DOMINANT CULTURAL VALUES OF APPALACHIA AND MIDDLE-CLASS AMERICA
A CULTURAL COMPARISON

NORMA E. CARD

BALL STATE UNIVERSITY
HONORS THESIS, ID 499

Advisor: Dr. Whitney Gordon

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INTRODUCTION

In each culture there is a lag between its actions and its ideology. One's ideology changes more slowly than one's actions because humans can do and say conflicting things simultaneously. Since ideology is likely to have less direct consequences than actions, one is more likely to be pragmatic in one's actions than in one's thoughts.

Because of its increasing contact with the remainder of the United States, the actions of the Appalachians are changing, but their ideology is changing more slowly. At the same time, middle-class American culture is changing at a more rapid pace, so that a double cultural lag is evident between the ideology and actions in Appalachia and again, between Appalachian actions and the ideology of middle-class America.
consequences of Negroes in the mountain region are not significant because there are so few Negroes in this area.\(^3\)

**METHOD:** The writer read general works on the Appalachian highlanders, such as *Night Comes to the Cumberlands*, by Harry Caudill and *The Southern Appalachian Region: A Survey*, edited by Thomas Ford, then delved more deeply into specific aspects of the highlander's lives, such as their religion in *Yesterday's People*, by Jack Weller, or their attitude toward education in "Living in Poverty," from the *Wall Street Journal*. For the section on middle-class American culture ideals, the writer read some general works, such as Jules Henry's *Culture Against Man* and John Greenway's *The Inevitable Americans*, then extracted pertinent material from other sources, such as *The Image: Or What Happened to the American Dream*, by Daniel J. Boorstin and "American Values in a Revolutionary World," by Warren B. Martin in *Vital Speeches*. Inevitably, the paper is colored by the writer's experience (and inexperience) in the middle-class culture. The final form of the paper is a result of a synthesis of the information collected and of the writer's experiences.
I. APPALACHIAN IDEOLOGY AND BEHAVIOR

A. ENVIRONMENTAL INFLUENCES UPON APPALACHIAN CULTURE

Appalachia is a region which comprises parts of seven states: Kentucky, West Virginia, North Carolina, Tennessee, Georgia, Alabama, and Virginia, with Pennsylvania sometimes included. Appalachia is characterized by the mountains of the Appalachian chain, including all of the Blue Ridge, the southern two-thirds of the Ridge and Valley System, and the Allegheny Cumberland in Kentucky and West Virginia. Because these mountains and hills are closely spaced, the valleys are usually V-shaped and narrow, with bottomlands only along the major streams. Because the ridges lack many mountain passes and there are few major streams, this region is characterized by the isolation of settlements. Until the middle of the twentieth century, the people in this area were isolated to an extreme degree, hence their culture tended to grow apart from that of the mainstream of American life.

This is a study of a culture-region rather than of a geographical region, so the culture of Appalachia may overlap into geographical areas that have not been specifically designated as being Appalachian in character. Conversely, there are areas (notably urban) within the Appalachian
region which do not display the culture traits as the author will describe them. These urban areas have been overwhelmingly influenced by the mainstream of American national culture.

During the last half-century the culture of Appalachia has been influenced by the prevalence of extreme poverty. Only 48 percent of the population of this region is in the labor force, in contrast to the 58 percent of the United States population as a whole. In one four county area in Kentucky, 75 percent of the families have incomes below $3,000 per year, and 40 percent of the families have incomes under $1,000 per year. Some of the characteristics of these people are remarkably similar to those of the inhabitants of the slums in the larger cities; they evidence a tendency toward a "culture of poverty." But this rural culture of poverty is, itself, rooted in the unique historical and geographic conditions of the region.

By 1830, the westernmost part of this region had been settled by frontiersmen who formed the basis of the present population. The men who peopled this land were seekers of freedom from the restrictions upon their actions that the law imposed, and seekers of "elbow room." These traditions can be seen operating in the present population in the form of a focus on individualism and self-reliance.

