Southern Anthropologist

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North Carolina A & T State University
Greensboro, NC 27411

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Southern Anthropologist

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

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Dan Ingersoll  
SAS Secretary-Treasurer  
Department of Anthropology and Sociology  
St Mary's College of Maryland  
St Mary's City, MD 20686  
E-mail: dwinersoll@osprey.smcm.edu

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**Authentic Authenticity in Memphis**

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

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

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**David M Johnson**

**Editor's Corner**

**Spring 1997**

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

**This issue**

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

The feature articles are the student paper winners, as announced at the end of the Memphis meetings. John Dwight Hines' paper on "Ongi Etorri, Euskaldunak!: The Basque Lodging House as a Cultural "Place"" won the graduate paper competition, and Melissa Mayo's paper on "Anencephaly and Spina Bifida Among the Guatemalan-Maya of South Florida" won the undergraduate paper competition, and are printed here. Congratulations to the two winners, and we look forward to more fine work by both winners in the future!

**The future**

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

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

**Next year's meetings**

The next annual meeting of the SAS is scheduled for March 26-28, 1998, at the Wilmington Hilton, Wilmington, N.C. The local arrangements chair is Jim Sabella, UNC-Wilmington, who can be reached by email at: sabellaj@uncwil.edu

**Keep in touch!**

Ways to reach me:

1. Voice mail at (910) 334-7894 at my office, or (910) 274-7032 at home
2. E-mail via the Internet at johnsont00@athena.ncat.edu
3. My email "handle" to home is: gigabyte@nr.infi.net
4. Office FAX number (910) 334-
(1) text of MS Word file on a Macintosh floppy, along with hard copy
(2) text or word processor file on 3-1/2" IBM (MS-DOS) disk with hard copy
(3) e-mail to address above
(4) fax and/or hard copy
Material that is sent already in electronic format is less likely to have my errors in it; but hard copy is important to check on the accuracy of the electronic transmission!

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

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

Inside the Memphis Hilton, the Key Symposium on “Culture, Biology and Sexuality: Towards Synthesis” was engaging SAS members. Linda Wolfe’s paper on “Human Sexual Behavior and Evolution” corrected my understanding of estrus and menstruation. As she explained, both human and non-human female primates experience estrus (attractiveness, proceptivity, and receptivity during ovulation) and menstruation. And female orgasm is probably experienced by monkeys and apes as well as humans. Her conclusion that human sexuality is different from the other primates primarily due to cultural and symbolic aspects of sex pleased my cultural anthropologist’s soul.

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

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

In the meantime have a great summer!

I can be reached at:
Susan Keefe
Department of Anthropology
Appalachian State University
Boone, N C 28608
derpartment telephone is (704) 262-2295; fax (202) 786-2883
e-mail: KEEFESE@conrad.appstate.edu

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

Please take time to make a campaign pledge or donation, and send it to:
Dr Thomas Arcury, Campaign Treasurer, Center for Urban and Regional Studies, CB#3410, Hickerson House, UNC-CH, Chapel Hill, N C 27599-3512

Spring 1997

S A S members invited to join E-mail list-service
by Tim Wallace
SAS Member at Large

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

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

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

It is easy to join. One merely needs to send a message to:
Liserv@liserv.ncsu.edu with the message: subscribe NCANTHRO Your Name

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

To unsubscribe the address is the same and you merely write:
unsubscribe NCANTHRO Your Name

Thereafter, any messages you wish to send should be addressed to:
NCANTHRO@liserv.ncsu.edu

If you wish to see who else is subscribed, send a message to the listserv address given above (liserv@liserv.ncsu.edu) with the message: recipients ncanthro

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

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

E-mail: tim_wallace@ncsu.edu
Office: Department of Sociology & Anthropology
Box 8107, North Carolina State University
Raleigh, N C 27695
919-515-9025; fax: 919-515-2610
The Tripartite Division of Labor in US Higher Education Revisited, a follow-up and rejoinder to Hans Baer’s article in the Fall 1996 issue

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

A Rejoinder by an Administrator

Hans A. Baer
University of Arkansas at Little Rock

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

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

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

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

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

The Myth of the Faculty-Administration Dichotomy

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

And, if this line is not drawn, how can the lines of conflict or class distinction be clear?

