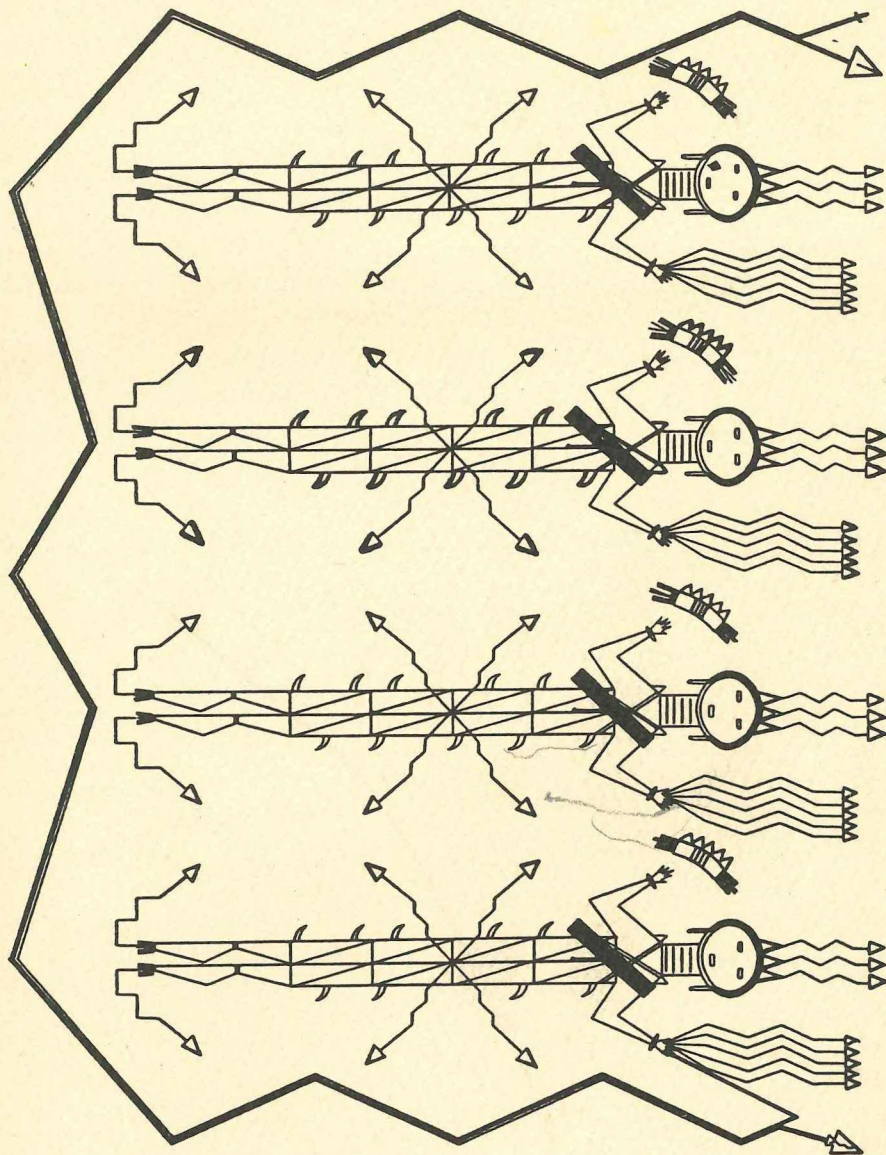


# THE SOUTHERN ANTHROPOLOGIST



Fall 1986

Volume 14

Number 1



Editorial and Publication Office: Department of Sociology/Anthropology, University of North Carolina at Wilmington, Wilmington, N.C. 28403-3297

TABLE OF CONTENTS

	Page(s)
Announcements	2
Secretary/Treasurer's Report	6
1986 Winner of Graduate Student Paper Competition	12
Mary Ellen Chatwin. "Surviving in Lausanne: Some American Food and Eating Habits in Switzerland."	

OFFICERS OF THE SOUTHERN ANTHROPOLOGICAL SOCIETY

SUSAN ABBOTT  
PRESIDENT (1986-1987)  
Department of Anthropology  
University of Kentucky  
Lexington, KY 40506

JOHN H. PETERSON  
PRESIDENT-ELECT (1987-1988)  
Department of Sociology and Anthropology  
Mississippi State University  
Mississippi State, MS 39726

HOLLY MATHEWS  
SECRETARY-TREASURER (1984-1987)  
Department of Sociology and Anthropology  
East Carolina University  
Greenville, NC 27834

HANS BAER  
COUNCILLOR (1986-1989)  
Department of Sociology and Anthropology  
University of Arkansas  
Little Rock, AR 72204

PATRICIA B. LERCH  
EDITOR (1984-1987)  
The Southern Anthropologist  
Department of Sociology and Anthropology  
UNC-Wilmington  
Wilmington, NC 28403-3297

MIKE ANGROSINO  
COUNCILLOR (1985-1988)  
Department of Anthropology  
University of South Florida  
Tampa, FL 33620

## ANNOUNCEMENTS

**PROGRAMS AND ABSTRACTS 1986 ANNUAL MEETING** Anyone interested in obtaining a program and abstracts from the 1986 Annual Meeting may do so by sending \$1.00 per copy to Pat Lerch, Dept of Sociology and Anthropology, UNC Wilmington, Wilmington, NC 28403.

