

Southern Anthropologist



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Southern Anthropologist

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Editor's Corner/ *Gifford S. Nickerson*

Savannah proved to be a congenial location for the SAS 1993 Annual Meeting; Barbara Hendry and Richard Persico are to be commended for their excellent local arrangements efforts. Accommodations for both individuals and meeting rooms were comfortable and the general atmosphere and good weather in Savannah contributed to the general success of the meeting. We can look forward to the proceedings volume which will reflect the high quality of the Key Symposium in Savannah.

It is not too early to begin planning for the 1994 meeting in Atlanta. The upcoming Key Symposium, to be coorganized by Alvin Wolfe and Honggang Yang, portends to be another "winner" in terms of its timeliness and significance. Please note the initial 1994 Key Symposium announcement and call for papers that appears in this issue.

Further details relating to the meetings, including a call and deadline for general papers, student paper competition information and deadlines, and reservations for accommodations in Atlanta, will be forthcoming in the next issue of

the *Southern Anthropologist*, as well as in separate mailings. The minutes of the 1993 Annual Meeting also will likely appear in the next issue.

I am sure that SAS members will appreciate the personal remembrances of John Peterson by Carole Hill and Kendall Blanchard which appear in this issue. These reflections touch on little-known or unknown facets of John's significant impact on these colleagues. Other members surely could give telling accounts of John's encouragement of and positive influence on their careers and lives. Certainly his manifold enduring contributions to the SAS, to anthropology at large, and to individuals and communities here and abroad, should not and will not be forgotten.

In her inaugural "President's Column," Pat Beaver has put forward some interesting and challenging thoughts for SAS members. Among their concerns, I regard the one relating to the need for teaching of anthropology in the public schools to be especially pertinent at a time when usages of terms such as *cultural diversity*, *pluralism*, and *multiculturalism* have become so commonplace

in the speech and publications of academics and non-academics alike. Who is better able to offer informed advice and suggestions about the appropriate content of public school curricula relating to cultural diversity than anthropologists?

Materials such as those developed in the 1960s and 1970s by the Anthropology Curriculum Study Project at the University of Chicago might well serve as useful models for the kinds of ideas and concepts that might be developed explicitly for public schools (e.g., Occasional Paper No. 3: "Teaching About Ethnocentrism," by Rachel Reese Sady). In any case, there clearly is much to discuss and much to ponder with respect to recommendations and strategies.

I believe that a potential barrier to communication between anthropologists and educators is one in which misunderstandings may arise over different prevailing connotations of concepts such as *cultural diversity*, *cultural pluralism*, and *multiculturalism*, on the one hand, and, on the other hand, traditional anthropological terms such as cross-cultural, trans-cultural or inter-cultural.

This is more than an incidental consideration; the former terms widely have been applied primarily to *intra-cultural* representations—e.g. within American culture—and may or may not be applied to *inter-cultural* concerns. On the other hand, both intra- and cross-cultural research have long-standing tra-

ditions within anthropology based on individual preferences or inclinations, but with neither having priority over the other. As I see it, clarification of differences in meanings and usages of terms could be an important means of facilitating communication between educators and anthropologists, and be of instrumental significance in conveying the significance of anthropology in various school curricula.

Once again we extend sincere appreciation to SAS's "Phamous Photographer," David Johnson, for the photographs that appear in this issue—all from the SAS 1993 Annual Meeting in Savannah.

Your attention also is drawn to Joan M. Reed's winning paper from the 1992 SAS Undergraduate Student Paper Competition, "Cultural Attitudes About Breastfeeding Among WIC Recipients: A Case Study in Rural Appalachia."

Finally, we need to start thinking: "SAS Annual Meeting: Atlanta 1994."

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President's Column

Patricia D. Beaver

A graduate student in 1973, I stood before members of the Southern Anthropological Society with fear and trepidation to present my first academic paper. Thus began my association with the SAS twenty years ago. I am now both pleased and honored to be serving as President of the SAS for the 1993-1994 year in its 28th year of active involvement with anthropology in the South.

The Wrightsville Beach meetings in 1973 were exhilarating; my first public presentation of my own work was reasonably successful, despite my terror. However, I mark that meeting as a turning point in my professional maturation. Contacts and relationships made at that first meeting have guided my professional development. Many of you who are working in and/or on the South provided models of scholarship and models of professionalism. You regarded my scholarship critically. You introduced me to people, to ideas, to organizations and institutions, to models of

instruction, to research questions and directions, to models of application of anthropological knowledge to the solution of human problems.

I. I recount my own experience in order to emphasize the importance that the SAS can play in the dynamic of scholarly exchange in the South, for scholars of all sorts—senior scholars and those new to the field. In the intervening years since my first SAS meetings, you have embraced my students as they have presented their first papers before professional audiences.

Past President Alvin Wolfe ardently called for the increasing participation of African Americans in the profession through the SAS (*Southern Anthropologist* 19 (3): 1992), and I want to reiterate his point. Many students throughout the South are in programs without graduate degrees (like my own) or without anthropology departments; students can be mentored into the profession through contacts with representatives of graduate programs, and through their associations

with others—students and professionals, at the meetings.

As we strive to embrace, to document, to comprehend cultural diversity within the South, as we struggle to impact this region through the application of anthropological knowledge to social issues and agencies, we must actively work for greater cultural diversity within this professional organization. The SAS can provide a meeting place for students' first exposure to the myriad possibilities which anthropology offers. At next year's meeting in Atlanta, we will host a reception for students. We hope that many of you will bring your students and their scholarly insights to Atlanta.

