

A SELECTIVE DESCRIPTION OF A
KNOW COUNTY
MOUNTAIN NEIGHBORHOOD

UNIT 3

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in a Rural Setting of Southeastern Kentucky

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A SELECTIVE DESCRIPTION OF A KNOX
COUNTY MOUNTAIN NEIGHBORHOOD

by

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COMMUNITY ACTION IN APPALACHIA

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ABSTRACT

Introduction

Evaluation of the success of an innovation such as the Community Action Program requires an awareness of the cultural milieu into which the innovation is introduced. Such an understanding enables both the evaluator and the program initiator to define those acceptance inhibitors that are a product of the cultural differences between the recipient society and the outside world. These inhibitors can cause failure if they are unrecognized or ignored.

A Selective Description of a Knox County Mountain Neighborhood discusses those aspects of mountain culture that are relevant to the success of the Community Action Program. The data are a result of an anthropological study of a representative mountain neighborhood in Knox County, Kentucky. The purpose of the study was to develop a basic understanding of the mountain culture. The neighborhood, because of its relative isolation from the greater society, exhibits maximum cultural differences between its inhabitants and those of the outside world. Such differences increase chances for rejection of any innovation introduced from the outside. Further, the inhabitants of remote areas such as this are generally those in most need of innovative programs.

Emphasis in the description of the mountain culture is on social interaction. This interaction is discussed largely in terms of the self-image that the mountain dweller brings to bear on all social relationships; the all pervading suspicion that affects all aspects

of social interaction; general rules of etiquette; specific relations between male and male, female and female, male and female, adult and child; attitudes toward the outsider; intra-family and inter-family relations; political influence; the center area as a unit of cooperation; and the communications network. Out of the data emerge certain themes relevant to the success of the Community Action Program. The following brief discussion of these themes demonstrates the necessity of understanding the culture of the potential acceptor.

Self-Image and Etiquette

Knowledge of and respect for the self-image of the potential acceptor is crucial to the success of the program. The mountain dweller is aware of the stereotype of the "hillbilly" which is maintained by the outside world. His relationship with outsiders is affected by his self-image and by the outsider's image of the mountain dweller, as reflected in the former's behavior toward the latter. The change agent must discard all erroneous preconceptions and demonstrate an appreciation of mountain life if he is to be accepted.

Just as the change agent must be careful not to damage the self-image of the potential acceptor, so must he be careful not to violate the norms of the culture. Adherence to the rules of etiquette is vital to the maintenance of smooth social relationships. A faux pas committed by the change agent arouses the suspicion that falls not only upon the outsider, but upon all inhabitants of the area

who deviate from normal behavior. Knowledge of etiquette and the patterns of nonverbal communication, then, is vital to the success of the change agent and, ultimately, of his program.

Family and Political Influence

Family is the point of orientation and source of security for the mountain inhabitant. As such, it has a tremendous influence on behavior. The Community Action Program requires a reorientation away from the family to a larger social unit; such a reorientation is difficult to accomplish. Further, an individual always has the support of his kin group; if he rejects the innovation, it is quite likely that members of his family will also reject it. This means that sometimes an entire neighborhood will not participate. Consequently, the change agent must understand the nature of family relations in the mountain neighborhood.

The family is also quite important in the wielding of political influence. The notion that the poor are politically helpless does not prove true in the mountain culture. People have influence, and they handle it with methods that are normative to that culture. Such methods must be recognized and understood when introducing an innovation into the society.

Cooperation

The centers in the Community Action Program serve designated geographical areas that are expected to cooperate in order to bring about change. It is necessary, then, to determine the effectiveness of such areas as cooperative units. While the research has not shed

considerable light on this matter, still it has produced some evidence that the probability of cooperation within the center area cannot be assumed a priori. Differences between the mountain Inhabitant's notions of community boundaries and those which produced the center areas have a tremendous effect on cooperation. If a group does not conceive of itself as a single unit, it will not participate as such in a cooperative program.

The potential acceptor's understanding of the purposes of the Community Action Program is essential to successful cooperation and participation. However, certain misconceptions about the program have developed in the mountain neighborhood, largely because of problems of communication between its inhabitants and those of the outside world. Such problems must be resolved, if misconceptions are to be corrected.

Conclusion

No matter how beneficial an innovation is for the recipient society, chances for acceptance will increase only in proportion to the amount of energy the change agent expends in adapting his methods to the culture of the potential acceptor. Such adjustment requires an understanding of that culture; the data presented in the description of a Knox County mountain neighborhood provide the basic information necessary to such an understanding.

Acknowledgements

The researcher wishes to express his gratitude to the people of Wilman for their cooperation throughout the course of the research. An anthropological study is a trying experience for the people as well as for the anthropologist. Awareness that one is being studied is, at the least, an uncomfortable feeling. The people withstood the strain quite well.

The researcher is further indebted to Art Gallaher, Jr., Deputy Director of the Center for Developmental Change at the University of Kentucky, whose advice and guidance helped to ease the problems that arose during the study.

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INTRODUCTION

The interaction that occurs between the inhabitants of southern Appalachia and the change agents* of the larger society whenever a program such as the Community Action Program is introduced is necessarily of a cross-cultural nature. This interaction necessitates cross-cultural understanding on the part of the change agent. A lack of understanding can result in a program that by its very nature is doomed to failure in the cultural milieu of the potential acceptors of such programs.

In order to provide a description of mountain life as it is found in Knox County, a researcher lived in a neighborhood for six months and conducted an anthropological study of the culture. The neighborhood is located in the mountainous region of Knox County, not far from Barbourville, the county seat. Chosen because of its remoteness, the neighborhood exhibits maximum cultural differences between its inhabitants and the outside world. It was felt that this kind of situation offered the best opportunity for understanding the problems involved in gaining acceptance of community action programs. Neighborhoods such as the one reported on here do, in fact, represent the areas of greatest need in southern Appalachia.

*The term change agent is used here to refer to those officials of the federal, state, and local governments and to the non government officials who have the responsibility for introducing such innovations as the Community Action Program into southern Appalachian society. Recipients of these innovations are potential acceptors.

Participant Observation

The method of study was participant-observation. This involves residence in the community studied and participation, whenever possible, in the on-going culture. In a discussion of this methodology Nicholas Babchuk distinguishes between participant observer and participant-as-observer (1962:225-228). The former refers to one who lives within a study area and participates in the culture without revealing his desire to study it. He assumes an already existing role in the society. The latter refers to the scholar who reveals his purposes to the group he is studying and then participates in the day to day activities of the group. He brings his observer role with him to the field. For the following reasons it was decided that the data for this phase of the evaluation could be derived best if the researcher was a participant-as-observer:

1. The nature of the culture of this area is such that a stranger can not move into a neighborhood and assume a preexisting role without drawing attention to himself. Since the field study was to be only a few months long, time was insufficient to establish such a role.
2. The great amount of activity in Knox County that is the result of authorities external to the local culture makes any new person recognized as not familiar with the culture suspect. For that reason it would be impossible to assume a role as a member of the neighborhood.
3. The role of known observer participating in the society allows greater freedom to study the culture than is the case when the observer role is concealed. Such freedom involves movement through time and space and access to all status levels in the culture.
4. The participant-as-observer can use more research techniques than can a participant observer. For example, one who conceals his role is unable to use the formal interview.

The Study Area

The area of study, henceforth known as Wilman, is a small neighborhood that is part of a larger area served by a community center. The community center area is part of a larger area henceforth called Muddy Road. Both Wilman and Muddy Road are fictitious names. Wilman was selected as the area of study for several reasons. Firstly, it is in a remote section of Knox County; therefore, the people have been less exposed to the outside world than those who live closer to Barbourville. Secondly, although the inhabitants of Wilman do not think of themselves as a formal community, there are natural conditions, nevertheless, that set them off from other households to such an extent that neighborhood boundaries can be drawn for study purposes. Thirdly, the director of the OEO Community Center that serves Wilman was willing to have such a study conducted and to provide the necessary cooperation for entry into the neighborhood. Lastly, based on demographic and other data, it was believed that the culture of Wilman could be generalized to other mountain neighborhoods in the area.

Wilman comprises twenty-one households and three small grocery stores. The stores sell a few canned goods, breads, pastries and other sweets. The store owners have to pay more for their goods than customers pay in the chain grocery stores in Barbourville. One advantage of these small stores for consumers is that they are close by. Another is that they extend credit without interest. Still, storekeepers in Wilman do little better than break even.

The most remote house relative to others in the neighborhood is approximately a quarter of a mile from any other. This distance is unique; most of the houses are strung out along a dirt-gravel road that runs roughly parallel to the creek and is the only road in the neighborhood. A few houses are found in hollows running perpendicular to the road. The house most remote from the outside world is twenty miles from the Knox County Courthouse and is twelve miles from Route 25, the road to Barbourville, Pineville, Corbin and, ultimately, to Lexington.

The dirt-gravel road running through Wilman is a little over two miles long. The end farthest from Barbourville forks into two roads, one of which ends against a mountain. The other is passable only in the warm months, and crosses the mountain, continuing into the next county. As an aid to intercommunication between the people of Wilman and the neighboring county, the road is practically useless. Some communication exists, however, as people do occasionally walk across the mountain.

At the other end of Wilman the dirt-gravel road continues for two miles before it becomes blacktop. The dirt-gravel road is in good condition and is passable even under extreme weather conditions. However, Wilman has had this road for only eight years. Before this, there were two deep ruts, passable only by large trucks carrying coal from a now defunct mine. The ruts were so deep that, just before the road was fixed, the trucks had to be pushed with bulldozers.

Ecology

Until recently Wilman was much more isolated than it is now. People in their fifties, for example, speak of going to Barbourville once a month in their early years of marriage. Such isolation has had certain results. Firstly, social interaction has tended to follow kinship lines. Also, a few families have intermarried and have developed certain ties that must be reckoned with when dealing with the people. Secondly, the long isolation has produced a vocabulary quite different from that of the outside world. This poses special problems in communication between Wilman and the outside world.

Much of the land in this area is unsuitable for anything except making hay. Years of coal mining have raised the creek bed, causing the water to spill over the banks. The result has been a change from rich bottoms to swamp lands and development of water-blocking growth along the creek banks. There have been attempts to clear the creek banks to alleviate the problem; however, crews of Work, Experience, and Training men have not been enough. Granted that the cleaning does some good, there are so many creek banks in the area that it is impossible to clean them all with the labor available. Further, though the work done has helped to contain the creek where the banks have been cleaned, a heavy rain still turns into swamps those bottoms adjacent to the clean banks. No amount of bank clearing can repair the damage done by the raised creek beds.

Because the beds have been raised, creeks are now unable to contain the water, especially when there are heavy rains. Drainage is poor. Some bottoms are dry only in the late summer months. The researcher

observed flooding in December, January, March and April. At no time were floods severe enough to isolate Wilman and the surrounding area from the outside. This does occur, however, when the Cumberland River floods, preventing the creeks from draining. Last year, for example, Wilman was cut off for one week.