**1986 STUDENT PAPER COMPETITION** The Society awarded two prizes in two categories: undergraduate paper winner was Hugh Matterness (UNC Greensboro) for his paper "A Consideration of Data Relative to the Origin of the American Indian;" and graduate paper winner Mary Ellen Chatwin of Jouxkens, Switzerland, for her paper "Food Cycles and Eating Habits of Americans in Switzerland." Ms. Chatwin's paper appears in this issue of the Southern Anthropologist.

**1987 SAS ANNUAL MEETING IN ATLANTA, GA** March 25-28 at Ramada Capital Plaza, Atlanta, GA (See Minutes of Business Meeting Item VIII)

**KEY SYMPOSIUM 1987 SAS MEETING** The key symposium for the 1987 meetings in Atlanta, GA, is being organized by Holly Mathews of East Carolina University. The topic is "Women in the South: An Anthropological Perspective." Holly would like any interested scholars who have not been contacted to submit abstracts to her if they wish to be considered for the program. Send abstracts or write for more information by October 1 to: Holly Mathews, Dept of Sociology & Anthropology, ECU, Greenville, NC 27834.

**1987 STUDENT PAPER COMPETITION** The 1987 Student Paper Competition will provide two awards: one for the best graduate and one for the best undergraduate paper on any anthropological topic. Judges will be Drs. Risa Ellovich, Gifford Nickerson, and Mary Walek of North Carolina State University. Papers submitted must follow the standard anthropological format for footnotes and references (see the style guide for the American Anthropologist). All submissions, which are due by January 12, 1987, must be typed -- or run on a letter-quality printer -- on bond paper, with double spacing and one inch margins on all sides. The author's name, address, and class standing should be included in a cover letter, but these should not appear anywhere on the manuscript itself. Winners will be notified in advance so that they may make arrangements to attend the 1987 SAS annual meetings in Atlanta, GA, during which prizes will be awarded at the SAS annual business meeting. The winning papers also will be published in the Southern Anthropologist. Submissions should be sent to:

Dr. Gifford S. Nickerson  
Department of Sociology and Anthropology  
Campus Box 8107  
North Carolina State University  
Raleigh, NC 27695-8107

**CALL FOR KEY SYMPOSIUM PROPOSALS FOR 1988 SAS ANNUAL MEETING** The Society is soliciting proposals for the key symposium for the 1988 annual meeting to be held in conjunction with the Society for Applied Anthropology in Tampa, Florida. Anyone wishing to organize the key symposium and assume responsibility for editing the proceedings publication should submit a proposal to Holly Mathews by December 1, 1986. The proposal should contain a statement describing the proposed topic, a rationale for the selection of that proposed topic, and a tentative list of participants and individual paper topics. Dr. Mathews will circulate copies of the proposals submitted to the University of Georgia Press and to board members of the society. The board will select the best proposal at the annual board meeting in March of 1987 in Atlanta. Selections will be based on the organization and merits of the proposal, probable relevance and appeal of the topic to Society members, and approval of the proposal by the press. Please send proposals to: Dr. Holly Mathews, Department of Sociology & Anthropology, East Carolina University, Greenville, NC by December 1, 1986.

**CALL FOR BIDS TO HOST 1989 ANNUAL MEETING** The Society is soliciting bids from universities interested in hosting the 1989 meeting. Any interested university should submit a written proposal outlining the people who will be involved in organizing the meeting; the types of meeting facilities available and the approximate cost of rooms for members; and the availability of transportation and approximate cost from major points in the South. Meeting proposals should be sent to Holly Mathews, Department of Sociology & Anthropology, East Carolina University, Greenville, NC 27834 by December 1, 1986. The proposals will be circulated to the board and a site will be chosen at the annual board meeting in Atlanta in March of 1987.

**NOMINATIONS SOUGHT** SAS board is seeking nominations for the office of Secretary/Treasurer for a three year term beginning in June of 1987. The office involves a commitment of time on the part of the nominee and some support on the part of the nominee's institution. The Secretary/Treasurer is responsible for keeping membership records, issuing the call for dues, keeping minutes for all meetings, and corresponding with officers about society business. In addition, the Secretary/Treasurer manages the financial accounts and prepares a year-end report. Individuals who are interested in running for this position are urged to submit a letter of application stating interest and qualifications and including some indication of institutional support which might be in terms of secretarial assistance, use of computer facilities, release time for the officer, etc. Applications will be reviewed by the nominations committee and nominees chosen in January of 1987. All interested members are encouraged to apply. The position of Secretary/Treasurer is the heart of the society and the individual chosen will be in a unique position to learn about how

the society operates and to meet and correspond with the membership. Application letters should be submitted on or before **October 25, 1986** to Susan Abbot, President of SAS, Department of Anthropology, University of Kentucky, Lexington, KY 40506.

