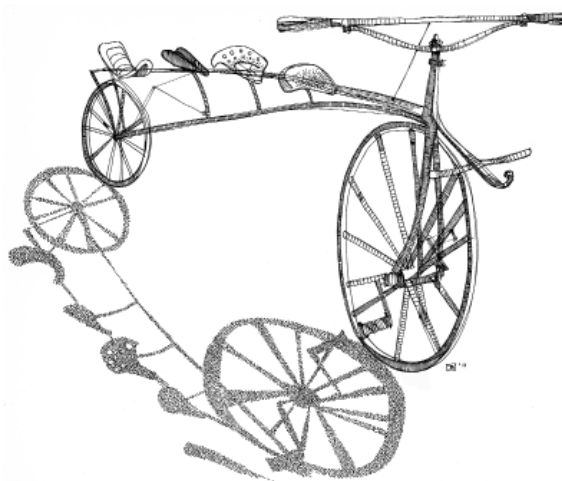


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IDENTIFICATION OF A PALAEOINDIAN OCCUPATION IN COMPRESSED STRATIGRAPHY: A CASE STUDY FROM AHAI MNEH (FiPp-33)

Matt Rawluk, Aileen Reilly, Peter Stewart, & Gabriel Yanicki

The 2010 University of Alberta Institute of Prairie Archaeology field school produced thousands of artifacts including diagnostic projectile points that provide evidence of multiple occupations spanning a 10,000 year period. As is typical of archaeological sites with limited surface deposition, a lack of visible stratigraphy makes it difficult to associate the assemblage with these temporal and cultural diagnostics, or assess changing occupation patterns over time. The authors present here a method reliant upon diligent attention to three-point proveniencing and analysis using low-cost, easily accessible software to complement the otherwise weak stratigraphic record; the resulting empirically segregated data show multiple components, the earliest of which correlates with an Agate Basin/Hell Gap complex occupation.

Ahai Mneh (FiPp-33) is a prehistoric archaeological site located on a high ridge approximately 5 km south of Wabamun Lake in west-central Alberta (Figure 1). The site was first identified in 1979, and at that time was recorded as an isolated find (Fedirchuk 1979). Subsequent investigation revealed that the site was much larger than originally assessed (Ball 2006), and in the fall of 2008, at the request of TransAlta Generation Partnership, archaeological excavation was undertaken at the site by Altamira Consulting Ltd. under the direction of Kristin Soucey. The analysis of material from the site indicated that it was a multi-component, prehistoric campsite spanning over 10,000 years (Soucey, Ball and Boscher 2009). The site was given the name Ahai Mneh, Nakoda for looking glass or mirror (a reference to Wabamun Lake), by Paul First Nation elder Violet Poitras in a naming ceremony held on May 19, 2010.

Further excavations took place from May

through August of 2010 as part of a course in archaeological field methods run by the Institute of Prairie Archaeology at the University of Alberta. During the 2010 field season, two separate areas at Ahai Mneh were excavated: Area A, located at the bottom of a swale north of the area excavated in 2008, and Area B, situated on the highest elevation at the site, a small knoll northwest of the 2008 excavation block. This hilltop is in turn the highest landform in the Wabamun Lake area, with the next highest point being Buck Mountain, a prominent foothills outlier 54 km to the south.

An abundance of highly fragmented faunal remains in Area A, and the presence of a boiling pit filled with calcined bone, indicate that this part of the site was used for food processing. Area B, meanwhile, offered a commanding view of the surrounding area—a minimal distribution of faunal remains, despite the presence of a hearth, and a large amount of debitage are consistent with use

A poster by M. Rawluk and A. Reilly of research discussed in this paper received the Undergraduate Poster Award at the 2011 Richard Frucht Memorial Conference.

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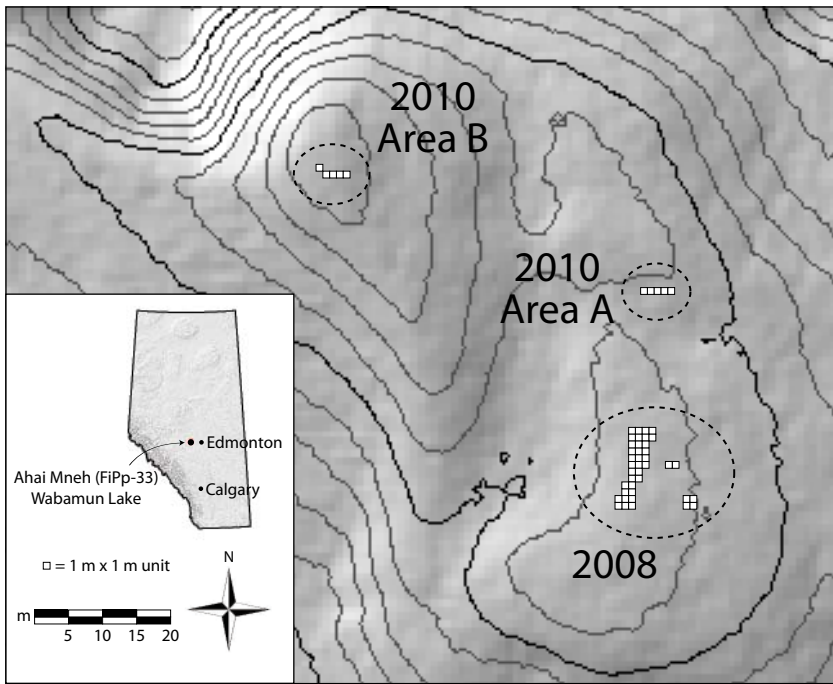


Figure 1: Location of 2008 (Soucey, Ball and Boscher 2009) and 2010 excavation areas at Ahai Mneh (FiPp-33). LiDAR base maps provided courtesy of Robin Woywitka, Archaeological Survey of Alberta; elevation contour 1 m.

as a hunting stand or observation point (Binford 1978, 282; Stevenson 1991). Both areas excavated in 2010 featured shallow stratigraphy, with the majority of the material being recovered within 30 to 40 cm of the surface. These findings were identical to that of Soucey and colleagues (2009, 54), who noted that the lack of substantial stratigraphy in the units excavated hindered analysis of the archaeological phases and complexes that might be present.

Ahai Mneh is an example of an important kind of site in Alberta—where there is a rich and ancient archaeological record, but thin or compressed stratigraphy resulting from limited deposition of sediments. These sites hold valuable information, but it is difficult to determine which artifacts belong with each other in terms of the time periods represented. Misinterpretations of these archaeological records can arise if these stratigraphic difficulties are not taken into account, but much valuable information can also be sacrificed if these records are discounted in their entirety.

Spatial analytical approaches can definitely

help with the objective horizontal segregation of synchronous artifact clusters (e.g., Ives 1985a, 1985b). Another approach is to pay close attention to remnant traces of stratigraphy in these archaeological records. At the depositionally similar Strathcona Science Park site (FjPi-29), Pyszczyk (1981) showed that projectile point forms tended to obey their correct chronological order even in a compressed stratigraphic setting. Following this example, our analysis of the lithic assemblage from the 2010 excavations focused on determining whether multiple discrete components could be identified at Ahai Mneh. In so doing, a simple and low-cost method was devised that can readily be adapted for use at other rich sites with compressed stratigraphy, a common problem in boreal forest and parkland archaeology.

Although the uppermost deposits have proven too dense, and possibly disturbed through bioturbation, for individual components to be empirically segregated, a distinct lower occupation was identifiable in both areas characterized by a matching pattern of lithic material utilization and the presence of Agate Basin/Hell Gap projectile

points.¹ This finding has broadened our understanding of an occupation tentatively identified in the previous excavation (Soucey, Ball and Boscher 2009, 60) and provides a base of reference for comparison to other similarly aged occupations, a rarity at excavated sites in Alberta (Benders 2010; Fedje 1986, 1988; Landals 2008; Peck 2011; Reeves 1972; Ronaghan and Dawe 1998).

METHODOLOGY

Decisions made from the outset of excavation in the 2010 field school through to the conclusion of cataloguing had a direct impact on the nature and quality of the data available, and are discussed briefly in this section. While excavating, it quickly became apparent that stratigraphy was to a certain extent intact, particularly as older styles of projectile points were found in progressively deeper layers. However, the pronounced slope of ground surfaces and buried strata coupled with bioturbation factors such as rodent burrows and

tree roots, as well as generally shallow deposition, presented challenges for stratigraphically associating artifacts. Subsequent analysis focused on whether the excavation areas could be separated into discrete components using low-cost and readily available tools. This included 3D modeling of the lithic assemblage using Apple’s Grapher Version 1.1, which provided a qualitative visual overview of the site; devising a mathematical method to correct for slope, which enabled comparison by depth across units with varied microtopography; and quantitative analysis using Microsoft Excel, which allowed for more robust characterization of changes in site utilization over time.

Excavation procedures

Continuing from the 44 1 m by 1 m excavation units opened in 2008 (Soucey, Ball and Boscher 2009), five units each were laid out on an east-west axis in Area A (Units 45-49) and Area B (Units 50-54), with the westernmost unit in Area

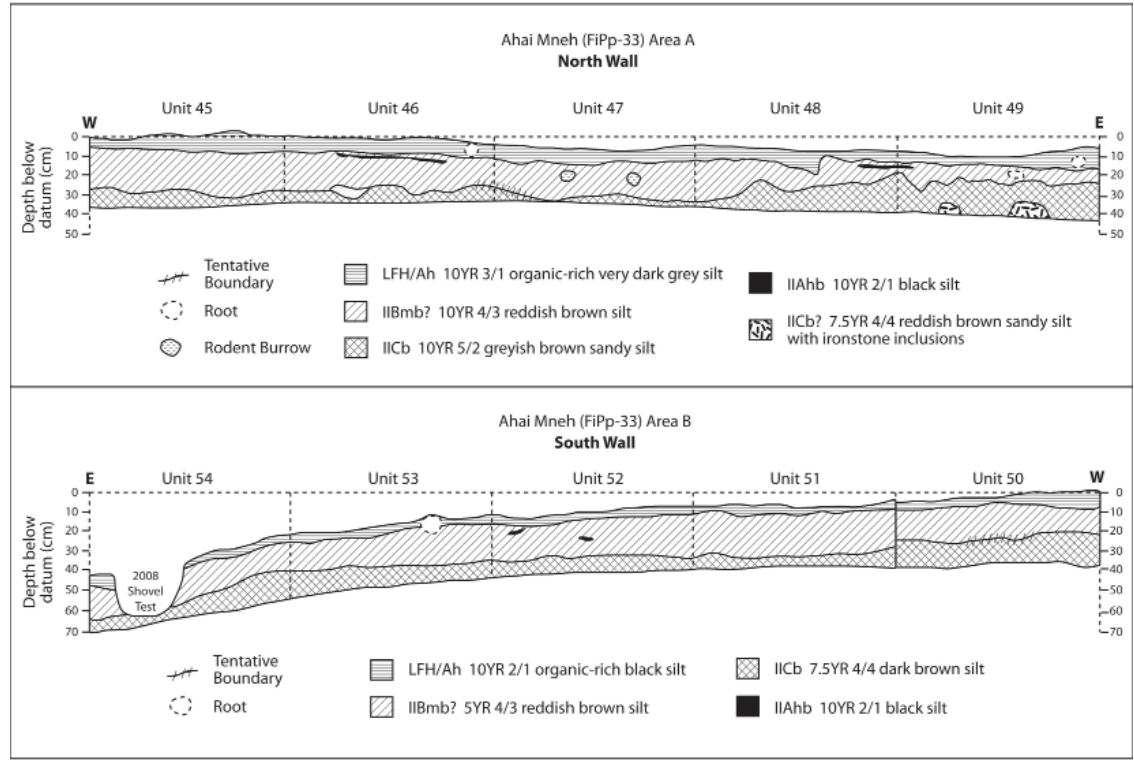


Figure 2: Soil profiles, Areas A and B. Note Unit 50 is offset by 1 m to the north.

¹ For a more detailed description of the Early Prehistoric projectile points from Ahai Mneh, see Schenk and Yanicki, this volume.

B offset one metre to the north to avoid an old shovel test (Figure 2). Excavation was conducted by trowel in five centimetre arbitrary intervals, with all matrix screened through 6.35 mm ($\frac{1}{4}$ ") wire mesh. Measurements were made from the southwest corner of each unit, with the surface depth of each corner recorded relative to an arbitrary fixed datum.

The critical dimension of this work was careful attention to the recovery of three point provenience data for in situ lithics. Northing, easting and depth below datum were recorded for a total of 1,894 stone artifacts, including debitage and tools, comprising 75.0% of the excavated lithic assemblage. A further 631 unprovenienced lithic artifacts, mostly small retouch flakes and fragments, were recovered during excavation, mostly by screen. In both areas, cultural material was found to a depth of approximately 30-40 cm below surface, after which excavation proceeded by shovel for a further 10 cm to confirm sterile parent sediment had been reached.

Cataloguing

For consistency of results between the 2008 and 2010 excavations, the cataloguing guidelines followed were the same as those used by Soucey and colleagues (2009, 31), adapted from Andrefsky (1998) and Le Blanc (1994). Attributes including flake, tool or core type; colour using Munsell colour charts; size; weight; and flake attributes such as amount of cortex and number of dorsal scars were recorded in a spreadsheet using Microsoft Excel. The present study focused on provenience and raw material type; additionally, projectile point styles were taken into consideration in assessing the identified components.

Eleven raw material types – quartzite, porcellanite, siltstone, chert, mudstone, chalcedony, flint, limestone, silicified peat, petrified wood, and sandstone – were previously identified at Ahai Mneh, with 80% of the assemblage consisting of quartzite (Soucey, Ball and Boscher 2009, 55). Most of these materials, with the exceptions of flint, petrified wood, limestone, and sandstone, were observed in the 2010 excavation assemblage, while pebble chert, agate, quartz, and obsidian, not previously observed at the site,

were recorded. Some raw materials were locally available, with proximity to the North Saskatchewan River providing ready access to modifiable cobbles, particularly quartzite, and possibly siltstone, limestone, and sandstone. Porcellanite also likely had local sources (Soucey, Ball and Boscher 2009, 57), and might have formed in sediments adjacent to coal seams ignited by spontaneous combustion; exposures of such naturally fired material probably formerly occurred throughout the surrounding TransAlta Highvale Mine lease area. Other raw material types are more exotic, either coming from elsewhere in Alberta (for instance, petrified wood, mudstone, silicified peat, quartz, and some cherts including pebble chert), or even further afield (agate, flint, chert, chalcedony, and obsidian) (Bob Dawe, pers. comm.).

3D modeling

To create a three dimensional rendering of the lithic assemblage of the site, three point provenience data was entered into Apple's Grapher Version 1.1. Grapher allows data to be plotted on three axes, x , y , and z , where x would be the easting provenience of an in situ artifact, y would be its northing, and z would be its depth below datum. Further, data sets can be grouped in clusters that are visually represented by different colours or symbols, and the resulting 3D scatterplot can be rotated for multiple views. Other programs, notably ArcGIS, can accomplish similar tasks but require training and are costly to license, while Grapher is a pre-installed application that is readily available to researchers operating on a limited budget.

Separate 3D models were made for Area A and Area B. To be rendered accurately in Grapher, some data needed to be adjusted. With easting and northing expressed as a value between 0.0 cm and 100.0 cm in each excavation unit, for instance, if input directly, all units would overlap in a single 1 m by 1 m frame. For Area A, to express the site as a 1 m by 5 m long trench running east to west, a modified easting was entered, adding a cumulative distance of 100 cm for every unit to the east of the westernmost Unit 45 (i.e., 100 cm was added to all eastings in Unit 46, 200 cm was added in Unit 47, and so on). For Area B, a cu-

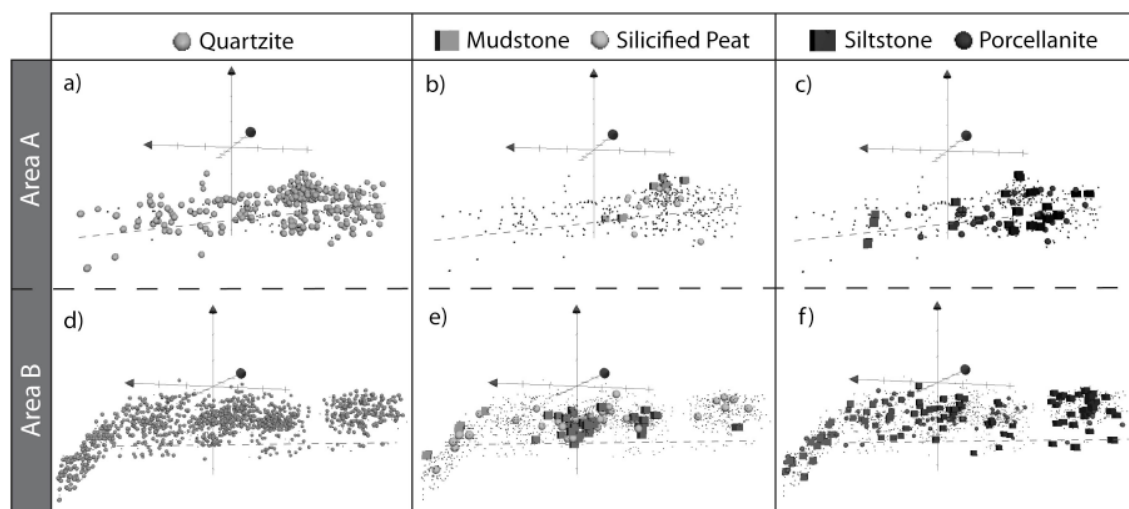


Figure 3: Raw scatterplots from Grapher of material spatial distributions in Areas A and B plotted against all other lithics (small dots). Note in *b* and *e* a maximal depth, indicated by dashed line, beyond which mudstone and silicified peat generally do not occur, but more locally sourced materials such as quartzite, siltstone and porcellanite do. In Area A, this maximal depth corresponds with a visible gap in deposition.

mulative distance of 100 cm was added for every unit east of Unit 50, and to account for that unit's 1 m offset to the north, 100 cm was also added to that unit's northings.

Depth values also required adjustment. First, all measurements made relative to units' respective southwest corners were adjusted to reflect their depth relative to their area's fixed datum. The variable surface topography of the two excavation areas was therefore accurately portrayed. Next, if entered as positive values on the z axis, artifact depths would be rendered upside down and rising progressively above surface. All depths were therefore multiplied by -1, rendering them as descending negative values. Finally, the shallow deposition of the site proved to be an obstacle when viewing the 3D model rendered thus far – any possible gaps in vertical deposition that could indicate breaks in occupation were obscured in such a tightly grouped cluster. Depths in the 3D model therefore were exaggerated; after trying a number of arbitrary settings, we found multiplying depths by a factor of five made potential trends better observable, while also emphasizing sloped deposition.

A final step involved inputting the proveniences for each raw material type as separate data groups into Grapher. This allowed trends in

the spatial distribution and association of different raw materials to be visually assessed (Figure 3). Further insight was provided by plotting in the locations of diagnostic projectile points (Figures 8 and 10).

Correcting for slope

3D modeling shows that lithic deposits in both Areas A and B occurred on a slope. In Area A, the gradient of the buried artifacts does not correspond with the surface microtopography, which was generally flat. However, a visible break in deposition (indicated by a dashed line in Figure 3, *a*, *b* and *c*) corresponds with the general sloping trend of the buried artifacts. In Area B, the surface sloped increasingly downward to the east, being especially pronounced in the easternmost Unit 54. Deposition followed the surface contour in Units 50, 51, and 52, but in Units 53 and 54, the gradient of buried deposits was slightly less than the surface contour, better corresponding with the gradient of the buried A horizon (Figure 2). In both areas, slope was negligible from south to north, but within individual units, the difference in surface depth below datum between west and east corners varied between 0 and 20 cm.

The stratigraphic association of artifacts based on depth below datum would be impossible to statistically demonstrate without taking this highly variable microtopography into consideration – using unmodified depth measurements, artifacts even from the opposite sides of the same unit could come from entirely different cultural occupations. To correct for slope, mathematically described as rise over run ($\Delta y / \Delta x$), we devised a calculation to cancel out the rise, or depth of an artifact attributed purely to slope, from an artifact's depth below datum over a given run, in this case the artifact's easting or a portion thereof. The result of this calculation would be an equivalent depth if the assemblage were distributed over a level plane, enabling the statistical assessment of whether artifacts are stratigraphically associated. The following procedure was applied:

1. Determine the total rise and run
2. Determine the individual artifact's easting (E) as a fraction of the total run (Δx).
3. Multiply the artifact's fraction of total run, determined in step 2, by the total rise (Δy).
4. Subtract the results from step 3 from the depth (D) of the artifact. The depth is now equivalent to being on a slope of 0 cm rise.

For example, a 1 m by 1 m excavation unit has no slope from north to south, but its east side is one centimetre lower than its west. Total run (Δx) is therefore 100 cm, and total rise (Δy) is -1 cm. Once the calculation is applied, for an artifact with an easting (E) of 0 cm, the expected reduction in depth (D) would be 0 cm (see Example A below). For an artifact with an easting of 100 cm, the expected reduction of depth would be 1 cm (Example B). For an artifact with an easting of 50 cm (half of the total run), depth should be reduced by half of the total rise, or 0.5 cm (Example C). If all three artifacts had been found on the surface, starting depths below datum of 0 cm, -1.0 cm, and -0.5 cm respectively would now be adjusted to 0 cm, 0 cm and 0 cm; slope has been negated.