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

See BLANCHARD page 14
Faculty in the departments they care about, and it is unclear who determines the direction and nature of research. Market imperatives provide administrators with a justification to pay certain faculty members, particularly in colleges of business administration, engineering, medicine, and law, with salaries well above their counterparts in the liberal arts and education. On my own campus, full professors in the College of Business Administration get a higher return on their full professors in the College of Arts, Humanities, and Social Sciences by $20-30,000 for a nine-month academic year.

In keeping with the corporate-driven agenda, refrethtime during the 1980s and 1990s most adversely affected the humanities, social sciences, fine arts, and education. Ironically, many of these fields continue to have high enrollments, even though they may have not had as many majors as in the past because of the job market. In most circumstances, they are central to most institutional missions, particularly in the liberal education of undergraduate students. Slaughter maintains that administrators have not been so much involved in refrethtime as in restructuring so that they could spend more on programs that are of direct benefit to the institution. She maintains: In addressing crises, administrators used the language of productivity, economy and efficiency, and competition, language similar to that used by business leaders. In effect, administrators used crisis to become responsible executives, the CEOs of universities (Slaughter 1993:260).

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

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

Equal Employment Opportunity Commission data for 1975-85 showed a 5 percent increase in full-time faculty, an 18 percent growth in 'executive, administrative, and managerial employees', and a 61 percent growth in 'other professionals,' who are degree-holding employees often accounted for in administrative categories. For 1985-90, the increases were 9 percent 14 and 28 percent, respectively (Lee and Roberts 1986:180).

In the case of the 9-campus University of California system, whereas approximately six dollars was spent on instruction for each dollar spent on administration in 1966-67, by 1991-92 approximately three dollars were spent on instruction for each dollar spent on administration (Gurney and Fussell 1995). Much of the growth of the administrative sector has been fueled by increasing regulatory demands on the academy, but much of it is a byproduct of empire-building on the part of administrators and administrative requests for a seemingly endless stream of reports from faculty. Ironically, despite the fact that university administrations have embarked on programs of refrethtime or downsizing their full-time faculties and support personnel, they have not attempted to have subjected themselves to the same process, despite the fact that many corporations have downsized at the level of middle management. The reasons for this pattern need not be further explored, but it may be related to two factors: (1) a time lag between policies pursued in the corporate sector and those pursued in the academy and (2) the relative autonomy of higher-echelon administrators. Although the board of trustees and the governors who may select their members in the case of public institutions hold absolute power over the university, they generally give presidents and chancellors a great deal of discretion over day-to-day campus operations. Conversely, board may eventually place greater pressure upon high-echelon administrators to trim the fat by eliminating many of those associate vice-chancellors and deans.

Creating new structures of "participatory democracy" is vital to creating an authentic "community of scholars" in the postmodern university. Faculty also need to improve public perceptions of what they do. They need to point out that a lot of reading, preparation of lectures, and research go into the 9-12 hours that they spend in the classroom and that faculty often work one-to-one with students on class projects. Faculty also need to demonstrate that their research may have social relevance and that they engage in a wide variety of public service activities. In essence, professors need to rethink their notions of scholarship. Those of us in the social sciences and humanities need to transform ourselves into public intellectuals rather than academic specialists who function within tightly-knit hermetic universes. As Boggs (1993:2) asserts, "scholarly work tends to be narrow, conceived, technocratic, and self-consuming, obsessed as it is with manageable problems, not the kind that are likely to threaten the welfare of the larger society (p. 2). Faculty need to mobilize themselves against the threat to the space that colleges and universities have provided for faculty and students in the development and discussion of oppositional ideas. At the same time, we need to engage in a critical analysis of academic institutions as a major source of legitimation that socializes students into system-reproducing forms of thought and behavior. As I indicated in my article on democra...
BAER CONTINUED FROM PREVIOUS PAGE

ting the academy, the university needs to adopt more mechanisms of both representative and participatory democracy that include input from faculty, staff, and students as well as the public. (Not simply the business community as tends to be presently the case) (Baer, 1995).

