

Southern Anthropologist



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Southern Anthropologist

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Southern Anthropologist

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Photograph on front cover shows James Deetz, on left, receiving the Mooney Award for his book *Flowerdew Hundred* from Miles Richardson. See inside back cover for an advertisement telling how you can own your very own copy of the book!

(Photo by APE)

David M Johnson
Editor's Corner

Welcome to the Summer 1995 Issue of the **Southern Anthropologist!** You say you've noticed that summer's gone? Well, so have I...but remember that that's where a lot of anthropologists are during the summer...gone. Perhaps you were one of them, so you wouldn't have been able to read this issue if had been printed earlier! Anyway, here we are, and we have quite a show for you, to borrow a phrase.

First I want to say "Thank You" to those who voted to have me be appointed editor of the *Southern Anthropologist* for the next three years; with everyone's help, I hope to continue the *Anthropologist's* status as a *must read* publication for hundreds (dozens?) of anthropologists and others.

This issue

In this issue we look back at this spring's annual meetings with two articles reprinted from papers given at the meetings, as well as minutes and financial reports of the SAS that were given at the Business meeting. We are fortunate to have permission to reprint Jim Peacock's keynote address on anthropology in the south, which was delivered at the meetings, along with the Undergraduate paper winner. This issue points forward to next year's meetings with a call for papers for

Baton Rouge (which is coming up very fast). This issue also begins the "SAS People" Column that I hope will be a regular feature of this publication.

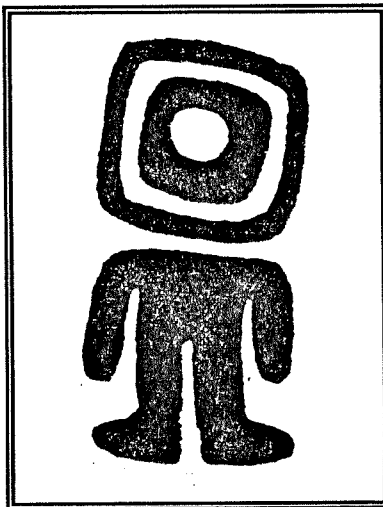
This issue also has two articles on the late Pen Banks, who died this summer and who was the founder of anthropology at Wake Forest University in Winston-Salem, N C, and who was active in the SAS for many years. One article is by David Weaver, the current chair of the department. My understanding of Pen

Banks' support for the SAS came while I was trying to locate a photo that might accompany the article. I studied the photos I have taken at the meetings for the past 6 years and, while I found very few of him at the front of the room doing the talking, I found numerous ones where I recognized the (very distinctive) back of his head in the audience. My informal "Back of the Head" Index is then some indication of his support for, and atten-

dance at, SAS meetings, similar to his support for anthropology at his institution.

Coming up in the next issue of the *Anthropologist* is the Graduate student paper winner from the Spring meetings; I have permission to reprint Dr Michael Blakey's address on the African Burial Ground project, given at the meetings, and hope to include that also.

Don't miss the CENTERFOLD (Yes, the SAS can have one, too!) which is a **Call for Papers for the 1996 meetings** in B aton Rouge, coming up FAST!



The Editor requests

I am still looking for two kinds of submissions to this august publication, and I reprint my requests from the last issue:

(1) I invite interested anthropologists (students as well as professionals) to submit short papers on the South to me for possible inclusion in the Southern Anthropologist. I am interested in short papers, that can be about any subject or part of the world so long as the theme or analysis is applied to some aspect of Southern life and culture. I have in mind papers such as appear in the Royal Anthropological Institute publication *Anthropology Today* and distributed to interested members of the American Anthropological Association. Please submit these papers to me through any of my various addresses, detailed below.

(2) I am also looking for interested persons to provide art work that I can use in the Anthropologist; I am especially interested in line art from an identifiable culture (in other words, not generic "clip art") that can be put on the cover and elsewhere in the issue. If you have something to share, contact me at the meetings or at the addresses below. 🍏

Ways to reach me:

- (1) Voice mail at (910) 334-7894 at my office, or (910) 274-7032 at home
- (2) E-mail via the Internet at JOHNSOND@ATHENA.NCAT.EDU
- (3) Via America OnLine, my "handle" is MegabyteJ.
- (4) Office FAX number (910) 334-7197
- (5) Surface mail:
David M Johnson, Editor, SAS
Dept of Sociology & Social Work
N C A&T State University
Greensboro, N C 27411

If you wish to submit materials to the Anthropologist, my preferences are (in rank order):

- (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

My deadline for the Fall 1995 issue of the Southern Anthropologist is December 1. 🍏

Southern Anthropologist Staff:

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President's Column

Hans Baer

Higher Education and the U S Political Economy

At the 1995 SAS Meetings the topic of the crisis in higher education arose in various settings, including the discussion of a rally at the state capitol building in Raleigh planned by faculty members at various North Carolina campuses. Although U.S. universities clearly began to develop as appendages of a growing corporate economy in the late nineteenth century, this reality has never been as apparent as it has become in the 1990s—a decade in which buzzwords such as retrenchment, restructuring, and assessments have become part and parcel of the standard lingo in higher education.

Perhaps as a part of the endeavor to "study up" that Laura Nader recommended to anthropologists some time ago, anthropologists need to begin systematically examining the role of colleges and universities in the U.S. political economy. Despite all the rhetoric about the university constituting a "marketplace of ideas," I often tell my students that if they become educated, assuming that we can define education as the process of becoming a critical thinker rather than simply socialization and training, it is by accident rather than design. If they really want to understand the university, I tell them that they need to look at the composition of the board of trustees. As we all know, the boards of trustees of our colleges and uni-

versities tend to be dominated by white, male, conservative businesspeople. Despite their hegemonic nature, colleges and universities still provide a space for critical thinking that business corporations and government agencies make extremely difficult. Higher education still contains pockets of faculty and students who are interested in critical perspectives. Howard Zinn, a renowned radical historian, describes this intellectual space in **Failure to Quit** (Common Courage Press, 1993) in the following way:

The educational environment is unique in our society: it is the only situation where an adult, looked up to as a mentor, is alone with a group of young people for a protracted period and officially sanctioned period of time and can assign whatever reading he or she chooses, and discuss with these young people any subject under the sun. The subject may be defined by the curriculum, by the catalog course description, but this is a minor impediment to a bold and imaginative teacher, especially in literature, philosophy, and the *social sciences* [emphasis mine], where there are unlimited possibilities for free discussion of social and political issues.

Unfortunately, this space is quickly being

eroded as the restructuring of our universities funnels resources away from the humanities, social sciences, fine arts, and education toward programs, such as business, engineering, and the so-called "hard sciences," that more directly assist corporations in profit-making. We are witnessing the advent of the "entrepreneurial university."

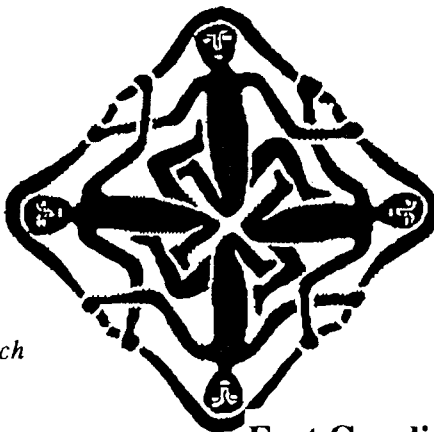
In addition to researching the nature of higher education, anthropologists and other academics need to become politically involved in not only preserving the small space for critical thinking that remains in the university but also in empowering themselves. Michael Berube and Cary Nelson, the editors of *Higher Education Under Fire* (Routledge, 1995) note that faculty must find an effective voice as a constituency, both within the university and outside of it, if they have an expectation of surviving in any reasonable fashion the fiscal crisis in higher education and the anti-intellectual assault, much of which is fueled by conservative elements, upon it. In commenting upon the widespread faculty apathy on their own campus, the University of Illinois, they observe:

Our colleagues are largely disinclined to organize and act, even when they perceive that organization and action may be in their interest. Some of them, we surmise, think that all will be well as long as we throw a few radicals to the wolves. Others believe the crisis of the universities will not affect them at all—that they can simply go ahead, finish their next project, design their next course, and everything will be all right once the nation's fiscal condition improves.

