

# Southern Anthropologist



Volume 24, No. 2, Fall 1997

## Southern Anthropologist

David M Johnson, Editor in Chief  
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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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**Joint:** \$40.00 (Joint members receive only one copy of the Proceedings)

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David M Johnson

## Editor's Corner

Welcome to the Fall issue of the *Southern Anthropologist*. 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

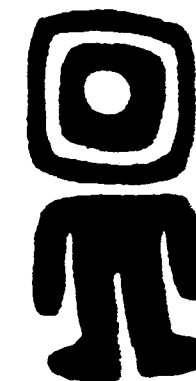
The lead article in this issue continues the discussion about "The Tripartite Division of Labor in U S Higher Education" that Hans Baer and Kendall Blanchard have traded words over; this issue's article is from John Studstill, who is "in the trenches" so to speak and gives his take(s) on the matter. The floor is still open for others who wish to write in!

The feature articles are from the spring meetings; Amanda Meadows provides us with an analysis of high school football, entitled "Not Just a Game: High School Football and Social Stratification in the Rural South," which continues my editorial focus on articles that apply an anthropological lens to contemporary American scenes. In addition, Mike

Angrosino gives his report, "Among the Savage Anthros," on the SAS Oral History project that he directed and which wraps up our coverage of the Society's 30th anniversary bash held last year.

This issue also includes the Minutes and Financial Report from the Spring meetings, for those of you who were elsewhere at the time or want your memories refreshed.

The Humor back page contains an apocryphal letter that our ace writer-turned-folklore-collector Herman Nooticks claims to have located at a state insinuation of higher education; read it at your own risk.



### The Wilmington meetings

Please note the announcement about the upcoming Spring 1998 SAS meetings in Wilmington early in this issue; the dates are 26-28 March, and if you don't have time to read about them, point your Web browser to: [HTTP://](http://www.people.memphis.edu/~tcollins/SAS)

[www.people.memphis.edu/~tcollins/SAS](http://www.people.memphis.edu/~tcollins/SAS) and do your registration, reservations, and etc. from the web site.

### The future

The Spring 1998 issue will cover material from the meetings in Atlanta, plus a feature article on the asset-based community analysis/action research done at Memphis. When the SAS web page is up and running,

I hope to be able to publish some or all of the issues there.

If you have other articles you think I might be interested in, please contact me; see below for ways to do this! (and note my new email address)

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@ncat.edu (please note that the university has changed my address since the last issue!)

(3) My email "handle" to home is: gigabyte@nr.infi.net

(4) Office FAX number (910) 334-7197

(5) Surface mail:

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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 (even with electronics files, which can disappear into "Bye Bye Byteland" at any time! )

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

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

## President's Column

### Susan Keefe

### Revitalization for SAS in the new Millenium

I am in the midst of my first semester off in over a decade. It leads to stock-taking, especially when one is approaching the half-century mark! I think SAS is also at a cross-roads. We are entering an era of expanding professional boundaries as more and more anthropologists begin to practice outside the academy. Students are often bewildered at the range of alternatives after graduation with a degree in anthropology and are looking for role models in their search for a career. The field of anthropology has become more complex and specialized (some would say splintered), and there is a multitude of organizations and journals competing for our attention. How do we begin to make sense of it all?

I suggest part of the solution lies in the human instinct to come together as a community. A community is a place where a sense of unity comes out of diversity. It is a place where new members can learn from veterans. In communities, we gather together to share, discuss, argue, appreciate, and learn. Community requires the investment of time and caring. But the rewards are significant.

SAS is our community. And this is an appropriate time to begin thinking about ways in which to maintain and strengthen the organization. Tim Wallace (N C State Univ) is chairing a strategic planning committee for our organization. This committee will be considering ways in which SAS can meet the needs of more anthropologists in the south.

For example, there are hundreds of practicing anthropologists in the south who do not belong to the SAS. Can our organization offer a means of communication and training for practicing anthropologists in the region? Should we begin to highlight the work of practicing anthropologists by creating an annual award? There is an emerging model for the combination of academic/practicing anthropologists in a single regional organization in the Association of North Carolina Anthropologists. I believe we can profit from coming together as a profession.

As another example, one third of our membership is made up of students, both undergraduate and graduate students. What new kinds of services might be

helpful to these students? Are there better ways of encouraging the regular attendance of students from more institutions in the region?

Finally, we must ensure that the Keynote Symposium proceedings, perhaps the most visible and lasting aspect of SAS, remain vital contributions to the profession. The Society has a long tradition of producing good books through the proceedings. I invite you to come forward with proposals for keynote symposia for the meetings in 1999 and 2000.

If you have any ideas you would like to contribute to the planning committee, I

urge you to contact the Chair, Tim Wallace (email: [Tim\\_wallace@ncsu.edu](mailto:Tim_wallace@ncsu.edu)), or me (email: [keefese@conrad.appstate.edu](mailto:keefese@conrad.appstate.edu)). You might also consider making use of the email list-service established by Tim: [NCANTHRO@listserv.ncsu.edu](mailto:NCANTHRO@listserv.ncsu.edu) (see the Spring 1997 newsletter for more details).

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 27599-3410*

### Southern Anthropological Society 1998 Annual Meetings March 25-28, Wilmington N C

#### *Key Symposium:* **Globalism, Capitalism and Community: Local Challenges to the New World Order**

We invite submission of papers and session proposals on any topic, but particularly those related in some way to community research, development and policy. Abstracts for the individual papers or session are due no later than February 12, 1998. Those interested in organizing a session for the meetings are encouraged to contact one of the co-chairs of the program. If possible, you should send abstracts via E-mail and as early as possible. The program schedule will be published via the Meetings Web Page by February 25, 1998. Payment of Meeting registration and membership dues should be mailed to the Program Chairs before this date.

Contact via regular mail:

Tom Collins or John Wingard  
Department of Anthropology  
University of Memphis  
Memphis, TN 381152

See the Meeting Web Site for Registration Forms, Reservations details and Submission Deadlines: [HTTP://www.people.memphis.edu/~tcollins/SAS](http://www.people.memphis.edu/~tcollins/SAS)

#### **Local Arrangements:**

Jim Sabella  
Department of Anthropology  
UNC Wilmington  
Wilmington, N C

#### **Meetings location:**

Wilmington Hilton (910-763-5900)  
Registration fees: \$40 Members  
\$15 Students

#### **Student Paper Competition:**

Students planning on submitting papers for either the graduate or undergraduate competition are urged to contact; Morgan D Maclachlan at the University of South Carolina as soon as possible for details and registration forms.

Telephone: (803) 777-2169

E-mail: [maclachlanm@garnet.cla.sc.edu](mailto:maclachlanm@garnet.cla.sc.edu)

## S A S members invited to join email list-service

by Tim Wallace  
SAS Member at Large

All SAS members are invited to join the NCANTHRO listserv, 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 listserv is an open discussion list, accessed in the same way that e-mail is accessed, devoted to sharing information among colleagues in anthropology. NCANTHRO listserv 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@listserv.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 (listserv@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 but is not up and running yet; but the web page for the Wilmington meetings has been put up by Tom Collins and is given on the previous page.

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919-515-9025; fax: 919-515-2610

## N. C. STATE UNIVERSITY ETHNOGRAPHIC FIELD SCHOOL IN COSTA RICA, SUMMER 1998

*Anthropology of Tourism*

May 14 - June 23, 1998

The program provides students with a hands-on, practical experience in applied ethnographic fieldwork as they carry out a research project focusing on community development and tourism. Students live with Costa Rican families during their six-week stay. Participants learn skills associated with organizing and carrying out applied anthropology, use of computers for note-taking and analysis, and report writing. Costa Rica is a good site both for learning ethnography as well as the anthropology of tourism. Though small it is the world's leader in eco-tourism, but there are consequences: water quality problems, coastal wetlands destruction, pollution, destruction of scenic vistas, crime, and changes in community values. In this third summer of research we will continue to investigate the impacts of tourism development on the Pacific Ocean side of the country. Is long term sustainable tourism in this area truly feasible? Using ethnographic methods and anthropology of tourism theory students learn how to research the value of Costa Rican tourism for tourists and the toured alike.

### The Research Site

Quepos (pop. 16,000) is a town near the

beautiful ecotourism destination of Manuel Antonio National Park.

### Course Credits

Each student receives six course credits upon successful completion of the following two courses that form the basis of instruction during the field school.

ANT 419 Ethnographic Field Methods. This is a three credit field methods course emphasizing practical training in ethnographic fieldwork and ethics.

