

THE APPALACHIAN EXPERIENCE:
A COMMUNITY WORKERS' GUIDE

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The Appalachian Experience: A Community Workers' GuideIntroduction

This booklet is meant for community staff and volunteers with Head Start and other government and service agencies in their work with the mountain people of Appalachia. It is also for Appalachian peoples themselves as part of their understanding of their cultural identity. Much of the primary research data was collected in the North Carolina mountains. Secondary resources from other parts of Appalachia generally support the data, and it is hoped that The Appalachian Experience will be relevant to all workers in Appalachia.

Many people who write about Appalachian culture do it in a negative perspective. Appalachia is portrayed as a problem area. Writers talk about backwardness, destitution, Appalachia as a thorn in America's flesh. One interpretation is that mountain people suffer from "cultural deprivation" -- that the culture or society is somehow inadequate. As a result, the people allegedly develop psychological problems. Arguments of that type are often used in analyzing poor people and their living conditions. That reasoning has often been used to criticize the culture of black people and native Americans as well. A serious problem with that kind of analysis is that it assumes that the dominant culture -- the middle class mainstream of American society is good, right, and progressive. There, the subculture -- Appalachian culture in this case -- is somehow inferior, inadequate, and backward. Such a perspective is culturally biased. It is a prejudicial point of view. It fails to recognize the strengths of Appalachia for the people who live in it. It also fails to recognize the ways in which the dominant culture has economic and political control over the subculture. Many criticisms of Appalachia stem from different values of the critic. The term "backwardness," for example, is a value judgment on Appalachia. "Traditionalism," however, does not convey a value judgment even though both may be describing the same traits.

The Appalachian Experience is an attempt to avoid the negative stigmas that have been cast upon the mountain people. It suggests that the cultural heritage and family strengths that characterize the people of Appalachia provide a strong foundation and framework upon which the community worker can build. The objectives are to help Appalachian community workers better serve mountain peoples through:

- 1) Enhancing cultural pride and appreciation of mountain heritage;
- 2) Emphasizing multi-cultural (white/black/native American) contact and cooperation;
- 3) Pointing out Appalachian family strengths;
- 4) Suggesting the kinds of programs that mountain people see as building on these strengths;
- 5) Offering a preliminary model of communication for social workers;
- 6) Stressing some current social, economic and political issues which bear on Appalachia; and
- 7) Questioning the concept of progress as characterized by further industrialization and modernization.

The first chapter, "Our Appalachian Heritage," provides a broad overview of the cultural heritage of Appalachia up to the present time. Chapter two, "The Appalachian Family," looks at who the Appalachian families are and what issues face them today. The third chapter, "Strengths of Appalachian Families," gives results of a survey of mountain Head Start workers on the strengths of

mountain families. Chapter four, "Working with Mountain Families," includes a model for community worker communication, program ideas, and future issues. Appendix A is a reprint of an earlier publication on Appalachian culture pre-school curriculum. Appendix B lists selected resources on Appalachia.

Some of the characteristics that are identified as traits of mountain people are, in fact, characteristics of the rural South as a whole to varying degrees. Appalachia, with its relative isolation, has maintained certain rural cultural traits which have been more subject to change in other areas where the impact of industrialization and urbanization has been stronger.

Research methods included review of secondary sources, interviews and opinion surveys of western North Carolina Head Start workers, and personal observation. No attempt was made in this work to compile statistical data on demographic patterns in Appalachia. This data has been well documented elsewhere. The analysis and opinions expressed represent the view of the author.

I. Our Appalachian Heritage

Its Beginnings

The southern Appalachians are a chain of mountains that run through what is now northern Alabama and Georgia, the northwest corner of South Carolina, the western part of North Carolina and Virginia, the eastern parts of Tennessee and Kentucky, and the whole state of West Virginia. From there the mountains continue north through Pennsylvania and New York State on up into New England. The Appalachians are an old mountain chain, worn and weathered. The southern Appalachians have been well known for their abundant waters, forests, wildlife, and other natural resources.

The highest point in the eastern United States is 6,684 foot Mount Mitchell in western North Carolina. Much of western North Carolina is tall mountains, many over 4,000 feet above sea level. Moving east toward the center of the state one drops down over the Blue Ridge that predominates North Carolina and Virginia into the rolling hills of the Piedmont. The Piedmont descends further, east of what is now the city of Raleigh, N. C., onto the rich farmland of the eastern plain and the extensive inlets and waterways that mark the coastline. The mountains of Alabama, Georgia, South Carolina and Virginia also drop down to a piedmont plateau and then stretch on to a coastal plain.

The first human inhabitants of the southern Appalachians were American Indians who migrated to the mountains between 10,000 and 50,000 years ago. Over those thousands of years many Indian nations were born and died in the mountains. Much of that history is not known today except through some archeological remains.

During that period of time the mountain ecology changed little. The rivers continued to flow with clean waters. The air remained unpolluted. The forests and wildlife were plentiful. There were some human settlements. Homes were built. Foot trails were made through the woods. Trees were cut and game was killed as needed. However, no cities were constructed, no roads were bulldozed, there were no mills, no strip mining, no clear cutting of timber. The human inhabitants were part of nature and did little to change their environment.

By the 1500's most of the Indians living in what is now the North Carolina mountains belonged to one of seven different clans. These clans were banded together in a loose confederation. This confederation came to be known as the Cherokee Nation. The Cherokee Nation stretched into what is now Alabama, Tennessee, South Carolina and Virginia as well as North Carolina. The Piedmont area was occupied by part of the Eastern Sioux Nation, the Catawba. The Catawba now have a small reservation in South Carolina. Areas closer to the eastern seaboard were inhabited by other tribes including Algonquins and Tuscarora. The origins of the Lumbees of southeastern North Carolina are unclear, but they are possibly descendants of various eastern Sioux peoples and the first English colonists.

New Immigrants

Around 1540 the first step in a great change came to the mountains. A man from Spain by the name of Hernando De Soto led a group of Spanish explorers up from Florida into the mountains. He was probably the first European to set foot in the southern Appalachians.

This was a time of territorial expansion for many European countries. They sent out explorers to claim lands for their home countries. Close behind the explorers came colonists. The colonists were encouraged by their home countries to establish themselves in the new lands. This would help the countries to preserve their claim on the "new land."¹ Colonists were very hardy. They were usually poor, hoping to start a new life. They were often fleeing religious and political persecution, and seeking freedom and independence.

North Carolina was the site of the first English Colony in the "new world." It was settled on the coast in 1585. In 1629 it was first chartered as an English colony. Most of the eastern seaboard of the United States was claimed by England. Thousands and thousands of colonists began to come to the "new world" to try and start new lives.

Most of the colonists settled on the coast where they had access to the sea and European trade. Others moved a little farther inland into the rich farming area of the eastern plain.

As conditions became more crowded and English law became more established along the coast, immigrants pushed on into the Piedmont. By the late 1600's the hardiest pioneers were moving into the isolated hollows of the mountains. They were often fleeing English laws and English taxation. The immigrants came mostly from England and Scotland and Wales. Some came from Germany, France and other European countries. Some came from Africa. Most Africans were brought to the "new world" as slaves to farm the rich farmlands. A very few came as free persons and a very few were freed. A few of these free blacks who did not move farther north migrated as pioneers to secluded mountain lands where they could live without fear of harassment.

The relationship between the Cherokees and the early Appalachian pioneers was important for the settlers. There was sharing, cooperation, and exchange of ideas. The Cherokees taught the Europeans how to survive in the mountains. They taught them how to track game, what plants were edible, and how to cultivate them. The new immigrants shared with the Indians some European farming techniques and the construction of European style cabins. The Cherokees were farmers as well as hunters. They raised corn, beans, squash, and melons. Their towns were scattered along the riverbanks and in bottom lands. In 1735 there were an estimated 16,000 Cherokees living in sixty-four villages in the North Carolina mountains.

These first European settlers in the North Carolina mountains were self-sufficient individuals. They resisted strongly the English rule and English taxation. By the mid-1700's English rule had become quite oppressive in the colonies. Because of the rugged mountains and isolation and resistance of the pioneers, royal tax collectors had a hard time collecting taxes.

In 1771, five years before the official American Revolution, the royal governor Tryon sent troops from the capitol at New Bern, North Carolina to collect the taxes. In reaction a group of mountain people organized and called themselves the Regulators. The Regulators fought and lost a bloody battle at Alamance, North Carolina to these English troops. Some of these people were still unwilling to pay the royal taxes. They migrated even further into the mountains

¹ Quotes are put around the words "new lands" and "new world" because, of course, America wasn't new. It was new only to the Europeans who hadn't realized that it was there.

of east Tennessee and formed the first English speaking, self-governing, independent settlement in the "new world," At least three different "declarations of independence" were drafted in the southern mountains before Thomas Jefferson wrote the one in 1776 which signaled the official start of the American Revolution.

After Independence

Seemingly, wars have always created complex allegiances for mountain peoples, and the people have paid highly for the wars. The Cherokees sided with the English settlers in wars with the Tuscarora Indians and with the French. During the American Revolution many of the Cherokees sided with the British and Tories. They lost much land and people during this war. In the following years the Cherokees were forced to negotiate a number of treaties with the United States government. Again they consistently lost more and more land.

In 1838 the United States government ordered all of the Cherokees removed from North Carolina and sent to Indian Territory in Oklahoma. Over 17,000 Cherokees were started on a forced march in the dead of winter for a distance of 1,200 miles. It was a bitter and tragic experience. More than 4,000 died along the way on what has become known as "The Trail of Tears."

Some of the Cherokees fled the round-up and hid out in the mountains. Government troops were unable to capture them and eventually they were allowed to remain in the mountains. These people became known as the Eastern Band of Cherokees. The Cherokee reservation in western North Carolina differs from most other reservations today. Rather than the federal government designating the land as a reservation, the Eastern Band of Cherokees and their supporters had to purchase the land that had already been theirs in order to establish a reservation there. Gradually Cherokee families were able to reestablish themselves, build homes, farm and hunt. Their lifestyles were in many ways quite similar to those of other mountain families.

The geography and perhaps the spirit of the mountain peoples made Appalachia different from the rest of the south. The isolation and lack of roads made for reduced trade and communication. The mountains were not economically tied in to slavery the way the rest of the agricultural south was. The spirit of independence and freedom seemed stronger in the mountains.

Families that settled in the mountains were much like frontier families in other areas. Sometimes men homesteaded in an area and when they had a cabin built, went to get their families. Other times a whole family would settle on some land, camping, working together clearing land and building a house. The families were resourceful and made almost all their own commodities. Birth rates were high. Infant mortality was high. Life expectancy was short.