**CALL FOR MANUSCRIPTS** Chapter-length manuscripts are being solicited for a collection of articles on Southern women--both white and black--to be published as a book by Hemisphere Publishing Corporation (a subsidiary of Harper & Row, Publishers). Works from all disciplines are encouraged.

Although completed articles are welcome, authors are strongly urged to submit abstracts, outlines, or letter of inquiry or to call before completing a manuscript for this collection specifically. The deadline for final manuscripts will be **December 31, 1986**. Preliminary materials should be submitted and/or calls made as soon as possible.

Caroline M. Dillman, Editor  
Agnes Scott College  
Decatur, GA 30030  
404/371-6228 or 404/993-3825 (home)

**FEB 12-15, 1987 SUN BELT SOCIAL NETWORK CONFERENCE** The seventh annual midwinter conference of network scholars and practitioners cosponsored by the International Network of Social Network Analysts, the University of Florida and the University of South Florida, will convene on the Suncoast of Florida, at the Sheraton Sand Key Resort, Clearwater Beach. Session Topics include: Corporate Networks; Inter-organizational Networks; Structural Similarity: Models and Applications; Communication Networks; Cognitive Networks; Biological Networks; and much more.

There are several special features this year: the keynote address will be presented by Everett Rogers of the Annenberg School of Communications, USC. Stanley Wasserman is offering a six-hour tutorial to introduce colleagues to network analysis. Ron Burt will demonstrate his STRUCTURE program in a special workshop. During most of the conference PCs will be available for participants to share and compare their favorite programs. Those who wish to participate in the workshops or present papers in the sessions are urged to communicate soon, because places are limited, with the conference co-organizers: H. Russell Bernard (Anthropology, U of Florida, Gainesville, 32611, Bitnet CY\$EFH3 @ NERVM) or Alvin Wolfe (Anthropology, U of South Florida, Tampa, 33620, Bitnet DLIABAA @ CERVM).

MOONEY AWARD At the 1985 Business Meeting of the Society, the Society was informed that the University of Tennessee Press had decided in June 1984 to discontinue its relationship with the Society which was the basis of the Mooney Award. The Mooney Award was established as an award made by the Southern Anthropological Society for the outstanding manuscript "which describes and interprets the people or culture of a New World population." The winning manuscript was accepted for publication by the University of Tennessee Press and the author received a prize of \$1000 which constituted an advance against royalties. The Mooney Award was first established in 1972, when Charles Hudson was President of the SAS.

Several problems led to the University of Tennessee Press's decision to discontinue this relationship. First, the press felt that not enough manuscripts were being submitted. According to a report made at the Society's 1985 Business Meeting, only three manuscripts were submitted in 1984 and none had been submitted in 1985. This contrasts sharply with the 15 manuscripts submitted in 1979. The University of Tennessee Press also expressed dissatisfaction with the quality of manuscripts being submitted and in 1984 submitted the manuscript chosen by the Mooney Award committee to an outside reviewer and subsequently rejected it for publication, contrary to the contractual agreement with the SAS. A final press consideration was that the published Award volumes had poor sales and the press did not recover its costs.

At the 1985 SAS Business Meeting it was decided that efforts should be made to establish a similar relationship with another press. (See Business Meeting Minutes, this issue for a record of the discussion)

At the 1986 Business Meeting, President-elect John Peterson was asked to examine alternatives for continuing the Mooney Award as an award for a monograph already published. He was directed to gather information about the operation of such awards by other societies. At the Business Meeting there was also general discussion about the scope of monographs which might be considered for the Mooney Award. One suggestion was that the award might be made to the best monograph on an anthropological aspect of the South. Another was that the SAS represents anthropologist in the southeastern United States, not anthropologists studying the South. For this reason, the award should continue to be for any anthropological work on the New World in order to avoid making the SAS appear to have solely a regional outlook. On the other hand, rather than limiting the scope of the monograph eligible for the award, why not give the award to the outstanding work published by a member of the SAS on any topic? Another suggestion was to drop the Mooney Award altogether and consider publishing additional Proceedings volumes as funds permit. This obviously gives a wide range of options which might be considered.

During the next few months I will be gathering information about awards for published works presented by related professional societies. I would appreciate suggestions of awards I should investigate for the purposes of comparison. I also invite members to express to me opinions concerning the alternatives we should consider. I anticipate reporting to the membership on our options in a future issue of the newsletter.

(This reported was submitted by: John Peterson, Southern Anthropological Society, PO Drawer AR, Mississippi State, MS 39762).