Economy

Even with much of the land unusable, there is still enough for people to raise gardens for their families. A few men rent land within and without Wilman and plant it in corn for their livestock. Only one man in Wilman has a large number of cows, and he has fifteen; however, most families own one or two cows and one or two hogs. Quite a few people grow tobacco, though no one has more than three-tenths of an acre tobacco allotment. By renting additional land, some men have increased their crop to one or two acres.

There are only two households in Wilman that have a real struggle in providing the necessities, and even these are able to get along. The idea of a person in Wilman or Muddy Road going hungry is laughable to Wilmanites. They feel that people there are able to raise enough food to get by. Further, they can get credit at local stores. When a family is in real financial trouble, Wilmanites say, it can turn to friends and kin for help.

In Wilman only one person under fifty-five years of age is on welfare. She is a widow who gets Aid to Dependent Children for her two children. Another person under fifty-five receives Social Security for total disability. Of the twenty-one households, thirteen receive no government support. One man is employed by the Community Action Program as a carpenter; he is the only man employed by this program.

There are several men in Wilman who have accumulated relatively large sums of money, the largest known amount being in excess of \$20,000. Just about every household has access to \$100-\$200 when it is needed, and some people commonly carry such amounts of money on their person. Harry Burton has eight children, is employed irregularly, and is considered one of the poorest men in the area. Still, he manages to buy a cow for \$200. This is not to say that the people of Wilman are economically stable. They are not. Rather, it means that they are not without some source of money.

Cultural Description

Although Wilman is the area studied intensively, the researcher also gathered data from people outside Wilman but still in the mountain area. The cultural description that follows is selective in that only certain aspects of the culture are described. These are the aspects that are important to understand when **introducing** a new development program such as the Community Action Program.

CHAPTER I
OUT-MIGRATION

One of the outstanding characteristics of the southern Appalachian region is the extensive out-migration. Wilman and Muddy Road are representative of this. A look at the population of Wilman reflects the situation whereby young people are forced to leave the area to find jobs. The table below shows the relative shortage of people between the ages of twenty and thirty-four in Wilman.

Preschool	School Age			
0-6 yrs.	7-19 yrs.	20-34 yrs.	35-50 yrs.	51 yrs. or older
7%	46%	12%	21%	14%

Table 1

The most significant figures are those dealing with preschool-age children and with people between twenty and thirty-four years old. The small size of both percentages reflects the amount of out-migration. In Wilman there are thirteen people who are in the range between twenty and thirty-four. Seven of these are males, and there are three married couples. One other male is married to a woman in the thirty-five to fifty category. None of the seven males have regular jobs with guaranteed incomes. Six of them are unemployed. One is self-employed, cutting and hauling timber. This man hires two of the other men on occasion. Both are relatives of their employer. One of the other unemployed males is mentally retarded and unable to work. Another has been deferred from the army to care for

his disabled father and, consequently, must stay at home. Of the females between twenty and thirty-four, three are housewives; one is a teacher; one is employed as a cook; one is unemployed and lives with her mother.

The large percentage of school age children is interesting and initially puzzling. However, this is perhaps explained by the fact that there are several large families in Wilman. Two such families, for example, have eight children each.

The researcher met 170 males who live in Wilman and the surrounding area and who are old enough to leave. Of these, 40% stated that they had migrated out of Muddy Road and returned. Only 13% indicated they had never migrated. The other 47% were never approached on the subject. Even if only half of the 47% had migrated out, that would make a total of 63% of the present adult male population that has migrated at some time.

Jobs

The reason for the large out-migration is that there are few jobs in the area. "There're no jobs for boys or men here. They have to go off to work." The researcher once commented to a friend in Wilman that there were few men there in their twenties. The friend replied that the only ones who were there were either on lay-off or out of work. At another time, during a conversation between two people, one said, "You can't trust boys. They're liable to go off and hunt jobs when they're old enough." The other answered, "They just about have to."

Wilmanites, then, see migration as a necessity; however, migration is disrupting. In extreme cases husbands go off to work, leaving wives and children behind. Migration pulls people out of the security of a family-oriented mountain society into the impersonal world of the city. With this disruption of the family and of the way of life, it is not surprising that Wilmanites see jobs as their greatest need. "The problem around here is there ain't no jobs." "What this place needs is a factory." "I don't know why they say we can't work and keep a factory going; we sure keep a lot of them going in the city."

People who leave Wilman usually go to Cincinnati or Detroit. On holidays there are as many cars on the Wilman road with Ohio and Michigan tags as there are with Kentucky tags. Families in Wilman look forward to summer visits from relatives who have moved to the city.

The desire for jobs is a possible explanation for one of the commonly held misconceptions of the Community Action Program: that it is essentially a job agency. It is the case that certain of the people believe that the centers were established primarily to give jobs to people. As one community center worker put it, "People come to the center for jobs. When they don't get them, they quit." Community Action Program workers and sympathizers with the program view this as jealousy over jobs. "If a person doesn't have a job in the center, he doesn't attend and he doesn't want the person who has the job to have it." Even certain center workers and sympathizers view the center as a job agency.

The belief that people are jealous over the jobs is apparently not quite true. There are center workers who are viewed as deserving of their jobs and others who are thought of as underserving. The criterion

is need, and people who are opposed to the center feel that the wrong people get the jobs. "The poor people don't get anything. Only the people who have money get the jobs."

If, as is believed, the Community Action Program is a job agency, then need is logically the major, if not sole, criterion for hiring. Qualifications related to ability are poorly understood by the people; a person who is hired who is not as needy as someone else out of a job is not deserving of that job. Needy people who are hired are not resented.

Participation

The misconception mentioned above has an interesting effect on participation, especially on motivation. The administrators of the Community Action Program in Knox County, both Washington representatives and the Knox County Economic Opportunity Council, have made it quite clear that participation at the community center is an essential aspect of the program. Obviously, there is no community action without participation. Consequently, when people apply for a job, they begin participating, usually by attending the monthly county-wide community action council meetings in Barbourville or the monthly community meetings at their own center. It is even possible to tell who has applied for jobs by observing changes in participation. Such a practice is acceptable to center workers and non-workers alike unless they oppose the job seeker for other reasons.

The desire to remain in the area rather than leave perhaps causes people to interpret the Community Action Program in terms of their own hope and desire for local jobs.

CHAPTER II

SELF-IMAGE

Just as it is important for the change agent to have a clear understanding of the potential acceptor, so must he be aware of the acceptor's image of himself. Self-image may provide sources of acceptance or rejection of the program. In the case of the people of Wilman, the self-image does indeed have significance for the change agent. This image includes three major aspects. The first is the general image the Wilmanite has of the mountain dweller. This mainly involves notions of the way of life in the mountains. Wilmanites consider themselves representative of the good side of mountain life. Closely related to this is the second aspect, the image the people of Wilman have of the non-mountain dweller. This involves both the Wilmanite's view of the non-dweller and the Wilmanite's notion of the non-dweller's image of the mountain dweller. The third aspect is the specific image the people of Wilman have of themselves as opposed to the people in surrounding areas.

Mountain Life

The people of Wilman see the life of the mountain dweller as harsh and rough, although perhaps not as rough as it was in the past. This harshness is a source of pride. The outsider is generally greeted with, "What do you think of this country?" The general feeling is that the

outsider who is unaccustomed to country life will find it tough, some times too tough. As one man said, "I didn't figure a feller from the city would like country ways." On another occasion the researcher approached two men sitting on the ground. As the researcher walked up to them, one of the men offered him a chair, saying, "You don't want to ruin your clothes. Us country fellers don't worry about our clothes."

The people of Wilman are not so isolated that they are unaware that technologically, economically and educationally they are behind the outside world. They are also aware of the outside world's notion of "hillbilly". Thus, it is hypothesized that the people of Wilman look to the rugged life as the one source of pride that they are able to present to the outside world. Hence, the researcher was constantly asked, "How do you like this country?" "I guess your wife doesn't like this country, does she?" A visit from the researcher's parents brought the same questions of them.

At the same time the people of Wilman prefer the mountain life to that of the outside world, and they are anxious for the outsider to accept and find some value in their way of life. This presents a problem to the outsider who is hoping to introduce an innovation such as the Community Action Program. He must be able to demonstrate a genuine acceptance of the culture without destroying the source of pride: the mountain dweller's ability to exist in the rugged environment. This pride can be injured if the outsider belittles the harshness. It can be used to advantage if the outsider expresses an acceptance of the way of life and seeks the aid of the mountain dweller in adjusting to life there or learning the culture.

The Outsider

The above discussion touched upon the mountain dweller's concept of the outsider. The most significant aspect of this needs more elaboration. This is the outsider's view of the mountain dweller as perceived by the people of Wilman.

Communication with the outside world, in the form of television, radio and out-migration, has been sufficient for the people of Wilman to form some conception of the outside world's view of the mountain dweller as an ignorant, lazy person given to indiscriminate violence. As an official of a local school put it, "They know what outsiders think of them and they resent it." This awareness of commonly held stereotypes is evident in the comments of the people of Wilman. "I'll bet when you first came here you thought wild men lived in this country." One man laughed as he told of a time when he was working in Detroit. He and his friends kept up a constant joke with two city girls that rode in their car pool. The joke consisted of telling the girls daily of the tremendous breakfast the mountain men had consumed, including at least twelve biscuits each. Another time a man sarcastically assailed the researcher on the subject of the outsider's view of mountain people: "You're the first person from out of here who's thought people here have sense enough to lie." When this man and the researcher got onto the subject of violence and the latter spoke of violence in Washington, D.C., the former said, "Well, I'd never a thought it -- people killing each other right where the President lives. Well, I thought only people in the mountains did that." He spoke angrily of two girls that had been sent in to show them how to live. They apparently were VISTA's.

Tied in with resentment of the outsider's image of the mountain dweller is a resentment of the lack of understanding and knowledge of the mountain life on the part of the change agents. One center worker several times expressed anger over a particular change agent's ignorance of mountain life. Another man questioned bringing a man from New York to head the Community Action Program: "He don't know anything about our problems here." This resentment over lack of knowledge on the part of outsiders is understandable. The stereotype of the "hillbilly" that is common in the outside world is a product of such a lack of knowledge.

The People of Wilman

The people of Wilman view themselves as separate from the greater society. Depending on who is talking, there are different boundaries setting off the outside world. The most limited boundaries were set by one woman who classified everyone outside of Wilman and the immediate area as outsiders. All Wilmanites would agree that the world beyond Barbourville is the outside world. The term outsider is common. All strangers are outsiders. One way to loose the outsider label is to connect oneself by kinship to one of the local families. However, this usually isn't possible for the change agent, who must earn the loss of the outsider label. This is not always possible.