The second and third generations sometimes moved on to other land. Most often, a newly married couple would live with one or the other sets of parents until they could build their own home. Usually they settled on land that belonged to one of their families. The family networks became more extended. People lived close to other kin and family ties were strong. Even when family members did not get along, there was a strong sense of loyalty and cooperation between the related families. This pattern continued into the twentieth century with the number of related people in a community growing and the amount of land per single family declining. In fact, in some small mountain communities even today, everyone in the community is related to one or more of the three or four families who first settled in the area.

The new settlers coming to America were often seeking religious freedom. People coming from England and other European countries strongly resisted the strong political ties between the church and state. Many of the settlers had belonged to small sectarian groups in their mother countries. These sects were often under attack by the established churches and the political establishment. Settlers moving to the mountains had religious traditions but there were no churches. Religion became largely a matter of family beliefs and values for the new settlers. Less than 10 percent of the new settlers in America were church members in 1776. The percentage was probably much lower in the mountains.

Beginning in the 1750's and continuing through the 1800's a series of revivals and camp meetings went through the South, including the mountains. These revivals were very emotional and generally called for conversions. Reportedly large numbers of people were converted at these meetings. The camp meetings made much use of lay leadership. In many instances there was opposition to trained and educated ministers. Temperance was an important social issue. Abolition was often a social issue too. Most of the revivals were Baptist or Methodist, both denominations being evangelical in nature. There was also a considerable Presbyterian influence probably due to the large number of Scotch Presbyterians who had settled near the mountains.

Organized churches were small. They usually were fundamentalist and relied on lay leadership for their ministry. If there were a formal minister it was usually a circuit rider who passed through the community every few weeks. Because of the isolation and the independent thinking of the people, many of the churches that did exist were independent and did not maintain ties with larger denominations. Even though church membership is low in some areas, religion has continued to be a very important aspect of mountain culture. Many of the religious traditions of the mountain people have changed little in the last 200 years.

While the Cherokees had their own religious traditions when the new settlers came, the Cherokees were gradually converted to Christianity. The Cherokees, like the other settlers, were caught up in the series of camp meetings which swept the mountains. In addition, churches established large mission programs in Indian areas. Today, the predominant religious traditions of the Cherokees are Baptist and Methodist.

For many years in the southern Appalachians preceding the Civil War, there was a surfacing of public opinion opposing slavery. The first newspaper in the United States dedicated to the abolition of slavery, The Emancipator, was started in Jonesboro, Tennessee in 1820. It was this press which influenced William Lloyd Garrison to start his famous abolitionist newspaper the Liberator. The Liberator was instrumental in shaping anti-slavery public opinion in the United States.

The southern Appalachians were often the first stop on the underground railway which operated to help slaves escape to freedom. In fact, a North Carolina mountain man, Levi Coffin, was known as the father of the underground railway. John Fairfield, a Virginia mountain man, was another famous conductor on the railway. Many mountain families gave protection to runaway slaves and some mountain people lost their lives helping runaway slaves travel the railway up into Canada. John Brown, a famous West Virginia conductor was lynched for his activities on the railway. His death became a rallying cry for anti-slavery sentiment nationally. The song "John Brown's Body" immortalized him and reflected the sentiment of the freedom movement of that time.

The mountains have been known for the development of free schools and academies. In the 1800's, before public education was commonly available in the United States, a number of schools dedicated to freedom and free thinking had been established in the mountains. This reinforced the free thinking of the mountain people and led to the publication of a number of pamphlets and books which were banned and burned in the rest of the South. One of the more famous schools which is still in existence is Berea College in Berea, Kentucky. Founded in 1865, Berea was dedicated to teaching the principles of freedom to black and white mountain youth. Berea is well known for its mountain folklore institute. Similar schools have developed elsewhere in the mountains.

The Civil War was a trying time for mountain people. It was a time of mixed loyalties and family divisions. There was little slavery in the mountains and much opposition to it. Yet southern Appalachia was part of the South and part of the southern states that had seceded from the Union. Families and communities were torn. Many young men were drafted into and joined the Confederate Army. Also some 150,000 volunteers from southern Appalachia joined the Union forces. Some counties seceded from the Confederacy. West Virginia split off from Virginia during the Civil War partly because of its opposition to slavery. Mountaineers were sometimes considered traitors by the rest of the South. A few communities suffered damages at the hands of the Confederacy.

The period after the Civil War was difficult for mountain people. While the rest of the South and the nation were going through the period of reconstruction the southern Appalachians were in many ways ignored. Roads had deteriorated. Schools had closed. Poverty, isolation and illiteracy had become a way of life.

1900 to the Present

By the turn of the century an economic change began to take place in the mountains. Large companies came in and bought mineral and timber rights for the lands of the mountain peoples. Many mountain people, illiterate, sold mineral rights to their family lands for 25 and 50 cents an acre. They did not realize that in many cases the companies would strip mine their land and make it unsuitable for farming. This was most devastating in the coal areas of West Virginia, Virginia, Tennessee, Alabama, and Kentucky. Almost overnight mountain families found themselves living in company towns, in company houses, shopping at company stores and attending company churches. The history and abuse of coal mining in Appalachia is well known. The people's loss of the land, the emergence of the small coal mining communities, the extremely hazardous and difficult working conditions, the deaths, black lung disease, bitter strikes and the miners' attempts to unionize, all are part of the history. Not having large coal deposits, North Carolina was spared the worst of the mineral rights and strip mining exploitation. North Carolina did have companies come and take mineral rights for other mining, however. There are many mountain hollows in North Carolina where forest and farm land have been destroyed by the mining of mica, marble, feldspar and kaoline.

The southern Appalachians have the most extensive hardwood forest of anywhere in the nation. Buying up timber rights, large lumber companies cut vast stretches of virgin timber in the early 1900's. Most of this cutting was done with little regard for forest management. Large mills and lumber camps were set up. By the 1920's most of the choice timber was cut. Some of the Appalachian forests (about one-sixth) were put into National Forests by the government as an attempt to regulate cutting and provide good forest management. Forestry as an industry has

declined since the early 1900's. Much of the cutting is still done in private lands, haphazardly, and provides a few people temporary work at low wages. ²

The 1920's saw the movement of many textile mills into Appalachia and the Piedmont. Workers had unionized for higher wages in the Northeast and companies looking for cheap labor moved their mills into the Appalachian area. There were a lot of labor conflicts and strikes, but workers were unable to establish unions.

Mill towns sprang up. In many, the companies controlled the politics. The Carolinas became the center of the nation's textile industry. North Carolina still has the distinction of having the lowest paid industrial workers in the nation. The average pay for North Carolina industrial workers in 1977 was \$3.78 an hour.

Brown lung disease (bysinosis) is a common problem of textile workers. Cotton dust collects in the lungs making it harder and more painful to breathe. After a number of years working around cotton dust many workers are forced to give up all physical activities and each breath is a struggle. It is estimated that as many as 20,000 cotton mill workers in the United States suffer from brown lung disease. ³ In 1977, after a long court fight, the first North Carolina textile worker received disability compensation for brown lung disease.

The arrival of the textile mills had a tremendous impact on Appalachian families. The mills employed large numbers of women. Women were more willing and able to work for the low wages. Men were more likely to be working part time in farming, construction and other seasonal "men" work. Even with a "steady job" the workers have been subject to lay-offs and cut-backs in hours depending on the demands of the company.

The federal government made its first big impact in the Appalachians in the 1930's with the Tennessee Valley Authority related Army Corps of Engineers water control projects and Civilian Conservation Corps projects. These projects were described as attempts to improve the conditions of the mountains by providing electricity, construction jobs and flood control for mountain people, which they did. These projects also did much to change the economic structure of the area. Hydroelectric power was needed for industry. The lakes provided more resources for the potential tourism. Mountain families were pulled a step further away from their tradition of subsistence farming.

Other major changes were happening to Appalachian families as well. Both world wars drew many men out of the mountains and exposed them to a wide range of cultural experiences. Some chose not to return. Others who did return brought with them many ideas from the outside world. Families were exposed to new ideas and experiences.

Migration has been an important factor of Appalachia since the turn of the century. As in other parts of the country, rural people were moving to the cities in search of jobs. The mountains are primarily rural. The terrain is not well suited for large cities. The largest cities in southern Appalachia are Asheville, North Carolina; Chattanooga and Knoxville, Tennessee; Roanoke, Virginia; and Charleston and Huntington, West Virginia - none over 175,000 in 1978. While this was a period of growth for those cities, it was a time when many people left the mountains for Ohio and the Northeast in search of jobs. In fact, some companies

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Harold A. Gibbard, "Extractive Industries and Forestry," in The Southern Appalachian Region: A Survey. Thomas Ford, ed., University of Kentucky Press, 1962, p. 118.

³"Cotton Dust **Kills**," in Mountain Life and Work: The Magazine of the Appalachian South. Clintwood, Va., Vol. 53, No. 3, April, 1977, p. 4



COUNTRY ROADS LEAD TO COUNTRY STORES





AND INDUSTRIAL PLANTS ARE CONNECTED BY



**EVER - WIDENING
HIGHWAYS**

photos by Judy Harvey

came in and recruited labor for factories in the midwest. The overall population of southern Appalachia actually declined for the first time between 1950 and 1960. The 1960's and 70's has seen a reversal of this pattern, and in most counties in Appalachia, populations have stablized.

The 1960's saw the rise of a major new industry impacting on the mountains -- tourism. Tourists had been coming to the mountains for years but not in large numbers. With improved roads and flourishing economy, however, tourism grew in importance. The Great Smokey Mountain National Park became the most visited National Park in the United States. Shenandoah National Park and the Blue Ridge Parkway were not far behind. Tourist attractions, summer resorts, ski resorts, motels, restaurants, camp grounds, and craft shops sprang up almost overnight. Roads were jammed with tourists looking for bears and mountaineers. Chambers of Commerce celebrated the expanding economy, though the influx of money did not necessarily benefit the mountain people. Wages for tourist industry jobs were low and the work was seasonal. Most of the money was channeled into tourist industry corporations. People seeking mountain summer homes were caught in land speculation deals. The price of land increased beyond the buying capacity of most local residents. Property taxes were increased with this speculation, and some people lost land that had been in their families for generations because they could not pay the higher taxes. Again families were subjected to new stresses and strains as "outsiders" flocked to the area.

During the 40's and 50's little public attention had focused on the mountains. The next big burst of federal attention toward the southern Appalachians occurred in the 1960's. The Kennedy and Johnson administrations focused on the problems of poverty. Lady Bird Johnson adopted Appalachia as one of her major concerns. With the Johnson "war on poverty" a number of programs were to have tremendous influence on the Appalachian family. One of these was the establishment of the Appalachian Regional Commission (A. R. C.), a large federal government program to provide a wide range of programs and services to the Appalachian area. Another program born at this time was Head Start, a comprehensive program for poverty level preschool children and their families. Head Start, like few other government programs, has sought to maintain and cultivate the established family units and cultural traditions of the area while also offering a variety of educational, social and medical services for families. It has been able to provide this balance primarily through employing community people in Head Start positions and requiring a majority of Head Start parents on its Policy Council, the basic decision-making body in the local Head Start program.