Example A:

1. $\Delta y = -1 \text{ cm}, \Delta x = 100 \text{ cm}, D = 0 \text{ cm}, E = 0 \text{ cm}$
2. $E \div \Delta x = 0 \div 100 = 0$
3. $\Delta y \times (E \div \Delta x) = 0 \times 0 = 0$
4. $D - (\Delta y \times [E \div \Delta x]) = 0 - 0 = 0 \text{ cm}$

Example B:

1. $\Delta y = -1 \text{ cm}, \Delta x = 100 \text{ cm}, D = -1 \text{ cm}, E = 100 \text{ cm}$
2. $E \div \Delta x = 100 \div 100 = 1$
3. $\Delta y \times (E \div \Delta x) = -1 \times 1 = -1$
4. $D - (\Delta y \times [E \div \Delta x]) = -1 - -1 = 0 \text{ cm}$

Example C:

1. $\Delta y = -1 \text{ cm}, \Delta x = 100 \text{ cm}, D = -0.5 \text{ cm}, E = 50 \text{ cm}$
2. $E \div \Delta x = 50 \div 100 = 0.5$
3. $\Delta y \times (E \div \Delta x) = -1 \times 0.5 = -0.5$
4. $D - (\Delta y \times [E \div \Delta x]) = -0.5 - -0.5 = 0 \text{ cm}$

For Area A, the 3D model showed a linear slope to buried artifacts that did not follow natural surface contours. Total rise (Δy) and total run (Δx) were therefore determined by measuring the distance, in easting and in depth, between the uppermost in situ lithics at the western and eastern ends of the excavation block, resulting in a total rise of -11 cm and a total run of 482.5 cm (Figure 4). Being at the bottom of a swale, it was assumed that this slope represented a former natural surface contour that had been buried by more recent deposition. Because the slope appeared relatively constant, and was mirrored below the visible gap in deposition (Figure 3, *a, b*,

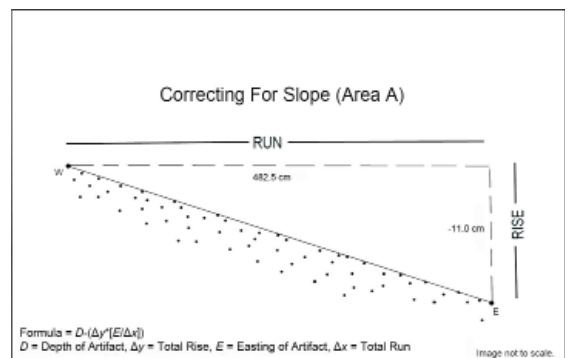


Figure 4: Slope correction in Area A.

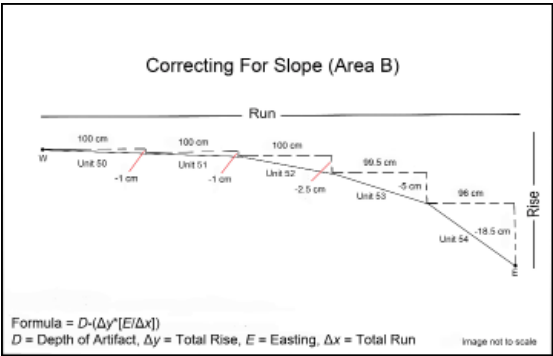


Figure 5: Slope correction in Area B.

and *c*), when adjusting for slope, these Δx and Δy values were applied to all lithics in Area A collectively. Because Δx and Δy were cumulative for all five excavation units in the area, depths (*D*) of artifacts in this equation were relative to the area’s fixed datum.

In Area B, slope differed between units, and so the formula was applied for each unit individually (Figure 5). For Units 50, 51, and 52, where deposition of artifacts appeared to follow the natural surface contours, rise and the run were derived from measurements of depth below datum of the unit corners, giving runs of 100 cm and rises of -1 cm, -1 cm, and -2.5 cm, respectively. For Units 53 and 54, where the slope of the buried artifacts appeared to follow the buried A horizon rather than the surface slope, rise and run were calculated from the uppermost in situ lithics at the western and eastern ends of each unit, as in Area A; a run of 99.5 cm and a rise

of -5 cm were thus calculated for Unit 53, and a run of 96 cm and rise of -18.5 cm for Unit 54. Because Δx and Δy were broken down by unit in Area B, the depths (*D*) of artifacts used in these equations were relative to the southwest corners of their respective units rather than the area’s fixed datum.

Empirical data segregation

Once depth data had been corrected for slope, an attempt could be made to express the patterns observed in the 3D models in quantifiable terms. For each area, a pivot table was generated using Microsoft Excel that sorted artifacts by depth (grouped into 1 cm increments) and material type. These tables were inspected for evidence of discontinuous occupation and changing trends in lithic raw material utilization, based on which the assemblage could be divided into empirically segregated components. As a final step in this process, these observed trends were compared with the positions of in situ diagnostic projectile points, which allowed the components to be characterized by cultural affiliation (see Results, below).

In Area A, concomitant with the observed trend in the 3D model (Figure 3, *a*, *b* and *c*), a 1 to 2 cm break was observed in the depth adjusted data across all units, within which very low numbers of lithic artifacts were present, and higher numbers occurred both above and below. This

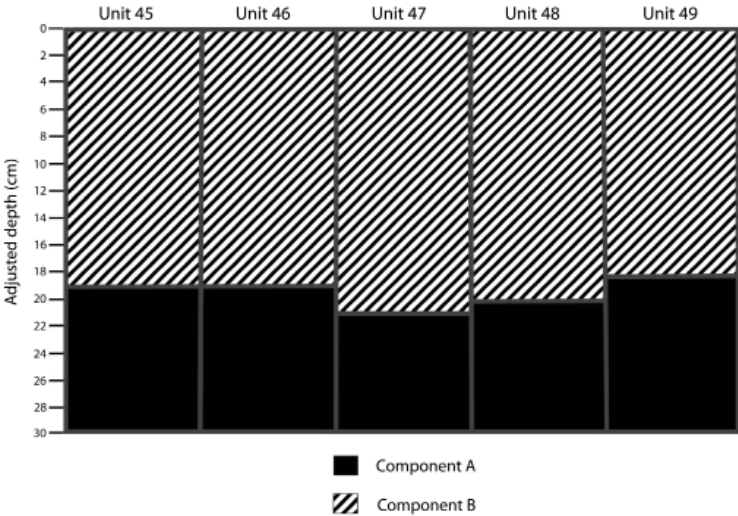


Figure 6: Empirically segregated component depths, Area A

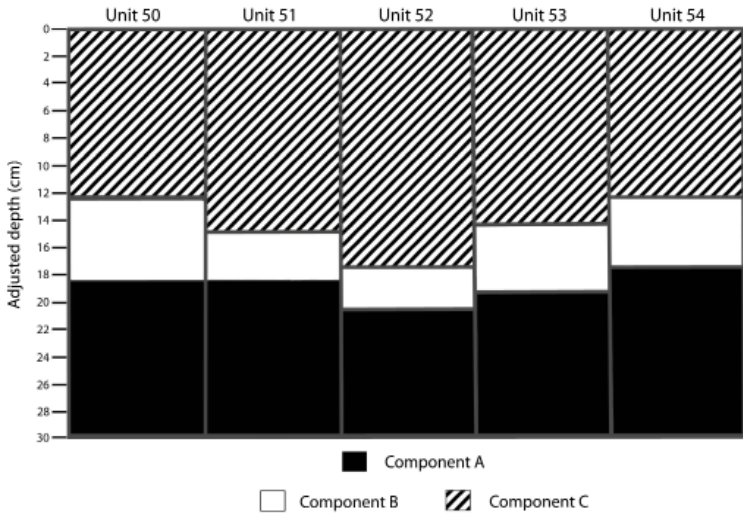


Figure 7: Empirically segregated component depths, Area B

break, interpreted as a discontinuity in occupation, occurred at slightly different depths in different units; the materials below were tentatively assigned to an empirically segregated basal Component A, and the materials above were designated Component B (Figure 6).

Peaks and troughs in the vertical artifact distribution were not as readily identifiable in Area B as in Area A, so rather than segregating components based on the presence of a major break or discontinuity, an attempt was made to identify changing trends in lithic raw material utilization. An ephemeral basal scatter of lithic artifacts consisting exclusively of quartzite, siltstone, and porcellanite had earlier been identified in the 3D model (Figure 3, *d*, *e* and *f*); pivot table data from slope adjusted depths confirmed this trend across all five units, and the uppermost depths at which these three materials occurred, to the exclusion of any others, was partitioned off as the top boundary of a tentative basal Component A.

Meanwhile, two materials, obsidian and silticified peat, were observed to occur exclusively in the uppermost deposits in the area; the maximal depth at which these occurred was used as the lower boundary for a tentatively identified upper component. This resulted in the tentative identification of a thin medial component in which a broad range of lithic materials occurred, including the only traces at the site of agate and quartz. The medial layer was labelled Component B, and the upper layer was labelled Component C; the

resulting partition depths are shown in Figure 7.

These component breaks do not occur at the same depths across all units, and are deepest in Unit 52. The presence of a hearth feature in the upper part of this unit, along with very high quantities of debitage, could suggest trampling associated with heightened activity was a bioturbation factor in this locale. Alternately, the prehistoric microtopography may not have paralleled the surface topography at the time of excavation. Overall, however, patterns of deposition were consistent with adjacent units.

RESULTS

Area A

A total of 398 artifacts were recovered from Area A; of these, four were diagnostic projectile points. The earliest, found in Unit 45, was a small lanceolate specimen that could be a re-sharpened Agate Basin or Hell Gap point, dating from 10,200-9,600 B.P. (Peck 2011, 55). Additionally, one Oxbow point, ca. 4,500-4,100 B.P. (Peck 2011, 180), one Besant point and one small side-notched point, probably Samantha, each dating from 2,100-1,500 B.P. (Peck 2011, 282) were recovered.

Based on these diagnostics alone, there are indications of at least three temporally distinct cultural occupations in Area A – Agate Basin/Hell Gap, Oxbow, and Besant; however, only two components could be identified from the depth adjusted data. When plotted against the empiri-

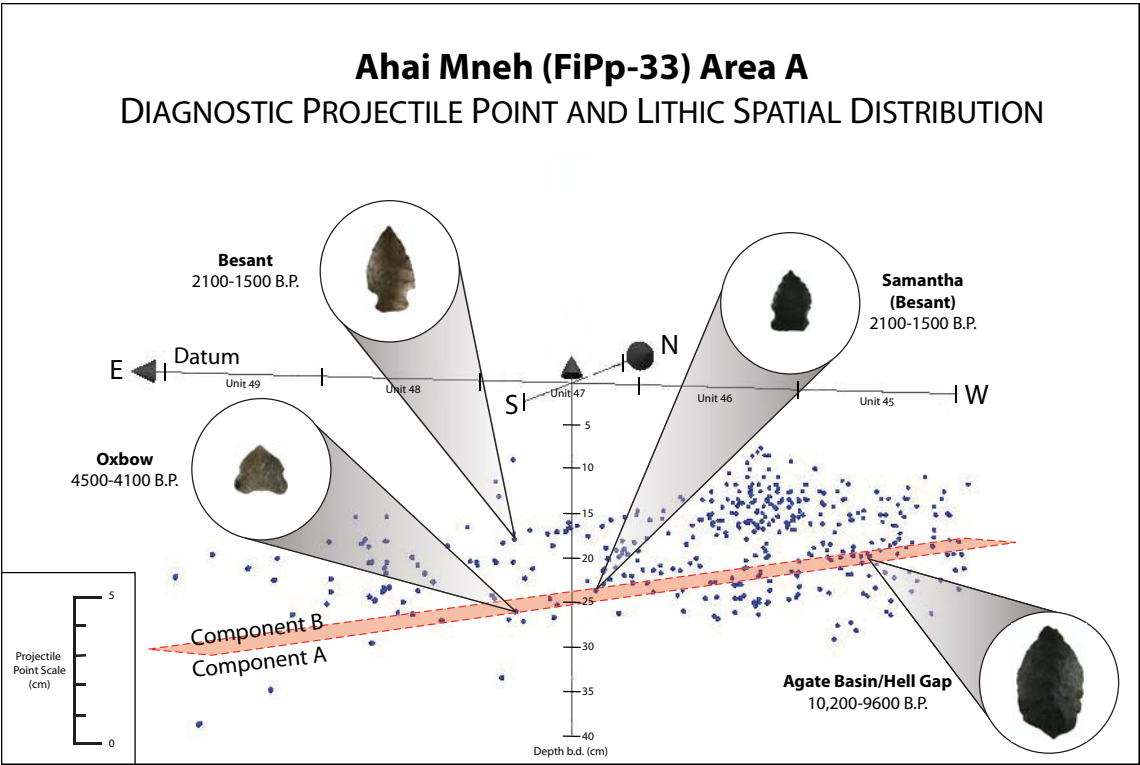


Figure 8: Diagnostic projectile point and lithic spatial distribution, Area A. Date ranges for point styles from Peck (2011).

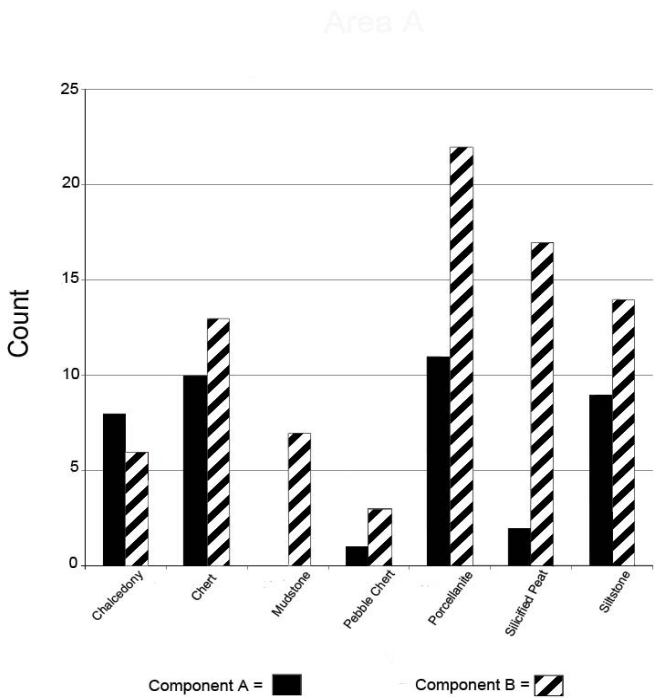


Figure 9: Raw material distribution by component, Area A. Quartzite, which dominates both components, is not represented.

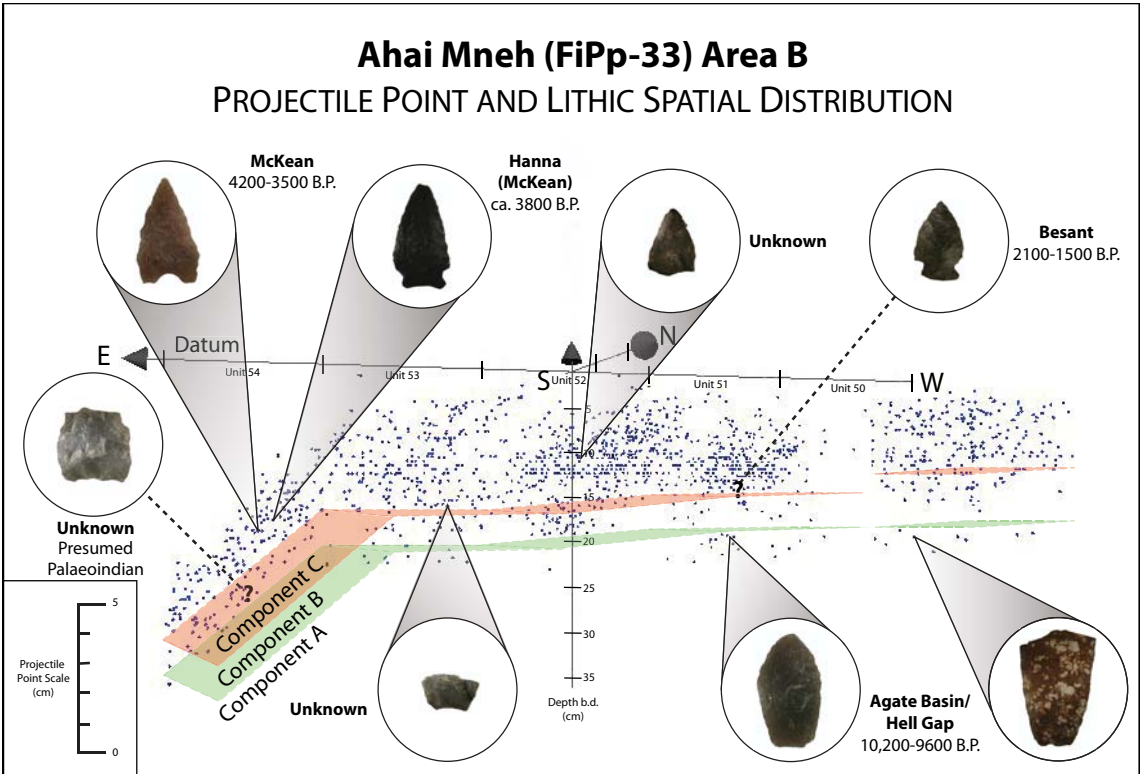


Figure 10: Diagnostic and non-diagnostic projectile point and lithic spatial distribution, Area B. Date ranges for point styles from Peck (2011).

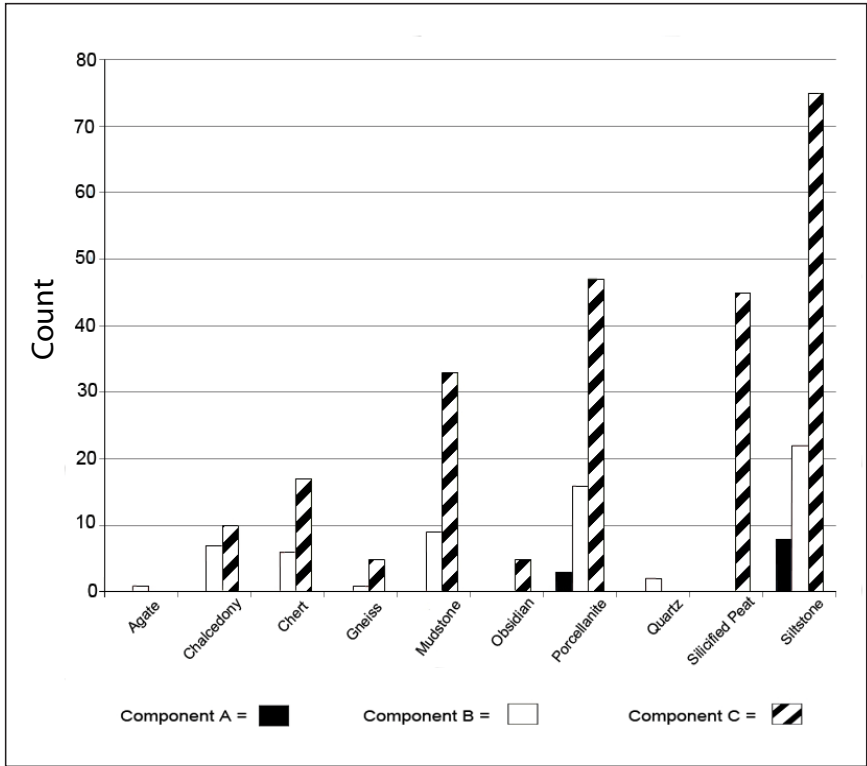


Figure 11: Raw material distribution by component, Area B. Quartzite, which dominates all three components, is not represented.

cally segregated components, the Agate Basin/Hell Gap point falls within Component A, while the Besant and Samantha points fall within the later Component B; the Oxbow point, meanwhile, appears to fall directly on the boundary between the two (Figure 8). This last is assignable to either Component A or Component B; the presence of a third component is implied, but its traits are likely obscured within one of the other two components, either above or below the consistent break in deposition that occurs between 19 and 21 cm across all five units in this area.

In addition to the projectile points being associated with specific components, a number of other trends in lithic utilization are identifiable. In terms of the distribution of raw materials in Components A and B (Figure 9), local materials such as porcellanite, siltstone, and quartzite were abundant in both the upper and lower components, with quartzite making up 67% (n=90) of the in situ assemblage from Component A and 69% (n=184) from Component B. More exotic materials such as chert, pebble chert, and chalcedony were also found in both components. Two other materials, meanwhile, only become common in the upper component. Seven pieces of mudstone and 17 of silicified peat occur in Component B; in the earlier Component A, mudstone is entirely absent, and there are only two pieces of silicified peat.

Besides the Agate Basin/Hell Gap and possibly Oxbow projectile points, few tools were found in association with Component A. One scraper, one biface fragment, and three unimarginal flake tools were recovered. A bone fragment from the lower part of Unit 46, within Component A, has been sent to the W.M. Keck Carbon Cycle Accelerator Mass Spectrometry Laboratory at the University of California, Irvine for AMS ¹⁴C dating.

In Component B, in addition to the Besant and Samantha points, one scraper, four biface fragments, one bimarginal flake tool, three unimarginal flake tools, one *coquille* flake tool, two preforms, and one *pièce esquillée* were recovered. Calcined bone fragments from an apparent boiling pit in Unit 49 and another fragment from the upper portion of Unit 46, all within this up-

per component, have been submitted for AMS ¹⁴C dating.

Area B

A total of 1,535 lithic artifacts were recovered in situ from Area B, of which eight were projectile points. Four in situ projectile points were diagnostic, including two Agate Basin or Hell Gap specimens from the deepest artifact-bearing levels in Units 50 and 51 and a McKean (ca. 4200-3500 B.P.; Peck 2011, 199) and Hanna point (ca. 3800 B.P.; Peck 2011, 199) from the upper part of Unit 54. Also found in situ were a non-diagnostic triangular projectile point in Unit 52, two projectile point tips from the same unit, and the base of what may be a lanceolate projectile point with a concave basal margin from Unit 53, Level 4. In addition to the in situ materials, a Besant point from Unit 51 and another broken, basally concave lanceolate point from Unit 54 were found in the screen. Given their fragmentary state, the two basally concave lanceolate points cannot reliably be assigned to a diagnostic category, but are presumed to be Palaeoindian in age (see Schenk and Yanicki, this volume).

Based on the diagnostic projectile points alone, at least three separate occupations are inferred to be represented in the assemblage from Area B – Agate Basin/Hell Gap, McKean, and Besant, with the two basally concave lanceolate specimens representing a possible fourth occupation. Only three components could be identified from the depth adjusted data for this area; when plotted against these empirically segregated components, both Agate Basin/Hell Gap points fall within Component A; one of the basally concave lanceolate points occurs on the boundary between Components B and C; and the McKean, Hanna, and triangular points fall within Component C (Figure 10). Despite the lack of three point provenience data for the two points found in the screen, they have tentatively been assigned to components based on the excavation levels from which they were recovered: the basally concave lanceolate specimen likely comes from Component B, while the Besant point likely comes from Component C. Therefore, Components A and B are each associated with only one

projectile point style and may represent individual occupations, while Component C appears to be an aggregate of at least two temporally dissociated occupations.