ANT 432 Anthropology of Tourism: Applied Field Methods. This is a three credit field course focusing on tourism and the role of culture as it affects the interactions between hosts and guests. Note: English is the language of instruction, and English translation is available to facilitate interviewing and communication.

### For Whom Intended

The program is designed for 10-13 students who may be juniors, seniors and/or graduate students from various fields wishing to learn ethnographic field methods. Prerequisites are two courses in anthropology, one of which must be in Cultural Anthropology. First and Second Year students may be admitted with permission of

the instructor. No previous experience in ethnographic fieldwork required. Priority will be given to students who have had at least two semesters of Spanish.

#### Housing

In Quepos each student lives with a Costa Rican family receiving room, board and laundry services.

#### Excursions

The program includes brief excursions to other locales, such as tropical forests at Braulio Carrillo National Park and Monteverde, and the Central Valley cities of San Josi and Heredia.

#### Program Leader

Dr. James M. Tim Wallace is the Program Director. He is an Associate Professor of Anthropology at North Carolina State University. He has ethnographic field work experience in South America, Eastern Europe, Japan, West and East Africa, in addition to Costa Rica and the US. The Assistant Director is Matthew Edwards, University of Memphis, who has traveled widely in Latin America and has field experience in Costa Rica.

#### Costs

The cost of the six week program is \$2050 that covers nearly all expenses for the six weeks. Fees do not include airfare.

#### Applications

For an application and further information contact Tim Wallace at 919-781-8655 (h) or 919-515-9025 (o). Fax no:919-515-2610; E-mail: tim\_wallace@ncsu.edu.

When requesting an application, send a letter (or E-mail message) introducing yourself and your background. Include your full name, local address, permanent mailing address, telephone, E-mail address, your major, year of graduation and degree. A formal application form and instructions will follow upon receipt of your letter.

Mail the letter to: Tim Wallace, NC State U. Summer Ethnographic Field School in Costa Rica, Department of Sociology & Anthropology, Box 8107, North Carolina State University, Raleigh, NC 27695-8107.

Applications and information may also be obtained through the NCSU Study Abroad Office, Box 7344, NCSU, Raleigh, NC 27695-7344, (919) 515-2087.

#### Registration Fee

Deadline for receipt of a \$100 registration fee, applicable to the total program cost, is March 3, 1998. Applications will be evaluated at the time and in the order in which they are received. Notice of acceptance will be made within three weeks of receipt of the application form. You will need a valid passport to enter Costa Rica, but no other documents are necessary.

## Exploitation in Academe: Subjective Interview With a Prol and A Systems-Theoretic Synthesis of Baer and Blanchard

John D. Studstill

St. Leo College, Atlanta

### Introduction

The following is an interview with an adjunct instructor in Atlanta about the debate between two anthropologists that took place in two issues of *Southern Anthropologist*. In this stimulating exchange initiated by Hans Baer, a particular conflict-theoretical cum Marxist view of contemporary U.S. academic life is presented and critiqued (Baer 1996 and 1997, Blanchard 1997). The model proposed by Baer can be summarized as one in which U.S. higher education is seen as corresponding more and more to a classic Marxist view of a social sub-system (academia) in which an increasingly powerful administrative elite is consolidating power and privilege by creating a lower echelon of superexploited adjunct and part-time instructors. These latter are being used as leverage in a power struggle against a more traditional and entrenched group of middle-level, tenured and tenure-track professors. The following ethnographic interview assumes a certain familiarity with that debate. If the reader cannot claim such knowledge, it would be a good idea to consult the three short articles referred to

above.(1)

### Interview With A Part-Time Instructor

JDS: You've read the pieces in the S.A. about part-timers as the new academic proletariat, pro and con, right? As an adjunct instructor yourself what did you think of the debate?

John: It's pretty good analytical stuff. Baer backs up his points with hard stats and Blanchard's punches are really on the periphery of the body of the paper. He even accepts the main point about the exploitation of the lowest echelon of adjuncts, but seems to think the process is inevitable. And maybe he's correct in that. But I agreed to do this interview because these articles both lack the immediacy of an ethnographic narrative. Moreover, as Conflict-Theorist vs. Functionalist, the debate leaves a place for a systems-theorist to pull a sneak punch and make them shake hands. I want to give you some hard, first-hand data. But beyond that, I think we can pioneer here a kind of ethnography that avoids all post-modern, deconstructionist criticism by the immediacy of the communication and by the anti-

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## STUDSTILL FROM PREVIOUS PAGE

reflexivity of the interview mode. We can crush the distance between the ethnographer/observer and his exploited informant/subject here by a simple effort of the will. Just listen!

I teach 9 courses per semester on the average. That makes about 2 and 1/2 hrs. per week per course, or 22 hrs. per week in the classroom. I would say that's over twice as much as the average full-time professor. This is at 3 different colleges, none of which pays benefits or mileage. Fortunately, they are all about 20 minutes from my home, and since I teach mainly in the evening, the traffic isn't so bad. My wife works during the day, so we don't see each other much during the week. Each of my three colleges is on a slightly different term calendar, and one likes for me to teach a Saturday morning class. I can hardly afford to say no. I rarely get a vacation from all of them at the same time except at Christmas. I know I'm being exploited; I carry a heavier and more onerous load so the tenured people can teach less and whistle on the way to class in the morning. But though I may express some resentment towards the full-time faculty for being coopted into this system and doing little to resist it, I don't really blame them for creating the system; they are getting squeezed, too, by a system they can do little to control. At the same time, I know that in the off-campus program in one school I teach for I'm being paid about one-third the

wage per course of the average tenured professor on the home campus; I know my lack of benefits makes it possible for theirs to be more generous; I know I help create a subsidy for the home campus. It's just like colonialism--the colonies at the periphery support the lifestyle of the metropole at the core. The school I'm referring to has programs on military bases all over the Southeast. They bid for the military contracts and the low bid gets the action--capitalism at its most efficient. So those who are really creating this particular system are those in the military and government who have designed the military education program. Other college administrators and boards of trustees must shoulder much of the responsibility for the creation of other systems that exploit TA's and adjuncts. Most of the programs I teach in are designed to attract adults whose back-to-school enthusiasm I enjoy. That's one of the positive aspects of teaching in these adult programs. Their varied life experiences enrich discussions and debates. On the other hand, some of them are just there to get a credential to enhance their pay grade, and have little intellectual enthusiasm. On my side, prep time and essay grading must be kept to a minimum. I give term papers in some classes, but almost all tests are multiple choice to save grading time, and, needless to say, there isn't much time for interaction with students outside class. If it weren't for the new technology of computers, faxes and

photocopy machines, I wouldn't be able to teach the number of classes I do. That's another point of interest in this whole discussion of the development of a new educational sub-culture--how new technology makes it possible.

JDS: And what about pay?

John: At an average of almost \$2,000 per course I can make \$18,000 per semester or \$36,000 per year, about half the salary of my hypothetical tenured but co-opted brother teaching in academic Mandarinism. You don't have to be a rocket scientist to figure that dollar for dollar I'm worth six times his massaged behind to a tight-fisted financial officer or dean. Since I have no contract past one term and get no benefits of any type except social security, my ballance-sheet stats are enough to make any academic accountant worth his salt start salivating. I've read about Aztec cannibals who were more respectful of human flesh than this latest race of cost-cutters and managerial hotshots.

JDS: You sound a bit alienated from the system. Don't you think you've got a pretty good life considering the poverty rate in the U.S. and the median family income much below yours?

John: Yes, you are right on both counts. I sometimes sincerely hate this extreme free-market capitalism that has turned me into a wage-slave. But I'm not alone. It seems

that half the academic world has jumped on the bandwagon now in offering neo-Marxist critiques of the "winner-take-all" economy, the proletarianization of the middle class, and the Gingrich view of education and health care as one big corporation, with Democracy and the World made safe for billionaires. Here are a few references: (Bellah 1997, Strobel and Peterson 1997, Reich 1992). I've lived enough in Western Europe and Japan to know that there is a better way than the U.S. reality of impoverished millions, exploited immigrants, handgun homicides, massive incarceration, racist cops and rampant drug abuse. In my twenty years of teaching my purchasing power has gone down probably 20% despite the increase in my work load. I started my career at The Johns Hopkins U. with a year in a temporary appointment in 1973. I taught full-time, but in a non-tenure-track position in the U. of Maryland's overseas program for the military for the next six years. I had a decent income then and lived all over the world. But after that experience including a stint as an assistant dean in Europe, my chances to get back into a tenure track in a mainstream university were significantly reduced despite the increased teaching experience, two not-too-shabby books and other publications, and a Ph.D. from a highly respected anthropology department. But I don't complain too much. Downward mobility is happening to liter-

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## STUDSTILL FROM PREVIOUS PAGE

ally millions of middle-class workers and professionals. I feel the solidarity with them. Since my wife is a high-school teacher with health benefits, with both incomes we can manage a decent middle-class lifestyle--albeit in constant uncertainty and insecurity. I just heard on N.P.R. that the average Georgia high school teacher is making exactly what I do, \$36,000--that's for a teacher with a masters degree and 10 years experience.