Appalachia, with an abundance of natural resources, a rich cultural heritage, and strong pioneer spirit is at a critical point in its history. Economic poverty is real for many mountain people. Economic development is hitting the area very rapidly and dramatically. These economic forces are usually controlled by powerful outside interests and are of questionable value for the mountain people. There are strong pressures to "catch up" with the rest of the United States. "Catching up" may mean sacrificing traditional values and strengths. Government help programs and mountain people themselves have to make difficult choices for the future of the mountains. The remainder of this booklet focuses on mountain families, their strengths and who they are, and the issues that face them. In addition, suggested program possibilities that have been developed by mountain Head Start programs are explored.

II. The Appalachian Family

Who is the Appalachian Family

Who is the Appalachian Family? Our society has portrayed some strong images of the Appalachian family. Television has given us Hee--Haw and the Beverly Hillbillies. The comics have given us Little Abner and Snuffy Smith. The gift stores along our highways are laden with hill billy and mountaineer souvenirs. Most of these images show barefooted people in raggedy clothes and tattered hats with lots of children, dogs, and moonshine.

Are these images correct? Are they stereotypes? How do mountain people feel about these images? How are mountain people similar to one another, and how are they different? How are mountain people similar to and different from other people? These are all questions we should consider when we look at characteristics of mountain people.

Modern industrialization has had its impact on Appalachia as well as other parts of the country. Urbanization has been felt even in the mountains. There are business executives in Asheville just as there are in Atlanta. There are modern professionals in Roanoke just as there are in Washington. There are factory workers in Chattanooga just as there are in Gary. Roads, television, industry and tourism have had a tremendous impact on Appalachia in the last thirty years.

Television has reached some of the most remote hollows, and families in these areas have seen things vastly different from their own life experience. The evening news and Saturday morning cartoons, for example, are seen by families across the continent. Head Start families in West Virginia have some of the same experiences with poverty as do Head Start families in Utah, Minnesota and Louisiana.

Stereotypes can be dangerous. They become the basis for prejudice and discrimination. If we recognize this danger and the importance of individual differences, then we can look carefully at patterns of similarity. There are cultural patterns that reflect mountain families. This chapter looks at traits than can be generally related to Appalachian people. The generalizations we make do not apply to all families equally. They are also more true of the rural and isolated areas than of the cities. To a degree they also reflect characteristics of country people in other parts of the United States.

One long term study was done of a relatively isolated mountain area of eastern Kentucky.¹ It was a subsistence farming area, and the study covered a period from 1942 to the mid 1960's. The study focused on migration patterns -- people leaving the mountain community and heading toward cities, mostly in Ohio. The study also sought to identify basic cultural themes of "Beech Creek" (as the community was named in the study).

¹Harry K. Schwarzweller, James S. Brown, and J. J. Mangalam, Mountain Families in Transition (University Park: Pennsylvania State University Press, 1971).

A basic value of Beech Creekers was what is called familism. In familism the family is the center of all social life. Family life values were the most important ones in Beech Creek. People related mainly with their conjugal family (marriage partner and children). Next they related to their extended family (kin who lived in the area) and finally to their neighborhood.

In familistic culture a family tends to have **the** same values -- believe the same and do the same things. Activities might differ between men and women and children, but the family still determines what the activities are. After the conjugal family, a person relates mostly to his or her extended family -- kin in the area. This pattern carried through even for Beech Creekers who left the community. Someone who migrated from the community would usually go to a city where some kin had already migrated. He or she would live with or near kin in that city and share most of his or her social life with the kin. The saying "blood is thicker than water" reflects the importance of family to mountain people.

Individualism is another trait associated with mountain people. The right and responsibility of everyone to make his/her own decisions and mind his/her own business has often been cited as a characteristic of mountain people. It is rooted in the history of the mountain people. It represents a basic democratic principle. Individualism also explains the resistance toward "government people telling you what to do," and the resentment toward "outsiders minding your business for you."

Individualism is based on egalitarianism -- the principle that everyone is equal. A number of studies show that there is not much emphasis on "social class" in the mountains. Social class is a term meaning that people are seen as being more or less important or better depending on job, education, money or other traits. More often than not mountain people see one another as being equal.

The main social class distinction that does emerge is that some people are regarded as being "no account," "worthless," or "ain't worth nothing." Even this kind of social distinction implies that basically people are of worth. To note that a person is worthless or unlike "most folks around here" means that for the most part, people are the same and naturally of value in their own right. Similarly a criticism of some people as being "uppity" suggests that people are really all on the same level and there is not reason for a person to act as though they are better than others.

Another characteristic of mountain people is their faith. Mountain religion is mostly protestant fundamentalism. This strong religious conviction provides a value system that effects every aspect of a person's life. Many of the values have been passed down from generation to generation and have their roots in the Puritan values that were brought to this country two to three hundred years ago. This kind of value system has a strong sense of right and wrong. There are few decisions where the religion does not dictate how to respond. Modest clothing, no work on Sundays, marital fidelity, etc., are clear standards in the community.

Religion is often characterized by a strong sense of evil. The devil is real and active in the world and tempting people through worldly pleasures. If we come too much under the influence of the devil we will be denied salvation. Personal salvation is the primary goal of much mountain religion. A person who has been saved works hard and avoids worldly activities such as fancy clothes, liquor, dancing, card playing, and extravagant material possessions.

This religious system also allows room for backsliders. Revivals allow for people who have fallen short of their religious commitment to rededicate their lives, to be converted again. Opportunities for renewal and rededication help people to maintain their religious ideals in an environment that is harsh and often considered sinful. In an environment where there is little money, time, or opportunity for recreation, religion helps encourage the hard work needed for survival and justifies the harsh conditions under which many mountain people live.

Another trait of mountain people is traditionalism. This obvious characteristic is closely related to the others. People learn and know through tradition. Standards for behavior and belief have been passed on from generation to generation. Such a system provides stability and family unity. While most of the rest of the country has been changing at a rapid rate, change in Appalachia has come slowly. The question of tradition and change is of utmost importance to the mountains.

Forces That Influence the Family

The traditionalism of Appalachia has been challenged in this century by economic forces. Mining, factories, roads, tourism, and television have all worked to undermine the traditional values of Appalachia. Harry Caudill, a Legislator, lawyer, and author from eastern Kentucky has written extensively about Appalachia. His books, essays, and legislative work have been aimed at protecting and preserving the mountain culture. Caudill writes of what he calls Appalachia I and Appalachia II.² Appalachia I is the power and wealth of the mountains. This power and wealth is the large corporations -- the huge land development companies, the coal and mining companies, the mills and industries which control the economic development of the mountains. These large and powerful corporations are not centered in the mountains. The people who control them are not part of the mountain culture. The goals of the companies are their own financial gain. They seek to use the vast wealth and resources of the mountains with cheap labor from the mountain people to increase company profits. The needs of mountain families, the preservation of mountain culture, are not big concerns for the corporations.

Appalachia II, as Caudill describes it, is the land, now partly devastated by pollution. The mountain people are tied to the land. They are land poor. They are sustained by pittance money and bribes from Appalachia I. The spirit of freedom and independence is slowly being crushed as pressures toward economic and industrial development become greater. Caudill asserts that with current trends in the mountains, the welfare check is replacing the grubbing hoe as a means of survival for the people.³

This is not to say that industrial development is wrong. Rather it is to say that the people who are tied to the land, the people whose lives and culture are being changed, should have control over their own destiny. The land, which is central to the heritage of mountain families, needs to be protected. Mining, timbering, and industrial development should be done in ways that conserve natural resources. Changes that effect mountain traditions should be instituted very carefully. Mountain people need to determine what kinds of changes they want and what kinds of cultural and family traditions they want to preserve.

² Harry M. Caudill, "O, Appalachia!," in Voices from the Hills, ed. by Robert J. Higgs and Ambrose N. Manning (New York: Frederick Ungar Publishing Co., 1975), pp. 518-531.

³ibid., p. 530.

American society has operated under the assumption that technological and industrial development aid the people because it provides jobs. However, this kind of development is not necessarily progress nor is it necessarily good. Factory jobs, often with three operating shifts, dramatically change family systems. Basic traditions are challenged. Land development increases land values. This does not help subsistence farmers who are "land poor." Rather, they are forced to sell some of their land to pay the increased property taxes on the rest of their land.

Television has been billed as a way to bring mountain people "into the twentieth century." It is supposed to educate the people and expose them to what the rest of the world is like. However, this is misleading. While it may expose isolated peoples to other parts of the world, this is not its basic purpose. The basic purpose of television is to create new markets for products. Television (except for public education television) is paid for by advertisers to attract potential consumers to buy more and more products. The goal is increased consumption, not education. People are taught to believe that they need commodities that their families have never had and have never thought they needed. Electric can openers, breakfast cereals, new cars, and so forth become seen as needs rather than luxuries. Even utility companies who have no competitors use television to persuade viewers that they are serving the public interest. Utility company advertisements supposedly curb public opposition to rate increases and types of energy sources.

Numerous studies have shown the dangers of television for small children. Children (and adults to a lesser degree) have trouble distinguishing between advertisements and programs. Television discourages group interaction and communication. It detracts from family time. It encourages passivity. While this is true for our whole country, it is especially true for the mountains which have stronger ties to a traditional cultural heritage.

The Appalachian family has traditionally been a large and extended family. Ties with kin are strong. Children have been considered an asset as is generally true in agricultural societies. Family planning is not a common practice. Unplanned teenage pregnancies are not uncommon. Sometimes the father is expected to marry the unwed mother but not necessarily. Adoption is quite rare and abortions practically unheard of. The baby is usually welcomed enthusiastically by the mother's family, and the child is often raised by its grandparents. Having children does not seem to be a detriment to marriage for young women.