Journalist James Ridgway proposed the democratization sometime ago in his critical analysis of corporate-university linkages. He asserted:

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

Unionization offers another possibility for democratizing the university. As I learned at the annual Conference of the National Education Association that I attended in San Diego this past March as a representative of my university’s faculty/staff association, the crisis in higher education has contributed to a “new organizing climate” at various campuses around the country. In Fall 1996, 62 percent of the tenured and tenure-track faculty at Southern Illinois University at Carbondale – a relatively short distance from Blanchard’s campus – voted for collective bargaining and joined over 90,000 higher education people represented by NEA. In the ensuing year, Faculty Association organizers often communicated with their colleagues by computer and thereby helped contributed to the development of “cyber unionism.”

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

Solomon and Solomon propose that the university administration be reorganized. They suggest that “administrative posts themselves should be the center of high salaries and ostentatious trappings, trimmed in number by two-thirds, limited in power, and filled by having active faculty (including women and ethnic minorities).” Those who adhere to the essential needs of students and faculty, serve for three-year terms” (Solomon and Solomon 1993:268).

Solomon and Solomon (1993:268) also call for empowerment and expansion of faculty governance. This would entail “equipping faculty senate, faculty watchdog committees, and faculty planning committees and task forces with real decision-making power and, in some instances, veto power.” Remaining administrators, who would be hired by faculty committees, would also be subject immediately to regular faculty reviews.*

The academic workplace needs to be only one of many sites where the struggle for democracy proceeds. Unfortunately, contrary to Blanchard’s assertion, the public does not exert much influence over the future of higher education or much else in the larger society at the juncture in U.S. history. With the emergence of a political system in which the two major parties cater primarily to corporate interests, most Americans have been disenfranchised, despite the fact that some of them continue to vote periodically.

Noam Chomsky, an internationally renowned linguist, fellow academic, scholar, and the major political dissident in this country, has gone so far as to argue that the United States has a one party system -- the Business Party which has two factions. Ultimately, the democratization of the university will have to be part and parcel of the democratization of U.S. society. Rather than accommodating themselves to the realities of the U.S. political economy, academics as intellectual workers need to form alliances with other Americans in attempting to figure out strategies for transcending them.

Progressive academics need to act as what Giroux (1988) terms "transformative intellectuals" who actively address their own role in the production and legitimation of social relations, engage in the writing of reviews and books for the general public, and engage in praxis (or a merger of theory and social action) within the academy that has political relevance outside of it. He maintains that professionalization has prompted academics to withdraw from a public discourse by restricting their intellectual endeavors to professional journals, books, and conferences. I for one do not wish to view my academic workplace as a place where I am "cooled off" by deluding myself, as Blanchard suggests, that I form common cause with the Administration so long as it is part and parcel of a larger project dedicated to the entrepreneurial university.

References Cited


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BLANCHARD continued from page 9

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

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

My point, then, is simply that it is neither accurate nor profitable to generalize about strata, privileged elites, and oppressed classes across the spectrum of American higher education. The post- modern university is one with a distinctive culture, social organization, and class dynamic. At another level, it is an institution of many cultures and many conflicts. For that reason, while conflict theory might provide a useful perspective for understanding today's university, Marxist models and others that would lump the many roles attendant to uni- versity life into two or three categories simplify the issue to a fault and distort the accurate portrayal of the dynamics that drive higher education.

The Question of Administrative Privilege

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

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

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

As far as I know, there are no data that prove that a university or its faculty are any worse for having a CEO whose background, credentials, and experience are not consist- ent with those of the traditional, "from the ranks" model. In fact, as I suggested earlier, there are advan-tages to having leadership that is more com- fortable raising money, lobbying for higher educa- tion, and entertaining those whose support is im- portant to the university, than spending time in the library, doing laboratory research, or facilitating a graduate seminar. Also, CEOs who do not see themselves as faculty or scholar first and adminis- trators second, are theoretically, though not always, less likely to interfere in the curricular process or with the dynamics of academic life than the more traditional CEOs. The latter may remain so preoc- cupied with issues of the classroom and scholarship that vital external concerns are ignored.