Identification of the three components in Area B was founded on the observation that lithic raw material utilization appears to have changed over time. Counts of raw materials by component are presented in Figure 11. The basal Component A, associated with Agate Basin/Hell Gap projectile points, is comprised exclusively of three locally sourced materials: quartzite, which made up 81% of the assemblage ($n=46$), porcelanite (5%, $n=3$), and siltstone (14%, $n=8$). Diversification of raw material use increases over time. Eleven different raw materials are associated with Component B; quartzite dominates (79% of the component's assemblage, $n=347$), while agate (<1%, $n=1$) and quartz (<1%, $n=2$), which are found neither above nor below, are present. Component C is marked by a similar diversity of raw materials, with 11 different materials present; quartzite remains the single most dominant material (79%, $n=851$), while silicified peat (4%, $n=38$) and obsidian (<1%, $n=5$) are present. Intensity of site occupation, as an expression of visitation frequency and/or duration, also appears to change over time. Total counts of lithic artifacts increase steadily from 57 artifacts found in situ in Component A to 434 in Component B and 1,075 in Component C.

Aside from the two Agate Basin/Hell Gap projectile points, only one other lithic tool, an edge modified flake, was found in association with Component A. Charcoal fragments were found proximate to the Agate Basin/Hell Gap point in Unit 51, but given doubts about their association with any recognized cultural feature, these have not been submitted for AMS ^{14}C dating.

In Component B, in addition to the two basally concave lanceolate points, we found one scraper, four bifaces, two biface fragments, one bimarginal flake tool, one unimarginal flake tool, one combination flake tool, and one preform. No charcoal or bone fragments were found that could be used to obtain a radiocarbon date for this component.

The tool assemblage of Component C consisted of the McKean, Hanna and Besant points, the non-diagnostic triangular projectile point and two projectile point tips, a scraper, three graters or perforators, six bifaces and a hammerstone. Charcoal fragments recovered from the hearth in Unit 52, within Component C, have been submitted for AMS ^{14}C dating, as well as a large bone fragment found in the upper portion of Unit 53.

DISCUSSION

While each area was analyzed separately, similar trends were observed in both areas, and material distributions followed similar patterns. A basal component characterized by Agate Basin/Hell Gap projectile points and a reliance on local raw materials was present in both areas. Further, evidence for the diversification of lithic raw material use, with the introduction of more non-local materials in upper higher components, and the intensification of site use over time, occur across both areas.

These patterns have been discernible in spite of highly compressed sediments, and in some cases, a pronounced gradient. It might be expected that slopewash has impacted deposition, particularly in Unit 54, which exhibited a drop of 20 cm over its 1 m width. However, the same general trends in lithic raw material distribution were observed in this unit as the rest of Area B. It is nevertheless reasonable to assume that artifacts were subjected to some postdepositional translocation processes (Balek 2002). Bioturbation factors, including tree roots and rodent burrows, were noted throughout both excavation areas, while the deeper component breaks in Unit 52 are possibly attributable to trampling. Despite this, pockets of laterally intact, vertically restricted scatters, as well as spatially restricted features such as the boiling pit in Unit 49 and the hearth in Unit 52, suggest that bioturbation may not have significantly impacted the integrity of the site. Refit analysis may shed further light on this point. At the Bezuya site, Le Blanc and Ives (1986) showed that in a forested setting with compressed stratigraphy, refits could be found separated by 40 cm of vertical deposition. Limited refit analysis with materials from Ahai

Mneh has so far shown that refits can generally be found within the same excavated levels, but not in levels above or below.

We were fortunate to have the earlier Ahai Mneh excavations examined by a specialist in soils at archaeological sites prior to field school activities. Gilliland (pers. comm.) pointed out clear instances in which two to three weak paleosols could be observed in excavation profiles of the original 2008 excavation block and in test pits in low-lying parts of the site. Traces of paleosols were visible in our Area A and B work (Figure 2, marked as IIAhb); these were discontinuous and fragmentary, particularly in Area B. The fact that episodes of deposition and instability separate levels of relative stability (with accompanying pedogenesis) in the soil column at various locations across Ahai Mneh nevertheless lends credence to the discriminations we are making here for artifact depths. While we must always be cautious of factors like bioturbation and trampling, there are indications that the stratigraphy at Ahai Mneh has not been hopelessly compromised. This is likely true of many such sites.

Not all of the empirically segregated components at Ahai Mneh represent distinct cultural occupations, appearing instead to be palimpsests of numerous, temporally unassociated occupancy periods. However, Area B Component A does correlate with a singular diagnostic projectile point style, Agate Basin/Hell Gap, and therefore likely represents a single, albeit ephemeral, occupation. Further, the two fragmentary basally concave lanceolate points found associated with Area B Component B suggest that this, too, may be a distinct occupation. As yet poorly understood, the cultural affiliation and age of this possible second Late Prehistoric component merit further investigation.

The presence of an Agate Basin/Hell Gap component is a significant finding. To date there have been 92 sites in Alberta with identified Agate Basin/Hell Gap components in them (Benders 2010, 19-24). Of these, only five have had projectile points in a known stratigraphic context (Peck 2011, 60-65). The discovery of a stratigraphic component at Ahai Mneh containing Agate Basin/Hell Gap projectile points provides

us with a unique opportunity to learn more about the lithic technology of the Early Prehistoric period. The strong reliance on locally available materials in the basal components of both Areas A and B, together with a tool assemblage consisting primarily of projectile points, scrapers, and edge modified flakes, is consistent with other sites with excavated Agate Basin/Hell Gap components in the province, including the Eclipse site (Fedje 1988; Peck 2011); Minnewanka (Landals 2008); Red Rock Canyon (Reeves 1972); Twin Pines (Ronaghan and Dawe 1998; Peck 2011); and Vermilion Lakes (Fedje 1986).

CONCLUSION

The methods used in this study for distinguishing artifacts from different time periods are not only straightforward but cost effective. They require three point provenience measurements, two easily accessible and easy to use software applications (Grapher and Excel), and the motivation to thoroughly analyze the data. While it is true that these techniques are more time consuming than the excavation of sites without piece plotting, the detail of the information retrieved is greatly increased, and the risk of interpretive errors is reduced. Without three point provenience measurements, there is no objective basis to distinguish whether or not artifacts are temporally associated. It is our suggestion that strategic trade-offs be taken into consideration when faced with mitigation of sites that are rich but poorly stratified. We suggest that smaller excavations could be performed with more thorough data collection. This attention to detail will assist in more detailed analysis and understanding of compressed multi-component sites such as Ahai Mneh. Adopting these strategies would not increase the cost of mitigations, but would increase the calibre of the data collected.

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ON AND OFF THE PAGE:
THE “MALE AS NORM” IDEOLOGY OF ENGLISH AND GERMAN

Barbara L. Hilden

This paper examines the linguistic representation of male and female. Comparing German and English, this paper argues that, despite the grammatically gendered nature of German, both languages equally privilege the male element at the expense of the female. Referencing a variety of studies, this paper explores the use—in both languages—of the “generic he,” investigating how this custom is perceived by listeners; it examines marked terms, particularly the apparent need to mark female appearance in male-dominated professional spheres; it considers female visibility in language and the differing approaches taken by both English and German; and it explores feminine derivation and the semantic sexualization/degradation of the female form to male counterparts. Derivation from masculine norms as well as lexical and connotative gender are briefly discussed. Finally, the paper looks at each language’s strategies for correction.

“A woman’s place is in the home,” but *Wo die Frau regiert den Mann, da ist der Teufel Hauskaplan* ‘Where the woman reigns over the man, there the devil is house chaplain’. Neither of these maxims remain in significant use today, but their vestigial presences in English and in German belie the underlying belief in what Hadumod Bußmann and Marlis Hellinger (2003, 158) have termed “the ideology of MAN”: the privilege of the male and simultaneous trivialization of the female. Both languages uphold the male standard, while the female and feminine elements of language are derived from, and marginalized to, this norm.

This inequality manifests itself both covertly and overtly. A grammatically gendered language, German marks female, male, and neutral genders of nouns. This paper will examine some of the ways in which this lexical gender affects perceptions and representations of actual gender. English, though grammatically genderless, also frequently marks linguistically female and male nouns; this paper will examine some of these gendered words and the effects of this practice on the representation of women. Both languages demonstrate a male-centric philosophy through

a variety of linguistic preferences and terminology which subtly but systematically reinforce the idea of “male as norm”: some of these practices and consequences will be also be explored. Finally, the strategies—and the relative effectiveness of each—employed for correcting this ideology will be considered. As a woman who has lived, worked, and studied within each of these linguistic communities, is proficient in one language and conversant in the other, and focuses her study on the confluence of culture and language, female visibility in these two languages is of great interest.

USE OF “GENERIC HE”

Both English and German generally nominalize a sentence containing a singular, gender-unknown referent in the masculine. *He* (in German, *-er*) is intended in these instances to be gender-neutral; hearing a statement such as, “Someone forgot his book,” an individual is supposed to understand that the sentence refers not only to males but rather encompasses both sexes. While the speaker’s intention may be gender-neutral reference, however, the reality is that hearers seldom interpret it so. In *Language, Culture,*

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and *Communication*, Nancy Bonvillain (2008) cites several experiments by Donald MacKay which indicate that *he*, despite generic intentions, is often perceived to refer to males exclusively. In one study, 95% of respondents (10 men, 10 women) judged such sentences as “When a botanist is in the field, he is usually working” as exclusively male referential (Bonvillain 2008, 215). When the sentence was re-phrased to omit the male pronoun, as in, “A botanist who is in the field is usually working,” only 43% of respondents deemed the sentences exclusively male referential (Bonvillain 2008, 215). Since *he* often does refer to a singular male, there is an inherent uncertainty to the sentence: the botanist in question could be a man. Problems arise when a female subject is intended to be included in the generic *he*, as MacKay’s research reveals that, in practice, few hearers interpret a female referent.

German uses the generic male referent in a similar fashion, usually preferring to pronominalize unknown gender in the masculine. As a gendered language, however, German marks gender not only with pronouns and articles, but also with nouns, adjectives, and suffixes, thereby increasing the “visibility” of the referenced gender in any given sentence. While an English sentence such as “Every voter should exercise his right to vote,” contains only one overtly masculine reference, the same sentence in German, *Jeder Wähler sollte von seinem Stimmrecht Gebrauch machen* marks the masculine referent three times: on *Jeder* ‘every (m)’, as the suffix *-er* agrees with masculine gendered *Wähler* ‘voter (m)’, and finally on *seinem* ‘his (m)’ (Bußmann and Hellinger 2003, 158). While *Wähler* ‘voter’ may be intended to include both males and females, the prescribed use of the masculine generic supports the male standard and “considers the male/masculine as the higher, more prestigious category and the female/feminine as secondary and subordinate” (Bußmann and Hellinger 2003, 158). In concordance with MacKay’s results, Bußmann and Hellinger (2003, 160) found that, in German, “masculine terms automatically trigger expectations as to a most suitable (perhaps prototypically)—male—representative of the noun.”

Researchers Braun, Sczesny, and Stahlberg

(2005) further support the idea that masculine generics are, in reality, anything but generic. In their paper “Cognitive effects of masculine generics in German,” they investigated the effects of the male generic on the “cognitive inclusion of women” (Braun, Sczesny, and Stahlberg 2005, 1). Asked to name their favourite fictional hero, participants were presented with three differently formed options—one masculine gendered: *Romanheld* ‘hero in a novel (m)’; one feminine: *Romanheldin* ‘hero in a novel (f)’; and one neuter: *heldenhafte Romanfigur* ‘heroic character in a novel’. Masculine gendered prompts, repeatedly and overwhelmingly, elicited male-only responses (Braun, Sczesny, and Stahlberg 2005, 10). Feminine and neuter formations elicited significantly more female responses, prompting researchers to conclude, “the masculine thus seems to be the least suitable type of generic to make readers think of or imagine women” (Braun, Sczesny, and Stahlberg 2005, 10).

Gender-neutral and/or gender-unknown references are seldom made with female pronouns. The exclusive use of the masculine reference reinforces the idea of “male as norm,” an idea that Hellinger and Bußmann (2001) believe has extensive negative effects. In “Gender across languages,” they write that the selection of male expressions as the normal, unmarked case results in female invisibility, “which in turn creates expectations about appropriate female and male behaviour” (Hellinger and Bußmann 2001, 10). At best, favouring male-biased pronouns creates what Hellinger and Bußmann (2001, 10) call “referential ambiguities and misunderstandings”; at worst, as Bonvillain (2008, 217) asserts, use of the male pronoun helps to “reinforce cultural evaluations that enhance males’ status and disvalue females’.”

MARKED TERMS

The appearance of women in traditionally male-dominated spheres is noted in both languages. Deviation from “stereotypical assumptions about what are appropriate social roles for women and men” are formally and overtly marked (Hellinger and Bußmann 2001, 11). Men-

tion of women in a professional capacity requires special attention, as in the terms *working mother*, *career woman*, and *female executive*. A male equivalent, such as *working father*, is unheard of, suggesting that “men by definition have careers, but women who do so must be marked as deviant” (Romaine 2001, 170). The term *family man* further supports this idea, marking as noteworthy a man who spends time with his family. The absence of a parallel female term such as *family woman* suggests that a woman’s place is with her family, that “women are by definition family women” (Romaine 2001, 170).

German marks female gender by modifying masculine nouns with *weiblich* ‘female’. This strategy may be utilized independently or in tandem with the feminizing suffix *-in*; in both instances, as in English, it occurs “where female participation is the exception” (Bußmann and Hellinger 2003, 160). Catherine David, for example, was named “*erster weiblicher documenta-Chef...*” ‘first female director (m) of the [art exhibition]...’ (Bußmann and Hellinger 2003, 160). Inserting *weiblich* ‘female’ can serve to clarify a grammatically masculine noun and mark the referent as female: *der weibliche Korrespondent* ‘the (m) female correspondent (m)’. This practice, however, is less favourable than feminizing the masculine gendered noun with the *-in* suffix, possibly in addition to amending it with *weiblich* ‘female’ (Leue 2000, 166). Marking an already feminine gendered noun in this fashion further emphasizes the female gender of the referent: *die erste weibliche Korrespondentin* ‘the (f) first (f) female correspondent (f)’. In all instances, however, whether amending, clarifying, or emphasizing, *weiblich* ‘female’ serves to mark the female presence as unusual, as deviation from the expected male as norm.

FEMALE VISIBILITY

English and German share a preponderance of masculine references in professional spheres. Attempts, in English, to increase female visibility by changing *-man* endings to a gender-neutral form have been largely unsuccessful. As concerns over the “symbolic preference for males expressed covertly and overtly by words

such as *man*” have increased, proponents have advocated changing to “genuinely neutral forms such as *person*” (Bonvillain 2008, 216). Thus, *chairman* has been replaced with *chairperson*, *spokesman* with *spokesperson*. However, in practice, the usage of these two forms remains distinct. There is, Bonvillain (2008, 216) writes, “a tendency to restrict *-person* nouns to females, retaining *-man* for males.” In effect, *chairperson* has become a new marked term, used to refer to women, while *chairman* still retains its generic and masculine references.

German has been more successful at increasing female presence in language. Many of the *-mann* ‘-man’ ending words, such as *Kaufmann* ‘merchant’, *Fachmann* ‘expert’, and *Geschäftsmann* ‘businessman’, have been successfully feminized by replacing the masculine *-mann* ‘man’ with *-frau* ‘woman’. Moreover, and in contrast with English, these new feminized terms “are now firmly established in the language of the 21st century” (Leue 2000, 165), with words such as *Kauffrau* ‘merchant (f)’, *Fachfrau* ‘expert (f)’, and *Geschäftsfrau* ‘businesswoman (f)’ occurring regularly (Leue 2000, 165). Here we see a successful example of feminine integration in language, of equality in pairings, and a movement away from masculine privilege.

FEMININE DERIVATION

Both English and German follow the practice of deriving a female form from a male counterpart; both languages reveal an imbalance in the resultant pair. Although the words are semantically equal, the connotative differences between them are great. Bonvillain (2008, 212) cites the “negative attributes” that have become attached to the female component of the following English pairs: governor/governess, king/queen, master/mistress, sir/dame, bachelor/spinster. Always, the balance tilts to favour the male. The feminine form is trivialized in comparison, sometimes acquiring a secondary demeaning and/or sexualized significance, while the masculine form retains its original prestige (Bonvillain 2008, 212). Thus *governess* is a trivialized, lesser version of *governor*, *mistress* relates in a highly sexualized con-

text not applicable to *master*, *spinster* designates an undesirable, unmarried woman, in contrast to the available, eligible *bachelor* (Bonvillain 2008, 212).

The practice of forming female versions with suffixes results in similarly asymmetric pairings. In "A corpus-based view of gender in New Zealand English," linguist Janet Holmes (2001, 117) writes that female suffixes in English are "widely perceived as trivializing women's occupations and undermining their professional status." *Sculptress*, *poetess*, and *usherette* are therefore seen as ineffably lesser than their male counterparts. Although usage of these forms is on the decline (*actor*, for example, is increasingly applied to both sexes), Suzanne Romaine (2001, 158) believes that the *-ess* suffix still surfaces for the "purpose of belittling a woman's achievement," as in the negative book review she received from a male reviewer wherein she was referred to as an *author-ess*. Where female derivatives are still employed, they invariably denote smallness or imitation, as in *booklet* 'a small book', *kitchenette* 'a small kitchen', and *leatherette* 'imitation leather' (Hellinger 2001, 109).

German, in contrast, has a well-established and well-accepted system for feminizing words. Many nouns which refer to a specific individual have both masculine and feminine forms, such as *Lehrer* 'male teacher' and *Lehrerin* 'female teacher'. The *-in* suffix can also be applied in instances where the lexical gender of the word, and not necessarily the gender of the referent, is masculine. For example, *der Wähler* 'the voter' has a grammatically masculine gender. However, when referring to women, the *-in* suffix may be added, creating *die Wählerin* 'the female voter'. While this strategy increases female visibility and is certainly more inclusive, it also marks the word as uniquely feminine. *Die Wählerin* is then singularly feminine, and *der Wähler* is still used in both generic and male contexts. The female element is marked as "other," thereby perpetuating the male as norm ideology.

While German has an effective technique for feminizing language, it is strictly a one-way process. Again supporting the idea of the male as standard, masculine forms are rarely derived from

feminine. The case of *Krankenschwester* 'nurse (f)' is an example of this phenomenon. Historically an exclusively female occupation, there was no need for a male counterpart. However, with increasing numbers of men entering the profession, a new term was required to designate male nurses. Rather than creating a male version of the existing female form, possibly by replacing the *schwester* 'sister' of the original term with the masculine equivalent *bruder* 'brother', a new word was created: *Krankenpfleger* 'nurse (m)'. A male nurse is now designated *der Krankenpfleger* 'nurse (m)', and, again reverting to the male as norm ideal, a female derivation can be used to refer to women: *die Krankenpflegerin* 'nurse (f)'.

DEVIATION FROM MASCULINE NORMS

Derogative German terms for homosexual men extend the principle of male as norm; social standards of masculinity exert influence over linguistic form. The pejorative terms for those who deviate from traditional masculine ideals are feminine gendered. *Tunte* 'homosexual man', *Schwuchtel* 'homosexual man', and *Transe* 'transsexual man', reference men, but are grammatically feminine. This is not a reflection of actual or perceived gender, nor of personal qualities or characteristics, as the proper term for a homosexual man is masculine gendered (*Schwuler* 'homosexual man'). English marks deviation from the masculine ideal in a similar manner: *queen*, as applied to homosexual men, connotes "female" and "undesirable." The derogatively used feminine gender of these epithets demonstrates the preference for masculinity within linguistics and culture. The terminology marks as deviant the man who does not adhere to socially ascribed standards of masculinity. Simultaneously, in gendering these insults in the feminine, the terms mark female gender as less desirable.

LEXICAL AND CONNOTATIVE GENDER NORMS

The issue of whether grammatical gender influences perception of its referential gender is a contentious one. Scholars have long asserted that the system of gender is completely abstract. In "Gender: a less than arbitrary grammatical

category,” Zubin and Köpcke (1981, 439) quote Bloomfield who writes, “gender categories...do not agree with anything in the practical world ...there seems to be no practical criterion by which the gender of a noun in German, French, or Latin could be determined.” However, several studies exist which refute this theory; the German *-mut* is one such example. In German, the gender of a word is generally determined by its “last element”—a grammatical designation akin to, and hereafter referred to as, a suffix (Corbett 1991, 50). For example, nouns ending in *-keit*, *-heit*, and *-schaft*, such as *Höflichkeit* ‘politeness’, *Gereiztheit* ‘irritation’, and *Wissenschaft* ‘science’, are all feminine gendered; nouns ending in *-chen*, and *-lein*, such as *Mädchen* ‘girl’, and *Büchlein* ‘little book’, are generally neuter. The suffix *-mut*, which expresses abstract qualities and moods, is masculine gendered; accordingly, prior to the nineteenth century, new words ending with *-mut* were masculine gendered (Corbett 1991, 94). By analyzing dictionary entries and through participant study, Zubin and Köpcke (1984, 47) track a shift in language that occurred as words more “introverted” and “passive” transformed from masculine to feminine gender. *Wehmut* ‘sadness’, *Grossmut* ‘generosity’, *Anmut* ‘graciousness’ became feminine gendered, while “extroverted” and “aggressive” words such as *Lebensmut* ‘exhilaration’ and *Übermut* ‘bravado’ remained masculine (Zubin and Köpcke 1984, 47). These findings suggest that grammatical gender is neither unimportant nor irrelevant but rather that social constructions and lexical gender are closely linked. Zubin and Köpcke’s work makes explicit the relationship between gender and ascribed gender-related characteristics.

