

Southern Anthropologist

Cover photo: Authentic Authenticity in Memphis

(see page 2 for explanation)



Volume 24, No. 1, Spring/Summer 1997

Southern Anthropologist

David M Johnson, Editor in Chief
Department of Sociology & Social Work
North Carolina A & T State University
Greensboro, N C 27411

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Southern Anthropologist

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The *Southern Anthropologist* is normally published twice a year (Spring and Fall) and is distributed as a benefit to the membership of the Southern Anthropological Society.

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Authentic Authenticity in Memphis

The display case featured on the cover was in prominent view in the Radisson Memphis and contains artifacts labeled as used by actors who portrayed Elvis and related people in a TV production filmed in the hotel and vicinity. The guitar has a sign next to it which says: "This guitar was used by Michael St Gerard in 'Elvis' as he played the starring role."

In other words, the case enshrines artifacts used by those who *portrayed* the King, which perhaps makes them authentic reproductions?

David M Johnson

Editor's Corner

Editor's Corner
by David Johnson

Welcome to the Spring/Summer issue of the *Southern Anthropologist*, (which was going to be the Spring issue until the spring got away from me!). Much of the issue is devoted to material from the 1997 annual meetings, with some continuing controversy from an earlier issue thrown in for added excitement.

This issue

The lead articles in this issue are a continuation of the article on "The Tripartite Division of Labor in U S Higher Education" that Hans Baer wrote for the last issue. Kendall Blanchard, another long-time SAS member, took issue with some of Baer's issues, so to speak, and Baer has quickly replied in time for this publication. If others have thoughts on this matter, please contact me if you would like to reply to the replies.

The feature articles are the student paper winners, as announced at the end of the Memphis meetings. John Dwight Hines' paper on "Ongi Etorri, Euskaldunak!: The Basque Lodging House as a Cultural 'Place'" won the graduate paper competition, and Melissa Mayo's paper on "Anencephaly and Spina Bifida

Among the Guatemalan-Maya of South Florida" won the undergraduate paper competition, and are printed here. Congratulations to the two winners, and we look forward to more fine work by both winners in the future!

The future

The Fall issue of this esteemed publication will feature, among others, Michael Angrosino's paper, delivered at the Memphis meetings, on "Among the Savage Anthros," a report on his 'salvage project' of interviewing SAS members at the 1996 meetings about the history of the Society.

If you have other articles you think I might be interested in, please contact me; see below for ways to do this!

Next year's meetings

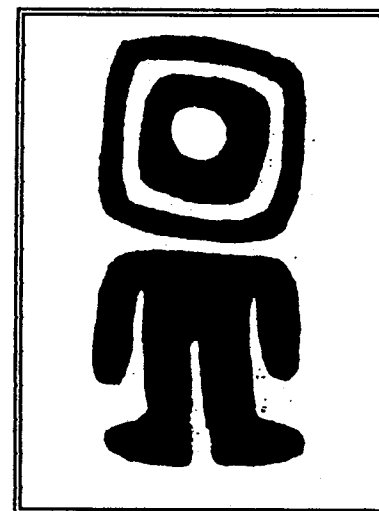
The next annual meeting of the SAS is scheduled for March 26-28, 1998, at the Wilmington Hilton, Wilmington, N C.

The local arrangements chair is Jim Sabella, UNC-Wilmington, who can be reached by email at: sabellaj@uncwil.edu

Keep in touch!

Ways to reach me:

- (1) Voice mail at (910) 334-7894 at my office, or (910) 274-7032 at home
- (2) E-mail via the Internet at johnsond@athena.ncat.edu
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If you wish to submit materials to the Anthropologist, my preferences are (in rank order) and if possible in more than one form:

- (1) text of MS Word file on a Macintosh floppy, along with hard copy
- (2) text or word processor file on 3-1/2" IBM (MS-DOS) disk with hard copy
- (3) e-mail to address above
- (4) fax and/or hard copy

Material that is sent already in electronic format is less likely to have my errors in it; but hard copy is important to check on the accuracy of the electronic transmission!

My deadline for the Fall 1997 issue of the Southern Anthropologist is tentatively October 1.

Southern Anthropologist Staff:

Editor: Dr David M Johnson

Photography: Anthropoid Photographic Enterprises (APE)

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President's Column

Susan Keefe

Visiting the "King" in Memphis and Forward to 2000!

We had an exciting meeting in Memphis this year. This was my first time to explore the city and I was (in the words of the Mark Cohen song) "Walking in Memphis...Walking with my feet 10 feet off of Beale." I had barbecue at the Rendezvous. I had a beer at B B King's Bar and Grill. And I made the pilgrimage to the home of the King at Graceland! Afterwards, I was able to impress my fellow travelers with my increased wealth of knowledge about Elvis' personal life. I also learned from Pat Beaver that the Melungeons claim Elvis as one of their own (a fitting multicultural identity for an American icon). In any case, I enjoyed Memphis and learned that while I may not be Southern by birth, I am (as the bumper sticker proclaims) "Southern by the grace of God."

Inside the Memphis Hilton, the Key Symposium on "Culture, Biology and Sexuality: Towards Synthesis" was engaging SAS members. Linda Wolfe's paper on "Human Sexual Behavior and Evolution" corrected my understanding of estrus and menstruation. As she explained, both human and non-human female primates experience estrus (attractivity, proceptivity, and receptivity during ovulation) and menstruation. And female orgasm is prob-

ably experienced by monkeys and apes as well as humans. Her conclusion that human sexuality is different from the other primates primarily due to cultural and symbolic aspects of sex pleased my cultural anthropologist's soul.

Now back from Memphis, we are in the thick of planning next year's SAS meeting. It will be March 26-28, 1998, at the Wilmington Hilton in Wilmington, N C. Local arrangements Chair, Jim Sabella, says "The Hilton is centrally located downtown on the Cape Fear River in the historic district. The flavor is very much like historic Charleston with excellent watering holes, gourmet coffee shoppes, and excellent but not too expensive restaurants all over the place." It sounds like a wonderful site and Tom Collins is preparing an interesting Key Symposium on community sustainability. We hope to see all of you there.

The Society has slipped out of its usual sequence of two-year advance planning. We have a site selected for 1999 (Atlanta). I would like to take this moment to solicit sites for the year 2000. Who would like to volunteer to host this historic meeting? We are also soliciting proposals for the keynote symposia for both 1999 and 2000. Please send your ideas to me

now.

In the meantime have a great summer!

I can be reached at:

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SAS Endowment Campaign

for Education and Outreach in the South

The Endowment is now in its fourth year of fund-raising toward a \$30,000 goal. The purpose of the endowment is to support student participation in the meetings and the student prize competition, expand the knowledge of anthropology in and of the South and to smaller colleges and universities which do not yet offer courses in anthropology, bring the message of our discipline to minority institutions through a dynamic speakers bureau, encourage minority participation in the field and at our meetings, and reward outstanding scholarship in the anthropology of the South with the annual presentation of an enhanced James Mooney prize. At present the Endowment is less than a quarter of the way to the goal, so your contributions are needed!

Please take time to make a campaign pledge or donation, and send it to:

Dr Thomas Arcury, Campaign Treasurer, Center for Urban and Regional Studies, CB#3410, Hickerson House, UNC-CH, Chapel Hill, N C 27599-3512

S A S members invited to join E-mail list-service

by Tim Wallace
SAS Member at Large

All SAS members are invited to join the NCANTHRO listserver, a service currently serving those connected with the Association of North Carolina Anthropologists..

Since this service is currently up and running, it was decided at the last SAS business meeting in Memphis that it would be easier to expand it rather than start a new, similar, service for the SAS.

The NCANTHRO listserve is an open discussion list, accessed in the same way that e-mail is accessed, devoted to sharing information among colleagues in anthropology. NCANTHRO listserve members share information on such things as jobs, grants, field schools, internships, local politics affecting anthropology, professional debates and so on.

It is easy to join. One merely needs to send a message to:

Listserv@listerv.ncsu.edu with the message: *subscribe NCANTHRO Your Name*

After you are successfully subscribed a message will let you know that

you are subscribed.

To unsubscribe the address is the same and you merely write:

unsubscribe NCANTHRO Your Name

Thereafter, any messages you wish to send should be addressed to:

NCANTHRO@listserv.ncsu.edu

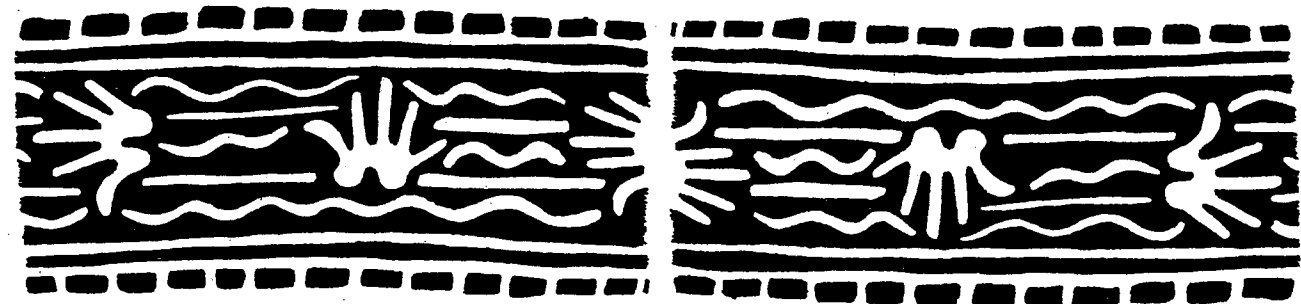
If you wish to see who else is subscribed, send a message to the listserv address given above (li-

stserv@listserv.ncsu.edu) with the message: *recipients ncanthro*

I sincerely hope that everyone in the SAS will make ncanthro their first location for getting and sharing information about anthropology in the South.