Nelson and Berube correctly contend that such thinking is naive and argue that faculty members need to achieve an understanding of how economics and politics are interrelated in higher education. In one of the essays in this valuable anthology, Linda Ray Pratt, a past-president of the AAUP, argues that faculty on unionized campuses invariably are "much more informed and astute about the operation of their institutions, its political relationships, its budgetary possibilities, and its comparative peer standing." Ernst Benjamin, in his essay, "A Faculty Response to the Fiscal Crisis: From Defense to Offense," argues that in addition to collective bargaining, faculties need to "support statewide efforts to educate higher boards, legislators, and the media." In his essay, Henry A. Giroux asserts that progressive academics have an important role to play as public intellectuals—a role that unfortunately has been taken over by reactionary figures such as Rush Limbaugh, who now reportedly earns \$15 million a year. He argues that "university intellectuals can play an important pedagogical role by redefining for their students the myriad political linkages that mutually inform the relationship between the university and the larger society."

I encourage SAS members to respond to my comments on the crisis in higher education in the *Southern Anthropologist*. Tell us about developments in higher education on your campuses and states and how faculty are responding to them. What role do you think that anthropologists can play in all of this? 🍏

SAS People



SAS People

[Editor's Note: With this issue we begin the column SAS People, which is intended as a place for SAS members to tell others about new faculty, moves, research, and other information you would like to share with others. Please submit

Northern Kentucky University

Sharlotte Neely's book *Snowbird Cherokees—People of Persistence* caught the attention of Rick Panter, of South Carolina Educational Television, who did a documentary on the group. Sharlotte's achievements in the classroom have been notable, also, with her receipt of the university's Professor of the Year award for 1994.

Dr Andrew Kipnis, PhD University of UNC-CH, has joined the faculty as a tenure-track Assistant Prof of Anthro. His research specialty is China, and he will teach a variety of courses in cultural anthropology and linguistics.

Anthropology major, Ms Julie M Pelle, won first place in the Student Paper Competitions of both anthropologists and sociologists of Kentucky and the Anthropology Division of the Kentucky Academy of Science. She will continue graduate work in the fall at the University of South Florida.

East Carolina University (Greenville, NC)

A M.A. Program in Anthropology will start in Fall '95 and will feature a traditional four-fields program. Graduate assistantships are available; for information contact Dr Linda Wolfe, Chair, Dept of Anthropology, A-214 Brewster, ECU, Greenville, N C 27858 or telephone 919-328-6766.

Anyone interested in pursuing M A -level study in marine policy might consider the ECU Sea Grant Marine Policy Fellowship, which carries a 12-month stipend plus full tuition and fees. For information contact Dr David Griffith, Institute for Coastal and Marine Resources, ECU, Greenville, N C 27858-4353, telephone 919-328-6752.

Mary Baldwin College (Staunton, VA)

Carrie Douglass reports that the Anthropology program, of which she is the sole faculty, has been put into the newly created Foreign Languages and Cultures, which includes foreign languages and the Asian Studies program. All foreign language majors are required to take two

anthropology courses, and all majors take a senior thesis course together. This course will be structured around a common theme and students will share findings from their studies. This depart-

mental change makes the internationalization of the curriculum more visible, and the Study Abroad programs will be administered from the department.

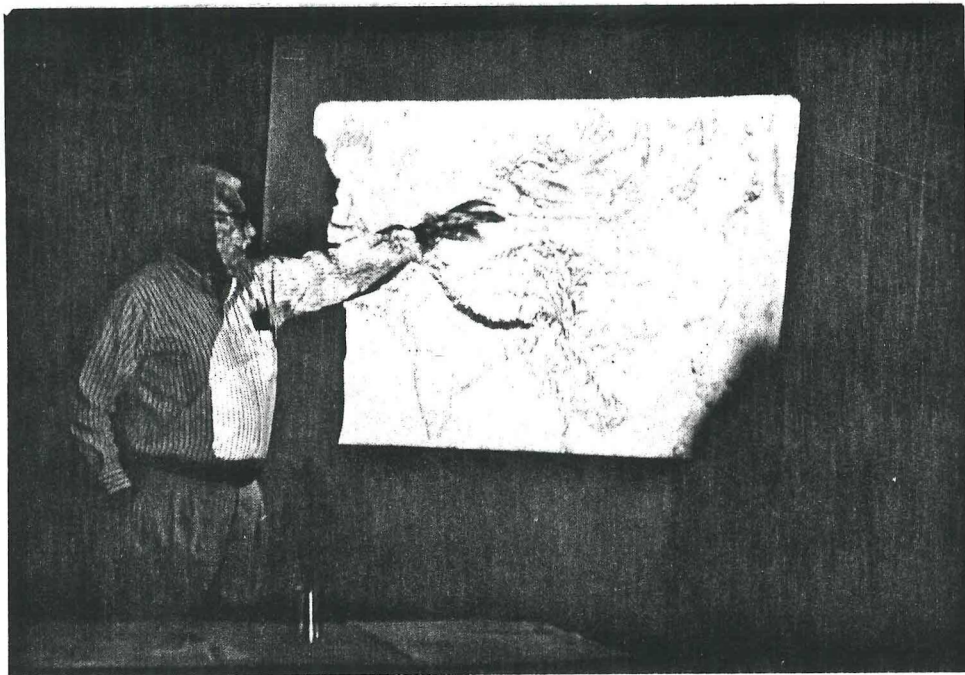


Photo above shows the late Pen Banks making a presentation on his then-recent trip to China at the 1992 SAS meetings in Florida. See the next page for an obituary and remarks about his significance to Wake Forest and to the

E Pendleton Banks 1923-1995

E. Pendleton Banks, a professor at Wake Forest University for 40 years, died on July 12th after a long illness at the age of 71.

He was instrumental in the creation of the university's anthropology and international studies programs.

Ed Wilson, the university's former provost, said: "He was one of the people at Wake Forest who did more than anyone else to look beyond the campus....he had a fine pioneer spirit."

He received three Fulbright Fellowships for study abroad, the maximum that can be awarded, and other fellowships that took him to Yugoslavia, China, Burma and other places. He was a member of the 1992 UNESCO-Mongolian Scientific Expedition.

Dick Sears, a professor of politics and the university's director of international studies, said: "He was a master traveler....He used this experience to encourage students to study overseas."

Banks was one of the first academicians in North Carolina for whom anthropology was more than just a hobby. "He was very globally aware and sensitive to other cultures and other civilizations. He was a force at Wake Forest for promoting that idea among the faculty and among the students," Sears said.

Banks started offering a few course in anthropology when he first arrive at

Wake Forest in 1954. He ended up creating an entire department. He also started the university's Museum of Anthropology, the anthropology laboratory and the Remote Sensing Laboratory, where students use aerial photographs to find the sites of ancient civilizations. He use those methods to find the ancient Silk Road trade route through Asia.

Banks' expertise was sought locally, nationally and internationally. He was the chairman of the local Historic Properties Commission, advise the World Bank and was published as a visiting scholar in Yugoslavia. He was a past President of the SAS (1972-73). He was also a founding member of the Association for North Carolina Anthropologists (ANCA).

David Weaver, a professor of anthropology and the chair of the department, said, "He was pretty much at home with all of it. Most people aren't trained like that anymore."

Memorials may be made to the Catherine B. and E. Pendleton Banks Fund for Faculty Research Travel at Wake Forest University, Winston-Salem, N C 27109.

(adapted from newspaper articles in the Winston-Salem Journal)

Remarks made at the E. P. Banks Memorial Service

by Dr David S Weaver
Chair, Department of Anthropology, Wake Forest University

August 18, 1995

It has fallen to me to offer some thoughts about Pen Banks, his influences on us in the department of anthropology and the fundamental role he played in establishing our department, our approaches to our work and our relationships with our colleagues and students. As might be expected when speaking of the person who established anthropology at Wake Forest, and of a person whose impact on the department and the university was far reaching, long-term and profound, the task is neither simple or straightforward. But, Pen was a modest and private man, not given to public display, and knowing that he would appreciate as straightforward an approach to the topic as possible makes my task somewhat easier. My remarks will be brief, in deference to what I know would have been his preference, and because only a brief look at his true importance to us is possible on this kind of occasion.