Appalachian culture stresses egalitarianism, individualism, conservatism, and fatalism. It places great emphasis on kin loyalties. Pragmatism, that main tenet of the "American Way," is followed here, too. This is shown in the people's attitude toward work. Work is a means
to ends such as food and clothing. Work is not an end itself. A man accepts public welfare as a preferred alternative when honest labor amidst eroded, leached soil can only net semi-starvation. Hargies Miller, of Grapevine, Kentucky, stated:

I worked fifteen years in the union mines and two years in the dog holes [non-union mines]. I would go underground at three in the afternoon and come out at seven the next morning. Some days I would make $10 and the next day not but $4. They didn't pay nothing for what we call dead work, moving rock and bone to get at the coal. I finally quit 'em because I figured if I was going to starve to death anyway, I druther do it on my own time.11

But even food and clothing are not the end. The end is obtaining a "comfortable existence" in order that one might get on with the business of "living," i.e., relating to other people. In middle-class American, success is tallied to a great extent in terms of possessions and position. In Appalachia the successful person is the person with many friends; friends who respect him for himself. To that extent Appalachia is a person-oriented culture, whereas the greater United States exhibits a thing-oriented culture.12

B. THE FAMILY

The Appalachian family is an extended family, characterized by its inclusion of many relatives. People know their third and fourth cousins because they live near them and see them often. Individual valleys may be the domain of a single family.13 When, because of financial contingencies,
the highlanders are forced to move away from the "homeplace," they obtain jobs in a city as close as possible to their "hollow" in order that they will be able to make frequent visits home.

Within the nuclear family, the father plays the dominant role, with the male and female roles distinctly separated. But the traditional roles in which the father earns the living and the mother takes care of the house and children has broken down in recent years. The availability of low paying jobs for women and the dole are factors which distort the old normative role order. Furthermore, the wife is usually better educated than her mate.

Because of these role reversals, the better education of the woman, and her greater adaptability (because of her wider experience in social situations), the men of the highland area are more conservative in their views of the changing moral ethic and tend to be more opposed than women in regard to such issues as birth control practices for married couples, dancing, card playing, and drinking.

Children are welcomed into the family, and the older children fondle and play with the "least one." While children are highly valued, a small family is, nevertheless, favored if the parents are poor. But for a couple who are doing well by local standards, six or more children are considered ideal.
The Appalachian family is parent-centered rather than child-centered, the children valued because they "give meaning to the parents' lives." Child rearing practices are rather haphazard, punishment being administered for such things as inconveniencing the father, whereas if the child had done the same thing to another person, the father would have laughed. This does not teach the child discipline. It only teaches him not to inconvenience his father.

The goals the highlanders have for their children are similarly vague, wanting them to "make good," i.e., acquire "enough" education and have a more secure life than their parents have had, but not further defining or indicating paths to these goals.

The older person in the family holds a place of respect. As a woman grows older, the respect her children and grandchildren have for her grows, and even her husband defers to her opinion much more than when she was younger. Often the grandmother raises a second family: her grandchildren. One reason for the aged woman's enhanced position may be increased welfare for the family if she is raising her grandchildren.

Although parents realize the need for as much education as possible for their children, they are inclined to take their children out of school in order that they might help around the house or visit relatives. The parents see the need for the diplomas, but not for school knowledge which
is seen as having little utility or intrinsic pleasure. It may be noted, in passing, that facilities are grotesquely inadequate by national standards; children attending one-room schools without privies, with holes in the walls, and inadequate lighting and heat. For all the poverty of the school systems and the lack of community support of the academic sphere, fancy high-school gymnasiums are popular, because the high-school basketball and football games entertain the parents and enable them to escape from the dull routine of mountain life. The coach is paid far more than the Chemistry, Mathematics, or English teachers.

C. RELATIONS WITH PEOPLE OUTSIDE THE FAMILY.

Outside of their family, the Appalachian people consider the people in their reference group to be most important. The reference group consists of people of the same sex and of those approximately the same age and similar status. The reference group teaches the adolescent what is accepted and not accepted and is very effective in enforcing conformity, all of which reinforces the conservative bent of the culture.

Since the people in the reference group are of the same sex, the mountaineers tend to be awkward and shy in the presence of the opposite sex. Males and females in Appalachia more or less ignore each other except during the courtship period. After marriage, the reference groups and their respective families tend to produce divided loyalties between the husband and wife and tend to pull them apart.
One of the most important things in life to the highlander is getting along with his peer group and family. Thus he learns early to read the emotional signs in a person's expression and voice. He tends to disregard the content and meaning of the words themselves.26

Anger is not shown and rarely will someone state an opinion unless he is sure the majority of the people present agree with him. This makes decision-making very difficult, since no one wishes to take the responsibility of making an unpopular decision.27

Since the Appalachian culture is so person-oriented, the mountaineer personalizes all of his contacts and expects the whole world to treat him as if they were related. When he has contacts with bureaucracy he interprets institutional rationalism and indifference as malice.

