over 80% of the members live below the poverty line and many are dependent on government subsidies to purchase groceries.

Striving to address this inequality, Meagan Baldy is a member of the Hoopa Valley Tribe, a federally recognized tribal community located in northeast Humboldt County. Baldy created her own YouTube channel on cooking local, native foods, recorded in her home in the Hoopa Valley. In episodes of her program, Healthy Cooking in Indian Country, Baldy teaches viewers how to use and prepare dishes with traditional ingredients in how-to guides and cooking demonstration. Episodes include how to prepare root soup, spaghetti squash, salmon salad, cauliflower pizza, strawberry spread, and a deer meat stir fry. By combining traditional ingredients unique to the Hoopa community, such as eel and salmon, with contemporary staples like kale and berries, Baldy is trying to help families get nutritious meals on the table. Quoted by Samantha Clark in an article published on KQED, Baldy says "I really emphasize native and traditional foods, because why do we have high diabetes and high heart disease rates?" asks Baldy. "As native people, we sustained on a traditional diet for thousands of years," (Clark 2014). Baldy's YouTube channel is comparable to a digital version of the 2009 Locally Delicious cookbook; in each, local foods are demystified and promoted as healthful, affordable choices.

In A Gathering of Recipes and Stories from the Yurok Aboriginal Territory, published in 2009, author Jeanne Riecke shares recipes using traditional Yurok foods (Table 2). By sharing recipes that depend on local and native ingredients, Riecke's cookbook is helping to preserve the unique culture of the Yurok community. Her cookbook also helps to recall a time when local food was abundant, long before the devasting effects of colonization and institutional poverty devastated the Yurok community. "Most of the information is still by oral tradition and I don't want it to be lost," says Riecke (Owsley 2009). Through the passing on of recipes, an important element of the community's cultural heritage is preserved.

Qualitative Interviews

After the analysis of language about eating local in historic cookbooks, this research thesis explored how the Humboldt County community talks about eating local today. The interview questions (

APPENDIX D) sought to collect data on how local foods have impacted Humboldt County history, while also exploring the current challenges of the region's food system. Three interviews were conducted in-person and five were conducted on the phone; seven of the eight interviews were recorded. The interviews spanned 30-60 minutes long and were conducted and recorded in-person or via telephone in Arcata or Eureka, California. The interview questions asked of each interviewee were submitted to the Humboldt State University Institutional Review Board (

APPENDIX E).

After conducting the interviews, in vivo codes⁸ were generated to organize the data, including: local, organic farms, poverty, distribution, access, food deserts, policy, rural, nutrition, transportation, and cooking. Rather than compiling how frequently each code appeared in the interview transcripts, thematic content analysis was utilized to "look across" the data and identify central themes (Seale 367). Organizing the in vivo codes from the qualitative data, three central themes from the language around food issues in Humboldt County emerged: Distribution, access, and policy. Each theme is directly correlated to the marked decrease in the cultural significance and economic impact of local foods in Humboldt County.

Table 4 - HFPC Interview Responses

Interviewee	Interview Question #1 What prevents Humboldt County residents from accessing and consuming healthier food?	Interview Question #2 Are there identifiable trends, styles or foods that represent Humboldt County?
Humboldt State University: Dean of Research	Limitation of certain food items to meet demand, lack of raw materials for production (ex. grain), lack of cold storage, need to integrate local foods into institutions.	Oysters, Beef, Wine
Humboldt Food Policy Council: Coordinator/Humboldt State University: Lecturer in Nutritional Anthropology	Transportation costs, rural spread of residents	Dairy, Beef
Locally Delicious: Board Chair	Education	Oysters, Crab, Salmon

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⁸ In vivo codes are words or categories that taken directly from the data (Seale 2012: 395).

North Coast Grower's Association: Director of Programs	Food deserts, poverty, low-income families cannot afford fresh foods, rural location	Beef, Dairy, Salmon
Locally Delicious: Board Vice Chair	Not an equitable society	Dairy, Meat, Fish
North Coast Co-op: General Manager	Limited by distributors and need to meet demand	Salmon, Crab
Sequoia Personnel Services: Senior Project Manager	Poverty, food deserts, social dysfunction	Oysters, Crab, Beef
Department of Health & Human Services: Healthy Communities Program Manager	Cultural norms, economics	Crab, Salmon, Beef

Distribution

Multiple interviewees pinpointed distribution as the primary issue bottlenecking access to healthy foods in Humboldt County. The co-author of 2009 cookbook, *Locally Delicious*, emphasized that Humboldt County lacks a central receiving station where farmers could drop off produce for distribution to local restaurants and grocery stores. In a less regulated era, local fishermen brought their fresh catch to the Eureka docks in Humboldt Bay – a non-regulated, yet, efficient system to distribute local foods. During an interview, a dean at Humboldt State University stated the lack of cold storage contributes to the reality that, "Local restaurants are still using corporate food." The interviewee also explained that in order to integrate local foods into institutions, the infrastructure of large organizations like Humboldt State University, local hospitals, and schools will have to be restructured.

Secondly, Humboldt County's rural proximity was repeatedly cited as a challenge in distributing healthy food throughout the community. With the nearest large city six hours away, Humboldt County's dependence on the industrial food chain is problematic

when weather and natural disasters strike. Reducing transportation costs is necessary to reducing carbon outputs that negatively impact the environment across the nation. But in Humboldt County, many residents depend exclusively on corporate grocery store chains and government institutions for food. Across all eight interview transcripts, the interviewees stressed that Humboldt County's rural geography magnifies the need to produce and consume local foods.

Access

It can be challenging to determine what is meant by *access*, though the term is commonly embedded in discourse about eating local. While often residents of rural or low-income areas, including tribes, often live in proximity to liquor stores and chain grocery stores, the availability of fresh and nutritious foods is uncommon in many communities. This social phenomenon, known as a food desert, occurs in economically depressed regions of the United States, further exacerbating the poor health outcomes experienced in impoverished communities (Walker 2010). In an interview, a Humboldt State University lecturer and Humboldt Food Policy Council voting member stated, "There's been a lot of effort in the county to make food more accessible because we live in an economically depressed area." In this application, access means the ability to purchase fresh, nutritious food within an affordable price range and proximity to home.

Many scholarly articles and media outlets have written about food deserts in urban communities like West Oakland, California: At one time, the West Oakland community of 40,000 residents was serviced by 58 liquor stores and 0 grocery stores (Walker 2010: 880). Yet, the manner in which food deserts are classified as an urban issue problematizes pathways to improve access to healthy food for Humboldt County

residents. In the qualitative interviews, HFPC members cited a lack of access as a primary issue for Humboldt County residents in their ability to purchase and consume fresh, local foods. In Humboldt County, many residents live in remote communities only reachable by car and often compromised by dangerous roads and weather conditions. At the 2016 Food Summit at Humboldt State University, the Executive Director of Humboldt County's food bank and a HFPC voting member spoke about efforts to penetrate rural food deserts with food drops. During one interview, a HFPC voting member talked about the specific lack of access for tribal communities. "[Humboldt] has a large native population that is being tremendously impacted by diabetes and chronic disease related to food. We need to try to find what in their culture is healthy food and improving access."