The age of marriage is generally lower in the mountains than in the United States as a whole. Women tend to marry by the age of 17 or 18 and men by the age of 22 or 23.⁴ Weddings are quick and simple, often at the county courthouse, and honeymoons are rare. Elopement is common. The couple frequently moves right in with one or the other set of parents until they can get a place of their own. A place of their own often means a trailer behind the parents' home. They can tie in to their parents' water and electrical hookups, save expense on land, cooperate in gardening and child care, and still maintain some independence from their parents. Though ties with kin folk are strong the trend is moving away from the extended family. Appalachian family unit size is now only slightly

⁴ Harvey L. Gochros, "Sex and Marriage in Rural Appalachia," in Teaching Mountain Children, ed. by David N. Mielke (Boone: Appalachian Consortium Press, 1978), p. 69.

higher than that of the United States as a whole.⁵ Fertility rates for mountain people have also declined and now approximate those of the nation as a whole.⁶

After a short period of romance the husband and wife tend to shift back to relating to their traditional reference groups rather than their marriage partners. The men have their group of men friends, and the women have their women friends. Other than family maintenance there are few activities they do as a couple. Sex roles remain traditional though this is in the process of change. With the influx of mills, more and more women (33 percent) are working outside the home. While this is lower than the rate for the United States as a whole (36 percent of women working outside the home), it is nevertheless a dramatic shift from the early part of the century when most mountain families lived by subsistence farming or even from 1949 when women constituted 11 percent of the labor force.⁷ It has been suggested that beneath that front of patriarchally dominated mountain family lies a submerged and generally unacknowledged female power.⁸

As the women's rights movement becomes more influential in the mountains it may produce far reaching consequences. On the one hand there is the strong tradition of male dominance in the family and on the other hand there is the tradition of rugged independence which produces some hardy, outspoken women. Men may find the changing roles of women hard not only because of patriarchal traditions but also because the traditional roles of men have been undermined. Subsistence farming is no longer viable economically, other full time jobs are scarce, and hunting, fishing, and trapping have been restricted because of the decline in wildlife. Women are becoming more instrumental in the labor force and more assertive at home.⁹ There are fewer areas in which men can feel a sense of personal pride and authority.

Babies are especially appreciated in mountain families and are generally considered a delight. Mountain men can often be seen moving out of traditional male sex roles in the attention they pay to babies, playing with them and cuddling them. Babies also seem to give mothers a special feeling of purpose and importance. Even though there is a growing need for day care in the mountains (as well as lack of adequate day care facilities) with the decline of extended families and increase of mothers in the labor force, some families find it hard to allow their children to be in day care or center-based Head Start programs. The raising of children has been firmly entrenched as a family responsibility and relinquishing this responsibility to outsiders is oftentimes quite difficult.

Mountain families have been described as not being child centered.¹ Jack Weller characterizes mountain families as being "adult centered" meaning that the children are expected to not interfere with adults. In fact the children are

⁵ James S. Brown and Harry R. Schwarzweller, "The Appalachian Family," in Teaching Mountain Children, p. 78.

⁶ Ibid.

⁷ Pat Beaver, "Symbols and Social Organization in our Appalachian Community" (unpublished Ph. D. dissertation, Duke University, 1976).

⁸ John B. Stevenson, Shiloh (Lexington: University of Kentucky Press, 1968), p. 78.

⁹ Thanks are due to the staff of Macon Program for Progress Head Start Program and participants in the North Carolina Head Start Association who attended workshops on non-sexist curriculum and helped influence these ideas.

¹⁰ Brown and Schwarzweller, "The Appalachian Family," p. 78. Jack Weller, Yesterday's People (Lexington: University of Kentucky Press, 1975), p. 63.

expected to act as much like adults as possible. Parents' authority is firm and strict when expressed. Authority is often not expressed, especially with boys. Punishments are common, often physical. Children are **expected** to begin doing chores at an early age and to do them promptly. Children are essential to the family economy through their chores. Girls are generally expected to become little mothers and are fairly confined to the home. Boys, once they get their chores done, are much freer to roam. As they get older, there are few limits on where they can go or what they can do. Boys spend most of their free time with other boys and girls with girls. Most informal learning at this age comes through peer groups rather than family. These groups usually continue on throughout life.

There is an adolescent period, but it seems to run shorter than the average United States period of adolescence. Frustrations are shorter and not as severe. 11 There is less juvenile delinquency in the mountains, at least in the rural areas. There are also few organized activities for teenagers. This lack of structured activities for teenagers relates to the early sexual experience and high rate of unwed parents among Appalachian youth. Schooling is not highly valued beyond rudiments of reading and writing. The move toward regionalizing and consolidating schools has contributed to young people's sense of alienation from school. The schools are sometimes seen as being run by outsiders. School drop-out rates often run high in Appalachian communities.

Even though there are few planned family activities and little communication across generation lines, family ties remain strong. An important field study of Appalachian children by child psychiatrist Robert Coles¹² suggests that mountain youth, because of their strong family ties, have a strong sense of who they are and where they came from. They know they are related to an extensive kin network and neighborhood community. They have grown up with a variety of adults -- aunts, uncles, cousins, grandparents -- who share responsibility for them. They have been exposed to a variety of role models plus a strong sense of security. Even with an unsure economic future, family bonds will carry them through life.

In contrast to much of urban America, the aging process is treated with dignity in the mountains. The phrase "old timer" in a community connotes dignity and respect. The elderly have traditionally been looked after by their children, especially the youngest child. With increased migration out of Appalachia over the last thirty years and the decline of the extended family, the elderly are beginning to find their plight more serious. Like their urban counterparts, they are experiencing more loneliness and neglect. Their situation is in some ways more serious, however, because they are often isolated "down on the farm" far removed from any public services for the elderly. This is counterbalanced by such factors as low crime rate, emotional satisfaction, and social and emotional support of the community.

The Appalachian family is strong, traditional and undergoing change. The family in Appalachia is the framework for people as they cope with change in many areas of their lives.

¹¹ Brown and Schwarzweiler, p. 78; Weller, p. 71.

¹² Robert Coles, Migrants, Sharecroppers, Mountaineers (Boston: Brown and Little, 1971).

For an alternative interpretation of the impact of mountain kinship networks on youth, see David M. Loeff, Appalachia's Children and The Challenges of Mental Health (Lexington: University of Kentucky Press, 1971). He interprets these kinship ties as creating a pathological emotional dependence on the family.

The Council on Appalachian Women called the family "...the most vital unit of society and the Appalachian family, as in other rural areas, is the foundation of the social political, and economic systems.... The family of the Appalachia is as diverse and complex as the region itself. Its problems are largely the problems of any rural family, accentuated by isolation and generations of attempted self-sufficiency with inadequate resources." This was presented by the Council on Appalachian Women in a position paper to an Appalachian Regional Commission 1978 conference on children.

The mountain history and culture have brought forth many family strengths. The next chapter will explore these strengths.

¹³ Council on Appalachian Women Child Development Committee, "Position Paper and Recommendations: The Family and Child Development" (paper presented at the "Raising a New Generation in Appalachia," Appalachian Regional Commission Conference, November, 1978, Asheville, North Carolina), p. 4.

III. Strengths of Appalachian Families

Family Strengths

In 1978-80 the writer surveyed approximately 80 Head Start workers from 10 North Carolina Head Start programs covering seventeen mountain counties. The intent of the survey was to assess strengths of Appalachian families as determined by mountain Head Start workers. The workers included directors, teaching staff, maintenance people, social service workers, cooks, component heads, and other office staff. Most respondents were teaching staff since this represents the largest category of Head Start personnel. The respondents were asked to respond in terms of their experience with mountain people. Interviews indicated that they tended to answer not only in terms of professional contact with Head Start families but also in terms of their own backgrounds and contact with family, neighbors and friends. This suggests that the respondents did not consider Head Start families to be significantly different from other non-Head Start mountain families.

One aspect of the survey was to ask the respondents to critique a list of values which one mountain writer¹ had identified as some of the best qualities of mountain people. They were asked to indicate if they considered these values to be strengths of mountain families. The results are as follows:

| | Don't Know | Not At All | A Little Bit | Quite A Lot |
|--|------------|------------|--------------|-------------|
| 1. Religion -- values come from religious base | 37. | 0 | 3% | 94% |
| 2. Individualism, self-reliance, pride | 0 | 0 | 7% | 93% |
| 3. Neighborliness, hospitality | 4% | 0 | 8% | 88% |
| 4. Familism -- strong family loyalty and responsibility | 0 | 0 | 3% | 97% |
| 5. Personalism -- relate personally with others, not offend people | 11% | 4% | 62% | 23% |
| 6. Love of place -- strong attachment to birthplace where raised | 1% | 1% | 3% | 95% |
| 7. Modesty -- not much boasting or competition | 29% | 6% | 34% | 31% |
| 8. Sense of beauty -- good craftsmanship, folk tales, music | 5% | 0 | 8% | 87% |
| 9. Sense of humor -- laugh at selves, poke fun at pompous people | 8% | 2% | 28% | 62% |
| 10. Patriotism -- interest in politics and national government | 8% | 4% | 67% | 21% |

There is a clear indication from the responses (over 90 percent agreeing) that religion, individualism or self-reliance, family loyalties, and love of the land where raised are major factors in assessing family strengths. neighborliness and a sense of beauty are also major family traits. A sense of humor was rated by 62 percent of the respondents as a major factor and another 28 percent saw it as a minor factor. The other three traits: personalism, modesty, and patriotism, showed considerable variance from the essay by Loyal Jones.

¹ Loyal Jones, "Appalachian Values" in Voices from the Hills, ed. by Robert Higgs and Ambrose Manning (New York: Frederick Ungar Publishing Co., 1975) pp.507-517.

Personalism, further described as the tendency to relate personally with others and not offend people, was cited by most respondents as a minor characteristic. Interviews indicated that many considered mountain families outspoken enough to offend people at times. This data may be strongly influenced by responses Head Start workers get sometimes when their job requires them to verify family incomes, give child-rearing advice or meet some other Head Start duty which might be perceived by some families as "meddling in other people's business." Other writers such as Jack Weller have emphasized the importance of personal relationships for mountain people.²

The trait of modesty, not much boasting or competition, was distributed pretty evenly between major factor, minor factor, and unknown. This ambivalence might be explained in Jones' essay where he notes that there are certain exceptions to the no boasting trait. Some things such as dogs and basketball are meant to be bragged on.³

Patriotism was considered by two thirds of the respondents as a minor characteristic but only 21 percent ranked it as a major trait of mountain people. This discrepancy might be explained by a number of factors. In most southern Appalachian states (except West Virginia) mountain people are a minority and have little impact on state politics. The political happenings in Raleigh and Richmond seem remote to the mountain resident in North Carolina or Virginia. The mountain residents may often feel ambivalent about the federal government, fearing government regulations in some areas and feeling dependent on government programs in other areas. Jones cites patriotism as a value because of high voter turnouts and emphasis on freedom and independence.

Head Start staff people were asked what they considered the major strengths of mountain people. Numerous ones were suggested, some of them over and over again. Many of these were interrelated, and many of them closely correlated with ones suggested by Loyal Jones, The most prevalent strength named was loyalty to one's family, conjugal and extended. Kin folks would stick together and support one another through all kinds of crises regardless of how they might personally feel about one another. Even preschool children of the same family in the same Head Start classroom would support and defend each other. It is a basic value which is instilled early in the family. A closely related value that was mentioned numerous times was a sense of love and belonging together. This was associated primarily with family, but many respondents also meant it in a broader community sense as well.