SOUTHERN ANTHROPOLOGICAL SOCIETY  
MINUTES OF THE GENERAL BUSINESS MEETING  
APRIL 26, 1986

James Peacock, President, called the meeting to order at noon. The minutes from the 1985 meeting were approved without correction.

AGENDA ITEM I: SECRETARY-TREASURER'S REPORT: Holly Mathew, Sec/Treas, reported on the recent election results. John Peterson is the new Pres-Elect, and Hans Baer is the new Councillor-Elect. She then passed out the financial statement for the year ending in December 1985. She reported that the Society is financially sound and has a current membership of 203. She also noted that new membership posters had not been sent but would be as soon as Vol 18 was distributed to the membership, sometime in the summer of 1986.

AGENDA ITEM II: REPORT ON 1986 MEETINGS: Pat Lerch, Program Chair, reported that 187 people had registered at the meetings in Wrightsville Beach including members of the SAS, AES, and SMA. She noted that 30 sessions had been scheduled for the meeting and that all was proceeding smoothly.

AGENDA ITEM III: PROCEEDINGS REPORT: Mary Helms, Proceedings Editor, reported that Vol 18, "The Burden of Being Civilized," was scheduled for a summer distribution. Vol 19, edited by Carole Hill, is on the press list for a Fall of 1986 distribution. Finally, Vol 20, edited by George Sabo was supposed to be in the mail for editing but as of meeting time had not been received. She noted that the distribution of volumes had been held up by delays in the receipt of manuscripts from volume editors and contributors, and that efforts were underway to speed up the process. She also reported that it is time to renew the Proceedings contract with the University of Georgia Press. The Press is happy to renew the contract without major changes except for the possible inclusion of a deadline for the submission of volume manuscripts.

Finally, she reported that sales are on course. The leading sales are from the 1983 publication on bilingualism. The overall top sales go to: Urban Anthropology with 5,871 copies sold, Red, White, and Black

with 3,000 copies sold, and The Not So Solid South with 3,000 copies sold.

AGENDA ITEM IV: NEWSLETTER REPORT: Pat Lerch, Newsletter Editor, reported that the next newsletter will come out in the summer of 1986 and will include publication of one of the two prize-winning student papers. She also called upon members to submit any news of interest for publication.

AGENDA ITEM V: THE MOONEY AWARD: James Peacock summarized the status of the Mooney award for the membership noting that the contract with the U of Tennessee Press had been terminated. Acting upon instructions from last year's meeting, he contacted the U of Texas, North Carolina, Georgia, and Kentucky Presses about their interest. Only two responded -- Georgia and Kentucky -- and of those two, only the U of Georgia Press is still interested.

He noted that the Board of the SAS had considered two options for the future:

- 1) the Society could explore the possibility of continuing the award in its present form with the U of Georgia Press, or
- 2) the Mooney Award could be separated from any press and be awarded by the Society at the annual AAA meeting to any book published in that year in some topical area, for example, research on the South from an anthropological perspective.

Peacock also reported that John Peterson had agreed to look into the history of the award, investigate how other similar awards are handled, and prepare a report for the membership to come out in the newsletter. He then solicited the comments from the members present.

The members raised several points. One person noted that awarding the prize to a manuscript already published would avoid the past problem of finding quality manuscripts. Another member asked about the logic of narrowing the topical area and suggested that a focus only on anthropological research on the South would go against the original philosophy of the award. It was noted that the Society consists of a broad group of scholars researching many varied topics. It was argued that we should continue with the New World focus.

Peacock clarified for the membership that books under consideration would not be solicited. Rather, it would be up to the author to submit the work for consideration. Susan Abbott pointed out that the Chair of the Award Committee would have the responsibility for publicizing the award in order to ensure high quality submissions.

AGENDA ITEM VIII: FUTURE MEETINGS: James Peacock reported that the 1987 meeting would be in Atlanta, Ga. Carole Hill had made the arrangements with the Ramada Inn to hold the convention in the same location as before. He reported that Tom Collins would serve as Program Chair and that Holly Mathews would organize the Key Symposium on the topic "Women in the South." The 1988 meeting will be held in Tampa in conjunction with the Society for Applied Anthropology. Michael Angrosino will serve as both Local Arrangements and Program Chair. The key symposium is open for possibilities, and the board will wait until next year to decide. The 1989 meeting site is still open and members were invited to consider submitting bids.

Peacock noted that the officers decided to draft a more formal set of guidelines for the submission of proposals for the different positions associated with the meetings. These guidelines will be issued in the newsletter and proposals will be solicited in advance. He also noted that the board decided to consider applications for all positions from one university, or to split them into separate functions such that individuals from different universities might handle local arrangements, the program, and the key symposium.

Finally, he noted that the board feels strongly that we should stay about three years ahead in planning, and that we should look for opportunities to hold more joint meetings.