Policy

Several codes that emerged from the HFPC data were tightly correlated to food policy. Common phrases and terms that repeatedly populated interviews transcripts included school lunches, EBT, seniors, Native Americans, land, Cal Fresh, agriculture, collaboration, food security, and impact. While analyzing how these concepts related, it became evident that each code referenced a need for policy modification. For example, during an interview, a local food activist spoke about equality and food justice: "There's a system in place that wants to deny people of healthy food. When you deny people that right, your culture is not going to be healthy," the interviewee stated. The comment support Claude Levi-Strauss's theory of structuralism, where he argues that food can act

as an oppressive social structure. Relatedly, the food activist argues that policies need dramatic revision to actualize a healthier food system for Humboldt County.

Overall, the eight interviewees painted a picture of Humboldt County as an agricultural mecca with the potential for a food system that supports organic, affordable, and local food. But all eight interviewees also repeatedly spoke about the limitations of the current food system, including limited access, a large low-income population, and a lack of education about culturally appropriate foods for local tribes. If the HFPC continues with its stated mission (

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⁹ Claude Levi-Strauss, a French anthropologist, is credited with developing the theory of structuralism, whereby cultures are viewed as systems, and analyzed by the structural relation of their elements (Strauss 1955).

APPENDIX C), it should help the Humboldt County return to a dependence on the accessible foodstuffs that were once staples of the region.

Tracking Local Foods

In order to connect distribution, access, and policy to the dataset of historic cookbooks, grounded theory helped to connect present day data to the historical. A general research method developed by sociologists Barney Glaser and Anselm Strauss, grounded theory does expect data to connect to pre-existing theory: Conversely, theories emerge after qualitative data has been collected (Seale 2012:395). During the qualitative interviews, the eight HFPC voting members were asked two specific questions about how Humboldt County history intersects with the current challenges of the food system:

- 1. How has the history of Humboldt County shaped our food system?
- 2. Are there identifiable trends, styles or foods that represent Humboldt County?

Without assuming how interviewees would respond, the two questions were designed to bridge the historical data from Humboldt County cookbooks and the data from the HFPC members. Most interviewees cited the region's major industries of mining, logging, fishing, and marijuana cultivation as negatively impacting the local food system, a commentary. One HFPC member spoke specifically about how the decrease of fishing and logging jobs have hurt local businesses, including restaurants, small farmers, and grocers. According to the HFPC interviews, less dollars circulating through the North Coast economy has repeatedly resulted in local foods being cast aside for cheaper

products supplied by the industrial food system. Specifically, several of the transcripts suggested that a weak economy and Humboldt County's rural, isolated location were the primary causes of access, distribution, and policy being problematic hurdles for a healthy food system – and the capacity to eat locally.

Salmon

Humboldt County is often referred to as, "The Six Rivers Region" named for the six rivers, (Eel, Klamath, Mad, Mattole, Trinity, and Van Duzen) that feed into the Pacific Ocean. In each of the six rivers, Pacific salmon are wild and native. Local indigenous tribes including the Hupa, Karuk and the Yurok, have always depended on salmon for sustenance (Anderson 2018). Following the arrival of European settlers in the 1850's, but prior to negative impacts of mining, logging, and hydroelectricity that devastated the region's watershed, salmon were incredibly plentiful throughout Humboldt County. In A River's Last Chance, a documentary film about the Eel River produced in 2018, filmmaker Shane Anderson interviewed anglers and tribal leaders who grew up fishing on the six rivers. In the film, they reminisce about when Coho, Chinook, and Steelhead salmon were so thick that catching a fish simply required dipping your net into the water. In the past few decades, the populations of Pacific salmon, who migrate upriver to spawn and die, have been decimated; today's fish counts are a fraction of turn of the century estimates. But, as Anderson highlights in his film, the 2015-2016 season saw the largest salmon return on the Eel River in years. The Eel River Recovery Project reports that it expects a similar return in consecutive seasons, indicating a distinct improvement in the river's health (Ukiah Daily Journal 2017). Unfortunately, the salmon populations of the other six rivers have not seen the same increasing returns.

The decline of the native salmon population due to resource-extractive industries has been devastating to the health of Humboldt County - environmentally, economically, and culturally. None have felt these negative changes in the food system more dramatically than the Yurok. Each year, the tribe hosts the Salmon Festival, a celebration dedicated to the first return of Chinook salmon on the Klamath River. At the 2017 celebration, the tribe was forced to order 400 pounds of king and sockeye salmon from Alaska; the imported salmon was roasted on sticks, honoring the traditional cooking method of the tribe. In an article published in *High Country News*, Anna Smith quotes tribe member Georgiana Gensaw saying, "At least we didn't have hamburgers and hot dogs like last year, (Smith 2017:1). The region's Salmon Festival, a 56-year tradition, is intended to honor salmon's importance for the Yurok. Yet, due to historically low salmon runs, the tribe chooses to abstain from fishing the Klamath's historically low salmon population. Picking up the story nationally in 2017, Lisa Morehouse of National Public Radio wrote:

The Yurok tribe has fished for salmon in the Klamath River for centuries. Salmon is essential to Yurok ceremonies, for food, and for income. But this fall, the number of Chinook swimming up the Klamath, in the Pacific Northwest, was the lowest on record, threatening the tribe's entire culture and way of life (Morehouse: 2017:1).

<u>Oysters</u>

Humboldt Bay oysters are so iconic to Humboldt County that the city of Arcata attracts thousands of visitors to Humboldt for its annual Oyster Festival each June. The Olympia oyster is native to Humboldt Bay's waters, but the indigenous population was

wiped out due to overfishing by the 1850's (Poor 2017:1). It took another hundred years for oysters to return to the Humboldt Bay, thanks to fishermen who planted Pacific and Kumamoto oysters seeds. Known as oyster farming - not fishing - oysters used to be harvested by dredging or hydraulically harvesting oysters from the bottom of Humboldt Bay. Today, oyster farming practices are among the most sustainable agriculture standards in California: By using oyster bags strung along lines above the bay floor, oyster harvesting does little to no harm to the fragile North Coast ecosystem.

Despite the uncommon narrative about sustainability and mariculture co-existing, oysters have a far smaller impact on the overall food system in Humboldt than salmon. While a sustainable source of local food, the cost of following environmental regulations has kept oyster prices high; for the community, oysters remain a luxury or export foodstuff. In a 2012 article by Heidi Walters published in the *North Coast Journal*, she writes:

Today, Humboldt Bay's five shellfish growers produce more oysters than anywhere else in California; some are consumed locally, but many are exported. In 2009, the California Legislature called Humboldt Bay the Oyster Capital of California. The Monterey Bay Aquarium Seafood Watch refers to Humboldt-grown oysters as a "best-choice" seafood because, among other things, the harvest of them has a low impact on the ecosystem and other habitats – a nod, you could say, to those changes in farming practices [Walters 2012:3].

While praising the positive sustainability and economic metrics of oyster farming in her article, Walters asks, "Hear that? It's the well-heeled, banging their empty plates on elegantly clothes tables, demanding more Humboldt Kumamotos," (2017: 1). Though

according to Humboldt Baykeeper, nearly 90% of California's oysters are harvested from the Humboldt Bay, oysters are not a staple for local residents. While tourists might eat barbequed oysters while dining out, the elevated price, or perception of such, keeps oysters as a luxury good for those with deep pockets. Most often, Humboldt Bay oysters are exported and eaten by those who can afford them – not by residents of the Humboldt community (Walters 2012).