The issue of salaries and benefits, particu- larly those of university presidents and chancellors, is as complex as the issue of campus culture and social organization. Admittedly, there are those among our ranks who make salaries that challenge both the imagination and reasonable explanation. What is it that Vanderbilt's Joe B. Wyatt did to earn over $478,000 in 1994-95; or Boston University's John Silber did to merit his $565,000 salary in the same year? This is probably a rhetorical question.

However, these cases are more the exception than the rule and more evident among private institutions than among public (Lively, 1996: A35).

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

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

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

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

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

The Dilemma of Adjunct Exploitation

I suspect there are few university administrators across the country who would argue with Baer (1996:21) that temporary and part-time instructors are being underpaid and underemployed. I am not certain, however, that all would agree that the trend to employ more adjuncts is "part of the deprofessionalization" or "proletarianization" of academe (Baer, 1996:21). While the process may lend itself to that, I think the growth of the adjunct and part-time ranks across the country is initially an unfortunate but logical response to the economic uncertainties that plague public higher education. It is also a mechanism for protecting tenure and the future of those who hold tenured positions. Certainly, in the best of all possible worlds, all faculty positions would be full-time, tenure-track positions and no classes would be taught by part-time or temporary (not to include visiting professors) instructors. I cannot imagine any responsible administrator suggesting otherwise. Having full-time faculty who are productive scholars, actively engaged in the life of the local community, and committed to the long-term well-being of the university is critical to institutional health. It is rare that part-time or temporary instructors, regardless of their credentials, can bring these things to the university. However, having only a full-time, tenure-track faculty is today a luxury that no public university can afford.

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

There are those in positions of leadership in higher education who see the elimination of tenure as the answer to this dilemma. If an institution was not committed to individual faculty beyond the end of an annual contract, most, if not all, faced cutbacks in full-time positions. When the hard times came, institutions and their faculties could then make selective cuts from among its ranks, in most cases reducing teaching staff in those areas of low enrollment and protecting those in areas of high enrollment. I really do not think that in the best interest of higher education and certainly not in the best interest of today's tenured faculty, perhaps institutions can do a better job of compensating its temporary instructors and hastening the process by which they join the ranks of the permanent faculty. However, until someone can come up with a workable solution to the problem of budget uncertainties, I think we are stuck with this dilemma.

The Need for a Pro-Active Academic Community

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

Nevertheless, I agree with Baer's (1996:22) admonition that anthropologists should devote more attention to the study of higher education and its affairs. In addition, I think higher education is well served by part-time or adjunct faculty in positions of administrative responsibility. To the detriment of public higher education, anthropologists...
gists have all too often viewed such positions as tainted, pure bureaucracy, and beneath the dignity of real scholars. Interestingly enough, it can be argued that anthropology is a paradigm for the nature and structure of public higher education in the 21st century. The discipline's focus on diversity; its eclecticism, and its commitment to a healthy balance between science and humanism provides an important critical perspective on higher education as an institution that can foster fundamental democratic values in a world of conflicting cultures, competing ideologies, and technology that is evolving at supersonic speeds. It is a time for anthropologists to step forward and replace rhetoric with action.

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

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

Between 1993 and 1996, the Guatemalan-Maya immigrant community of Palm Beach County, Florida, predominately in and around Lake Worth and numbering approximately 12,000-15,000 persons, has experienced an increased occurrence of neural tube defects (as well as other birth defects). While research to determine the cause — or combination of causes — is still in the early stages, the suggested multifactorial, etiologic necessity necessitates an investigation of possible links between cultural practices and disease.

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

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

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

by Melissa Mayo
Florida Atlantic University

Spring 1997
births and 311.1 overall birth defects, excluding NTDS, per 10,000 births. Although this corresponds to the rate of 90 NTDs per 10,000 births in Guatemala (San Martin 1996: 10A), when compared to rates for various groups in the United States, it is exceedingly high.