A web page is being developed for the Fall 1997, so stay tuned for an announcement about that!

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The Tripartite Division of Labor in US Higher Education Revisited, a followup and rejoinder to Hans Baer's article in the Fall 1996 issue

Including a Rejoinder by Kendall Blanchard and a Revisiting by Hans Baer

The Tripartite Division Revisited

Hans A. Baer
University of Arkansas at Little Rock

I welcome Kendall Blanchard's response to my article on the tripartite division of labor in U.S. higher education and his reading of higher education from his vantage point as an anthropologist-administrator. Like any model or framework that seeks to grasp social reality, my portrayal of U.S. higher education as consisting of three layers made up of administrators, tenured and tenure-track faculty, and part-time faculty is a heuristic device that admittedly needs refinement and elaboration. As Blanchard observes, a more complete model would have to account for gradations of administrators, administrative support personnel, faculty, and other occupational categories such as coaches who often are among the highest paid personnel on U.S. campuses. Conversely, I believe that the conflict or neo-Marxian perspective that I utilize provides us with a holistic framework for better comprehending the complex nature of higher education within the context of the political economy of corporate America. This is something that I attempted to accomplish in my two short presidential columns that appeared in the Summer and Fall 1995 issues of the *Southern Anthropologist*.

Blanchard implies that my analysis and call for a pro-active faculty runs the risk of dividing the academy. In reality, U.S. higher education is already fragmented and shows signs of undergoing even

A Rejoinder by an Administrator

Kendall Blanchard, University of Tennessee at Martin

In a short article that appeared in a recent issue of the *Southern Anthropologist*, Hans Baer (1996:20) describes what he sees as a "crystallization of a tripartite division of labor consisting of administrators, tenured and tenure-track faculty, and part-time faculty" in American higher education. He calls for a new activism on the part of faculty and students to challenge this trend. What follows is a critique of Baer's argument, a caution against oversimplification, and a call for a new sense of shared purpose and real academic community.

Background

I am an anthropologist who has served at one institution as a department chair, at two others as dean of arts and sciences, and currently at another as vice chancellor for academic affairs. I think of myself as one of those administrators who has "spent years in the classroom and engaged in scholarship;" not a "career administrator" (Baer, 1996:20). I have continued to teach, write, and maintain a commitment to and identification with my discipline. I see myself as a faculty member who has taken on the responsibility of advocating for his colleagues and providing leadership in the continuing evolution of the curriculum. Also, I feel I have a responsibility to keep the faculty in touch with the realities of public attitudes, politics, and popular culture that impact and inevitably shape the life of the institution.

In the spirit of that responsibility, I share

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further fragmentation. Most of the divisiveness on U.S. campuses is generated from up-on-high, often by draconian austerity and restructuring measures, that pit faculty members against one another as they scramble for increasingly limited resources. Ruling elites and their delegated functionaries throughout history have operated upon the principle of "divide and conquer." Administrations create divisiveness when they reward themselves with high salaries and perks while treating faculty and staff as cogs in a machine. They create a split-labor market among the faculty by increasingly filling vacancies left by tenured and tenure-track faculty with adjunct faculty and non-tenure-track instructors. Given the differential power that exists between the administration and the faculty on college and university campuses, it is politically naive to think that at some level an adversarial relationship does not exist between the two. In her analysis of restructuring policies in U.S. higher education, Slaughter argues:

University policy makers, confronted with choices about what to cut, made decisions similar to those made by politicians and policy makers participating in the conservative ethos of the Reagan and Bush administrations: they privileged faculty and fields able to position themselves close to the market. . . Faculty and fields unable or unsuccessful in claiming a position close to the market were more likely to be cut (Slaughter 1993: 251).

In a similar vein, Krause (1996:78) argues that "[a]reas of supply and demand are increasingly determined by the capitalists who endow the universities, support or frustrate state taxes for university expansion, fund the academic chairs, help to hire the

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with Baer the concern that public higher education is becoming increasingly a political football and a tool of the business world; that job training and skill development are all too frequently replacing liberal learning and authentic higher education. However, I think we do ourselves a disservice if we oversimplify the nature of campus politics, focus too much on internal divisions, and pit ourselves directly against the public that ultimately controls our future.

The Myth of the Faculty- Administration Dichotomy

The problem with assuming that on every campus there is a clear-cut distinction and rift between administrators and faculty is that it is difficult to draw a line between the two. Who is an administrator and who is not? On most campuses and in most public university systems, the cost of administration includes the salaries of all of those persons who provide any form of "administrative support." At many universities, this category includes such roles as computer technicians, media specialists, and professional advisors. Also, within academic affairs units, many persons with faculty appointments are given reassigned time and stipends for administrative responsibilities. Department chairs, assistant and associate deans; directors of such programs as honors, core curriculum, advising centers; and coordinators of graduate programs, are just a few examples of part-time administrators. Some of these persons may spend much more time administering than teaching. Again, who is an administrator and who is not? And, if this line is not clear, how can the lines of conflict or class distinction be clear?

One could argue that the only real "administrators" are those that Baer (1996:20) refers to as "high-echelon administrators." I assume these include CEOs, CAOs, CSAOs, and CFOs. Given

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faculty in the departments they care about, and increasingly determine the direction and nature of research." Market imperatives provide administrators with a justification to pay certain faculty members, particularly in colleges of business administration, engineering, medicine, and law, with salaries well above their counterparts in the liberal arts and education. On my own campus, full professors in the College of Business Administration routinely outearn full professors in the College of Arts, Humanities, and Social Sciences by \$20-30,000 for a nine-month academic year.

In keeping with the corporate-driven agenda, retrenchment during the 1980s and 1990s most adversely affected the humanities, social sciences, fine arts, and education. Ironically, many of these fields continue to have high enrollments, even though they may not have as many majors as in the past because of the job market. In most circumstances, they are central to most institutional "missions," particularly in the liberal education of undergraduates. Slaughter maintains that administrators have not been so much involved in retrenchment as in restructuring so that they could spend more on programs that they identified as worth strengthening within the context of a corporate economy. She maintains:

In addressing crises, administrators used the language of productivity, economy and efficiency, and competition, language similar to that used by business leaders. In effect, administrators used crisis to become academic executives, the CEOs of universities (Slaughter 1993:260).

Although faculty often spent considerable time on committees that examined the

restructuring process, their concerns were generally not seriously considered. Ultimately, the input of these committees was advisory rather than binding upon the administration and the board of trustees. Recommendations of faculty governance bodies and committees are routinely ignored if they make recommendations at variance with the administration's objectives.

Contrary to Blanchard's functionalist characterization of the academy, the university does not constitute a community of scholars. Unfortunately, it has increasingly evolved into a centralized bureaucratic structure characterized by differential power and hierarchy which administrators systematically employ to do the bidding of the corporate class and its political allies in the U.S. Congress and state legislatures. As Readings (1996) observes, the postmodern university is governed by an administrative apparatus that has replaced the dialectic of teaching and research and functions as a "ruined institution" which has to be reconceptualized. This reality manifests itself in the fact that administrative costs in higher education have risen dramatically over the past two decades compared to those for instruction and research.

Equal Employment Opportunity Commission data for 1975-85 showed a 6 percent growth in full-time faculty; an 18 percent growth in "executive, administrative, and managerial employees"; and a 61 percent growth in "other professionals," who are degree-holding employees often accounted for in administrative categories. For 1985-90, the increases were 9 percent 14 and 28 percent, respectively (Leslie and Rhoades 1995:188).

In the case of the 9-campus University of California system, whereas approximately six dollars was spent on instruction for each

dollar spent on administration in 1966-67, by 1991-92 approximately three dollars were spent on instruction for each dollar spent on administration (Gumport and Pusser 1995). Much of the growth of the administrative sector has been fueled by increasing regulatory demands on the academy, but much of it is a byproduct of empire-building on the part of administrators and administrative requests for a seemingly endless round of reports from faculty. Ironically, despite the fact that university administrations have embarked upon programs of retrenching or downsizing their full-time faculties and support personnel, they do not appear to have subjected themselves to the same process, despite the fact that many corporations have downsized at the level of middle management. The reasons for this pattern need to be further explored, but it may be related to two factors: (1) a time lag between policies pursued in the corporate sector and those pursued in the academy and (2) the relative autonomy of higher-echelon administrators. Although the board of trustees and the governors who may select their members in the case of public institutions hold absolute power over the university, they generally give presidents and chancellors a great deal of discretion over day-to-day campus operations. Conversely, boards may eventually place greater pressure upon high-echelon administrators to trim the fat by eliminating many of those associate vice-chancellorships and deanships.