Crab

Like salmon and oysters, Dungeness crab is native and wild to the Pacific Ocean on Humboldt County's coastline. Humboldt crab is also ustainably harvested, a major export of the region, and rewards local fisherman with a low market value. According to an article by Eric Bailey published in the *Los Angeles Times*, on a good crabbing season, local fisherman can earn \$40,000 a season¹⁰ (Bailey 2000:2). Though crabbing jobs are a positive economic factor for Humboldt County's struggling economy, environmental toxins in the Pacific Ocean frequently delay the onset of crabbing season each winter. The shortened season means less crab are brought in each year, driving up demand for the crustacean commodity and pushing crab beyond the budget of the local community.

In a Department of Fish and Game 1983 report, titled, "Life History, Environment, and Mariculture Studies of the Dungeness Crab," Walter Dahlstrom provides a brief history of how tribal communities caught, prepared, and ate Dungeness crab on the North Coast. Dahlstrom writes:

¹⁰ According to the United States 2016 census data, Humboldt County's average household income is \$42,685.

Crabs were undoubtedly first utilized as a food source by Indians at various locations in California... Women of the Tolowa Indian Tribe in the Crescent City¹¹ area combed tidal pools for crabs and used sticks to agitate and unbury them from the sand close to shore. Yurok Indians of northern Humboldt County and Wiyot Indians in the Humboldt Bay speared crabs through the carapace with a stick or pole. Sometimes crabs were speared near estuaries of rivers when the crabs were "there to change their shells," (Dahlstrom 1983:7).

Due to high market prices, the risk of commercial fishing, and a loss of traditional knowledge, Dungeness crab are no longer interwoven in Humboldt County's food system as they once were. Amateur crabbers and tourists can buy crab pots at Costco and toss them off an ocean kayak or the dock. But for anyone so adventurous, further knowledge is required in how to haul pots, remove the live animals, and cook and clean the crab. This keeps the culinary practice far from being a part of most local diets and homes.

In 2008, the World Championship Crab Races and Festival, held each year in Del Norte County since 1966, was cancelled due to waning attendance and interest. The Crescent City Chamber of Commerce¹² expressed their disappointment in cancelling the annual event, which was established to support the local crab industry (Atherton 2008) Yet, crab persists as a prevalent cultural icon of the North Coast; the Arcata farm league

¹¹ Located north of Humboldt County, Crescent City is in Del Norte County.

¹² The Crescent City/Del Norte Chamber of Commerce also published "Prize Recipes of Dungeness Crab," included in the data set

baseball team, established in 1945, boasts their name (Figure 5) and a grassroots effort to establish a Eureka Crab Festival was initiated in 2015.

Figure 5 - Humboldt Crabs Logo/Mascot



Beef

Humboldt Made is a non-profit marketing organization that promotes small and artisan producers of food and goods made in Humboldt County. With nearly half their member businesses being cottage food producers, bakers, farmers, or ranchers, the organization is heavily tied to the local food system. On their website, Humboldt Made writes about the region's heritage for premium, grass-fed cattle:

Letting cattle graze on the ryegrass and clover pastures of Northwest California is better for the environment. To begin with, there's no need for fertilizer or frequent irrigation. In fact, our area's mild summers and frequent fog give us a 310+ day growing season for our cattle's grazing pleasure... The result is a fine cut of beef that will not only please the most discriminating, eco-conscious palate, it's downright healthy, (Humboldt Made).

The website provides a present-day snapshot of the local beef industry – small-scale, sustainable, and grass-fed. But the tradition of Humboldt beef dates back to the mid-19th

century, when Humboldt's gold rush ended as quickly as it started around 1850 (Clarke Historical Museum). With nowhere further West to explore, many settlers stuck in Humboldt County made use of the green hills to ranch cattle. In particular, the present-day towns of Loleta, Ferndale, Fortuna, Carlotta, Honeydew, Myrtletown, Sunnybrae, Bayside, Freshwater, and Arcata all have a significant percentage of acreage dedicated to grazing (Humboldt 2025 General Plan Update).

Today, two large companies, Eel River Organics and Humboldt Grass Fed Beef, export Humboldt grass-fed beef throughout California. With the commodification of a small-scale, sustainable agriculture product, grass-fed beef has helped positively market the quality of Humboldt County's agriculture. Yet, the beef industry is overall in decline and make little to no significant impacts economically¹³. But the pastoral landscape and rural lifestyles of many Humboldt County residents suggest that ranching impacts the region's food system more than statistics can quantify. In the 2025 Humboldt General Plan Update, the authors write:

Agricultural operations are etched more deeply into the cultural and aesthetic landscape than economic data can convey. The ranches that spread out across the lower Eel River and the Arcata Bottoms provide habitat for migrating waterfowl and shorebirds. Wide-open spaces create images of stirring beauty with meandering sloughs and cows foraging in the fields of grass. This setting is available for all residents to enjoy and often provides inspiration for local artists,

¹³ According to the 2012 Census of Agriculture, Humboldt County ranks 17th in the state for cattle production

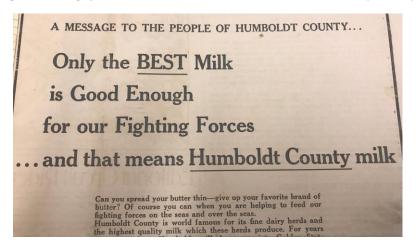
preserving historical settings on canvas (Humboldt 2025 General Plan Update 2003:9).

Dairy

A comparable cultural and economic factor to Humboldt beef, the local dairy industry was repeatedly mentioned during interviews with HFPC voting members.

Humboldt County became important for milk production during World War II (Figure 6), but faced challenges competing with large San Joaquin Valley dairies in the later 20th century (Humboldt 2025 General Plan Update).

Figure 6 - Image from archival research at Humboldt State University Library



The report also sites dairy as the largest agricultural industry in Humboldt County, though today, it only produces 1% of all the state's milk (Humboldt 2025 General Plan Update). A key agency in the local dairy industry is the Humboldt Creamery Association,

which employs over a hundred local residents and markets the 'Humboldt Creamery' brand across the state, ¹⁴ (Sims 2015:1).

While Humboldt County's dairy industry is small in comparison to California's robust industry¹⁵, the region's green pastureland dotted with cows continues to memorialize Humboldt's legacy as a dairy country. In Ferndale, a small town in southwestern Humboldt, the city is nicknamed 'The Cream City," for its historic contributions to California's dairy industry. On the Ferndale Chamber of Commerce website for visitors, 'Visit Ferndale,' the organization lists the innovations pioneered by Ferndale's early dairy companies, including: The first production of sweet cream butter, the first milk tank truck and the first butter wrapping and cutting machines.

¹⁴ After declaring bankruptcy in 2009, Humboldt Creamery was purchased by the agricultural giant Foster Farms, but dairy products are still produced at the original facility in Fernbridge, established in 1929.

¹⁵ California produces 20% of the milk in the United States (Humboldt County General Plan 2003:10)

CONCLUSIONS

Systematic Challenges of 'Eating Local'

Analyzing the data for this research thesis, it's evident that local foods were deeply engrained in the everyday foodways of Humboldt County up until the middle of the 20th century. Despite these findings, the decline of local commodities produced from fishing and small-scale agriculture is a larger consequence of globalization; the decline of local communities is widespread across the United States and by no means isolated to Humboldt County. On the California coastline, most fishing operations take place offshore and catches are often immediately shipped overseas. Like many seaside towns, the menu at Humboldt County restaurants serve frozen tilapia from Vietnam and farmed salmon from the Midwest. In Eureka, it's been nearly thirty years since the bustling Lazio's Seafood Restaurant was shuttered at the foot of C Street on the Eureka waterfront (Sutton 2008). A destination restaurant that served fresh fish for locals and tourists alike, Lazio's failure is symbolic of the decline of the Humboldt's fishing industry. Throughout the 20th century, comparable declines in the beef and dairy industry have sidelined Humboldt County cattle and dairy industries. Today, the Humboldt County community's preferences for eating locally has shifted - again corresponding to Bourdieu's notion of habitus - whereby food preferences and are dictated by social structures that supercede agency (Bourdieu 1976). Oysters, wild-caught salmon, crab and even local beef and dairy - once working-class staples of the community - are now premium items available to affluent budgets.