Hence, politics have become very important since the welfare state reached Appalachia in the 1930's. The local officials are the people's friends. These officials stand as a bulwark between the hill folk and the governmental bureaucracies. Because the result is immediately important to them, there is an unusual turnout to local elections (96 percent of the town electorate voted in one hotly contested local election),28 but not much enthusiasm is generated over a national election, since its outcome has less immediacy to the highlanders.
In local politics the family is important and many local "dynasties" have been founded. One example is the Turner family of Breathitt County, Kentucky, which has dominated politics there for many years and presently has at least nine members of the family in political office.²⁹

Beyond politics, per se, the highlander has a highly developed sense for equality; a feeling that he is just as good as anyone else. Although he is shy, the mountaineer is famous for his hospitality to strangers, and his ability to meet anyone on equal terms."³⁰

This egalitarian attitude has unfortunate side-effects in the modern world since this attitude tends to induce social levelling which denies anyone the right to stand apart from the crowd. Thus, the generation of public leaders is very difficult.

Although physical competition is applauded in Appalachia in such things as basketball and stock-car racing, the society exemplifies the ethic of social and intellectual competition turned inside-out, i.e., people strive and compete to be non-competitive and non-striving; to consciously be the same as everyone else. This leads to a problem in education, since intellectual achievement is looked upon with disdain."³¹

This same reverse-value is applied to pride, in which it is a mark of "pride" not to be too proud to accept welfare, to do menial labor, or to socialize with anyone.
The mountaineer has little concept of community beyond his kin. There is almost a complete lack of determined and organized action because the people see no need for it. A "community" in the usual sociological sense is too abstract and de-personalized a concept to allow the mountaineer to get involved in it.\textsuperscript{32}

The typical mountaineer is an "anti-joiner" and spurns organizations of any kind except political organizations. Perhaps one reason for this is that, having his family and friends, he does not need an organization for recreation. Also, the traditional trait of individualism may be operating in this context as a damper on group activities. Beyond that, American lower-class families generally participate much less often in voluntary organizations than do middle-class families.\textsuperscript{33}

In spite of this deep antipathy toward organizations, there has recently been growing recognition that organized group action has its advantages. This is shown in the large percentage of men holding union membership. There has, as well, been a tentative if somewhat vapid and meaningless endorsement of community improvement programs. But therein the highlander's negativistic motives are frankly pecuniary. He is not in favor of programs that would increase local taxes.\textsuperscript{34}
D. RELIGION

Religion in the Appalachian highlands holds a conspicuous position in the culture. It is fundamentally an informal type of religion, being mixed with superstition and even with elements of witchcraft. Traditionally the churches have not held a large percentage of the population as formal members, although church membership is currently growing at a rate twice as fast as that of the nation as a whole. In 1913, church membership included 12-15 percent of the population of Appalachia. In 1926, it was 34 percent, and by 1957, 45.5 percent; a gain of 33.8 percent as contrasted with the gain of 12.5 percent for the same period for the nation as a whole.35

The formal church is comparatively informal. Generally, the clergy is marginally trained. There are many separate sects in the mountains. For most people religion is intensely personal, and yet fundamentalist -- traditional. Bible stories were handed down by word of mouth for many years because of the lack of schooling and these traditional versions of biblical stories have become the beliefs of many. The large element of superstition present in their religion may have originated in these traditional tales.36

This largely fundamentalist religion is reflected in research data: 59.6 percent of the urban people of the region and 74.3 percent of the rural population agree that "the Bible is God's word and all it says is true."37 Moral beliefs are very strict, in theory, and "dry" counties
exist in abundance. Seventy-five percent of the people in one study stated that drinking is always wrong, eighty-five percent believed gambling always wrong, and fifty percent thought that keeping a store open on Sunday is wicked. However, in practice, drinking and gambling abound, and the murder, manslaughter, and assault rates are higher than in the nation as a whole. An "extremely high" percentage of legal offenses are associated with the use of alcohol. Sex is also considered wicked, even between man and wife, if they enjoy it. Sex is often railed against by the preachers, yet in gathering material for his article, Kaplan found that three preachers in western North Carolina had compromised themselves with their parishioners within a three or four year period.

One reason for this inconsistency is that the religion stresses being "saved" as a means of purification. If a person "backslides" he can always be saved and purified again. This is reflected in the general belief that the most important requisite for achieving salvation is belief in God and Jesus as His Savior; not actions. This is the doctrine of Faith as opposed to the doctrine of Works.

E. WELTANSCHAUUNG

The general attitude of the mountaineer toward life is one of fatalism. Since this attitude is marked, pari passu, with poverty, it may reflect the poverty of the region. Poverty encourages a fatalistic attitude toward life because
it encourages a man to look at himself as a failure. The image of manhood is torn down in the face of grinding poverty. The man of the house is unable to do anything to help himself or his family, and is forced to go on relief or let his wife work. The image of failure is conducive to fatalism because it shifts the responsibility away from the poverty-stricken, since what will be, will be, and you can't do anything about it.