AGENDA ITEM IX: NEW BUSINESS: James Peacock passed the gavel to in-coming President, Susan Abbott, who then presided over the meeting. She proposed a resolution to thank James Peacock for his excellent service as President during the 1985 year. The motion passed unanimously and the members responded with a round of applause. She then proposed a second resolution to thank outgoing Councillor, Joe Harding, for his dedicated service. The motion also passed unanimously.

Abbott then raised one item of new business concerning the problem of book exhibits at the annual meeting. She noted that the SAS was developing an unsavory reputation among the presses for the way book exhibits were handled at meetings. She noted that the presses have specific needs including the need for centrally-located space as well as security for the books. Exhibiting is beneficial to the presses who make contacts for future publications and also sell books. Consequently, they are willing to pay for space if their needs are met. In the past, the arrangement of exhibits has been handled by the local arrangements or program chair on an ad hoc basis. Usually, by the time the individual contacts the presses, their calendars are already set. Because no continuity is provided from year to year, the Board proposes that a volunteer be solicited to serve as Book Exhibits Chair. That person would begin by identifying the needs of the presses and contacting representatives

about their scheduling practices. Then that individual would coordinate press exhibit arrangements with the Local Arrangements Chair each year. Abbott noted that a commitment of two years to the office would be important to establish some consistency.

The members commented on this proposal. One person noted that it would be easier and more efficient to have a position like this and to have that person draw up a list of guidelines to be followed in dealing with the presses. Once the guidelines were established it might be possible to turn the task back to the Local Arrangements Chairs each year. Another member suggested that this was more a problem of the presses than of the Society. Abbott noted, however, that income from exhibits could be a significant addition for the Society but would only be available if we worked more closely with them. She then asked for volunteers to come and speak with her after the meeting.

The meeting was adjourned at 1:00 p.m.

## SOUTHERN ANTHROPOLOGICAL SOCIETY

### Financial Statement

Cash Revenues and Disbursements for the year ending 31 December 1985

#### CASH RECEIPTS:

#### FIGURES FOR 1985:

*Dues	1344.10
Registration fees 1986 meeting	400.00
Royalties from proceedings	390.85
**Convention profit 1985 (\$102.75)	-----
Interest Income -- N.C. State Credit Union	
-- Money Market Account	498.05
-- Checking Account	110.90
Total Cash Receipts	<u>\$2743.90</u>

---

\* This figure is lower than in past years because of a decision to put the annual dues payment on a calendar-year schedule. Notices for 1986 dues were sent in January of 1986 and revenues received will be on the 1986 financial report.

\*\* This convention profit was not received in my office until January 1986. Consequently the total amount will not appear in the 1985 financial report.

---

DISBURSEMENTS:

FIGURES FOR 1985:

Newsletter	500.00
Postage	174.38
Printing	123.88
Proceedings	61.20
Bank Charges	26.00
Office Supplies	18.05
* Officer Travel	995.15
**Officer Expenses	110.67
Licenses	10.00
 Total Cash Disbursements	 <u>\$2019.33</u>

---

\* This figure records reimbursements to officers for travel expenses incurred in attending the annual meeting in Fayetteville, AR. The executive board decided in 1985 to allocate \$1000.00 annually to assist officers in paying travel costs to meetings.

\*\* This category includes expenditures by officers on official society business.

---

CASH ON DEPOSIT 31 DECEMBER 1985:

NC State Employees Credit Union Money Market Account	6749.35
NC State Employees Credit Union Checking Account	1903.43
 Total Cash on Deposit	 <u>\$8652.78</u>

---

Respectfully submitted,

Holly F. Mathews  
Secretary-Treasurer

SURVIVING IN LAUSANNE: SOME AMERICAN FOOD  
AND EATING HABITS IN SWITZERLAND

Mary Ellen Chatwin

The food and eating habits of various European, African and Latin-American groups having (im)migrated to Switzerland have been studied often in that country, within contexts ranging from seasonal workers to hospital- and hospice-bound refugees. However, there has been little or no research published on North American food and nutrition or eating habits in Switzerland. Some superficial cultural similarities between Swiss and Americans tend to hide important differences in food and eating habits.

When an American couple comes to Switzerland to work, most often the husband has been transferred or assigned to a new job, and the wife and children are simply "following". Frequently the American wife has had to abandon a job as interesting or lucrative as her husband's, in order to preserve family unity. To make matters worse, Swiss law prohibits the spouse of a foreign job-permit holder to be employed for remuneration. In La Femme Transplantée (1984:79) Gabrielle Varro mentions a similar situation existing in France, and its psychological consequences: work and self-realization as well as economic independence are such entrenched values for the American woman that it is doubtful that she can feel her imposed inactivity as anything other than a mutilation. These women who find themselves confronted with the role of full-time housewife for the first time in their lives -- and especially in a foreign country where they are unfamiliar with the language and customs, find themselves under great pressure.