Nowhere is the cost of such cultural transition and loss of everyday knowledge more patently obvious in Humboldt County's tribal communities. In Hoopa, the diabetes rate is reported at 9.9% for the tribe; K'ima:w Diabetes Program coordinator, Dr. Terry Raymer, believes the actual number is much higher, stating, "The high prevalence is due to a combination of loss of traditional culture and a loss of traditional foods," (Clark 2014). As analyzing cookbooks was a primary method of data collection in this research thesis, the "culinary precisions" of Humboldt County's tribal communities go unexamined only due to the absence, or attainability, of such cookbooks. To date, Jeanne Riecke's *A Gathering of Recipes and Stories from the Yurok Aboriginal Territory* is the only known published cookbook on the foodways of the North Coast's tribal communities. Doubtlessly, culinary traditions have been passed through other modes of communication such as orally passing on recipes, teaching younger generations how to identify edible plants or a digital platform like Meghan Baldy's *Cooking Healthy in Indian Country* YouTube! channel.

The decline of traditional culinary knowledge around preparing local foods, both in and outside of tribal communities, does not suggest Humboldt County residents care nothing about local foods. On the contrary, a vibrant "Eat Local" movement is alive in Humboldt County, on par with national campaigns to reduce the negative ecological impacts of the global food system. The non-profit organization Locally Delicious, who published a cookbook in 2009, was established around this very goal. Their recent accomplishments include the publication of a *Local Food Guide*, which serves as a resource directory on where to source locally produced produce, meat and grains. In Nancy Only's 2005 cookbook, *Managing the Munchies*, she also pays great attention to

eating local and the unique foodscape of Humboldt County. In her introduction, Only writes, "Humboldt County boasts a wealth of excellent indigenous foods," and she provides a well-written historical narrative of the region (Only 2005). Only's recipes are organized similarly to the local food groups identified in this research thesis with chapters on Fish, Shellfish, Wild Things, Dairy, and even, Cash Crop – a chapter on marijuana-infused cuisine. Similarly, the Locally Delicious cookbook highlights the wide range of sustainably grown produce farmed throughout the county and the agricultural potential of the region's natural resources.

It's evident that a primary focus of the 'contemporary' cookbooks in the data set is how to cook and eat local ingredients – a commendable pursuit in the eyes of many. Yet, it's difficult to comprehend the degree to which local foods were once culturally embedded within the community's identity without a historical perspective. While *Locally Delicious* published several recipes on using both organically farmed tomatoes and fresh salmon, the narrative around the meaning of "eating local" has shifted. Today, local foods are not simply enjoyed by virtue of proximity and abundance, but often, "local" indicates free from the additives, pesticides, and synthetic fillers used to create highly processed foods. Often falling under the catchall label of "sustainably-grown," local foods typically demand higher prices, whether purchased at a farm-to-table restaurant or with an EBT cash card. This socioeconomic reality problematizes the origins of the eat local movement. While the goal of a healthier diet for the community

¹⁶ The State of California awards beneficiaries needing food subsidies with the Golden State Advantage debit card, also known as "EBT."

and the environment are just, eating local has largely become a "marker of identity"¹⁷ for the well-educated and upper class. As a result, the eat local movement has become highly politicized. And as illustrated through the analysis of historic cookbooks, eating local has been transformed from a source of cultural heritage to class identity. Today, the choice to eat local is a privilege afforded by one's socioeconomic status and education. Yet, numerous organizations in Humboldt County champion community-driven efforts to eat local – is this problematic?

Through data collected via the Humboldt Food Policy Council, it's evident that the region's current food system struggles to serve marginalized members of the community, including the homeless, seniors, rural residents, and local tribe members. Like the decline of the fishing industry at the hands of increased global competition and environmental regulations, the rise of the industrial food system is not a problem unique to Humboldt County. Rather, the public and private health symptoms caused by dependence on cheap, mass-produced food are being felt across the nation (Pinsker 2016). In combatting the rise of dietary disease and increasingly poor health outcomes for many Americans, what role does a region's history play in understanding how and what we eat?

Flipping through the tattered pages of recipes, historic cookbooks tell stories about how the community cooked meals, fed their families, and built a legacy. While writing a cookbook inspired by her grandmother's collection of thousands of recipes,

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¹⁷ Ferguson, Priscilla Parkhurst. (2010). "Culinary Nationalism." *Gastronomica: The Journal of Food and Culture*, (10.1): 102-109.

author Caroline Randall Williams writes, "Every time I come upon one, it is a marker of a shared, similar experience," (Severson 2015:3). In effort to create a local food system that truly feeds everyone's needs, a better understanding of our community's history – and specifically, relationship to local food - is critical. Only an entreat for more, this research thesis strives to bring attention to a valuable cultural resource as we work for a healthier, more sustainable and well-fed Humboldt County.

There is much more to writing a good recipe than providing a how-to list, and much more to reading one than following a set of instructions. A good recipe doesn't just instruct its readers, it inspires them. It takes them to a different place, and makes life better [Wharton 2014: 73].

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APPENDICES

APPENDIX A - Humboldt Historical Society: Archival Notes, January 7, 2017

- 1) "Cooking Favorites of Arcata." Arcata Eagles Auxiliary No. 1846
 - a. No year
 - b. 0 salmon recipes
 - c. Crab Recipes
 - i. Crab Souffle
- 2) "A Tribute to The Working Women." American Business Women's Association, Farthest West Chapter, Eureka
 - a. 1987
 - b. Salmon recipes
 - i. Dilled Salmon Pie (canned salmon)
 - ii. Salmon Loaf (boned & skinned salmon)
- 3) "Redwood Country Cooking"
 - a. No year
 - b. Salmon Recipes
 - i. Salmon Casserole ("2 cups salmon)
 - ii. Salmonettes (canned)
 - c. Crab Recipes
 - i. Crab Dip
 - ii. Crab Cioppiono (calls for 'white fish, cut in cubes')
- 4) "Prize Recipes of Dungeness Crab" Del North County Chamber of Commerce
 - a. "Home of the Famous Crab Festival & World Championship Dungeness Crab Races" (on front cover)
 - b. Intro "You, too, can enjoy crab a delicacy of Del Norte County. People travel many miles for the chance at eating crab at its best."
 - i. Includes instructions on differences between live and canned crab, how to cook, prepare and serve
- 5) Congregational Church Cookbook League Circle of Women's Fellowship
 - a. 1959
 - b. Salmon
 - i. Salmon Baked in Paper Ruby Kennedy
 - c. Crab
 - i. Crab & Rice Casserole by Helen Nordell
 - ii. Jan's Crab Salad Souffle Mrs. Glenn Griffith
 - iii. Crab on a Bun Betty Nielsen
 - d. Oysters
 - i. Baked Oysters & Macaroni by Greta Taynton
- 6) First Baptist Church 70th Anniversary Cookbook
 - a. Edited by American Baptist Women of Arcata Frist Baptist Church
 - i. 1976
 - ii. Crab
 - 1. Crab Louis Salad Dressing
 - iii. No salmon or oysters