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

**Diet and Nutrition**

A diet rich in nutrients, especially folie acid, before and during pregnancy is believed to be one of the most basic ways in which the occurrence of neural tube defects can be reduced (Sever 1995; Harris and Shaw 1995). Perceptions of what constitutes a healthy diet as well as the differential availability, use, and distribution of food items within the household are prime determinants of an individual's nutritional status. In Guatemala, corn, often made into tortillas or tamales, and beans are the staples of the traditional diet which also includes a variety of other foods. "Tortillas are eaten at every meal, accompanied by greens, beans, chili, soup or stew, cheese, eggs, meat or fish, depending on availability and affordability" (Scrimsheaw and Cosminsky 1991:64). Tomatoes, onions, chili peppers, and herbs are added to foods to provide flavor (Scrimsheaw and Cosminsky 1991). Other foods frequently eaten include fruits, vegetables, wheat bread, rice, pasta, coffee and white sugar, which is preferred over brown sugar (Scrimsheaw and Cosminsky 1991). Despite this apparently healthful assortment of foodstuffs, people also drink red wine and other alcoholic beverages (Harris and Shaw 1995:73). Although they note that, in their study population, nutritional and caloric intake deficiencies did exist among pregnant and lactating women, they did not attribute these deficiencies to food distribution practices, nor was it mentioned that folic acid levels were below recommended allowances (1991:73). Similar distribution practices were observed by Shotland in a study carried out among migrant populations in South Florida and Virginia (1989). Consistently, females were more likely than males to have intakes below the Recommended Daily Allowance for all but one of the nutrients examined; folic acid levels, however, were not analyzed in this study (Shotland 1989).

**Parasitic Infection and Nutrition**

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

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

A large number of Guatemalan-Maya immigrants in the Lake Worth area work in crop fields as farm workers or in plant nurseries (San Martin 1996). This occupation places them at an increased risk of chemical exposure in the form of insecticides, herbicides, and fungicides, various types of which have been listed by the U.S. Environmental Protection Agency as having teratogenic consequences (Sealine and Jackson 1994); some of these are being used in Florida (Florida Agricultural Statistics Service 1993). Because of the prevalence of neural tube defects within the Guatemalan-Maya community, there is an urgent need to thoroughly assess the extent of exposure and the dangers associated with different levels of exposure. To be most accurate and meaningful, this information needs to be detailed at the individual level.

Anthropological Praxis: Farm work and Chemical Exposure

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

Conclusion

Because prevailing evidence "supports a multifactorial etiology" (Seger 1995) for anencephaly and spina bifida, it is vitally important to consider the possible causes not only individually but also in terms of how they relate to each other to increase the susceptibility and probability for the occurrence of neural tube defects. Seger recommends analyzing anencephaly and spina bifida separately so as not to "obscure the possibility of important etiologic differences between the two" (1995). Frequently mentioned as factors linked to neural tube defects, more research must be focused on the effects of poor nutrition, emphasizing the role of folate acid as a possible preventative, and on exposure to teratogenic chemicals such as pesticides. Within the Guatemalan-Maya community, in particular, the anthropologist would be an asset to research endeavors by providing an understanding of relevant cultural beliefs and practices that may increase the risk of having a child with a neural tube defect. Anthropological knowledge would be invaluable to gaining an understanding of the cultural perceptions of health and nutrition, both in general and in particular among pregnant women and women of childbearing age, that underlie observable practices. The anthropologist would foster the implementation of programs that would not undermine cultural beliefs and norms, but rather would function in cooperation with them to insure their applicability, acceptance, and use. Moreover, the anthropologist would endeavor to identify the specific teratogenic chemicals responsible for neural tube defects within the Guatemalan Maya community by initiating the implementation of the Work Related Exposure Log. This represents but a fraction of the work and research that is needed if the etiology of neural tube defects is to be discovered. It is hoped that the efforts of all those involved, as well as the potential contributions of
### TABLE 1. Rates of Major congenital malformations, by race/ethnicity, United States, 1981-1986

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Malformation*</th>
<th>Blacks</th>
<th>Hispanics</th>
<th>American Indians</th>
<th>Asians</th>
<th>Whites</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>Anencephaly</td>
<td>2.1</td>
<td>4.4</td>
<td>3.6</td>
<td>4.4</td>
<td>3.0</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Spina bifida without anencephaly</td>
<td>3.3</td>
<td>5.9</td>
<td>4.1</td>
<td>1.8</td>
<td>5.1</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>TOTAL</td>
<td>5.4</td>
<td>10.3</td>
<td>7.7</td>
<td>6.2</td>
<td>8.1</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

* By organ and/or system.  
** Per 1,000 total births.