The religion, which promises great rewards for belief but none for deeds also fosters a fatalistic attitude, since it encourages putting your fate in God's hands. Also, the attitude of looking upon oneself as poor but honest lessens the aura of failure. "We are poor people, but we have a mansion in heaven," is an example of this defeatist attitude.

Although they will call a doctor when someone is sick, most of the highlanders agree that a "person will die when his allotted time is up." Since tuberculosis and diseases of malnutrition are common, the highlanders see sickness as a way of life.

The highlander has been caught in natural catastrophes such as floods and landslides. Piled on top of these have been unnatural catastrophes such as mine accidents and timber cutting accidents. Adversity has come to be seen as inevitable.

Their ideology stresses fearlessness and bravery, and they are able to display it in action situations which only require motor skills and a good sense of timing, such
as war or stock car driving, yet in ordinary circumstances, their life is rife with fears. The fundamental goal of survival is threatened with a terrible immediacy, but the threats: mining accidents, floods and poverty, can not be dealt with by force or "guts." Poverty is especially frightening because its cause is hard for a man to grasp, and its possible solution, moving to a city and finding work in a factory, is frightening because it is a totally new situation. Since the highlanders are reared in a "society of the known," i.e., a rural environment providing little stimulation or opportunity to meet and cope with new situations, they become paralyzed when put into a strange environment. 44

A deep fear of failure encourages never trying to improve oneself. They have already "failed" in the eyes of the middle-class American; would it not be more humiliating to try and fail once again than to sit in one's hollow with friends who understand because they too have failed?

As a result of the fatalistic attitude and "letting things come as they will," the pace of living in Appalachia is much slower than in middle-class America.

There is a difference between the mountaineer's attitude toward himself and that toward his children. The majority have adopted the middle-class measure of success for their children and want them to acquire "enough" education and to move where there are job opportunities. 45 In fact, a "Pollyannaish" optimism was discovered in one study and three out of four respondents agreed that children now have a wonderful future. 46
F. THE IDEOLOGY AND PRACTICE OF INDIVIDUALISM

The people who moved into Appalachia were lovers of freedom who resented the restraint of formal law. They were individualists and remained so by living far away from other people.

The doctrine of individualism permeates the entire society of Appalachia. But the modern world seeps in and most authorities agree that the value attached to self-reliance and individualism is on a decline.\(^{47}\) This seepage results in large part from the necessity of gaining admittance to the relief roles. Since the highlander is not self-supporting, this tends to lessen the semblance of individuality, as well as the practice of it.

The culture of the highlander, and so the individuals themselves, has lost its uniqueness by dilution through greater contact with the rest of the United States. The instruments of this dilution have been paved roads, radio, and television.\(^ {48}\)

However, the mountaineer still shows his individuality in his relationship to alcohol and to justice as witnessed by the mountaineer's defense of bootlegging alcoholic spirits as his own business and not really or properly that of the Federal government.

In his relationship to justice, the mountaineer believes that no one has the right to interfere with his personal liberty and that if someone does this, he has the right to take the law into his own hands.\(^ {49}\)
This attitude and the strong family ties help explain the presence of the savage feuds of the late nineteenth and early twentieth centuries. The mountaineer harbors very nearly the same resentment of authority as did his ancestor who moved into the hills to escape that authority.

This individualism has, however, the taint of inauthenticity about it, since individualism often takes the form of rebellion against the United States Government which is a very vague entity unless the pursued bootlegging highlander is apprehended. Individualism is actually suppressed in day-to-day social intercourse. In fact, a person who exercised any originality would quickly be ostracized by his peer group. The emphasis is on conformity within the group and, since making illegal spirits is accepted within the group, it becomes a function of one's conformity to the group.
II. DOMINANT IDEOLOGICAL COMPONENTS OF MIDDLE CLASS AMERICA

The typical American is the man at the top of the bell-shaped curve. He can be questioned by the pollster and provide an accurate prediction of what his fellow Americans will think and do.\textsuperscript{50} This average American is in the middle class, and so holds middle-class values.