- 7) Baptist Church Cook Book Eureka, Humboldt County
 - a. Sponsored by the Grandmother's Club
 - b. 1941
 - c. Oysters
 - i. "Escalloped Oysters & Macroni"
 - d. Crab
 - i. Crab salad
 - e. Salmon
 - i. Salmon Salad (canned)
- 8) "A Cookie Cookbook."
 - a. Observing the 75th Anniversary of the First Baptist Church of Arcata
- 9) American Baptist Women
 - a. 1983
 - b. Celebrating 100th Anniversary of the church
 - c. No crab, salmon or oysters
- 10) Eureka Woman's Club Cookbook
 - a. Begins with brief introduction of Humboldt County history
 - b. Includes recipes from local restaurants
 - c. Crab
 - i. Crab & Shrimp Mold
 - ii. Crab Cakes
 - iii. Deviled Crab
 - iv. Crab Casserole
 - d. Oysters
 - i. Oysters Gallia
 - ii. Escalloped Oysters
 - iii. Oyster Stew
- 11) From the Kitchen of the Ladies Bible Study Church of the Nazarene, Eureka
 - a. Crab
 - i. Crab Salad
- 12) Eating with Emblem Eureka Emblem Club No. 298
 - a. 1980
 - b. Women's branch of the Elks Club
 - c. Crab
 - i. Sea Queen Casserole
 - ii. Seafood Casserole
- 13) Dorcas Gem Cook Book Danish & American Cookery
 - a. Compiled and published by the Dorcas Society of Our Savior's Lutheran Church, Ferndale, California
 - b. 1953
 - c. Salmon
 - i. Salmon & Noodle Ring (flaked fish)
 - ii. Salmon Loaf
 - iii. Salmon Casserole (flaked)
 - iv. Swedish Baked Salmon (canned)
 - d. Crab

- i. Crab & Rice Casserole
- ii. Crab Louis
- 14) First Covenant Church Cook Book & History
 - a. 1979
 - b. Includes history of church starting in 1928. Began as Swedish church
 - c. Crab
 - i. Crab Louis by Evelyn Worthen
 - ii. Crab Potato Salad by Gerry Lauridsen
 - iii. Crab Casserole by Karen Williams
 - iv. Chicken-Crab Meat Casserole Rosemary
 - d. Salmon
 - i. Baked Salmon by Carol Lampi (canned)
 - ii. Salmon Loaf by Louise Erdmann (canned)
- 15) Eureka Cook Book
 - a. "A collection of tried and true recipes for cooking."
 - b. Compiled and published by The Ladies League of the First Congregational Church, Eureka
 - c. 1907
 - d. Oysters
 - i. Oyster Chowder (x2) by Mrs. R.D. Porter & H.H.
 - ii. Oyster Stew
 - iii. Oyster Pie Mrs. S.F. Pine
 - iv. Oyster Loaf Mrs. A. W. R. Berr
 - v. Creamed Oysters
 - e. Salmon
 - i. Salmon Turbots by Mrs. Switzer
 - ii. Salmon Croquettes by Mrs. Willard Wells
 - iii. Boiled Salmon by Mrs . Haughey
 - f. Crab
 - i. Creamed Crab
 - ii. Crab Spanish by Mrs. W. S. Easley

- I. Times Standard
 - a. 1980
 - i. October
 - 1. Wed, 10/1/1980 North Coast Kitchen
 - a. "Lobster Stretches Party Budget" by Aileen Claire, NEA writer (Newspaper Enterprise Association)
 - i. 3 recipes on how to best stretch lobster for entertaining on a budget
 - ii. Recommends using South African lobster
 - 1. "Rock Lobster Balls"
 - 2. "Rock Lobster Spread"
 - 3. "Rock Lobster Appetizer Salad"
 - 2. Wed, 10/8/1980 North Coast Kitchen
 - a. 4 short articles, 2 w/ recipes
 - i. "Edible Endearments" by Cecily Brownstone, AP writer
 - 1. Talks about history of using edible adjectives as terms of endearment
 - ii. "Soul-sooting food tomes" by Gaynor Maddox, NEA writer
 - 1. Recommends 2 literary food books One called "All Good Things Around Us," about edible, seasonal herbs on a farm in England & "North Atlantic Seafood." Oddly, both recommend eating local, but don't pertain to Humboldt.
 - iii. "Dessert Improves as It Waits" by Cecily Brownstone, AP food writer
 - 1. Recipe for "Chocolate Peanut Chip Torte," which she says gets better after a few days of storage, good for hosting
 - iv. "Bourbon Loaf Brunch" by Brownstone
 - 3. Wed, 10/15/1980 North Coast Kitchen 4 Stories
 - a. "Rice, apple & stuffed pheasant" by Aileen Claire, NEA writer
 - b. "Sausage for fall season" by Tom Hoge, AP writeri. Recipe for "Curried Sausage in Beer"
 - c. "Colonial Style Venison Stew" Aileen Claire, NEA
 - d. "Peckham's Chili Con Carne" Brownsotne, AP
 - 4. Wed, 10/22/1980 8 stories!
 - a. "Wonderful Olives Tom Hoge, AP

- i. About trip to Italy, how good they are and recipe for an olive soup
- b. "Affordable Brunch Tournedos" by Aileen Claire, AP. Small cuts of steak wrapped in pork, served at brunch. Recommends using "economical chuck steak"
- c. "Savory Italian Beef Dish" by Aileen Claire, NEA
 - i. "Bistecca Alla Fiorentina" (steak)
- d. "Quick Easy Fare" by Cecily Brownstone, AP
 - i. "Skillet Meat Loaf"
 - ii. "Tomato Squash"
 - iii. "Broccoli Spread"
- e. "A Low Salt Feast" by Gaynor Maddox, NEA
 - Recommends following holiday dinner: flaked fish, turkey, sweet potatoes, creamed onions and green beans and fresh fruit for dessert. "The cook does not add one shake of salt."
- f. "Easy-style Spaghetti Meal" by Aileen Claire, NEA
- g. "Dutch Raisin Spice Cake" by Brownstone, AP
- h. Honey Ice Cream Pie, NEA
- 5. Wed, 10/29/1980
 - a. "A Historic Cake Recipe" AP election day cake
 - b. "Buckwheat Crackers" AP
 - c. "Trader Vic's Rum Punch" AP
 - d. "Canning for the Holidays" NEA
 - i. Spiced Apple Rings
 - ii. Winter Conserve
 - iii. Pear Honey

APPENDIX C - Humboldt Food Policy Council Charter

The Humboldt Food Policy Council envisions a sustainable local food system that provides affordable and accessible foods for all, contributes to the economic viability of the region, and supports the vitality of every part of the food system - from seed to table to soil. HFPC values a culturally-appropriate, accessible, equitable, and sustainable food system.

The Humboldt Food Policy Council engages diverse stakeholders from the food system sectors; production, processing, distribution, marketing, consumption, and waste/recycling. In addition, the HFPC includes community advocates from food security organizations, public and environmental health, and other interested organizations. These stakeholders work collaboratively to achieve HFPC goals, share information, and build capacity for local food system improvements.