Of about 30,000 anglophones in the French-speaking area of Switzerland -- mainly along the border of the Lake of Geneva (from Geneva to Montreux, including Lausanne and other towns such as Nyon, Rolle and Morges), the number of Americans has never been determined with exactitude. The majority of heads of families are employed in international organizations or multinational societies with headquarters in Europe.

In 1967 a group of American women in Lausanne founded the American Women's Club (AWC) in order to find solutions to the problems posed by forced inactivity and to react to the sequels of "culture shock" (in their own words: the disorientation, dissonance and conflict which sets in when a person enculturated into one culture is suddenly dropped into another). The approximately 150 American members have similar sociocultural profiles and origins (though they represent different areas of the United States); a strong majority of their husbands are employed in the Lausanne area by international corporations. The following observations were made in the context of that group.

Certain similarities do exist between the American "immigrants" and the dominant Swiss culture: valorisation of work, relatively high income (with the privileges associated with a "good" job), attitudes and belief systems, general behavior and institutional organization. But for the American woman whose practices related

to food and eating are often aimed at saving time and effort, differences are very evident. According to Norge W. Jerome's study "On Determining Food Habits of Urban Dwellers" (in the U.S.), the stages from acquisition to stockage, including the transformation and consumption, evolved in a society which values, through food, the advantages of variety, self-realization and success. In Lausanne, the AWC organizes sessions of introduction to Swiss culture, presented as "aids to survival". These carefully prepared courses bring out elements such as American enculturation, comparing it with the "Swiss mentality". The first conference given in the fall, for example, was introduced by the founder and first president of Lausanne's AWC: "When I first came to Switzerland, a long time ago, I was astonished that these otherwise evolved people had no cottage cheese, no peanut butter, no hamburgers, and what's more, they didn't seem to want them! Things have changed a great deal, and now it's I who don't want them and the Swiss who do!"

During these "preparatory" courses of the AWC, group dynamics and applied psychology techniques are used to help members express anxiety clearly, and cultural differences, often underestimated in Swiss-American exchanges, are clearly emphasized. Anecdotes used to illustrate possible stress situations indicate that "culture shock" is general and inevitable, that it should be taken seriously: depressions, however mild are the rule, and it is seen as beneficial to recognize the signs and deal with them -- a first step towards "adaptation" to Swiss culture. Food and eating represent an important element in the dynamics of adaptation or resistance to another culture.

### Mutual attraction

Between the dominant Swiss society and the migrant Americans, one can observe a certain amount of reciprocity in gaining access to each other's culture. One notices approval on the one hand of at least a large section of Swiss society towards "fast foods" -- hamburger chains are springing up rapidly in Geneva and Lausanne -- as well as towards other specific products including peanut butter, breakfast cereals and mixes, which are found more frequently and in greater variety in Swiss shops and supermarkets. On the other hand, the American values at least partial success at adapting to another culture through the use of certain foods, either temporarily or (if the person remains in Switzerland) permanently. This relatively minor mutual borrowing creates the impression that the rest of the food and eating differences are unimportant, but all women interviewed expressed their frustration about foods available in Switzerland.

### Family preferences

Their disparagement of Swiss food was often expressed through their children's likes and dislikes: "My family doesn't like the cheese here," said one informant, while another commented, "My son only likes the Kraft macaroni and cheese (not available), but not the casseroles you make from products here." "The children

don't want homemade hamburgers here because you can't get the right buns."

In his study on food in the United States, Jerome (1975) states that acquisition is determined by household structure, and that individual preferences are respected. He emphasizes that children and adolescents are especially influential in decisions concerning acquisition, preparation and consumption of food in America. This remains true upon moving abroad.

What is more, contrary to certain other migrant groups residing in Switzerland, the Swiss "teenage culture" tends to value American eating habits, especially "fast food".

### Swiss peculiarities

For Americans, the unknowns of Swiss food appear first upon acquisition. The young woman who told of her first experience in an open-air market in Lausanne said she first dared use her beginner's French to ask for "un kilo de pommes de terre". The farmer's wife weighed the potatoes on the scales behind her then asked the American, "There's a little more -- shall I leave it?" This unexpected and incomprehensible question for the customer unfamiliar with the use of scales was enough to create a feeling of panic: "How could I have 'a little more' when I've asked for a kilo? Should I say 'yes' or 'no' -- will one of those answers make her angry?" Her confusion was so great that she gave no answer and the woman gave her the approximate kilogram. For several months the American avoided the market, remembering her anxiety at the first attempt.

Acquisition begins with the appropriate words, but also the right gestures: feeling tomatoes, sorting carrots or even carrying a shopping basket must be learned by those whose food acquisition habits only include the pre-weighed, pre-packaged depersonalized repertory of gestures appropriate for a supermarket situation. The American Women's Club organizes a guided tour to the open-air market in Lausanne to help participants learn the gestures and terms used in buying food there. They also become familiar with certain vegetables which Americans don't consume regularly such as celery-root, different types of lettuce and even leeks, a local staple. For some, the "unhygienic" presentation of vegetables and fruits may be dedramatized through the re-definition and valorization of the "picturesque".