II. Alvin Wolfe also pointed out in the same issue of the *Southern Anthropologist* that "... students in many colleges only learn of the existence of anthropology late in their college careers. . ." Why is this? Because few students come to college with any knowledge of anthropology, and out of fear of ignorance, may not choose to take anthropology courses as freshmen. Why are they ignorant of anthropology? Because few public school systems offer anthropology. Why? The reasons are myriad and complex, but basically anthropology is still comparatively new in some intellectual circles and not well entrenched. However, there might be solutions. State mandated curricula increasingly include both the study of

culture (and cultural diversity) and geographic world regions. This is the stuff of anthropology, as we all know. Many public school educators and administrators know this as well, and are eager for the infusion of anthropological expertise into their classroom materials.

As accreditation standards and educational goals require greater attention to cultural diversity and global awareness, public education curricula need anthropology courses in the public schools. We need to help complete the circle: we must increase the awareness of what anthropology is and how anthropological expertise can work in public education. We need state-level lobbies, and state-level participation in the formation and implementation of educational curricular goals, and in textbook selection (and textbook writing).

Many of us have perused elementary and secondary social science texts with dismay, and respond willingly to the annual requests to lecture on geographic areas, non-Western or Native American cultures, interpreting service to public education as part of our university service mission; our archeologists are often overwhelmed with demands for lecture-demonstrations. Despite continuing budget crises or constraints which shackle our programs, our hirings, and our course offerings, enrollments in anthropology, and the popular appraisal of the discipline, continue to

ease forward. The time is ripe to infuse anthropology and students of anthropology into the process of public education.

For many years, historians have provided an active voice in the public school social studies curricula. Since about 1985, our colleagues in geography have become active participants in educational reform through the infusion of geographical knowledge into public education. Under the effective leadership of the National Geographic Society, through its geography education program and its networks of fifty state geography alliances, university geography faculty have developed programs to work with classroom teachers in state and national workshops to revise and reform curricula and materials.

Momentum generated from various levels has resulted in numerous spin-offs, and geographical knowledge is coming to be considered essential to an informed citizenry. At the local level, many of us with children in public schools are aware of the popular success and national attention which the geography bees have generated. This competition begins in middle grades classrooms in every corner of America, allowing students to compete locally, and in state-wide, national, and international competition. National essay contests, well funded by corporate sponsors, give additional visibility and rewards for students excelling in geographical knowl-

edge. A university-level geography bowl, developed in North Carolina, has now spread to the Southeast and New England. We have much to learn from our sister discipline in terms of the effectiveness of a variety of efforts, from local workshops for teachers, to national promotion of geographic awareness, to implementation of new curricula, and finally, to the training of anthropologists.

It is not a simple matter of deciding that anthropology should be incorporated into public education to make it so. However, the possibilities for the radical application of anthropology to this social institution within this society seems to be within our grasp. This is an issue which could fundamentally affect our discipline and our instruction, and cross cuts many of our organizations and foci (especially Applied Anthropology, and Anthropology and Education).

I invite anyone interested in brainstorming on this issue, or forming a Task Force to consider strategies to address this issue, to correspond through the *Southern Anthropologist* or with me. Those of us who work with the education faculty in our institutions might explore these issues more fully. There are probably useful models of successful implementation of anthropology into public education that could be duplicated. We could also form a liaison group with the Council on Anthropology and Education (with whom I am sharing

these ideas).

Endowment Campaign

Over the next three years, the SAS will be conducting an endowment campaign for the purpose of funding student prize awards, a speakers' bureau for small colleges in the South, and other purposes such as the Mooney Book Award. As part of this overall effort we hope to increase participation by anthropology departments in the South, network with and support student anthropology clubs and their activities, and identify colleges without anthropology programs for which the SAS could provide resources. Anthropology departments with strong Ph.D. programs have a stake in identifying excellent undergraduates from small colleges, and small colleges can benefit from visiting lecturers, mentoring of students, and networking with and promoting anthropology for academic decision-making bodies. We urge you to think about the ways you, your students, and your department can benefit from such programs, and the ways you, your students, your department, and your pocketbook can contribute to this endowment campaign to assure that we approach the next millenium on secure footing.

Mark Your Calendar Now:

Next year's meetings will be in Atlanta April 27-30, at the American Ho-

el. Alvin Wolfe will chair the Key Symposium, focused on conflict resolution (see his announcement in this issue). George Armelagos will coordinate the program and invites anyone interested in discussing ideas for symposia to contact him at the Department of Anthropology, Emory University, Atlanta, Georgia 30322, or call him at 404-727-2215, or FAX 404-727-2860. Daryl White, Beatriz Morales, and Tanya Frazier will coordinate local arrangements. Barbara Hendry will chair the student paper competition. Hester Davis will continue to chair the Mooney award competition. Look for further details in the next *Southern Anthropologist*.

Transition: Proceedings Editor

After about ten years of outstanding service to the SAS as Proceedings Editor, Mary Helms has decided to step down. We are grateful for Mary's care and diligence in seeing volume after volume from ideas to print, and with deep respect and gratitude, have accepted her resignation from this position, effective 1994.