APPENDIX D - Interview Rubric

- 3. How did you get involved with the Humboldt Food Policy Council?
- 4. What changes in food policy have been implemented in order to promote a healthy, sustainable food economy?
 - a. Has the HFPC been involved in this development?
- 5. What prevents Humboldt County residents from accessing and consuming healthier food?
 - a. Would you primarily pinpoint these impasses as cultural, economic or historic?
- 6. Do you see achievable goals to create a healthier food culture in Humboldt?
- 7. Do you think the HFPC is a good platform to achieve such goals?
- 8. What are current limitations of the HFPC to serve the community?
- 9. How has the history of Humboldt County shaped our food system?
 - a. Do you consider key historical events as turning points in our region's culinary history?
- 10. Are there identifiable trends, styles or foods that represent Humboldt County?

APPENDIX E - Humboldt Food Policy Council Research IRB

IRB Number: IRB 15-162

Was this protocol registered as part of a grant submission?:

No

Proposed Start Date:

Thursday, February 18, 2016

Principal Investigator:

Student

Responsible Faculty or Staff Name:

Rebecca E. Robertson

Responsible Faculty or Staff Department:

Anthropology

Responsible Faculty or Staff Email:

Rebecca.Robertson@humboldt.edu [1]

Responsible Faculty or Staff Phone Number:

(707) 826-4342

CITI Training Date of Completion:

Wednesday, January 27, 2016

Student or External Name:

Nora Mounce

Student or External Department:

Anthropology

Student or External Email:

noramounce@gmail.com [2]

Student or External Phone Number:

530-913-8348

Qualifications:

Graduate Student, Applied Anthropology, Humboldt State University

Responsibilities:

Responsible for the design and implementation of the study. Working independently.

CITI Training Complete:

Yes

CITI Training Date of Completion:

Tuesday, February 16, 2016

Purpose of Project:

Graduate Research

Do you or anyone else plan on disseminating the information acquired from this project outside of the specified course classroom or the University? (Please check "yes" for dissemination if you are conducting research for a thesis that will be published on Digital Scholar.):

Yes

Assurances:

Ensuring the quality and accuracy of the written materials included in the Application for Review;

Ensuring Human Subjects in Research Training for all personnel who may interact with human subjects or have access to subjects' information or responses;

Supervising the conduct of research protocols submitted under their direction;

Ensuring compliance with all federal, state and local regulations, as well as Humboldt State University policies regarding the protection of human subjects in research;

Adhering to any stipulations imposed by the Humboldt State University IRB;

Ensuring that permission from outside institutions (e.g., tribes, hospitals, prisons, or schools) is obtained, if applicable;

Retaining all research data, including informed consent documentation of participants, in accordance with institutional, local, state and federal regulations;

Reporting to the Humboldt State University IRB immediately if there are any adverse events and/or unanticipated problems involving risks to subjects or others.

Lay Abstract:

This research project is designed to determine how a community organization, the Humboldt Food Policy Council (HFPC), is operating to change food policy in Humboldt County. An inductive study, the research will comprise of qualitative interviews with members of the HFPC to understand their impressions, opinions and emotions on the successes and limitations of Humboldt County's foodshed and local food system. A foodshed is defined as a geographic region that produces food for a particular population, where a food system indicates the economic network that is responsible for the transportation of food from grower to table. The HFPC is a network of food system stakeholders including grocers, farmers, public health, hospitals, economic developers, local food advocates, planners, food pantries, elected officials, and consumers, all with the vested interest in promoting more healthful and sustainable policies for the Humboldt foodshed. This study is designed to determine the barriers currently challenging the health of Humboldt County's food system in an effort to impact progressive change for the local food system.

Type of Data:

Interview

Sources for data or records::

Qualitative, in-depth interviews

Type of Subjects:

Humboldt Food Policy Council members (adults)

Estimated Number of Subjects:

10

Expected Age of Subjects:

50

Approximate total time commitment required from subjects:

2 hours

Will subjects be Compensated?:

No

Description:

The cultural identity of a geographic region is expressed through food by traditional food styles and habits. Societal food trends do not exist in a vacuum, but are affected by a region's economic pathways of transportation and the quality and price of food locally available. In any locality of the United States, the public receives knowledge about food

and nutrition from a huge variety of sources in the digital age. This research project is designed to gather information from key stakeholders in the Humboldt County food system (HFPC members) about how the socioeconomic and historical elements of their local food system impact dietary habits and trends. A growing body of literature and research on food studies, local foodsheds and food policy across the United States will help frame this research project. The study will maintain an anthropological lens by asking members of the HFPC how the culture, history and economy of Humboldt County has affected how the local community prepares, consumes and relates to food. The intent is to research and clarify how key stakeholders in Humboldt's food culture and economy, the HFPC, envision the future of Humboldt's foodshed and food system. Understanding how the shortcomings and current challenges that face progressive food policy in Humboldt is the elementary first step in implementing successful changes. The primary research question of this study asks, what is the food culture of Humboldt County, in effort to understand how food policy is shaping the cultural identity of the region.

Recruitment and Selection:

Selection will be very specifically determined by participation in the Humboldt Food Policy Council. I will first ask board members to participate as interviewees, followed by meeting participants. I anticipate participants will be very willing to be interviewed in effort to promote sustainable food policy in Humboldt.

Types of Vulnerable Subjects:

Not applicable to this project

Documentation Type:

<u>Informed Consent</u> [3]: is written in language that is understandable to the subject or the legally authorized representative.

Consent Process:

I will provide all participants with written consent outlining the details of the interview questions, the purpose behind the study and the time commitment required.

Methods:

Methods/Data Analysis In effort to understand the economic, social and historical realities that shape the food system of Humboldt County, this study will consist of indepth, open-ended interviews with members of the HFPC as well as participants attending HFPC monthly meetings. The interviews will be formatted with open-ended questions in order to allow for members to expand on the issues they feel are most pressing to the local food system. The open-ended, inductive questions will ask how and why food is prepared, consumed and celebrated in Humboldt County in order to collect a record of qualitative data. Once the data collection phase is complete, the following methodologies will be employed to generate quantitative data derived from the qualitative interviews. • Thematic content analysis (TCA) will be conducted across the interview transcripts to track commonalities in responses and generate new categories of data • Open coding will be used to apply labels to types of responses, both in terms of themes (i.e., local, politics, transportation, access) and emotional value of response (i.e., positive or negative) • Critical discourse analysis (CDA), the concept that language is conditioned by context, will help frame the interviewees' responses in regard to how food culture in Humboldt has changed over time. Using CDA will help incorporate a historical context to the qualitative data recorded in 2016, putting a high-level of emphasis on the meanings ascribed to words about food in a specific region.

Benefits:

The social and ethical benefit of participating in a study with the greater goal of promoting a sustainable food economy and stronger food culture in Humboldt County.

Potential Risks:

Minimal to none.

Risk Management Procedures:

N/A

Anonymity and Confidentiality:

Confidentiality will be maintained in the publication of interview responses. Qualitative data will be compiled without accounting for names attached to records before quantitative data techniques are employed. Confidential risk is minimal as participants are already named member of the Humboldt Food Policy Council.

Data Storage, Security and Destruction:

Data will be stored on my personal/work laptop using Dropbox. Any items or information attached to a identifying record will be destroyed at the end of the semester, May 2016.

Informed Consent Storage:

Data will be stored on my personal/work laptop using Dropbox. Any items or information attached to a identifying record will be destroyed after 3 years of the project's conclusion, May 2019.

APPENDIX F - Informed Consent

Dear Research Participant:

You have hereby been provided with informed consent regarding your participation in the research conducted by primary investigator and Humboldt State graduate student Nora Mounce. This research will take place at various locations in Humboldt County including Humboldt State University and public or private (residential) meeting points pre-arranged by the primary investigator and participant. 30 minutes will be minimum time required, no more than 60 minutes. Direct quotations may be recorded.