Pen Banks was trained in the holistic traditions of anthropology at some of the very best institutions in the country. So it is no surprise that, as he guided and shaped the development of our department through hiring of faculty and by his constant example, the department became and has remained a place where the narrow specializations and sometimes parochial interests that now plague some anthropology departments—with their attendant tensions and factionalism—have not occurred at Wake Forest. Pen was, as time and events

required, an archaeologist, an ethnographer, a theorist, and, above all, the consummate field worker. It is a credit to his grace and generosity, though, that as soon as resources allowed hiring someone to take over in an area of study, Pen simply moved on to another of his many interests. The department exists in its present form because of Pen's vision of what an anthropology department should be, because of his steadfast adherence to that vision and because of his willingness to remind us of that vision when necessary.

He always knew that, once it had matured, the department should stand on its own. Knowing that did not keep him from serving effectively and honestly as chair of the joint sociology and anthropology department or from fulfilling many other university duties - all the while working to develop anthropology. When the anthropology department was established in the late 1970s, achieving one of his goals for us, Pen applied his considerable energies to obtaining satisfactory facilities to allow us to achieve our promise. I know that he felt, and should have felt, rewarded by guiding, watching and participating in our development.

He was a tireless advocate of graduate studies, both at the University level and within the department. The first anthropology M.A. students here received their degrees (in several different areas of anthropology) working with him. Many of those students have gone on to advanced study and have achieved national promi-

nence. When our graduate program was discontinued for a time, Pen - and others - continued to press for re-establishment of the program. The current successful program owes a great deal his leadership in the matter.

Pen was no hidebound academician. He adapted easily and enthusiastically to changes in educational perspectives and technology, constantly applying his imagination and drive to new and interesting arenas. He was among the very first in our department to embrace computing, both in his teaching and his research. His development of the remote sensing laboratory, using computers to study satellite imagery to address problems of land use and human-land relationships, began early in the development of remote sensing and ultimately placed him among a group of international scholars studying the Ancient Silk Road in Asia. True to his intrinsic eclecticism, Pen did not limit himself in that work, studying both historical and modern aspects of the problem and applying both traditional and remote sensing techniques to his studies.

There were constants in Pen's work, of course. For example, he had a long-standing and deep interest in Eastern Europe, particularly in the cultural and political turmoil in postwar Europe and in the bases of that turmoil in ethnic and political identities. Never limiting himself to "safe" or typical areas of study, he established himself early, at a time when few other anthropologists did, as an expert in the Balkans. His deep interest in, and personal commitment to, the fate of the people in the states of the former Yugoslavia, for example, provided all of us with examples of how to combine academic work, personal involvement and

political advocacy. It is a delicate matter to combine academic and political concerns, yet Pen succeeded admirably, serving as an academic resource on the area while tirelessly and forcefully addressing the political issues in both public and private arenas.

Pen believed deeply in the need to apply what one learns, both in the classroom and in public discourse. His ongoing studies of the impacts of establishing industry in rural settings in North Carolina remain largely unpublished, but surely will serve as the basis for more applied work in the area. Before doing so became widely established in anthropology, Pen was applying anthropological techniques and ideas to situations and problems here at home, not just in so-called "exotic" locales.

Anthropology is international by nature, of course, and Pen was the most "international" of us all. As a moving force in the development of international studies at Wake Forest, he continued to expand his interests in other people and cultures and to enable a long lineage of students to experience life outside the United States. In particular, he continually advocated and supported more and more international work by students and faculty in our department. Indeed, all of us have international work in progress, a fact that is at least in part a tribute to Pen.

Pen was deeply committed to teaching in every sense of the word, eagerly sharing his experiences, research, training and views with generations of our students, with faculty members and with the public. Students and faculty alike speak with obvious enjoyment of his imparting of his knowledge and perspec-

tives, both in and outside the classroom. Pen was a inspired storyteller and he applied that talent both in the classroom and in more informal settings, always with great effect. Perhaps even more important, the stories always had a message, and the message was always valuable. His public presentations fairly rippled with the excitement and satisfaction he felt for his work.

In creating and fostering the Museum of Anthropology, his dedication to the public offering of anthropology came to fruition. But Pen saw that the museum would not only become the very successful public enterprise that it is—serving thousands of local school children and adult visitors each year—but that the museum would remain an important and integral part of the department and the university. His perseverance and patience

in bringing the museum into full existence and in developing its programs and facilities were great personal achievements.

Pen was a master of the art of persuasion, at turns a taskmaster, a gadfly, a supportive partner and a willing worker. He was both a romantic and a pragmatist. The romanticism reminded us of what could, and should, be—and the pragmatism showed us the ways to achieve those goals. All of us learned by his example and we all are grateful. What success we have had as a department (some of us might even say, as individuals) has been by emulating his approaches. Often, he was our compass. He always was our foundation. Above all, he was our trusted and respected friend and colleague. We are forever grateful to him...and we will miss him. 🍏

S A S Keynote Speech

Anthropology in the South and the Southern Anthropological Society

by James Peacock

*(President, American Anthropological Association
and former President, Southern Anthropological Society)*

It is truly an honor and a pleasure to address the SAS. SAS and I got started about the same time, and I have many warm memories of meetings, friends, places and happenings over the years. Especially I honor the memory of John and Irma Honigmann, founding leaders of SAS, and of John Peterson; John and I grew up together as children, his death is an untimely and great loss, and I am glad to see in the program that a publication is dedicated to him. Another untimely and great loss is Frank Manning—a faithful attendee of SAS meetings, even from Canada. You will remember other leaders and supporters of SAS who cannot be here.

But we can be glad that some founding figures are still with us: Miles Richardson and Carole Hill, for example, who just now were sitting outside reconstructing the history of SAS. Some of us will recall Miles' classic talk, at one of our early meetings in Dallas, I believe, comparing Jesus Christ and Gilgamesh as models for anthropology: Gilgamesh fitted better, Miles argued; he came within reach of the prize, but before grasping it, he fell asleep.

I apologize for nostalgia; I am so impressed with what SAS continues to do.

SAS continues to be dynamic yet warm, hosting excellent sessions without pretense, publishing superb proceedings, and providing leadership and community for anthropology in the south. Congratulations are to Kate Young for this fine program, to Tim Wallace for his work, and to your incoming President Hans Baer.

I will first ask about the future of anthropology generally, nationally and internationally, and then comment on special opportunities in the South and for SAS.

In discussing the future of anthropology, I want to emphasize these points: 1) The future priorities of American and the world, such as internationalism, could advantage anthropology as a discipline, but demands such as cost-effectiveness could disadvantage it, as it is small and marginal. 2) Despite contributions to research and service, overall the most obvious contribution of anthropology is undergraduate liberal arts teaching, 3) Although active and diverse in contributions, anthropology still lacks visibility and identity, both in academia and society, 4) Anthropologists participate in a variety of interdisciplinary areas, yet often fail to lead these, 5) anthropology could develop its contributions in a number of areas,

(A Keynote speech delivered at the SAS meetings, Raleigh, April 1995)

ranging from natural science and natural history to creative writing and public debate and policy, 6) AAA (the American Anthropological Association) and other societies can be the mechanisms to draw on anthropology's resources in shaping policy and public understanding.

What about the future of anthropology in the South? What about SAS?

The past

Before the future, a word about the past. As with everything from highways to economics, the development of anthropology in the South since World War II, especially in the past 30 years, has been phenomenal, compared to pre-World War II. Before World War II, as we know, there were the classic Northeastern, midwestern, and West Coast universities and anthropology departments. The South had a few pioneers, ranging from Joffre Coe to Zora Neale Hurston; for most southerners, anthropology, if it meant anything, was archeology. Locales and leadership were outside the South. They still tend to be, but note that the current President of the Society for Applied Anthropology, Anthony Paredes, is in Florida, I'm in North Carolina, and the President of the International Congress for Anthropological and Ethnological Science, Vincent Sutcliffe, is at William and Mary,



in Virginia. The 1998 Congress, last held in Mexico City, will be in Williamsburg, Virginia. Last fall's AAA meetings were in Atlanta.

In the wider scheme of things, all of this may not amount to much; so what if Anthropology benefits from the general shift of population and development to the Sun Belt and the South? To those of us who grew up in the more isolated South

prior to the Sixties, the new locations signify much.