We invite those interested in serving as Proceedings Editor to send a letter of interest and vita to me: Patricia Beaver, Department of Anthropology, Appalachian State University, Boone, NC 28608, by July 25, 1993. Mary says that she has interpreted the position to include responsibility for liaison with the University of Georgia Press; primary re-

sponsibility for seeing that the Proceedings are published on schedule; cooperation with the volume editor, which entails a series of responsibilities each year for the volume, including final preparation of the manuscript for the press, answering copy editor's queries, and proof reading the printed page proofs. Quali-

cations for the job include understanding deadlines, toleration for coping with details, and prior publishing or editing experience with a university press. The work will begin with the 1994 Key Symposium. Mary will be happy to advise and consult with the new editor as needed.

SA



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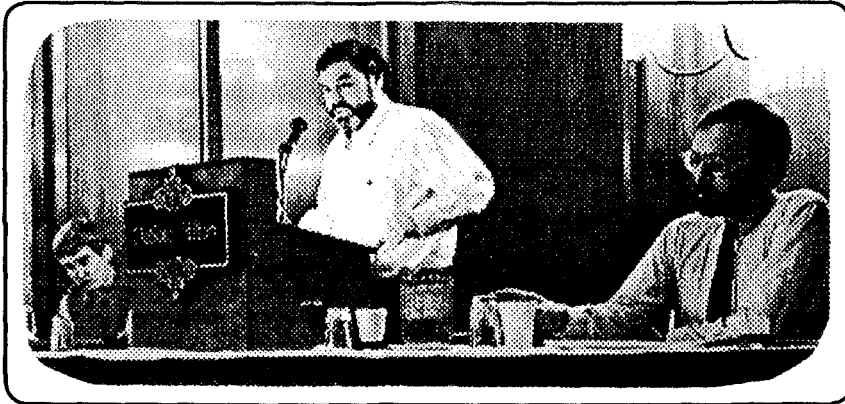
Pat Beaver shortly after her replacing Al Wolfe (on her left) as President of the SAS; Daryl White is at President Beaver's right.

Right

Outgoing President Al Wolfe reads accolades for incoming President Pat Beaver during her Presidential Reception.



SAS 1993 Key Symposium Presenters



Southern Anthropological Society

Invitation to Submit Papers for the 1994 Key Symposium

Anthropological Contributions to Conflict Resolution

at the Annual Meeting of the
Southern Anthropological Society

Atlanta, Georgia
American Hotel
April 27-30, 1994

The purpose of this key symposium is to bring together and to make vividly apparent the variety of ways anthropological approaches and perspectives can be of very practical worth in the resolution of conflicts and, especially, in the early identification of developing potential conflicts while they are still resolvable without violence. The organizers envisage fifteen papers, to be presented orally in Atlanta in 1994 and to be published subsequently as a volume in the respected series, SAS Proceedings, University of Georgia Press. One session and a reception will be held at the Carter Center of Emory University.

We anticipate contributions from legal and political anthropology, economic anthropology, social network approaches, interpretive approaches, cross-cultural studies, and from other anthropological streams. Characteristically, we expect anthropologists to deal with conflicts and potential conflicts at a variety of levels—family and kinship problems, local neighborhoods and communities, intra-national and inter-national relations, multinational and supranational systems. We expect some theoretical arguments, but what we really want are very down-to-earth suggestions that derive from anthropological knowl-

Please send titles and abstracts (100 words) to either co-organizer:

Alvin W. Wolfe
Distinguished Service Professor
Department of Anthropology
University of South Florida
4202 E. Fowler Ave, SOC 107
Tampa, Florida 33620

Honggang Yang, Ph.D.
Research Associate
Conflict Resolution Program
The Carter Center of Emory University
One Copenhill
Atlanta, Georgia 30307

Titles and Abstracts due November 30, 1993
If selected, completed papers will be due February 28, 1994

American Society for Ethnohistory
Annual Conference
November 4-7, 1993
Indiana University Memorial Union
Bloomington, Indiana

Deadline for proposals for organized sessions and individual abstracts (50-100 words): July 15, 1993. Abstracts must be accompanied by \$30 pre-registration fee (\$15 for students and retired). Program Chair: Raymond J. DeMallie; Local Arrangement Co-Chairs Douglas R. Parks and R. David Edmunds. Address:

American Indian Studies Research Institute
Indiana University
422 N. Indiana Avenue
Bloomington, IN 47405
(812 855-4086)

Winning Entry: 1993 SAS Undergraduate Student Paper Competition

*Cultural Attitudes About
Breastfeeding Among WIC
Recipients : A Case Study in
Rural Appalachia*

Joan M. Reed

Department of Sociology

University of North Carolina at Asheville

Faculty Research Advisor: Dr. Heidi Kelley

In an early nineteenth-century home medical manual, women were counseled that "Every mother ought to nurse her own child, if she is fit to do it, [furthermore] no woman is fit to have a child who is not fit to nurse it" (Apple 1987:3). In a similar publication of the early twentieth century, women were assured that "under good medical guidance . . . [a] bottle mother may still be a perfect mother" (Apple 1987:3). These two examples embody the dramatic shift in

ideology that took place in American culture in just one century regarding infant feeding practices and what constitutes "good mothering."

Today, the trend toward bottle feeding is at odds with the well-documented body of knowledge that has been accumulated regarding the benefits of human milk versus infant formulas (La Leche League 1991:1-2).¹ Nonetheless, the rate of bottle feeding continues to be high in the general population (ap-

proximately 50%) and is even higher among low-income women (approximately 79%).