This research project is designed to determine how a community organization, the Humboldt Food Policy Council (HFPC), is operating to change food policy in Humboldt County. An inductive study, the research will comprise of qualitative interviews with members of the HFPC to understand their impressions, opinions and emotions on the successes and limitations of Humboldt County's foodshed and local food system. This study is designed to determine the barriers currently challenging the health of Humboldt County's food system in an effort to impact progressive change for the local food system.

There are no foreseeable risks in participating in this research. Participants will not be monetarily compensated, but the benefit of participation is helping to build a deeper understanding of the current challenges and limitations of the local food system in Humboldt County. Confidentiality will be maintained in the publication of interview responses. Qualitative data will be compiled without accounting for names attached to records before quantitative data techniques are employed.

The Investigator will answer any questions you have about this study. Your participation is voluntary and you may stop at any time.

If you have any concerns with this study, contact the Chair of the Institutional Review Board for the Protection of Human Subjects, Dr. Ethan Gahtan, at eg51@humboldt.edu or (707) 826-4545. If you have questions about your rights as a participant, report them to the Humboldt State University Dean of Research, Dr. Rhea Williamson, at Rhea.Williamson@humboldt.edu or (707) 826-5169.

Name	Date
Signature	
Sincerely,	

Nora Mounce | Graduate Student | Humboldt State | Applied Anthropology $\underline{noramounce@gmail.com} \mid 530.913.8348$

Mary Scoggin | Advisor & Department Chair | Humboldt State | Anthropology <u>Ms34@humboldt.edu</u> | 707.826.5286

APPENDIX G - Thesis Research IRB

Constructing a Culinary Ethnography: Interpreting Humboldt County History Through Food

IRB Number: 16-124

Was this protocol registered as part of a grant submission?:

No

Proposed Start Date: Sunday, January 1, 2017 **Principal Investigator:**

Student

Responsible Faculty or Staff Name:

Mary L Scoggin

Responsible Faculty or Staff Department:

China Studies Program

Responsible Faculty or Staff Email:

mary.scoggin@humboldt.edu [1]

Responsible Faculty or Staff Phone Number:

(707) 826-5286

CITI Training Date of Completion:

Tuesday, February 16, 2016

Student or External Name:

Nora Mounce

Student or External Department:

Applied Anthropology

Student or External Email:

noramounce@gmail.com [2]

Student or External Phone Number:

530-913-8348

Qualifications:

Nora Mounce is a second-year graduate student in Humboldt State Applied Anthropology department. Her area of focus is Cultural Anthropology, specifically rural and agrarian economies and food studies. Nora earned her Bachelor of Arts in Sociology at the University of California, Berkeley.

Responsibilities:

Nora Mounce is the primary researcher. She will conduct all research proposed and collect data for the purpose of this graduate thesis.

CITI Training Complete:

Yes

CITI Training Date of Completion:

Tuesday, February 16, 2016

Purpose of Project:

Graduate Research

Do you or anyone else plan on disseminating the information acquired from this project outside of the specified course classroom or the University? (Please check

"yes" for dissemination if you are conducting research for a thesis that will be published on Digital Scholar.):

Yes

If Yes, please explain:

I will seek publication with media outlets or associations outside of Humboldt State University, such as Digital Scholar and the Journal of the Association of Food and Society.

Assurances:

Ensuring the quality and accuracy of the written materials included in the Application for Review:

Ensuring Human Subjects in Research Training for all personnel who may interact with human subjects or have access to subjects' information or responses;

Supervising the conduct of research protocols submitted under their direction; Ensuring compliance with all federal, state and local regulations, as well as Humboldt State University policies regarding the protection of human subjects in research; Adhering to any stipulations imposed by the Humboldt State University IRB; Ensuring that permission from outside institutions (e.g., tribes, hospitals, prisons, or schools) is obtained, if applicable;

Retaining all research data, including informed consent documentation of participants, in accordance with institutional, local, state and federal regulations;

Reporting to the Humboldt State University IRB immediately if there are any adverse events and/or unanticipated problems involving risks to subjects or others.

Lay Abstract:

This research thesis examines how the history of Humboldt County is represented through food. The primary point of inquiry will be analyzing recipes printed in cookbooks and media, published in Humboldt County. By seeking to interpret the commentaries, stories, and discourses represented in recipes and cookbooks, this study will construct a culinary ethnography of Humboldt County. The significance in collecting this data is to document how the history of Humboldt County is represented through the lens of food. This research is approached from the perspective that food provides an interdisciplinary framework in which to study culture and history. The manner in which recipes mutually absorb and dictate culture, positions cookbooks and food media as primary sources to understand the economic, historical and social factors that have impacted the culture and history of Humboldt County. The purpose behind this research is to help to preserve the region's cultural heritage for the benefit of the entire community.

Type of Data:

Interview

Secondary/Existing Data or Records

Sources for data or records:

Cookbooks, Media

Other:

Humboldt County Library, Humboldt County Historical Society, Humboldt State University

Type of Subjects:

Local historians

Estimated Number of Subjects:

2-5

Expected Age of Subjects:

40-70

Approximate total time commitment required from subjects:

30-60 minutes

Will subjects be Compensated?:

No

Description:

Food is mutually a byproduct and pillar of culture. Anthropologists have long recognized the reciprocity of influence between food and culture, thus, there is a rich history anthropological analysis of diet, nutrition, and intersections of food and economy. Despite academic interest at the theoretical, economic and biological level, scholars have long viewed the daily rituals of food preparation as commonplace. The French philosopher and linguist Roland Barthes wrote extensively about food, particularly about the meaning of how patterns and habits around food, function as a form of semiotic communication. An effort to track, document and interpret how food and culture are mutually co-constructed is the theoretical premise that guides this research thesis. Through qualitative methods, this study seeks to understand how the sociopolitical history of Humboldt is expressed through food. After reviewing graduate theses published at Humboldt State University and researching local Humboldt County history, I have not discovered substantial research on the cooking habits and trends of the region. Essentially, though a volume of historic cookbooks exists, the gendered and economic discourses embedded in cookbooks contribute to how they've been historically treated. Since cookery has largely been viewed as a task assigned to marginalized populations (peasants, servants, slaves, migrant groups, women, and the working poor), cookbooks are rarely considered a subject worth scholarly interest. Yet, cookbooks often serve as cornerstones to various sub-cultures and groups. For example, when scanning the boxes of cookbooks at the Clarke Museum in Eureka, CA, the collection contains cookbooks published by the St. Mary's Ladies Guild, the Mother's Club of the First Presbyterian Church, The Ladies League of the First Congregational Church, Humboldt Federal Savings Bank, the Arcata United Methodist Church, and the town of Freshwater. Each of these groups, bound by religion, occupation or geography, identified their sub-culture by publishing a cookbook, intended to represent their values culture, and identity. The study of historic cookbooks and local food media aims to construct an ethnography on the culinary identity of Humboldt County. Furthermore, I hypothesize that the quantitative data collected from Humboldt County's historic cookbooks and food media will also speak to the economic politics and gender relations of the region. The primary action of this research project will be compiling data on cookery from material culture and media analysis. But this research roots itself in tradition of anthropology by interpreting how data informs intersections of gender, economy and culture in Humboldt County. Finally, the reasons for choosing Humboldt County to interpret history and culture through recipes are two-fold. First, Humboldt County is geographic remote location, a five-hour drive from the nearest urban population keeps the area in a degree of isolation from the economic and cultural influences of California. Second, the region's boom-and-bust history of resource-extractive industries has left Humboldt County with a weak economy,

minimal job opportunities and a large population of marginalized residents who regularly experience unemployment and homelessness. In a 2012 report from the Center for Health Reporting, Richard Kipling explains that though other California counties have comparable, in some cases worse, income and poverty profiles, Humboldt experiences widespread health problems that are demographically disproportionate. This gives rise to the hypothesis that other factors aside from economic disadvantages impact the high rates of dietary disease in Humboldt County and supports the need for further research on the food culture of the region. Through cookbooks and the passing on of recipes, native foods, cultural traditions, a region's food culture is preserved. This study will document this history, contributing to the overall cultural heritage preservation of Humboldt County.