A common phrase in Wilman is "There are good people here." The term "here" varies from referring strictly to Wilman to including the surrounding mountain region. Good people are those who will not bother your property. "You could leave your things in that house for a year and nobody'd bother them." The only problem is that people from outside of Wilman come into the area to steal from the people.

Good people do not cause trouble. "Some of the boys here may get drunk, but that's all." Good people are friendly, hospitable and helpful. The initial shyness on the part of the Wilmanite tends to inhibit friendliness to strangers but, once the outsider is accepted to any degree, the friendliness becomes evident. Wilmanites are proud of their hospitality.

While the people see themselves as good, they are aware of faults. Once, during a conversation between several men, one said, "This place has a rough name, but there are good people here." Another man responded, "They'll cheat you blind." There was general agreement on this but with the addition that cheating is part of trading and acceptable in that context.

Another common fault, in the eyes of the people, is the tendency to distort the truth. "You'll never hear a pork chop fry or the truth told on Muddy Road." Distortion is attributed to deliberate falsification and the spread of rumors.

There are other faults discussed by the people with regard to the mountain area, but they are not found in Wilman. Stories of vote buying in elections are common, but such acts occur only in other parts of Muddy Road. No one in Wilman would sell his vote, say the people of Wilman. However, Wilmanites who have run for office have bought votes. This is normative behavior.

The people of Wilman view other sections of Muddy Road and the nearby sections of the next county as violent and dangerous. It is interesting that the only violence to occur during the researcher's study was a shooting just outside the Wilman area. Another incident

in a different part of Muddy Road caused people of Wilman to fear violence within the family involved. A subsequent conversation between the researcher and members of that family confirmed the fears of the Wilmanites. Certain nearby sections of the next county are supposedly rougher than any part of Muddy Road. One Wilmanite put it humorously, "Over in that county you have to shoot at them to bluff them, and you have to kill some of them before they believe it."

Thus it is that the people of Wilman see themselves as basically good people. They might cheat a person in a trade, and there are many who "...died full of truth because the truth never left their mouths." But the serious faults are not present. They may occur in the surrounding areas but not in Wilman.

In this culture, violence is always possible. The people of Wilman do not see violence as something to be proud of or brag about. On the other hand, it is dangerous to completely ignore violence. It is possible that by projecting violence into the surrounding area, the people are able to keep the potential danger in mind but at a respectable distance. Wilman has not always been so nonviolent, according to one resident, who stated, "Used to be the gun was the law here."

CHAPTER III

SUSPICION

One of the most significant characteristics of the people of Wilman is an all-pervading suspicion. This suspicion, justified or not, has tremendous effects on the introduction of a program such as the Community Action Program. However, this suspicion is not confined to outsiders or outside programs. It appears in all aspects of the culture. At the same time there are stories of people who have been cheated and even robbed by strangers who have come into the area selling objects or providing services to people who trusted them. These are not incidents in the remote past. While the researcher was in Wilman, an elderly couple in the area was robbed by a group of men posing as roof painters. One woman had to lock her door to keep a rug salesman from coming in on her. Another woman told of the poor quality of the rugs she has bought from these salesmen. A local radio station daily warns people of dealing with such salesmen. In spite of all this, people are still willing to trust certain of these outsiders. Thus, in one afternoon three strangers spray-painted four roofs in Wilman. As they did so, observers remarked on the strong possibility that the paint had been watered down. Doubt was expressed by at least one of the men who had hired the painters to work on his roof. Stories were told about previous painters who had cheated the people. None of this doubt was expressed in the presence of the painters.

Suspicion of Reflection

This trust in salesmen in the face of widely known incidents of dishonesty would appear to contradict the idea that suspicion pervades the lives of the people. However, this contradiction is explained if the nature of that suspicion is understood. It is best termed a suspicion of reflection. That is, people tend to become suspicious after they have reflected upon the situation rather than during the situation. Unpleasant confrontations are avoided whenever possible. It would be rare for a person to express suspicion in an initial confrontation; that would come later with reflection. Of course there are some cases in which suspicion is so justified that confrontation is necessary. Such was the case with the rug salesman who tried to force himself into the woman's house.

Predictable Behavior

In an area such as Wilman in which the population is small and kinship system is so tightly and thickly woven throughout the population, and in which social relations are so personal, people know each other so well that they can predict each other's behavior. Thus, whenever a person deviates from his or her normal behavior, it is noticed immediately and becomes a subject of suspicion. In the short time that the researcher lived in Wilman, he came to know his neighbors to such an extent that he too could predict behavior. It also turned out that he became suspicious when someone did something contradictory to his normal behavior. This demonstrates that people in an isolated area can learn enough about each other to predict behavior. However, it does not answer the major question: Why should deviation from

normal behavior produce suspicion? With regard to the researcher, suspicion was a product of his study. He had to remain hypersensitive to social stimuli in order to assess accurately the culture and to keep checks on his rapport. This does not explain the suspicion that occurs among people when a neighbor deviates from predicted behavior.

The indirection of social relations, added to the avoidance of unpleasant confrontations until the tension has reached a boiling point, causes a person to be hypersensitive to social stimuli in much the same way as was the researcher. Thus when a person deviates from predicted behavior, this hypersensitivity produces reaction. A breach of etiquette arouses suspicion, again because of hypersensitivity. Thus when George drives by Lawrence's house and does not wave, Lawrence becomes quite concerned that George is angry. Such hypersensitivity is necessary in any culture in which confrontations are avoided until chances for an easy resolution are slim and the possibility of violence is enhanced. Sensitivity to cues indicative of anger can prevent unpleasant situations. This is obviously a vital concern to change agents. The lack of knowledge of etiquette and nonverbal communication can result in a faux pas that causes suspicion. Suspicion, once initiated, builds up. If it is fed by other mistakes, the suspicion can reach a danger point.

A Suspicious Nature

Although the factors discussed above explain a great deal of the suspicion, there is still an as-yet-unexplainable, cynically oriented suspicion that affects all social relationships. The general feeling is that if one is not careful, certain people or groups will cheat him or at least take advantage of a situation in such a way as to put him

at a disadvantage. This suspicion in extreme form is usually directed at particular groups or families, depending on one's own family membership. However, this suspicion is evident in everyday interaction. The most noticeable sign is the belief that lying is quite prevalent. "It don't matter what you tell these people you're doing, they won't believe you." "George ain't never told the truth in his life."

An incident occurred while the researcher was in Wilman that demonstrates this suspicion. For two weeks in a row a food supplier made mistakes in the bill of a storekeeper and had to add fifteen dollars on two consecutive bills. The storekeeper was away from the store both times, and his wife paid the bills. The storekeeper became quite angry and said the supplier was cheating him. The supplier was not there when the accusation was made. The storekeeper worked on his store bills for at least two hours to find out where he was being cheated. "There's got to be a wrong somewheres." He threatened to stop dealing with that supplier and only yielded when he calmed down and his wife showed him that there actually were errors. The most significant aspect of this is that the supplier had been serving the storekeeper for the entire nine years the store had been in business. He had established a friendship with the storekeeper and his wife, always visiting when he came to the store. In spite of this friendship, the storekeeper was quick to decide he had been cheated.

Outsiders

An outsider is always the object of suspicion. A person from the outside who has some culturally defined role, such as salesman, is much more easily accepted than an outsider with no socially defined role,

such as anthropologist or change agent. The latter two are roles that are not present in the mountain culture. This means that the people must adjust to them. The problems arising from this adjustment, added to the suspicious nature and anxiety over outsiders, present a considerable barrier the outsider must overcome in order to gain acceptance. This is significant, of course, for the change agent since suspicion placed on him will generalize to his program. Thus the change agent must do everything possible to allay suspicion.

It has been mentioned that one way to gain acceptance is to demonstrate appreciation of the culture and a desire to learn more about it. To Wilmanites the outsider believes the mountain dweller is a brainless bumpkin. It is vital for the outsider to show that he has none of the common prejudices. However, even if the outsider gains acceptance on this basis, he still must contend with the suspicion that falls on everyone, and he will never be free of all suspicion. No one can be. For instance, the researcher learned that after living in Wilman for four months, his closest friend in the area still did not believe the stated purpose of the study.

Although suspicion cannot be eliminated, it can be controlled. If an outsider masters certain rules of etiquette and certain methods of nonverbal communication, he will be able to keep from committing the errors that arouse suspicion. Further, he must train himself to be sensitive to those cues that he has learned so that he can catch an error in the early stages. This will be discussed in the next chapter.

CHAPTER IV

INTERPERSONAL RELATIONS

For the change agent, one of the most important aspects of a culture is the core of behavior known as interpersonal relations. A complete description of the interpersonal relations in Wilman would be both cumbersome and useless in a report of this type. This phase of the report, then, deals with those aspects of interpersonal relations that have bearing on acceptance and rejection of the Community Action Program. It includes a discussion of etiquette and a description of those significant relationships between male and male, male and female, adult and child, adult and stranger. Female and female will not be discussed because the rules of etiquette between adults of the same sex, be it male-male or female-female, are generally the same. There will also be a discussion of communication.

Etiquette of Indirection

The most significant aspect of etiquette in Wilman is indirection. By indirection is meant the practice of avoiding direct confrontation in social interaction, be the confrontation of a serious or light, pleasant or unpleasant nature. This indirection is manifest in patterns ranging from the informal visit to the use of political

influence. It is most seriously reflected in the avoidance of unpleasant confrontations. An example will illustrate.

Four or five men are visiting George at his house when Emmet and his son drive up. As Emmet and his son are coming from the car to the house, the other men, realizing that this visit is a deviation from Emmet's normal behavior, remark that Emmet and his boy must want something. However, they say nothing about this when Emmet and his son come into the house.

For about forty-five minutes the men engage each other in conversation. No one asks Emmet his purpose. Finally, while other men are talking, Emmet says to George, "Got any hay?" George, who has been talking to someone about politics, says, "Yeah." He then returns to his political discussion. Five minutes pass before George looks over at Emmet, who has been talking to someone else, and says, "You looking for hay?" Emmet says, "Yeah." Again the two men return to their conversations for several minutes before Emmet suggests that he and George go look at the hay. George agrees, but it is at least ten minutes before the two men leave the house to look at the hay.

Indirection here is illustrated in the fact that Emmet does not immediately reveal his purpose. When he does bring it up, he does not say he wants hay. He merely asks if George has any.

This is not a rare case. Of course, there are times when Emmet will visit less before asking. If his need is urgent, he will come more quickly to the point. Emergencies, of course, negate any need for indirection, but the normal situation is not an emergency. When a person goes to one of the local stores, he visits with the storekeeper before buying. If Harry Burton wants to check on his boy's draft deferment, he does not go directly to the draft board. He goes first to his second cousin, who knows the clerk. The cousin goes to the clerk.