Source: Chavez et al. 1988:19

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

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Harris, J.A., and G.M. Shaw  

Jorde, L.B., R.M. Fineman, and R.A. Martin  
Figure 1. Work Related Exposure Log

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Name:</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td></td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

| Employer: | |
| Work Location: | |
| Type of crop/nursery: | |
| # hours in field: | |

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Work Activity:</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>harvesting</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>weeding</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>other</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Condition of Field:</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>in field while sprayed</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>wet pesticide residue</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>pesticide odor</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>(slight/strong)</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>other (explain)</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Adverse effects:</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>Nausea</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Dizziness</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Headache</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Skin irritation/Rash</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Other (explain)</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

Spring 1997

Winning Entry 1997 SAS Graduate Student Paper Competition

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

by John Dwight Hines
Louisiana State University

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

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

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

R.L. Pruett in Scarf Cloud

The Basques in North America

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

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

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

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

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

Most of the Basques who came after the initial rush arrived from Europe with the idea of working for a few years and returning with their wages earned shepherding. Some, however, entertained
By allowing Basque the opportunity to meet and interact the lodging houses distinguished themselves from other places in the American West.

City, Utah to name only a few.
The relationship between the Basque-owned lodging houses of one such Basque community, that of Buffalo, Johnson County, Wyoming, is the primary focus of this paper. The discussion of Basque lodging houses in Buffalo will be broken into three stages each related to the different lodging houses which operated there. Also an attempt will be made to correlate this situation with the larger context of Basque hotels and communities throughout the American West from the 1860's to the present. It is the thesis of this paper that Basque hotels, due to their ubiquity and practicality, became informal institutions within the Basque communities of the western United States. These establishments served the clientele, which recently was almost exclusively Basque, in both practical and social ways. In so doing the Basque hotel became a cultural "place" for Basque-Americans.

Johnson County and its Basque community

Johnson County is located in north-central Wyoming. It encompasses a transition zone between the high plains, which cover the eastern half of the state, and the Rocky Mountains, which cover (in various ranges) the western half. The plains portion of the county is referred to as Powder River Basin for the principal river of the area. The mountains are called the Big Horns. The plains of Johnson County vary in elevation from over 5,000 feet on the eastern edge of the basin, which corresponds roughly to the eastern political border of the county, to just over 4,000 feet at the base of the mountains. The mountains, the crest of which form the western political boundary of the county, rise to over 13,000 feet on Cloud Peak.

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

Undoubtedly, in such aridous agriculture is precarious. In fact it is only attempted on a small scale in the limited area of the county irrigated from the streams which drain east from the mountains. Even the production is of corn and alfalfa for hay which can be used for additional fodder for livestock to supplement grazing during the winter months. While the county is limited for crop production, the natural grasses of the plains, such as gama, blue joint, buffalo and bush provide excellent feed for cattle and sheep (Rollins 1951). This fact has been realized since the first herds of Texas cattle pushed into the area in the 1870's. Sheep followed in the 1880's, and the major economic pursuit of the region was established.

The proximity of the mountains provide the pastoralists of Johnson County with convenient summer feed for cattle and sheep. Early in the Euro-American occupation of the area a system of transhumance developed whereby flocks and herds were driven from the plains in the spring to summer high on alpine pastures until the coming of fall forced them to return to lower elevations. The patterns of livestock production, particularly of sheep, which developed over a century ago, remain largely unchanged today. Johnson County today produces the most sheep of any county in Wyoming (Wyoming Agricultural Statistics Service 1996).

Buffalo, Wyoming is the county seat of Johnson County, having roughly 3,000 inhabitants. It is the largest town in the county. It is the main commercial and social center for the surrounding area. It was to this area that Jean Esponda came in 1902. Esponda was the first Basque of what was to become by mid-century a vibrant ethnic community where the high plains meet the mountains (Griggs 1942).