The present

Unfortunately, we are vulnerable to other developments that are nation-wide but also southern; a new kind of isolationism and conservatism that reflects the conversion of the South from democrat to republican—partly a result of this same prosperity and of migration to the

South. Rightist extremists sometimes surface in the conservative climate. For example, an incident happened yesterday. Johnetta Cole is our commencement speaker at UNC-Chapel Hill. She is the first black woman, and the first anthropologist ever to speak. A student op-ed piece in the newspaper, the *Daily Tarheel*, called her a Communist and asked parents and students to boycott the Commencement ceremony. (Note: In fact, Johnetta did speak, brilliantly, and was heard enthu-

siastically by one of the largest audiences ever to attend our commencement.) The outcry evoked memories here of a notorious Speaker Ban law, proposed a quarter century before by legislators objecting to an allegedly Communist speaker on campus; that law is due for repeal this week.

Southern politics plays out interestingly, however, and old timey conservatism does not necessarily disadvantage education. A state like Georgia where old master Democrat speaker of the House Tom Murphy is still in control is treating the universities better than those where new republicans gain control. Zell Miller, Governor of Georgia, promises 6% raises for four years to University of Georgia faculty and free tuition for qualified graduate students for example, compared to severe cuts proposed for our state and others, spearheaded by new conservatism in the House.

So there's variation. But one stream is certainly the Republican, new conservative stream. The Democratic and liberal reformist stream is by no means dead, but in the South as nationally, it is on the defensive.

What might this new conservatism mean for anthropology in the South? Obviously the question is complex, because there are so many varieties of anthropology which can respond to so many varieties of milieu. One can only speculate.

The future

Our antiquarian side might flourish more than ever, our activist and social criticism side less so. With boosterist

reconstruction of historical districts, archeology should find new support. Civil war enactments are popular, and so are associated historical reconstructions, for instance, Margaret Mitchell's house—now to be renovated by Daimler-Benz under the direction of Mary Rose Taylor. The 1996 Olympics, with a cultural program on the South to be overseen by folklorist George Holt, is at once tied to commerce and new society in Atlanta, yet it ought to be open for anthropological input affirming folklore, history and perhaps more holistic visions.

Social criticism may be less acceptable. I wrote an op-ed piece to link human rights to the history of Atlanta, submitted it to the *Atlanta Constitution* during our meetings there and did not receive even the courtesy of a reply. Maybe the piece wasn't any good, or the paper wasn't the right one. But columnists like Molly Irvins seem to be less frequent these days than more conservative ones, in the South as nationally. As always, anthropologists and other academics who want to comment on public issues must learn ways more ingenious than simple protest or criticism. I'm just fishing for a sense of how anthropology plays in the new new South; I would welcome hearing your impressions. [how about sending them to the SA?—Ed]

Futures for the SAS

What about SAS? To use a non-PC parallel: If AAA has sometimes operated like McClland, or in its better times, Grant, SAS has been more like Nathan Bedford Forrest: lean and mean, economical, flexible, taking advantage of environments, and sometimes getting there the

'fustest with the mostest.' SAS had sense enough to secede from the union before it joined it, which may have been a smart move for its situation (I refer to the decision of SAS not to join AAA). SAS has been first with the most in a variety of issues; it was one of the first to highlight urban anthropology, for example, in one of its early volumes, and it has produced useful symposia proceedings over the years on Southern topics—ethnicity (red, white and black); ecology; cinema; and recently, religion. SAS has one of the few proceedings series to sell widely.

SAS is obviously changing but also remaining the same in some ways. It began with the usual white males; now we're nearly dead; and SAS is diversifying ethnically, in gender, and intellectually in accord with the nation, while also sustaining some regional foci.

Opportunities for SAS include: There is an abiding interest in Southern topics; the **Encyclopedia of Southern Culture**, a joint product of UNC Press and the Mississippi Center for the Study of Southern Culture, is approaching 100,000 volumes sold. Studies of the South are dominated by historians and a few others; anthropologists are marginal, but they could contribute more, especially in offering comparative perspectives and dealing with increased diversities in the South. One example is the institute for the South in

Comparative Perspective I've been running for the last three years. SAS sustains this interest in the South, seen comparatively and in its diversity: note Session 14 in these meetings, on the ethnography of the American South, where Pat Beaver focuses on Jews and African American identities in Appalachia.

Practicing Anthropology is flourishing in the South; note the Key Symposium to these meetings. This pragmatic emphasis differs from the cultural criticism tone that is perhaps more salient in urban, northern, especially New York City anthropology. SAS projects a sense of "Just do it!"

The Olympics in Atlanta in 1996 and the Anthropological Congress in Williamsburg in 1998 remind us that the world is coming to the South! Southern anthropology has had more experience with the wider world than most fields in the South; SAS can, as it has long done, serve as a vehicle to link the South and the world, through anthropology.

Doris Betts tells about a kind of tree in Eastern North Carolina. What use it is? Ain't got no use. Just HOLDS TO WORLD TOGETHER.

An apt image for anthropology, especially in the South. What use is it? JUST HOLDS THE WORLD TOGETHER.

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Winning Entry 1995 SAS Undergraduate Student Paper Competition

An Ethnographic Analysis of Stripping

by Chris Longfield
Georgia State University

Objectives

This study attempts to explore the working conditions of strippers in the nudebars of Atlanta's sex industry. Specifically, I have tried to focus on the reasons why women choose stripping as a profession and why they stay in a job that appears to reduce their function to that of a sex object. Originally, I expected to find women "oppressed" by a system that holds them captive through high wages in return for debasement and abuse by men. My lead interview question, "What's it like to work in a strip joint?" did not, however, lead to a discussion of the negative aspects of sex-industry work as often as I expected. I found, overall, that the women who do not like working in strip-joints get out of it, and that those who stay, while enjoying the high wages such work provides, find other aspects of the work appealing besides the monetary benefits¹.

Methods

The primary method of data collection I used for this study, taping conversations on a cassette recorder, allowed me to very accurately record conversations I had with informants. I have done a good deal of participant observation, but my notes were almost all taken from taped transcripts. Paying so much attention to this

method has left my database lacking in other description - particularly visual. Anthropologists, as Jean Gearing has pointed out to me, have often been accused of being voyeurs - a role that I have avoided in this study, much to its detriment. I did not wish to be labeled a "customer" by the dancers. Not knowing the "rules" of behavior for customers, and also having no sense of how dancers would interpret my questions if they thought I was not only a "college student," but also a "customer," led me to shun that label in the hopes of better access. Consequently, I did not tip in the clubs, and I tended to sit off to the side instead of the middle of the room, talking only to strippers to whom my main informant introduced me. This type of behavior, e.g., trying to look like I was not observing or participating in the scene, is not considered very highly of a strip joint customer, much less an ethnographer. My aloofness tended to result in more formal interviews rather than plain conversations. Although I began to relax as I came to understand the role of the customer, engaging the dancers as a researcher may have actually hindered me in my early interviews, as the dancers were put on their guard while they tried to figure out what our proper relationship was supposed to be.

Several points are of interest here when interpreting the information I have gathered. Primarily, my key informant is proud of not being a hustler², and admits that she does not like hustlers as friends. Only one of my informants is a self-described hustler. My emphasis on the relationships that the strippers form with their customers is in part due to this bias. By all accounts, hustlers are not interested in "having a good time" and "bullshitting" with customers. Non-hustlers are.

Another fact of my data collection that should be taken into account is that I have focused on one particular bar in which to do my research. I believe this is important in order to find long term patterns that could be confused if several bars were included in this short-term study. The strippers I interviewed discussed the differences between this bar and other bars that they have worked at; many have worked at a number of sites. It is also important to note that this bar is predominantly white and that none of my informants have worked in strip joints where the clientele is mostly black. From second and third hand reports, black strip clubs are quite different in ambiance and performance aspects; unfortunately, I will not be able to deal with that here.

The Scene

The bar I went to is divided into two sections, the main stage area and the pool tables. There are also VIP rooms off to one side of the main area, somewhat obscured by a partial wall. The stages and the pool area are separated by two large bars. In the stage area there are four stages: the main stage across the room from the pool areas; two satellite stages

between the main stage and the separating bar; and a bar/stage opposite the VIP rooms. While many customers choose to sit in the more isolated area across the separating bar and near the pool tables, most business is concentrated in the main stage area where the tables are surrounded by stages, and thus, naked or semi-naked women. Almost every wall is covered by mirrors, and angled mirrors hang above the satellite stages. Spinning, multi-colored lights dot the ceiling, and there is a disco ball above the main stage. While this bar did not use a smoke machine on any of my visits, the smoke from cigarettes in the air was easily thick enough to enhance the light show. Each stage is outlined with blinking lights. The dancers enter the room from wings behind the main stage or the dressing rooms off to one side of the stage area.