Creating new structures of "particip-

atory democracy" is vital to creating an authentic "community of scholars" in the postmodern university. Faculty also need to improve public perceptions of what they do. They need to point out that a lot of reading, preparation of lectures, and research go into the 9-12 hours that they spend in the classroom and that faculty often work one-to-one with students on class projects. Faculty also need to dem-

onstrate that their research may have social relevance and that they engage in a wide variety of public service activities. In essence, professors need to rethink their notions of scholarship. Those of us in the social sciences and humanities need to transform ourselves into public intellectuals rather than academic specialists who function within

tightly-knit hermetic universes. As Boggs (1993:2) asserts, "scholarly work tends to be narrowly conceived, technocratic, and self-consumed, obsessed as it is with 'manageable' problems that are not likely to threaten conservative professional norms or social priorities." Faculty need to mobilize themselves against the assault on tenure that threatens the space that colleges and universities have provided to faculty and students in the development and discussion of oppositional ideas. At the same time, we need to engage in a critical analysis of academic institutions as a major source of legitimation that socializes students into system-reproducing forms of thought and behavior.

As I indicated in my article on democra-

Given the differential power that exists between the administration and the faculty on college and university campuses, it is politically naive to think that at some level an adversarial relationship does not exist between the two. (Baer)

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tizing the academy, the university needs to adopt more mechanisms of both representative and participatory democracy that include input from faculty, staff, and students as well as the community (not simply the business community as tends to be presently the case) (Baer 1995). Journalist James Ridgeway proposed the democratization sometime ago in his critical analysis of corporate-university linkages. He asserted:

Because of the present method of governing institutions of higher learning, there is an opportunity for a small group of men to use a university for its own ends. Since these institutions bear public responsibilities and receive much of their money from government, they should be made responsible to the public, and trustees should be elected -- for terms of perhaps four to six years -- by the students, alumni, faculty and other members of the immediate university community (Ridgeway 1968:216).

Unionization offers another possibility vehicle for democratizing the university. As I learned at the Higher Education Conference of the National Education Association that I attended in San Diego this past March as a representative of my university's faculty/staff association, the crisis in higher education has contributed to a "new organizing climate" at various campuses around the country. In Fall 1996, 62 percent of the tenured and tenure-track at Southern Illinois University at Carbondale -- a relatively short distance from Blanchard's campus -- voted for collective bargaining and joined over 90,000 higher education people represented by NEA. In their campaign to form a faculty association, organizers often communicat-

ed with their colleagues by computer and thereby helped contributed to the development of "cyber unionism."

In keeping with the growing managerial ethos on campuses, Blanchard justifies the emergence of "career administrators" on the grounds that they have acquired specialized training that prepares them for positions of academic leadership that supposedly prepare them to raise funds, lobby for education, and entertain potential benefactors. Unfortunately, career administrators run the danger of not comprehending the intricacies of the faculty role. Administrators all too often come to view themselves as the university. According to Solomon and Solomon (1993:261), "[i]n the process of climbing the ladder, the university president loses any active memories of being a member of the faculty." Furthermore, university administrators rarely are subjected to any meaningful "bottom-line" evaluation after their appointments in the manner in which faculty routinely are.

Solomon and Solomon propose that the university administration be reorganized. They suggest that "administrative posts themselves should be stripped of their huge salaries and ostentatious trappings, trimmed in number by two-thirds, limited in power, and filled by having active faculty [including women and ethnic minorities], who appreciate the essential needs of students and faculty, serve for three-year terms" (Solomon and Solomon 1993:268). Solomon and Solomon (1993:268) also call for empowerment and expansion of faculty governance bodies which would entail "equipping faculty senates, faculty watchdog committees, and faculty planning committees and task forces with real decision-making power and, in some instances, veto power. The few remaining administrators, who would be hired by faculty committees, would also be subject

immediately to regular faculty reviews."

The academic workplace needs to be only one of many sites where the struggle for democratization proceeds. Unfortunately, contrary to Blanchard's assertion, the public does not exert much influence over the future of higher education or much else in the larger society at this juncture in U.S. history. With the emergence of a political system in which the two major parties cater primarily to corporate interests, most Americans have been disenfranchised, despite the fact that some of them continue to vote periodically. Noam Chomsky, an internationally renowned linguist, fellow academic, scholar, and the major political dissident in this country, has gone so far as to argue that the United States has a one party system -- the Business Party which has two factions. Ultimately, the democratization of the academy will have to be part and parcel of the democratization of U.S. society. Rather than accommodating themselves to the realities of the U.S. political economy, academics as intellectual workers need to form alliances with other Americans in attempting to figure out strategies for transcending them. Progressive academics need to act as what Giroux (1988) terms "transformative intellectuals" who actively address their own role in the production and legitimation of social relations, engage in the writing of reviews and books for the general public, and engage in praxis (or a merger of theory and social action) within the academy that has political relevance outside of it. He maintains that professionalization has prompted academics to withdraw from a public discourse by restricting their intellectual endeavors to professional journals, books, and conferences. I for one do not wish to view my academic workplace as a place where I am "cooled off" by deluding myself, as

Blanchard suggests, that I form common cause with the Administration so long as it is part and parcel of a larger project dedicated to the entrepreneurial university.

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this definition, it might be possible to find university campuses where there is a commonly shared notion of "us" versus "them," the latter being those "high-echelon administrators." But, even in those cases, the term administrator remains ambiguous. Perhaps these "high-echelon administrators" are better described as the responsible officials. But they are so few in number and so diverse in outlook on any given campus that to think of them as one of three social or status classes requires a tremendous stretch of the imagination.

The notion that a college campus is essentially a three strata system is complicated further by the existence of many other strata, distinct categories or classes, or so-called "elites." What about the relationship between athletics and academics? On many campuses, the divisiveness between these two units is much more pronounced than that between faculty and administration. What about the relationship between the college of business and its poorer counterparts? On some campuses, entry level positions in business command salaries that are almost double what one can expect in disciplines like English, philosophy, or history. To make matters worse, accreditation by AACSB (American Assembly of Collegiate Schools of Business) requires reduced teaching loads for business faculty, often making the perception of inequity even more pronounced. Then there are those local conflicts between particular programs or departments that often have historical roots that run deeper than the memory of any of the current faculty, but are still very real. The intensity of the hostility in many of these cases far outweighs that of the distrust or animosity that might be shared by faculty toward some generic cadre of administrators.

My point, then, is simply that it is neither accurate nor profitable to generalize about strata, privileged elites, and oppressed classes across the

spectrum of American higher education. The post-modern university is one with a distinctive culture, social organization, and class dynamic. At another level, it is an institution of many cultures and many conflicts. For that reason, while conflict theory might provide a useful perspective for understanding today's university, Marxist models and others that would lump the many roles attendant to university life into two or three categories simplify the issue to a fault and distort the accurate portrayal of the dynamics that drive higher education.

The Question of Administrative Privilege

I share with Baer the concern that all too often persons who rise to positions of authority in higher education do not have the appropriate preparation. I too am bothered by those "career administrators," people whose one goal in life is to be a college president and who in some cases began early in their youth to groom themselves for such a role. I am troubled also by the outlandish salaries and additional perks that some CEOs receive. However, I would argue that Baer is generalizing from the exception and again oversimplifying the recent history of American public higher education.

Admittedly, fewer of today's university presidents and chancellors have come up through the academic ranks and earned their stripes than was the case several decades ago. The CEOs of America's public universities now include many persons whose principal preparation for the position was a political career, business experience, or specialized training in professional higher education. While this might not sit well with the traditionalists among us, the academically elite, it may be that this trend makes good sense and is in the long-term best interest of public higher education. Today's university CEOs have to be more political, more in touch with the business community, and better able to raise private funds than the CEO of the 1950s' university. It is a different job.

One of the reasons that higher education

has turned more to specialized education and training for the preparation of its leadership is to increase the likelihood that the "high-echelon" positions might be assumed by women and persons of color. To insist that university presidents and chancellors come only from the ranks of the firmly entrenched academic elite, those who have earned their stripes in the traditional way, would be to exclude many otherwise very capable professionals from positions of leadership in the academy and restrict the diversity of that leadership. The fast-track to positions of leadership in higher education has made it possible for women and minorities who have tended to be under-represented in the traditional professorial ranks to increase their representation in the ranks of today's college leaders.