Grievances

Finally, a grievance between two persons is rarely settled by direct confrontation. The result is that small grievances that may even have their origins in a slight misunderstanding, because they are not resolved, remain sources of irritation. This unresolved irritation can grow as the parties involved build up their initial grievances; this anger can cause other innocent incidents to be reinterpreted as deliberate acts of malice. As anger mounts, sensitivity increases. Since the pressure valve of direct confrontation is closed, it is quite possible for violence to erupt after enough incidents. Thus, what seems to the outsider to be eruptions of violence over trivial incidents are actually end products of long periods of slowly-developing anger and resentment. Confrontation in this case occurs at a point too late for easy resolution.

Violence isn't always the end result. Sometimes the anger will remain for years without erupting. The most extreme manifestation of this occurs when entire families become opposed to each other over difficulties between a member of each family. There are also incidents that cause anger but are eventually forgotten. This can occur when relations between the individuals are strong enough to prevent the development of grievances. However, hard feelings and slowly-burning, unreleased anger have split father and son, brother and brother, sister and sister. Strong relationships are not enough in the culture; suspicion falls on everybody. Thus, another necessary factor in the prevention of hard feelings is the absence of further anger-producing incidents.

It is hypothesized that the etiquette of indirection often plays a role in keeping trouble from erupting. People of Wilman do not like violence, nor do they like to be angry. Since direct confrontations are generally not acceptable as a solution, people resort to indirection. George can learn that Bill is angry by two methods. Firstly, a neighbor friendly to both men can let each know that there is an irritation. Secondly, each man, by observing cues of nonverbal communication, can gauge the amount of irritation.

The Informal Greeting

The most important social cues are those related to hospitality and friendliness. A very important act is one that seems insignificant to the outsider: the informal greeting. Whenever two neighbors pass, they acknowledge each other by a wave and/or a spoken word. The greeting can range from a raised finger on the part of a person driving a vehicle as he passes a neighbor to a five or ten minute conversation between two men who meet on the road. The absence of such a greeting can arouse suspicion. Thus George can tell something is wrong when Harry passes without any greeting. This practice does have disadvantages, however. If Harry is worried about something and does not notice George, thus neglecting to wave, George becomes concerned that Harry is angry. Further, because the people avoid unpleasant confrontations, more times than not they will continue such things as the greeting even after hard feelings have developed. Still, there is a greater tendency for an irritated person to forget or to turn his head away, thus avoiding the greeting.

Visiting

Another type of interaction that provides important cues is the visiting pattern. Visiting is generally informal and unplanned; that is, a person will visit on the spur of the moment more often than he will plan in advance. As indicated in the discussion of indirection, many visits occur when someone needs something of

another person. Rather than come directly to the point, a person will visit for a while before revealing his purpose. There is generally no devious intent in this; rather, it is a cultural norm and a way of mixing business and pleasure. A trip to a local store, for example, includes a visit with the storekeeper, lasting from a few minutes to several hours. Such visits, the lack of them, or changes in visiting patterns, are valuable gauges of hard feelings.

All of this can have a great effect on the success or failure of an outsider. Failure to conform to the method of indirection, avoidance of unpleasant confrontation, greeting patterns and visiting habits produces immediate suspicion. At the least the outsider will be thought of as some "big shot" who cares nothing for the people. An uncaring attitude expressed through errors of etiquette is generalized to the program that the outsider is presenting. At the worst the outsider will arouse suspicion to such a degree that he will be viewed as an exploiter of the poor or some other type of evil person.

Male-Male

Relationships between males are generally friendly, informal and relaxed. The potential for hard feelings that is a product of suspicion is not found on the surface of interaction. In fact, at first glance, it seems the people are friendly to everyone and have

no problems. However, the people are habituated to the problems unique to their culture.

One of the major activities among males, informal gatherings, occurs most often at the stores in Wilman. Some men come together on a regular basis for conversation. Others come on a less regular basis, visiting at stores only when they have something to buy.

There are regular visiting groups, consisting mainly of close neighbors and family. Such groups gather more in the winter than in the spring, because of the work patterns of a farming culture. Topics range from politics to sexual experiences to farming. Women are usually absent from such groups; but when they are present, they are included in the conversation on a basis equal to the men. However, women don't attempt to join such groups on a regular basis. One Wilman family generally has quite a few visitors on Sundays. The general pattern is for the women to gather in the house while the men gather in the store owned by this family.

When there is a large enough number of men in the group, there are often several conversations carried on simultaneously. At various points during these conversations all but one is stopped as that particular topic gains momentum. At other times one man may have the floor; however, as someone becomes disinterested, he starts his own conversation. Others switch attention from the first man to the second. This does not disturb the first, who simply directs his talk to a smaller group.

Once during a gathering of eight or ten men, George had the floor. His topic was a particular method of plowing. At first all the men listened; then Fred said something and Bill replied. George kept right on talking, adjusting his delivery to a smaller audience. Eventually two or three other men switched their attentions and started a conversation of their own. Again George adjusted his delivery. This process continued until the only person still listening to George was the researcher. George was not upset at this. He just kept adjusting his delivery to smaller audiences until he finally reached the one-to-one relationship between himself and the researcher. Such things happen often. Three or four people can be speaking at once. Their audiences change as people switch their attentions. At times people talk with no audience. However, this is rare. Generally, any person who desires to speak is given a chance.

Trading

A major activity among men, and a source of interaction, is trading. In addition to being a significant part of the economy, trading is also important in social interaction. Many items are traded: cows, hogs, mules, dogs, guns, knives, watches, cigarette lighters--anything that can be exchanged. One of the most interesting items involved is without economic significance: the pocket knife. For many people knife trading is an avocation.

It is a source of pleasure as well as a device used to enter into social relationships. It would be useful to describe a typical trade in order to demonstrate the etiquette involved and illustrate a type of interaction between males.

Six men are talking in Jim's store when George comes in. Jim greets him. "What kinda knife you got, George?" George replies, "I got a good one." George pulls out his knife, hands it to Jim, who takes his out and hands it to George. As George and Jim praise each other's knives, two or three of the other men take out their knives. There follows a general passing around of all knives. This is accompanied by comments on all of the knives, most comments being favorable. Finally, Jim says to George, "How you swap?" George says, "I don't want to swap." Jim: "Aw, you'll swap." Harry, who is standing around, says "Yeah, George will swap. Make an offer, George." George repeats, "Ah, I don't want to swap." Statements follow from the other men trying to get George and Jim to swap. If George really doesn't want to swap, he won't. However, Jim makes an offer: "I'll swap for fifty cents." This means that Jim will swap his knife for George's if George will also give him fifty cents. George says, "no, buddy. I'd swap even. I won't pay no boot." George is offering to trade his knife for Jim's. The two men banter back and forth for a minute, but neither agrees to the other's offer. Eventually the conversation changes to politics, with all of the

men in the store taking part. After about five minutes of the political discussion, Jim says, "Better give me the fifty cents." George: "I'll swap even." The conversation again returns to politics for several minutes. Then Jim says again, "Better give me that fifty cents." George says, "I'll give you a quarter." One of the other men chimes in, "Trade with him, Jim. He's splitting the difference." Two or three other men try to get Jim to trade. Finally, as George keeps offering the quarter, Jim agrees. The trade is made.

Several points can be made from this trade. Firstly, the etiquette of indirection is evident here in another form. Rather than continue attempts at trading until it is consummated, the men drop the subject twice. Each knows the other is still aware of a possible trade, but neither pushes constantly. Instead, they change the subject for several minutes, then bring the trade up again. Even when they return to the subject of the trade, there is no hard sell.

Secondly, each man makes his own offer; this always happens. Even if the first is fair, the other man will make his own offer. It is possible for an original offer finally to be accepted, but only in rare cases will it be accepted without bantering.

Thirdly, there is pressure from the other men, and it is on both George and Jim. The desire is to see a trade. Watching a

a trade is as entertaining as taking part in one. Fourthly, this type of trade is often used as a method of initiating conversation, as happens when George enters a preexisting group. Finally, it is a valuable device when the group includes men from families with a history of hard feelings. A knife trade is a perfectly harmless topic that allows the maintenance of friendly relations in such a situation.

Male-Female

The male-female relationship is generally one of equality. When men and women are together, relations are easy and relaxed. Women get as much attention when they talk as do the men. However, women and men tend to separate when the group gets large. Mary runs a store. Her husband Joe stays around there quite a bit. When a man comes to the store, Mary is included in the conversation between Joe and the male visitor. Her role is a less talkative one, but she is not discouraged from speaking up. If the man brings his wife to the store, Mary and Joe will engage them in conversation. All four people will talk together. However, it is also possible that the two women will separate from the two men and start their own conversation. If a large group of men appears at the store, Mary's participation will lessen; however, she will stay in the store and listen. The men may say something to her and she will respond. If the men break up into

smaller groups, Mary may join one; then her participation will increase. As long as Mary is present, discussion of sexual experiences is taboo. If several of the men bring their wives, Mary will probably go with the women to her house, leaving Joe and the men at the store.

What is described above is generally approved behavior. In a one-to-one relationship a man and woman are relaxed. As the number of men increases, the woman's role becomes less active. When there are several men and several women, the tendency is to separate men from women. However, if the men and women stay together, there is interaction between them.

Jealousy

Although relations between sexes are relaxed, there is a big danger of arousing the jealousy of a mate or arousing suspicion on the part of neighbors. There are, however, ways to be friendly without inviting trouble. For example, a woman should be very careful to show interest in what a man is saying without showing interest in him. A woman who flirts is considered loose and is likely to be propositioned. Concomitantly, a man who is too polite to a woman can arouse suspicion with regard to his intentions. Equality is just that. Any act by a man that distinguishes a woman as something special can cause anxiety on the part of the woman and her husband or boyfriend. This type of anxiety and suspicion

is particularly dangerous. A man is very quick to anger when it comes to his "woman", whether she be his wife or his girlfriend. Jealousy is easily triggered. Paying a compliment to another man's wife or girlfriend can cause a man to become angry even to the point of violence. "One thing that gets a man mad quicker than anything is messin' with his woman." The avoidance of direct confrontation again allows anger to grow.

There is quite a lot of humor in Wilman based on the male-female relationship, particularly on the subject of philandering. At the same time there has been quite a bit of marital trouble on Muddy Road because of philandering. Further, it is quite easy for a young boy to have sexual experiences, but he leaves Wilman to do so. Generally, he goes out of Muddy Road to Barbourville or Pineville. As George says, "There are an awful lot of mean women around these days. The women up here aren't mean, though; but if you go out of here they are." Bill disagrees, saying, "You don't know. To men out of here these women may be mean." A mean woman is one who has sexual experiences frequently with different men. While Wilman itself seems to have no such women, the surrounding area has. Finally, marital fidelity is practiced more by women than by men.