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

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

From those humble beginnings, the Basque colony of Buffalo became a thriving one by the start of the Second World War. This dramatic rise in population and financial success was promoted by the pattern of chain migration commonly employed by the Basques in the New World. A Basque once settled in his new land, be it Uruguay, Mexico, California, or Johnson County, would call for relatives or friends to work with him, or if he had his own sheep operation, for him. Often times those already here would front the money for passage to the immigrant, who could not afford it himself (Douglass and Bilbao 1975). This process continued well into the 1960's in Johnson County. The first Basque to join Jean Esponda was his brother Joanes or John, who came in 1904. There followed a series of Basque who came to work first for Healy-Patterson, then for the Esponda Brothers, and then for the other Basques as they acquired sheep and land.

In 1910 there were forty-three Basques residing...
in Johnson County (Arrizabalaga 1986). By 1942 one estimate puts the number of Basques in the community at 2,000. Today there are roughly one hundred and fifty people of full and partial Basque descent in the area.

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

**The first stage of Basque lodging houses**

In the days of the open range in Wyoming, from the 1870s through the 1920s, sheep-herders worked long days, weeks and even years out on the plains and in the mountains caring for the sheep. Some Basques, reportedly, never left the range once during stays of four or five years in the United States. Others had only their annual week-long vacation in the fall to go to town.

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

It was to the local Basque lodging house that these men usually gravitated in their off-time. Both vacationed and unemployed herders sought the companionship and atmosphere provided by the lodging house. The houses also appealed to the unemployed herders with their generally cheap room and board and the informal role they often played as employment agencies, acting as brokers between herders and shepherds (Douglas 1979; Irigaray and Taylor 1977).

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

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

As mentioned this was all done on an informal level. The vast majority of the Basque families were family and friends. Often, rent was not even charged. Any fees one felt obligated to pay could be worked out in backyard or kitchen labor.

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

**The middle stage of Basque lodging houses**

By the middle stage of the lodging house in Buffalo in the 1930s, many Basque men who came as penniless herders had through thrift and fortitude acquired sheep bands of their own. In some cases they also owned land and married (almost exclusively to other Basques) and had begun to raise families. These developments—the establishment of a real Basque "community" made up of men, women and families—along with the continued inflow of Old-World Basques gave rise to a vibrant, European-born colony in Johnson County by mid-century. In this situation the Basque lodging house assumed the role of a social hall, in addition to its paternal relationship to recent immigrants. We can also see this transition in Pagliarulo's (1948) study of the Basques of Stockton, California:

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

During this phase the Basque hotel was "the nearest thing to an organization that could be found among the Basque people" (Pagliarulo 1948).

Although fraternal organizations and clubs did exist in the larger Basque communities, such as San Francisco (Decroos 1980), this statement is true for the vast majority of the Basques dispersed throughout the rural American West.

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

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**BASEQUE LODGING HOUSE**  

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

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

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

Maria Bilbao ran the boarding house professionally. She provided room and board for anyone who sought it. Not many non-Basque ever did.

According to her granddaughter Mrs. Bilbao was very loyal to her native land and allowed only Spanish, Basque and French to be spoken in her home. Jon Bilbao passed away in 1959 and Maria kept running the business until her death in 1967.

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

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

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

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

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

The third stage of Basque lodging houses

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

The very fact that to obtain a room in the hotel she operated with her husband is telling of the state of the Basque community and its lodging house at the time. Her Basque hotel, unlike the boarding houses which had long since been full, had no dining room or even a sizeable lobby in which the Basque could meet and interact.

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

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

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

Final discussion and conclusion

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

In Buffalo, Madame Irigasaray's home served the community until Senora Bilbao's boarding house established a more formal but still intimate setting for its members. In the second transition from boarding house to actual hotel however the Buffalo example deviated from the general model. Elsewhere in the West, when the true hotels took over from the boarding houses they perpetuated, to a certain extent, the informality of the former. This was achieved by providing food and a gathering site for Basques.

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

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

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

**Choctaw Genesis, 1500-1700**

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Indians of the Southeast Series

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LCCN: 95-001659

University of Nebraska Press

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

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

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