As far as I know, there are no data that prove that a university or its faculty are any worse for having a CEO whose background, credentials, and experience are not consistent with those of the traditional, "from the ranks" model. In fact, as I suggested earlier, there are advantages to having leadership that is more comfortable raising money, lobbying for higher education, and entertaining those whose support is important to the university, than spending time in the library, doing laboratory research, or facilitating a graduate seminar. Also, CEOs who do not see themselves as faculty or scholars first and administrators second, are theoretically, though not always, less likely to interfere in the curricular process or with the dynamics of academic life than the more traditional CEOs. The latter may remain so preoccupied with issues of the classroom and scholarship that vital external concerns are ignored.

The issue of salaries and benefits, particu-

larly those of university presidents and chancellors, is as complex as the issue of campus culture and social organization. Admittedly, there are those among our ranks who make salaries that challenge both the imagination and reasonable explanation. What is it that Vanderbilt's Joe B. Wyatt did to earn over \$478,000 in 1994-95; or Boston University's John Silber did to merit his \$565,000 that same year? This is probably a rhetorical question. However, these cases are more the exception than the rule and more evident among private institutions than among public (Lively, 1996: A35).

According to the most recent data available on the annual incomes of CEOs at colleges and universities in America, the median salary for all chief executives of single institutions is \$114,298 (*Chronicle of Higher-Education Almanac*, 1996: 23). This figure is approximately 28 percent higher than the average salary of the typical full professor (see below). In addition, it is true, most university presidents or chancellors have the use of a rent-free home and frequently a car that is more often than not provided by a local car dealer.

Are these salaries deserved? The answer to that will always be the result of a subjective judgement. However, there are demands on the life, time, and resources of a university CEO which other members of the academic community do not have to face. Presidents or chancellors live in glass cages. Their homes are really not theirs. They have virtually no privacy, unless they get out of town. There are luncheons, dinners, and receptions; and hundreds of people, some of them strangers, traipse through the house to be feted, fed, libated, and entertained. The telephone is a constant source of anxiety; it can ring at any hour of the day or night to herald the latest emergency, the newest

Again, who is an administrator and who is not? And, if this line is not clear, how can the lines of conflict or class distinction be clear?
(Blanchard)

crisis requiring immediate attention. Travel is also a necessary part of the job; and invariably it is not the type of travel one would chose. And always there are pressures from governing boards, politicians, local businesses, parents, and everyone else who has an ax to grind with the university. Being a college CEO is a full-time, around-the-clock responsibility. It is demanding, stressful, and not a job that many of us in higher education would chose, regardless of the perks. I would argue that in most cases, the salaries and benefits attendant to the role of university president or chancellor are not that out of line and generally reflect the demands of the position.

I think, also, it is not fair to focus on university CEOs or other high echelon administrators when discussing salary inequities in higher education. What about the many coaches who command salaries larger than that of their CEOs? The most notable among recent cases is that of Steve Spurrier, the football coach at the University of Florida, who makes an annual salary over four times that of the university's long-time president John Lombardi. And, what about the occasional deans, research professors, or distinguished scholars whose salaries are sometimes larger than those of their president or chancellor. Again, citing figures from the *Chronicle of Higher Education Almanac* (1996:23), the median salary of a medical school dean in 1995-96 was \$201,000. For law school deans it was \$141,000. The dean of the business school at the University of Alabama had a salary last year that made him the highest paid public official in the state. On the other hand, the median salary of fine arts deans was only \$72,000, and for chief academic officers that figure is \$86,500. At the same time, the average salary in 1995-96 for full professors at all colleges and universities in the country with academic rank was \$65,400. When that nine-month salary is annualized, it amounts to almost \$82,000. Theoretically, full professors who had full-time summer con-

tracts that year made more than the median fine arts dean. And there are faculty and administrators who have outside consulting interests that sometimes double or triple the salaries they receive from the state. Whether justified or not, salary inequity cuts across the entire campus.

I agree with Baer that there are serious cases of salary inequity on many public university campuses. Indeed, there are places where salaries and benefits attendant to particular persons or positions are embarrassingly out of line. However, these are exceptions and not always associated with persons in the high echelon of administration. For that reason, I think we need to address ourselves to particular inequities and be careful about generalizing the problem across a particular category of university administrators so as to foster unnecessary divisiveness between faculty and its leadership.

The Dilemma of Adjunct Exploitation

I suspect there are few university administrators across the country who would argue with Baer's (1996:21) assertion that temporary and part-time instructors are being abused by the system. I am not certain, however, that all would agree that the trend to employ more adjuncts is "part and parcel of the 'deprofessionalization' or 'proletarianization' of academics" (Baer, 1996:21). While the process may lend itself to that, I think the growth of the adjunct and part-time ranks across the country is initially an unfortunate but logical response to the economic uncertainties that plague public higher education. It is also a mechanism for protecting tenure and the future of those who hold tenured positions. Certainly, in the best of all possible worlds, all faculty positions would be full-time, tenure-track positions and no classes would be taught by part-time or temporary (not to include visiting professors) instructors. I cannot imagine any responsible administrator suggesting otherwise. Having full-time faculty who are pro-

ductive scholars, actively engaged in the life of the local community, and committed to the long-term well-being of the university is critical to institutional health. It is rare that part-time or temporary instructors, regardless of their credentials, can bring these things to the university. However, having only a full-time, tenure-track faculty is today a luxury that no public university can afford.

State funding for higher education is becoming increasingly unpredictable. Even when state tax revenues are up, higher education may not be viewed as a priority. Budgets may fluctuate from one year to the next by as much as 20 percent. Personnel costs, specifically faculty salaries and benefits, are far and away the largest budget item on a college campus. When a university faces a budget deficit, it usually has no choice but to reduce its budget for faculty salaries. Sometimes this means simply not filling selected open positions. In others, it means not renewing the contracts of temporary faculty or hiring part-time instructors. Under worse conditions it means releasing untenured, tenure-track faculty. In the worse case scenario programs are eliminated because of financial exigency, and tenured faculty are released. Whether we like it or not, temporary and part-time faculty provide a buffer that helps a university ride out rough financial times and minimizes the likelihood that the institution will have to release tenure-track or tenured faculty.

There are those in positions of leadership in higher education who see the elimination of tenure as the answer to this dilemma. If an institution were not committed to individual faculty beyond the end of an annual contract, most - if not all - faculty could be hired to full-time positions. When the hard times came, institutions could then make selective cuts from among its ranks, in most cases reducing teaching staff in those areas of low enrollment and protecting those in areas of high enrollment. I really do not think that is in the best

interest of higher education and certainly not in the best interest of today's tenured faculty. Perhaps institutions can do a better job of compensating its temporary instructors and hastening the process by which they join the ranks of the permanent faculty. However, until someone can come up with a workable solution to the problem of budget uncertainties, I think we are stuck with this dilemma.

The Need for a Pro-Active Academic Community

I think most members of the academic community would agree that the times demand more than ever that we speak out, work to educate the public, and reassert ourselves as intellectual and moral leaders rather than followers. But we can only do this if we work together as a total campus community, creating an atmosphere in which all parties have a sense of ownership, share a common set of academic values, and feel they are part of the teaching enterprise. For this reason, I see as counterproductive Baer's (1996:22) call to action in which he avers that "Faculty need to become more pro-active in challenging the tripartite structure of the academy." The idea that by dividing ourselves into three, somewhat artificial groups, and then duking it out, we save public higher education seems unpromising at best. Such divisiveness can only work against the climate of community needed to protect the ideological independence and integrity of the public university. Attack individual problems; yes. Attack some hypothetical socioeconomic class system; no.

Nevertheless, I agree with Baer's (1996:22) admonition that anthropologists should devote more attention to the study of higher education and its culture. In addition, I think higher education is well served by having anthropologists in positions of administrative responsibility. To the detriment of public higher education, anthropolo-

See BLANCHARD next page

gists have all too often viewed such positions as tainted, pure bureaucracy, and beneath the dignity of real scholars. Interestingly enough, it can be argued that anthropology is a paradigm for the nature and structure of public higher education in the 21st century. The discipline's focus on diversity; its eclecticism, and its commitment to a healthy balance between science and humanism provides an important critical perspective on higher education as an institution that can foster fundamental democratic values in a world of conflicting cultures, competing ideologies, and technology that is evolving at supersonic speeds. It is a time for anthropologists to step forward and replace rhetoric with action.

Whatever form of leadership we as anthropologist pursue, I think it is critical that on each of our respective campuses we spend less time focusing on the issues that divide members of the academic community and more time looking for common ground. This is the real challenge for public higher education.