STRATEGIES FOR CORRECTION

There is a growing awareness of gender bias in both languages. So far, English language attempts to correct this imbalance have focused largely on neutralization. Emphasis has been placed on avoiding false generics (instances of generic *he* and *-man*), removing gender-marked terms for female referents (such as *actress* and *stewardess*), and eliminating marked words for

which no parallel male form is employed (such as *female doctor*) (Hellinger 2001, 109). German attempts at correction, however, have focused largely on feminization, on increasing female visibility in the language. This has led to the use of *Paarformen* ‘pair forms’, such as *die Nürnberger Stadtväter und -mütter* ‘the Nuremberg city fathers and mothers’ and *jeder Wähler oder jede Wählerin* ‘each [male or female] voter’ (Bußmann and Hellinger 2003, 155). Also common is the use of *Sparformen* ‘economy forms’, which combine male and female referents, as in *LeserInnen* ‘readers (m/f)’ (a combination of *Leser* ‘reader [m]’ and *Leserinnen* ‘readers [f]’) (Bußmann and Hellinger 2003, 155). The fact that these amendments have been adopted by a variety of public and private institutions suggests that perhaps they will (or even have?) become the new norm (Leue 2000, 176). “Ultimately,” Leue writes, “only those forms will last which are accepted by the general public and are used in their everyday language” (Leue 2000, 176).

CONCLUSION

I began this paper expecting to find that a genderless language like English would contain fewer masculine biases. I expected to find more masculine references in German, a language where gender is marked, indicated, and referenced. Instead, I found that both languages contain a number of covert and overt masculine allusions, that both have a fundamentally patriarchal structure, and that both privilege—at the expense of the female—a male perspective. By “avoiding the dominant visibility of masculine terms,” genderless languages may be thought of as more egalitarian and gender-neutral (Hellinger and Bußmann 2001, 20). However, as Hellinger and Bußmann (2001, 20) write, “in genderless languages it may be even more difficult to challenge the covert male bias and the exclusion of female imagery.” If anything, the grammatical gender of German has forced an acknowledgement of the male as norm ideology and has furthered subsequent efforts at correction which have yet to really develop in English. German speakers have been and are confronting the disparity in their language in a way many English

speakers do not. And, for all the advances made towards equality of the sexes, so long as these male as norm ideologies linger in our language, they will linger in our society.

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TERROIR AND CULTURAL IDENTITY

Brent A. Hammer

The purpose of this paper is to examine the relationship between terroir and cultural identity to illustrate that the concept is being employed as a means to reconnect people to the land or an ancestral heritage. The rapid pace of globalization has created a disconnect between identity and the land for many people. If it is true that 99% of human history has been spent as hunter-gathers, it is fair to say that we have a strong connection to the land as a sense of place in direct relation to food procurement. We know we can't go back to being hunter-gathers, but it doesn't mean we can't seek out or desire a connection to the land or an ancestral heritage. This connection can be represented by the concept of terroir. To synthesize the various definitions of terroir, it is important to explore the historical origins of the term. A philosophical view establishes that the concept of terroir exists as a separate experience to be reflected upon independent from the sensory experience produced by eating or drinking a food product. A selection of essays and articles are presented to illustrate that the human or cultural component is the most important factor in considering the role of terroir in shaping or creating identity at ethnic, national, regional, and individual levels. Whether one simply believes the concept is being used as a marketing gimmick or that it resonates with our identities, terroir does exist in relating place, time and people to the production, consumption, and epistemology of our modern foodways.

The War on Terroir, Reign of Terroir, In Defense of Terroir. No, this is not a military or political manifesto on some Western government's current paranoia with defending its nationhood or on its predilection to harass, torture or kill those that threaten their sense of democratic and capitalistic entitlement. It is not a typographical error. My computer does have spell-checker and it constantly reminded me with its little red squiggly line, "Are you sure you don't mean terror?" Yes, I assured my trusty computer as I ignored it for the twentieth time. My subject matter is of a much more lighthearted and pleasurable nature, that of food and identity. The authors of the above titles are merely employing a play on words (or expressions) to emphasize the silliness or irreverence to which they believe the subject matter of terroir deals with. Or are they? The purpose of this paper is to examine the relationship between the concept of terroir and cultural identity, and to demonstrate that this concept is being increasingly embraced as a means to reconnect people to the land or an ancestral heritage.

It is my intention to demonstrate that terroir is a serious issue and does exist in relating place, time and people to the production, con-

sumption and epistemology of our modern foodways. I will present a synthesis of meanings to the word terroir to arrive at an operational definition, followed by a theoretical framework to approach the subject matter. A brief historical account of the origins of terroir will provide valuable context to understanding its meanings and various cultural examples will be used to illustrate these meanings.

WHAT DOES TERROIR MEAN?

Terroir, a French word, is derived from the Latin root *terra*, meaning 'earth'. One does not have to be a linguistic expert to understand that it is often very difficult to obtain literal translations between languages. The Concise Oxford Dictionary defines terroir as soil, ground, locality, place, or part of the country. Amy Trubek (2005), a chef, anthropologist and assistant professor of nutrition and food science at the University of Vermont, proposes that the word has many meanings even for the French and is often associated with a person's history with a particular place and described it as their roots. Elizabeth Barham (2003, 131), a rural sociologist, defines terroir as "a traditional French term referring to an area or terrain, usually rather small, whose soil

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and microclimate impart distinctive qualities to food products.” Many people believe the word has its origins in viticulture (Heath and Meneley 2007) and that it refers to the relationship between quality, style and taste of the wine with its geographic origin (Van Leeuwen and Seguin 2006). Jerry Adler and Tara Weingarten (2005), writers for *Newsweek* magazine, suggest that terroir is the combined effect of all that you find in nature: topography, soil, subsoil and climate. Still others propose that terroir is not merely the soil, but includes the customs and ceremonies of the people who produced the food or drink (Scruton 2007a). In a different article on the same subject Roger Scruton (2007b), a philosopher, writer, and wine correspondent, simplifies his position by stating that terroir is the sense of a place, a time, and a culture. Trubek (2005) prefers the expression *goût du terroir* to suggest the meaning as the ‘taste of place’. She continues to explain that, to the French, these words are more like “categories that frame perceptions and practices—a worldview, or....a foodview?” (Trubek 2005, 261).

It is best to stop or one can easily get carried away listing various definitions. What becomes evident is that terroir means more than a literal translation of a word or phrase. Terroir is best expressed as a concept, relating to food and foodways, that connects elements from the natural world with human intervention. If one chose to work with Trubek’s suggestion one could expand upon it to look something like this: “taste” includes more than the physiological or sensory sensation of eating or drinking a food product. It would encompass all the human senses as well as the full cognitive and cultural realm elicited by the food product to the extent one is capable of experiencing it. “Place” includes all the physical elements of geography, with the scientific elements of geology, climate and weather. But most importantly place includes the people, the customs and traditions and their ancestral heritage within a physical and temporal space. The simple word “of” is the connector between the two that acknowledges the relationship between taste and place. Terroir, as Adler and Weingarten (2005) succinctly suggest, is best expressed by metaphor and not by scientific analysis. Therefore, within

this metaphoric context I will use Trubek’s (2005, 260) simple but inclusive “taste of place” as my operational definition of terroir.

THEORETICAL PERSPECTIVES

Research and writing on terroir cover a wide range, from a purely positivist approach of scientific proof of its existence (Van Leeuwen and Seguin 2006), to functionalism (Feagan 2007), to a philosophical discourse on epistemology (Scruton 2007a), to historical particularism (Whalen 2007), and to popular musings by oenophiles and literary scribes (Adler and Weingarten 2005). As a subject matter it touches on politics (Josling 2006), economics (Heath and Meneley 2007), history (Helstosky 2003), and religion and spirituality (Trubek 2005) within both local and global contexts.

The common threads in all this literature are food, people, places and the relationships between them. The dates, range of titles and variety of publications in my reference materials suggest terroir is currently topical and somewhat controversial as an academic and dinner table subject. Holistic, dynamic and relativist concepts are all important ingredients in conducting research into the concept of terroir.

However, in dealing with a concept such as terroir it is helpful to tenuously construct a theoretical framework based on some of the key components. Taste, as briefly discussed above in the context of my operational definition, represents much more than the chemical senses of salty, sweet, bitter, and sour identified by the biological receptors on the tongue (Bartoshuk and Duffy 2005). E.N. Anderson (2005), a professor of anthropology in food studies, emphasizes that it is the relationship between the physiological and the cultural that allows us to create taste. Culture then becomes the magical ingredient that brings terroir to life. We are not, after all, interested in actually consuming dirt or rocks to discern geological and chemical elements like sandstone or alkaline (Van Leeuwen and Seguin 2006). What we are interested in when we produce, sell or consume a food product is what it or the process represents or means to the people involved and affected by it.

It has long been known in anthropological studies that food consumption and food practices have deeper meanings than just providing nutrients to the body. Research by Mary Douglas (1966) and Claude Levi-Strauss (1969, 1962), pioneers in the study of foodways, has demonstrated the connection between food, cultural meanings, cultural differences and identity. Levi-Strauss theorized that the cooking process changed nature into culture. Douglas saw the act of performing food preparation as a material and social transformation involving the knowledge and skills of the people. Brillat-Savarin, in his 1925 publication *The Physiology of Taste*, produced the frequently quoted line “tell me what you eat and I’ll tell you who you are” (Heath and Meneley 2007, 599) to reflect the powerful connection between food and identity. Terroir, in its relation to the origin, production, distribution and consumption of food, by extension becomes capable of invoking and reflecting cultural identity.

The link between place, space and identity also provides a theoretical understanding towards the concept of terroir. The rise of the post-industrial modern era saw the rise of the nation state as the primary unifying identity for individuals of regional, ethnic, and cultural differences (Feagan 2007). Like other anthropological concepts considered traditional, the sense of place was now believed to represent old fashioned, irrelevant, static, and frozen in time. The process of globalization was seen as creating a world of increasing “placelessness” (Feagan 2007, 38) where the significance of place in people’s lives was reduced or considered to be of negligible relevance. It was thought that people would become cosmopolitan citizens of this new global and universal world order.

The work of prominent human geographers J.A. Agnew and J.S. Duncan (1989) revitalized the importance of place as a concept in the social sciences. They redefined place as the structuring or mediating context for social relations and suggested that place, as a spatial concept, could not exist without people having a strong identity connection to a geographic location. To the contrary, geographers and other social scientists had begun to notice that people were not let-

ting go of the their community or regional place and the identities that they associated with that place. In fact this reemergence of place as an expression of identity seems to represent a growing awareness and resistance to the deterritorialization brought on by global change (Feagan 2007). This conscious effort to (re)create distinctive or sovereign qualities as identities markers attached to a place is rooted in what I refer to as a spiritual connection to the land or an ancestral heritage.

Scruton (2007a) sees the concept of terroir as a celebration of our relationship with our natural surroundings. Terroir reflects the history, customs, and ceremonies of people, not merely the soil of a place. The author considers wine as a living thing with terroir facilitating the transformation of the grape into wine, followed by the transformation of the soul when we drink the wine. Scruton suggests this represents the transition from hunter-gathers to farmers to modern civilization where settled people now belong to a place—a place with a memory.

Scruton distinguishes between sensory pleasure and aesthetic pleasure, which he says is dependent on your learned knowledge or culture. He describes taste and smell as secondary objects that form associations with their primary objects, such as food or a beverage. That then creates an experience unto itself with the ability to link people, place and processes back to the primary object. It is this experience, that now has a life of its own, that humans can reflect upon. Therefore, terroir is not necessarily inherent in the primary object, say wine or food, but a possible association that may be linked to it depending on the cultural relevance to the individual experiencing the association.

Scruton states that in experiencing terroir people are able to know the history, geography, and customs of a community. This epistemological perspective, despite the potential philosophical pitfalls or seemingly circular logic, is I believe essential for establishing the concept of terroir as a reflexive experience that can be appreciated by itself, not as an existential one but rather as a shared cultural experience. To this extent terroir can be viewed as an analytical construct within a cultural domain.

THE ORIGINS AND HISTORY OF TERROIR

Terroir as a concept, as I have defined it, is arguably less than 100 years old. Yet the roots of its origin could be conceived as being somewhat primordial. As stated by noted winemaker and geologist David Jones, “What you’re tasting in a bottle of wine is a hundred million years of geologic history” (Gee 2004, 119). Many perspectives on the origin of life agree on the order of appearance: the earth or land came first, followed by the flora and fauna, and the people came last (Ives 2007).

It is commonly accepted in anthropology that the majority of human existence has been spent as hunter-gatherers (Moran 2007), successfully roaming and living off the land. Therefore, it is easy to believe why humans would have such a deep spiritual connection to the land and what it provides for them. This forms an underlying cosmological basis for the concept of terroir. However, what is relevant to the understanding of my research problem is the socio-cultural realm of our contemporary Western society.

Philip Whalen (2007), a folklore scholar, notes how the use of geographical determinism to explain social and political practices is a tradition in France that goes back at least 500 years. Regional identity became part of a strategy of class struggle between the elite and peasants, and between urban and rural people. The concept of terroir began to be used extensively in France in the 17th century. This use of geographical determinism led to a theory of historical development focusing on the dynamics between people and their environment and was not always used in a complimentary way (McGee and Patterson 2007).

The meaning of terroir began to shift in the early 19th century when a wealthy Burgundian landowner noticed that although all the wineries essentially made wine the same way, some tasted better than others (McGee and Patterson 2007). From this observation he surmised that the differences must be due to the terroir, specifically the soil and rocks under the vineyard. Then Vidal’s *Principles of Human Geography*, published in 1921, proscribed an interrelationship between

earth and man. This relationship was based on physical laws and ecological understanding that emphasized the interactions between society and its terroir and gave rise to a “scientific credibility and therefore greater utility to the French discourse of terroir” (Whalen 2007, 24).

Trubek (2005) suggests this interrelationship led the French to develop what they believed was a national foodview. They believed that the physical environment, the soil, roots, etc. of a place created distinct tastes in wine and food. This fundamentalist view of terroir was seen as reflecting reality for the French. Trubek argues that a close examination of historical events reveals a slightly different and more accurate picture. Increased urbanization and industrialization led to the emergence of a new connection between agricultural practices, rural life, food and drink. Regional cuisine emerged from distinct geographic regions, where taste and quality of flavor are not only linked to location but to production style and the producers themselves. The Michelin tire company began their publication of food and travel guides to promote these regional cuisines with the purpose of increasing travel and selling more tires. The promotion of rural tourism also included the development of regional gastronomy and the phrase “celebrating the taste of place.” What has transformed, as Trubek outlines, is the notion that it is the cultural component, the people and their history, which ultimately defines the concept of terroir.

Whalen (2007) supports this view in his article “A Merciless Source of Happy Memories’: Gaston Roupnel and the Folklore of Burgundian Terroir”. Here the author examines how folklore and the concept of terroir were used to promote Burgundian regional culture between the two world wars (1919-1939). Gaston Roupnel was a provincial folklorist who exploited the images of rural life to create a shift in French cultural identity. The goal was to combine conservative cultural traditions with modern industrial practices to stimulate growth in the economy while fostering pride in rural France.

Roupnel promoted rustic stereotypes, through folkloric gastronomical fairs and wine festivals, to reinvent a traditional, regional cultur-

al identity as an alternative to the cosmopolitan French Nationalist identity that was growing at the time. Carcano notes that Roupnel depicted a “timeless peasant civilization, representing the repository of tradition... retaining the traces on France’s Celtic origins... and animated by costumed feasts, chants, and convivial dance (Whalen 2007, 25). Roupnel asserted that the concept of *terroir* contained the spirit of the past, transcending time and all of human life.

Whalen reports that Roupnel’s interests then shifted to the *vignerons* (grower vintners) of the Burgundian region. This slight change in direction was meant to shift the French rural identity from the *paysan* (peasant farmer) to the *vigneron*, a more iconic figure, by invoking the concept of *terroir* to specifically viticultural practices. Roupnel wrote in 1936 “Our Burgundian wines are as much the children of human hands as that of the soil” (Whalen 2007, 30). Whalen concludes that it was Roupnel, and regional intellectuals like him, who created the current version of the concept of *terroir* that instilled a regional folk identity into the national consciousness and that continues to shape contemporary notions of French identity today. To that I might add the creation of a very successful marketing campaign, as well.

This combination of *terroir*, identity, and marketing is brought up to date by Kolleen Guy’s (2004) article “Wine, Ethnography, and French History”. Guy, an associate professor of history, highlights the reverence and passion with which the French still maintain for *goût du terroir*. The author illustrates how the case of Jose Bove, a successful sheep farmer who attacked a McDonald’s restaurant in France, facilitated the emergence of *terroir* and especially wine as an “ideal political tool endowed with enormous symbolic power” (Guy 2004, 164). Bove’s headline-producing actions were seen as both promoting the ideology of *terroir* and attacking the homogenization of food by American political ideology and multinational corporations. The words *terroiristes* and *terroirism* (Scruton 2007a) are terms employed to reflect the intensity of anger and the passion of national pride involved in the issue of *terroir*.

Guy (2004) notes that these issues of international gastro-politics have been stirring for

over a hundred years. The author proposes that to understand these recent conflicts it is useful to examine links from the past to the present with regard to small-scale wine producers. To support this view, the author reviews two books, one by Winnie Lum and the other by Robert C. Ulin, who conducted ethnographic fieldwork in the south of France in the late 1980s and early 1990s. These books provide some historical background into the concept of *terroir* and the construction of regional identities where one discovers that passion was not always ideal or celebratory.

Guy suggests both books depict the world of ordinary wine producers whose passion sometimes turns into rage, similar to the angry protest by Bove. The French have laws protecting products of *terroir*, like wine, called *appellations d’origine contrôlées* (Barnum 2003). These products are patriotically treated as national brands, much like corporations protect trademarks, because they are believed to represent quality and an authentic experience of *goût du terroir*, and by extension French cultural identity. Guy is critical of both authors for overemphasizing the economics of labor organization and protest in shaping the regional identities, but then commends them for suggesting that wine is an invented tradition invested with “cultural capital” grounded in the notions of *terroir*. Guy concludes by acknowledging that products of *terroir* are increasingly becoming more popular and diverse around the world. This is creating a corresponding rise in the number of controls and agencies to protect producers and inform consumers about the issues relating to the concept of *terroir* (Guy 2004). It is to this discussion that I now turn.

GLOBAL TERROIR

I believe Tim Josling’s (2006) use of the expression “the war on *terroir*” is his article titled “The War on *Terroir*: Geographical Indications as a Transatlantic Trade Conflict” is not meant to be irreverent or to poke fun at oenophiles (wine lovers) as I initially suggested. Josling is a professor emeritus of the Food Research Institute at Stanford University. His article, presented as a presidential address, highlights the political seriousness and global implications for the use of

the concept of *terroir*. The author describes the concept of *terroir* as an essential link between location of production and a specific quality attribute. His article explores the legal and economic arguments in trade negotiations and disputes concerning agricultural and food products between the United States and the European Union (EU). The author suggests that there is a growing interest in the protection of cultural goods and those goods that embody traditional production methods, such as the concept of *terroir*.

Josling incorporates the concept of *terroir* with the term geographical indications (GIs) to represent a form of intellectual protection to be used in the examination of the information about consumer attributes of a food product. GIs, Josling states, indicate that place names reflect a certain quality, taste, cultural identity, and other related information important to the consumer. The author addresses the important question of whether GIs protect cultural traditions and practices or are simply being used to provide marketing advantages. He emphasizes that this is an area of disagreement and conflict between the EU, which has extensive systems and protective regulations of GIs, and the U.S., which does not.

I believe this article is important because it draws attention to the growing interest and regulation in the protection of cultural goods and to those goods that embody traditional production methods. The author acknowledges that in this New World of global markets and multilateral food regulations there is little to be gained by impeding the natural spread of food cultures (Josling 2006). He does agree that the mystique of *terroir* may be beneficial in the development of agri-tourism. But to some the “war on *terroir*”, however it is employed, is also a war on cultural identity. Although cultural identity is not a focus of this article, I see it as inherent in the Old World-New World relationship of contrasting values suggested by the terms colonial, conflict, transatlantic, dispute, and war.

Feagan (2007) goes a bit further in his discourse about the relationship between local and global food systems. The author discusses how the concept of *terroir* and labels of origin are valuable for connecting food to a place and how

they relate to the local food systems (LFS) movement. He recognizes *terroir* as a socio-cultural construct that addresses the relationships between nature, quality, region, producers, and consumers. Feagan (2006, 25) suggests that LFS can act to reconnect “power and knowledge relationships in food supply systems that have become distorted by increasing distance (physical, social and metaphorical) between producers and consumers.” The author continues to state that LFS, employing the concept of *terroir*, can shorten the food chain to bring consumers closer to the origins of their food, to in essence reconnect them to the land or an ancestral heritage.

Farmers’ markets and community gardens are seen as one way that direct contact brings food producers and consumers closer both geographically and socially (Feagan 2006). The quality and cultural identity embedded in the farming practices and traditional customs of production, as the concept of *terroir*, are seen as fundamental information important for both the producers and the consumers. It is then believed that this information enables consumers to place value judgements of quality and authenticity on products they associate with a region, country, method of production, or on their *terroir*.

Feagan also recognizes *terroir* as a socio-cultural construct that addresses the relationship between nature, quality, region, producers and consumers. The article acknowledges that the concept of *terroir* is being used globally by many countries and regions and has broadened the food spectrum to a vast array of products. The author suggests that in this day of increased mobility and globalization people are trying to recapture a spatial-cultural identity and that the concept of *terroir* is a useful and powerful means to do that (Feagan 2006). An exploration of some specific examples will further demonstrate how the concept of *terroir* is being employed as a means to reconnect people to the land or an ancestral heritage.

TERROIR OF CALIFORNIA WINE

What better place to begin a cultural journey back to the land and the past than the land of sun, surf, paparazzi and Paris Hilton? Whether

one believes California is a cultural wasteland doomed to someday fall gracelessly into the Pacific Ocean or the cultural bastion to which the entire world aspires, there is little argument that it is the land of a thriving and successful local and global wine industry. It is also the place where the concept of terroir has been vigorously studied, practiced and debated to the point that it has become part of the local mantra for many Californians. Controversy concerning terroir in wine was elevated to the international stage when Napa Valley Cabernet Sauvignons were rated higher than prized First Growth Bordeaux from France in a blind taste test conducted by a panel of international wine experts in Paris (Scruton 2007a).

California is also the place where the nature-culture duality of terroir is intensely debated. Scientific studies, such as that of Van Leeuwen and Seguin (2006) attempt to understand terroir as it specifically relates to viticulture are a regular academic pursuit. Terroir is approached as an interactive ecosystem where climate, soil, and vine are interpreted by how they relate to quality, taste, and style. Natural environmental factors are broken down into macro, meso, topo, and microclimates. Soil, geology, pedology, agronomic, and water uptake conditions are all analyzed in relation to their possible sensory attributes of wine. Howell and Swinchatt (Anderson 2005) note a vineyard in northern California that produces three different wines from three different soil types believing that each one tastes different. While concluding that the natural environment does have a scientific basis for influencing the wine, Van Leeuwen and Seguin (2006) concede the difficulty in studying terroir because of the many variables involved, the least of which is the human element, in this interactive ecosystem.