Yet during the week preceding Thanksgiving, though the market is full of pumpkins, all informants consulted used canned pumpkin -- imported from home or found at a high price in a "specialty" section of the supermarket -- for pumpkin pies. The same was true at Christmas.

In addition to acquisition, my informants mentioned "place" and "time" as being unfamiliar elements concerning food and eating habits in Switzerland. An example is given by the mother of two pre-schoolers whose husband always had lunch at the office. She had taken the children, and a picnic, to go out and eat beside a small stream near the village, in a town not far from Lausanne.

She noticed with some alarm that there was no one in the streets after a certain time. She hurried home at last, thinking that perhaps "the bomb" had dropped somewhere and that she was the only one not to know. After several weeks in Switzerland she realized that it is habitual for all shops to close between noon and two o'clock, especially in small villages, and that it is common for everyone to eat at 12 o'clock promptly.

### Refuge in the familiar

The foreignness and anxiety felt from the acquisition to the preparation of food tended to make all the informants take refuge in the familiar, the known habits brought from home. For example, although the pastries and bread in Switzerland were often praised by AWC members, requests for recipes which adapted Swiss products to American dishes were so frequent that the American Cook Abroad column in the monthly newsletter dedicated two pages to making "American" breads. Parker house rolls, English muffins and biscuits were among those requested. An example which stood out illustrated the dominance of the need for the familiar over the "original" need for a food: A recipe for Bisquick was described in detail, indicating that the original purpose of such a mix (to save time and effort) can take second place to the need for familiar modes of storing and preparing food.

One member said she was used to what she described as "freezer to micro-wave" cooking in the U.S., but that in Switzerland the choice of ready-to-serve dishes was so limited that she couldn't stock food in the same way, so she prepared frozen dinners herself so that her children could cook them in her absence if necessary.

Another member expressed the return to the familiar in another way: "I find it difficult to buy enough food each day for my family (two adults and three children); I feel that food is important and makes my children's lives a little more secure." She resorted to buying a freezer and filling it, to create a feeling of security by familiar methods of storage and by ample supplies.

The author of the food column mentioned above invites her readers to share her discoveries in the supermarkets, the open-air markets and in restaurants. She wrote, "Perhaps you haven't yet tried certain foods because they seem so different. I encourage you to try them, to experiment and make substitutions -- it's an adventure" (February 1984). And here the valorization of adaptation seems to take another direction: "How can we adapt their food to ours?" In the recipe for substitutions, the columnist uses Swiss ingredients to imitate American foods as much as possible. She also aims at de-stressing the acquisition and preparation in referring to familiar techniques and utensils -- measuring cups and measuring spoons were brought without exception by members from the U.S., and are used regularly. Most members have a list of temperatures transposed from Fahrenheit to centigrades taped on the wall near the stove, and the columnist uses metric measures followed by the familiar American measures.

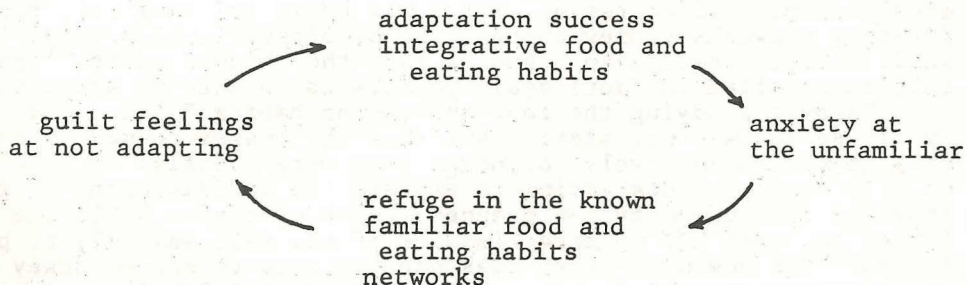
The search for known foods is illustrated through the formation of "food networks" which form gradually, such as the butcher in near-by Pully "who knows how to cut meat like it should be". "Good meat" is often mentioned as being rare in Switzerland, and certain informants said they prefer to eat less than to buy unfamiliar cuts, "which aren't as good a quality either". Other networks, for other foods, consist of the AWC annual bazaar and exchanges within the Club, as well as pot-luck suppers.

Perhaps another disguised "refuge" situation is in fact a type of network which distracts attention from the difficult problem of adaptation: the group International Cooking organizes evenings of Chinese, Indian and other "exotic" cooking, but never American nor Swiss... And another group, organized to discover local restaurants, permits newcomers to order and become familiar with a Swiss menu helped by those who are already more "adapted".

One informant said that after 25 years of living in Switzerland, products that couldn't be found before had begun to be sold here, such as peanut butter, celery (branches), avocados, jello, broccoli, pecans, maple sirop, cream cheese, and another said that she no longer has to have her husband bring Diet Coke back from his business trips to London. Yet refuge in the familiar doesn't resolve all problems, and as one member expressed it, "You have to learn to live without".