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Winning Entry 1997 SAS Undergraduate Student Paper Competition

Anencephaly and Spina Bifida Among the Guatemalan-Maya of South Florida: An Evaluation of the Culturally Relevant Risk Factors and an Overview of the Role of the Anthropologist

by **Melissa Mayo**

Florida Atlantic University

Introduction

Birth defects are the leading cause of infant mortality in the United States (Lynberg et al., 1990). Anencephaly and spina bifida, collectively referred to as neural tube defects (NTDs), usually occur within the first month of pregnancy and are among the more fatal of all birth defects. Anencephaly is the partial or total absence of the baby's brain. Anencephalic babies are usually stillborn; those that are born alive die soon after birth (Jorde 1983). Spina bifida occurs when there is an opening in the spinal column through which the spinal cord protrudes. Although this condition can be remedied through surgery, "20-50% die before the age of five" (Jorde 1983:23). Despite research to determine the potential factors contributing to the prevalence of neural tube defects, definite causes have yet to be identified. Moreover, current evidence supports a multifactorial etiology for this group of defects" (Sever 1995:165), namely, deficient nutrition (in particular, folic acid deficiency) and the occupational risk of chemical exposure among farm and industry workers.

Between 1993 and 1996, the Guatemalan-Maya immigrant community of Palm Beach County, Florida, predominately in and around Lake Worth and numbering approximately 12,000-15,000 persons, has experienced an

increased occurrence of neural tube defects (as well as other birth defects). While research to determine the cause — or combination of causes — is still in the early stages, the suggested multifactorial, etiology necessitates an investigation of possible links between cultural practices and disease.

This paper examines the Guatemalan-Maya diet and nutrition beliefs and the occupational role of farm worker to determine if these are associated with the occurrence of neural tube defects. This paper further seeks to demonstrate the application of anthropology by outlining roles for the anthropologist in the development and implementation of programs for researching and evaluating potential causal agents and in the development and implementation of culturally sensitive programs aimed at the prevention of NTDS. The goal is that these preliminary findings will assist in recognizing the etiology and reducing the occurrence of neural tube defects in the Guatemalan-Maya immigrant community.

Demographics

Among the Guatemalan-Maya population of Lake Worth, "out of a total of 450 births to clients of the Guatemalan-Maya Center, there have been four cases of neural tube defects and fourteen cases of birth defects excluding NTDS" (Jaime Zapata, personal communication). This is equivalent to 88.9 occurrences of neural tube defects per 10,000

births and 311.1 overall birth defects, excluding NTDS, per 10,000 births. Although this corresponds to the rate of 90 NTDs per 10,000 births in Guatemala (San Martin 1996: 10A), when compared to rates for various groups in the United States, it is exceedingly high.

Among most populations in the United States, the rates of anencephaly are usually between 2.1 and 4.4 cases per 10,000 births; the rates of spina bifida are usually between 1.8 and 5.9 cases per 10,000 births (Table 1). While rates of anencephaly and spina bifida among Guatemalans are unquestionably high in comparison to other populations, for the purposes of this paper it was not necessary (or prudent) to draw conclusions regarding or based on the statistical data. What does seem necessary (and important), however, is a reliable method for assessing the potential causes of neural tube defects overall, and in particular among the Guatemalan-Maya immigrants of the Lake Worth community.

Diet and Nutrition

A diet rich in nutrients, especially folic acid, before and during pregnancy is believed to be one of the most basic ways in which the occurrence of neural tube defects can be reduced (Sever 1995; Harris and Shaw 1995). Perceptions of what constitutes a healthy diet as well as the differential availability, use, and distribution of food items within the household are prime determinants of an individual's nutritional status. In Guatemala, corn, often made into tortillas or tamales, and beans are the staples of the traditional diet which also includes a variety of other foods. "Tortillas are eaten at every meal, accompanied by greens, beans, chili,

soup or stew, cheese, eggs, meat or fish, depending on availability and affordability" (Scrimshaw and Cosminsky 1991:64). Tomatoes, onions, chili peppers, and herbs are added to foods to provide flavor (Scrimshaw and Cosminsky 1991). Other

foods frequently eaten include fruits, vegetables, wheat bread, rice, pasta, coffee and white sugar, which is preferred over brown sugar (Scrimshaw and Cosminsky 1991). Despite this apparently healthful assortment of pabulum, cultural norms, operating independent of fluctuations in

obtainability, govern the manner in which certain foods are preferred or avoided and appropriately distributed within the household.

Throughout much of Central and South America, most foods, beverages, herbs, medicines and bodily states and illnesses are classified as either hot or cold (Cosminsky 1994; Currier 1966). "This classification is usually independent of such observable characteristics as form, color, texture, and physical temperature, rather, it is descriptive of the effects which a substance is thought to have upon the human body" (Currier 1966:251). Cosminsky's research on pregnancy and childbirth in Guatemala reveals that "a pregnant woman is considered to be in a very hot state Her excess heat makes her vulnerable to attacks of cold, and too great a contrast, as well as too much of one quality, is considered dangerous" (1994:201). Dietary restrictions are not typically imposed upon a pregnant woman so long as she is healthy; should she become ill, however, she would be advised by the midwife to avoid certain foods (Cosminsky 1994). Cosminsky relays, "one midwife said that if a woman has colic or aire, which are cold illnesses, she should not eat greens, eggs, or beans since these

cold foods will make her worse and may harm the fetus" (1994:201). In actuality, these restrictions could pose a potential threat to the fetus by reducing the frequency and quantity of foods high in folic acid (and other nutrients) that a pregnant woman ingests.

Intrahousehold Food Distribution and Folic Acid Intake

The differential distribution of food to male and female members within the household is another factor which may influence a woman's intake of foods rich in folic acid and other nutrients. Scrimshaw and Cosminsky, during their study of food-procurement on a Guatemalan finca (plantation), found that "the food intake of women differs somewhat from that of men. Women consumed meat, eggs, and cheese less frequently and their servings were smaller; however, women did eat more greens and other vegetables" (1991:73). Although they note that, in their study population, nutritional and caloric intake deficiencies did exist among pregnant and lactating women, they did not attribute these deficiencies to food distribution practices, nor was it mentioned that folic acid levels were below recommended allowances (1991:73). Similar distribution practices were observed by Shotland in a study carried out among migrant populations in South Florida and Virginia (1989). Consistently, females were more likely than males to have intakes below the Recommended Daily Allowance for all but one of the nutrients examined; folic acid levels, however, were not analyzed in this study (Shotland 1989).

Regarding folic acid levels, Harris and Shaw make reference to the preliminary findings of a nutritional survey of toddlers and pregnant women in a village in Mexico which showed that "Mexican dietary intake of foliate may be generally adequate" (1995:163). Although direct implications for folic acid intake among Guatemalan immigrants cannot be deduced from a

study of Mexicans, parallels in the types of foods consumed suggest that similar findings are a possibility.

More importantly, however, these studies support previous findings that the protective effects of folic acid prior to conception and early in gestation tend to vary among populations in the prevention of neural tube defects (NTDS) (Sever 1995). A similar study was carried out among an Anglo population and a California Latina population of Mexican descent. Results indicated that while the Anglo population experienced a reduced risk for NTDS, "a similar risk reduction was not apparent among the California Latina population, indicating that foliate may not protect against NTDs among populations of Mexican descent" (Harris and Shaw 1995:163). Although similarities between Mexican and Guatemalan populations can provide the basis for speculation on the preventive role and effectiveness of folic acid, extensive research into the potential etiologies of neural tube defects among the Guatemalan-Maya population — information which currently seems to be nonexistent — is essential before conclusions can be drawn. Moreover, the immigrant status of the Guatemalan-Maya population of South Florida and the nutritional and health problems implicit in the designation of immigrant must be addressed in research that seeks to identify the potential etiologies of neural tube defects for this population.

Parasitic Infection and Nutrition

Another important consideration in the assessment of nutritional status is the incidence of intestinal parasitic infestation which tends to be more prevalent among immigrant populations than among the general populace (Shotland 1989). "The physiological toll of this condition, especially upon nutritional status, can be tremendous, rendering an adequate diet insufficient for the individual to maintain positive nutrient or energy balance" (Shotland

This paper examines the Guatemalan-Maya diet and nutrition beliefs and the occupational role of farm worker to determine if these are associated with the occurrence of neural tube defects.

1989:75). Thus, regardless of actual nutrient intake, an individual with intestinal parasites is likely to suffer from malnutrition (Shotland 1989). In turn, "malnutrition, via its effects on the detoxifying ability of the maternal or fetal liver, may contribute to prenatal susceptibility to pesticide injury" (Sesline and Jackson 1994:238). Because of their detrimental effect on nutrient utilization, testing for intestinal parasites should be included as part of the nutritional status assessment.

Anthropological Praxis: Diet and Nutrition

In the assessment of the nutritional status of Guatemalan-Maya immigrants, the anthropologist would be involved in the collection, analyses, and interpretation of food consumption data compiled through interviews with adult members of a sample of households and with staff members at the Guatemalan-Maya Center. The interviews would consist mainly of open-ended questions dealing not only with the types and quantities of foods consumed, but also with specific dietary practices of pregnant women and women of childbearing age. An analysis, by a nutritionist, of the nutrient content of the foods reported would enable deficiencies to be detected. The questions are also aimed at attaining an understanding of the culturally relative perceptions of what constitutes a healthy diet both in general and with regard to pregnant women. Inclusion of these perceptions is essential for a comprehensive evaluation of nutritional health. Moreover, understanding these perceptions will provide program coordinators with information to develop a culturally sensitive program for nutrition education should any deficiencies be discovered. In such a situation, the anthropologist would be directly involved in the development and implementation of the program to insure its applicability to and acceptance by the Guatemalan-Maya immigrant community.