In North Carolina specifically, according to Best Beginnings, a statewide project dedicated to reducing infant mortality, both the incidence and duration of breastfeeding among low-income women in N.C. is far below the national average. Currently only about twenty-one percent of infants enrolled in WIC in N.C. are ever put to the breast and by six months of age only four percent are still being breastfed. Some N.C. county health departments report rates as low as five to ten percent. Rates in the rural counties of western N.C. tend to be slightly higher than the state average. Projects such as Best Beginnings demonstrate, in the broader social context, the changing tide in attitudes toward infant feeding practices.

In an economic and social context, not only does the low rate of breastfeeding take its toll in health and health care costs, but the cost of infant formula provided by the WIC program is also staggering. The U.S. Federal Government currently spends approximately 400 million dollars a year for infant formula, compared to only eight million dollars for breastfeeding promotion programs (Select Committee on Hunger 1991:28). If only half the WIC mothers breastfed for one month, it would reduce the cost of funding the WIC program by approx-

imately 30 million dollars.

This paper describes cultural attitudes about breastfeeding among low-income women in rural Appalachia. Data on attitudes have been collected by conducting ethnographic interviews with both pregnant and nursing WIC recipients. WIC, which stands for Women, Infants and Children, is a federally funded nutritional program for low-income women and their young children. The main research question I set out to investigate was: What cultural and/or socioeconomic factors affect a woman's choice to breastfeed in rural Appalachia?

METHODOLOGY

My data were obtained primarily through ethnographic interviews with 22 pregnant and nursing women. I contacted these women through the maternity clinics operated by the public health departments of Madison, Yancey, and Mitchell counties located in western North Carolina. The interviews were always conducted in a private office at the health department and ranged from 30 minutes to one hour in length. In addition to the interviews, I have participated in the infant feeding classes, conducted by the health departments, that all pregnant WIC recipients are required to attend. My participation in these classes allowed me to observe the influences these classes may have on a woman's choice to breastfeed. It also allowed the

women (who were my primary informants) to get to know me, and me them, in a friendly, non-threatening atmosphere. The fact that I openly shared with them my own mothering and breastfeeding experiences was particularly beneficial to establishing rapport.

My research also included contact with health care professionals who work with pregnant and nursing women. By participating in workshops and seminars related to obstetrics and lactation,² I have been able to investigate the effect health care professionals may have on both a woman's decision to breastfeed and her ultimate success at breastfeeding.

THE RESEARCH SETTING

The maternity clinics at which I conducted interviews are each housed within the respective county public health department building and have designated days on which maternity clients are seen. All three settings are staffed almost exclusively by women except for the occasional male physician. The women that work at these maternity clinics appear to be very devoted to the care of their clients. This lends a familial air to relations between staff and client, and as I was told by one nurse in Madison County, "these women [clients] think of us as family."

The majority of my data (18 of 22 interviews) were collected at the Yancey

County Maternity Clinic.³ Both Yancey and Mitchell counties have applied for and received federal grants to fund breastfeeding promotion programs and have very effective programs. This is particularly evident in Yancey County where in one year, through education and peer counseling, the proportion of breastfeeding women has increased from 26% to 52%. Mitchell County has experienced similar success.

In Madison County, in contrast, where there is no breastfeeding promotion program, the number of breastfed babies continues to be very low (under 25%). Though primary responsibility for the breastfeeding promotion program in Yancey County falls to the WIC nutritionist, the rest of the staff also appears very concerned with this issue, and it was often a topic of conversation at the lunch table. I consider the overall supportive atmosphere to be one of the primary reasons for the success of the Breastfeeding Promotion Program at this clinic.

In the infant feeding classes offered by the maternity clinic, the primary focus is on the benefits of mother's milk and nursing versus the use of infant formula. This is accomplished not only by providing educational information, but also through group discussion (there is always a peer counselor present to talk about her own breastfeeding experience, and who often nurses her own baby in

front of the clients), and the use of videos showing nursing mothers. This appears to be a very effective means of introducing the subject of breastfeeding, particularly to those women who are pregnant with their first child, and/or have not been exposed to or considered breastfeeding before.

The population of Yancey County is approximately 17,000 people (Madison and Mitchell counties are of approximately the same size). A large percentage of the pregnant population of Yancey County receives either Medicaid, WIC, or both. In 1989, there was a total of 163 births; 52 (31.9%) of the women received Medicaid, and 116 (71.2%) received WIC (Governor's Commission on Reduction of Infant Mortality 1991).⁴

Of the 22 women I interviewed, the youngest was 18 years of age and the oldest was 37 years of age; the mean age was 21.9 years of age. Fourteen of the women were married and eight were single. Only 11 of the 22 women held high-school diplomas, and the average level of education was 11th grade. The average income of the women and their families was under \$9,000 a year. This figure does not include income from welfare programs such as AFDC, Food Stamps, Medicaid, WIC or any other contingency income. The 22 women had experienced a total of 46 pregnancies, 43 live births and three miscarriages.

Over half (12) of the women I interviewed had decided they would try breastfeeding their infants; the remainder were either undecided (six) or definite no's (four). Of the 12 women planning on breastfeeding, three were first pregnancies and seven had attempted breastfeeding previous children (one was still nursing her 18-month-old daughter). Of these seven, four had been successful and three had stopped due to problems. Of the six women who were undecided, two were first pregnancies, one had successfully breastfed a previous child, and three had bottlefed. Of the four women who said they would not breastfeed, two were first pregnancies and two had bottlefed their previous children.