In fact, the second most named family strength was that of sharing with other families, especially in time of need. This happens in many ways. People regularly share from their gardens, especially things they have in abundance. Farm families regularly exchange back and forth the things that have grown well, and people customarily drop off a bag of tomatoes, corn, squash or okra at their neighbor's door, especially the neighbor who did not have a lot of tomatoes or corn or squash or okra.

² Jack Weller, Yesterday's People (Lexington: University of Kentucky Press, 1965), Chapters 3 and 5.

³ Jones, "Appalachian Values," p. 513.

The farmer who has a tractor often stops by on his tractor at the neighbor's who doesn't have a tractor just in time to plow the neighbor's garden. This is done without prearrangement and without exchange of money. Labor, tools and special skills are often shared in this manner.

Mountain communities respond graciously to families in special crisis such as prolonged illness and related problems. Chores are done, food is sent, offerings are collected, and prayers are offered. Mountain communities frequently hold fund raisings for families with exceptional illness and medical expenses through covered dish suppers, gospel sings and bake sales. Neighborliness and cooperation among mountain families is the custom, and support in time of crisis is real. In talking about neighborliness many respondents emphasized that amount of money is not a factor. It is not important who is rich and who poor. Everyone is considered worthy in their own right and not judged by their possessions. (Generally mountain people are not materialistic regardless of personal wealth. Showing off material possessions -- fancy clothes, expensive cars, etc. is considered to be in poor taste and "acting uppity.")

Another family strength frequently mentioned was pride. The sense of dignity, of self-worth, and pride in ones heritage is a valuable asset. Pride enables a person to persevere in all kinds of hardships. It also reinforces family loyalty and cooperation. It manages somehow to coexist with personal modesty in most cases. Pride manifests itself through another basic value, resourcefulness.

Mountain people are known for their resourcefulness. Families strive to provide for their own needs, make the best of what they have, and work hard. The subsistence tradition is still strong even though changing. Traditionally mountain men have been farmers, hunters, mechanics, veterinarians, builders, and traders as well as craftsmen and musicians. Mountain women have been homemakers, cooks, food preservers, child rearers and educators, clothing makers, and medical doctors, as well as singers and artisans. Mountain families have been proud of their skills and ability to survive and maintain themselves under harsh conditions.

Appreciation and understanding of nature, of crops and trees and plants, of animals wild and domestic, are seen by many as a family strength. This attachment to nature gives people perspective, security, and insight into others. It offers a sort of mystical sense of oneness and togetherness with the world. It is wisdom; it is therapy. It relates to resourcefulness -- how to live off the land.

Many other family strengths were suggested by Head Start workers but not with the recurring frequency of the above values. Family traditions, celebrations, and reunions are important. A sense of humor and ability to laugh at oneself is a healthy characteristic of mountain people. It helps them to cope with hard living conditions.

Independence, loyalty to friends, and outspoken honesty were mentioned by more than one respondent. Attachment to birthplace and the roots and identity that grow out of that attachment relate to family loyalty, pride, and often appreciation of nature. The mountain lifestyle carries with it numerous virtues. There are not the pressures of urban life. There appears to be less competition and less greed. People have more privacy and can manage their own time. When persons choose to be involved in a project, they can do so enthusiastically and will carry out responsibilities.

⁴ Staff from Qualla Boundary Cherokee Head Start Program essentially identified the same family strengths as other Head Start workers did. In fact, the Cherokee are very much like other mountain families in many ways. There were

Family loyalty, sharing and neighborliness, resourcefulness and independence, pride, and appreciation of nature are all major mountain values that make families strong. Other related values also reinforce family strengths. A traditional religion with a clear cut belief system reinforces these values and provides a sense of security. Other mountain traditions such as story telling, mountain language patterns, and mountain music -- gospel, ballads, blue grass, and popular country music all serve to symbolize and celebrate these values and provide a sense of personal, family, and community identity.

Family Needs

A major purpose of this booklet is to identify mountain family strengths. Through identifying and supporting family strengths, community workers become better able to meet family needs. When people are asked to think of family strengths they also have a tendency to think of family needs. Head Start workers who were interviewed and/or responded to the survey were answering largely in terms of community worker goals. They tended to identify traits which were particularly frustrating to community workers. If another group with different goals were surveyed, they would probably identify different characteristics. Law enforcement officers, for example, might identify the need for safe driving practices. The specific question asked of the respondents was, "Are there Appalachian family values and traditions which you think create special problems for mountain people?" It is worth noting that the traits mentioned are the same as the ones identified in a different context as strengths.

Pride was identified by most people responding to the questions as the main characteristic of mountain families which creates problems for them. The problem this creates is that people who need help will not seek it out nor will they accept help. Many families that are eligible for various kinds of government assistance will not accept it. They will accept help from family and sometimes from neighbors, or they will choose to do without. A related trait is resistance to outsiders. Outsiders sometimes means other than family and sometimes means people who were not born and raised in their community. Resistance to outsiders usually means resenting outsiders "trying to take over" or "meddling in their business." Trying to take over or meddling in their business often means giving unsolicited advice or aid.

The second most identified trait was an unwillingness to leave the old home place regardless of its condition, the lack of job opportunities in the area, and unwillingness to seek jobs elsewhere. This is a different interpretation of the "strength" mentioned earlier of attachment to home place.

two family strengths which Qualla Boundary staff identified and others did not.

One strength is that children are considered very special and are very loved. They hold a special place in the family. It is difficult to measure whether the Cherokee are, in fact, more "child-centered" than other mountain families. They do have a reputation for being permissive in their child rearing and there are very few confirmed cases of child abuse.

The second strength is that families help preserve the native tongue. There is a stress on the use of the Cherokee language as well as English as a way of maintaining pride in their heritage. For a period of time few people knew the language and children were not allowed to speak it in the reservation schools. In the last twenty years the Cherokee language has experienced a rebirth. Some families emphasize it, and Cherokee is now taught at the reservation schools.

Most of the other "problem" traits are also tied into traditionalism and resistance to change. The religious beliefs do not accept change. People are content to live in isolation. They are too individualistic. They are too accepting of outmoded sanitary conditions, outmoded jobs, outmoded medical practices. The young people marry too young, go to work too young, and don't finish school. Generally people will not change even when they personally agree with the change if the change goes against family and religious traditions. Some see the traditional language patterns as contributing to isolation and misunderstanding from outsiders.

In addition, traditional mountain time concepts conflict with the structure and time concepts of modern community organizations. Traditionally time has been treated in a very immediate sense. A person is likely to do something "right now" or "maybe later." The middle class notion of scheduling future time by the clock is somewhat alien to mountain culture. Many a social worker and program planner has been frustrated by scheduling a meeting for next Tuesday at 6:00 P. M. and then finding the people are not there. There is a resistance to planning activities in advance because "something might come up." And, often it does. Community organizers and social workers frequently have more success by just stopping by and visiting "a spell" when they are in the area and then tending to any business they might have with the person.

Families face other problems that are characteristic of the region. Severe winter weather restricts travel and affects schools and jobs. Unemployment is high and jobs are scarce. Mill jobs are generally low paying, have health hazards, and are subject to erratic shutdowns as well as being disruptive to traditional family life styles. The tourist areas have another set of problems. Tourism provides primarily low paying seasonal work, disrupts the economy and raises property taxes beyond the means of many local people. Housing shortages are acute as family homesteads are divided again and again with each new generation. Government housing programs are scarce in Appalachia. Standard public housing projects are not practical for or attractive to rural mountain people.

Special attention might also be paid to mountain families who migrate to another community -- usually seeking mill work. In addition to the other mill worker problems, they are also faced with being cut off from other kin folk and the support and security they provide. Understandably these families experience additional isolation and have trouble adjusting to the new community. They frequently have related job problems because they often return home to visit and miss work.

Mountain families have many strengths. Their needs are often a combination of poverty and pressures for cultural change that are operating on Appalachia. The task for mountain families and community workers is how to preserve these strengths, how to decide what cultural traditions they want to preserve, and how to allow change where desirable without undermining family and cultural traditions.



HOUSING IS BECOMING MORE SCARCE IN THE MOUNTAINS, THE VARIETIES OF HOMES OFTEN INDICATE THE ABILITY OF THE PEOPLE TO ADAPT AND MAKE DO. UPPER LEFT: A TRADITIONAL FARM. UPPER RIGHT: A SMALL CABIN. LOWER LEFT: A TRAILER COURT CUT INTO THE SIDE OF A MOUNTAIN. LOWER RIGHT: A NEW HOME BUILT BY THE OLD HOMESTEAD.



IV. Working with Mountain Families

The Worker

The successful community worker who works with mountain families, or with families in any area, has certain strengths which make her or him effective in that role. A major strength of the successful community worker is the ability to empathize -- to understand how a person feels from within -- to really identify with that person. Instead of thinking, or worse saying, "If I were you I would do it this way," the worker thinks "If I were you I would do it the way you do." The worker recognizes that the whole cultural history of the area, the immediate environment, the family dynamics and community forces, the person's whole life experience in conjunction with that person's own unique personality traits, all shape how that person feels and behaves at any given moment. The more the worker can empathize with the person, then the more the worker is able to accept that person just as he or she is.

When a person feels accepted, then he or she becomes more accepting. Fears about community workers as "outsiders meddling in our business" begin to break down. They do not feel patronized or looked down on. With a mutual acceptance there develops a mutual friendship. Friendship ties are a much stronger basis for working with families in the mountains than social worker-client ties are. Friendship leads to trust and to sharing, often times a sharing of problems and needs which would never be shared with someone who is considered an outsider.

The effective community worker is aware of available services in the community and is able to tell a family about them at the appropriate time. When a person acknowledges a need, then is when he or she is most receptive to hearing about resources to meet that need. For example, when a person comments that it looks like a cold winter ahead, that is a good time to tell them about weatherization services that might be available through the local Community Action Program, rather than when the community worker notices that the house is not insulated.

It is difficult for many families to accept government services because of their pride and because bureaucracy is depersonalizing. The worker can help by pointing out to the family that their taxes helped pay for the service and/or their future taxes may provide those services for someone else who needs it. Workers can help agencies to be sensitive to the problems of depersonalization. They can try to eliminate long waits in lines for services, encourage other service providers to be personable and friendly, and discourage patronizing attitudes. Workers can build bridges toward friendliness.