Farm work and Chemical Exposure

Exposure to chemicals such as those found in pesticides, herbicides, and fungicides is also believed to contribute to the occurrence of neural tube defects; existing evidence, however, is not conclusive. The primary reason for this is inadequate methods for exposure-risk assessment (Sever 1995). It is difficult, if not impossible, to ascertain, often in retrospect, the extent of maternal and/or paternal exposure to a specific chemical agent and the effect of that exposure (Sever 1995; Sesline and Jackson 1994). While studies thus far have "tended to focus on exposures of pregnant women during sensitive periods early in embryogenesis, the growing evidence for paternally mediated developmental effects strongly suggests that exposures of both parents need to be taken into account" (Sever 1995). Moreover, "most studies relating reproductive toxicity to pesticides involve occupational, environmental, and ecologic studies often involving populations exposed to more than one pesticide in which the actual magnitude of exposure to individuals is unknown" (Sesline and Jackson 1994:236). Consequently, adverse effects resulting from chronic, low-level exposure to certain chemicals are likely to escape detection or be misattributed to more obvious teratogenic substances (Sever 1995; Rust 1990). In Florida, this problem is exacerbated by the fact that although "farmers are required to keep records of the pesticides they use for up to two years, they are not required to report usage to the state. Thus, the state must rely on voluntary surveys, the response rate for which has been poor" (San Martin 1996:11A).

A large number of Guatemalan-Maya immigrants in the Lake Worth area work in crop fields as farm workers or in plant nurseries (San Martin 1996). This occupation places them at an increased risk of chemical exposure in the form of insecticides, herbicides, and fungicides, various types of which have been listed by the U.S. Environmental Protection Agency as having terato-

genic consequences (Sesline and Jackson 1994); some of these are being used in Florida (Florida Agricultural Statistics Service 1993). Because of the prevalence of neural tube defects within the Guatemalan-Maya community, there is an urgent need to thoroughly assess the extent of exposure and the dangers associated with different levels of exposure. To be most accurate and meaningful, this information needs to be detailed at the individual level.

Anthropological Praxis: Farm work and Chemical Exposure

The anthropologist, by developing a system for recording daily work related exposure to potentially hazardous chemicals, would be contributing to the task of identifying those chemicals suspected as causing (in specific cases) neural tube defects. The Work Related Exposure Log (see Figure 1 below) would be filled out daily by each individual who performs work in crop fields or nurseries, for every day that work is performed. To make the system as simple and accurate as possible, the criteria headings would be pre-typed so that only short, concise responses would need to be recorded. To facilitate the implementation of the Work Related Exposure Log, the anthropologist would work with staff members of the Guatemalan-Maya Center to translate the form into the appropriate indigenous languages and demonstrate how to fill it out. This data recording system will not provide an explanation for prior cases of neural tube defects, nor will it provide all possible explanations for future cases; it will, however, assist in limiting the scope of probable etiologies by providing a detailed work-related chemical exposure history for both parents. Hence, by cross referencing this data to the pesticide usage records of farmers for a specified time frame, research efforts will be more focused and more successful in determining causal agents, mitigation of which can lead to a reduction in the occurrence of neural tube

defects.

Conclusion

Because prevailing evidence "supports a multifactorial etiology" (Sever 1995) for anencephaly and spina bifida, it is vitally important to consider the possible causes not only individually but also in terms of how they relate to each other to increase the susceptibility and probability for the occurrence of neural tube defects. Sever recommends analyzing anencephaly and spina bifida separately so as not to "obscure the possibility of important etiologic differences between the two" (1995). Frequently mentioned as factors linked to neural tube defects, more research must be focused on the effects of poor nutrition, emphasizing the role of folic acid as a possible preventative, and on exposure to teratogenic chemicals such as pesticides. Within the Guatemalan-Maya community, in particular, the anthropologist would be an asset to research endeavors by providing an understanding of relevant cultural beliefs and practices that may increase the risk of having a child with a neural tube defect. Anthropological knowledge would be invaluable to gaining an understanding of the cultural perceptions of health and nutrition, both in general and in particular among pregnant women and women of childbearing age, that underlie observable practices. The anthropologist would foster the implementation of programs that would not undermine cultural beliefs and norms, but rather would function in cooperation with them to insure their applicability, acceptance, and use. Moreover, the anthropologist would endeavor to identify the specific teratogenic chemicals responsible for neural tube defects within the Guatemalan Maya community by initiating the implementation of the Work Related Exposure Log. This represents but a fraction of the work and research that is needed if the etiology of neural tube defects is to be uncovered. It is hoped that the efforts of all those involved, as well as the potential contributions of

TABLE 1. Rates of Major congenital malformations, by race/ethnicity, United States, 1981-1986

| Malformation* | Rates** | | | | |
|----------------------------------|------------|-------------|------------------|------------|------------|
| | Blacks | Hispanics | American Indians | Asians | Whites |
| Anencephaly | 2.1 | 4.4 | 3.6 | 4.4 | 3.0 |
| Spina bifida without anencephaly | 3.3 | 5.9 | 4.1 | 1.8 | 5.1 |
| TOTAL | 5.4 | 10.3 | 7.7 | 6.2 | 8.1 |

* By organ and/or system.

** Per 1 0,000 total births.

Source: Chavez et al. 1988:19

the anthropologist, will result in the reduced occurrence of neural tube defects.

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Figure 1. Work Related Exposure Log

| Name: | | | | | | | |
|-----------------------------------|-----------------|-----------------|------------------|--------------------|-------------------|-----------------|-------------------|
| | Sunday Date: | Monday Date: | Tuesday Date: | Wednesday Date: | Thursday Date: | Friday Date: | Saturday Date: |
| Employer | | | | | | | |
| Work Location | | | | | | | |
| Type of crop/nursery | | | | | | | |
| # hours in field | | | | | | | |
| Work Activity | | | | | | | |
| harvesting | | | | | | | |
| weeding | | | | | | | |
| other | | | | | | | |
| Condition of Field | | | | | | | |
| in field while sprayed | | | | | | | |
| wet pesticide residue | | | | | | | |
| pesticide odor (slight/strong) | | | | | | | |
| other (explain) | | | | | | | |
| Adverse effects | | | | | | | |
| Nausea | | | | | | | |
| Dizziness | | | | | | | |
| Headache | | | | | | | |
| Skin irritation/Rash | | | | | | | |
| Other (explain) | | | | | | | |

Winning Entry 1997 SAS Graduate Student Paper Competition

**Ongi Etorri, Euskaldunak! (Welcome Basque People!):
The Basque Lodging House as a Cultural "Place"**

by John Dwight Hines
Louisiana State University

Basque-Americans had learned the hard way to limit expressions of their heritage to the privacy of the home or the semiprivate context of the Basque hotels found in towns of the sheep-raising districts.

W.A. Douglass in the preface of Robert
Laxalt's *Sweet Promised Land*.

...the Basque hotel was bizarre. As one entered the front door there was the incommunicable feeling of things rich and delightfully foreign...

R.L. Pruett in *Scarf Cloud*

The Basques in North America

In the 1850s many Basques came to the United States seeking the riches that the California gold rush promised. Initially these men came not directly from the Basque provinces of southwestern France and northeastern Spain but from previously established enclaves in the South American countries of Uruguay, Argentina, and Chile.

Soon after their arrival, however, the Basques realized there were greater economic opportunities working for the gold camps than in them. For this reason many switched to occupations in the sheep industry.

Of the Basques who came by way of South America, many had experience in the establishment of the sheep industry of the Pampas of Uruguay and Argentina in the 1830s and the 1840s. The system developed there, of the herded, open-range grazing of large bands of sheep, was easily adaptable to the climate and landscape of California (Douglass and Bilbao 1975).

The Basques who owned sheep during this era

raised them on the abundant public lands of California's San Joaquin Valley and Sierra Nevada. The majority of the immigrant Basques however became herders; employees of other, more established, sheep owners. Quickly the reputation spread of the Basques' dependability at the lonely and difficult job of sheepherding. This, along with the booming sheep industry, caused a great demand for Basque sheepherders. More and more relatives and friends of the Basques already in the California followed from South America and Europe in a pattern of chain migration. Soon, by the first half of this century, to say sheepherder in California was to mean Basque (Douglass and Bilbao 1975).

Throughout California there soon developed Basque communities. Towns such as Fresno, Bakersfield, Los Angeles, and San Francisco all had sizable Basque populations by the early 1870s (Paquette 1982; Eagle 1979; Decroos 1980).