Recruitment and Selection:

In the process of data collection, if a specific individual holds knowledge about Humboldt County's food history, I will conduct an interview to gain perspective and context.

Types of Vulnerable Subjects:

Not applicable to this project

Documentation Type:

<u>Informed Consent</u> [3]: is written in language that is understandable to the subject or the legally authorized representative.

Consent Process:

When conducting interviews, I will provide the subject with an Informed Consent and collected their signed consent form. The Informed Consent form is will use has been uploaded in this application.

Methods:

Study of Material Culture: By compiling data from cookbook collections at the Clarke Museum, the Humboldt Historical Society and the Humboldt Rooms at Humboldt State University and the Humboldt Public Library, I will compile quantitative data about the types of food and recipes represented in Humboldt County cookbooks. In preliminary research on the food history of Humboldt County, reinforced by my personal knowledge as a resident of Humboldt County, the following food groups are historically significant to the region: crab, salmon, oysters, beef and dairy. Each of these food groups has a unique history in Humboldt, shaped by industrial, environmental and economic forces. In recording data from local cookbooks, I mine the material culture data to track the following: 1) Do the prevalence of these foods increase or decrease over time? 2) Are there particular types of cookbooks that publish recipes with these foods? (Ex. Cookbooks from a fishermen associations or cattlemen's wives) 3) Do increases or decreases in the representation of salmon, crab, oysters, beef, and dairy correlate to any significant historical events or economic shifts? I will ask these questions to investigate my hypothesis that recipes are an effective method of tracking historical and social change. In addition to the quantitative analysis of the prevalence of historically important foods, recipe "notes" will be read and analyzed. By recipe notes, I refer the context and content that surrounds recipes. There is no formal term for this genre of writing, but recipe notes are a significant piece of historical literature that can range from scientific directions to ethnographic storytelling about the people and place related to the recipe. Media Analysis: A second research method will be a media analysis of archived

newspaper articles about food and cooking published in Eureka Times-Standard, North Coast Journal, Humboldt Sentinel and Arcata Eye. All are local newspapers currently in print in Humboldt County. The media analysis will include material published in newspapers that have since closed by accessing historical archives in the "Humboldt Room" located at both Humboldt State University and the Humboldt County Library. The focus of the media analysis will be examining published recipes in local newspapers, but articles about restaurants, in addition to farms, ranches, and fishing that discuss local foodstuffs, will also be considered for inclusion. In the media analysis, I will compare the types of recipes that are published in newspapers to recipes published in local cookbooks. Qualitative Interviews: The final method of data collection consists of in-depth, openended interviews with key local history experts on the food system and food culture of Humboldt County. I have chosen to conduct these interviews in order to contextualize the recipes, cookbooks, and blogs with background information on historic events and insider knowledge about Humboldt County's food system. Furthermore, the interviews will localize the literature and theoretical perspectives that frame a research thesis on cookbooks, anchoring this study specifically to Humboldt County. By recruiting expert knowledge on Humboldt County's food culture through qualitative interviews of key participants, I will be able to merge the theory that frames my thesis to the collected data from Humboldt County. The second goal of qualitative interviews is to understand the impact economic and social structures that have shaped the history of food Humboldt County. When choosing participants for qualitative interviews, I specifically selected interviewees due to their status as voting members of the Humboldt Food Policy Council (HFPC). I selected HFPC members to gain a deeper understanding of Humboldt County's food economy and to gain insights to new sources of information – essentially, each HFPC member will serve as a gatekeeper. Researcher Clive Seal writes that, "Gatekeepers are the sponsors, officials and significant others who have the power to grant or block access to and within a setting." Interviewing known gatekeepers requires that the research take an overt approach, but as I will be conducting targeted interviews scheduled in advance with full disclosure of the research subject. I see minimal risk in utilizing gatekeepers as interviewees.

Benefits:

The primary aim of this thesis is to track and document how the sociopolitical history of Humboldt County is represented through food. Viewing cookbooks as material culture and utilizing recipes as data is a rarely practiced methodology in anthropology. For this reason, there is minimal literature on the culinary history and food culture of Humboldt County, a unique and geographically isolated corner of northern California. Yet, the manner in which recipes mutually absorb and dictate culture, positions cookbooks and food media as primary sources to understand the economic, historical and social factors that have impacted the culture and history of Humboldt County. The narrative storytelling that accompanies recipes are valuable, yet underutilized, sources of literature to that give meaning to how, what and why people feed themselves. To examine this pattern both historically and geographically will help to reveal how food culture continues to influence the larger culture of Humboldt County as a region. The greater goal behind this research is to help to preserve the region's cultural heritage for the benefit of the entire community through the publication of a culinary ethnography on Humboldt County.

Potential Risks:

This study poses an extremely minimal risk to any human subjects.

Risk Management Procedures:

This study poses an extremely minimal risk to any human subjects.

Anonymity and Confidentiality:

All records containing confidential information will be destroyed after six months.

Data Storage, Security and Destruction:

All data collected will kept on the researcher's password protected laptop computer.

Informed Consent Storage:

The researcher will collect Informed Consent as necessary and retain documentation for at least 3 years after completion of thesis research.

APPENDIX H - Table of HFPC Events 2016-2017

Event	Date	Location	Key Themes
Food Summit	February 27, 2016	Humboldt State University, Arcata	Access, distribution, cottage food industries, tribal communities, traditional food, diabetes, cancer, community engagement
Community Education Forum: "Feeding the Homeless in Humboldt County"	August 24, 2016	Community Wellness Center - Eureka, CA	Distribution and access for growing homeless population
HFPC Business Meeting	March 15, 2017	Humboldt Area Foundation - Bayside, CA	Efficacy in the community, event planning
Community Education Forum: "Exploring the Food Commons Model"	April 25, 2017	Community Wellness Center - Eureka, CA	Analyzing models for better food access and distribution in other regions
HCPC Business Meeting	May 17, 2017	Humboldt Area Foundation - Bayside, CA	Efficacy in the community, event planning
HCPC Business Meeting	July 19, 2017	Humboldt Area Foundation - Bayside, CA	Efficacy in the community, event planning
Screening of "Locally Grown: America's Food Revolution"	August 19, 2017	Humboldt State University - Arcata, CA	Successes and sustainability in small-scale agriculture in Humboldt County
Food Art Show Reception	September 2, 2017	Redwood Art Association - Eureka, CA	Art show documenting agrarian landscapes and local food
HFPC Business Meeting	September 20, 2017	Humboldt Area Foundation - Bayside, CA	Efficacy in the community, event planning
HFPC Business Meeting	November 15, 2017	Humboldt Area Foundation - Bayside, CA	Efficacy in the community, event planning
Food Film Pop-Up	December 4, 2017	Richard's Goat Mini-plex Cinema - Arcata, CA	Challenges facing global food system.