With so great a potential for violence, it is interesting that there is so much infidelity. However, it is quite possible that the amount of infidelity explains the violence. It may also explain

why men and women are so sensitive to attention paid to their mates or potential mates. One woman expressed great anger over a female VISTA who came up on the porch and spent an hour just talking to the woman's husband. The wife was in the house. The VISTA made her mistake by not drawing the woman out of the house and also talking to her. In fact, just as it is the case that when two men and one woman are together the woman talks less than the men, so it is that when two women and a man are together the man talks less. In the situation above, the more the VISTA talked to the man, the angrier the wife got. Anger, distaste for direct confrontation, and shyness with regard to strangers caused the woman to stay inside. However, she most likely would have come out on the porch if she had been called.

Although an informal one-to-one relationship between a male and female is easy and relaxed, it is never prolonged. This is exclusive of courtship relationships. If George goes to Jim's house to visit and finds that Jim has gone off, he will stay for several minutes to talk to Jim's wife. However, he will not visit for any length of time. If he has to see Jim, he may wait, but he will most likely wait outside the house. This is altered slightly if Jim's wife is keeping a store and he can wait in there for Jim. However, if Jim is to be gone long, George will leave.

All of this has significance for the outsider. A man can arouse anger by being attentive to a woman, even if he is simply being courteous. He may interact with a woman but must not show any deference to her womanhood. She is an equal, nothing more. A simple gesture of courtesy, such as lighting a woman's cigarette, can cause problems. A compliment on her hair is inviting trouble. Generally this will not result in violence toward the outsider, but it will often produce negative feelings.

Adult-Child

The adult-child relationship is, in many ways, an equalitarian one. Of course, the infant and very young child are treated as such. They are cared for in a manner that assumes they are unable to care for themselves. However, at an early age a child is allowed to participate in such activities as conversation between adults. The tendency of the child is to associate with peers, but a boy of twelve is often included in a conversation between a group of men on a level equal to that of the men. There are, of course, certain subjects, such as sexual experience, on which the boy cannot converse at a level equal to the men. When these come up, the boy may be subjected to light-hearted joking about his lack of experience. However, the boy is not defenseless. His status permits him to retaliate with open anger or with joking abuse of the men.

An adolescent male is given the same attention as an adult when he speaks. His thoughts are generally as authoritarian as those of the adults. He has considerable freedom in choosing activities. This is also true of females. The reason for this equalitarianism is probably to be found in the cultural history. Wilman has been easily accessible from the outside world only in recent years. In the period of isolation the culture was such that most of it could be mastered at an early age. Most of the mastering of the adult role took place in the fields for the boys and in the house for the girls. The farming methods and way of life were such that the more people who could take part the better. Thus the child began his mastery of the adult role and consequently was ready to enter the adult status at an early age. There was little formal education, so the child of twelve or older was not at a disadvantage with regard to his educational background. His vocabulary was on a level with that of the adults.

It is hypothesized that for these reasons the young person has traditionally been accepted on an equal basis. Increased communication with the outside world has meant changes in the culture. The life is no longer simply that of the subsistence farmer. Values of the outside world have entered the mountains, and it is safe to say that most young people want more than the

mountain life of the past. Children are getting more of an education today; an educational gap between adult and child should eventually result. However, these changes are just beginning. The old culture is strong enough to allow maintenance of the equalitarian relationship between child and adult. Today's children are the first in the area to have a real opportunity to get a more formal education. Thus the Wilmanite child is still able to enter the adult world at an early age.

Outsiders

Relations with outsiders are best described as cautious. An outsider causes anxiety. With social relationships being so personal and so close in Wilman, an outsider stands out considerably. Naturally, the first move is to find out who the stranger is and what he wants. If he is a salesman, anxiety is somewhat relieved. Salesmen are common in an area that is far removed from a large shopping district. However, since most social interaction is between members of the same family or between close neighbors who see each other daily, there is still uneasiness involved in dealing with a strange salesman.

An outsider who doesn't fit an existing role in the culture causes more anxiety than the outsider who does. The change agent is such an outsider without a role. A common reaction in Wilman is to attempt to connect the stranger in some way to a family in

the area. A person who has family in Wilman, Muddy Road, Knox County or even eastern Kentucky is not as threatening as an outsider with no family connections to provide a point of orientation.

Whether or not he fits a prescribed role, has family connections, or is a complete outsider, a stranger has a better chance of acceptance if he displays a friendly attitude toward the people, the mountain area and the way of life; if he makes an honest attempt to learn the culture; and if he conforms to the rules of etiquette of the area.

Communication

A final topic to be discussed in terms of social interaction is communication. There are no telephones in Wilman; the closest phone is two miles away on the road leading out of Muddy Road; however, as the researcher was concluding his study, Wilmanites were expecting phone installation in five households. This is the first time phones have been made available.

However, even without phones, news travels quickly. The method is word-of-mouth. Before television and radio were common in Wilman, word-of-mouth was probably the only method of spreading news. Newspapers probably were rarely found in Wilman. Word-of-mouth is still a major method of communication; it is also a very efficient one and consists of a network of communication links. These links in Wilman

run generally along kinship lines, apparently because of the geographical propinquity of family members. However, the network extends beyond Wilman and Muddy Road into Barbourville. Essentially the network consists of a series of informal news centers at which community, county, state, national and international news is generated, discussed and embellished.

The major news center for the people of Wilman is the county courthouse located in Barbourville. Each weekday men gather at the courthouse to talk, trade knives and take care of any business they may have. There are men who come to the courthouse every day. These are generally, but not exclusively, older men who come for entertainment. These men will ask any male who comes in if he has a knife and if he wants to swap it. There are others who come to the courthouse on a less regular basis, usually whenever they come to Barbourville on other business.

The courthouse news center is made up mainly, if not exclusively, of males. When a man comes to Barbourville from Wilman, he will include the courthouse as one of his stopping points. In fact, he is almost obligated to stop there to learn any news that is circulating. Even the researcher was expected to stop at the courthouse whenever he went to Barbourville.

The news of most interest to the people of Wilman is that which deals with people of Wilman and the rest of Muddy Road. As people

come to the courthouse from around the county, they bring with them news from their areas. This is circulated throughout the courthouse. When a man leaves the courthouse, he takes with him all the news he has picked up. He carries the news home with him and tells it to members of his family, who in turn tell other members of the family.

Local news centers help to speed dissemination of this news. These are generally the local stores, where men gather for conversation. A man can hear news at the courthouse in the morning and take it home with him, stopping at a store to tell the people what he has heard. As these people leave, they will go home or even to another store or group of men. Each of these men will tell his family and friends. Thus a story known only by one or two people in the morning may be a topic of conversation all over Knox County by that evening.

This network is quick and efficient. Stories do not always start at the courthouse and often do not even get there. The store groups often spread news of only local concern. From the stores the news is carried through family lines to all parts of the neighborhood. These stores are also family based, since most of the people surrounding them will be of one or two families.

The network that aids the quick spread of news also aids the spread of rumors. A rumor about the OEO or CAP can spread throughout the county in a day. It is thus possible for anger to spread before officials are even aware of the rumor that caused it. The communication network must be dealt with. The wise change agent will learn to use it to his advantage.

CHAPTER V

KINSHIP

An isolated mountain community is inhabited by a few families who are often descendants of the original inhabitants or who at least have been in the area for many years. Such is the case in Wilman. Although communication with the outside world has increased in recent years, it is still the case that a person in Wilman is born and reared surrounded mainly by members of his own family and secondarily by members of the few other families in the area. A person's security is based on very close relationships with the people around him, most of these being kin. A stranger stands out emphatically, and as previously indicated, is a source of anxiety.

All of this means that when a child is removed from his familiar environment, he is likely to feel lost and insecure. This has great significance for a program such as the Early Childhood Program, which removes the child from his family on a daily basis.

Consequences of Kinship

The kinship situation in Wilman has other consequences. Firstly, the small number of families limits the potential marriage partners from which a person may choose. Consequently, it is quite common for two families to exchange several marriage partners. The result is sometimes an interesting development in the overall kinship system. For instance, two brothers in "Family B" and the head of "Family M" worked together in the log woods. One "B" brother married the daughter of the head of "Family M". Later the daughter of the other "B" brother married the son of the head of "Family M". In another case another daughter of the head of "Family M" married a boy, "C", who was twenty-five years her junior. A brother of "C" married the daughter of "C"'s wife. This daughter was by a first husband.

Secondly, with the limited number of marriage choices, the interchanging of marriage partners between families results in a complex kinship system. Relationships connect just about every family to every other family. It is almost literally true that everyone is related to everyone else. As one man put it, "It's hard to find someone around here not kin to you." Appendix A is a kinship chart of Wilman and the surrounding area, demonstrating the intricacies of the system.

With kinship ties so tightly woven, and with family the major and sometimes exclusive source of social contacts, the family is an important consideration and point of orientation for the individual. Kinship ties provide lines of communication and sources of influence.

It has been pointed out that the kinship system in Wilman and the surrounding area is a network of relationships, connecting the families of the area. The settlement pattern of Wilman is such that families are roughly grouped together in kinship units. In fact, a major portion of Wilman is inhabited largely by one family. Certain hollows are named after families who inhabit them now or settled in them years ago.

The Uses of Family

Family is used to fit a newcomer into the social system. When George first met the researcher's wife, he asked, "Who was she?" The question was referring to the researcher's wife's family name before marriage. The researcher answered George, "You don't know her. She's an Arnold from Washington, D. C." George remarked that he was sure he had seen her many times before. Several days later George's friend asked the same thing about the researcher's wife. Both men thought she resembled members of a family in the area.

Family is used to classify people. George was attempting to classify the researcher's wife according to her physical characteristics. Once an old Wilmanite said, "You can always tell a Burton by his eyes." Physical similarities within a family are often striking. The cause is generally thought to be found in the long period of isolation and the crossbreeding between relatively few families.

People are also classified according to their families with regard to characteristics other than physical. Thus it is that Bill says, "Them Williams are a mean bunch." Fred says, "Us Greens are big eaters." Such statements are common; members of a family are believed to possess similar characteristics. There are recognized exceptions, however. "George and Bill are so different you wouldn't know they are brothers." However, for the most part a family is manifested in any given member. "That boy's a Burton. He's always on the go." "Don't forget he's half Howard. You'll never get him to do that if he doesn't want to."

A Source of Security

The family is the source of security and, especially in one's early years, the major source of social

interaction. It is difficult to determine whether the family came to serve in these capacities because of the settlement pattern or the settlement pattern developed out of the strong dependence on family. Most likely, each developed out of and was reinforced by the other. Evidence indicates that the most important consideration is the security found in being among people of the same heritage. That is, family is important not just because of kinship ties but because of the fact that relatives provide a cultural security. They reinforce and sanction an individual's behavior. A young person, for example, will be more likely to leave his family and go to Ohio or Michigan if there are people there who are familiar to him. It is perhaps best if these people are members of the family; however, friends provide the necessary security when family is absent. Cincinnati, Detroit, Chicago and other cities of the Midwest have neighborhoods inhabited mainly by people from the mountains of West Virginia, Kentucky and Tennessee. It is not hard, then, for a Wilmanite to find the necessary security when he goes to the city. It is even easy to find old acquaintances and members of the family when one goes to the right cities. These people provide the new migrant with the cultural environment to shelter him from the impersonal life of the city.