The dancers' costumes vary widely, from a dancer wearing a bikini top and bottom covered with fluffy fuzz, affectionately known as the chicken lady, to a "gothic chick" wearing thigh-high black leather boots with matching gloves, spiked bracelet, and full length black leather dress. The dancers pick their clothing according to an image they want to project and generally strive for some element of uniqueness or novelty. Dancers may change costumes throughout the evening - the chicken lady later changed to another bikini style outfit with an American flag motif. The "gothic chick" donned a corset in subsequent sets. Costumes can be bought from shops specializing in such outfits, or vintage thrift stores, or sometimes even from shops in the strip club itself. Many clubs have "house mothers" who repair costumes on the spot

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and sell perfumes and makeup, in addition to "keeping the girls out of trouble" by policing the dressing rooms for drug use and discouraging inappropriate behavior.

Makeup and hairstyle also contribute to the dancer's "look." Although the house mother provides some makeup, most dancers carry their own kits, and many dye their hair to enhance their sex appeal. Blonde is a popular color among dancers, but other colors are seen as well. The leather-gothic dancer described above dyes her hair jet black to contrast with her pale skin. Others find red hair to be more interesting than their natural brown or auburn. Cosmetic surgery is also popular, and my key informant estimates that some thirty percent of dancers have breast implants.

Performance

There are several reasons that women stay in the industry, but the one motivating force that draws them into the business is the lure of big money. One of the predominant ways that women take the first step towards dancing in strip clubs as a job comes through amateur night contests. Women sign up for the contest at the beginning of the night shift, around eight o'clock, and each amateur dances, in turn, to a set of three songs. Those contestants not on stage must stay in a designated area, ostensibly to prevent competition for the regular staff. When all the contestants have danced their set, they are brought together on the main stage and each one walks down the runway as the crowd votes by clapping or handing out "ballots" to their favorite contestant. The winner is declared, and all of the contestants dance one more song together on the

main stage. This last dance, as well as the three song set, provide the contestants with the opportunity to collect tips. For the winners, the prize money is usually substantial (\$500 split among three winners), but even the women who don't win may make tips during their fifteen or twenty minutes on stage.

While amateur nights are generally contests between professional strippers away from their own clubs, occasionally a true amateur will enter the contest. They rarely win, but are provided an opportunity to experience dancing and make some quick money through tips. The amateur I interviewed said she had been thinking about stripping for months and decided that "it was now or never" that she would try. She reported it to be a positive experience in that she felt she had overcome her fear of being naked in a room full of men. She "needed some money fast" for reasons unclear, and said she would probably try to get a job the next week. My key informant reported a similar experience, finding the freedom to be naked in public as enticing as the opportunity to make good money. While one of my informants reported that she did not go to an amateur night first, but just went to a club and was hired, it seems that the amateur night ritual allows a woman to maximize earnings through tips and prizes while minimizing her exposure to the crowd -- usually only fifteen minutes or so of nudity. Coming out of this experience with less fear and positive expectations of money earning potential may give many women the extra push towards applying for a license and getting a job in a club.

Once a woman becomes an employee of the club, she earns money in

three different types of performances, each done in a different location in the bar: runway dancing, table dancing and VIP rooms. Runway dancing is required by the clubs of all dancers who work there. There is usually a rotation that the DJ uses to schedule performances so that each dancer is on stage an equal amount of time. The stage performance begins as the dancers walk, clothed, to their respective stages. On very busy nights, when there are a number of dancers working (usually twenty or more), two dancers will occupy the same stage. The runway set begins as dancers walk up the stairs of the raised stages and begin to gyrate hips and torso, perhaps leaning forward or leaning back and cupping their breasts, tossing their hair if it is long. Dancing is characterized by gyration, undulation, posing, and walking or strutting - there is little frenetic bouncing up and down as the dancers are always wearing heels. Poses are usually directed toward a customer sitting on or near the runway, and eye contact "targets" this customer. Once eye contact is established, the customer is compelled to tip the dancer or avert his eyes. In one instance, a dancer admonished me for not tipping her though I was watching her performance from a close proximity. Wagging her finger in a "no, no" motion clearly imparted to me that I was not fulfilling my role as a customer. Maintaining eye contact with suggestive dancing and posing -- touching one's stomach or breasts, or brushing one's hair back, seem to be enough to get most customers to tip. As a customer, you realize that tipping is your obligation. Being singled out and given "attention" gives you the opportunity to personalize the sexual fantasy. This "counterfeit

intimacy"³ comes with a condition, however -- payment for services rendered. If the customer persists in watching without tipping, the dancer will begin ignoring him by walking to the other end of the stage and no longer making eye contact.

The runway dancing itself generally proceeds in three steps. The first song is usually danced clothed, and during the second song the dancer will remove one article of clothing, usually her top. On the third song, the dancer removes her bottom piece of clothing; by law she is required to leave her shoes on. This is only a general statement and variations are seen. Many dancers will dance fully clothed until they earn a specific amount, then remove their top, or sometimes bottom, and wait until they have earned another five or ten dollars before removing their last article of clothing. The DJ will encourage the men to tip by saying such things as "a little tipping goes a long way; it's not hard to get the ladies' clothes off, gents; things get harder after the clothes come off." One dancer I interviewed said that other dancers would become angry when she disrobed fully as soon as she got on stage, but she felt she made more money this way.

Table dancing, the second of dancers' performances and the most lucrative, begins with "The Deal," in which an agreement is reached between a dancer and a customer that a table dance will be performed for a certain amount of money. Usually the price is fixed by the club at ten dollars, but there may be times when it is lowered. Roughly seventy-five percent of the time, my informants claim, the deal is initiated by the dancer who

walks up to the customer, and after little or no conversation asks, "Would you like a table dance?" Occasionally, the dancer will sit down with the customer and talk for a while before asking. When the customer initiates the deal and asks for the table dance himself, (or herself on that rare occasion the customer is a woman) it is usually after the dancer has initiated a conversation. Sometimes, though, the customer will ask a dancer who happens to be in the vicinity without any prior contact. On very rare occasions, the person who wants a table dance will use an intermediary such as a waitress or friend to ask a dancer for a table dance. The table dance begins at the start the next song, or immediately if the song playing has just begun.

When the dance begins, the dancer takes off her clothes. 99.99% of the time, it is done naked. Only rarely is a table dance performed fully clothed. Some times a dancer may leave a top or bottom on for part of the song, but by the end she is always (99.99%) naked. My informant classified all table dancing into two types. The first, known as the "Cheetah Bop" is done strictly for money, and is "as least erotic as possible." This dance involves the same motions as other table dances - hip gyrations, belly/torso undulation, and perhaps slapping the bottom in an imitation of spanking, but is considered more distanced and less intimate than the second type. Eye contact is avoided, especially when the customer is a stranger, and sometimes the dancers will talk to their customers. I observed one instance of talking at a very close distance, and was surprised to hear such a casual conversational tone. According to one female

informant, "Talking to someone you don't know while you are naked is less intimate" than dancing and being silent. In the "Cheetah Bop" the dancer will generally turn her back to the customer, unless she thinks he will try to grab her.

The second type of table dance is more intimate, described by my informant as an attitude that does not express itself physically. She was hard pressed to describe exactly what made it more intimate, but when I asked if the dancer put her breasts in the customer's face both my informants responded with an emphatic "No!" S-- did explain that there was greater eye contact in intimate dances, and that sometimes, but not often, the dancing was physically closer. Most table dances I observed put dancers' legs inches from their sitting customers, with the torsos two to three feet apart. One "intimate" dance described by my informant put her in contact with the customer, but this was for her an extreme example -- she later married the man. In the intimate table dance, the dancer always orients herself facing the customer to facilitate eye contact. The intimate dance is always described as having a motivation other than money, such as sexual interest or "thinking the guy is nice." This increase in intimacy occurs, I believe, because the subject(customer)-object(dancer) relationship changes into a subject-subject relationship⁴ in which each participant can fantasize about the other. I will return to this idea of intimacy arising from mutual interaction in the conclusion.