This "typical" American is optimistic, materialistic, success conscious, rationally oriented, and pragmatic. He also proclaims a high moral code and declares right on his side in business dealings because it is capitalistic, therefore anti-communistic, therefore right.\textsuperscript{51}

A. FAMILY

The intimate family consists of mother, father, and their offspring.\textsuperscript{52} The family is child-oriented, with the welfare of the children coming first, and the future of the children emphasized. The American ideal is success as embodied in wealth and prestige; and this is the goal for the children.\textsuperscript{53}

The ideal size of family for middle-class America is two or three children. And affording children often means that one is in a position, among other things, to send them to college.\textsuperscript{54}
A college education is almost a necessity for the children of the upwardly mobile family, and often graduate work is required. Since college education is a goal, there is an emphasis placed on grades at all levels of schooling. The ideal child is both "bright," albeit not a brilliant "creep," and popular. In contrast the academic dropout is the quintessential failure in this culture, as of the mid-twentieth century.

The American family is experiencing a change in its function, due to the dispersement of the traditional family functions to outside agencies. A parallel development is an increasing importance of the affectional element as providing the basic bond that holds the family together.

A smiling family of boy, girl, mother and father is the ideal (the boy age eight and the girl age six), but as the children grow older there is no clearly focused ideal family portrait, because they never get together long enough to have one taken. The trend is toward more leisure time, but also toward more recreation outside the home. This recreation normally takes different forms for the various members of the family, so that the family is dispersed in its leisure hours as well as its work hours.

The ideal of the middle class is the quasi-emancipated woman, sharing equally with her husband the burden of the rearing of the children and of contributing to the family economy.
There are no older people included in the family and the ideal is for the grandparents to be independently wealthy, to live at least 200 miles away, and to die quietly.\textsuperscript{59}

B. RELATIONS WITH PEOPLE OUTSIDE THE FAMILY

There is a paradox in the ideal American's attitude toward other people. Americans are considered to be almost naively friendly to strangers, yet a shallowness of involvement with other people is observed. In fact, detachment or the ability to be uninvolved, is a desirable trait in the United States.\textsuperscript{60} The structure of many mass organizations enables people to feel detachment from the other members, yet the stereotype of the "joiner" has grown up.\textsuperscript{61} Perhaps the various fraternal and service organizations provide friendship and an augmentation of the small family circle with the safety of bureaucratic, quasi-formal relations preventing undesired intimacies.

The secondary group, referring to large organizations involving formal planning, contacts being maintained by mechanical means of communication, and largely anonymous relationships, appears to be replacing the more intimate contacts of earlier times.\textsuperscript{62}

Another facet of this situation is the fact that Americans feel guilty for being so rich and healthy while others suffer; the "ideal of service" has come into being as both cure and balm.\textsuperscript{63} This service is provided primarily in large organizations, again enabling the donor to ease his conscience without really becoming involved.
There has been a segment of the middle class, notably young people in their twenties, who want to become personally involved with the people they are helping. This attitude is exemplified by the volunteers for VISTA or the Peace Corps.

To the adolescent the most important group, second only to his family, is his reference group. This reference group is composed of people of the same age, sex, and status. Group interaction is in large measure competition among peers. Instead of breeding individuality, this competition encourages conformity. And if someone refuses to compete he is, in part, ostracized. The price of social acceptance becomes the acts of conformity.

As the individual grows older, competition becomes a substitute for involvement. In emphasizing competition, the culture "encourages" a philosophy of individual achievement and this component of the national ideology is basic.

Perhaps it is only when compared to the imagined "absolute" of the individualistic pioneer are Americans conformists, because in a test given by Asch to American, Norwegian, and French subjects, the Americans' rate of conformity was only 32 percent, while that of the French was 50 percent, and that of the Norwegians was 62 percent.
C. RELIGION

According to a survey taken by Lou Harris in 1965, 97 percent of the American people stated that they believe in God, but only 27 percent declared themselves deeply religious. Forty-four percent attend church services weekly.69

Church attendance in America is currently at an all-time high, according to Smith,70 but the depth of commitment is questioned by Jules Henry, who insists that traits such as religiosity and "puritannical" morality have almost disappeared.71 Perhaps both observers are correct in that church attendance seems, progressively, to be essentially a therapy session or a vehicle by which status claims may be, more or less, insured. Whyte supports this conclusion in saying, "In a community like Park Forest, when young people see how many other people are going to church regularly, they feel they ought to."72

Even deeply religious people are asking themselves the painful question, "Is God dead?" There is doubt and bewilderment assailing committed believers and a redefinition of God in the light of the modern world seems to be necessary. To many, the Protestant faith now means an open commitment to eradicating the evil and inequality in the world.73 Perhaps this attitude is due essentially to the increasing secularization of life. Everything must have an immediate usefulness, so the friendship potential of the church is being increasingly emphasized.74

And, with it all, "middle class morality" remains the ideal for most.75
D. WELTANSCHAUUNG

The general attitude of middle-class Americans toward life is one of great optimism. Comte Alexis de Tocqueville noted this when he visited the infant nation in 1831. The environment has been seen as congenial, or at least neutral, to man's efforts. "Things" are going to improve, endlessly, and man can overcome any obstacle with his brains, muscles, good will and dialogue. Such a matrix has been part of the belief systems of middle-class America; a class that dominates and defines the value orientation of most of the populace.