Robert McGee and Daniel Patterson, two New York writers, poke fun at California wine experts who claim to be able to taste the earthiness and “minerality” in a wine by asking the question, “Does terroir really exist?” (McGee and Patterson 2007, 2). They acknowledge the concept has appeal to connect nature and place to people in a delocalized world but suggest it is a little more

complicated than tasting the earth. They wonder how winemakers get the flavor of dirt and rocks into the glass, especially since wine is made by fruit grown on a vine above the ground. They elaborate by noting that essential minerals in the rock, such as sodium, potassium, calcium, magnesium, and iron, are dissolved by the soil moisture and mainly affect plant growth. The earthy and mineral aromas and flavors actually derive from the interaction between the grape and yeast during production. It is these transformations created by metabolizing yeast, a process strongly influenced by the winegrower, which contribute to the taste of the wine.

Therefore, they believe it is the grower who controls and manipulates plant growth, and the winemaker, who makes hundreds of choices in the transformation process, that ultimately determines the final product. They suggest that the concept of terroir has been one of the longest running and most successful marketing campaigns of the modern era, pitting Old World tradition against New World bravado. But then they ask why, if terroir is mostly about marketing and economics, have so many Californians and indeed most Americans, “embraced the concept with near-religious zeal” (McGee and Patterson 2007, 4).

The authors answer by exploring the complex relationship between tradition, culture and taste. They cite pioneering French oenologist Emile Peynaud (McGee and Patterson 2007, 5) who wrote about the “dual communion” represented by wine and the role of human intervention with nature. The authors conclude by suggesting wines taste the way they do because people chose to make them taste that way, and that wines are an expression of culture, not nature.

This embracing of the concept of terroir by American wine enthusiasts may be seen as a way to reinforce the traditional and spiritual role of wine in human life to connect people to the land and to one another. Terroir is the mediator between nature and culture (Trubek 2005). Evidence of the tremendous growth in small boutique, organic and hobby wineries in California

would support this notion (Gee 2004). Wine producers have changed their original labeling practices from focusing on the varietal or style of grape to emphasize the place name of the winery, which is often a family name, and the vintage year (Adler and Weingarten 2005). Of course many of the original wineries in California have Old World connections through either transplanted vines or families or both. Many California labels are now also highlighting the specific vineyard the grapes are from, along with notes on the back of the bottle to reflect the specific terroir of the wine. This terroir may refer to place, people, tradition, methods, and the consumer's potential experiences from drinking the wine. Is this a reflection of family tradition and ancestral heritage or an act of shameless self-promotion? The fact that these may be either old or new elements simply reiterates the notion that cultures are dynamic and not static. Regardless, there is this strong desire to connect the new with the old, with culture to nature. Derooy (2007) expressed this notion by suggesting that wine gives people the feeling that they are participating in a deeply rooted culture. This Californian understanding of the concept of terroir seems ideally illustrated in this quote from the movie *Sideways* (Payne and Taylor 2004) where Maya, the protagonist's love interest, describes what wine makes her think about:

I do like to think about the life of wine, how it's a living thing. I like to think of what was going on the year the grapes were growing, how the sun was shining that summer or if it rained... what the weather was like. I think about all those people who tended and picked the grapes, and if it's an old wine, how many of them must be dead now. I love how wine continues to evolve, how every time I open a bottle it's going to be different than if I had opened it on any other day. Because a bottle of wine is actually alive—it's constantly evolving and gaining complexity. That is until it peaks—like your '61—and begins its steady, inevitable decline. And it tastes so fucking good [Payne and Taylor 2004].

TERROIR OF VERMONT MAPLE

Black (2006) reports, with an appropriate sense of humor, on a project coordinated by Amy Trubek. The goal of this project was to apply techniques of the wine world to determine if a maple syrup terroir exists. Scientific equipment and procedures were used to analyze the chemical properties of different syrups to establish characteristics that may account for different tastes. The theory of the project was to suggest that if different maple trees on different soil types produced different syrup flavors, producers could use that information to promote Vermont and regional syrups over other brands from different places.

The use of words like “mineral” and “flinty” on the label could invoke the concept of terroir, in a state that claims to prize its rural heritage, as a means of reinforcing their cultural identity: “We are different and so is our syrup” (Black 2006, 11). Trubek argues that the terroir of maple syrup matters because the small, local syrup makers are competing with the corporate food giants. Terroir as a marker of identity and used for marketing is essential to the Vermont producers.

The results of the tests did conclude that maple trees from different geologic conditions produce different quantities of chemical elements that could affect the taste of the syrup. The researchers also attempted to address production methods and other intangible factors, but due to the informal nature of the study, lack of funding, and ability to consume only so much maple syrup at a time, they were unable to continue their project. However, the article does demonstrate that the concept of terroir is presently applied to different food products in an attempt to reinforce regional and cultural identities and market local commodities.

TERROIR AND THE FETA WARS

The production of feta cheese in Greece can be traced back 6000 years (Economou 2003). Feta cheese has had strong links with Greek history and literature since ancient times. Most of the feta produced in Greece is consumed domes-

tically, illustrating how important it is to traditional Greek food, customs, and identity. In 1994, Greece applied to the European Union (EU) to have feta cheese recognized as a Greek branded product under the Protected Designation of Origin (PDO) status. The PDO was created to assure the quality of traditional food products.

The Greeks believe that feta cheese is symbolic of their country and their cultural identity. Denmark, Germany, and France, countries that also produce feta, disagree and have fought against the designation. They see feta as a generic term not symbolic of Greek origin. Yet Denmark only began making feta cheese in 1963 and Germany in 1985. It is not difficult to see Greece's position, 6000 years compared to 20 or 45; there is a slight difference here.

However, Greece's position is also based on quality of the product and control of production methods to establish a *terroir*. Greek feta is made from sheep or goat milk, not cow milk like other countries use. Traditional feta is not brined in salt; it is sprinkled with coarse salt and flipped for up to 24 hours to allow subtle herbal undertones to evolve (Kochilas 2006). Large triangular wedges are placed in old birchwood barrels, salted again, and aged for a legal minimum of two months and up to six months for high grade feta. Greeks believe their production methods are unique, including the dry climatic conditions that produce the feed for the sheep and goats' subsistence (Economou 2003).

This is a useful example of the global *terroir* wars that Josling articulated where nations are trying to protect and preserve their cultural identity by promoting the origin or connectedness of a certain product to their land or traditional methods and heritage. This case deals with legal repercussions and intellectual property matters concerning the World Trade Organization and is an issue of global economic concern. More importantly, I believe it represents the power of *terroir* as supported by an EU market survey that indicated 79% of EU consumers believed that feta evoked a place of origin and not a type of product. When they thought of feta they regarded it as Greek and felt they were guaranteed a quality product (Economou 2003). Kochilas (2006) sug-

gests that in many parts of the country feta is so strongly associated with their identity and *terroir* that the Greeks simply refer to it as cheese.

ITALIAN TERROIR

Historian Paolo Sorcinelli suggested that when studying the history of Italian food it is best to think of it as the history of appetite and hunger rather than the food itself (Helstosky 2003). He believed that the meagre food habits were the product of a meagre physical and socio-political environment. To this end Carol Helstosky, also a historian, examines and compares two cookbooks to explore the history between Italian foodways, in particular the preparation and consumption of food and Italian cultural identity.

Helstosky (2003) suggests that the cookbook by Artusi attempted to bring Italians together through a shared language and practice about food preparation and consumption based on local and national products that were rooted in traditional customs. It was intended that despite regional and class differences throughout the country, this would enable the cookbook's readers to think of Italy as a nation with similar cuisine and food practices. Historical events envelop a heritage component to invoke the concept of *terroir*. In a country with a history of political and economic turmoil and limited agricultural land, the food habits of the late 19th and early 20th centuries were considered to be the results of this unstable and unhealthy environment where even the wine was bad.

In an attempt to change these bad habits, Artusi encouraged the readers of his cookbook to call on their sense of Italian heritage. He wanted then to think about the purchase, preparation and consumption of certain foods in terms of what is best for the national identity and their individual identities. His vision was based on three principles: hygiene and health, the construction of middle class custom, and the nation's regional diversity of produce and cooking styles. By educating the middle class Artusi hoped these new foodways would become distinct and desirable (Helstosky 2003). This would form the essence of the concept of *terroir* that he then hoped

would contribute to a national cuisine and unite the nation.

The other cookbook, by Marinetti, took a more positivist or practical approach to the task of improving Italian foodways. He promoted the abolishment of all traditions and customs and placed food production and distribution in the hands of the state in order to create an entirely new food system. Fascist policies and propaganda of the time were reflected in his cookbook and were meant to counter the more naturalist efforts of Artusi's earlier publication. Helstosky notes that while Marinetti and his cookbook quickly faded and were forgotten, Artusi became loved and revered with his cookbooks still available today; he is "still considered the indisputable father of traditional Italian cuisine" (Helstosky 2003, 134). Today, these results appear to be represented by a cuisine that emphasizes the concept of terroir, embodied in a passion for their national, regional, and individual heritage as a vital component of their cultural identity; and yes, the wine has improved.

TERROIR AS ARTISANSHIP

Heath and Meneley (2007) discuss the ways in which *techné*, as craft or artisanship, and *technoscience* are used to mediate the production and consumption of food. The authors, referencing Marx's theory about the severance of the relationship between production and consumption, examine how specialty commodities, such as foie gras, cheese and olive oil, are being used to reinforce cultural identities by invoking claims of terroir. Terroir is defined here more from the position of the process of food production rather than the soil or climatic conditions or contributions. This terroir, infused with traditional methods and customs, is used to create and promote products designed to reflect the regional or ethnic identities of the producers or distributors to consumers.

This article highlights how the human intervention component, as craft or artisanship, can employ the concept of terroir as a powerful communicator of national, regional, ethnic, and cultural identity. The authors reference the organic, farm to table, and slow food movements

as examples of this strategy. These artisans emphasize the use of locally sourced ingredients, traditional methods, and standards of quality to combat the homogenization and industrialization of global food producers. One example is from a small-scale New England cheese maker who aims to recreate the "natural-technical traditions of their European predecessors" (Heath and Meneley 2007, 596) through what might be called reverse-engineering terroir strategy. Another example, from a traditional Camembert cheese maker, proclaims the fight is to preserve the smell of the farm, grass, and the cows in his cheese.

The authors are astute in pointing out that this relationship between artisanship and terroir may create somewhat of a paradox. In attempting to decommodify food products by promoting the concept of terroir, these artisans may end up actually increasing the value of the food product purely as a commodity (Heath and Meneley 2007). This may be evident by the persuasive marketing strategies of fast food restaurants that employ what might be called pseudo-terroir and brings up the issue of "authenticity" and what constitutes "traditional".

ANALYSIS

Questions of authenticity and of what constitutes traditional, in regards to food and foodways, and their relationship to cultural identity are relevant to the concept of terroir to the degree that they are also examined as cultural constructs. James (2005) asks if food and foodways can still act as strong markers of cultural identity in a global food system and whether the increased homogeneity of cuisine blurs our sense of cultural distinctiveness. She suggests the cosmopolitan juxtapositions and blending of foods can create conflicts in cultural identity, including that of the individual consumer. Just think of "all you can eat buffets". However, James states that foodways should be seen as flexible markers of cultural identity and acknowledges that there is a constant intra and interrelationship between food, foodways, and culture. She even suggests that the consumption of "foreign food" is a way for people to validate

their own sense of local and cultural identity.

Goody (1982) also addressed these issues concerning the validation of the role of food and foodways with respect to cultural identity. He gave the example of pizza and pasta being accepted as traditional cuisine representative of all of Italy, yet historically they were only a small regional phenomena. Maize, another example, is regarded as a traditional staple food of Africa but originated in the Americas. Goody emphasized that authenticity needs to be viewed as a reflexive concept that recognizes the importance of a holistic, dynamic, and timeless approach to the understanding of culture and cultural constructs. This is where I believe the concept of terroir plays a pivotal role in connecting these different elements. As Trubek (2005, 268) suggested, terroir “reflects reality” in the sense of what is culturally relevant to you at a given place and time. Traditional foodways are not meant to represent something old fashioned, irrelevant, static or frozen in time but should be seen as a way of representing or “preserving the historical qualities of local flavors” (Trubek 2005, 268).

The case of Italian terroir I discussed is an excellent example of the cultural relevance of the use of terroir as a concept to unite a nation and build a new sense of cultural identity through the process of reauthenticating and reinterpreting the notion of traditional. The example of California wine terroir illustrates people and regions attempting to create a new cultural identity, that despite contemporary modifications, is still rooted in a traditional or ancestral identity. Many of the other articles demonstrate the global influences of our cosmopolitan world by legitimizing terroir through local, regional, national and international laws and government regulations. The case of Greek feta cheese obtaining EU designation is a clear example of this. Transnationalism, cosmopolitanism, and globalization are all realities in the current cultural milieu, yet despite the projected homogenization of food and foodways they have not produced a comparable homogenization of cultural identities (James 2005). In fact, it would appear people are more aware of the

potential disconnect to their cultural identity and work harder to reconnect to a place, to the land, or an ancestral heritage. I agree with Trubek's (2005) suggestion that terroir has been increasingly used to promote nostalgia over the past thirty years. But I would further suggest that it is a nostalgia with an essence of a rooted past. The proliferation of its use in the menus of many of today's “fashionable” or “trendy” restaurants would certainly support this notion. This also reinforces the importance of recognizing and acknowledging that the concept of terroir is a construct reflecting nature and natural processes that we use to define our perceived cultural reality.

CONCLUSION

When you drink a bottle of Zinfandel wine from California, are you experiencing terroir? What if you knew the vintner was the Turley wine company? What if you knew it was from their Paso Robles winery in the southern region of the Salinas Valley? What if you were told this was a very good region for growing grapes due to the geologic and climatic conditions? What if you knew it was specifically from their Pesenti vineyard? What if you knew the vines were 85 years old? What if you knew the vines were from original clippings brought over from Italy by the Pesenti family? What if you knew the vintage of the bottle was 2003? What if you were told that was an exceptional year for the grapes due to near perfect weather conditions? What if you drank that wine while standing in that very winery in the rolling hills of Paso Robles just east of the beautiful Pacific coast under the glorious California sunshine? And would the sensory, cognitive, and cultural experiences be heightened because you were there and in the moment?

Yes, they certainly were for me, despite the fact that it was actually raining that day. Did I experience the concept of terroir as the taste of a place? I believe I did even though I had never tasted the wine before. In fact, I had never even heard of Turley wines before, let alone the Pesenti vineyard. Nor had I ever been to Paso Robles or heard of it until we researched for a trip to California. Will I experience the concept

of terroir when I open or even look at the bottle that I brought home from that same vacation? Looking at the bottle certainly invokes the memories I have from that trip. But it also invokes the information and knowledge that I learned from that specific experience. It represents the experience of a temporal, spatial, and cultural place. Would I have the same experience if I knew none of that information and had just gone to the local wine store and bought that bottle? Definitely not; as Crane (2007) points out, the wine may speak of terroir but not in a literal sense, as the wine itself has no message. So it will not matter as much what it physically tastes like when I actually take a sip as what and who it represents or what it makes me think about, as the previous quote from the movie *Sideways* (Payne and Taylor 2004) illustrated.

What is apparent to me from my research on this paper and from the examples reported is the underlying, powerful influence of the human component to the concept of terroir. The potential for human intervention or modification exists in the growth, production, distribution, and consumption phases of a food product, therefore imparting a sense of cultural identity to it. As mentioned earlier, we are not really interested in eating dirt or tasting minerals in our foods, but rather in what the experience represents or means to us on a sensory, emotional, cognitive, and therefore cultural level.

So does the concept of terroir exist for the individual who does not have the learned or shared experiences of relevant cultural knowledge? Are they incapable of experiencing terroir if they are unaware of it? There are many articles discussing the philosophical nature of science, aesthetics, objectivity, and subjectivity in relation to the concept of terroir. An underlying component evident in my research is the essence of a spirituality that exists between the concept of terroir and cultural identity. There seems to be a primordial instinct that as humans we have a need and desire to connect or reconnect to the land and our ancestral heritage. It only makes sense that in a busy world of increasing homogenization of products and technology, people would attempt to reinforce their cultural and individual

identities to avoid being swallowed up by a cosmopolitan worldview where deterritorialization blurs our sense of who we are.

The concept of terroir is a perfect cultural construct to relate place, time, customs, and traditions to the production, consumption, and epistemology of our modern foodways. It is a way to express social cohesion, display a sense of patriotism or pride, and to embrace our cultural identity. Terroir is a way to ground us to a place, to the land, and to an ancestral heritage. Advances in biological and evolutionary psychological research may one day reveal that the human brain is in fact hardwired for terroir. While I do not believe that it would imply that we are all of French descent, it would suggest that we are all biologically capable of experiencing the taste of a place whether we know it or not. We just require the sociocultural milieu to express and more importantly to share it in. The concept of terroir is intricately intertwined with our sense of community and place, and is a powerful communicator of this relationship between food, foodways, and our cultural identity.

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EARLY PREHISTORIC SITES IN ALBERTA AND HOW THEY RELATE TO AHAI MNEH (FiPp-33)

Jo-anne Schenk and Gabriel Yanicki

A number of projectile points found in the basal cultural deposits at Ahai Mneh are representative of the Early Prehistoric period. In addition to confirming a cultural presence previously only tentatively identified at this hilltop site near Wabamun Lake in central Alberta, these findings add to our understanding of the range of the Agate Basin/Hell Gap phase, a period that is very poorly represented in Alberta archaeology. Further, two fragmentary specimens that are basally concave and exhibit attempts at fluting or basal thinning appear to be Early Prehistoric in origin; these bear some resemblance to stubby points of the little-known Sibbald phase, although they could also be representative of the later Lusk complex. While only the most tentative of identifications can presently be made, they serve as an indicator of multiple Early Prehistoric occupations at Ahai Mneh and highlight a key area of interest for future research at the site.

Human occupation in what is now Alberta spans over 13,000 years (Ives 2006). During the 2010 field school at Ahai Mneh run by the Institute of Prairie Archaeology at the University of Alberta (see Rawluk *et al.*, this volume), a number of projectile points were found showing evidence of occupation from the earliest stages of human colonization of the Northern Plains. Situated on a high hilltop, the site was identified as a likely area for Early Prehistoric activity based on research at similar settings in central Alberta (John W. Ives, pers. comm.). This was reinforced by the find of a fragmentary projectile point in previous work at the site in 2008, identified as Early Prehistoric in origin (Soucey, Ball, and Boscher 2009, 60).

The Early Prehistoric was a dynamic time period marked by drastic environmental and cultural change. Few traces of the cultural changes are preserved, with the most notable exceptions being diagnostic projectile points. Several points from the 2008 and 2010 excavations at Ahai Mneh compare favourably with points found at two other important sites in Alberta recognized for their Early Prehistoric occupations: Lake Minnewanka and Sibbald Creek. In particular, projectile points diagnostic of the Agate Basin/Hell Gap phase and possibly Sibbald phase or Lusk complex are present, indicating repeated Early Prehistoric occupation at Ahai Mneh.

THE EARLY PREHISTORIC: A REVIEW

Alberta's prehistoric past is generally divided into three different time periods based on changes in projectile point styles and assumed correlations with technology (Byrne 1973; Forbis 1982; Mulloy 1958; Peck 2011; Reeves 1969, 1983; Vickers 1986, 10). Although archaeological units include diverse toolkits with lithic materials being most commonly preserved, the difference between these cultural units is easiest understood through changes in projectile point morphology. The Early Prehistoric, ca. 11,050 to 8,600 BP (Peck 2011, 23), is characterized by large lanceolate points which are believed to have been hafted to large thrusting spears. The Middle Prehistoric, ca. 7,500 to 1,500 BP (Peck 2011, 119), featured medium-sized, notched points indicative of the adoption of atlatl technology. In the Late Prehistoric, ca. 1,350 to 250 BP (Peck 2011, 335), small side-notched points show a technological shift to the bow and arrow. These broad periods can be further subdivided: when an archaeological unit features traits that can be distinguished from other units it is classified as a *phase* (Peck 2011, 6; Reeves 1983, 39). If an assemblage's relationship to preceding and subsequent phases is unclear, it is classified as a *complex* (Peck 2011, 6; Reeves 1969, 13). Recognized phases and complexes of the Early Prehistoric period in Alberta include Clovis, Folsom, Sibbald, Agate Basin/Hell Gap, Alberta, and Scottsbluff-Eden (Peck 2011).

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Figure 1: Early Prehistoric projectile points from Ahai Mneh (FiPp-33); actual size

Early Prehistoric environment

After the Laurentide and Cordilleran ice masses retreated in the terminal Pleistocene, a rapid warming trend between 11,300-11,200 BP saw arboreal vegetation quickly become established over central Alberta. This pattern of warming continued into the early Holocene, and new vegetation regimes continued to develop (Schweger, Habgood, and Hickman 1981, 58). These rapidly changing environmental conditions saw the demise of Pleistocene megafauna such as mammoth (*Mammuthus* sp.), Yesterday's camel (*Camelops hesternus*), and North American horse (*Equus* sp.) by the end of Clovis times, ca. 10,800 BP (Guthrie 2006). More familiar species such as bison (*Bison* sp.), sheep (*Ovis* sp.), caribou (*Rangifer tarandus*), and elk (*Cervus elaphus*) persisted through the remainder of the Holocene (Wilson 1983, 204) with bison becoming the dominant species on the Plains. Although commonly associated with megafauna, Early Prehis-

toric peoples can better be understood as hunters and gatherers establishing familiar lifeways that would endure for the next 10,000 years.