Most of the Basques who came after the initial rush arrived from Europe with the idea of working for a few years and returning with their wages earned sheepherding. Some, however, entertained

grander plans of owning their own bands and reaping even bigger financial rewards. During the 1860s, because of the availability of free grazing land and the practice by most sheep owners of paying their herders wages in abundant sheep instead of scarce cash, many Basques who came as shepherders were quickly able to become owners.

As a result, by the late 1870s grazing land was so scarce and the sheep bands so concentrated in California that the excess began to spill over the Sierra-Nevada Mountains east into the state of Nevada. In the following decades Basque sheepmen pushed further east and north into Idaho, Utah, and Oregon. Shortly after the turn of the century Basques operated as sheepmen in all eleven Pacific and Rocky Mountain States (Douglass and Bilbao 1975).

Almost everywhere Basques went in the western United States their countrymen opened lodging houses to serve them. Generally this occurred within five years of the formation of a Basque community (Douglass and Bilbao 1975).

Basque lodging houses, which are more commonly referred to as Basque hotels (Douglass 1979; Echeverria 1988), took many forms in their various locales. Some were private homes, others were public boarding houses, still others were traditional hotels. Despite these variations, however, based on the experience they provided their patrons, the Basque lodging houses formed a collective. By allowing Basques the opportunity to meet and interact the lodging houses distinguished themselves from other places in the American West.

The above mentioned California communities all had one, if not several, Basque lodging houses at one time or another. So too did the towns of Reno, Elko, and Ely, Nevada; Boise, Idaho; and Salt Lake

City, Utah to name only a few.

The relationship between the Basque-owned lodging houses of one such Basque community, that of Buffalo, Johnson County, Wyoming, is the

primary focus of this paper. The discussion of Basque lodging houses in Buffalo will be broken into three stages each related to the different lodging houses which operated there. Also an attempt will be made to correlate this situation with the larger context of Basque hotels and communities

throughout the American West from the 1860's to the present.

It is the thesis of this paper that Basque hotels, due to their ubiquity and practicality, became informal institutions within the Basque communities of the western United States. These establishments served the clientele, which until recently was almost exclusively Basque, in both practical and social ways. In so doing the Basque hotel became a cultural "place" for Basque-Americans.

Johnson county and its Basque community

Johnson County is located in north-central Wyoming. It encompasses a transition zone between the high plains, which cover the eastern half of the state, and the Rocky Mountains, which cover (in various ranges) the western half. The plains portion of the county is referred to as Powder River Basin for the principal river of the area. The mountains are called the Big Horns.

The plains of Johnson County vary in elevation from over 5,000 feet on the eastern edge of the basin, which corresponds roughly to the eastern political border of the county, to just over 4,000 feet at the base of the mountains. The mountains, the crest of which form the western political boundary of the county, rise to over 13,000 feet on Cloud

By allowing Basques the opportunity to meet and interact the lodging houses distinguished themselves from other places in the American West.

Peak.

The definitive climatic feature of this area, part of the northern Great Plains ecosystem, is its aridity (Webb 1931). Most of the arable land of northeast Wyoming receives less than thirteen inches of precipitation per year. In addition, the yearly totals vary greatly and the majority of the precipitation comes in the form of snow during the non-growing months of December, January, and February.

Understandably, in such environs agriculture is precarious. In fact it is only attempted on a small scale in the limited area of the county irrigated from the streams which drain east from the mountains. Even then the production is of corn and alfalfa for hay which can be used for additional fodder for livestock to supplement grazing during the winter months.

While the county is limited for crop production, the natural grasses of the plains, such as gama, blue joint, buffalo and bunch provide excellent feed for cattle and sheep (Rollins 1951). This fact has been realized since the first herds of Texas cattle pushed into the area in the 1870s. Sheep followed in the 1880s, and the major economic pursuit of the region was established.

The proximity of the mountains provide the pastoralists of Johnson County with convenient summer feed for cattle and sheep. Early in the Euro-American occupation of the area a system of transhumance developed whereby flocks and herds were driven from the plains in the spring to summer high on alpine pastures until the coming of fall forced them to return to lower elevations.

The patterns of livestock production, particularly of sheep, which developed over a century ago, remain largely unchanged today. Johnson County today produces the most sheep of any county in Wyoming (Wyoming Agricultural Statistics Service 1996).

Buffalo, Wyoming is the county seat of Johnson County, having roughly 3,000 inhabitants. It is the

largest town in the county. It is the main commercial and social center for the surrounding area.

It was to this area that Jean Esponda came in 1902. Esponda was the first Basque of what was to become by mid-century a vibrant ethnic community where the high plains meet the mountains (Griggs 1942).

Esponda came to herd sheep for the Healy-Patterson partnership, at the time the largest sheep outfit in northeast Wyoming. A French-Basque, from the town of Biagorry, Nafarroa-Beherea (Basse-Navarre), Esponda had just completed a six-month visit to the Basque Country before he wound up in Johnson County (Douglass and Bilbao 1975).

Originally Esponda had intended to return to California from Europe. He had previously spent several years in California herding sheep and also running a dairy (Douglass and Bilbao 1975). During his transcontinental voyage, however, Esponda met the foreman for Healy-Patterson who convinced him to come to work for them.

From those humble beginnings, the Basque colony of Buffalo became a thriving one by the start of the Second World War. This dramatic rise in population and financial success was promoted by the pattern of chain migration commonly employed by the Basques in the New World. A Basque once settled in his new land, be it Uruguay, Mexico, California, or Johnson County, would call for relatives or friends to work with him, or if he had his own sheep operation, for him. Often times those already here would front the money for passage to the immigrant, who could not afford it himself (Douglass and Bilbao 1975). This process continued well into the 1960s in Johnson County.

The first Basque to join Jean Esponda was his brother Joanes or John, who came in 1904. There followed a series of Basque who came to work first for Healy-Patterson, then for the Esponda Brothers, and then for the other Basques as they acquired sheep and land.

In 1910 there were forty-three Basques residing

in Johnson County (Arrizabalaga 1986). By 1942 one estimate puts the number of Basques in the community at three hundred (Griggs 1942). Today there are roughly one hundred and fifty people of full and partial Basque descent in the area.

Through the pattern of chain migration nearly all of the Basques who came to Johnson County were from the little towns around Jean Esponda's natal village of Biagorry, France. So many, in fact, came from the village of Arneguy that Buffalo was at one time referred to as a colony of that spot (Gachiteguy 1955). A study in the late 1960s established that thirty-four of the thirty-nine first-generation Basques in Buffalo had come from within eight miles of Biagorry (Castelli 1970).

The first stage of Basque lodging houses

In the days of the open range in Wyoming, from the 1870s through the 1960s, sheep-herders worked long days, weeks and even years out on the plains and in the mountains caring for the sheep. Some Basques, reportedly, never left the range once during stays of four or five years in the United States. Others had only their annual week-long vacation in the fall to go to town.

Due to the consolidation of the sheep bands after the sale of the lambs in the fall half as many sheep-herders were needed in the winter as in the summer. Consequently many Basques found themselves unemployed for five months of the year.

It was to the local Basque lodging house that these men usually gravitated in their off-time. Both vacationing and unemployed herders sought the companionship and atmosphere provided by the lodging house. The houses also appealed to the unemployed herders with their generally cheap

room and board and the informal role they often played as employment agencies, acting as brokers between the herders and sheepmen (Douglass 1979; Irigaray and Taylor 1977).

The initial appearance of a Basque lodging house in Johnson County occurred in the late 1920s or early 1930s. The exact date is uncertain because of the informal nature of the establishment.

This first stage in Buffalo was simply the opening of a resident Basque woman's home to boarders on an irregular basis. This lady, Madame Irigaray, was the wife of a local rancher. Both she and her husband were Basques born in Europe. They owned a large house in Buffalo in which they sometimes allowed visitors or out-of-work sheepherders stay.

As mentioned this was all done on an informal level. The vast majority of the patrons were family and

friends. Often, rent was not even charged. Any fees one felt obligated to pay could be worked out in backyard or kitchen labor.

Madame Irigaray, while not a hotel owner per se, still provided a quasi-professional service to the Basque people of the community, the majority of whom were single men, during its early years. This service was invaluable because of the nomadic nature of the sheepherding lifestyle in which most Basques were engaged at the time.

The middle stage of Basque lodging houses

By the middle stage of the lodging house in Buffalo in the 1950s, many Basque men who came as penniless herders had through thrift and fortitude acquired sheep bands of their own. In some cases they also owned land and married (almost exclu-

In a sense lodging houses became a sort of home or encapsulation of the old country. One that served to maintain and even strengthen the ethnic ties and traits of the immigrant Basques by providing them a forum for interaction.

sively to other Basques) and had begun to raise families. These developments--the establishment of a real Basque "community" made up of men, women and families--along with the continued inflow of Old-World Basques gave rise to a vibrant, European-born colony in Johnson County by mid-century. In this situation the Basque lodging house assumed the role of a social hall, in addition to its paternal relationship to recent immigrants. We can also see this transition in Pagliarulo's (1948) study of the Basques of Stockton, California:

"The owner of the hotel acted as a "padrone" and arranged work for them [the immigrant herders] with different sheep owners about the country. As more Basque families became established in Stockton and this locality, the Basque hotel developed into social gathering places" (56).