Community workers need to be sensitive to the religious beliefs of the family and try not to offend. They should be aware of the clients' values and traditions and work within those systems when possible. For example, many families are not oriented toward the middle class emphasis on scheduling of time. If a child needs to be immunized and this can be done without an appointment, then do it without an appointment. If the child needs to see an orthopedic specialist two hours away and an appointment must be made in advance, then help the family to arrange it. Explain why an appointment is needed. Remind them of the appointment. If it seems needed, arrange to take the child, and parents if possible, to the appointment.

The successful community worker is able to empathize and befriend. He or she is able to communicate and knows available resources. The worker can recognize and distinguish between the goals and values of a given family, the goals and values of the agency for which he or she works, and her or his own goals and values. Recognizing the legitimacy of each, the successful community worker is able to, whenever possible, find ways of working that do not conflict greatly with any of these value systems.

Head Start Programs

Head Start has developed some very strong mountain programs and has generally been able to operate with a high degree of success in Appalachia. There are several factors which contribute to this. One important factor is the role of the Policy Council. The Policy Council is the governing board for the staffing, program development and program implementation of the local Head Start agency.¹ This Policy Council is required by law to be composed of at least 50 percent of the current Head Start parents. Thus, in a real and pragmatic way, Head Start families have direct voice in the way the program is administered, and the value of self-determination, which is important to mountain people, is preserved.

Head Start uses parents as volunteers in the program. Therefore, many of the services are provided through friends and neighbors who are participating in the Head Start program. Head Start began through the U. S. Government Office of Economic Opportunity as a program to employ target area poverty level income people and serves as an on-the-job-training program for some. Academic degrees cannot be used as a requirement in filling Head Start positions, and job priorities go to target area applicants -- the majority of the staff come from the population being served. The staff are more likely to be sensitive to the needs of Head Start families than professional middle-class "outsiders" might be. The effective professional, middle-class "outsiders" on Head Start staffs are those who are able to empathize and communicate well enough to be trusted and are no longer regarded as outsiders.

Head Start Performance Standards, the laws which govern the program activities, call for staff, curriculum and program activities which are representative of the populations served. Therefore, the educational activities are required to reflect the ethnic and racial heritage, the cultural traditions, of the people. Appreciation of one's own heritage is instrumental to the program. Head Start practices a philosophy of cultural pluralism in its educational activities rather than trying to assimilate Head Start children and their families into some kind of governmental model for how bureaucrats think families should live. While there are still many conflicts between government standards and local traditions, the intent of Head Start is in the direction of cultural pluralism. This is important to the success of Head Start in an area which has a proud cultural heritage.

Ideas for Mountain Programs

Head Start serves not only poverty level preschool children, but their families also. Mountain area Head Start workers who were surveyed had an opportunity to suggest program activities that would build on family strengths and develop appreciation for their mountain heritage.² Many of these activities have been

Legal and fiscal responsibility for the local program is the responsibility of the board of directors of whatever local agency applied for the Head Start grant. Ongoing program responsibilities are the domain of the Policy Council.

² In addition to survey respondents, thanks are due also to Blue Ridge Community Action Head Start Program in Lenoir, N. C., and Qualla Boundary Cherokee Indian Head Start Program in Cherokee, N. C., who developed many of these program ideas during workshops on Appalachian curriculum, summer, 1978.

used by selected mountain programs in some form. Many are adaptable to community agencies other than Head Start. All of the activities were developed by mountain Head Start personnel.

Some people chose to identify important things to remember in the mountain heritage as a preliminary step to developing program ideas.

Important Things to Remember in Mountain Heritage:

- Different people and how they changed the heritage
- Legends and superstitions
- Holidays, local and regional celebrations such as the ramp festival and highland games
- Our pride
- Our neighborliness
- Our spirit of hospitality
- We are hard workers
- Respect for what is right
- Our perserverance in times of floods and other disasters
- Our record of history
- Natural resources
- Indian lands
- Herbs and medicines
- Wild life and trees
- Characteristics such as arts and crafts

The following ideas should cultivate personal pride and appreciation of mountain heritage and build on family strengths.

Some of the following activities may seem too obvious to dwell on at first. However, the process of formally recognizing and participating in activities such as these helps to instill pride as well as educate. Even the most traditional mountain persons may be unaware of their heritage or unaware that things that they learned as a child and now do automatically are part of that heritage. There is a Chinese proverb which says that fish do not know what water is. It is possible for people to be so immersed in their cultural heritage that they do not know that it is their cultural heritage. Part of the task of the community worker is to recognize that heritage and make sure that the heritage is incorporated into community services.

- 1) Hold arts and crafts festivals. Have families share talents in making apple dolls. Whittle gee-haw whimmy diddle toys and other wood crafts. Do pottery, painting, demonstrate furniture industry skills.
- 2) Have families share musical talents at program activities. Sing, play gospel, ballads, blue grass, and clogging music. Demonstrate the fiddle, mouth organ, banjo, jaw harp, dulcimer, mandolin, guitar, jug, washboard, tub, autoharp, and spoons.
- 3) Do program units on the family. Have children cut pictures from books to represent family members. Invite other family members to visit classes. Have parents help with the classes and socialize with one another. Draw a map of the area and locate different children's houses. Use family pictures on posters.

(These first three ideas were the most often repeated suggestions.)

- 4) Have programs for parents on:
 - sewing. Have people bring and demonstrate their own sewing techniques. Have a resource person to show different techniques;
 - quilting bees. Have grandmothers make cot covers for the children;
 - how to set up your own business;
 - public speaking;
 - different ways to harvest and preserve foods;
 - government regulations;
 - hunting and trapping.
- 5) Have programs for parents and children on:
 - ways to appreciate nature and have a clean environment;
 - arts and crafts;
 - movies about the mountains;
 - mountain story telling;
 - mountain languages;
 - different types of transportation;
 - old family traditions;
 - different kinds of clothing;
 - mountain foods.
- 6) At parent programs make sure that:
 - parents play active role in decision-making;
 - parents are recognized for their accomplishments. Recognize that people learn many things from their everyday life experiences;
 - parents are kept informed of community resources.
- 7) Arrange field trips for parents and/or children to:
 - famous mountain sites;
 - caves and caverns;
 - historic places;
 - museums;
 - one room school houses;
 - log cabins;
 - a big city;
 - Indian reservation;
 - parks and forests with nature programs.
- 8) In classrooms:
 - have mountain cultural materials available;
 - use mountain games;
 - sing mountain songs;
 - do mountain plays and skits;
 - tell mountain stories;
 - serve mountain foods;
 - do units on mountain foods;
 - do units on plant life;
 - do units on minerals;
 - do artwork about mountains;
 - have bulletin boards showing mountain culture;
 - have children plant and harvest gardens;
 - have children make get well cards for sick people in the community.
- 9) Hold Thanksgiving and Christmas celebration dinners at Head Start Centers. Have parents prepare foods and make toys for gifts. Have Head Start family picnics. Have graduation parties to honor graduates. Have a May Day festival.
- 10) Have a health and social services fair. Invite community service agencies to set up display and information booths. Have raffles, music, square dancing, rummage sales and other activities to attract people to the fair.

- 11) Hold fund raising activities for families with special needs -- illnesses and medical expenses. Have craft raffles and bake sales to raise money. Hold musical events and ask for donations.
- 12) Arrange for children:
 - in home based programs to get together to play so that they can socialize, and parents can share child care;
 - to be cared for by older children under adult supervision so that the younger children can get older children as role models and the older children can learn responsible child care;
 - to accompany parents when they take food to a family where there has been sickness or death;
 - to sing for the elderly and the sick.
- 13) Arrange ways for families to help one another harvest and share produce.
- 14) Pool surplus crops. Set up a cooperative. Let the food be used for special projects, needy families, distribution in home based programs.³
- 15) Have community workers and other staff familiarize themselves with the mountain heritage so that they might better be able to preserve it.

Future Issues

Community workers need to look beyond the immediate needs of their clients to the broader social and economic forces that influence the people of Appalachia. This perspective can help define and clarify the workers overall goals.

The economic situation in Appalachia has been bleak in many ways through much of its history. The people have persevered. In 1979 the American economic situation as a whole looks bleak. Inflation and recession will have consequences for Appalachian peoples as well.

The energy crisis will have its impact on Appalachia, too. Plants and mills may experience shut downs due to lack of heating fuel. The tourist industry will be seriously effected by gasoline prices and shortages. Appalachian tourist attractions are not readily accessible by public transportation.

Appalachian people have ambivalent feelings about government programs and regulations. Some government programs have undermined traditional values and taken away individual freedoms even when they are intended to enhance the standard of living.

A current issue is an environmental proposal RARE-II in which large portions of National Forests would be designated as wilderness areas, and timbering, mining, and recreational development would be severely restricted. The proposal was basically supported by environmental groups and opposed by industry. Mountain people **feel** caught in the middle. Environmental protection is very important for the mountains. Yet mountain people fear loss of jobs and want ease of access to National Forest lands. The land needs to be protected from massive deforestation, clear cutting, strip mining, etc. while still allowing selected timbering, hunting, and trapping in ways that support the independent-subsistence living mountain family.

³ Head Start programs considering this activity should carefully check Day Care Licensing and health regulations. There are restrictions concerning the distribution of home processed foods. A separate cooperative or informal parents group might be able to undertake this activity without it being an official Head Start function.

Another issue which will have a major impact on mountain farmers is tobacco-related legislation. Because of the health problems caused by smoking the government will be coming under more and more pressure to stop its price support system for tobacco crops. Tobacco would bring a significantly lower price on the open market if there were not government price supports. For mountain subsistence farmers in North Carolina, tobacco, especially burley tobacco, is the main cash crop. If it were not for the money they can make on their few acres of tobacco, these farmers probably could not support themselves farming. Therefore, they are understandably afraid of the loss of government support to the tobacco industry. As the government moves closer to termination of its tobacco price support system, it needs to work closely with farmers helping them to convert to another cash producing crop. If necessary, the government may need to move its price support system, at least temporarily, to some other crop suitable for mountain farming.

Most modern farming is a large mechanized industrial business. Mountain farming traditionally has been a small diversified operation. Mountain people deserve the option of continuing the traditional subsistence farm if they so desire. It should be an option along with mill work, business, and construction. Government farm policies need to be tailored to meet the needs of the small farmer as well as those of big agri-business.

Government services often are not designed with needs of mountain families in mind. Aid for families with dependent children (AFDC) is not available to families where there is a husband in the home. The government assumption is that if there is a man living in the house, he can work and earn income for the family. In reality the unemployment rate in the mountains is quite high, and work often is not available. For the family to be eligible for public assistance, the husband would have to leave his family.

Many public assistance programs are not suitable to rural people. Some of these programs are not available to property owners. Yet many poverty level mountain families have land that has been in their family for generations even though it does not produce income. Because of the isolation and lack of public transportation many families do not have access to programs for which they are eligible.