The middle-class American is pragmatic in his approach to matters. He asks first, "Has it worked before, and will it work now?" There is a bent toward the empirical and the scientific. Iron-clad dogmas and, particularly, mystical perspectives are viewed with reservations.

It follows that materialism might be an orientation which pervades American life. There is the insistence upon the quintessential reality of matter. Often "the mind" is relegated to the position of being the ideational manufacturer of those steps which result in material, man-made things. Any ideas that can not be pragmatically implemented and become physically useful are looked upon with suspicion. The mind of the American has been put to use in such manifestly abstract things as computers and rockets, but (a) the goal is material-reality "pay offs" and (b) the intellectual per se is looked at with suspicion. Before many Americans will deign to think about something, it must imply utilitarian applicability.
A characteristic of many Americans is concern for security and a reaction to risk. Americans have so much in terms of both material possessions and individual freedom, that they tend to view anything new or different as a possible threat to that security. This security consciousness shows itself in Social Security legislation and multi-million dollar insurance companies. In spite of the fact that middle-class America is astoundingly affluent, in a Gallup poll on public welfare, 75 percent of the respondents were in favor of old age pensions for everyone over 65, 75 percent were in favor of medical care for everyone who needs it, 68 percent wanted public works for the unemployed, and 87 percent were in favor of public relief. Since they favored assistance to everyone in the first two figures, the respondents were in favor of assistance to themselves, and this would seem to indicate a lessening of the traditional "stand on your own two feet and fight your way up" philosophy. In the other two questions, the respondents would not benefit from the proposal unless they were unemployed and this might indicate a waning of the theory that "poor people are too dumb and lazy to help themselves and welfare will only encourage these vices."

The drive for material security has made the pace of American culture the fastest in the world. It also derives from the "friendly competition" which is considered by Americans to be the ideal relationship to other people. Indeed, they are certain that it is the only possible relationship.
III. COMPARISONS

The culture of the United States as a whole and the culture of Appalachia grew from the same diversity of sources, i.e., the population of Appalachia was made up of English and Scottish indentured servants and veterans of the Revolution, from all the colonies. Hence, some of their basic assumptions are alike. Examples of these are: equality of rights and opportunities, world of things more important than contemplation, and emphasis on maximal personal liberty. Although the thread of these beliefs are the same, they have grown apart, and slight initial differences have become vast, later disparities.

Equality of rights and opportunities is implemented in the United States in a legalistic way, and this equality is reinforced by the norm of competition in the culture. In Appalachia, egalitarianism is marked; the highlander meets all others on an equal footing with himself, but withdraws if the other person thinks himself better than the highlander.

In both regions, the world of things, materialism, is much more important than the life of contemplation. The Appalachian society is geared toward achieving only
the goods needed for survival. The highlander does not look beyond this to goals of beauty, luxury, or excellence.87 The United States as a whole is extremely materialistic, and seeks to go very far beyond the survival level even "unto" planned obsolescence of goods; to say nothing of the goadings of massive advertising which nurtures superfluous consumption on a yet more massive scale.88

On another level, the "national culture" is characterized by much more abstract thinking than Appalachia.89 In Appalachia children learn that the most important thing is the mood of the speaker which is inferred from inflections and nuances of voice. Words are not listened to as a separate entity and are not seen as being important in and of themselves.

In a culture where getting along with other people is most important, abstract ideas, unconnected to their immediate situation, are of little relevance. In the middle-class American culture, non-involvement is more desirable, hence the meanings of the words obtain paramount importance. Words in this way also help build a barrier of partially desired impersonality.

The desire for as much personal liberty as possible is held by persons both within the United States as a whole and by those in Appalachia, but whereas the attitude of the middle-class American toward personal liberty is legalistic, the attitude of the highlander is emotional
and visceral. Middle-class America operates within the law to obtain liberty, and the highlander operates without the law to keep the personal liberty he has.