During this phase the Basque hotel was "the nearest thing to an organization that could be found among the Basque people" (Pagliarulo 1948). Although fraternal organizations and clubs did exist in the larger Basque communities, such as San Francisco (Decroos 1980), this statement is true for the vast majority of the Basques dispersed throughout the rural American West.

At this time the Basque hotels filled the role of restaurant, bar, dance hall (de Alaiza 1977) as well as simply being places to meet a fellow Basque, speak the language of their forefathers, and play a game of mus (a Basque card game much like poker), or pelota (Basque handball).

In a sense lodging houses became a sort of home or encapsulation of the old country. One that served to maintain and even strengthen the ethnic ties and traits of the immigrant Basques by providing them a forum for interaction. Douglass and Bilbao (1975) report Basque sheepherders actually improving their Basque language skills in the lodging houses. In short, lodging houses gave immigrants the context in which to be Basque in

America.

Furthermore, they re-affirmed too the American-born Basque's ties to and knowledge of their Old World culture. As Douglass and Bilbao (1975) put it:

"The hotels gave the Basque-American some semblance of ethnic tradition. Entering a hotel he found an ethnic context in which he was regarded as holding at least some credentials. Here he could practice his incorrect Basque, and converse with herders, thereby becoming somewhat familiar with Old World conditions and concerns. In a very real sense the Basque hotel provided Basque-Americans with a means of recharging their ethnic batteries" (381-382).

The Basque hotel, which one scholar called, "...the single most important Basque institution," (Decroos 1980) occupies a fascinating position in the cultural landscape of the American West. It was at one time perhaps the most tangible display of ethnicity and cultural diversity that ever existed in that region.

In Buffalo the second stage began in the late 1940s when Jon and Maria Bilbao moved to the community and opened a boarding house. The Bilbaos were experienced at operating a boarding house having started the first Basque-owned one in Salt Lake City, Utah. Prior to coming to Wyoming the Bilbaos sold out of the house there and returned to the Basque Country for two years.

Maria Bilbao ran the boarding house professionally. She provided room and board for anyone who sought it. Not many non-Basque ever did. According to her granddaughter Mrs. Bilbao was very loyal to her native land and allowed only Spanish, Basque and French to be spoken in her home. Jon Bilbao passed away in 1959 and Maria kept running the business until her death in 1967.

The layout of the Bilbao's house, which still stands today as a private residence in Buffalo, con-

formed in many ways to the typical form of Basque lodging house. The second story of the house was an open, communal bedroom where all the boarders slept, dormitory style.

At the back of the building was the kitchen and the Bilbao's personal quarters. The rest of the main floor was taken up by the dining room. It was there that meals were taken. All the boarders sat at a long common table. This seating arrangement is seen throughout the lodging houses of the West (Simmons 1971).

After mass on Sunday, during the 1940s and 1950s, which was the height of the Basque community in Johnson County, all the Basques in town--vacationing and out-of-work herders plus families--would go to Senora Bilbao's for dinner. Following the meal they would play cards or go across the street to John Esponda's pelota court. In the evenings there were often dances. Couples would maneuver to the sounds of an accordion or the house's player piano.

During this time as the Basque community grew so too did the lodging house. As the community expanded and matured to include both families and single men the lodging house developed into a social center. In so doing it provided the one real place where Basques could interact socially on a daily or weekly basis in truly familiar and "Basque" ways.

The third stage of Basque lodging houses

On summer nights during the 1970s Mrs. Madeline Harriet would lean out of the second-story window of the Hotel Idlewild in downtown Buffalo and converse with those who passed by on the street below. Couples out for a walk, drunks stumbling out of the bar, families taking the evening air, all were fair game for Mrs. Harriet, an accomplished conversationalist and a renowned gossip.

The very fact that to obtain conversation Mrs. Harriet, a second-generation Basque-American, had to lean from the window of the hotel she operated

with her husband is telling of the state of the Basque community and its lodging house at the time. Her Basque hotel, unlike the boarding houses which had gone before, had no dining room or even a sizeable lobby in which the Basque could meet and interact.

In the late 1950s Mrs. Harriet and her husband, Simon, purchased the Hotel Idlewild. It did not, however, assume the role of the community's third and final Basque lodging house until the late 1960s with the passing of Mrs. Bilbao and the closing of her house.

In the case of other Basque hotels throughout the West many perpetuated the home-like services of the boarding houses such as communal dining and entertainment. In other instances, such as in Buffalo, the hotel became simply one frequented and owned by Basque-Americans with no significant contribution to the social interaction of the community.

The Hotel Idlewild was constructed at the turn of the century as a bank. It had no kitchen facilities. For nearly thirty years the Harriets ran the Idlewild as just a hotel with no board provided. Being Basque themselves they, largely but not exclusively, attracted a Basque clientele, especially after the passing of Mrs. Bilbao and the closing of her boarding house. In 1996 the Harriets sold the Idlewild closing the era of the Basque lodging houses in Johnson County.

Final discussion and conclusion

The third (and final) incarnation of the Basque hotel in Buffalo, Wyoming conforms only nominally to the last stage experienced in the progression of Basque hotels elsewhere in the American West. Generally the trend was for boarding houses to come out of private residences (Dunn 1972) and then give way to actual hotels (Douglass and Bilbao 1975).

In Buffalo, Madame Irigaray's home served the community until Senora Bilbao's boarding house established a more formal but still intimate setting

for its members. In the second transition from boarding house to actual hotel however the Buffalo example deviated from the general model. Elsewhere in the West, when the true hotels took over from the boarding houses they perpetuated, to a certain extent, the informality of the former. This was achieved by providing food and a gathering site for Basques.

The Idlewild, although physically a true hotel and actually run by Basques, was not a Basque lodging house in a strict sense. By not having a kitchen and a comfortable meeting place, it was merely a spot to sleep for the Basques who still used it. It did not contribute in any appreciable way to the solidarity of the Basque community. In addition, without food service the Idlewild was unable to remake itself into a tourist attraction along the lines of other Basque hotels in California and Nevada recently (Douglass and Bilbao 1975; Simmons 1971).

In sum, the Basque lodging house, in addition to providing the basic human comfort of food and shelter, was an important center for the identification of Old- and New-World born Basque-Americans with a common Basque cultural heritage. Because of their near exclusive involvement in the sheep industry, the lodging house was an especially strong factor in the maintenance of ethnicity and of group identity among the Basques. It is for these reasons that the lodging house can be seen as a cultural place for Basque-Americans.

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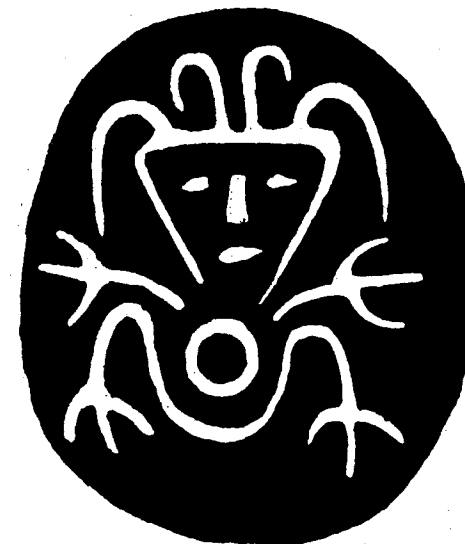
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POLO

with apologies to Walt



HMM! HERE'S A TITLE FOR YOU!" Female audience reactions to extreme midsection musculoskeletal movements on the part of selected male performers."

I STILL SAY WITH SEX WE NEED MORE TALK AN' LESS ACTION!

I GOT A SOFT SPOT IN MY HEART FOR ELVIS! HE DID A SONG 'BOUT A 'HOWN' DOG!



SPEAKIN' OF ELVIS, ISN'T HE VISITIN' THE SWAMP NOW?

DID SOMEBODY SAY SOMETHING ABOUT ELVES? WE WERE ON OUR WAY TO NEVER NEVER LAND IN WASHINGTON D.C!



The James Mooney Award Winner was announced at the 1997 meetings, and is:

Choctaw Genesis, 1500-1700 by Patricia Galloway

Indians of the Southeast Series
ISBN N 0-8032-2151-7 cloth
LCCN: 95-001659
University of Nebraska Press

Dr Galloway was unable to attend the meetings to accept the award in person, but sent the following acceptance note:

I am especially honored by this award because I know it is given by scholars who are really familiar with the region and subject matter. The references for "Choctaw Genesis," in fact, mention several SAS Proceedings volumes, which testifies to the ongoing contributions of the society and its relevance to the work of the specialists in the anthropology of the region. Of course, I thank my publisher and editor, but I also want to thank the members of the Southern Anthropological Society, without whose past work this book could not have been written.

A full announcement from the publisher should be in the next issue of the Southern Anthropologist; stay tuned for that information!