I know I made some poor career choices in some ways, but that doesn't get the system that is exploiting me off the hook. I was fired once from an academic administrative job, mainly, I believe, because I was a bit too independent and perhaps too left-wing for the institution. When there's no union and no decent contract to protect you, you have to be pretty polite, subservient and a "team player" to keep your position. I know a dean in one of the schools I teach for who was let go with one-week's notice after twenty-two years with the same institution. He was given no explanation, but we know it was because he was less than enthusiastic about (not even "against") the Big New Program they were instituting to bring in more part-timers with no benefits to teach intensive short-term classes for non-traditional students.

JDS: How has this experience affected your self-esteem and self-image?

John: Thank goodness I get a charge out of teaching. I get a lot of students who seem to like me as a person and as a teacher. They know I take a risk in giving the kind of critiques I do of the system and the powers that be, including the institutions that are exploiting me and all us part-timers. I teach mostly minority students and adults in the military. I think many of them resent securely ensconced, conservative professors who attempt to justify the status quo. From what they tell me, many of their economics and management teachers try to convince them that the U.S. we live in is the best of all possible economic worlds. Overall, most minorities are receptive to the anti-establishment children of the 60s like me. Besides, I have a masters from the Sorbonne, studied with Levi-Strauss, have published two books and have taught in Europe, Africa and the Far East. I met Bob Dylan and Joan Baez. I translated for the President of Burkina Faso, Thomas Sankara, in an interview with a delegation from Atlanta in 1985 not long before he was assassinated, and shook hands with Daniel Ortega in 1986 in Nicaragua. I was even at a reception once with Marvin Harris! I'm probably one of the more contented part-timers. All this helps me keep up my positive self-image, just barely. Plus, I've had a pretty good married life. I've even been a college administrator for five years altogether, though I hate to admit it.

JDS: Really? so how did you react to the defense of the system by Vice-Chancellor Blanchard in that exchange with Hans Baer?

John: In a word, Blanchard didn't really disagree very markedly with Baer's analysis. He was disgusted at the exploitation of adjuncts, too. However, I thought it was a fascinating and clear-cut contrast between Marxian conflict theory and Durkheimian functionalism. I might even use that debate as a reading for my Soc. Theory class. Here's my analysis in a nutshell. I'm not the first to recognize the great number of similarities between Marxism and Functionalism--they both operate at the large-scale, institutional level and try to describe the workings of total social systems and sub-systems (cf. van den Berghe 1963, and Frank 1974 for example). There are two major differences, however, that are reproduced in the samples we are considering here: first, one sees the system as negative, the other sees it as positive. Second, one is interested mainly in change and in system-destroying mechanisms or revolution, the other describes system-maintaining processes almost exclusively. When a Durkheimian sees a religious ideology and ritual supporting the stability of a sociopolitical system, he rejoices, even if it is a stratified, undemocratic system. When a Marx sees the same thing, he cries, "opiate of the people." Of course, Marx emphasizes more the controlling power of the top

stratum, whereas Durkheim and other functionalists emphasize the role of commonly held values in creating organizational stability and consensus. Instability and anomie are bad for the functionalist, whereas for the other side instability is necessary to create change and perhaps a revolution. But I don't believe it is oversimplifying too much to say that the two schools are differentiated less by theory and method than by their moral positions, i.e., by their value judgments. So when Baer looks at the three levels of the university, he is horrified at the inequality. When Blanchard looks at the same thing, he doesn't deny that Baer's analysis is real, but he looks for the good side--the system is stable and functioning fairly well, hardly anyone is starving. Besides, inequality is inevitable and those at the top probably deserve what they get due to their hard work and talents. This has been the functionalist justification for decades, has it not? Neither Baer nor Blanchard have completed the picture by including the top level of super-elite Boards of Trustees and how they control the whole sub-system, nor by delineating the role of the underclass of support staff who fall even below the adjunct faculty. They are the ones who do the real dirty work, for crumbs and peanuts. But I'm not pointing out this omission as a criticism; you can't do everything in one short article. By the way, for reference only, I would like to call your attention to Marvin

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Harris' definition of exploitation. It responds to some of the reservations people may have about an overly glib use of that term, and disagrees with the notion that inequality always implies exploitation. It is based on the idea that to be exploitation in the full sense, the people at the top of the social system must be consciously designing the privations at the bottom and taking advantage of them for their own benefit (Harris 1993:328).

In sum, Blanchard agrees that adjuncts are being exploited, but his moral evaluation of the overall higher educational system is that it's still pretty good; the divisions are not so wrenching, he is impressed more by the elements of cohesion and coherence. You can't fault functionalism for their insight about social cohesion; it's just that this cohesion is not nearly as voluntary as they like one to believe; it's not based so much on consensus as on coercion--the threat of loss of what little one still has. The notion that part-timers like things the way they are is like the old argument about happy slaves in the South. "Look at me, boss-dean, I be shuckin' and jivin' all over Atlanna, dancin' from one college to the udduh, and I gets to escape aaall dem deehdly faculty meet'ns! Law' hab mussy, Mista' President, bile me and skin me, but please don't throw me in dat briarpatch wid all dem benefits; ah jus' lub being po' wid no wurries an' trubbles!"

Another weakness in that position is that there are always elements of cohesion in the most unstable and unjust systems right up to the moment when they (sometimes) blow apart, but noone knows when or how the explosion might happen--exploitation can go on indefinitely. Witness Marx' own failures in predicting revolution in Western Europe and not foreseeing it in Russia and China. As others have observed, however, perhaps his predictions helped head off the explosion in Europe and to bring about democratic socialism instead.

In conclusion, those of us near the bottom of the hierarchy are likely to applaud Baer's efforts to call attention to the growing inequalities in academe and to try to help change the system; those near the top are likely to support Blanchard and his fear of trying to change too much too fast. I would call my overview a systems-theoretic synthesis of functionalism and conflict theory in that it sees these two schools as two sides of the same coin and situates the major difference between them at the political ideological or moral level. They both recognize system-maintaining and system-destroying mechanisms; they differ in deciding on which of these to place emphasis. In fact, we can say they both have an ideological function, one to justify maintenance or small adjustments in a system, the other to support its overthrow or radical reorganization.

Being the alienated intellectual that I

am, I still love Marx the most and identify most with his apostate Jewish-rebel self. I believe faculties need to wrest control from the Boards of Trustees, using any means necessary. But when the big money at the top is in control of the economy and the political system, it's obviously not an easy job.

#### notes:

(1) John and JDS are the two personalities of a schizophrenic part-time anthropology/sociology instructor in Atlanta, GA. Thus, the justification of the claim to a radical suppression of the existential chasm between ethnographic researcher and informant and the completely original intersubjectivity of the interview.

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## Not Just a Game:

### High School Football and Social Stratification in the Rural South

by Amanda L Meadows

Georgia Southern

Since I am from a small Southern community, I had experienced the importance of high school football in my home town and in neighboring rural communities. Anthropology teaches about rituals as a means of expressing shared cultural values and fostering feelings of belonging. It seemed that high school football in rural southern communities could be described as such a ritual—which promotes a sense of comradeship and community, and brings the community together to support a common goal.

In an attempt to prove my theory I attended four high school games, following the same team, and interviewing people to obtain different community perspectives. I did participant observation, in which I sat in the crowd to record the actions and events that occurred. I also did several structured (with pre-conceived questions) and unstructured interviews (without pre-conceived questions) with several members of the community to gain their view of situations. What I found was quite different than what I had expected.