At the end of the table dance, the dancer puts her clothes back on. This rule is never broken. Usually, this is the time

the dancer collects the fee, and possibly an additional tip. If the customer is reluctant to pay, stubborn insistence on the part of the dancer will usually get the money. As a last resort, the dancer can get the bouncer to enforce payment, but I have not observed this, and S-- said this happened rarely. My male informant, D.J.J., seems to think that the dancers feel obliged to solve such problems on their own. In the one case I observed, the dancer got her money after sixty seconds or so of arguing.

After being paid, many dancers will sit with their customers and chat. If the customers are spending money, this facilitates getting another table dance quickly. If they are just "nice guys" the dancer may enjoy hanging out, and possibly get a drink bought for her. The hustler, my informants claim, is not likely to hang out, but may ask the customer directly, "do you want another table dance?" This approach often works, but since non-hustlers are reluctant to press for a second table dance, and the guys rarely ask for two in a row, it is usually only the hustlers who get table dances one after another. Here the division between hustlers and non-hustlers is described by my informant as cold vs. caring. The hustler, she reiterates, is only out for money, and doesn't care about the customers. The non-hustler, being a caring person, will want to sit down and talk to the customers. In her eyes, the ten dollars paid for the table dance entitles the men to some discussion and "fun" unless the club is quite busy and the dancer is called for a table dance somewhere else. Money comes into the picture, but is not the only

reason one works in a strip joint if one is a "caring" person.

Both of my informants, when commenting on the table dances we had observed that evening expressed surprise at some of the things the dancers did. When I asked them to compare table dances we had seen with those of a few years back they said, "There are no rules anymore." There was a fine, if fuzzy, line between "lewd and nude" they said, and many "lewd" things we observed would not have been allowed to happen a couple of years ago. Kneeling down to get tips (on stage) instead of standing with the garter open used to be unacceptable but now is the norm. In the table dance, bending over even forty five degrees was not done, where today we saw dancers bending over, almost touching the ground, to expose the clitoris. Touching one's own body had long been considered inappropriate, but now is common in both the table dance and on stage (usually, this means touching or squeezing one's breasts - never the clitoris). S-- also expressed dismay at table dancers "rubbing their ass on his zipper." Since much of this description of table dances was derived from the experience of my two key informants, it may reflect a more conservative view of what the table dance "should" be rather than what it was at the bar we frequented.

VIP room dancing is a third performance the dancers engage in, and as I was not able to participate in this activity directly due to cost, I have had to rely heavily on my informant's description. Generally, a customer will "rent" a VIP semi-private room from the club, and a dancer of his choice will perform an extended table dance. Most VIP rooms are

relatively open, not sites for under the table prostitution. Sometimes the dancer will receive some part of the "rent," but it is generally understood that the customer is required to tip the dancer to "make it worth her while." My key informant could not recall a case in which a customer had not tipped generously in a VIP room, but she supposed that a dancer who did not feel it to be worth her time would simply leave.

In one club T-- had worked at, the VIP rooms were fully enclosed, cutting the dancer off from bouncers and other club personnel. She reports that her first week of work there she danced for a customer in a VIP room, and he tried to grab her buttocks. She whirled around and slapped him, and he sat back and didn't try again. She later found out that he was a regular, and tried to molest new dancers in the hopes that they wouldn't respond as aggressively as she had. One must suppose that occasionally, in that club at least, some don't. Whether through confusion about their role as a dancer, or in the hopes of earning more money, some sexual contact may occur in this type of private interaction/environment.

Conclusions

Several aspects of strip joint dancing make it an attractive occupation for strippers. Dancers generally choose their own hours and are given a wide degree of self-determination in the performance of their job. The club owners depend on having a large number of strippers working at their establishments, and there is a general consensus among employees and management that the more strippers working at a location, the better

business will be. Although individual strippers may not make a lot of money when the bar is overstaffed, and customers are few, they seem to think that variety adds appeal to a club's image.⁵ Self-determination -- who to sit with, how frequently to solicit table dances, being able to drink on the job -- gives a dancer control over her situation. Clubs are so numerous in Atlanta today that they are forced to cede this control to dancers or lose them to more tolerant clubs.

The amount of money a woman can earn at stripping is one of the main factors that keep her in the profession. It is definitely the main draw that brings new women into the profession. Although the amount can vary wildly, one hundred and fifty dollars for an eight hour shift is not uncommon, and three hundred or more can be made on a weekend (busy) night when the dancer is out to make cash (hustling). Of my informants that had gone on to higher education, most were still in school, and felt this was certainly the most lucrative job they could do while attending, or perhaps even after graduating from school.

M: Um..what else..and you become addicted to the money.

M: I mean I'm gonna graduate from college in a year, but I really..it's like a big mind struggle for me to say.. I'm gonna get that job for twenty grand a year..

The money, then, helps attract women to dancing and keep them in the profession. This much I expected, and I expected to find that this "addiction to money" would lead that dancers to stay in their jobs past the point of it being someth-

ing that they wanted to do. I felt that the objectifying aspect of the job -- consistently dealing with men gazing at their bodies for sexual gratification -- would eventually become psychologically taxing, yet they would not want to quit and lose the high standard of living they had become accustomed to. While the flexible work schedule and the high income make for "easy money," the dancers with whom I talked all mentioned a third aspect of the job that challenges my hypothesis that being leered at eight hours a day would take its toll, psychologically, on the women.

All of the dancers referred to the incredible amount of attention they received at their jobs as highly addicting. Even the "hustler" I spoke to, working "(only) for the money" says:

M: ...the attention is very addicting, and get used to the men buying you drinks, and really just paying for everything around you. And it kinda, y'know, when you leave here you kinda...want other people to treat you that way when you're not here, you expect them to tell you that you're beautiful and all that. Like, I hate going to bars, I don't go to other bars. I mean I go once every two months I'll go to Buckhead or something, because I cannot stand the kind of attention I get there, in comparison with this, it's just, it's annoying. (laughs)

The fantasy for the male in a strip joint is that a beautiful woman "wants" him. That she, in reality, "wants" him to

give her money does not intrude on the fantasy that she "wants" him sexually. In fact, both parties understand that the more money that changes hands, the more attention will be given. But there is a second fantasy operating here, one which adds another level to the interaction. The dancer's ego is reinforced as she fantasizes about being "The most beautiful woman in the world." The attention given to the dancer fulfills a psychological need, and adds another dimension to her work, changing it from a purely economic venture to one in which she, like the customer, sees herself getting non-economic benefits. This aspect of the job can be seen on the floor for example, when a dancer will sit with a customer for a period of time without receiving money. She enjoys the attention that the men give, and has a chance to talk to someone herself. That the men enjoy the attention is evident, too, in that dancers describe a simple or overwhelming majority of customers (depending on the dancer), as "nice guys who just want to talk," sometimes adding, "to a pretty face."

It is the customers' role to look at the women,⁶ but it is also expected that they will talk, and customers who are distant or quiet tend to make dancers uncomfortable. When asked by complete strangers for a table dance, a dancer will often make surprisingly casual conversation while she dances naked in front of the customer. This has the effect of making the table dance less intense, and less uncomfortable for the dancer, but also opens another dialogue, another medium of exchange besides the money-for-nudity "purchase" that characterizes her job. Conversation personalizes intercourse, and

helps change the relationship of the subject-object voyeuristic fantasy into that of two participants, two subjects. Perhaps half my original thesis was accurate, and women who work in strip joints find themselves objectified, and find that objectification uncomfortable and demeaning. They mitigate this tension, however, and overcome their assigned status as objects. The strippers I talked to insert themselves in the dialogue aggressively, and take from it emotional satisfaction. S--, for example, considers herself to be a caring person. She does not turn off that caring just because she is at work. In sitting down and chatting with her customers, she shows them respect, and forces some respect out of them. The ones who insist on treating her like meat will not have a relationship with her for very long. She will leave them for the hustlers to pick over; three minutes of grinding for ten dollars is all they'll get. Perhaps some men want that, but the evidence, if I am to trust my informants, shows that a distinct minority of strip joint customers express this attitude. Most of the men are happy to talk, are there to talk. They apparently do not frequent strip joints for the same reason that men use print pornography.