THE LOST ART OF BREASTFEEDING

Interestingly enough, all of the women I spoke with were aware of the emotional and physical advantages attributed to breastfeeding and believed it was better for a baby to be breastfed. Since I have no doubt after speaking with these women that they are very concerned about the well-being of their babies and all are now aware of the benefits of breastfeeding, why, then, have some women chosen not to breastfeed?

Although research has shown that socio-economic factors⁵ can have a significant effect on the rate of breastfeeding (Walker 1990:23), in my own re-

search this seemed a less important factor than other considerations. As a matter of fact, of the 12 women who planned to breastfeed, six were currently working or planning on returning to work. Of the six women who were undecided, only one was employed or planning on returning to work, and of the four women who planned to bottle-feed, two were working or planning on returning to work. Among the six working women planning to breastfeed, some concern was expressed regarding their ability to continue breastfeeding after they returned to work. The degree of concern depended upon the nature of the work the women performed.

One woman who worked at a local drugstore felt confident that she would be able to work this out with her employer. Several others who work in factories, and whose time is more regimented, worried whether they would have sufficient time to pump their milk during their breaks. Even in the face of concerns about the logistics of working and breastfeeding, however, all were planning to at least try to continue breastfeeding after they returned to work. I did not ask my informants if they thought a choice to breastfeed was a reflection on their economic status, nor did I ask them if they would feel cheated if they did not take advantage of the free formula provided by WIC. In my interviews, however, none of the women

made reference to either one of these issues in any other context.

Although several of the women I interviewed were enthusiastic about their choice to breastfeed, others seemed ambivalent, and some were even apprehensive. A number of women told me that, though that had decided to try breastfeeding or were at least considering breastfeeding, they were not convinced they would be successful. It seemed as if a number of them had agreed to try it only reluctantly under subtle pressure from the health department and their new awareness of its benefits as a result of attending the infant feeding classes.

Many of the women I interviewed told me they would not breastfeed due to family pressure. A number of women told me their families thought it was "unnatural" to breastfeed and that it was "traditional" in their families to bottle-feed their infants. Ironically, what was once traditional has now become unnatural and what was once unnatural has now become traditional. One woman who had breastfed her first child for a few months finally gave up because of her family. She said, "[she] missed breastfeeding at first, but there was so much pressure from family to stop, it was a relief to quit." She also told me she regretted this decision because her child began to have ear infections as soon as she stopped. She fully intends to breastfeed this new baby even in the

face of family pressure, and has asked her husband "to have his family stay out of it." When I asked her why her husband's family felt so negative about breastfeeding, she told me it was because "they are set in their ways—they don't have any knowledge, and are embarrassed because they see breasts as sexual things."

Modesty was a key concern of many of the women I interviewed. Now, not only is breastfeeding no longer considered "natural" or "traditional," but it is also "shameful." The majority of the women expressed some concern about being embarrassed to breastfeed in public. This was especially true among the younger women who were very concerned with public modesty and what people would think, fearing that they would be shunned (particularly at church by other members) or worse, made a spectacle of.

One young mother told me of an experience she had in a restaurant in Asheville (Western N.C.'s largest city) when a woman seated some distance away actually pointed to her when she breastfed her daughter. Another told me "[she] did not feel uncomfortable generally, but doesn't want to [breastfeed] at church or where there are men around." Yet another woman told me "[she] would feel comfortable nursing in front of her boyfriend, her mom, or her sister," but that "if there were other men

around [she] would go to a different room or if [she] were in public, [she] would find some place private." During the infant feeding classes I attended, many women talked about the feelings of their male partners on the issue of modesty. A number of these men had seen nursing women bare their breasts in public and apparently were afraid their own wives or girlfriends would do the same. One man was so uncomfortable with the idea, he was adamant about not allowing his wife to breastfeed even though she had assured him that it could be accomplished discreetly. The concerns of these women with modesty and embarrassment may be a particularly extreme manifestation of our societal obsession with breasts as sexual objects (Walker 1990).

Despite the concerns of modesty, most women claimed their male partners would be supportive of whatever decision they made regarding infant feeding. Yet, when the nutritionist in Yancey County would ask the women if their male partners would be willing to attend an infant feeding class with them, the answer was always no. The women were reluctant to even ask, and this held true even among the women who seemed more "progressive" in their approach to child-bearing.⁶

When I asked another woman if her family was supportive of her decision to breastfeed, she told me "my

mom supports me, but everyone else is very against it," particularly her grandmother and two of her aunts do not want her to breastfeed though she doesn't know why. One of her aunts, who is a licensed practical nurse even told her it was "unsanitary" to breastfeed. Several women told me that they were discouraged from breastfeeding not only by family, but also by friends and even co-workers. They were told things from "it's too messy and time consuming" to "it hurts." One woman's friend who only nursed one of her six children told her "[she] thought it was terrible to have a two-year-old tugging at you and pulling you behind doors—always at you."

On the other hand, those women I spoke with who had successfully breastfed other children and/or were planning on breastfeeding this child, often cited a positive and supportive family environment regarding their choice to breastfeed, and that the support of their mate was most important and helpful. One young woman who returned to work when her daughter was five months old had difficulty getting the breast pump to work until her husband helped her. From then on, they always pumped her breasts together, and he would care for and feed their daughter while she was at work. She didn't feel she would have succeeded had it not been for her husband's support and help.