#### Profile of the Town

Stone is a rural community in

County X which is located in the middle of Georgia. The population of 10,000\* is mostly affluent whites, and change is slow in this sleepy town. An estimated ninety-eight percent of the merchants in the town are white, with one percent Vietnamese and one percent African American. The town can be physically divided in two, with the same division racially dividing the town in half. Blue Street runs east to west across town. The area to the north is called the Three Tree sub-division and is where 99% of the total African American population of County X resides. The area to the south is known as River Run and is characterized by large houses, manicured lawns, multi-car garages, and swimming pools. These are the homes of the middle and upper-class whites of the town. It also is home to three Vietnamese families who moved there in the early eighties. In the out-lying areas of town, flowing outwards to the county boundary, are small houses of blue-collar workers and farms of varying sizes. Of these about 1% are African American homes.

In the county school system there are two African American male teachers, both of whom are coaches, and seven African American female teachers. The drop out

rate in County X is high, estimated to be around 13%. Several parents and teachers that I spoke with said there is no truancy officer in town because the school administration simply does not care. The teachers said typical drop-outs are African American or poor whites. There simply is not a reason for middle-class whites to quit school according to the words of one parent, "if you aren't white and well off, they don't want you and they do nothing to keep you." If you are poor or are an African American in this community one way to make sure that you matter is to excel at sports, most importantly football, so that the school needs you.

#### The Game As Ritual

Football is a sport, but it is also a ritual in many ways. Rituals are associated with religion in cultures around the world. Football fanatics would say that the sport is like a religion as well, and many things done by the participants (both athletes and fans) support this idea. A religious ritual is defined as "a patterned act that involves the manipulation of religious symbols." Most religious rituals use a combination of the following practices to contact and control supernatural spirits and powers as described by Serena Nanda: "prayer, offerings and sacrifices, manipulation of objects, telling or acting out myths, altering the physiological state of the individual, music dance, drama" (Nanda 1994: 355). In some form almost all of these can be found in football. There is

official prayer by teams and prayer by fans. There are stories and pantomimes of mythical-like occurrences that have happened during games. This happens in the form of tales about miracle wins, unbelievable odds that the team has overcome, and the retelling of old glories performed by ex-players. I sat around several men in their fifties at one game and listened to their

tales of "how it used to be." They told stories of playing the entire game without a break and of never getting water to drink - yet they prevailed. Religious con-

notations can also be observed in the naming of plays such as a "Hail Mary," or a miracle play, simply because the ball is thrown from one end of the field to the other and it is a miracle if anyone catches it. One can always find music, dance, and drama from the band, cheerleaders, and football players. Most community rituals bring people together in a temporary state of unity, reflecting Victor Turner's notion of "communitas" (Turner 1969). However, I found that in County X the ritual of the Friday night football game actually perpetuates racial and social stratifi-

*There are stories and pantomimes of mythical-like occurrences that have happened during games. This happens in the form of tales about miracle wins, unbelievable odds that the team has overcome, and the retelling of old glories performed by ex-players.*

cation rather than symbolically breaking down class and race barriers and bringing the community together in a shared experience. The games bring together the white middle and upper-classes of the town while excluding the other groups. I observed this selected inclusion and exclusion during the games I attended in the Fall of 1996 in the crowds that attended, the cheerleading squad, the band, the coaches, and the players.

#### **The Friday Night Crowd**

The football stadium is part of the high school complex, located on the edge of town. The home team side has been newly remodeled to accommodate the junior college football program as well as the high school games. The metal bleachers rise about sixty rows up. On average, about four-hundred people attend the high school game. At the games I attended I observed only fifty to sixty African Americans. There are three sections to each side of the stadium. On the home side the band and most of the students sit on the left side. The middle is reserved seating (the only seats with backs), and on the right side sit mostly adults with groups of students dispersed throughout. At all the games I attended, there were no African Americans sitting in the reserved section, none in the student section and only three families (a mother and grandmother, a mother and children, and a mother and father) were seen in the right

side section. All others were white. I saw no interracial couples: for they are extremely socially unacceptable here. The only other African Americans I saw, besides those traveling with the opposing team, were a few females of middle school age males in their teens to mid twenties. Some were probably relatives of players, others were there just to socialize and see the game. This large group of about forty males gathered at the west end-zone during every home game. They mainly watched the game and a few socialized. The students, both white and African American, had come to the game to socialize and to be seen. As one teacher put it, "my students spend four dollars every Friday to socialize."

White females seem to use the game as a fashion show. Those who are not at the game with a date dress exceedingly well in the hopes of attracting future dates. Those on dates are dressed just as fashionably. Their hair has been fixed with what appears to be a large amount of hair spray; and they wear expensive designer clothing. Lower class females are disadvantaged here, as they generally lack the money to compete equally in this fashion show. In fact, lower class whites generally do not attend the games based on my observations at the games I attended. Since I grew up in this community, I had an idea of who was considered to be in what class. Andrew Miracle, in his study of high school foot-

ball, found that "membership in cliques often is structured around characteristics such as race, gender, and social class, as well as preferences for clothes and cars, and lifestyle or behavior differences" (Miracle 1994: 70). It appears that students were grouped into such cliques at the games. Discrimination against different religions was found as well. I overheard one young sophomore telling a friend that, "he's a Mormon, and I don't date Mormons."

The adults in the crowd were as divided as the youths. The African Americans who were sitting in the stands had come to watch a relative play ball or participate in the band. The whites in attendance may or may not have had a relative participating, but it did not really matter for they almost all came to socialize. A teacher at the middle school informed me that almost everyone she knew was there because there was nothing else to do on a Friday night. Gossip was traded and created in a two hour span by both men and women. Many of the men came to relive old football glories as well as to socialize and be entertained. As Miracle noted "entertainment is a very important function of high school sport and the community is often willing to pay for the opportunity to celebrate itself through athletics" (Miracle 1994: 163). In my case only one segment of the community - the white middle and upper classes, was using the game for this function.

Prominent people also appeared at

the games with their families. On any given Friday you could find the mayor, several city councilmen, a school board member, and the owner of the local bank. Only two of these men had sons playing, but they were there to be seen by the community. These "prominent" members were all white - for there were no African Americans in these political positions.

Whereas in most sports it is the male who wears team colors to show pride and support, here in County X it is the female. Colors and emblems were worn to symbolize loyalty and belonging. Interestingly, I saw more women wear the team colors of green and black than men. Some of these women also dressed their young children as cheerleaders (girls) and football players (boys). Women were also the proud wearers of picture buttons with their sons', the football players, pictures. These appear to be a type of badge of honor, as if to announce "I bore him, he's mine."

#### **The Cheerleaders and The Band**

African Americans were not well represented on the cheerleading squad or dance line. There was not a single African American female on the cheerleading squad. There was a male on the cheerleading squad who was light-skinned because of his mixed heritage. He had been ridiculed in the past, not only because of his heritage, but because of his feminine mannerisms. He has been known to wear

make-up and fingernail polish to school, actions which are generally socially unacceptable for a male in this small town. The dance line, a group of girls who dance on the field with the band at half time, had three African American members, but the girls were light skinned and I had to ask what race they were considered to be. My informant Heather, an African American woman, was the drum major for the high school band in 1995. She told me that she was asked by the team sponsors (who are white women) not to try out for cheerleading or the dance line, but to try for the band instead. She said that when she was a junior there was an African American girl who tried out, and made the cheerleading squad. However, when fall arrived and football season started she quit the team for mysterious reasons. Heather believed she was persuaded to quit. Heather herself became the drum major for the band her senior year and said she experienced discomfort thinking that the community felt that she as a "black" girl could not do the job. There are two drum majors this year and they are both white, one male and one female.

### Players and Coaches

In an analysis of sport and race, Chu and Griffey quote Jomills Braddock: "According to the contact hypothesis exposure to the interracial contacts under conditions of a) equal status groups, b) common group

goals, c) cooperative interaction, and d) environmental support should generally lead to positive changes in intergroup attitudes and interaction patterns" (Chu & Griffey 1982: 271). This hypothesis was not supported by my research. There were twenty-five African American players out of fifty-five on the 1996 team. Almost all of the white players' parents attended the games I attended - while I observed only one to two parents of African American players in attendance. There is only one African American coach, the other eight are white. Speaking with a white player, Austin, I found that on the field they were all friends and occasionally spoke to one another in school. However, outside of school the players were not a cohesive bunch. He readily admitted that players received special treatment in school and from the community, especially white players. During the interview I noticed that questions about football players breaking the rules and being treated leniently seemed to make Austin uncomfortable. A month later I learned from a teacher that Austin had been arrested for marijuana possession on school grounds in the spring of 1996, but was allowed to remain on the team and play ball. His girlfriend Lucy complained that players were allowed to cheat on exams and were given grades so they were eligible to play. She also acted disturbed during the interview and I now attribute her discomfort to her knowledge of Austin's activities. An-

drew Miracle found similar activities in the high school he studied and noted that activities like preferential treatment, that help to create victories in sports, "may be at the expense of the community down the road" (Miracle 1994: 155). For example, these practices might contribute to the high drop-out rate: students who are not athletic or are not the cream of the crop feel unwanted and so they leave.