Helen Longino in Lederer's *Take Back the Night*, that pornography is "representation of sexual behavior (which is a) demeaning and degrading portrayal of the human female," and "that a person consented to be harmed...does not alter the degrading character of such behavior"(42-43). I would argue that, in a strip joint, the woman has enough control over her representation to extricate herself from the role of sexual object and becomes a sexual subject interacting with the men around her

under circumstances that are under her control. While it is clear that objectification of the woman as a sexual toy is possible in a strip joint (witness the dancer being grabbed in the VIP room), the women break down that impersonal barrier and become individuals interacting with the men. They do not "consent to be harmed;" in fact, they work hard to avoid it. They direct the men to a more personal relationship. This is what makes the "intimate" table dance possible. My informants do not call it an intimate dance because one person knows the other. It is intimate because each reveals something. Eye contact and body language are the instruments of communication through which each can express a fantasy and become a fantasy. Unlike the images of print pornography, which can become truly divorced from the person as a whole and represented as vagina, breasts and flesh for male consumption, my informants do not allow themselves to be represented as less than they are. They present themselves, and in so doing, retain some of the qualities that a print pornographer can strip away, the qualities that keep them human.

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Notes

1) Only one of my informants had left the industry; therefore, my accounts are based upon the testimony of those who like their

work, and have stayed in it.

2) A "hustler" is a label given to a stripper (or waitress) who works the crowd for maximal economic gain. The self-defined hustler I interviewed put it this way:

M--: I'm here to make my money, and I'm gonna hustle, and I'm gonna plug the customers until (I make what I need). I will walk around and ask the same man eight times if they want a table dance, until they walk out the door and leave, I don't give a shit.

I mean, I smile at 'em, I'm nice and everything, but, y'know, I'm not gonna..let 'em go by, I'm not gonna pass by them without trying to get some kind of money out of them..

Non-hustlers work and "just let the money come" without pushing the customers - they wait for the customer to ask for a table dance, they sit down and chat with someone without being given money, etc. Most dancers use both these styles of working, and the label "hustler" or "non-hustler" just refers to the approach they use most often.

3) Term borrowed from Enick, Graves, and Preston.

4) Or, for the cynical perhaps, an object-object relationship.

5) When a DJ friend of mine was looking for a job, he was given a chance to perform spinning discs, but the management also wanted to know, "How many girls can you bring?" This refers to the fact that often dancers will move from club to club following DJ's who play music they like, and who they get along well with. Dancers can

also be influenced to move if the DJ tells them there is more money to be made at the new club. My informant, who is annoyed by this question responds (to me) "You want girls, have a contest!" This is intended as an amusing jab at the management, but may also indicate that amateur contests function as a way for dancers to check out their earning potential at other clubs without quitting their present jobs. For example, my key informant (referring to the earnings of a real amateur that we saw perform) states:

S: ...She had a thirty dollar set! In the corner! I mean, that's incredible on its own. She told you herself she was pretty close to last (onstage) and some of the girls told her they made ten and fifteen, and she made thirty. There are some girls that work there that probably don't make thirty dollars per set. So I think that was quite impressive.

Certainly dancers from other clubs that do not make this kind of money would be attracted to a club in which they always had a good amateur night set.

6) One informant did a table dance for me to appear as if she was working (and I suspect because she wanted to see how I would react), and told me "you don't have to look (at my body), but you will have to face me (with your body) or I will be offended." Paralysed that I would offend her by looking at her body, I kept my eyes on her face, and to my dismay she kept dancing through a second song.

Southern Anthropological Society General Business Meeting Minutes

April 21, 1995
Raleigh, North Carolina

'CALL TO ORDER: President James M. "Tim" Wallace welcomed everyone and called the General Business Meeting to order.

ITEM 1: Approval of Minutes. Minutes of the 1994 General Business Meeting were approved.

ITEM 2: Financial Report. Daryl White, Secretary-Treasurer, distributed copies of the annual Statement of Revenues and Disbursements for the Year Ending December 31, 1994. In discussing the statement, he noted that Endowment contributions (\$3,647.00) in 1994 made revenues for 1994 appear to be much higher than in other years. Since a separate endowment fund has now been formed, future endowment contributions will be noted on a separate financial statement. He also noted that yearly fluctuations in several categories result from fluctuations in general membership and proceedings costs. Reporting on the annual meetings, the Secretary-Treasurer also distributed copies of the Financial Statement for the 1994 Annual Meetings, April 27-30, 1994, in Atlanta, Georgia. One hundred and ninety-eight people registered for the 1994 annual meetings, 42% of whom were students. Revenues exceeded disbursements by \$723.91.

ITEM 3: Election Report. Daryl White reported that Patricia Lerch (North Carolina Wilmington) is the new President-Elect and Mary Anglin (University of Kentucky) is the new councillor.

ITEM 4: *Southern Anthropologist* (Newsletter) Report. Wallace introduced the new editor of *Southern Anthropologist*, David Johnson. David, who has been interim editor for the last year, accepted the three-year appointment and elicited contributions from the membership on a wide variety of topics.

ITEM 5: Local Arrangements. Kate Young, local arrangements chair, announced that the meetings appear to be well attended. With 155 participants on the program and 170 pre-registrants, it appears as many as 200 may attend.

ITEM 6: Book Exhibit. Tim Wallace, book exhibit organizer, noted that 20 publishers are represented in the current book exhibit. As usual some books will be distributed to student paper competition participants. The remaining books will be sold at discounted prices.

ITEM 7: Student Paper Competition. Barbara Hendry thanked the judges who read the submitted papers and broke ties. The winners (announced at the student reception) are: Undergraduate First Place to Chris Longfield (Georgia State) for the paper, "An Ethnographic Analysis of Stripping"; Undergraduate Second Place to Kathryn G. Clifton for the paper, "Education in Reverse: Returning Native American Culture"; Graduate First Place to Ron Barrett (Emory) for the paper, "The Sexual Economy of Women and HIV in Uganda"; and Graduate Second Place to David Driscoll, (South Florida) for the paper,

"We Are Dega."

ITEM 8: Mooney Award. Reporting for Hester Davis, Miles Richardson announced that from 12 nominated books, the winner this year is James Deetz, for the book **Flowerdew Hundred** (University Press of Virginia). Miles is rotating off the committee; Honggong Yang is the new member and chair; Gil Kushner and Hester Davis are the remaining members. Holly Mathews continues as ex officio, administrative committee member.

ITEM 9: The 1996 Meetings. Miles Richardson announced that the society will meet and celebrate the thirtieth birthday next year in Baton Rouge, Louisiana. The meeting will be earlier than usual: February 17-19, from Saturday until Monday. Then, on (Shrove) Tuesday, February 20, chartered buses will be available for transportation to New Orleans for Mardi Gras. We will depart Tuesday morning and return Tuesday night. The Key Symposium is being co-organized by Pat Beaver and Carole Hill and will look at Anthropology in and of the South. Members are invited to reflect on their experiences at the annual meetings over the years and share them in Baton Rouge.

ITEM 10: The 1997 Key Symposium. Tim Wallace announced that the Board approved a proposal submitted by Andy Miracle (Texas Christian) and Dave Suggs (Kenyon College) for the 1997 key symposium entitled, "Biology, Culture and Human Sexuality: Toward a Holistic Approach." The meeting place for 1997 has not yet been determined. There is a possibility that this meeting will be held jointly with the Central States Anthropological Society.

ITEM 11: The Endowment. Tom Arcury, the Endowment Treasurer, announced that the endowment is currently approximately \$4700, which he pledged to "systematically invest." Pledges are always invited. The Potlach, begun this year by Pat Beaver, will be continued next year; everyone is invited to bring items—such as artifacts, books, etc.—to be auctioned. It was also announced that an Endowment Oversight Committee, to consist of three members one of which is the Endowment Treasurer, has been approved by the Board. The president will appointed members to staggered three year terms.

ITEM 12: Proceedings Editor's Report. Michael V. Angrosino reported that Volume 28 White and White, **Religion in the Contemporary South** (from the 1993 meetings) is ready for distribution. Volume 29 (Wolfe and Yang, editors, **Anthropological Contributions to Conflict Resolution** from the 1994 meetings) is on schedule. Distribution is expected for the spring of 1996. Concerning sales: numbers 1-7 and 9-11 are out of print; the highest sales for the current period (June 1994 to March 1995) are **Perspectives on the Southeast and Images of the South**; the highest lifetime sales (through March 1995) are **Holding on to the Land and the Lord, Interethnic Communication and Predicting Sociocultural Change**; the all-time leader, **Red, White and Black**, went out of print this year. The transition from Mary Helms to Michael Angrosino was effected at the time of the 1994 meetings in Atlanta; the new editor began working with Volume 29.