To the middle-class American the future looks propitious, with views of a better job, thereby allowing the acquisition of more and better material goods. His goals are situated in the future, and to him the future is more important than the past. The nuclear family to which he belonged when a child has dissolved and now he and his brothers each have their own family, so that family ties are somewhat tenuous. The necessity of moving from place to place as he moves upward is tolerated or thought of as desirable as well as being an accepted part of obtaining the pot of gold, success.

In contrast, the Appalachian sees the future as more struggle, more disaster, and finally, as death. The highlander is fatalistic and, since the past is sure and stable as seen through the aperture of having lived through it, he looks to the past as a model. The traditions of early America are preserved in Appalachia to a much greater extent than in America as a whole.

The large family, which includes cousins, aunts, uncles, and grandparents, represents security for the mountaineer and unlike many American, he finds comfort in living among them. (Although the highlanders are evermore forced to find jobs in large cities, they still live with their "kin," going to the same city as the family "trailbreakers"
have before them. Frequently they will share the same tenement.)\textsuperscript{92} If the man is forced to move to the city under economic pressure, he will drive home on weekends.

The Appalachian family is parent-centered, while the American family is child-centered.\textsuperscript{93} In Appalachia, the parents' needs come first, and the children are not given any great amount of directed training. When the children are disobedient, they might or might not be corrected, depending on the whim of the parent. In the middle-class American family, the parents put their children first, and train them according to patterns which vary from class to class and even, to some extent, from family to family within the classes.

The education of the children is seen to be paramount in the middle-class American family.\textsuperscript{94} College is nearly a necessity and to drop out is frequently a singularly traumatic thought for parents. In Appalachia, education is recognized by the parents to be important for their children in order that the children will be able to earn a reasonable, minimum income. Simultaneously, the highlanders distrust intellectual pursuits and take the children out of school when they are needed at home to help with other children, or to assist the family economy.

The older person in American society is brushed off with a pension or Social Security payments or is placed in a home for the elderly and is more or less forgotten. It seems that people do not want to be reminded that in
that future they are so eagerly pursuing lies old age and death. The picture is very different in Appalachia. As a person grows older, he is respected for the wisdom he is assumed to have gathered with the years. Also, since so many of the highlanders are on welfare, the elderly person's standard of living does not deteriorate; in fact, grandchildren are sometimes adopted in order that they might be put on welfare as being children of disabled, elderly "parents."

In Appalachia one finds the tradition of definite and distinct roles for males and females. The women cook, take care of the household and children, and defer to their husbands. The men bring home the food, express opinions, and may even beat their wives "when she needs it." Those traditions have been eroded during the twentieth century; the girls stay in school longer than the boys, are more flexible in novel situations, and are more socially adept than the men. The women can obtain jobs in factories when their husbands can not. Many households are experiencing partial marital role reversals, the men taking care of the children while the women work.

In the United States as a whole, there is an emphasis upon equality in the male and female roles. Partnership in a marriage is the purported ideal. Often both the husband and wife work, and both care for children, but the situation is not such that the husband is bereft of employment while the wife supports him.
One result of the adolescent reference groups in both cultures is that the peer groups inculcate cultural values and act as a conservative influence on the individual. The Appalachian reference group emphasizes non-competition and their society, as a whole, is non-competitive. The larger American scene involves reference groups that emphasize competition and that society, as a whole, is highly competitive.

The reference groups of Appalachia survive intact into adulthood, whereas the reference groups in middle-class America are usually dispersed at the time of high school graduation. Thus, the tradition-binding influences of Appalachia endure and, left untinctured by the national economy and society, are multilayered and mutually reinforcing.

Religion is a main theme of the Appalachian culture, although it is a convenient religion in that one can be saved any number of times following any number of retrograde "backslidings." The larger American culture gives lip service to religion, but its significance does not, perhaps, cut so deeply into one's life as it does in Appalachia.

The differences which permeate nearly all aspects of these cultures has to do with size and, as a consequence, has to do with complexity. Ultimately, perhaps it is a question of Weberian rationalism and the Gesellschaft vs. personalization and the Gemeinschaft styles of existence. Although rationalism in Weber's sense grew out of personalization, each trait may be to some extent feared by people.
holding the opposite view. By way of example, it may be suggested that in the national culture there is a certain fear of becoming "involved." Conversely, the Appalachian may fear that the things taught and the way they are taught suggests a too impersonal basis of society.
FOOTNOTES