### The Power of Money

The Booster Club was not without some misdeeds of its own. Of the 133 members only one was African American. Out of the annual football guide which it published, there were only two minority advertisements out of eight pages. An interview with a teacher in the school system shed some light on the activities of the Booster Club. It seems that several prominent white families made very generous donations to the club so that their sons would be able to play, even though these young men were not talented ball players. Other members of the club had no children in school, they were either in it for the love of football or because they like to have some say in the football program. For example, according to an older gentleman in the community the last coach at County X was fired by the school system. He said that pressure was placed on the decision makers by the Booster Club until they buckled and fired the coach. In Odessa, Texas, it was

found that the boosters contributed between \$15,000 and \$20,000 to the Permian High School coach to assure a winning season (Bissinger 1991: 358). The University Interscholastic League commented, "the coach should have no monetary interest in whether it was a winning or losing affair, and therefore would have no monetary interest in exploiting a player" (Bissinger 1991: 359). The booster club was a community institution which influenced the team and inadvertently influenced the community as a whole by its obvious racial exclusions and coach buy-offs. Until minorities and lower-class citizens are welcomed into the club, the strong middle, upper class southern white influence will continue.

### Conclusions

In County X, football as ritual event brings only part of the community together, the middle and upper-class whites. It has become a means for the perpetuation of social and racial discrimination to other generations. The town I observed is a small southern community with a long history of racial and class prejudices and without any significant in migration of outsiders. The town is made up of families, both black and white, that have been living in the area since the town was formed in the late eighteen hundreds. Few people move away and even fewer move into the town. I believe this, combined with the

lack of real economic opportunities for African Americans and poor whites, are the reasons that the patriarchal white male continues to dominate this county. In an event such as high school football a town of this size should be united against the opposing team. Instead the game, the crowd, the cheerleaders, the band, the players, and the Booster Club form a microcosm of traditional stratifications in the community; representing and reinforcing a system of wealthy white supremacy. In County X, football is not just a game but a way of perpetuating these social stratifications.

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participant observations:

- 11 October 96 - game at County X
- 18 October 96 - game at County B
- 25 October 96 - game at County X
- 1 November 96 - game at County A

key informants: all names have been changed

- 18 October 96 - Sarah Smith: age 44, female, husband announcer on radio for game, son a ball boy, teacher, has reserved seating and attends all games both home and away.
- 25 October 96 - LeAnne Lippman: age 42, female, teacher, daughter in high school.
- 26 October 96 - Lucy Lippman: age 16, female, student, girlfriend of football player, attends all of the games.
- 26 October 96 - Austin Allen: age 17, male, senior football player, originally from rural Indiana.
- 3 November 96 - Heather Heard: age 20, female, former County X student and Drum Major for band.

\* In a further attempt to protect my informants I used the population figures for the 1990 Census; however, I rounded the number so that it could not be pinpointed to an exact location.

## AMONG THE SAVAGE ANTHROS: REFLECTIONS ON THE S.A.S. ORAL HISTORY PROJECT

*Paper presented at the annual meeting 1997*

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### The Research Context

We are all familiar with Laura Nader's injunction to "study up." Elizabeth Sheehan has taken a different metaphorical direction by "studying across." Her article, "The Academic as Informant," (1993) dealt with the methodological and ethical problems of conducting ethnographic research among university-based scholars. Sheehan, an American anthropologist studying academic life in Ireland, found that her presumed professional peers were no more cooperative as informants than those studied from above or below. For one thing, her informants were altogether too critical of her methodology since, of course, they would each have taken other, undoubtedly more suitable approaches to the issues at hand. Moreover, she felt herself unusually constrained when it came to writing up the results of her inquiry. Given the expansion of literacy in our world, most anthropologists now have to deal with having one's informants read what one has written about them. But the tension is increased when those informants are themselves trained scholars, ever at the ready to apply a fine

critical eye to material of concern to them and hence in a position to discredit one within the discipline -- the professional equivalent of being ostracized by one's own tribe.

I had Sheehan's astute observations in mind when I began a project to record the oral history of the Southern Anthropological Society on the occasion of its thirtieth anniversary celebration. On the one hand, rarely does one encounter a research project so ripe for the doing: the anniversary meetings to be held in Baton Rouge in February of 1996 were deliberately programmed in a retrospective spirit and most participants were primed to remember and reflect on the three decades of growth and development of anthropology in and of the South. Moreover, the Wenner-Gren Foundation had expressed a real interest (subsequently to be reinforced by a grant of funds) in recording the experiences of individual anthropologists and anthropological organizations in the United States; it had established an archive at its New York headquarters dedicated to the preservation of such records and was encouraging colleagues to make such collections while important formative figures in

the discipline are still available for comment.

On the other hand, I felt a certain awkwardness in proposing to coordinate this effort on behalf of the S.A.S. I have, after all, been an active member since 1969, and while I was not literally present at the creation, I was close enough to it to have known virtually all the founders. Moreover, I have worked with and enjoyed friendships with virtually everyone on my preliminary list of people to be interviewed. I therefore did not have the sort of "distance" that ethnographers usually cultivate even with informants whose lives they come to share quite intimately. There was definitely the possibility that I would take too much for granted, having been involved in much of the history I sought to record; I thought I might fail to ask the questions that "posterity" would want to have answered because I already knew the answers and would think them obvious. I also thought that the people I interviewed would refrain from telling their best stories because they knew that I already knew what they had to say. If I then pumped them, the stories would seem awkward and less than spontaneous. On another level, I was concerned because my affinity with the informants was based not merely on personal affection but on a shared professional expertise. Like Sheehan, I was putting myself on the line in an unaccustomed position of scholarly vulnerability. Apart from the occasions when we conduct re-

search as part of a team, most of us do most of our ethnography as lone researchers. We are not used to being observed — and implicitly critiqued — by other anthropologists until after we have gone home, digested our materials, and written a thoroughly chewed-over report or monograph. Having as your subjects people whose professional expertise you know and respect is quite unnerving. Would they sit there saying to themselves, "Boy, he's really screwing this up! And here I always thought he was at least minimally competent!"? So "studying across" was very much a double-edged sword. It certainly made for ease of access, and it also meant that I did not have to do as much background, archival research as would normally be required of an oral history project since I had my own personal experiences as a guide, as well as my own collection of minutes, newsletters, and other "paper trail" items gleaned from several decades as both a member and an officer of the S.A.S. On the other hand, I would have to make an unusually self-conscious effort to overcome the tendency to take things for granted. I would have to allow myself to be vulnerable to an unusually direct form of peer review. And I had to make sure that the entire project was conducted in as careful and thorough a manner as possible, lest I betray the trust of an organization that has rewarded my loyalty many times over throughout the years. I attempted to deal with some of the poten-

tial problems by inviting several of my graduate students to be my research assistants and reality checkers on the project. Geoff Mohlman and Jennifer Paul joined me in Baton Rouge to conduct several interviews, and Patricia Sorrells assisted me in listening to and making notes on the indexed tapes. I asked Geoff and Jennifer to interview me prior to leaving for Baton Rouge, partly to give them practice in interviewing, but also to allow me to verbalize my own point of view and get my own preconceptions out in the open so that they would be less likely to have a biasing effect on my own interviews. Being an interview subject myself also alerted me to some of the problems that other informants might face, notably a slight dulling of the memory. For example, I realized after some reflection that I was on occasion quite hazy about which events happened at which meetings. I was also ashamed to realize that although I referred on several occasions to my predecessors as Proceedings Editor, I always got the order wrong. And I wasn't even consistent in my errors. I believe that one of the values of oral history is that it preserves the vagaries of our collective memory, rather than force everything into a homogenized official version. But even so I did make it a point to be prepared to supply lists of officers, dates of meetings, and so forth should any of the informants become conscious of the same lapses of memory that had plagued me and ask for a nudge. A

number of the participants had in fact come prepared with crib sheets of their own.