EARLY PREHISTORIC POINTS AT AHAI MNEH

Based on their morphological attributes, six projectile points at FiPp-33 can tentatively be identified as Early Prehistoric in origin (Figure 1). The first such projectile point, FiPp-33:4114, was found during the 2008 excavation by Altamira Consulting Ltd. (Soucey, Ball, and Boscher 2009). Soucey and colleagues (2009, 60) reported it as a straight-stemmed lanceolate point with rounded corners. They interpreted it as the base of an Agate Basin/Hell Gap spear point¹. This was the sole artifact representative of the Early Prehistoric in their excavations. Peck (2011, 55) dates the Agate Basin/Hell Gap complex from 10,200 to 9,600 BP.

This tantalizing find was corroborated by the discovery of several additional artifacts during the 2010 field school excavations. Five addi-

¹ Following Frison (1993, 243) and Peck (2011, 55), the long and narrow Agate Basin point and shouldered Hell Gap point show no difference in functional purpose. Given their strong temporal and spatial correlation, they are treated as a single cultural unit.

tional points appear to be from the Early Prehistoric, four of them fragmentary. These were found both on the top of the hill and in the swale where separate excavation areas were placed (see Rawluk *et al.*, this volume, fig. 1).

Artifact FiPp-33:7537 was found 22.5 cm below surface in Unit 51; it is a complete Agate Basin/Hell Gap projectile point made of grey quartzite. The tip is rounded; blade edges are excurvate. The shoulders are rounded and high on the blade margin. The left and right proximal margins are rounded; the basal margin is straight. The projectile point is biconvex in cross section. Flaking appears to be irregular, though this is difficult to determine given the coarse material. The base and proximal lateral margins show evidence of grinding. The shouldered appearance is likely due to resharpening of the tip, commonly executed with little regard for the point's original shape (Frison and Stanford 1982, 80).

FiPp-33:7538 is a projectile point base found in Unit 50, also at a depth of 21.5 cm below surface. It also appears to be Agate Basin/Hell Gap in origin, and is made of the same mottled brownish red and white porcellanite as the base found in the 2008 excavations (Soucey, Ball, and Boscher 2009, 60). Its lateral margins are slightly excurvate, terminating with a snap fracture midway down the blade. The margins contract towards the base. The basal margin is straight and does not show evidence of grinding. Flaking on the dorsal side is irregular, but the ventral side features more regular patterned retouch. Several similar basally contracting stems were found at the Agate Basin site (Frison and Stanford 1982, fig. 2.54).

FiPp-33:7539 is more enigmatic in style. Recovered from 18 cm below surface in Unit 53, it is a small grey quartzite fragment representing the base of a stemmed projectile point. The straight lateral margins contract towards the base, while the basal margin is concave. Although flaking is hard to distinguish given its size and coarseness, it features pronounced basal thinning scars on both its dorsal and ventral faces, which may be step-fractured flutes. Fluting is a very distinctive practice typical of the Clovis and Folsom

phases, the earliest periods of human occupation in Alberta. Another fluted variant has been recognized in Alberta featuring stubby points with multiple flutes or basal thinning scars (Gryba 1983; Wormington and Forbis 1965, 86); these are associated with the Sibbald phase, ca. 10,500 BP (Peck 2011, 47), and are discussed in greater detail below. Identification as Sibbald is problematic given the piece's stratigraphic association with deposits slightly above the Agate Basin/Hell Gap materials, and it may be representative of a later occupation (see Rawluk *et al.*, this volume). In this case, another candidate cultural affiliation is a "poorly understood set of material" featuring basally concave lanceolate points and dating from ca. 8,300 to 7,500 BP, identified as the Lusk complex (Peck 2011:108). As with Agate Basin/Hell Gap, basal thinning or fluting is not reported for Lusk specimens.

FiPp-33:7702 is the blade of a short lanceolate projectile point, possibly Agate Basin/Hell Gap, made of dark grey siltstone. The tip is sharply pointed; blade edges are slightly excurvate. The shoulders are rounded and high on the blade margin. The base is broken, with the proximal end being irregularly fractured. Contraction of the stem towards the base remains evident. Flaking on both faces is irregular. The piece's size, high shoulders and blade shape are markedly similar to FiPp-33:7537, again likely due to resharpening.

Finally, FiPp-33:10348 is the basal portion of a short lanceolate projectile point made of light grey quartzite; much of the blade appears to be intact, but the tip is absent. Provenience for this piece is uncertain; it was found in the screen material of Unit 54, Level 4, approximately 15-20 cm below surface. Blade margins are excurvate and very irregularly flaked; this may be due to the poor quality of the material – several step fractures are evident – or the piece may have broken during manufacture and was left unfinished. Proximal margins are obtusely angled; slight basal contraction is evident. The basal margin is concave, and step-fractured basal thinning flakes, possibly representing attempts at fluting, have been removed from both faces. Like FiPp-33:7539, the cultural affiliation of this



Figure 2: Basally concave, possibly fluted point from Lake Minnewanka site (artifact 349R22C8:2; Landals 2008, fig. 27); actual size

piece is enigmatic, but its stubby lanceolate form, basal concavity and possible attempts at fluting are characteristic of the Early Prehistoric. Candidate cultural affiliations include both Sibbald phase and Lusk complex. Although recovered as a screen find, the depth from which it was recovered, above the Agate Basin/Hell Gap materials, suggests that the latter, terminal Early Prehistoric assessment is more likely correct.

DISCUSSION

Very few excavated archaeological sites in Alberta have produced Early Prehistoric points from a reliable stratigraphic context (Benders 2010, 19-24; Peck 2011). Two key sites, the Lake Minnewanka site near Banff (Landals 2008) and the Sibbald Creek site southwest of Calgary (Gryba 1983), provide particularly valuable illustrative material with which to compare the Ahai Mneh assemblage.

Lake Minnewanka

At Lake Minnewanka, Landals's multi-year excavations revealed 26 distinct occupations, in-

cluding eight well defined, well stratified occupation floors dating between 10,800 and 10,000 BP (Landals 2008, iii); each excavation area was identified as an *operation* (Landals 2008, 108). A basally concave and thinned projectile point base recovered from Operation 17, Occupation 8 at Lake Minnewanka was suggested by Landals (2008, 143) to be Clovis, Folsom or Goshen, a Clovis-contemporary point style; uncertainty of affiliation is due to the fragmentary state of the artifact. This fragment shares several affinities with FiPp-33:7539 and FiPp-33:10348, including basal concavity and multiple basal thinning scars that could be representative of flutes. However, the Lake Minnewanka specimen has a fish-tailed rather than basally constricted form. No radiocarbon dates were obtained for this occupation due to old carbon contamination (Landals 2008, 143).

Another projectile point found by Landals (2008, 163; Figure 3) was identified as Hell Gap, a conclusion based on comparison to similar findings from the nearby Eclipse Site (Fedje 1986, 1988). This point resembles the Agate Basin/Hell Gap points from Ahai Mneh, FiPp-33:7537, 7538, and 7702. Landals (2008, 163) notes heavy grinding to the lateral edges of this point's stem and reworking of the blade to give it a shouldered appearance. The specimen was recovered from Operation 18, Occupation 2/3, from which a bison horn core yielded an AMS date of 9990 \pm 50 BP (Beta 122723; Landals 2008, 160).



Figure 3: Hell Gap point from Lake Minnewanka site (artifact 349R18E2:1; Landals 2008, fig. 32); actual size



Figure 4: Early Prehistoric points found at Sibbald Creek (Gryba 1983, fig. 28)

Sibbald Creek

The Sibbald Creek site was excavated by Eugene Gryba in 1980 and consisted of between 10 and 12 different cultural components (Gryba 1983, 122). The site is located on a knoll in the Jumpingpound Creek drainage west of Calgary in the southern Alberta foothills. It was the first site in Alberta to yield in situ fluted points. Gryba noted that “this site contained the refuse of successive occupation events which commenced at the time of the Fluted Point Tradition [Early Prehistoric] and continued without any major interruptions for an estimated 11,000 years” (Gryba 1983, ii).

There were three radiocarbon dates obtained from the Sibbald Creek site. They were obtained from organic particles removed from arbitrary 5 cm layers in the lower half of the deposits, and were found to support the typology of the projectile points and stratigraphic evidence (Gryba 1983, 122). Gryba excavated to a depth of 60 cm, by which cultural materials were exhausted (Gryba 1983, 37). The dates that were collected were $5,850 \pm 190$ BP, $7,645 \pm$

260 BP, and $9,570 \pm 320$ BP (Gryba 1983, 122). There were some issues with the latter date—the lab reported that their counting device had to be replaced a couple days after the date was made—but since the sample was taken from the 35–40 cm layer, it did not seem unreasonable to him (Gryba 1983, 123).

There were many projectile points found at Sibbald Creek; among those relevant to our discussion are four Agate Basin points that were found in the 35–40 cm layer, all made of siltstone, with rounded bases and expanding blades, and of poor manufacture (Gryba 1983, 65). Cat. No. 5922, the base of a basally constricted Agate Basin point, is of particular interest for its resemblance to FiPp-33:7538 (Figure 4, *e*). Like the point bases found at the Agate Basin site (Frison and Stanford 1982), these points have constricted bases with narrow, rounded basal margins. As can be seen in Figure 4, several other Agate Basin points from the Sibbald Creek site show a strong similarity to the Agate Basin/Hell Gap points from Aha! Mneh.

There were also two fluted points found

in situ at the Sibbald Creek site in the deeper, undated 40-45cm layer (Gryba 1983, 64). Two specimens were stubby and basally thinned, with multiple flutes on both faces (Gryba 1983, 67; Figure 4, a and b). In addition to their basal concavity and multiple basal thinning or fluting scars, they show no evidence of grinding (Gryba 1983, 67), and are roughly similar to the basally concave, possibly fluted points at Ahai Mneh, FiPp-33:7539 and FiPp-33:10348.

Gryba (1983, 67) felt that the broad, V-shaped bases of these points are very similar to Clovis points. Peck (2011, 47) has called these short, stubby points that are often fluted or have basal grinding Sibbald phase points; he dates them to ca. 10,500 BP based on their similarity to previously dated finds from Charlie Lake Cave in British Columbia (Fladmark, Driver, and Alexander 1988, 375) and the Twin Pines (Ronaghan 1993, 89) and Vermillion Lakes (Fedje 1986, 36) sites in the Alberta Rockies.

It must be recognized, however, that these Sibbald phase points do not feature the same contraction towards the base as the Ahai Mneh pieces. Figure 4, g, from the Sibbald Creek site also bears some similarity, with an expanding stem and basally concave shape. In an unpublished consultants' report on excavations at site EgPn-428, Vivian and Reeves (1999, quoted in Peck 2011:109) pointed to Sibbald Creek as evidencing Lusk complex occupation.

CONCLUSION

The discovery of multiple Agate Basin/Hell Gap points reinforces Soucey and colleagues' (2009) tentative identification of an Early Prehistoric component at Ahai Mneh. Analysis of the 2010 materials has shown that there may in fact have been multiple occupations during this early period. When compared to points found at several other sites in Alberta, direct morphological similarities can be observed, particularly for the Agate Basin/Hell Gap points. Unfortunately, the basally concave, possibly fluted specimens from Ahai Mneh are fragmentary and of poor quality material, making reliable identification difficult. However, the Lake Minnewanka and Sibbald Creek sites produced specimens that are com-

parable. Whether representative of the Sibbald phase or Lusk complex, further excavation at Ahai Mneh may yield more insight into the presence of a cultural occupation about which very little is presently known.

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THE EXISTENTIAL IMPERATIVE IN NARRATING EXPERIENCE

Thea Luig

The idea that the act of narrating one's experience, in particular reorganizing disruptive experiences into a coherent story, is conducive to well-being has become popular in the social sciences and in therapeutic practice. Ways of remembering and narrating draw on templates of the larger societal, historical, and cultural context and thus situate the memory of one's particular experience within a collectively shared world. However, other voices argue that the driving force of storytelling is less the need for coherence or continuity, but rather the reconstruction of a sense of agency in intersubjective relationships. This paper will explore the question of what is at stake, what is existentially imperative, in the human practice of narrating experience. Using a phenomenological framework that pays attention to the intersubjective space of perception and experience, I will apply narrative approaches drawing on medical anthropology, linguistics, and psychology to my conversations with Mary, a long-time caregiver for chronically ill family members.

I think it helps to find words, it helps to tell our story, it helps us to find metaphors, it helps us to make sense, it helps us to make sense ... and if you have the words that seems to open other doors, you start thinking about it in a different way, this whole concept of reframing .. I think is really important .. for caregivers .. yeah (Mary 2010, pers. comm.).

Mary has been taking care of chronically ill family members for 40 years. The most difficult chapter of her experience as a caregiver was the transformation of her relationship with her husband as his mental capacities slowly diminished after he suffered several strokes. After many turbulent years of requiring increasing amounts of care, Mary's husband was eventually admitted to a care institution. It had been five years since this event when Mary and I met. Through a collaboration between a University of Alberta visual anthropology course and the Alberta Caregivers Association, I was given the assignment to create a digital story episode that visualizes a caregiver's story for the association's newsletter with the goal to reduce isolation among other caregivers in Edmonton. Over the course of four visits at Mary's home, we collaboratively recorded and photographed one version of the story of her life as a caregiver.

The idea that the act of narrating one's experience, in particular putting disruptive events

into a coherent story, is conducive to wellbeing has become popular in the social sciences and in therapeutic practice (Mattingly and Garro 2000, 3-4). Fundamental to this development are the writings of Jerome Bruner (1986) which conceptualize narrative as a tool that allows humans to order fragmented experience, to construct reality, and to open up a space for alternative meanings and interpretations. Such alternative potential interpretations lead to possibilities instead of certainties (Bruner 1986, quoted in Mattingly and Garro 2000, 2-3). Ways of remembering and narrating draw on templates of the larger societal, historical, and cultural context and therewith situate the memory of one's particular experience within a collectively shared world (Kirmayer, Brass, and Valaskakis 2009, 442). The socially embedded ordering aspect of storytelling is seen as having a beneficial effect on memory, perception, and experience, therefore allowing the individual to see him- or herself as continuous in time (Chandler and Lalonde 1998). An argument put forward by several authors views continuity and coherence as basic human needs. Charlotte Linde (1993), in her compelling analysis of how middle-class North Americans narrate their professional pathways, conceptualizes coherence as the creative ability to construct sufficient causality and continuity for a chain of events which then renders the experience comprehensible, meaningful, and manageable. By this process, she

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argues, people re-establish themselves as competent members of their social surroundings.

Narrative, in this perspective, is seen as an articulation of a person's sense of self; a coherent narrative reflects a *sense of coherence* which serves as a personal resource that enables people to persist in and cope with stressful life events (Antonovsky 1979, 1987). A growing body of research in health psychology demonstrates the positive physiological outcomes of cognitive processing by narrative integration of experience into a socially constructed image of the world and of oneself (Lepore and Smyth 2002; Pennebaker 2002).

However, there are other voices that demonstrate a lack of coherence in stories and point to the fragmented character of experience as well as narrative (Kirmayer 2000). Michael Jackson (1996, 2002) argues from a phenomenological perspective that what drives storytelling is less the need for order or continuity but rather the reconstruction of a sense of agency in intersubjective relationships.

Having a sense of agency in the intersubjective construction of past, present, and future reality is what matters to people in making meaning in their lives through actions and through communication. In narrating experience, relating to one's history and future, inter-existence and inter-experience are prior to content or form of the story. Using the account of a caregiver on how she navigated through disruption, re-shaped social roles as well as her identity, and dealt with the institutional context, I argue that negotiating inter-existence and bargaining for one's position in a contested intersubjective space of agency and legitimacy is the existential imperative in storytelling, rather than the creation of coherence in order to gain a culturally specific sense of personal continuity.

INTER-EXPERIENCE, NARRATIVE, AND STORIES

To arrive at an understanding of the existential strife of narrating experience, I will start by clarifying what is meant by experience in anthropological conceptualizing. For this purpose, I will briefly outline the concept of *experience* as proposed by Clifford Geertz (1973), as well as

Merleau-Ponty's (2002) perspective on the relationship between experience and perception, in order to establish the notion of *inter-experience* (Jackson 2002) as a fundamental assumption for my argument. Such dialogic understanding of intersubjective encounters, including interrelationships between the individual and the structural, is further supported by M.M. Bakhtin's master trope of *heteroglossia* which I will succinctly describe to support the argument of this paper. Drawing from these writings, I will conclude this section with an illustration of the relationships between inter-experience, narrative, and stories.

Geertz's (1973) concept of experience logically follows from his definition of culture as "webs of significances." According to him, social and cultural processes are constituted by the movement of significant symbols that "impose meaning upon experience" (Geertz 1973, 45). Perception of experience, therefore, is paralleled to an act of *recognition*, an identification of a phenomenon with an existing cultural signifier. Merleau-Ponty (2001, 92) adds another layer to Geertz's analysis by arguing that perception is "an intention of our whole being" towards relations in the world. Perception and experience are in a constant feedback loop that is given direction by relational projections which are, at the same time, temporal, social, and spatial in character. Our relations to the world, or – as Geertz would express it – the web of significances with which we situate ourselves within our sociocultural background, therefore, give perceptions meaning. Entangled in these orientations, perceptions proceed and change in a fluid dialogue with the perceiving "other." As intentionality is the driving force of relations, interrelationships, are therefore prior to the perception of experience (Jackson 1998, 3). Coherence is then part of the interpretation that is provided by the symbolic forms that traffic within social relations and which construe experience (Geertz 1973).

Avoiding dichotomizations of the personal and the social, or the private and the public, Michael Jackson (1998, 2002) frames this model of primacy of relations in terms of *inter-est* (inter-existence) and *inter-experience* (1998, 3). This concept, which implies both Geertz's understanding

of experience and Merleau-Ponty's phenomenology of perception, is fundamental to understanding the existential imperative in narrative. Storytelling happens at the interface of experience and narrative as well as the intersection of personal and social, and is therefore one form of inter-experience. This characteristic of verbal expression has been demonstrated from a linguistic perspective by Bakhtin (1981). His master trope of heteroglossia adds another building block towards the argument proposed in this paper.

Language, according to Bakhtin (1981), is characterized by two aspects: *centrifugal* and *centripetal* forces. The former are much stronger, ubiquitous, and account for our experience of articulated language as intrinsically particular: they stress the fragility, fluidity, and historical nature of articulations whose meanings come, change, and fade in the same way that humans come, change, and vanish. Bakhtin uses the term *heteroglossia* to describe the sum of the influences the particular context of any utterance has on adding to, refracting to, or subtracting from meaning. The concept of heteroglossia is extremely useful to understanding narrative since it points to the immense plurality of experience in communication between one individual and another, each being conscious at a "specific point in the history of defining itself through the choice it has made – out of all the possible existing languages available to it at that moment – of a discourse to transcribe its intention in this specific exchange" (1981, xx). The development of personhood, according to Bakhtin, can then be defined as "gradual appropriation of a specific mix of discourses that are capable of best mediating their own intentions... with a minimum of interference from the otherness constituted by pre-existing meanings (inhering in dictionaries or ideologies) and the otherness of the intentions present in the other person in the dialogue" (1981, xx)¹. Consequently, language is always meaning, always uttered to somebody else including the other of one's own inner self. Social and historical heteroglossia as well as concrete, spe-

cific personal content and accent are constitutive to the centrifugal quality of language. Opposing to this, but equally implied in any articulation, are centripetal, unifying forces, which are less powerful than centrifugal ones and have a complex ontological status. The centripetal aspect of discourse pertains to the ideal of a holistic language, limiting the particularities of heteroglossia and working to allow a maximum of possible mutual understanding (Bakhtin 1981, xix). It is in this space – between the uttered word, the speaker and the environment, between centrifugal and centripetal forces, between multiple aspects of the environment – that words, speech, narrative, or stories are individualized and given shape. In this dialogic field, narrative relates to numerous other fluid socio-ideological discourses around the given topic and so becomes active in shaping dialogue. In fact, it arises out of present dialogues as a continuation and a rejoinder to them. Bakhtin (1981, 280) concludes that any discourse, no matter if professional, everyday, formalized storytelling, scholarly, or inner dialogue is oriented towards existing discourses, directed towards an answer, and influenced by the response it anticipates. Since such a responsive understanding, which participates in shaping discourse and articulates itself in either resistance or support, is conceptual and emotional rather than linguistic, any story or narrative will strive to meet the ontological horizon of the listener in such a way as to encounter a shared ontological background (Bakhtin 1981, 281). Bakhtin (1981, 282) goes as far as saying that the response has precedence over narrative: "primacy belongs to the response, as the activating principle... understanding comes to fruition only in the response. Understanding and response are dialectically merged and mutually condition each other." Through such dialogic encounter, differing conceptual horizons and social discourses come to interact in order to allow the speaker to get a reading on his own narrative and to enter into a dialogue between his own ontological background which determines his narrative as well as that of the listener. Therefore,

¹ Bakhtin uses the term *language* not only in the strict sense of the word but also as meaning different types of socio-ideological languages, discourses, and narratives.

the arena for dialogue is not the topic of the story but rather the conceptual horizons, belief system, and ontological assumptions of speaker and listener.

At this point, after having established that perception, experience, and their articulation in language are inherently relational, construed by, and directed toward inter-est, it is now possible to explore the interaction between experience, narrative, and stories. In anthropology, the analysis of narrative as a construction of reality serves the goal to understand how people negotiate views of self and others as well as how they orient themselves along their pathways through past, present, and future. From the flow of socially mediated experience, events are selected and then “presented in an order that itself intentionally or unintentionally conveys significance” (Mattingly and Garro 2000, 260). Here is where a distinction between story and narrative becomes crucial: for the purpose of this paper, I will use the term story as comprising articulations of a sequence of actions or events which range from formalized storytelling to everyday conversations. Narrative, on the other hand, pertains to the discursive presentation of the event, the order and form given to the presentation that draws on socially significant signifiers (Culler 1981, quoted in Mattingly and Garro 2000, 12). In this view, narratives affect stories, distort content in various ways, distance the story from lived experience, and shape it according to values, forms, as well as styles shared within a group of people. Looking at narrative as distinct from story, therefore, offers an understanding of what is common within a group without disregarding the idiosyncratic aspect of a story (Mattingly and Garro 2000, 14).