Eleven of the women I inter-

viewed had attempted breastfeeding a previous child. Of those 11 women, four were totally unsuccessful for a variety of reasons. Most commonly, they told me that they could not produce enough milk and were concerned that their babies were not gaining sufficient weight. One woman who is planning to breastfeed her second child told me "I gave up too easy last time. I had sore nipples and thought she [her daughter] was starving to death." I also heard "horror" stories from the women about sore, bleeding, and cracked nipples.

Except for the one woman mentioned above who did say she experienced sore nipples, these were all stories related to them by other women they knew. This led a number of the women to be understandably fearful. Sore, cracked and bleeding nipples are, however, easily avoidable by proper positioning and latching on when putting a baby to the breast. Many women are unaware of the correct procedure for breastfeeding having had little opportunity to observe other nursing mothers, pointing again to the fact that breastfeeding has become a lost art.

This theme was embellished when I asked the women if they remembered the first time they ever saw anyone breastfeed. Of the 22 women, two could not remember ever seeing anyone breastfeed, five had only ever observed strangers, two had observed a friend,

only seven had ever observed a family member, and six had never observed a woman breastfeeding until they came to the maternity clinic, four of which were not even in person, but on video. I also asked the women about their family history regarding breastfeeding (mother, maternal grandmother, paternal grandmother). Four of their mothers had successfully breastfed, while five tried but were unsuccessful. Nine said their mothers bottlefed and four of the women did not even know how they were fed as infants. Eleven of the women did not know if their maternal grandmother breastfed (seven said yes and four said no) and 12 of the women did not know if their paternal grandmother breastfed (four said yes, four said no, and two said their grandmother had tried but had problems).

This lack of family support, particularly from one's mother, is a commonly cited reason for why women either choose not to breastfeed or are unsuccessful if they try. In the past, when almost all women breastfed, family role models were available for instruction, information, and support. Now that breastfeeding has become an almost lost art in our society, women often lack confidence in their ability to breastfeed and must now rely on health care professionals and organizations such as La Leche League for the support and information they used to receive from their

families (Walker 1990:20).

The types of problems these women described to me would be unlikely to occur were breastfeeding properly managed. Oftentimes it appeared that incorrect or poor information relayed by family and friends and even, at times, by local physicians and hospital staff members led the women to believe they could not produce sufficient milk to nurse their babies. Three of the women told me that their doctors intervened by telling them to switch to formula.

A common practice in hospitals has been to schedule infant feedings, "For instance, mothers receive their babies for feeding on a strict time schedule, usually every four hours, but sometimes [only] every eight." (Apple 1987:127). In addition, infants in the hospital are often given bottles of glucose solution or supplemental bottles of formula even when the mother is breastfeeding, thereby undermining the process of establishing a generous milk supply for breastfeeding mothers as well as sending a subtle message to the mother as to the inadequacy of breastfeeding (Apple 1987:128).

In order to establish an ample milk supply, an infant should be nursed on demand eight to 12 times a day. As organizations such as La Leche League and the World Health Organization further promote the emotional and physical benefits of breastfeeding, hospital pat-

terns are gradually changing to accommodate the needs of nursing mothers and babies.

Today, this lost art is receiving renewed interest and support. Since, however, the art of breastfeeding can no longer rely on intergenerational role models, it must now enter the "brave new world" of medicalization. Nowhere was this more clear to me in my research than when I attended a Breastfeeding Educator's Workshop in Greensboro, N.C.

The workshop was conducted by two licensed lactation consultants⁷ who operate the Triad Lactation Center at Wesley-Long Community Hospital. Throughout the workshop, these two women explained not only the logistics necessary to ensure successful breastfeeding, but also the importance of a supportive professional staff and home environment. The women see themselves as the champions of breastfeeding, facing a world of misconceptions and misinformation that is their job to overcome if we are to have healthy mothers and babies.

It was not what these consultants said, however, but their very existence and professional status that had the most impact on me as a researcher. Who could have imagined 100 years ago, that women would now require a team of medical experts to learn how to properly breastfeed?

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Acknowledgements

This research was supported by an Undergraduate Research Grant from the University of North Carolina at Asheville. I thank the county health departments for their invaluable time and assistance in this project, and in particular the women who were my informants for allowing me to interview them.

Notes

¹ Mother's milk provides growth hormones, cholesterol necessary for human brain development, and immunological factors absent from infant formulas. Additionally, research has shown that breastfeeding reduced the risk for infants of acute gastroenteritis, allergies, jaundice, acute respiratory infections, ear infections, and may even reduce the risk of SIDS (Sudden Infant Death Syndrome). Breastfeeding is also associated with a lower rate of certain chronic diseases later in life. For mothers breastfeeding reduces the risk of breast and epithelial ovarian cancer (Best Beginnings 1991).

² Breastfeeding Listener's Project, Tow River Health District, April, 1992; Breastfeeding Educator's Program, conducted by Wesley-Long Community Hospital, Greensboro, N.C., November 9-11, 1992; Babies & Business, Governor's Commission on Reduction of Infant Mortality, October 13, 1992 and November 17, 1992.