### The Project

After securing support for the project from the S.A.S. Executive Committee at its meeting in Raleigh in 1995, I contacted approximately thirty people who had been founders or long-

term activists in the Society, explaining our purposes and inviting their

participation. I also asked them for a list of other people they thought should be included among the interviewees. It turned out that there was a high degree of redundancy on those lists -- almost everyone had the same idea about who needed to be interviewed. Most interviews were scheduled to take place during the Baton Rouge meetings and so the two students and I divided the list among us. A few people who were unable to attend in person agreed to tape their own stories with the aid of a standardized question guide. (There are both methodological and theoretical problems associated with the

*Having as your subjects people whose professional expertise you know and respect is quite unnerving. Would they sit there saying to themselves, "Boy, he's really screwing this up! And here I always thought he was at least minimally competent!"?*

latter practice that merit further critical discussion, but for the purposes of this brief presentation I will accept the self-generated narratives as fully equivalent to those generated in face-to-face interviews.) As it turned out, several people on the list politely declined to participate. Two others simply ignored the invitation and its follow-up. Three others — and you know who you are! — scheduled appointments but failed to show up, making no provisions for alternate arrangements. But we ended up with twenty full interviews. We also recorded Charles Hudson's Keynote Address and a round table discussion at which most of the attending past officers engaged in spirited reminiscence under the guidance of Andy Miracle.

We opted not to produce full transcripts of the interviews -- a lengthy, tedious, and very expensive process that is going out of favor with professional oral historians (except in cases in which a written record must be preserved and/or circulated independently from the tapes). Instead, we produced complete indices of each tape in accordance with the norms established by the Oral History Association, and a master index of the entire collection. With the index, it is possible to ascertain at a glance all the topics covered in the interviews, to discover who talked about those topics, and to locate where on each tape that material was discussed. All the tapes and indices were filed with the Wenner-Gren Founda-

tion. There is also a copy that has been reserved for the S.A.S.; the Executive Committee will soon decide about its ultimate location and accessibility, and will duly inform the membership. At that point it may be possible to consider an arrangement whereby interested parties can request transcripts, for a fee to be donated to the S.A.S.

### Some General Findings

I will now summarize some of the major themes of the S.A.S. oral history collection.

#### 1. *Topical Areas of Concern*

It will come as no surprise, perhaps that the participants spoke frequently about the discipline of anthropology, particularly in the United States, contrasting its past as a four-field endeavor with its more fragmented present and future. Traditionalists as all good southerners must be, the informants by and large lamented the loss of the kind of anthropology that had attracted them in the first place. But a few pointed with pride to the fact that the S.A.S. has often been in the vanguard of positive changes within the discipline, including the commitment to "new" fields such as medical anthropology and applied anthropology, and the recognition of the importance of women in the profession. The respondents were very interested in the distinction between anthropology in the

South and anthropology of the South. Almost everyone believes that the S.A.S. is well positioned to be a forum at which anthropologists of all interests who happen to be based at southern institutions can gather. It was often mentioned that the S.A.S. is a kind of "support system," particularly for the many members who find themselves at smaller institutions where they may be the only anthropologist, or at institutions that are physically far removed from other academic centers.

But many also expressed the feeling that the S.A.S. should continue to champion the cause of the study of the particular regional culture in which we live. It was pointed out that our key symposia and proceedings volumes often serve to highlight a particularly southern slant on issues of wider import (e.g., *Women in the South*, *Religion in the South*, *Practicing Anthropology in the South*). Nevertheless, there were as many opinions as there were informants as to what "the South" as a region might mean, and of what, if anything, its culture might consist. Philosophical discussion about the discipline often led to comments about the organization of the profession, especially the somewhat strained relationships between the regional societies and the A.A.A. There was considerable negative comment directed at the latter, with the point often made that the A.A.A. is impersonal and overly bureaucratic, while the S.A.S. is homey and caring. One frequently cited manifestation of that

special S.A.S. flavor is the regular, long-running photographic exhibit courtesy of David Johnson — our own "family album," as many noted. Respondents often noted that they preferred to give their own first papers in the comfortable confines of the S.A.S., and that they still encourage their own students to do likewise.

The practice of sponsoring joint meetings was mentioned frequently as a positive aspect of the S.A.S.'s approach to the discipline; of the various societies with which we have shared meetings, the A.E.S. was the one most often singled out as being especially congenial to the S.A.S. approach and style. The Southeastern Archaeology Conference was also mentioned favorably as a model of a well organized and thematically focused meeting that was emulated by some of the original S.A.S. program organizers.

#### 2. *People*

Given the fact that so many respondents chose to emphasize the personalized support-system nature of the S.A.S., it is not surprising that so many of their memories were of particular people who had made a difference. Many of the frequently cited names were officers, as might be expected. But others were members without official roles who nonetheless became familiar faces at the meetings, contributing interesting papers, bringing their own students into the fold, and otherwise making quiet, but

well remembered contributions to the cause of anthropology in and of the South. Speaking of interesting papers, it may come as no surprise that the single most often cited presentation -- the one considered the best representative of the intellectual acuity, range, depth, and good old-fashioned eccentricity that is southern anthropology at its best -- was Miles Richardson's comparative study of Gilgamesh and Jesus Christ. (I could write another whole paper trying to account for the fact that while almost everyone remembered the "Gilgamesh paper," only Miles himself remembered that it was also about Jesus.

### 3. *The S.A.S. Itself*

The respondents were very interested in the history (even the prehistory) of the Society, and many shared interesting and amusing anecdotes about the founding of the S.A.S. As one who regularly teaches and writes about the theory and method of oral history, I was fascinated to see that although our history is only three decades old, certain elements thereof have already achieved mythic status. But as is the case with most mythologies, we have come to be more interested in the iconic figures that represent history than in the details of the "real" history. The informants were willing to tolerate lapses and inconsistencies in the reported details of the accounts of the first meeting, the inauguration of the Mooney Award, the line of presidential succession,

and so forth. But there was tacit agreement to "get the story right" when it came to the relative solemnity of accounts of those foundational figures, such as Frank Essene, the Honigmanns, and Harriet Kupferer, who have either passed on or who are no longer active in the Society. This tendency contrasts markedly with the relatively more casual references to those who are still around and who can speak for themselves. There was also a marked disinclination to recall evidence of disharmony or other forms of ill-mannered behavior. The narratives will disappoint those looking for "good dish." It may well be that the S.A.S. is, relative to other academic organizations, lacking in political intrigue and interpersonal naughtiness. But it is significant that nobody was inclined to figure such material as might exist into his or her narrative. We have an implicit stake in burnishing for posterity our image of hominess and support. Just about everyone agreed that the two most important features of the S.A.S. have been its annual meetings, and its proceedings series (linked, of course, to the Key Symposia). The most frequently and fondly remembered meetings were those in Atlanta, Memphis, and especially Wrightsville Beach. (There were actually more than one in both Atlanta and Wrightsville, but, following up on the earlier point, most respondents did not clearly distinguish between them -- there seems to be a generalized, mythic "Atlanta

ethos" or a "Wrightsville ethos" that people remember with pleasure (for different reasons, of course) more than they recall the specific details of, say, one Atlanta conclave as distinct from another. Three of the earliest proceedings, "Medical Anthropology," "Urban Anthropology," and, most especially "Red, White, and Black" were the most frequently cited representatives of the best and most innovative examples of southern scholarship.

The Mooney Award was frequently mentioned as a point of pride for the Society, because it honors the best scholarship in and of the South. However, with the exception of people who had actually served on the Award committee, most respondents were unable to think of particular honorees. And only two informants claimed to know why the award was named for James Mooney in the first place -- and their accounts do not agree in all particulars. Respondents expressed pride in the fact that the S.A.S. has always been especially hospitable to students and women. On the other hand, they point out that while we have often tried to encourage minority participation, we have not always been successful in carrying out this commitment.

There was very guarded optimism about the future of the S.A.S. On the one hand, it was frequently said that southerners in general have long enjoyed an interest in anthropological topics (especially archaeology), and this tendency will likely continue into the

future. On the other hand, the history of the S.A.S. per se has been tied to the growth of anthropology in the universities and colleges of the South rather than to the popular support of the citizenry at large. Several key departments played major roles in that evolutionary process: UNC-CH, Georgia, Kentucky, Florida. But representation from those institutions has clearly slacked off over the years. Our real strength as an organization is in the smaller departments at smaller institutions, or in larger programs in "new" universities (such as my own U.S.F.). The "elite" private universities of the South (with the sometime exception of Tulane) have never been much interested in us, perhaps because they have identified themselves with a national rather than a regional constituency. As travel funds continue to shrink at the same time that there is a proliferation of higher profile, higher prestige specialist organizations competing for active participants, the S.A.S. may well see its membership confined to a small, dedicated core.