According to Arthur Frank, different types of narrative made available by one’s culture underlie any story and give insight into questions of ideology and institutionalized practices (1994). Charlotte Linde (1993) provides examples for this in her analysis of the narrative type of life stories as an important part of everyday discourse in North American middle class society. Within this cultural setting, constructing one’s personal and professional development in a coherent life story that conforms to social expectations of continu-

ity and causality is assumed to play an important role in identity shaping processes (Linde 1993). Narrative represents discourses about “normal” behaviour and feelings, and therefore about morality: about being a good person and doing the right thing. In using cultural knowledge as guidance in remembering and narrating the past, stories contribute to the maintenance of certain narratives as culturally intelligible ways of conveying experience. Following from this, the study of narrative “provides a window in the processes involved in aligning an individual’s experience with one or more of these pre-existing models and how these alignments change in the light of continuing experiences and new information” (Mattingly and Garro 2000, 28). The coherence that is created in a story is less found in reality, but is rather of a fictional character, one that speaks to what matters in a certain social context. In that, stories shape conduct, behaviour, and they move to act. This points to the performative aspect of narrative; narratives can be enacted in behaviour and be seen as “unfolding personal and social drama” (Mattingly and Garro 2000, 17).

Narratives also demonstrate ways in which humans construct temporality and make sense of the past as well as the present in order to orient themselves towards the future. Jason Throop (2003, 234) identifies four different temporal orientations within experiencing and narrating: first, toward the present which consists of open possibilities in an unknown future; second, an anticipation of an imagined determined future that follows from residues of the past; third, an orientation towards the past which facilitates the construction of beginnings, middles, and ends of an experience; and fourth, the “subjunctive casting of possible futures and even possible pasts.” The latter point is reflected in Portelli’s (1991) argument which maintains that what is most important is that stories reveal what people intended to do instead of what they actually did. In choosing one alternative representation of a past experience over the other, people renegotiate their relationship to their history (Portelli 1991, 50). The distance that this casting of possible pasts and futures creates from lived experience is, according to Portelli (1991, 51), perhaps the most valu-

able source for a better understanding of people's imagination, symbols, and desires. Stories are then always variable, partial, and unfinished. Changes in narrative might reflect changing politico-historical circumstances and self-identity. Depending on these shifts, some parts of the story might be added and others may be hidden (Portelli 1991, 53). Silence – what is not said, what is left out of a story – is just as important to consider as an intrinsic part of narrative.

In summary, I concur with Mattingly (1998, 45) in that lived experience is ordered by remembrance and anticipation of inter-experience, therefore already carrying the “seeds of narrative.” A story then imitates experience beyond recalling mere sequences of events and, at the same time, situates the teller and his narrative negotiation of temporality and self within the symbolic, moral, and ontological context of his or her sociocultural environment. Such a perspective will facilitate the understanding of how Mary structured her account, what occurrences she emphasized, and how she eventually reconciled her experience with her notion of what it means to be a good person.

NARRATING EXPERIENCE: COHERENCE VS. SENSE OF AGENCY

The following section is an attempt to weave the threads of inter-experience, heteroglossia, and centripetal and centrifugal forces together in order to situate coherence and agency within narrative practice and to illuminate what matters existentially when people narrate experience. Crucial to this undertaking is a clear understanding of what is meant by coherence and continuity. At times, these terms are used interchangeably and both, or one or the other, are assumed to be universal human needs (Becker 1997; Linde 1993). Linde (1993) defines coherence as a property of a text, a logical connection of parts of the text to one another and to the text as a whole. She found the elements of continuity and causality in her analysis of life stories of North American middle-class individuals to be constitutive to coherence. Sufficient causality is established between the protagonist and the audience by providing socially acceptable reasons

for and demonstrating appropriate exercise of agency in certain life choices or changes. The second element, continuity, pertains to uninterrupted successions, union, or duration of choices, characteristics, parts of one's identity, goals, or practices. Linde treats continuity as a temporal quality, the socially shared linking of past, present, and future, and therefore a matter of social knowledge.

Continuity and causality, in Linde's (1993) words, are “social expectations.” Becker (1997) frames them as culture-specific “discourses of normalcy.” Both of these points relate to Kirmayer's (2000) argument that the importance of coherence in a story might rather exist in the therapist's or researcher's interpretation. From this perspective, continuity and causality as culturally authorized narrative forms of remembering and storytelling may impose an order onto a story that renders it far removed from experience as lived.

As socially constructed narratives of normalcy in white middle-class North America, continuity and causality provide sufficient grounds for a story to be considered coherent, that is, to meet a shared conceptual background with the audience. In Bakhtin's (1981) terms one could say that coherence serves as centripetal force and facilitates responsive understanding. Continuity and causality are culturally specific narratives that draw on themes such as temporal linearity, individuality, productivity, and personal responsibility, all highly valued in North American society (Becker 1997). As aspects of narrative form and type, coherence and continuity are means to limit heteroglossia in the articulation of experience and are socially negotiated ways that take the anticipated response of the audience into account. The more coherent a story, the further it is from lived experience (Mattingly and Garro 2000, 36). Idiosyncratic perceptions as well as coherence are each just part of narrative heteroglossia. Since relations are prior to relating narrative towards the other, the field of intersubjectivity is what has primacy in telling one's story. After setting aside the concepts of coherence as a socially constructed tool to meet a shared ontological background with the audience and continuity as

one example for this kind of culturally accepted narrative, I will now explore the space of inter-existence for its potential answers to the question of the existential imperative of narrating experience.

Humans become persons by acting and being acted upon. Personhood consists of a process “to negotiate, reconcile, balance, or mediate these antithetical potentialities of being, such that no one person or group ever arrogates agency so completely and permanently to itself that another is reduced to the status of a mere thing, a cipher, an object, an anonymous creature of blind fate” (Jackson 2002, 13). Bracketing the unresolved question of whether there is actual human choice, it is Jackson’s notion of a sense of agency, in the meaning of having a say in one’s life and an effect on the context beyond the individual, that I will adopt for the purpose of my argument. According to Jackson (2002, 14-15), maintaining a sense of agency is the *existential imperative* within every intersubjective encounter. He transfers this model to the dialogic process of storytelling: the reworking of events and sense-making of disruption through dialogue with others are equally dependent on shared imperatives and values. Jackson’s main argument is that what drives storytelling is less the need for order or continuity but rather the reconstruction of a sense of agency. According to him, a universal human preoccupation is to be in control, in some meaningful way or another, over one’s lifeworld: “nothingness is, accordingly, the dispossession of choice” (Jackson 1998, 17). He argues that intersubjectivity consists of a constant negotiation between the world one feels in control of and the world of the other to which one has to adjust one’s own to. Power and control, therefore, are not only systemic patterns that influence local lives in various ways, but are first and foremost existential tasks that are worked out in everyday interaction (Jackson 1998, 19-20). If the overwhelming control of others leaves a person unable to act, then according to Jackson (2005, 94-107), the individual will engage in various activities to objectify this loss of agility in order to recreate a sense of ability to act and manage the world. Storytelling as an intersubjective encounter

is one way of reconstructing this sense of having a say in one’s life.

This view is supported by Kirmayer (2000) who emphasizes the renegotiation of power and legitimacy in narrative, as well as by Frank, who argues that the decisive tension in illness narrative is the struggle to sustain one’s voice, “a self-conscious effort to *hold her own* against the forces that threaten to overpower her voice and her text” (Frank 1994, 4-5, original emphasis). In their argument, these writers focus on illness narrative and therewith lead us from the general interests in what is at stake in narrating experience to the more specific topic of disruptive life events. Illness that affects oneself or a closely related person disrupts expectations, goals, routines, and fundamental assumptions of one’s being in the world. Chronic illness that requires a renegotiation of social roles and identities is especially a disturbance of the taken-for-granted world of everyday life that requires the revision of plans, goals, and images of self and the world. Pellegrino (1979, quoted in Mattingly and Garro 2000, 28) fittingly coins such incidences an “ontological assault.” In the face of such uncertainty and open-ended redefinition processes, desire plays an important role. As Mattingly (1998, 93) writes: “We act in order to bring certain endings about, to realize certain futures, and to avoid others.” The negotiation of agency and legitimacy, of a sense of having a say in one’s life is fundamental to this process. Storytelling within culturally informed frameworks of knowledge, authority, and morality serves to legitimate, challenge, or affect shifts in the construal of interrelationships between socially positioned agents (Mattingly 1998, 154).

However, the inner experience of affected people in acute disruptive situations is rather fragmented (Kirmayer 2000; Mattingly 1998; Mattingly and Garro 2000). As Kirmayer (2000, 174) explains, articulations of illness experience are “fragmented and contradictory, taking the form of potential stories or tentative metaphors.” In the encounter of patients, caregivers, and the medical system, dialogue often consists rather of contested metaphors that negotiate conceptual models, legitimate knowledge, and relative social

positions of participating actors: "The politics of metaphor inheres in the processes that authorize and control interpretations" (Kirmayer 1992, 340). The prominence of metaphors, as well as the decisive influence of the institutional landscape, from which metaphors and narrative arise (Saris 1995), will play a crucial role in understanding what is at stake in Mary's story of her experience taking care of her chronically ill husband.

FINDING WORDS

Applying this theoretical focus on dialectic and political processes in the space of inter-experience inherent in any dialogue, it appears inevitable to make the intersection of Mary's account with my life explicit and to write this section as my hearing of her story (Sarris 1993). The occasion for our encounter was given by an assignment for a course on visual anthropology in collaboration with the Alberta Caregivers Association. The organization wanted a visualization of the story of one caregiver in order for other caregivers to feel less isolated with their own experiences. Mary was selected by the association and agreed to participate. At this time, she had not been actively taking care of someone in her home as her handicapped children were more or less independent and her husband had been admitted to a care institution five years earlier. This assignment confronted me at a point in my research where I was interested in the positive effects of storytelling on psychological and physical health and how the narrative restructuring of the memory of an experience changes its perception and subsequently transforms one's self-representation.

As stories are told in response to the anticipated understanding of the audience, shaped by the particularities of the encounter between individuals at specific points in their personal history, and are part of continuous and unfinished meaning-making in inter-experience, my account is a reflection of this chance encounter at the intersection of two unfolding pathways of making sense of life. I will situate my learning of Mary's stories within the theoretical discussion above in an attempt to explore the question of what matters in exchanging stories.

When I visited Mary for the first time, I had several interview questions prepared that aimed to elicit her life story, to explain how things came to be the way they were, how she made decisions, how her social relationships were affected, and how she feels about her life in the present when looking back at past challenges and difficulties. However, it needed only one initial question for our conversation to take on an informal, pleasant, mutually interested character that centered on certain themes instead of following a chronological course of events. At first, her caregiving revolved around her autistic and schizophrenic daughter as well as her adopted son with Fetal Alcohol Syndrome. In addition, Mary's parents required care as her mother developed Alzheimer's and her father had to undergo the amputation of one leg. The most significant changes in her life, however, were brought about through the several strokes that her husband suffered and that diminished his ability to make sound judgments.

While going through the purpose and procedure of the project and explaining the consent form, Mary immediately asked who the audience of the story would be. Upon learning that it was intended for other caregivers, she herself set the stage for everything that followed and conceptualized the encounter as a sharing circle: the respectful and free expression of one's experience and emotions to a supportive group of people who share a common situation, goal, or challenge. With this in mind she emphasized the difficulties of caregiving and how she was able to overcome them. The importance of language and narrative in going through illness experiences in close relationships emerged clearly from the first interview. Mary felt that the subtle but profound changes in the relationship with her husband deprived her for a long time of the ability to make sense of and to communicate her experience. During the course of three interviews, in which Mary's interpretations often met with my interest in processes of narrative transformation and sense of control, two focal points emerged in our dialogue: first, the transformation of perception through words, or narrative, as well as the transformation of words and narrative through experience; second, the difficulty

to negotiate situations when a profound lack of control, decision-making authority, and autonomy is felt. When I expressed my impression of these two themes being central in her story, she confirmed without hesitation and agreed to let the three-minute digital visual story we were to produce for the Caregivers Association revolve around the concepts of “words” and “control.”

Due to the scope of this essay, my discussion will be selective and although the material certainly allows for a more comprehensive analysis, I will neither explicitly focus on time or memory nor on the narrative reflection of her immigrant family history or her educational background. Since Mary was not concerned with establishing chronology in our conversations but remembered events or thoughts according to themes, I will, for the purpose of the analysis here, group parts of her interview together as they illustrate the predominance of metaphors, heteroglossia, and sense of agency.

According to Merleau-Ponty (2002) the way we relate to the world gives our perceptions meaning. Bodily perception therefore cannot be separated from experience, meaning, and relational projects with the surrounding world. Kirmayer (1992, 325) explains that for understanding experience, the body as a “vehicle for thinking, feeling, and acting” needs to be considered. Metaphors are grounded and restricted by the bodily experience and social regulations that order sensorimotor processes. They assign the properties of one phenomenon on another “and all of our cognitive, affective, and somatic ways of knowing may be brought to bear to elaborate metaphoric correspondences” (Kirmayer 1992, 332). This embodied knowing serves to process complex and abstract experiences, to mediate the immediate (Kirmayer 1992, 336), and to articulate disruptive experiences. Mary extensively uses metaphors. One expression immediately caught my interest for its physical immediacy and which seemed to summarize her perception of the time of acute care giving: “being right up against the glass.”

Author (A): So, you said it was really hard to put into words what was happening. Have you

since found words that can stand as a metaphor for what that period was like?

Mary (M): That’s getting much easier and it’s that capacity in me that seemed to be totally diminished .. It was as if you were right up against the glass [she puts her hands close in front of her face] all the time and I couldn’t get any perspective and I think I couldn’t get any perspective to find words to find metaphors .. You know, I was just thinking this morning when you were talking about this project, it’s a very tired metaphor, but caregiving really is akin to a river and there is times when it’s quite pleasant and life seems pretty normal and then you hit the rapids.

In this paraphrase, two time frames are collapsed: the memory of the past fragmented experience of being faced with threatening illness episodes of her husband, rapid changes in his mental capacities and consequently their relationship, as well as the various demands of the medical bureaucracy. In these situations she remembers neither being able to see herself and what was happening in context nor being able to communicate this experience. Immediately following this metaphor she articulates that in retrospect she does find a metaphor that expresses continuity while simultaneously including unexpected, disruptive events: a river with rapids. In revising her memory she situates events along the mental representation of a continuously flowing river, the banks and direction of which are not visible to one caught in the rapids. However, she calls the metaphor “tired,” meaning that although it meets a widely shared conceptual background, its common usage has deprived it of much personal, particular meaning and removed it, for Mary, from lived experience.

The state of standing too close against a glass pane is not only physically constricting, but also visually, in that it reflects one’s own image in a way that blocks the view onto the larger part of oneself as well as onto one’s surroundings and whatever is behind the glass. Another quality of this metaphor is the separation it illustrates: standing against a glass pane separates oneself from others and leaves one unable to communi-

cate. Physical, visual, and communicative restrictions contained in this metaphor allow the listener to comprehend the limited agency that Mary experienced during her husband's illness. In that, "right up against the glass" and the analogy of the river with rapids are both metaphors that rely on common knowledge of physical phenomena. The former represents more centrifugal aspects but reveals more of Mary's particular experience, while the latter acts as centripetal force but leaves the metaphor removed from lived experience.

Another metaphor she uses is *opening doors*, which signifies the more or less sudden ability to reconstruct oneself and one's life in a way that allows alternative perceptive and behavioural possibilities.

A: So the support group or other people's experience help to find words?

M: I think it helps to find words, it helps to tell our story, it helps us to find metaphors, it helps us to make sense, it helps us to make sense ... and if you have the words that seem to open other doors, you start thinking about it in a different way, this whole concept of reframing .. I think is really important .. for caregivers .. yeah.

Mary's assessment of the role of communicating experience to others exemplifies what Garro (2003, 35) describes as "moving from the indeterminacy of culturally informed experience to culturally grounded accounts of interpretative possibilities." The kinaesthetic possibilities that opening doors offer directly translate into regained agency provided by the metaphorical transformation of experience. In Kirmayer's (2004) research on metaphoric transformation in healing practices, he situates the mediating level between the social context and physiological outcomes within the higher cortical functions of language and imagery. A switch in meaning arrived at by a change in metaphorical representation yields a transformation of perception and experience. Medical labels can fulfill a similar function and be seen as metaphors of such transformative powers as becomes clear in Mary's account:

M: I think the first time I saw the word 'dementia' on a .. assessment of my husband... and this was part of this internal process of re-identifying myself as a caregiver rather than a wife because .. because judgement issues .. ah .. I'll tell you a little anecdote: he decided, my husband Tom² decided that he wanted a scooter and I said I'll look into it, I'll talk to the doctor, I'll see if we can get funding, you know all the logical things to do, I said when I finish work, that would have been in April. One day I came home and the telephone book was open and it was the page for taxis and my husband wasn't home and just about then, a taxi drove up and my husband got out of the taxi, he was in his pyjamas, his housecoat and his slippers and he had gone to a medical store and they had sold him a scooter and .. you know .. now, I would have handled it totally different, I would have taken it back, I would have said this is crazy, this cannot be, but then you know I was in that zone, where I was still trying to negotiate, the way you negotiate with your husband, so he got the scooter home and he had it for about a year and it was just a disaster, he'd run off and you know two miles later he'd run out of gas and I'd have to go and get him [laughs] and get the scooter, I mean it was so

A: when the word dementia

M: that changed things for me because that's when I thought ok, ok c'mon, this is real, you, you, you and it certified .. seemed to certify for me that in fact it was no longer possible, that I was responsible for these judgements and I had to take the control that was very difficult because it led to a lot of conflict.

This passage contains the account of redefining narrative and of a transformation of identity on multiple levels. "Dementia" as an illness label transports meanings that are legitimized by the socially and ontologically authorized medical system. This authority has the force to shape the perception of Mary's daily interaction with

² Name changed.

her husband and to restructure their respective positions within their relationship. It provides meaning and explanation to phenomena that did not match her previous experience and were therefore hindering her from incorporating them into the view of herself in the future and from taking action towards it. The account suggests that Mary had the possibility to draw on various potential interpretations each stemming from a different framework of moral knowledge. However, only socially authoritative knowledge “certified” that her inability to maintain her role as spouse in the way she was used to was caused by a “real” change in context. This resolves the situation’s moral dilemma of reconciling the erratic acts of her husband with being a morally attuned wife who, in her social context, would respect her husband’s decisions and judgements. The medical assessment of her husband’s diminished judgement abilities legitimized her change in social roles and gave meaning to the conflict that arose between the spouses while approving her moral flawlessness. Social approval of a shift in self-identity restores agency which was missing before the label dementia transformed and confirmed her perception. The redefinition of herself as a caregiver, someone who takes responsibility over another person with whom she before had an equitable relationship, was the most disruptive element in her experience. What it means to be a mother as opposed to a wife entails embodied normative knowledge that, to effect its re-consideration, requires an authority that is above socially expected family roles. Professional medical discourse in Mary’s sociopolitical context has the status to be this legitimizing force. Medical narrative as well as moral issues on appropriate family and gender roles therefore are continuously intertwined in Mary’s experience, way of remembering, and shaping her story.

The method of “reframing” is used in therapeutic practice to transform emotions, which are based on socially learned perceptions and interpretations potentially inhibiting constructive action in the face of chaotic events, into morally sound emotions that open up space for agency

(Kirmayer 2000, 154). In Mary’s case, the substitution of the word “guilt” with the term “regret” allowed her to again see herself as a good person who is doing the right thing:

M: Ms. Arnold³ is a psychologist in town and she’s on the Caregivers Association and she developed a presentation called ‘reframing guilt’ and that is very helpful and see there’s the words, you know, we speak of it as guilt, but for her better words are regret, sadness: I regret I cannot, so rather than feel guilty that I can’t keep my husband at home, I regret, I am really so sad, sorry, so sorry I can’t keep my husband, but I can’t and it’s not, it’s not so much guilt as regret, I found that very helpful.

This transformation from guilt to regret is an interesting move. It allowed Mary to feel morally at ease, to accept her emotional state, and to feel legitimized in her decision to give her husband into a care institution.

It becomes clear how Mary’s particular experience is articulated using various socially and culturally based narratives that strive for a shared ontological horizon and allow her to re-situate herself as a morally sound member of her social environment. Multiple voices such as socially grounded family and gender narratives, medical discourses, moral questions, and professional knowledge are combined in fragments of her continuing and partial stories that work to restore her sense of having a say in past, present, and future inter-experience.

On other occasions, professional discourses of transforming experience into socially acceptable articulations did not strengthen her sense of agency but provoked her resistance, as she perceived them as attacks on her power to make decisions:

M: I think there is some pressure to be upbeat, to be .. in control .. you know .. and, and .. you’re not always

A: There is a trend in psychology on benefit finding

M: Benefit finding?!! Oh wow ...

³ Name changed.

That's right! And if you're not feeling the benefit there's something wrong with you. You're not in a terrible situation, we don't have to look out for you, you just got to be stronger. Yes! Absolutely, absolutely, so .. allowing people .. just sitting with people in those really dark times .. I think is critical and not discounting that .. where do we get the idea there's benefit in everything? [laughs] .. is that that learned optimism of American psychology? [Laughs.] But that's the ideal, it's not always possible, we're humans, I don't think ... there's a German poet – Rilke? (A: yeah, Rilke) he says: we waste our sorrows. And I remember that really stayed with me: we waste .. our sorrows

A: I don't quite understand.

M: Well, I think he's saying, I mean ironically, maybe he's saying there's benefit in sorrow, but first of all you have to accept, acknowledge sorrow.

This episode shows how institutional discourse and practice privileges certain narratives, defines and constitutes, as well as silences and erases articulations depending on socially admissible boundaries (Saris 1995, 42). The social demand to be a positive, self-reliant, and well-functioning member of society which is directed at the caregivers in this program is explicit in the institutional attempt to transform grief into challenge and self-development. It also demonstrates how coherence and continuity might rather exist in social-normative, authoritative, or academic interpretations instead of in an individual's experience. Mary formulates her critique of prescriptive professional narratives by using an alternative form of socially valued knowledge: the poetry of Rainer Maria Rilke (1923). By attaching legitimacy to the narrative of the poet, Mary is able to restore her agency to make decisions about right and wrong emotions, even if they are opposed to authoritative discourses.

The following extracts from Mary's account will further clarify the existential role that agency, or rather the lack of agency, plays in inter-experience.