ITEM 13: New Business: PMA Proposal. Tim Wallace presented a proposal from PMA, Professional Management Associates. PMA is the company the manages the

Society for Applied Anthropology. Represented at the Board meetings by Tom May, PMA proposes that SAS contract with them for a variety of possible functions, such as membership management, proceedings publication and advertizing, and annual meetings arrangement. Since there was not time to present the proposal fully or to discuss it, the topic will be discussed in issues of the Southern Anthropologist and addressed at the 1996 meetings.

ITEM 14: For his final act as President of the Society, Tim Wallace handed the gavel over to new President Hans Baer.

ITEM 15: Hans Baer announced the membership of the Endowment Oversight Committee by appointing Tom Arcury, Sara Quandt, and a third member to three, two and one year terms respectively.

ADJOURNMENT: Hans Baer adjourned the meeting.

Respectfully submitted,
Daryl White, Secretary-Treasurer

FINANCIAL STATEMENT FOR 1994 ANNUAL MEETING
OF THE
SOUTHERN ANTHROPOLOGICAL SOCIETY
APRIL 27-30, 1994
ATLANTA, GEORGIA

REVENUES

Book Exhibit Fees		245.00
Registration Fees		4,054.60
Regular	2,853.60	
Student/Retired	1,201.00	
TOTAL		4,299.60

DISBURSEMENTS

Program Chair Expenses		1,171.70
Print Programs	1,047.81	
Postage	78.00	
Other expenses	45.89	
Hotel Expenses		1,388.19
Three Receptions	1,096.05	
Miscellaneous	15.00	
Rooms: Plenary Speakers	277.14	
Audio Visual		261.55
Rental	245.78	
Replace lost equipment	15.77	
CAPMI Lunch Room Reservation		30.00
Carter Center Reception		724.25
TOTAL		3,575.69

REVENUES MINUS DISBURSEMENTS 723.91

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, 1994

REVENUES FOR CALENDAR YEAR:	1994	1993	1992
Dues	3,281.00	1,854.00	5,139.00
Royalties on Proceedings	269.61	762.64	226.80
Proceedings Sales	---	---	60.88
Address Label Sales	150.00	---	20.00
1992 Annual Meeting			
Registration Fees	---	---	2,656.00
Book Exhibits	---	---	125.00
Onsite Activities	---	---	540.00
1993 Annual Meeting			
Registration Fees	---	1,933.00	251.00
Book Exhibits	---	369.00	---
Book Company Coffee Breaks	---	400.00	---
1994 Annual Meeting			
Registration Fees	4,054.60	---	---
Book Exhibits	275.00	---	---
Endowment Contributions	3,647.00	---	---
Interest Income			
C&S/NationsBank, Atlanta, GA			
Commercial Checking Account	---	4.05	92.14
Certificates of Deposit	211.99	213.16	---
Miscellaneous	---	---	5.36
TOTAL CASH REVENUES	11,889.20	5,535.85	9,116.18

DISBURSEMENTS FOR CALENDAR YEAR:	1994	1993	1992
Newsletter	735.58	500.00	700.00
Postage	194.00	347.22	118.36
Printing and Duplicating	---	124.74	82.67
License Fee	15.00	15.00	15.00
Corporate Seal	---	---	29.67
Officer Expenses	363.99	165.06	176.94
Bank Account Service Charges	99.26	60.04	---
1992 Annual Meeting Expenses	---	---	1,525.51
1993 Annual Meeting Expenses	---	2,158.76	277.97
1994 Annual Meeting Expenses	3,575.69	---	---
1995 Annual Meeting Expenses	500.00	---	---
Proceedings	2,603.38	1,898.05	4,485.03
Awards and Grants			
Mooney Award	500.00	500.00	500.00
Student Paper Prizes	400.00	400.00	400.00
TOTAL DISBURSEMENTS	8,986.90	6,168.87	8,311.15
REVENUES OVER DISBURSEMENTS	2,902.3	-679.08	805.03

CASH ON DEPOSIT ON DECEMBER 31,	1994	1993	1992
NationsBank, Atlanta, Georgia Commercial Bonus Checking	10,068.30	7,113.05	8,096.23
NationsBank, Atlanta, Georgia 12 Month Certificate of Deposit (3.35%, Due 12/31/95)	2,683.26	2,595.09	2,500.25
24 Month Certificate of Deposit (4.65%, Due 12/31/96)	2,742.45	2,618.63	2,500.56
TOTAL CASH ON DEPOSIT	15,494.01	12,326.77	13,097.04

Remember the
SAS Endowment Campaign
for Education and Outreach in the South

The Endowment is now in its second 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 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.

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

Dr Thomas Arcury, Campaign Treasurer
Sheps Center for Health Services Research
University of North Carolina at Chapel Hill
Chapel Hill, N C 27599-7590

POLO

With apologies to Walt

POLO, I HEARD TELL 'BOUT THEM IN-THROW-POLLY-JESTS WHAT CAN TRAVEL TO EGG-ZOTIC LOCALES AN' BRING BACK THE TROOTH 'BOUT PEEPLES WHAT THEY VISIT. DID YOU MEET ENNY O' THEM ON YOUR TRAVAILS?



WELL, SORT OF

SORT OF? WHAT MEANS "SORT OF"?



THE ONES I HEARD TOL' ME THAT PEEPLES WHAT LIVES IN THE GOOD OL' US OF A IS OFFEN MORE EGG-ZOTIC THAN ENNYONE.



BEE-SIDES, SOME O' THEM CLAIMS THERE AIN'T NO AB-SO-LOOT TRUTH AN' THAT THEY NEEDS STUDY WHAT THE LO-KAL PEEPLES THINK IS IMPORTANT, NOT WHAT IDEAS THEY BRINGS WITH 'EM.



WHY, ELBERT, YOU AS A SWAMP ALLY-MO-GATOR SMDKIN' A SEE-GAR IS AN EYE-KON OF THE ALL-PERVASIVE HEGGY-MON-IK CAPITALISTIC CONSUMER CULTURE! I CAN TALK THAT KIND OF TALK NOW, TOO!



HEY! TELL THEM IN-THROWS TO KEEP THEIR O-PINYONS TO THEMSELVES, 'SPECIALY ABOUT MY SEE-GAR! IF THERE IS NO AB-SO-LOOT TRUTH, THEY CAN SMOKE THEIR OWN SEE-GARS!



Winner of the 1994 James Mooney Award

FLOWERDEW HUNDRED

The Archaeology of a Virginia Plantation

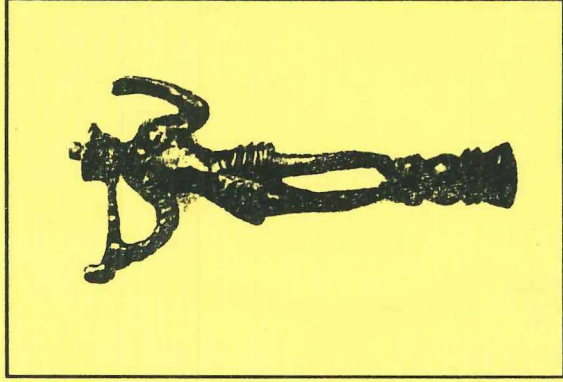
1619-1864

James Deetz

James Deetz's book "is written in the engaging style of a master storyteller. . . . His familiarity with both archaeological and historical data and his ability to mesh them into a more complete picture makes for a fascinating look at a microcosm of Virginia history in its early period."

—*Virginia Magazine of History and Biography*

Flowerdew Hundred, the 1,000 acre plantation that Sir George Yeardley, Virginia's first governor, established on the south side of the James River, was to be the site upon which a succession of residents played out the history of both Virginia and America in microcosm. It is remarkable for the number of historical events that occurred there: fifteen of the first twenty black Africans brought to the English colonies resided at Flowerdew Hundred; it survived an attack on the colony by the Powhatan Indians in 1622; during the Revolutionary War gunboats under the command of Benedict Arnold shelled buildings on the plantation; in 1864 the entire Union Army of the Potomac, under the command of General Ulysses S. Grant, crossed the James River at Flowerdew Hundred in an attempt to outflank Robert E. Lee's Army of Northern Virginia. Now one of the world's leading historical archaeologists uses the artifacts unearthed since excavations began in the 1970s to construct some 250 years of life at Flowerdew and to convey to us what historical archaeology can do.



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