³ I have conducted the majority of my interviews in Yancey County due in part to time constraints (Mitchell County is a further distance away from my home base) as well as personal bias. The staff at the Yancey County Maternity Clinic was especially supportive of the

project and went out of their way to be sure I would have time and privacy in which to interview the women. Madison County Maternity Clinic is confined to a very small space, creating a more chaotic atmosphere that made it difficult to obtain a private space to interview my informants. Since this was a sensitive subject, I was concerned that the women might not be as open with me if other people were around who could hear what they were saying.

⁴ The Governor's Commission on Reduction of Infant Mortality was established in North Carolina in 1990. This Commission was established in response to the fact that in 1989 the State of North Carolina had the second highest infant mortality rate in the United States.

⁵ This factor includes not only work versus desired mothering style conflicts due to the increased numbers of women with young babies entering or returning to the workforce, but also includes concepts of status (not wanting to appear too poor to purchase formula), and the policy of the WIC program to provide free infant formula to women who choose to bottle feed without providing some equivalent dollar package to those women who choose to breastfeed.

⁶ Those women who had or were planning to breastfeed and/or attend birth education classes that discourage the use of drugs during birth and promote and teach "natural" birthing techniques.

⁷ The title Lactation Consultant (IBCLC) is awarded by the International Board of Lactation Consultant Examiners, Inc. after meeting the following requirement: passing an eight-hour international licensing exam and 2500 hours of

hands-on experience working with nursing women in a clinical setting.

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Above

Andy Miracle discussing holism and basketball rituals



Above

Technical difficulties! Daryl White assists Charlotte Neely with slide projector before her presentation.

*John H. Peterson
(1938-1993):
A Personal Memory*

Carole E. Hill

Georgia State University

John Peterson gave his first paper at the Southern Anthropological Society in 1967. That was an exciting year for the SAS and for graduate students at the University of Georgia. We gave papers at this newly formed organization with strong support of our professors, particularly Dr. Charles Hudson and Dr. Wilfrid Bailey. It was a time of collaborative learning among students and professors. It was a time of laying the foundation for our careers in anthropology.

I Met John in September 1965 in Athens, Georgia. For the next four years, we laughed and cried, cooperatively and competitively, in our graduate career at the University of Georgia. For years after we left Athens, he would tell the story of our experience in a linguistic class. We would sit up to the early hours of the mornings together so we would be sure that the other did not analyze a problem using methods beyond the ones we

had agreed upon. He would laugh and say that we both performed better in graduate school because we had each other.

John left Athens in 1968 to begin his fieldwork among the Choctaw in Philadelphia, Mississippi. From that time to his death, he considered himself an applied anthropologist. He spent the next few years working for the Choctaw Tribal Council. He participated in writing several successful grants that empowered the tribe toward self-determination. He later wrote a paper stating that only after obtaining economic growth could they afford their culture.

Later he became Director of the Cobb Institute at Mississippi State University and became involved in archaeological research in Israel. He also turned his attention to environmental issues and worked with researchers and planners in agricultural development and forestry to develop preservation policies. This in-

terest culminated in his work in Zimbabwe, Africa as a Fulbright Scholar during 1990-91. He was to have returned to Africa this year after having received a two-year contract from U.S. AID.

John was an incredible optimist. He always viewed issues and problems from a positive perspective and, just as important, he accepted people for who they were. In our 27-year friendship, he never criticized or demonstrated anger or animosity toward anyone, even when he had reason. This attitude and belief made it easy to love and trust John. Although he avoided conflict, when he was forced to confront it, he would always attempt to play the mediator.

I will miss our long talks dissecting, for hours, any topic we happened to be discussing at the time. We would make dates for our telephone calls in order to have enough time to catch up and discuss any issues that we needed/wanted to discuss. During our visits, his wife and my friend, Jan, would tell

us to go into another room if we planned to spend a long time discussing anthropology. She would join us later with a knowing smile that friends can talk a subject to extinction. Nonetheless, we continued the patterns developed during graduate school of sitting around discussing theory and its applications, how our personal interest was often reflected in our professional interest, and how we planned to grow old together.

Recently, a friend said that the power of professional friendships had not been given a clear voice in our discipline; that the importance of long-term friendships and that the people we depend upon for advice and support, in effect, become family. She continued by saying that when we lose these friendships, they are not given the honor they deserve. It is like losing family. John Peterson was an important part of my family for almost three decades. I will miss him terribly. **SJ**

Right

Heidi Kelley congratulates one of the winners in the 1993 SAS Student Paper Competition.



Reminiscences of John H. Peterson

Kendall Blanchard

Lamar University

Like many of our colleagues, I was shocked to read of the recent death of John Peterson, who for me had become over the years a symbol of what was good about anthropology in the colleges and universities of the deep South. I think of John and I think of his omnipresent enthusiasm, ready smile, firm handshake, and no-nonsense style of discourse. Anthropology meetings will never be the same for me. His presence and many contributions to our discipline will be missed.

I am personally grateful to John Peterson for several reasons. But I appreciate most his graciousness and the unselfish assistance he provided me when I began working in the Mississippi Choctaw community back in the mid-seventies. At that point, I knew John only by reputation and through his writings. Among the Choctaws at that time John Peterson was **the** anthropologist. Despite his tremendous personal investment in that community, John, without the slightest trace of territoriality or any

claim of squatter's rights, welcomed me with the eagerness of a kindergarten teacher on the first day of class. He introduced me to key members of the local community, was candid with me about the mechanics of Choctaw politics at the time, and made available to me his collection of relevant materials: from books, articles, and unpublished papers, to his own personal fieldnotes.