Discussion until now has been in general terms of intra-family relations, pointing out the importance of the family. However, there are two specific relationships that should be discussed: husband-wife and parent-child.

Husband-Wife

The husband-wife relationship is basically equalitarian, although there is a definite separation of roles; there are certain jobs performed only by women, others performed only by men. There is also an interesting separation of property, reflecting the equality of husband and wife. Thus it is that George, Jim and Bill have stores; however, in each case, the store is actually considered the wife's business. The wife does the ordering of the groceries and handles the store income. The income is considered hers and is kept separate from that of her husband. When Bill's wife asks him about getting an ice cream freezer for the store, Bill says, "It's your money."

Michael and his wife each own one cow. Michael enjoys trading and one day trades for a roan cow. His wife decides that she likes the roan and so trades cows with Michael. Now Michael won't be able to trade the roan, unless his wife agrees. When George tries to trade for the roan, Michael says, "You'll have to ask my woman; it's her cow."

Husband and wife may complain about each other to other people, but they generally will not get into an actual quarrel in front of visitors. At the same time there is little talk of love and few open displays of affection. The primary consideration when evaluating one's wife is her ability to cook and work. Sex is also an important part of marriage; the wife is apparently a sex object rather than partner. However, she has the right to deprive her husband of sex if she becomes angry. At no time during the researcher's study was love mentioned as a reason for marrying a woman or for missing the partner when the husband was off working. This does not mean that love is not important, but it does at least mean that love is a very private affair.

The equalitarian relationship between husband and wife allows the woman a certain amount of freedom of choice. Thus it is that a wife can participate in a community center even though the husband does not. She may participate even if the husband is against the center; however, if he is against the center, she will most likely be against it. This is simply the product of mutual influence.

Parent-Child

The researcher sees two types of parent-child relationships: those in which the child is not yet

grown and those in which the child is mature. These two will be discussed separately, the first being designated as child rearing.

Child rearing in Wilman is permissive; that is, at an early age a child is given some say in determining his activities. It is not uncommon for children under ten to smoke, for example. They are also free to offer opinions differing from those of their parents.

The youngest child in the family is given a very special status as the baby. A fourteen or fifteen year old child who is the youngest in the family is still referred to as the baby by the mother. The youngest child is treated specially by all members of the family, but the mother is particularly protective. When the youngest child is truly young, he is treated as a plaything by his parents and siblings. All of the other children will shower attention on this child, though they may be only two or three years older than the baby.

The permissiveness of child rearing has special significance for the Community Action Program, especially the Early Childhood Program. Children generally have a lot to say about their lives and, consequently, have a lot to say about whether or not they participate in center activities. The ECP teacher at the center

serving Wilman said, "The parents here let their children decide whether they will come. You know they won't come on their own." With this in mind the researcher proposes the following hypothesis: Children who attend the ECP are those who have the drive and ambition to leave the security of their family environment or those whose parents are unique and force them to go.

Although it would be unusual for a parent to keep a child from attending the center, it would be rare for the child to go if the parent were against the program. The reason is that the child would be influenced by the negative statements of members of his family.

The relationship between the mature child and his parents is not openly affectionate or close. Under normal circumstances the grown child does not feel any strong commitment to his parents other than the commitment as a member of the family. When Bill's father asks him to haul hay for him, Bill will do so only for the price that he would charge a nonrelative. The grown child shows little open concern for his parents' well being. Jim's son has a draft deferment because of Jim's bad heart. Jim's son goes off daily, knowing that Jim may have a heart attack and need to be driven to town. This is not viewed as unusual or cruel by Jim, his family or his neighbors. It is not unusual

for Jim to work a mule with the son there, although Jim has been ordered to do absolutely no work. Jim's son does not know how to plow. However, if the parent is in real need, the child is the one to take care of him. This concern, while not obvious on a daily basis, arises when an emergency occurs.

Concern of the parent for the grown child remains open, however. The parent wants his child to succeed and will do everything he can to help. He will worry when his boy drinks too much. He will look forward to visits from his children who have moved off.

Intra-Family and Inter-Family Relations

Although a person will break from his family to go to the city, kinship ties are still very important. When a person has a problem, he seeks help within his own family. Further, whenever a person is in trouble, his family unites behind him. This tendency to unite behind a member of the family has special significance for inter-family relations. A misunderstanding between two men, for example, can spread throughout their respective families, thus dividing a neighborhood into two factions.

Intra-family ties are not so strong, however, that they cannot be destroyed. Splits within a family can be as severe as hard feelings between two families

and can last for years, perhaps never to be resolved. Such splits may even divide a family into two camps that through time become separate families.

The severity of hard feelings will vary from nuclear family to nuclear family within each extended kin group. For instance, if George Howard and Jim Burton fall out, most of the anger will be within immediate families. In severe cases George and Jim will not speak. Their wives will avoid each other. Their children will not play together. However, as one gets farther into the extended family of both George and Jim, hard feelings will not be as evident. George's brother will avoid speaking to Jim, but he will maintain an uneasy but friendly relationship with Jim's brother. George's second cousin's family may remain on a relatively friendly basis with Jim's half-sister's family. Part of the reason is that Jim's half-sister is married to George's third cousin. This doesn't mean there are no hard feelings between Jim's half-sister and George's second cousin. However, they are able to maintain friendly relations. Their children play together and hardly seem to be aware of the hard feelings. But the adults of each of these families are quick to take issue with statements made by members of the other family. When something causes Jim and George to

intensify their hard feelings, the effects will be seen in George's second cousin and Jim's half-sister. In fact, any act by a Howard that irritates a Burton will irritate other Burtons. The specific effects will depend on the intensity of the irritation, but it will have to be a major irritation to significantly change the relationship between the families of George's cousin and Jim's half-sister. Generally, the only change will be on the order of an increase in insulting remarks made about members of the other family. Such remarks will not be made to the other family. Rather, they will be made to members of one's own family or to close, trusted friends.

The most difficult position in such situations is that of the person who is related to both of the families who are in conflict. Such is the case of Jim's half-sister's husband. He is related by blood to the Howards, by marriage to the Burtons. Such a person has three alternatives in this situation. Firstly, he can refuse to take any sides at all or have any part in the trouble. Secondly, he can remain neutral but serve as a communication link between the two families. Thirdly, he can take sides. His choice is obviously easier if his relationship to one or both families is not close.

The Intricate System

The problem of being related to both families serves to emphasize a characteristic of the kinship system. Relationships are so complex, so intricately woven, that it is often hard to separate one family from the other. The people of Wilman choose to ignore some of the relationships themselves. For instance, Jim's half-sister's husband might not recognize his kinship to the Howards. In this case the reason may be that hard feelings exist between the Burtons and Howards. It is also possible that kinship is ignored because of incest problems. In a society in which families have intermarried so often and in which the population is relatively small, it is often hard to find a marriage partner who is not related in some way. This must have been even more of a problem in the past when isolation was greater. This perhaps explains why there are three or four different sets of Howards today who claim no relation and who intermarry. Through the years, kinship has been forgotten.

There is some evidence that a similar process is occurring within another family in Wilman. Certain members of the Green family view themselves as part of one set of Greens. They consider another set of Greens as unrelated to them. A member of the first set says,

"Ah, we're probably all related way back, but not now." However, the second set of Greens correctly see themselves as related to the first set. The kinship ties between the two sets are actually close, some being as close as first cousins. It is unknown why the first set does not recognize kinship with the second set. Relationships between the two sets are friendly. However, this does seem to be a first step in the division of one family into two.

Inter-family problems, aided by the suspicious nature of the people, can last for years. They can prohibit inter-family cooperation long after the original trouble. The close ties between certain families that have intermarried can cause families other than the two that have the hard feelings to align themselves on one side or the other. Thus cooperation can be inhibited within an entire neighborhood. As one man said during a discussion of the CAP Home Improvement Program, "These people won't work together. It all goes back to their grandfathers. They should forget their hardness and work together."

An Illustration

The following hypothetical situation illustrates the process of inter-family division. Such problems are significant when there is an attempt to bring

about change through cooperation. Also illustrated are the avoidance of unpleasant confrontations, the practice of keeping troubles beneath the surface, the all-pervading suspicion, and the importance of etiquette and nonverbal communication.

A job opens in Barbourville. The employer is a town official who has influence in the town and county governments. Two Wilman men attempt to get the job. One of them is from "Family A", the other from "Family B". Henceforth, each male will be referred to by the letter designating his family.

"B" has a first cousin in the county government who can influence the employer. "A" has a cousin who is married to the employer's wife's sister. Both "A" and "B" seek the aid of their cousins, both of whom approach the employer about the job. "B" openly expresses confidence that he will get the job. Since the focus here is to be on the inter-family relations, it will be assumed that the employer tries to make the best choice. There is a delay in the employer's choice.

Both "A" and "B" become worried over the delay and begin to wonder what is holding it up. The suspicions develop as both men begin to suspect the employer of "double-dealing". "A" and "B" begin suspecting each other of improper actions in the matter. The use of

influential cousins is not considered improper behavior, and neither man can precisely tell what the other is doing that is improper.

A rumor is injected into "A"'s communication network that "B" and the employer are working together. "A" begins suspecting "B" and the employer of working against him, because they want to make things hard for him for some reason. "A" begins to talk about this with members of his family who relate it to other relatives and to close friends. At no time does "A" or any close member of "A"'s family bring this up in the presence of "B" or his family. However, the story of "A"'s complaining eventually gets to "B" by means of a person who is related to both families.

As the employer's delay in hiring continues, suspicion and hard feelings between "A" and "B" increase. These hard feelings spread through the neighborhood, aligning "A"'s family behind him, "B"'s behind him. Hard feelings are not just between extended families. Other families that have developed strong ties with either "Family A" or "Family B" through exchanges of marriage partners may also align themselves with one of the two families. Of course, there will be people who are related to both "A" and "B". These people are in a

difficult situation and may solve their dilemma by remaining aloof, taking sides, or serving as a communication link between the two families.

Although hard feelings are increasing, the avoidance of open confrontation keeps the problem under the surface. Externally, relations between the two families appear friendly, especially to the outsider. However, suspicion increases the sensitivity to errors of etiquette and nonverbal cues. Thus, when "A"'s wife's sister drives by "B"'s house and neglects to wave, "B"'s family interprets this to mean that she is mad. "B" goes into "A"'s brother's store and does not visit before he buys. Small incidents that before would have been overlooked are now taken as personal affronts. "B"'s father's cow gets out on the road and goes into "A"'s cousin's yard. "A" takes this as a personal insult. Avoidance of open confrontation remains; and all the little irritations, be they real or imagined, add up. Hard feelings increase without release. People in the area are aware of the trouble.