M: In nine .. in two thousand and two, I really

felt my husband should go into care, he had had another stroke, he had another stroke and broken his leg and he'd been in the Glenrose for months and I did not want him to come home, I was very aware of that and I, I told the medical staff that I felt .. he would fall at home and he was a big man and I couldn't lift him and he would fall at night, I was, it seemed to me it was dangerous and it was very difficult for both of us, but they said, the decision as no he would remain at home and then he had another stroke in two thousand three or four and he was admitted to this Choice program which was a day program which was a tremendous help for me, I can't say enough of that program and then in two thousand and five he had another stroke and at that time it was decided to put him into care and the doctor who had made the first decision to send him home, apologized and said they had made the wrong decision

A: it was three years

M: It was three years and it was, it was very tough and I still think it was the wrong decision and, and .. I felt so: powerless at that point.

In this account, Mary describes the contest between power and legitimacy that she had to engage in while interacting with medical bureaucracy. The narrative of her experience is constituted by the entangled memory of exhaustion, her interpretation of the doctor's narrative, and her knowledge of the contested nature of discourse within the medical system, which in concert results in her questioning the legitimacy of the medical system and in criticizing its authority. The feeling of having no say in the decision that would affect her and her husband existentially is of fundamental importance in remembering this episode. To counter this remembered lack of agency, Mary openly examines the validity of the medical decision and provides evidence that establishes it as morally and factually wrong.

Apart from the institutional setting, institutions of gender roles and marriage are equally at stake when agency and legitimacy are negotiated in narratives of disruptive events. In the follow-

ing, Mary elaborates on the importance that the need for control takes on in situations when it is increasingly contested:

M: With my husband, I found that change very gradual, and partially I think it was because of my husband's personality, he was very gregarious, outgoing, sometimes demanding person and so .. there was always this .. negotiation, cause I think .. as he lost more and more control, I think, this is probably quite true for all of us, he wanted more and more control. So that was a hard part and I didn't want to give up marriage, didn't want to give up being his, his partner, you know, didn't want to give that up.

A: That's another interesting point, losing control is not only an issue for the caregiver but also for the patient

M: Oh, absolutely! Absolutely. And the way you thought world worked ... Tom was nineteen years older than I, had pretty traditional ideas about, you know .. the roles of men and women .. and ... uhum .. absolutely, that's what, I think, makes it so difficult, you got two people who don't know exactly where they're standing.

A: And he tried to somehow substitute for the loss of control and exercise control in other places?

M: Well, he wanted control over his life, he never took instructions easily [laughs] part of this stories certainly overlap but part of them, part of the story is unique depending on the personalities and the situation so ..

A: Did you find something to substitute, in another area...

M: I enjoyed my work immensely .. and .. certainly in the last twenty years it was a sanity saver .. it was, it really, really was .. the ability to walk into class where I did get to make the choices, I did have the authority [smiles] .. ahm .. I could reap the rewards of what I planned and set into operation ... Well, teaching! Teaching! That was just a god-send, because ... I think, control is a fraught word, because I think it has a negative connotation, so I'm not entire ... I'm trying to

think whether another .. confidence or .. I don't know, but you know what I mean

A: also maybe autonomy

M: and that's what I had at work! I had a job that really allowed me autonomy.

What is particularly interesting in this part is that the term "control" and the rather negative meaning commonly associated with it do not correspond to Mary's understanding, and she actively searches for a better word. Again, this met with a concern of my own, and consequently we tried to think of a term that would express the particular meaning we both shared. In addition to "control," "confidence," and "autonomy," we also briefly discussed, but then dropped, "self-direction." Based on what I have learned from Mary's account, I suggest that Jackson's notion of sense of agency, of having a say in one's life, comprises all four of the above suggested concepts and articulates what is imperative in Mary's and her husband's experience. Mary's "sanity saver" was having autonomy, getting "to make the choices" in her position as a teacher; in other words, the maintenance of a sense of agency is what matters existentially in intersubjective encounters and this is reflected in the process of narrating experience.

Articulating the fragments of experience and engaging in the intersubjective field of negotiating legitimate knowledge and roles opens up alternative possibilities that restore a sense of playing a part in one's own life, of having a say in one or the other area of inter-existence. As Mary's story shows, a dialectic interaction of a multitude of voices of differentially positioned social actors has to be considered constitutive to this process.

CONCLUSION

M: I think, in fact, we're making the story all along the way, cause that's what I was doing when I was talking to friends and talking to my sister, you know you're really telling the story. It's not a story in that .. you know in literature stories have an end, we don't have a real end, we

at least construct this closure whereas you don't have that but, uhm, I think the storytelling goes on all the time and I doubt, I can't imagine ever being satisfied with one version of the story [laughs] ... it still goes on.

Mary's continual reconstruction of the way she remembers her time as a caregiver illustrates the existential imperative toward restoring a sense of control and a sense of agency in the narration of experiences that are perceived as disrupting one's taken-for-granted understanding of the world. Her story reflects a continuing negotiation of voice and legitimacy in the inter-subjective space in which experience and its articulation unfold. The tug-of-war of centrifugal and centripetal forces constitutes her striving to find metaphors that simultaneously express the particularity of her experience and meet a responsive understanding of the listener, as well as to restore the fit between her actions with her self-identification with an ethics of being a good person.

What I hope to have shown in this paper is that for the understanding of what is at stake when people articulate their experiences is perhaps less the content and the ordering of events in the story, but rather what is achieved for one's sense of agency and one's ethical legitimacy in relation to others within the space of inter-existence.

NOTES ON TRANSCRIPTION

[]	non-verbal articulations
,	short pause
..	medium pause
...	long pause
:	extended vocalization
.	stop
Speech	
overlapping speech	
continued speech	

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BUT DOES VOTING REALLY FEED YOU?

IDEAS ABOUT DEMOCRACY'S ROLE IN FAMINE AND CHRONIC HUNGER

Janine Hancock

Scarcity of democracy is often cited as the source of hunger. In this paper the origin of this idea, the arguments behind it, and its validity are examined. In doing so, different types of hunger are addressed. The author also looks at the role of government systems in the famines of Ireland, India, and Sudan and the effect that democracy has on food policy decisions in the United States. By the conclusion of this paper, the reader will be familiar with the phenomenon of citing democracy in discussions of food. A lack of democracy is not the source of hunger, and democracy is not inherently equipped to confront hunger.

An idea common among hunger theorists such as Lappé (2010a), Paarlberg (2010), Nestle (2008), and Mousseau (2005) is the inherent relationship between food security, famine, and democracy. Lack of democracy is referenced in a significant number of writings on hunger and famine as a contributing factor to, or even the sole source of, scarcity. The connection between democracy and famine is attributed to economist Amartya Sen (1999, 7) who famously states “no substantial famine has ever occurred in any independent and democratic country with a relatively free press,” yet this popular reference never seems to warrant an explanation. In this paper I will critically examine the impact of democracy’s contribution to the eradication of hunger. By blaming countries experiencing hunger for not having democracy, we dismiss the possibility of other issues that contribute to hunger and prevent its eradication.

WHAT IS HUNGER?

In this paper I will discuss two types of hunger: chronic hunger and famine. According to Paarlberg (2010, 46), a famine occurs when many people die in a short period of time as a result of not having enough food. Chronic hunger, on the other hand, does not result in many quick deaths at once, but is more gradual. Those who suffer from chronic hunger may eat enough to survive but don’t always get the nutrients needed to properly sustain the body (Paarlberg 2010, 32). Chronic hunger can result in stunted growth, a

immunodeficiency, or other developmental issues and can have intergenerational effects. Reasons for famine are specific to each circumstance and there is never a single reason for them. It is now widely accepted that hunger is not caused by a scarcity of food, because the world produces more than enough food to feed our whole population, and much of that food goes to waste.

THE Pervasiveness of Democracy Comments

References to democracy are widespread among writings on hunger and famine. In *Diet for a Hot Planet*, Anna Lappé (2010a, 40) mentions that: “hunger persists not because of a scarcity of food, but because of a scarcity of democracy. For democracy means, at its very core, that we each have a voice, and none among us would choose to see our families and communities go hungry.” Lappé is able to explain the basic logic behind the democracy argument: people do not choose to go hungry, and with democracy they are able to overturn the unjust circumstance that finds them hungry by appealing to government.

Lappé is not alone in this observation. Mousseau (2005, iv) also attributes the scarcity of democracy as the source of hunger, without explanation, in his examination of food aid. Additionally, the Food and Agriculture Organization (1998, 24) commits to promoting democracy as the first step to making food a human right. Surprisingly, Paarlberg (2010) seems to be more cautious in pinpointing democracy in his comprehensive look at *Food Politics* by saying that it is

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“usually better than the alternative.” It is interesting to note that scholars with extremely diverse political ideals such as Paarlberg, who tends to have a neoconservative, pro-technology focus, and Lappé, who has an environmental, small-farm, anti-industry mentality, share acceptance of the idea that democracy has a positive effect on hunger.

Even authors who are not writing about chronic hunger or famine find ways to discuss democracy. Nestle (2008, 5) argues that the biggest pet food recall in North America is an example of democracy fulfilling its purpose because food safety was given more attention at the protest of citizens. Though Nestle is not discussing famine, the general nature of her argument is the same as those who see a connection between hunger and democracy: citizen protest invokes a government response. Johnston & Baumann (2010) have even included democracy in the title of their book, *Democracy and Distinction in the Gourmet Foodscape*. However, they use the term democracy to explain the ability to make decisions regarding which food to eat and not in reference to a political governance system. Regardless, democracy appears to be a phenomenon in discussions of food and hunger.

ORIGINS OF HUNGER'S LINK TO DEMOCRACY

Whilst pinpointing democracy, Lappé explains that her mother long ago wrote about the relationship between democracy and food in her famous work, *Diet for a Small Planet*, which was first published in 1971. However, this work focuses on the inefficiency of production in the American food industry, suggesting vegetarianism as an alternative, and questions the effectiveness of democracy in the United States. In the introduction added for the 1991 printing of *Diet for a Small Planet*, Francis Moore Lappé (1991, xviii) comments, “Wherever there is hunger, democracy has not been fulfilled.” It is interesting that Lappé upholds democracy as the key to preventing hunger while at the same time arguing that the US system needs to improve in order to become a true democracy; this is evidenced in her statement that her own society has moved away from democracy in favor of a greater concen-

tration of economic power (Lappé 1991, 113). Lappé therefore contradicts herself. Since generally Americans are the world's major food consumers, and Lappé herself has commented that democracy has not been fully achieved in the US, there must be other factors that affect hunger.

In 1986, Lappé also co-authored a book entitled *World Hunger: 12 Myths*, which explores democracy and hunger in more detail. Here Lappé (1986, 5) argues that a lack of democracy at the family, village, national, and even international levels has led to citizens being powerless. Though Lappé feels she has found a solution to hunger, there is still an obstacle in her path to solving it. The premise of this book is to correct common myths which Lappé feels hinder the ability to prevent hunger. Lappé (1986, 7) states, “The principles around which many of us have come to organize our thinking about world hunger block our grasp of real solutions.” While I agree with this statement, Lappé and I disagree on which principles it is that act as obstacles. Anna Lappé (2010) credits her mother as the originator of “the democracy solution,” but Amartya Sen can also be attributed with this idea.

Sen's thinking on sources of hunger has shifted steadily over time. In 1981, Sen published *Poverty and Famines, an Essay on Entitlement and Deprivation*. This work looked at the relationship between the market system and famine, where Sen pointed out that Famine occurs when markets are not regulated (quoted in Jackson 1982). He based this idea on his experience during his childhood in Bangladesh, where famine occurred in 1943 as market prices were driven up due to a fear of food scarcity. People began to hoard food, resulting in price increases that caused lower income groups to be priced out of the food market (Paarlberg 2010, 49).

In 1989, Dreze and Sen explored another facet of “the hunger question” arguing that public action plays a vital role in eradicating hunger. Since 1989, Sen has become a strong advocate for democracy and has associated public action with democratic governance, which to be fair is a logical leap. In his article “Democracy as a Universal Value,” Sen (1999, 7) confidently argues: “In the terrible history of famines in the world,

no substantial famine has ever occurred in any independent and democratic country with a relatively free press. We cannot find exceptions to this rule, no matter where we look.”

IS SEN'S STATEMENT TRUE?

Zweifel and Navia (2000, 99) assert that Sen's statement has validity with the exception of India and China. They compare the infant mortality rates in countries of democracy versus dictatorships and find that there are fewer child deaths in democracies. Zweifel and Navia (2000) have chosen to examine infant mortality because it is the indicator of chronic hunger used by international organizations. One critique is that there are many factors which play a role in infant mortality, such as health care and disease control, and so this method may not directly measure chronic hunger. At the same time, I cannot think of another method that would be more effective, since deaths from disease or infection can be due to a compromised immune system caused by hunger. Hunger is extremely difficult to measure.

In any case, the reasoning of Zweifel and Navia (2000, 100) is along the same lines as Lap   and Sen: “Since under democracy public decisions must take into account the preferences of the majority, policies are more likely to represent the needs of that majority than they would under dictatorship.” Yet it is not always the majority who would suffer from chronic hunger and therefore representing the needs of the majority may not automatically result in preventing chronic hunger. In fact, Paarlberg (2010, 36) points to the poor and those who live in remote rural areas as the most common sufferers of chronic hunger. While the poor in some countries may represent a majority, the trend towards urbanization suggests that those living in remote rural areas would certainly not be a majority.

Additionally, ethnic groups who are marginalized minorities may not have the political clout necessary to catch the attention of decision makers. An example is the Kurdish people of Turkey. Yegen (2009, 610) argues that the Kurds have become seen as “pseudo-citizens” who feel alienated from the “Turkish political community.” A group that is politically alienated from

the rest of society such as the Kurds may have a more difficult time making the case to government that their needs are a priority.

Returning to infant mortality, Zweifel and Navia (2000) explain the exceptions of China and India by examining local policy and government. These two countries are an exception because under the economic model used to facilitate this study, China's rates for infant mortality were much lower under dictatorship, from 1950 to 1990, than they would expect if China had been a democracy during this time. Likewise, India had much higher rates of infant mortality as a democracy than its predicted rates under dictatorship. Zweifel and Navia (2000, 109) argue that in China, decision-making is not controlled at a local level, whereas in India local officials have control and so because of the large size of both countries, the national government does not translate locally, and is not as relevant a factor. Despite their reasoning, these exceptions show that chronic hunger does exist in countries with a democratic government.

Similarly, Plumper and Neumayer (2009) argue that famine mortality has occurred in democratic countries. This claim is directly in opposition to Sen's (1999) statement that famine has never occurred in a democratic country. They maintain that inactivity is sometimes a better strategy politically than preventing or reacting to famine (Plumper and Neumayer 2009, 53). While Sen (1999, 8) argues that there have been many threats of famine in India since 1947 but that they were prevented due to public action, Plumper and Neumayer (2009, 52) discuss the 1967 Bihar famine in India, which again contradicts Sen's analysis. The authors use Bihar as an illustration of how famine can easily become politicized. In this situation, the central government refused to recognize the famine until after elections. As well, the Bihar region did not hold significant power in decision making since it was only a small sector of the population, underscoring the importance that the majority plays in famine-related decision-making (Plumper and Neumayer 2009, 52).

These two scholars also use the Sudanese famine of the 80s to dispute another facet of Sen's (1999) argument: the importance of free

press. While famine was occurring in the South of Sudan, the media were only interested in issues affecting Northern Sudan and so did nothing to try and affect public opinion or appeal for those suffering. Furthermore, the government encouraged militia forces to raid cattle in the South as a policy to hinder Southern rebels (Plumper and Neumayer 2009, 52-3). Plumper & Neumayer seem to agree with Sen that the media can be an effective tool for encouraging public action, but they dispute the idea that the presence of a free press will always incite action against famine. This example also shows that democratically elected governments can have other priorities, such as trying to maintain the system of government, which can get in the way of famine prevention.

However, Plumper and Neumayer (2009, 50) admit that though famine mortality does occur in democratic states, it occurs at much lower rates than states with autocratic governments. This echoes Paarlberg's (2010, 3) comments about food policy. He remarks that democratic systems are generally better because they tend to make less food policy errors. These two claims seem to be much more reasonable than Sen's. By stating that no famine has ever occurred in a democratic country, which as we have seen in the above examples is simply not the case, he has allowed his entire argument to be negated. I disagree that scarcity of democracy should be considered the source of hunger, whether famine or chronic, and I do not accept that democracy is at all times better equipped to prevent or address hunger than other systems. Despite that, I can accede that overall, less hunger occurs in democratic states than otherwise.

CORRELATION OR CAUSATION? DEMOCRACY AND HUNGER PREVENTION

Scholars seem to truly feel that democracy in its very structure and nature is inherently equipped to combat hunger. In a recent interview, Anna Lappé (2010*b*) commented, "If democracy is defined as everyone having a voice – and few among us would choose to go hungry or make others go hungry – then the presence of hunger reveals a deep democracy deficit." Yet if famine

can occur at all in independent democracies with a free press, then the presence of famine indicates that democracy does not inherently solve hunger.

Democracy is not the only variable common to all democratic countries. Western democratic countries certainly share more than just a political system. Western countries also tend to have similar economic values, economic systems, biomedical values, and education practices, and generally are considered to be the most developed. But is it fair to say that a lack of biomedicine or a difference in values is the source of hunger? I would argue that this would be an unreasonable assumption. Perhaps the culmination of factors that allow for a longer life span in Western countries also contributes to food security. In other words, though there is an inverse correlation between democracy and hunger, I doubt that hunger is directly caused by not having democracy.

Western democracies are not immune from hunger. Indeed, it is feasible that hunger exists in all states on a small scale, as every country has some degree of people in poverty. Food banks, soup kitchens, and other food programs have been created to address chronic hunger in the west. These programs are an example of a public action that does not involve democracy, since many food banks and soup kitchens are not run by government agencies, but rather by churches or community members.

In contrast, there are also examples of democratic decision-making that do not involve citizens. Nestle (2008, 5) discusses how food policy regarding pet food was shaped by US citizens enacting their democratic right. Nestle supports Paarlberg's (2010, 3) argument that democratic states tend to make better food policy decisions. Be that as it may, there is another angle from which the pet food recall can be considered. Upon reading *Pet Food Politics* (Nestle 2008), I was astounded by the influence that business and lobbyists have on government decisions. The amount of support needed to generate change, and the competing interests between what is best for the health of citizens and what is best for influential industries, make it very difficult to up-

date food safety regulations. Though citizens vote on who represent them, lobbyists and businesses have more political clout in periods between elections. It was only after the death of thousands of pets that the outcry of citizens caused an eventual reaction by government agencies. However, business lobbying prevented regulations that would have averted this entire crisis and continue to hinder the implementation of better regulations in response. Lang (2005) argues that there are two dimensions to the current food system, food control and food democracy, and that the power in this system belongs to retailers, who are gatekeepers. This example reminds us that in a democracy, there are not merely the state and citizens, but other influential players as well. Lang (2005, 736) maintains that “the state, food supply chain and civil society” are all competing actors in food policy-making. This idea complicates the argument that democracies always respond to their citizens. Perhaps in Ancient Greece, democracy simply involved citizens and their decision-making power, but it is not nearly this simple in today’s democratic systems.

Though democratic states generally seem to be better off in times of famine, we know that this is not always the case, as seen in the previous discussions. Another example is the famous Irish potato famine from 1845-1850. The initial crisis is attributed to a fungus that wiped out potato crops and left farmers without income. Despite that, the British government also failed to respond to the public’s requests. Harzallah (2006, 305) insists that the government did not react because it valued the ideology of *laissez-faire*. Discussions over how to respond to the famine resulted in a change in prime minister in 1846, yet this did nothing to elicit aid (Harzallah 2006, 306). In addition, the potato fungus was seen to be “an act of Divine Providence, [causing beliefs that] the government should interfere as little as possible” (Harzallah 2006, 306). The Irish famine of 1845-50 is yet another example of a democratic system that does not appropriately respond to famine. However, because Ireland was at this time controlled by the British government, albeit democratic, it can be argued that the Irish famine does not fit into Sen’s (1999) criteria as an inde-

pendent democratic country with a free press: Ireland was not independent.

Nevertheless, the Irish famine is also an example of a way in which people deal with hunger without public action or adducing democratic rights: mass migration. Barraclough (1991, 137) reminds us that people have migrated in times of drought, oppression, or lack of resources for thousands of years and argues that people still use migration as a defense mechanism against hunger. Additionally, Barraclough (1991, 138) argues that migrants seldom find themselves in a worse circumstance after migrating. While those who migrate do nothing to change the political circumstances that contribute to hunger, the “remittances, new contacts, better information, new methods and ideas” that communities are exposed to from newcomers are equally as beneficial (Barraclough 1991, 139). This is an important point in the discussion of democracy and public participation: there are other responses to hunger than only public outcry. Migration puts control into the hands of the people instead of waiting for government to act. It does not involve attracting attention to oneself, and because of this, I can see why it may be a more attractive alternative for those who are not extroverted.

IS GOVERNANCE PROBLEMATIC IN THE HUNGER DEBATE?

Perhaps including governance isn’t problematic. It would be hypocritical of me to suggest that we shouldn’t include this idea, since I am advocating that we need to stop ignoring other factors in this debate.

Yet there is a tendency among scholars, including those mentioned throughout this paper, to focus solely on democracy. This tendency is indeed problematic because it limits the exploration of other contributing factors and thereby reduces the complicated problem of hunger into a simplistic situation. Discussions of food and democracy tend to understate the importance of the hunger issue by instead emphasizing how great democracy is.

By focusing on democracy as the solution, we put blame on countries that have not been “wise” or “proactive” enough to also adopt de-

mocracy. Blaming those who are suffering from hunger does not do anything to address the problem, especially since transition to democracy can be a painful process.

But most importantly, determining that the solution is democracy can demonstrate an inherent underlying ethnocentrism. By deciding that our system is the best system and everyone else should adopt it, we fail to respect the idea that different systems may be more effective for different people with different cultural values. Our capitalist, democratic system emphasizes individual welfare, while other systems may put more emphasis on communal well-being, or may fall somewhere in the middle of these two. We need to practice cultural relativism in this regard.

In this paper I have critiqued the concepts that scarcity of democracy is the source of hunger and that democracy is inherently equipped to respond to hunger. These concepts are ingrained in the minds of hunger theorists, but automatic acceptance of these ideas needs to be reevaluated. I truly agree with Francis Moore Lappé (1987, 5) that "the way people think about hunger is the greatest obstacle to ending it."

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