### Concluding Remarks

The Thirtieth Anniversary S.A.S. Oral History Project yielded a wealth of information about the history of this organization, as well as about the development of and ongoing prospects for our discipline in this part of the country. I think it is also important because it preserves the voices of many of the people who made that development

possible. I commend the archive as a supplemental resource for any ambitious student looking to write the definitive history of anthropology in and of the South.

### Reference

Sheehan, Elizabeth

1993 The Academic as Informant: Methodological and Theoretical Issues in the Ethnography of Intellectuals. *Human Organization* 52(3):252-259.

### Update to Paper

There have been additional developments since this paper was delivered, which are summarized as follows:

The tapes and their indices have already been filed with the Wenner-Gren Foundation, which maintains an archive of oral histories relating to the discipline of anthropology in the US. A second set of indexed tapes has been deposited in the Special Collections department of the library at the University of South Florida. At the recent meetings I was authorized to locate a permanent library site somewhere in the South that would house the SAS's copy of

the oral history. I was originally inclined to explore the possibilities of working with libraries at the University of Georgia or UNC-CH; both schools have a long tradition of association with the SAS, and both of them are relatively centrally located in the region. It proved to be much more efficient, however, for me to work with the people on my own campus. From prior association, I know them to be a very professional group who will treat our material with great care and respect. They will also house other kinds of material associated with the history of the SAS (some of you may have old newsletters, minutes and so forth that you want to donate to a place that will take good care of them). Moreover, when the SAS web site is up and running, the USF people have the means to establish the links that will allow the indices to the oral history tapes to be put on line.

The USF people did ask that all participants submit a CV as part of the permanent archive; these can also be scanned into the file linked to the SAS web page. Please therefore send me at your earliest convenience a copy of your most recent CV that I can forward it to the library. You know who you are!

## Southern Anthropological Society General Business Meeting Minutes April 11, 1997 Memphis, Tennessee

**CALL TO ORDER:** President Pat Lerch called the General Business meeting to order. There were 24 members attending.

### ITEM 1. Financial report:

Daryl White, Secretary/Treasurer, gave the financial report. A financial statement for the 1997 annual meeting for the fiscal year ending December 31, 1996 was distributed. Total revenues amounted to \$5866.48. At the Baton Rouge Meeting, good income was realized by Miles Richardson's program-- for example, book and T-shirt sales totaled \$851.48. A general observation: what seems to be a cash surplus generated at meetings is consumed by awards. The 1995 registration fees get credited to next year, a complication, but it "averages out." [The 1995 revenue from registration fees was \$2,265.00; the 1996 revenues were \$1,215.00.] Total cash revenues for the 1996 meeting were \$5019.69; total disbursements were \$10,350.77. The SAS now has about \$5,379.37 on deposit.

**Membership fees:** There has been some confusion after the rate increase. Society expenses are still not being covered. About 150 per year on the average pay membership; membership comes up to 200-250 at meeting registration. Some individuals are only paying members at one meeting. Membership categories in 1996 break out to 55% full paying and 45% retired or student.

**Proceedings:** In the recent past, the Proceedings have cost the SAS about \$16.00 per member. This year's volume's costs will run about \$20.00. Student membership at \$15.00 does not even meet costs of membership. In addition newsletter (*Southern Anthropologist*) costs are up. A major hidden cost is newsletter postage, now paid by North Carolina A & T State University, the newsletter editor's institution, about \$500.00 per year or \$250.00 per issue. We are not able to count on postage being covered by an outside institution. The cost of an issue of the newsletter is about \$3.00 per member. The newsletter is sent to paid up members of 2 years. About \$6.00 of each member's dues payment goes to SAS awards. Based on 150 members, with current costs, a deficit of about \$1350 would result; it is clear that revenue needs to increase. At the 1996 meeting, regular membership was raised from \$25 to \$30 per year, but that raise is still not sufficient to cover costs. At the SAS Board meeting this morning it was proposed and unanimously approved to raise the membership fees to \$40.00 per year regular and \$20.00 student, retired, and unemployed. The Board moved that students who want to present papers but who cannot afford membership, could just pay registration fees for the meeting. However, an effort should be made to let students know about membership advantages-- in receiving the call for papers, meeting schedules, and the Proceedings, etc.

### ITEM 2. President's Announcements:

Pat Lerch announced the establishment, by the SAS Board, of a committee to consider long range planning, membership drives, and finance strategies. The committee will consist of SAS councillors, and the past-president, present and incoming presidents, plus volunteers. Tim Wallace will be a volunteer member of this committee. A list was circulated for volunteers interested in assisting with this project. The committee will try to schedule its first meeting tomorrow (April 12) and then at the American Anthropological Association Annual Meeting in November 1997.

Tim (James) Wallace will be mounting Web pages and a ListServe for the SAS. The site, which would piggy-back on North Carolina State's Anthro ListServe, could be a clearing house for news from Departments. The Board approved making available \$150.00 to help cover expenses of getting started. Tim will need help and suggestions from members in getting information, the logo, ideas, etc.

Pat thanked 1997 program organizers David Suggs and Andy Miracle, local arrangements manager Tom Collins and newsletter editor David Johnson for all their help in putting together the 1997 meetings and other SAS projects.

Daryl White was thanked for 6 years of service to the SAS, "an institution within an institution."

### ITEM 3. The program:

Tom Collins thanked the faculty and 14 or more student volunteers from the University of Memphis for their local support, as well as the staff and student volunteers at Kenyon who helped put the program together and who hosted a pre-conference meeting of the key symposium participants.

### ITEM 4. Report on Elections:

Harry LeFever reported on elections. Results: 85 valid ballots were received. The President Elect is Daryl White; the Secretary/Treasurer is Daniel Ingersoll; and the Councillor is Barbara Hendry. Pat thanked Hans Baer, Susan Keefe and Pat Beaver for their work on the slate.

### ITEM 5. Report on SAS Proceedings:

Michael Angrosino, SAS Proceedings editor, stated that the next volume of the SAS Proceedings is ready but has not yet been ordered by the Secretary/Treasurer; the future volume, Cultural Diversity in South (Pat Beaver, ed.), is ahead of schedule. In the series, the most profitable for the SAS have been, in order, African-Americans in the South; Anthropology and Food Policy; Women in the South; and Anthropological Contributions to Conflict Resolution. The biggest sellers in terms of numbers, in order, have been Holding on to the Land and the Lord; Interethnic Communication; Predicting Sociocultural Change; and African-Americans in the South. Current list prices average around \$20.00 in soft cover and \$40.00 hardcover. These volumes are now out of print: 1-7, 9-11, 13, 14, 16-18, 20, and the Index to Vols. 1-10. The Board discussed the possibility of making out of print available on the Web or on disk.

### ITEM 6. SAS Oral History Project:

Michael Angrosino reported on the status of the data from the SAS Oral History Project. A Wenner Gren grant had been awarded to help establish an archive. The masters of documents and tapes were located at Wenner Gren, but copies could be made available for the SAS also. Included in the data are tapes and tape indices. The Board discussed options earlier at its meeting. Alternate locations considered included the Smithsonian, the University of Georgia, and Chapel Hill. Michael will report back on a solution for the designation of additional archive location(s). Pat offered thanks to Michael for his work on the SAS history project.

### ITEM 7. Student Papers Award Committee Report::

Barbara Hendry, chair of the Student Paper Award Committee, reported that 6 undergraduates and 9 graduate students had submitted their papers on schedule from a total of 15 out of 28 abstracts. She asked if there should be a requirement for winners to attend the meetings to deliver papers or to receive monetary awards in person. It was pointed out that the Mooney Award recipient is not required to come to the meetings. There was a general discussion of pros and cons and possible solutions including the judging of paper presentation/delivery. No consensus could be reached. Andrew Miracle moved to table and the motion to do so was approved by voice vote.

Barbara commended the evaluation of written papers by the judges as having been done well and thoroughly. She then invited volunteers for the next Student Paper Chair. The incoming president can name people to the position. Morgan Maclachlan said he would be willing to do the job. More judges will be needed for next year. Mary Schweitzer volunteered to be a Student Paper Competition judge for the graduate student division.

Pat thanked Barbara for her work on the Student Paper competition.

### ITEM 8. Endowment Report:

The Endowment Report was delivered by Pat Beaver, SAS Endowment Committee Chair. Use this address if you want to contact the SAS and make a donation:

Thomas Arcury, Center for Urban and Regional Studies, CB 3410, Hickerson House, University of North Carolina at Chapel Hill, Chapel Hill, NC 27599, phone 919-962-3512 and FAX 919-962-2518.