Rather than provide a particular ending to this situation, it would be best to give three possible outcomes. Firstly, there could be open violence. Anger that is allowed no release, plus the suspicious nature that is characteristic of the culture, can reach a point

where violence seems to be the only solution. However, violence is not the most likely solution. Secondly, assuming that neither "A" nor "B" is hired, the trouble which has never really shown itself openly is pushed even farther beneath the surface. Hard feelings continue, however, and sometime in the future a seemingly harmless event may bring the hard feelings into the open. Thirdly, again assuming that neither man is hired, hard feelings remain but without violent outbreak. The two families constantly reinterpret incidents to be deliberate insults and remain sensitive to errors of etiquette and cues of nonverbal communication.

CHAPTER VI

POLITICAL INFLUENCE

The term political influence is used here to refer to the ability to wield power and influence in one's life and the method for doing so. The people of Wilman are by no means helpless when they come upon a problem such as securing a job, getting out of trouble, or fulfilling legal requirements at less expense than is usual. Most, if not all, of the Wilmanites have people they can turn to when in need. A man's sources of influence are usually within his extended family or are members of the formal power structure who rely on the block of votes provided by members and friends of that extended family. The researcher found that extended families are so large that a person usually has a relative with some type of influence, be it formal or informal, in the neighborhood, county, or state. It should be remembered that a person can rely on the extended families of both parents. If there is no influential relative, the Wilmanite can turn to some friend who does have the necessary connections.

Such influence runs the gamut from the ability to get a job to the ability to exert pressure in county and circuit court activities. When Jim's son is arrested for reckless driving, Jim goes to Bill, whose first cousin wields power in the county government. Through quiet political exchanges Bill's cousin manages to have the charges dropped against Jim's

son. The exchange perhaps includes the promise of support of a certain candidate by Jim's and Bill's families. In another case, Michael is not sure his car will pass auto inspection. To make the passage certain he takes his car to an inspection station run by a relative.

Influence runs mainly along family lines. The fact that most people have some influential connections is contradictory to the common belief that the poor are politically powerless. The influence isn't always effective, but people aren't lost when it comes to wielding power.

Muddy Road is even quite active in county politics. In the last election both candidates for county sheriff and both candidates for county jailer were from Muddy Road. Muddy Road has also had its share of school superintendents and county judges. Political influence, both formal and informal, is far-reaching and can have ramifications even outside the county.

A common device in the wielding of political influence is indirection. In the hypothetical situation detailed at the end of the discussion of inter-family and intra-family relations, both men from "Family A" and "Family B" go to a relative to seek help in securing the job. Neither "A" nor "B" go directly to the employer after having applied for the job. Instead, "A" and "B" have cousins who approach the employer. This is normative and expected behavior in Wilman. A change agent who insists on dealing directly with job applicants, for instance, and who condemns such use of indirect contacts will incur the displeasure of many mountain people.

The Law

Another method of influence is the use of rules of the outside world to gain advantages over, or to seek revenge against, a member of the mountain society. Certain behavior that is normative in the Wilman culture is frowned upon or even illegal in the outside world. Bootlegging is an example. One device that is used to hurt one's enemies is to complain to officials on the outside about behavior that normally would be ignored in the Wilman culture. The term for this is "to law", which means to bring charges against. People are "lawed" for legitimate reasons, but they are also "lawed" simply for purposes of revenge or irritation. Thus it is that a man who has a history of bootlegging will "law" a person for drinking.

Such methods are used against the center. Opponents are quick to complain about the behavior of center workers or about center activities when this behavior would normally be ignored within the mountain culture. This does not mean that people are always being consciously devious in their actions. On the contrary, the people who make complaints are sincere and righteously angry that the Community Action Program would employ such people or condone such activities. For the time, these people assume the values and beliefs of the outside world. They can complain about drinking in the center one minute and the next minute talk about the times they got drunk in the past without seeing that their laughter at their own behavior contradicts their indignation over the drinking at the center.

There is a real problem developing from this. Of the four directors the researcher ever heard discussed, three of them have been guilty of behavior that is normative in the mountain culture but frowned upon or

illegal in the outside world. However, it would seem that the same traits that produced the behavior made these men good directors in the eyes of those responsible for the Knox County Community Action Program: aggressiveness and ambition. The problem, then, is two-fold. Will it be common to find that a large number of potentially good workers are vulnerable to attack under the norms of the outside world? If so, how will such a problem be handled?

CHAPTER VII

THE CENTER AREA AS COMMUNITY

When the researcher entered Wilman, he hoped to determine whether the center was actually serving one community, whether it was serving more than one community, or whether it was serving part of a larger community. It was felt, for instance, that if the center actually served more than one community, each with a feeling of separation from the others, there would be a barrier to developing cooperation using the center area as a single unit. However, the researcher soon found two problems that prevented a complete study of the question. Firstly, events at the center resulted in low participation during the researcher's study. The situation was such that it shed little light on the problem of community cooperation. Secondly, the fact that people did not understand the concept of community action caused them, consequently, not to pass judgment on the center area as a single community. However, some data were collected and will be discussed.

Reference Points

People define their geographical boundaries differently according to whom they are talking. Thus, to an outsider George will say he lives on Muddy Road. To a resident of another part of Muddy Road, George will say he lives on Right Branch, a major fork of Muddy Road and the branch

on which Wilman is located. To a person from Right Branch but not from the Wilman area, George will say he lives in Wilman. To another Wilmanite George lives in Pincher Holler.

Thus the Wilmanite has several reference points. The question is which of these is the unit that is best suited as a base for cooperation. Is the center serving one of these, more than one, or less than one?

Cooperation

People in Wilman have some doubt that any group of people in the area will cooperate. "You can't get people around here to do anything together." One reason is inter-family relations. However, there is some evidence that there are at least two separate geographical areas in the center area that view each other as separate and that are not likely to unite in a cooperative unit. "As long as people below the center attend, the people above won't." The general feeling at the center is that the area below the center has a numerically greater participation record than the area above the center. However, participation records show just the opposite. Participation above the center has been higher than below the center. One reason for this is that the center director's family lives above the center. If the households of the director's family are deleted from the record, the figures change. However, participation above the center is still higher up to the last record of February, 1968. Appendix B is a table showing the participation record for above and below the center.

The evidence is too slight to form any conclusions on the nature of communities in the Community Action Program. However, it does illustrate that there is a difference in participation according to one's neighborhood. The most obvious reason for this is that families are often clustered together. The process whereby families unite to oppose other families works to lower participation in an area whenever a few people of that area become disillusioned with the program.

CHAPTER VIII

MISCONCEPTIONS AND COMPLAINTS

Although this report is a culture description, it will be beneficial to discuss certain of the major misconceptions of and complaints against the OEO and CAP held by the people of Wilman. Most of these misconceptions are based on the inability to comprehend the purpose of the program. This inability is the product of two things. Firstly, the purpose of the Community Action Program is new to the people and it is difficult to place into the existing culture. Up to this time the federal government has given and, with the possible exceptions of the WPA and Work, Experience and Training Program, has asked no return. Secondly, the purpose of the Community Action Program apparently has not been properly communicated to the people. The vocabulary of the Wilmanite is quite different from that of the outside world. When the change agent speaks to the people of Wilman, then, he must overcome a communications barrier. The problem is more than a lack of necessary vocabulary on the part of the people of Wilman. Words that are common to both the vocabulary of Wilman and that of the change agent can have entirely different meanings; and too, the vocabulary of the Wilmanite contains words that are absent from that of the change agent. All of this adds up to semantic and dialectical differences, making it extremely difficult to communicate the purposes of a specialized and unfamiliar innovation such as the Community Action Program.

Communication with the outside world has been widespread only in recent years. Shortly after the assassination of Bobby Kennedy, one man said, "Ten years ago if this had happened, we wouldn't have heard about this for a week and then we would've heard just what people told us." Today most households have television and radio. However, the addition of these items has been so recent that the people still have trouble understanding what is said by the outside world. The result is a problem of distortion of news from the outside world. Thus, for example, people thought a gun law had been passed every time it was mentioned on television.

Such communication problems can cause people to become disillusioned with the Community Action Program. For example, when the Home Improvement Program was begun, people thought that each center area was going to get \$40,000. In reality the county was to get that much, with the center serving Wilman to get \$1,200. Thus began a slow process of disillusionment that was fed by several revisions of regulations, consequent delays in the program, and misunderstanding of the regulations on the part of the people in the center area.

Misconceptions

One misconception of the center is that it is a job agency. This has already been discussed and needs no further elaboration. Another misconception is that the center is simply an entertainment agency. Thus, women attend "Ladies Day" without increasing the chances of intra-community cooperation. Summer participation in the past has been high. The reason, according to the people, has been the large summer recreation

program, especially inter-center baseball, which draws many spectators. However, the high participation of the past generally drops in the fall, after the summer recreation program has ended. The large summer participation has not drawn the people into the expected cooperative mood.

Few people, including center workers, understand the concept of community action. The regulations that call for some sort of cooperation, for example, are seen simply as rules that must be followed in order to achieve whatever private goals a person may have. Thus, whenever a person is interested in getting a job at the center, he will attend activities in order to fulfill the participation requirements. He may never have participated before. If he does not get the job, he will quit participating. When a person seeks home improvement support, for instance, he will begin attending the community meetings in order to get his application approved. For example, Frank, who is eighty years old, made application to have work done on his house. In order to have it approved, he attended the community meetings. This was the only time Frank attended the center during the researcher's study, and according to the center participation records, he had not participated since October, 1967. However, prior to that he was an active participant. Since Frank could hardly hear, when his application came up at the Community Meeting, he did not know what was going on. The researcher, sitting near him, had to repeat to him everything that was said. Frank's presence, therefore, was a mere formality, and constituted his only attendance at the center during the research.

The Home Improvement regulations require people whose applications are approved to work together on each other's houses. Every applicant must agree to this; however, confusion in the program resulted in delays so that the work was not begun during the researcher's study period. A commonly expressed feeling in Wilman is that the required cooperation will fail because people here will not work together. Further, certain Wilmanites believe that for some people the required cooperation is such a hindrance that the free material isn't worth it. For instance, to get eighty dollars worth of material, Marvin must work on the houses of four other people, each with more work to be done than Marvin. His labor amounts to much more than the material is worth. So the value of intra-community cooperation hoped for in this case is lost on the people. Further, it is hypothesized that since such cooperation and participation are viewed as formalities, there will be little if any tendency for such cooperation to generalize to other activities or to other times.