### Conclusions

From interviews with over 20 members of the American Women's Club in Lausanne, and from questionnaires and follow-up interviews with 12 representative members of the Club, I drew the following schema: for the American woman self-valorization connected to the success of adapting to a foreign culture is confronted by the unfamiliarity of Swiss culture represented by its food and eating habits; the ensuing anxiety implies modifications in habits of acquisition, preparation and storing of food in order to return to the familiar modes of consumption; but the feelings of guilt caused by this return to the known prompts new initiatives at adaptation to the host society.



Posterior to the main part of this research (interviews, questionnaires and reading materials), I found also that the principle

elements of the above schema appeared in the presentation mentioned already as the introduction to a series of workshops on "culture shock" by the AWC, given by a former president of the Club, entitled "Living in Lausanne".

The subject of introduction to the series was sub-titled "How to survive culture shock". The stages presented by the conference leader were:

- a period of euphoria: the new milieu seems "interesting" and we feel self-esteem through success at adaptation.
- inevitable anxiety: "In this stage you will have understood that cultural differences are not minor or quaint, but rather are overwhelming and usually a few differences are blown up out of all proportion...Your symptoms may be homesickness, withdrawal, boredom, compulsive eating, drinking or sleeping."
- deculpabilization: during the introductory speech terms and notions leading to an understanding that culture shock is inevitable and understandable included: "a certain degree of culture shock is inevitable", "Reactions aren't rational but emotional", "There's almost always gradual adaptation leading to biculturalism", "Learn to accept failure, something which is difficult for Americans". Behind these words of reassurance, a definite element of guilt is implied.
- biculturalism: "Accept your position as an American in a foreign society, try to appreciate the best in both worlds." With this notion the circle has come a full turn and we can again feel self-esteem through success at adaptation.

The conference was based in part on the Survival Kit for Overseas Living by L. Robert Kohls (1979), and the similarities to my original schema seemed mainly those of "evolutive" aspects and an alternance between an emotional state and that of action. The will to adapt to a new culture, illustrated in my study was that of the first new attempts to meet the "picturesque" at the open-air market or in taking the children on a picnic by a stream. These same situations became threatening and, as the former president stated, "a few differences are blown up out of all proportion" as the picnicking mother experienced it. The series of conferences was organized to fill the multiple role of the third stage in the original schema: offer refuge, offer the known and familiar, reveal existing networks to newcomers. The deculpabilization stage implies guilt, albeit "excusable", and at last the "biculturalism" (probably multiculturalism in fact) again permits us to attempt adaptation.

Through studying the food and eating habits I found that this cyclic schema was not static, but that the stages seemed to continually happen successively, although they were modified as time went on. It would be interesting to explore the modifications -- whether they are influenced by the planned length of stay: Would one bother to learn how to make Bisquick if the stay was only to be six months? For how many years does one continue to serve turkey at Thanksgiving since it's not a holiday in Switzerland? Do eating habits change if the children attend Swiss schools (and cafeterias)? A comparison with the stages of "acculturation" to Swiss society would be the ideal starting point.

## BIBLIOGRAPHY

BETTELHEIM Bruno.

1979 - "Growing up female" in Surviving, p. 221-238. New York:  
A. A. Knopf

CALLAN Hilary.

1975 - "The Premiss of Dedication", in Ardener, Shirley (ed.),  
Perceiving Women, p. 87-104. London: Malaby Press.  
XXIV, 167 p.

CALVO Manuel.

1982 - "Migration et alimentation", in Social Science Information  
= Information sur les sciences sociales. London and  
Beverly Hills. 21(3), p. 383-446.

JEROME Norge W.

1975 - "On Determining Food Patterns of Urban Dwellers", in  
Arnott, Margaret L. (ed.), Gastronomy: the anthropology  
of food and food habits, p. 91-111. Paris; The Hague:  
Mouton. XVI, 354 p. (World anthropology)

KOHLIS L. Robert.

1979 - Survival Kit for Overseas Living: for Americans planning  
to live and work abroad. Chicago: Intercultural Press.

MONTANDON Beth.

1984 - "Culture Shock". Transcription of a speech given at the  
American Women's Club, Lausanne, 5 October 1984.

VARRO Gabrielle.

1984 - La femme transplantée: une etude du mariage franco-  
américain en France et le bilinguisme des enfants.  
Lille: Presses universitaires de Lille. 184 p.

THE SOUTHERN ANTHROPOLOGIST  
UNIVERSITY OF NORTH CAROLINA, WILMINGTON  
Department of Sociology/Anthropology  
601 S. College Road  
Wilmington, North Carolina 28403-3297

RETURN POSTAGE GUARANTEED

Nonprofit  
Organization  
U.S.  
Postage Paid  
Permit No. 444