It has been suggested by some Appalachian researchers that Appalachians are unduly discriminated against in American society because of their values, their heritage, and stereotypes that prevail about mountain people. They are thought of as backward and slow. They are a political minority in the states in which they reside (except West Virginia). The discrimination from which they suffer probably would not be allowed if they were another minority protected by legislation. At the recent "by invitation only" Appalachian Regional Commission (ARC) conference on "Raising a New Generation in Appalachia" a group of parents petitioned the Chairman, Governor Jim Hunt of North Carolina, for a chance to speak. In the five minutes allotted them, they included these remarks:

"We find it ironic, therefore, that instead of continual parental involvement in ARC's child development programs we find ARC calls a meeting of university experts, congressmen, bureaucrats, and various appointees to discuss the needs of our children and make recommendations for their health and welfare without our participation or the participation of the agencies working directly with children."⁴

⁴R. Robin McDonald, "Raising a New Generation in Appalachia," New Spirit, March, 1979, pp. 8-9.

This is the kind of problem that has plagued mountain people time and time again in dealing with government programs, and this problem contributes to their resistance to "outsiders meddling in our business."

The Appalachian Regional Development Act was enacted in 1965. It was billed as a comprehensive program to eliminate poverty in Appalachia. Slightly over a billion dollars was appropriated to aid an area about the size of Great Britain. In fact, as Harry Caudill points out, more than 75 percent of the money was spent on new highways. Highway construction has provided jobs for many mountain people in the last fifteen years, but it hardly touches the problems of poverty in the region. What it does, however, is open up the region for industrial interests, the Appalachia II economic power brokers.⁵

A task of the community worker is that of advocating for the mountain people. As advocate, the worker can help empower the people to speak to the broader social and political issues that effect their lives. The worker can help the people be informed about these broader issues and help them find ways to make themselves heard.

A concept that prevails in our nation is that of material progress. It has been assumed that material growth and economic expansion is good for the nation and good for the people of the nation. Mountain people have resisted this idea more than most of us have. Forty years ago the Tennessee Valley Authority was trying to get mountain people to convert from wood burning stoves to electric stoves. They met with some resistance. Now some government programs are teaching people how to heat and cook with wood.

We are entering a period of economic instability and energy shortage. The families that will best be able to survive, at least in rural areas may be those who know how to garden, to preserve foods, to cook and heat with wood stoves. A small piece of land and available clean water is more than a romantic notion. The self-reliance of mountain people may prove to be a basic survival skill for the future -- a heritage we need to preserve.

⁵Caudill, "0, Appalachia," p. 527

APPENDIX A

APPALACHIAN CULTURE PRE-SCHOOL CURRICULUM

The following curriculum was developed by Pat Stapleton of the Child Development Training Project, Department of Home Economics, Appalachian State University, Boone, N. C. It was begun in 1973 under the auspices of the Center for Leadership Development for Child Care, University of North Carolina at Greensboro. The curriculum was developed in cooperation with Licking Valley Community Action Program Head Start, Flemingsburg, Kentucky, and Kentucky Rural Child Care Program, Frankfort, Kentucky. These programs field-tested and helped revise the curriculum.

This curriculum is reprinted here with minor editing to give it wider distribution. It well demonstrates important points of this Appalachian Experience publication. In addition to the materials being developmentally appropriate for pre-school children, they cultivate positive self-image and appreciation for Appalachian culture. The curriculum was developed with Appalachian Head Start parents, children, and staff.

UNIT I: WHO IS MY FAMILY?

Guiding Principles: The family is the child's support, strength and security. The child needs to develop pride in family as well as him/herself.

There are common characteristics and functions of all families, although they may be carried out in different ways.

What do we want the children to understand? What do we want them to gain from this understanding?

A. EACH PERSON IS A MEMBER OF A FAMILY

1. Find out what the child knows about his or her family. (What the word family means. What a family is for.)
 - a. Interaction with each child asking him or her to talk about who the people are and what part they play in the family.
 - b. Record the child's basic knowledge of the family.
2. Share what we all think about families.
 - a. General group discussion (large or small groups) about what a family is, who makes up a family.
 - b. Informal discussions during the entire day with the children about what a family is.
3. Carry over understandings and thoughts about the family into free play activities.
 - a. Language arts: books, pictures, puppets, flannelboard
 - b. Blocks: family figures
 - c. Table activities: family figures, doll houses, table blocks, lotto games, etc.
 - d. Home: cooking utensils, dress up clothes, etc.
4. Observation of the children as they interact with the material; add to your other information about child and his/her family.

B. MY FAMILY IS SPECIAL TO ME

1. Help the child identify his/her own special family make-up answering the question, "Who lives with you in your house?"
 - a. Interaction with each child about how many people are in the family, what their names are, what their roles are.
 - b. Large and small group discussions about everyone's family.
2. Develop a definition of family for each child.
 - a. Record for each child what his/her family is.
 - b. Discuss with whole group what a family is.

Unit I continued

3. Provide for each child to make a representation of his/her family.
 - a. Painting/drawing pictures of that family.
 - b. Scrapbooks of that family.
 - c. Mobile of the child's family.
 - d. Modeling in clay.
 - e. Lotto or other matching games.
 - f. Making yarn pictures.
4. Continue to use the learning centers to assist the children to understand what a family is and to act out what they believe about their own families.

C. MY FAMILY'S NAME IS PART OF MY FAMILY (Sometimes our names are different)

1. Learn the last names of all the children.
 - a. Conversation
 - b. Songs
 - c. Games
 - d. Use of name cards as transition activities, etc.
2. Help them to recognize their own name as manuscripted.
 - a. Games
 - b. Using their name as labels for storage, mats, etc.
3. Interpreting family names.
 - a. Group/informal discussion
 - b. Matching names with pictures which seem to interpret the name
 - c. Trace down Appalachian family names

D. SMALL FAMILIES ARE PART OF LARGER FAMILIES

1. Help them to identify which ones of their relatives they know about.
 - a. Individual, small and large group discussions about who relatives are, how they fit into the family. (You may want to go back to information gathered earlier.)
 - b. Record what you learn about their relatives.
 - c. Study pictures about relatives in large **CT** small groups
2. Carry over ideas about relatives into the learning centers.
 - a. Language arts: books, pictures, flannelboard
 - b. Art/Crafts: add relatives to mobiles, scrapbook, etc.
3. In a group tell stories about relatives.
4. Invite some of the children's relatives in to visit the classroom. (Maybe use to introduce some aspect of Appalachian culture.)

Unit I continued

E. ALL FAMILIES VARY IN SIZE AND COMPOSITION

1. Help them to identify a variety of family patterns.
 - a. Picture displays around the room.
 - b. Picture table as choice during free play.
 - c. Picture studies in group time
 - d. Look again at the various patterns of families they represent.
(Look back at representations they made; lotto games, etc.)
2. Help them begin to group families in their own class that are around.
3. Provide time for them to look at animal families and see how they compare with human families.
 - a. Stories
 - b. Pictures
 - c. Animal figures in blocks; animal puppets in language area.
 - d. Flannelboard of animals in language area.

F. OUR CLASS REPRESENTS MANY FAMILY PATTERNS

1. Recall the family make-up of each person in the class.
 - a. Informal conversation
 - b. Group (large and small) discussion
 - c. Referring to representation of families
 - d. Matching games
2. Tallying each child's family on a large chart for the families in the class.
3. Helping them to see they can choose something to represent actual persons on the tally.
4. Make a bar graph to show how many kinds of families are in class.
5. Creating more representations of their families.
 - a. Stick puppets; paper bag puppets
6. Comparing family composition and size with others in the group.
 - a. Group mobiles, scrap books, etc. into ones who have families of similar size, similar composition.
7. Make a montage of the kinds of families in the class.

What skills are involved for children?

1. Observation skills; recognition
2. Identification skills
3. Verbalization skills
4. Listening skills

Unit I continued

5. Recall skills; memory
6. Counting skills
7. Symbolization skills (knowing that pictures, figures, etc. stand for a real object).
8. Matching skills (likeness, differences)
9. Classification skills
10. Generalization skills
11. Hand-eye coordination (building, tearing, cutting)
12. Small muscle control (puppets, sewing)
13. Sense of self-image
14. Some understanding of family
15. Some understanding of roles of family members
16. Sense of identity with family

UNIT II: WHERE DO I LIVE?

Guiding Principles: The child needs to develop pride in his/her heritage.
 The child needs to look at the Appalachian background of the area from the viewpoint of the cultural heritage it has given in folklore, music, handicrafts, etc.
 The child needs to find out what contributions people from this section of the country have made.

What do we want the children to understand?
 How can we help them gain this understanding?

A. THE PLACE (house, farm, etc.) WHERE I LIVE IS WHERE MY FAMILY COMES TOGETHER.

1. Find out about each child's home.
 - a. Visit in the home.
 - b. Work with social aides, homemakers, etc. on the background of the home.
 - c. Table activity: lay out with blocks the outline of rooms; let the child show you who goes in those rooms at his/her own house.
2. Identify the various kinds of houses that families live in.
 - a. Stories, books about kinds of houses (The Little House, Everybody Has A House, The Little Farm)
 - b. Group discussions about houses
 - c. Draw a diagram of a house on poster board. Let children guess what kind of family lives there (number in family, what they do, etc.)
3. Make representations of their houses.
 - a. Drawing
 - b. Painting
 - c. Building with blocks
 - d. Fixing small cardboard boxes for their houses
 - e. Make a large map of area where children live. Place each child's house in proper location.

B. THE TOWN WHERE I LIVE IS CALLED: _____ AND IS IN THE STATE OF _____

1. Find out how much the children know about their own town.
 - a. Group discussion: Do you know what the name of your town is? What do you know about your town?
2. Help the children know about their town.
 - a. Pictures of places they know; maybe some they don't know
 - b. Field trips
 - c. Have people from community in to visit the classroom.

Unit II continued

C. THE TOWN WHERE I LIVE AND THE STATE ARE PART OF AN AREA CALLED APPALACHIA. THERE ARE HILLS, MOUNTAINS, STREAMS, RIVERS, CITIES, AND TOWNS IN APPALACHIA.

1. Use stories about Appalachia particularly those that talk about hollows, bottoms, meadows, pastures, knolls, hills, mountains.

D. THE TOWN, THE STATE, THE MOUNTAINS CAN BE FOUND ON A MAP.

1. Find out how much knowledge the children have of maps.
 - a. Small or large groups discussion
 - Show the children a map (What is it? What does it tell you? How do you use it?)
 - b. Record what the children say and use it in planning for further work with maps.
2. Have maps used around the room for display to stimulate discussion.

E. A MAP IS A DRAWING ON A PIECE OF PAPER THAT SHOWS US WHERE PLACES ARE, HOW TO FIND OUR WAY AROUND, AND WHAT THINGS LOOK LIKE.