More importantly, everywhere I went among the Mississippi Choctaws, because of John's warmth, personal integrity, and investment in that community, I never had to apologize for being an anthropologist. By his continuing commitment to the well-being of his Choctaw friends, John Peterson made it unbelievably easy for those of us who followed him into that community. I am reminded of the official position taken by the Society for Applied Anthropology in its 1963 statement on ethics: "In the wake of his own studies he [the anthropologist] must undertake to leave a hospitable climate for future study."

Knowingly or unknowingly, John Peterson took that admonition seriously and as a result both the Choctaw people and those anthropologists privileged to walk in the footprints he left at such places as Pearl River, Bogue Chitto, and Connehatta, Mississippi, are much the richer. SA

[**Editor's Note:** these reminiscences were sent in a letter to me by Kendall Blanchard, Dean of Arts and Sciences at Lamar University. Because of their direct relevance to SAS members, whether or not they knew John Peterson, I have taken the liberty of reprinting them verbatim, except for the added title—*GSN*.]

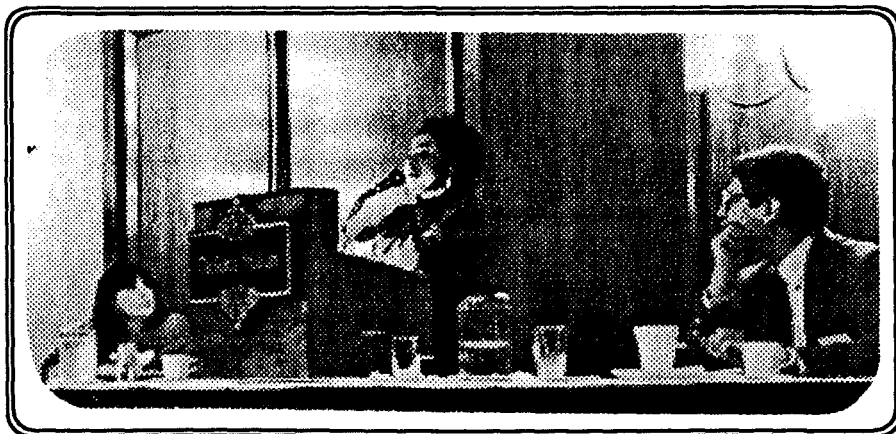


*Mooney Award
Announcement*

Miles Richardson
announces winner
of the Mooney
Book Award (giv-
in absentia to
Stuart Marks)

*Key
Symposium:*

Beatriz Mo-
rales speak-
ing, with
Charlotte
Neely to her
right and
Mike Angro-
sino to her
left.



Southern Anthropological Society 1992 James Mooney Award Announced

The Mooney Award Committee of the Southern Anthropological Society (Hester Davis, Miles Richardson, and Gilbert Kushner) reviewed 15 books in 1992, submitted by presses or individuals in competition for the James Mooney Award. We are pleased to announce that the winner is Dr. Stuart A. Marks of Durham, North Carolina, for his book *Southern Hunting in Black and White: Nature, History, and Ritual in a Carolina Community*, published by Princeton University Press. Dr. Marks received \$500 from the SAS at its Annual Meeting, and Princeton University Press receives free advertising for a year in the SAS newsletter.

Using extensive interviews and "participant observation" techniques, Dr. Marks provides both a detailed historical background and an in-depth view of actions and attitudes concerning

ous game in one North Carolina county, providing an interesting account of the place of this pervasive activity in rural Southern culture.

The SAS created this award to honor what many consider the first ethnographer in the southeast, James Mooney. It is given annually, when appropriate books are submitted for review. The criteria require that the subject matter be about "the South or about Southerners, written from an anthropological perspective;" edited books cannot be considered. Although the award was originally created in 1977, it languished in the 1980s, and was revived with the present criteria in 1990. In 1991, the award was presented to Dr. Charles Hudson, for his book *The Juan Pardo Expeditions: Exploration of the Carolinas and Tennessee, 1566-1568*, published by Smithsonian

1993 Nominations for the Southern Anthropological Society's James Mooney Award

Submission of nominations for the 1993 Mooney Award were made between January and mid-March. Seven books have been received and will be reviewed by the committee over the next several months. The schedule is for the final decision on the award to be made by the end of the year, with the official announcement and award ceremony to be at the SAS Annual Meeting in April. The following books have been nominated:

* **Adele Logan Alexander**, *Ambiguous Lives: Free Women of Color in Rural Georgia, 1789-1879*, University of Arkansas Press.

* **Hans Baer and Merrill Singer**, *African-American Religion in the Twentieth Century: Varieties of Protection and Accommodation*, University of Ten-

ness Press.

* **William W. Dressler**, *Stress and Adaptation in the Context of Culture: Depression in a Southern Black Community*,

* **E. Paul Durrenberger**, *It's All Politics: South Alabama's Seafood Industry*, University of Illinois Press.

* **Leland Ferguson**, *Uncommon Ground: Archaeology and Early African America, 1650-1800*, Smithsonian Press.

* **Gwendolyn Midlo Hall**, *Africans in Colonial Louisiana: The Development of Afro-Creole Culture in the Eighteenth Century*, Louisiana State University Press.

* **Karen Hess**, *The Carolina Rice Kitchen: The African Connection*, University of South



Above
SAS Annual Meeting registration
(Barbara Hendry in center)



Above
SAS Annual Meeting Book Display

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