Receipts can be used for tax purposes. Do you have ideas about how to raise funds? Send them to Pat Beaver at the Department of Anthropology, Appalachian State University, Boone, NC 28608, phone 704-262-2295, or beaverpd@appstate.edu. Authors: you can sell your books at a 20% or whatever discount, and donate the rest to the SAS Endowment. Pat asked that a line be placed on the SAS dues notice as a reminder for endowment donations. It was suggested that a list of donors could be published in the newsletter. [ S/T's note: At the Board meeting in the morning, Pat Lerch asked Andrew Miracle to take the place of Steven Folmar's expired position on the Endowment Campaign Committee, and he accepted the nomination. The other committee members are Thomas Arcury (term expires 1998), SAS Endowment Treasurer, and Sara Quandt (two year term expires 1997). Total endowment as of December 31, 1996 was \$8,866.53 ]

**ITEM 9. Meeting site selection:**

Pat Lerch announced the 1998 Meeting Site: the Washington Hilton in Wilmington, NC. The local arrangements chair is Jim Sabella, UNC at Wilmington (sabellaj@uncwil.edu). [S/T note: At the Board meeting, Tom Collins and John Wingard at the University of Memphis proposed a theme for the 1998 annual meeting key symposium, which the SAS Board voted on and approved. Daryl White offered to check out Atlanta for a possible future year.]

**ITEM 10. SAS Book Exhibit Chair:**

Tim Wallace is retiring as SAS Book Exhibit Chair; Pat Lerch thanked him for his work on this task. Mary Schweitzer has volunteered to pick up this role for the next meeting.

**ITEM 11. Newsletter report:**

David Johnson, editor of Southern Anthropologist, noted that the SAS has had to cut back to two issues per year. He pointed out that his institution, North Carolina & T State University has generously paid the postage. Even though he takes all issues to the post office at the same time, and all are sorted by Zip code, mailing lots do not seem to all go out at the same time, and some seem to take a long time to reach members!. It has been the case that some members did not get issues, so let him know if you do not receive your issue. Look in the next issue for a rebuttal of Hans Baer's article of the preceding issue, by Kendall Blanchard. David stated that news of departments is needed. David suggested that some meeting sessions could be videotaped and copies of the tapes could be sold.

**ITEM 12. Passing of the gavel:**

Pat Lerch passed the gavel to Susan Keefe and Susan thanked Pat for the fine job she had done as president.

Respectfully submitted,

Daniel W. Ingersoll, Jr. Secretary-Treasurer

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FINANCIAL STATEMENT FOR 1997 ANNUAL MEETING  
OF THE  
SOUTHERN ANTHROPOLOGICAL SOCIETY  
FEBRUARY 17-20, 1996  
BATON ROUGE, LOUISIANA

**REVENUES**

Registration Fees		3,480.00
1995 revenue	2,265.00	
1996 revenue	1,215.00	
Book Exhibit Fees		125.00
Book and T-shirt Sales		851.48
Bus Tickets		1,210.00
1995 revenue	925.00	
1996 revenue	285.00	
Refund: Hotard Coaches		200.00
<b>TOTAL</b>		<b>5,866.48</b>

**DISBURSEMENTS**

Program Chair Expenses		984.60
Print Programs, Name Tags		
T Shirts		
Miscellaneous		
Hotel Expenses: Radisson		595.22
Receptions		
Meeting Rooms		
Entertainment		500.00
Henry Grey Band		
Bus: Hotard Coaches		1,170.00
1995 disbursement	200.00	
1996 disbursement	970.00	
<b>TOTAL</b>		<b>3,249.82</b>

REVENUES MINUS DISBURSEMENTS 2,616.66

**OTHER MEETING RELATED EXPENSES**

Student Paper Competition Awards	400.00
Mooney Award	500.00

Southern Anthropological Society  
Statement of Revenues and Disbursements  
for the Year Ending  
December 31, 1996

REVENUES FOR CALENDAR YEAR:	1996	1995	1994
Dues	1,943.33	3,415.00	3,281.00
Royalties on Proceedings	144.46	166.62	269.61
Address Label Sales	—	—	150.00
1994 Annual Meeting			
Registration Fees	—	—	4,054.60
Book Exhibits	—	—	275.00
1995 Annual Meeting			
Book Exhibits	—	295.00	—
1996 Annual Meeting			
Registration Fees	1,215.00	2,265.00	—
Book and T-shirt Sales	851.48	—	—
Book Exhibits	125.00	—	—
Bus Tickets and Refund	485.00	925.00	—
Endowment Contributions	50.00	—	3,647.00
Interest Income			
C&S/NationsBank, Atlanta, GA			
Commercial Checking Account	—	.99	—
Certificates of Deposit	205.42	260.11	211.99
Credit Union of North Carolina			
Account closed out	—	51.98	—
<b>TOTAL CASH REVENUES</b>	<b>5,019.69</b>	<b>7,379.70</b>	<b>11,889.20</b>

DISBURSEMENTS FOR CALENDAR YEAR:	1996	1995	1994
Newsletter	2,851.40	1,722.50	735.58
Postage	257.80	376.50	194.00
License Fee	—	15.00	15.00
Officer Expenses	301.84	338.17	363.99
Bank Account Service Charges	3.53	—	99.26
1994 Annual Meeting Expenses	—	—	3,575.69
1995 Annual Meeting Expenses	—	1,822.00	500.00
1996 Annual Meeting Expenses	3,074.82	200.00	—
Proceedings	2,911.38	2,897.32	2,603.38
Endowment	50.00	3,647.00	—
Awards and Grants			
Mooney Award	500.00	500.00	500.00
Student Paper Prizes	400.00	400.00	400.00
<b>TOTAL DISBURSEMENTS</b>	<b>10,350.77</b>	<b>12,047.12</b>	<b>8,986.90</b>
<b>REVENUES OVER DISBURSEMENTS</b>	<b>-5,331.08</b>	<b>-4,667.42</b>	<b>2,902.3</b>

CASH ON DEPOSIT ON DECEMBER 31,	1996	1995	1994
First Union National, Atlanta, Georgia			
Commercial Checking	5,379.37	5,314.74	10,068.30
NationsBank, Atlanta, Georgia			
12 Month Certificate of Deposit			
(3.35%, Due 12/31/95)	—	2,683.26	2,683.26
24 Month Certificate of Deposit			
(4.65%, Due 12/31/96)	—	2,742.45	2,742.45
<b>TOTAL CASH ON DEPOSIT</b>	<b>5,379.37</b>	<b>10,740.45</b>	<b>15,494.01</b>

*[Note from Herman Nootics, folklorist: the names and affiliations in this letter have been changed to protect the guilty]*

**Southern State Diversity, Anytown, USA**

Office of the C E O

To: All Diversity Faculty, Staff, Administrators

From: Dr X, CEO (Chief Evasive Officer)

Date: August 15, 1997

Re: Faculty Activities

This is a followup to my earlier memo in which I addressed the issue of Commencement exercises. As you recall, for purposes of recognizing the importance of the legislature's and University System's new emphasis on upgrading graduation rates, and in order to ensure that all of our students graduate from this first class institution within the allotted time frame, I instituted a new procedure for Commencement exercises.

Beginning immediately, the university's Commencement ceremonies will be merged with the Freshman Orientation program and held in September of each year. As soon as Freshmen register with the university, they will be issued diplomas. This procedure will ensure that all incoming students graduate within the four year time frame and that no Freshmen have an opportunity to drop out of the system.

As soon as current undergraduate classes have been graduated, all teaching duties for faculty will be suspended, since there will be no students enrolled in classes. Furthermore, all contracts with part time and Adjunct faculty will be suspended.


Faculty time will now be divided between two tasks:

(1) Fifty (50) percent of faculty time will be involved with writing high dollar research grants, with the occasional assistance of the Vice Chancellor for Research. Since faculty will no longer have teaching duties, they can devote to research 100% of their time previously used for classes.

(2) The rest of faculty time will be devoted to writing Assessment Reports and other Self Study and similar documents (as NCATE, SACS, etc). Since there will be no attrition of students due to failures in classes or the return to campus for another semester, it is anticipated that most University programs should survive budget-cutting trends from the Legislature or Diversity's Governing Body, so that these reports should be relatively easy to write.

Further details of these plans will be revealed to all during the Chancellor's State of the Diversity address at the beginning of the academic year.

Sincerely Yours

  
Chancellor