1. Introduce the children to maps.
 - a. Map puzzle of the United States
 - b. Handmade puzzle of the state
 - c. Handmade puzzle of the county
 - d. Use during free play as choice
 - e. Put together during small group work
2. Introduce the map of the state during group time.
 - a. Mark off their county and town
 - b. Talk about how we could use the map
 - c. Keep up your records of what the children are learning about maps.
3. Expand the children's knowledge of maps
 - a. Experiences with map of home area
 - identify "water," "hills," well known spots
 - enlarge the county map 3 or 4 times its size and mark the spots identified earlier
 - Identify "roads," "bridges," "streams"
 - b. Make a take-apart or lay-over map starting with basic outline of the area, the placing on mountains, rivers, places you've been on field trips.
 - introduced by teacher on flannelboard, poster board; could make up a story
 - use during small group work
 - free choice during free play

Unit II continued

F. WE CAN MAKE A MAP OF OUR CLASSROOM.

1. Help the children see that maps are made by looking down from above.
 - a. Take the children to a high point in town and let them look down and describe what they see (maybe on tape).
 - b. Let the children draw what they have seen.
 - c. Let them reproduce what they see with blocks.
 - d. Discuss in large, small groups or one-to-one that maps are made from above (the recorded information from the children will be helpful).
 - e. Let children stand around a map that was made from above and describe what they see.
 - f. Use a homemade or commercial play town as free choice during free play.
2. Help the children to make a floor plan of the classroom.
 - a. Let the children draw pictures of their classroom to see what their concepts are (small group, one-to-one during free play). -Label these drawings as they describe them.
 - b. Discuss with the children about the floor plans. Refer back to ideas about maps being made from above.
3. Make another representation of the classroom using cut-outs for the various centers in the room.
 - a. Let children help make a floor plan of the classroom, cutting out figures from equipment catalogs to represent the learning centers (home, blocks, music, science, etc.). Place where they are in your room.
 - b. Discuss with the children what this map could help them know.
 - c. Use the map to help the children return items during clean-up.
 - d. Rearrange some items either in the room or on the map and see if the children can identify changes.
4. Make a block representation of the child development room.
 - a. Lay (Alt the room with unit blocks or small table blocks.

G. WE CAN MAKE A MAP OF OUR NEIGHBORHOOD.

1. Take a walk in the area right around the center to see what is there.
 - a. Group discussion listing what was seen (try to put it in order such as: "First We Saw," "Then We Saw"
 - b. Help the children draw a map of what was seen.
 - c. Use the map for all field trips, walks, etc. Route could be traced after each experience.
2. Make a block representation of the neighborhood
 - a. Put down a long strip of paper in the room. Let children build structures along this "road" to represent the neighborhood.

Unit II continued

3. See a film on a neighborhood.

-"Where Does My Street Go?"

-Record "Where Does My Steet Go?" (Folkways)

H. MANY THINGS ABOUT WHERE I LIVE HAPPENED A LONG TIME AGO.

1. Hearing stories from the past.

a. Someone from the community to tell stories

b. Books: Grandfather Tales, Jack Tales

c. Acting out stories.

2. See a building out of the past.

a. Visit an old house or other building

3. Talking with "old-timer" (way to tie in Appalachian crafts, music)

4. Making a representation of time.

What skills are involved for the children?

1. Observation

2. Recall

3. Beginning understanding of direction and position

4. Beginning to develop abstract information about maps

5. Objects fill up space

6. Three dimensions

7. Relating new experiences to know activities

8. Beginning sense of time

9. Seriation (putting things in order)

UNIT III: WHAT DO PEOPLE IN APPALACHIA DO?

Guiding Principles: The child needs to develop pride in his/her heritage.
 The child needs to look at the Appalachian background of
 of the area from the viewpoint of the cultural heritage
 it has given in folklore, music, handicrafts, etc.
 The child needs to find out what contributions people
 from this section of the country have made.

What do we want the children to understand?
 How can we help them gain this understanding?

A. ALL PEOPLE NEED FOOD. SHELTER AND CLOTHING TO LIVE.

1. Identify the many things that need to be done for our family.
 - a. Read stories that show some of the things that need to be done for a family (food, shelter, clothing, love, security, strength)
 - one-to-one in free play
 - small groups
 - large groups
 - put on book table; language arts center
 - b. Small group discussions on what is needed to help the family live in a house.
 - Go back and use cardboard house or one that children made. Ask them to pretend that a family is going to move into the house. What do they need? How will they get it?
 - c. Make a chart, poster, flannelboard representation of the things needed to be done for a family.
 - List what children have suggested on one side with a symbol (picture, drawing) on the other side.
 - Go one step further to put in a picture, drawing, etc. of who in the family sees that these things get done.
 - Later you may want to add who in the community helps them get these things.
 - d. Play a guessing game letting one child act out one of the home functions and have the others guess which one it is -- adapt "Mulberry Bush" to fit this idea.

B. SOME PEOPLE GROW PRODUCTS USED FOR FOOD. SHELTER AND CLOTHING. EVERYONE WHO WORKS IS A PRODUCER. PRODUCERS MAY PRODUCE GOODS OR SERVICES.

1. Pick up on the idea of who in their community helps them get the things they need.
 - Take one or two items a day (such as food and clothing) and talk with the children about where they come from.
 - Children could go and visit these places or you could provide a visitor in the classroom.
 - Change "The Lettercarrier" game to fit the various kinds of services.
 - Find stories and books to illustrate these ideas.

Unit III continued

C. ALL FAMILIES ARE CONSUMERS OF GOODS.
FAMILIES EARN MONEY FOR WORK AND USE MONEY TO BUY GOODS.
MONEY IS NEEDED FOR MANY THINGS USED AT HOME.

1. Help them to identify that money is exchanged for goods by providing experiences in "buying" goods.
 - Talk to children about exchanging money for goods; use books, stories, and pictures to illustrate.
 - Set up a store, dress shop, beauty shop, barber shop. Let children exchange play money for the services they want.
 - For several days or a whole week have the children "buy" their snack (ex. change a nickel for juice or milk, dime for apple, etc.). Money can be returned to a common place each day and reused by the children.

NOTE: Some communication with parents about this would be necessary to their fuller understanding.

-Take the children to a store to purchase something. When they return, have them identify the steps that happened to make the purchase possible.

2. Make a chart or poster of all the things that are needed at home that have to be purchased rather than grown or made at home.

-small group work then shared with others
 -large poster used during free play; let individual children add to it as they wish.

3. Discuss in small or large groups what would happen if there were more things that were needed than there was money to buy them.

NOTE: Be careful to write down what kinds of responses the children make.

D. SOMEONE NEEDS TO HELP EARN THE MONEY TO GET THE FAMILY WHAT IT NEEDS.
SOMETIMES SEVERAL PEOPLE IN A FAMILY EARN MONEY TO HELP.

1. Identify how child's family members make a living. See who cares for their home and how. Look at where the adults earn money (at home, away from home, working for others).
 - casual conversation, one-to-one during free play
 - one-to-one using the family box again
 - put all family figures in a bag; have a child draw one out and tell what that person does to care for the family
 - small or large group discussion of who works to earn money in the family
2. Dramatic play experiences on who earns money and how. (Items that suggest what work is done, tools used by family members, play money, old checks, wallets, purses)
3. Art representation of what family members do to make a living.

E. FAMILIES BUY PRODUCTS IN DIFFERENT KINDS OF STORES. THESE STORES HAVE PRODUCTS BROUGHT TO THEM FROM OTHER PLACES.

(This will depend on what kind of stores are available.)

NOTE: The rest of the unit will be based on what kind of work is done in the area.

APPENDIX B: Resources

The following annotated list is a variety of resources that pertain to different aspects of Appalachian culture. It is intended to provide a broad overview of different references, but it is not a comprehensive subject index.

Appalachia. Washington D. C.: Appalachian Regional Commission. Published bimonthly as the official journal of the A. R. C., this highlights different regional problems and developments related to the A. R. C.

Appalachia: Goals, Objectives and Development Strategies, December, 1977 (obtainable through the Appalachian Regional Commission). This government report indicates federal government ARC plans for the Appalachian area.

Appalachian Journal. Boone, N. C.: Appalachian State University. This is a quarterly scholarly journal with a cross-disciplinary perspective on many aspects of Appalachia.

Carolina Brown Lung Association

P. O. Box 1101

Roanoke Rapids, North Carolina 27870.

This nonprofit organization monitors textile mill conditions in the South, distributes information and advocates for workers' rights through enforcement of U. S. Department of Labor and state Occupational Safety and Health Administration (OSHA) standards for worker health and safety.

Caudill, Harry. Night Comes to the Cumberlands. Boston: Little, Brown and Co., 1962. This book is an indepth look at the social forces that have shaped Appalachian culture.

Coles, Robert. Migrants, Sharecroppers, Mountaineers. Boston: Brown and Little, 1971. Part of this book is devoted to a field study of mountain children and youth by a child psychiatrist.

The Council on Appalachian Women

P. O. Box 490, Mars Hill, N. C. 28754.

This nonprofit organization of Appalachian women advocates for concerns of Appalachian women and their families.

Higgs, Robert J., and Manning, Ambrose N., eds. Voices From the Hills. New York: Frederick Ungar Publishing Co., 1975. This collection of essays, literature and criticism, both historic and contemporary, reflect a wide variety of perspectives on southern Appalachia.

Mielke, David N., ed. Teaching Mountain Children. Boone: Appalachian Consortium Press, 1978. This book is a diverse collection of essays aimed at high school teachers, specifically "outsiders," to better acquaint them with mountain culture so that they might be better able to teach mountain youth.

Appendix B

Mountain Life & Work: The Magazine of the Appalachian South. Clintwood Va.: Council of the Southern Mountains, Inc. Published since 1925, this magazine covers living and working conditions in Appalachia. Its policy is to challenge abuses while providing news and information on a host of problems.

Schwarzweiler, Harry K.; Brown, James.; and Mangalan, J. J. Mountain Families in Transition. University Park: Pennsylvania State University Press, 1971.

Stephenson, John B. Shiloh. Lexington: University of Kentucky Press, 1968. This book provides a cultural perspective on family life in the mountains.

Weller, Jack. Yesterday's People. Lexington: University of Kentucky Press, 1965. Subtitled "Life in Contemporary Appalachia," this sensitive work by a minister in the coal mining area of West Virginia attempts to portray the people in a humane way.

Wigginton, Eliot, ed. The Foxfire Book. Garden City: Anchor Books, 1972. This book plus the four additional books that have come out in the series (Foxfire 2, etc.) are an authentic collection of traditional mountain folklore. Foxfire 4 (1977) has a selected list of resource materials about the Appalachian region.