Complaints

A common complaint about the Community Action Program is that the poor do not get anything from it. It should be pointed out here that, again, the feeling is that the Community Action Program should be doing something for the people rather than that the people should be using the center to do something for themselves. However, the belief that the poor are not getting anything has more significance than this. Firstly, it is a widespread belief held by friends and foes of the program. It is held even by some center workers. Secondly, the belief that the

poor are not benefiting is one aspect of a larger complaint: the Community Action Program is in the hands of a corrupt power structure headed by a county official. Most of the people who believe this are, therefore, opposed to the Community Action Program. However, the feeling that the power structure rules with an iron hand, such as forcing employees to vote certain ways, is held by both opponents and supporters of the program.

The suspicious nature of the people enters into this, encouraged by old family conflicts and political turmoils. To the opponents of the Community Action Program--and there are a significant number of them--the program is being used to the advantage of a few people who care nothing for the poor. They believe the corrupt people are in Knox County, not Washington, and that the Federal Government is being duped as much as the people of Knox County. The following example is extreme but shows how far the suspicion can be carried: A short while after the Arts and Crafts building was started, a man confided to the researcher his idea of the actual purpose of the building. He believed that the Arts and Crafts building was to be a front for a grocery store so that a food-store owner could sell wholesale to the OEO.

At another time two employees from different centers on Muddy Road were caused to exchange places of employment by the Knox County Economic Opportunity Council (KCEOC). This was an attempt to ease a tense situation in which one of the workers was not getting along with her center director, a close relative. (KCEOC is the governing body for the local OEO/CAP.) Both of the employees saw the action as a move on the part of the KCEOC to force them to quit. They felt that their directors were urging the KCEOC to make the move.

When people complain about the KCEOC, they are usually referring to the chairman of the board and the other officials of the KCEOC, who are thought to have considerable power. Most of the actions of these men come under suspicion. Even certain center employees suspect their actions. One center worker, for example, several times expressed a fear of criticizing the Community Action Program because she might lose her job.

Another complaint made of the Community Action Program is that the real workers in the program get the least credit and, more significantly, the least money. This complaint is a product of the belief of corruption and of a conception of work different from that of the change agents. The people of Wilman and Muddy Road believe that the person who strains his back and "works up a sweat" in his job is the real worker--real work involves physical labor. Thus the community aides are felt to be the hardest workers. On the other hand, an office job is viewed as involving no work at all, and when those who have office jobs, such as the executive secretary, are paid more than the "real workers", such as the community aides, people resent it. This resentment is even on the part of some of the center workers; and the director, who is viewed as an office worker, does not escape resentment.

One final complaint directed against the center which serves Wilman, is that it is run by and for one family. There are, in fact, a large number of people from one family connected in an official capacity with the center. However, the complaint is a product of an inter-family conflict that existed before the center opened. The center has contributed

to the irritation. During the research, for example, an incident occurred connected with the center that intensified these inter-family problems to such an extent that people even outside the two families took sides. During the peak of intensity, one man said, "All that the center has done since it's been here is cause hardness."

Effects on Participation

The conceptions of the Community Action Program and the complaints presented above have definite effects on participation. Firstly, because of the belief that the center is a job agency, many people who do not get jobs do not participate. As one center worker said, "Some people came here, and when they didn't get jobs, they never came back."

Secondly, because the meaning of community action is not understood, people who do not get immediate results are disillusioned and are likely to stop participating. Further, since they do not view cooperation as a vital part of the program, they participate simply for their own gains. The program becomes, in effect, another welfare agency.

Finally, the suspicious nature and political and familial factionalism cause many to view every mistake or mishap that occurs in the Community Action Program as a deliberate attempt to undermine the poor or as an act of the power structure in their daily corruptive practice.

CONCLUSION

Inducing change in a society is a difficult job, and problems increase many times over when change is attempted by an agency outside of the recipient society. A change agent from without the society is in great danger of having an innovation rejected for reasons unrelated to his purposes or to the innovation itself. Such failures occur most often when certain features of the innovation or certain methods of the change agent are repugnant to the potential acceptors. For instance, when an agent is unaware of the cultural differences between himself and members of the recipient society, he is quite likely to commit certain cultural faux pas that produce negative reactions from the recipient society. This occurred when a change agent in the Community Action Program neglected to adhere to the Wilmanite's methods of indirection and political influence in filling a job in the program. By so doing, he turned people in the Wilman area against him; in their eyes he became a deceitful, uncaring person, whose activities were always subject to suspicion. Although the agent acted properly according to his standards, he did, nevertheless, violate the norms of the potential acceptors.

The culture description presented here is an attempt to understand certain of the problems facing the person who introduces change into the southern Appalachian culture as the latter is manifest in the mountain region of Knox County. Because it is so vital to the success of the

change agent, social interaction is the major focus of the report. This includes the self-image that the mountain dweller brings to bear on all social relationships; the suspicion that affects all aspects of social interaction; general rules of etiquette; specific relations between male and male, male and female, adult and child; attitudes toward the outsider; intra-family and inter-family relations; political influence; the center area as a unit of cooperation; and the communications network.

Self-Image

The Wilmanite conceives of himself as a hospitable, moral person who thrives in the rough mountain environment. At the same time he realizes that technologically, economically, and educationally his life is inferior to that of the outside world. However, he prefers his life to that of the larger society and resents the stereotype of the "hillbilly" which is maintained by the outsider. A Wilmanite is angered when a change agent demonstrates a lack of understanding and knowledge of mountain life. Consequently, the outsider who is introducing an innovation such as the Community Action Program must demonstrate an appreciation of the mountain culture and a willingness to learn the way of life. He must discard erroneous preconceptions and recognize the validity of the Wilmanite's life style.

Control of Suspicion

A major hindrance to smooth social interaction is the all pervading suspicion that lies just beneath the surface of all interpersonal relations. No one is free of suspicion; however, outsiders who fit no

preexisting role and who are unable to connect themselves to the system of one of the extended families in Wilman are especially suspect. The change agent must learn to control this suspicion. A major method of control is the mastery of the rules of etiquette and nonverbal communication. Such a mastery will enable the agent to lose some of the stigma attached to the outsider. Further, such knowledge of etiquette and nonverbal communication is a valuable aid in detecting anger and suspicion among members of the society. Such detection allows the change agent to gauge his acceptance and consequent success.

Intra-Family and Inter-Family Relations

Intra-family and inter-family relations have special relevance to the success of an innovation. Family is the point of orientation and major source of security to the Wilmanite. A child, for instance, interacts mainly, if not exclusively, with members of his own family. A person who introduces an innovation such as the Community Action Program, which requires orientation away from the family to a larger social environment, must reckon with the strong hold that family has on the Wilmanite.

When a person in Wilman needs help, his family rallies behind him. Consequently, when one person is disillusioned with the Community Action Program, his entire family will most likely share that feeling. Further, when there are inter-family conflicts, there is little chance of widespread acceptance of any innovation that requires cooperation between families in conflict. The change agent, then, does not deal with individuals; he deals with families.

Political Influence

People of Wilman, although isolated from the larger society, are not politically helpless. Muddy Road is even quite active in county politics. Wilmanites generally have access to some source of influence, most of which follows family lines. The wise change agent will adjust to the methods of political influence rather than blindly impose his own methods upon the people.

Center Area

A final problem with regard to social interaction is determining the validity of the notion that the center area is an effective unit of cooperation. While little light was shed on this during the research, there is evidence of geographically defineable differences in participation in the Community Action Program; that is, there seems to be a relationship between dwelling place and participation. Data are insufficient to determine precisely the causes of such a situation; however, the researcher has isolated two possible contributing factors. Firstly, geographically related participation differences perhaps reflect the existence of separate neighborhoods or communities that do not consider themselves part of the large cooperative unit that constitutes the center area. Secondly, because members of a family tend to live in geographical units, intra-family and inter-family relations will have an effect on the participation of the various sections comprising the center. If, for example, families above the center are in conflict with families below the center, cooperation between the two areas will be impossible.

Misconceptions

Certain misconceptions have developed in Wilman with regard to the Community Action Program. They have developed largely because of an inability to understand the purposes of the program. This inability is largely a product of vocabulary differences between the people of Wilman and the people of the larger society. The fact that the concept of community action is new to Wilmanites intensifies the problem. Failure of the change agent to recognize and deal with these problems produces a communication barrier between the agent and potential acceptors.

No matter how beneficial an innovation is for the recipient society, chances for acceptance will increase only in proportion to the amount of energy the change agent expends in adapting his methods to the culture of the potential acceptor. Such an adaptation requires an understanding of the culture; the selective description presented here provides the basic data necessary to such an understanding.

APPENDIX A
A KINSHIP CHART

On the following page is a kinship chart for Wilman and the surrounding area. A thorough study of the chart reveals the intricacies of the system, especially the intertwining of the various families.

Actual names are not used. Instead, upper case letters are employed to designate males; lower case letters are used to designate females. There is a different letter for each family name. When family names are unknown, the symbols for male ($\hat{\sigma}$) and female ($\hat{\phi}$) are used. While people with the same surname don't necessarily consider themselves as one family, it is assumed that in this isolated area all, or most, of the people with the same last name have some common ancestor. The kinship chart seems to support this. Most likely if it were possible to extend the chart several generations into the past, those ancestors would be found.

The letters for females designate maiden names. In several instances people are shown as having more than one spouse. This simply means that such a person has been married more than once in his life. The order of these multiple marriages is not designated in the kinship chart.

The chart is divided into five levels, each one representing a generation. All of the people in the first generation are deceased. An unbroken line indicates a parent-child relationship. A broken line indicates a sibling relationship.

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APPENDIX B

CENTER PARTICIPATION AVERAGES

	FAMILIES ABOVE THE CENTER	FAMILIES ABOVE THE CENTER EXCEPTING DIRECTOR'S KIN	FAMILIES BELOW THE CENTER
BEFORE JUNE, 1966	2.7	2.4	2.0
DURING JUNE, 1966	2.7	2.4	2.0
DURING JULY, 1966	2.8	2.5	2.0
DURING AUG., 1966	2.4	2.1	1.5
DURING JAN., 1967	2.2	1.9	1.5
DURING JULY, 1967	2.6	2.4	1.7
DURING OCT., 1967	2.2	2.0	1.5
DURING FEB., 1968	1.7	1.4	1.5

Table 2

The figures in the above table represent average participation in the designated areas. Every person in each area was evaluated eight times by the center director in terms of participation. Participation was rated on a scale from one to four. A rating of one designated no participation; two designated low participation; three designated average and four designated high. Participation ratings of every person in each area were averaged together so that participation above and below the center could be compared. The figures for ABOVE THE CENTER

include only those families on the main road, which goes through Wilman. Pine Hollow, although above the Center, is actually separate from the houses on the main road. The second column of figures includes only ratings of those families that aren't closely related to the director of the center.

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