4 Appendix A, p. 41.


6 Ford, ed., p. 246.


12 Weller, p. 54.


18 Ford, ed., p. 45.
19 Weller, p. 62.
20 Ibid., p. 68.
23 Caudill, p. 386.
24 Weller, p. 58.
25 Ibid.
26 It may be noted in this regard that a good preacher does not have to have formal education. The people do not regard the words of the sermon to be as important as the way they are spoken.
27 Weller, p. 46.
28 Ibid., p. 114.
30 Peattie, p. 144.
31 Caudill, p. 335.
32 Weller, p. 96.
33 Ford, ed., p. 84.
34 Ibid., p. 15.
38 Ibid., p. 23.
39 Ibid., p. 247.
41 Weller, p. 128.
42 Ibid., p. 77.
43 Kaplan, p. 130.
44 Weller, p. 48.
45 Supra, p. 8.
46 Ford, p. 20.
47 Caudill, p. 350; Ford, p. 12; Weller, p. 31.
48 Caudill, p. 213.
49 Campbell, p. 114.
50 Greenway, p. 46.
53 Weller, p. 63.
54 Feibleman, p. 16.
55 Warner, p. 110.
56 Hoffsommer, p. 330.
57 Ibid., p. 331.
59 Ibid., p. 112.
60 Henry, p. 28.
61 Greenway, p. 63.
62 Hoffsommer, p. 198.
66 Ibid., p. 148.
68 Greenway, p. 48.
69 Smith, p. 71.
70 Henry, p. 7.
71 Whyte, p. 367.
72 "Is God dead?" Time, LXXXVII (April 8, 1966), p. 82.
73 Whyte, p. 378.
74 "Is God dead?" p. 82.
75 Whyte, p. 356.
76 Henry, p. 5.
78 Smith, pp. 275, 277.
79 Greenway, p. 39.
80 Ibid., p. 58.
81 Martin, p. 589.
82 Greenway, p. 335.
84 Smith, p. 79.
85 Caudill, p. 9.
86 Peattie, p. 144.
87 Weller, p. 35.
89 Weller, p. 50.
Simultaneously it may be suggested that the adolescents seem to be advocating the jettisoning of many inhibitions.

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APPENDIX A

APPLACHIA
**APPENDIX B**


**SOME CONTRASTING VALUE ORIENTATIONS**

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Underlying question</th>
<th>Southern Appalachian</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>1. What is the relation of man to nature (and supernature)?</td>
<td>1. Man subjugated to nature and God; little human control over destiny; fatalism.</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>2. What is the relation of man to time?</td>
<td>2. Present orientation; present and future telescoped; slow and &quot;natural&quot; rhythms</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>3. What is the relation of man to space?</td>
<td>3. Orientation to concrete places and particular things</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>4. What is the nature of human nature?</td>
<td>4. Basically evil and unalterable, at least for others and in the absence of divine intervention</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>5. What is the nature of human activity?</td>
<td>5. Being</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>6. What is the nature of human relations?</td>
<td>6. Personal; kinship-based; strangers are suspect.</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

**Upper-middle Class**  
(Professional)

1. Man can control nature of God works through man; basically optimistic

2. Future orientation and planning; fast; regulated by the clock, calendar, and technology

3. Orientation to everywhere and everything

4. Basically good, or mixed good and evil; alterable.

5. Doing

6. Relatively impersonal; recognize non-kin criteria; handle strangers on basis of roles
Middle Class American

PERSONAL CHARACTERISTICS

Emphasis on community, church, clubs, etc.

Thoughts of change and progress; expectation of change, usually for the better.

Freedom to determine one's life and goals.

Routine-seeker

Self-assurance

No particular stress on maleness

Use of ideas, ideals, and abstractions

Acceptance of object goals

Oriented to progress

Strong emphasis on saving and budgeting

Desire and ability to plan ahead carefully

Placement of group goals above personal aims

Recognition of expert opinion

Individualism; self-centered concerns

Attitudes strongly traditionalistic

Fatalism

Action-seeker

Sense of anxiety

Stress on traditional masculinity

Use of anecdotes

Rejection of object goals

Oriented to existence

No saving or budgeting

No interest in long-range careful planning

Precedence of personal feelings and whims over group goals

Expert opinion not recognized

FAMILY LIFE CHARACTERISTICS

Child-centered family

Responsibility for family decisions shared by husband and wife

"Togetherness" of husband and wife

Home tasks shared by husband and wife

Adult-centered family

Male-dominated family

Separateness of husband and wife; separate reference groups

Sharp delineation of home tasks between husband and wife
Middle Class American

Many family activities shared (vacations, amusements, etc.)
Disciplined child-rearing; stress on what is thought best for the child's development
Family bound by common interests as well as emotional ties
Family a bridge to outside world

Southern Appalachian

Few shared family activities
Permissive child-rearing; stress on what pleases the child
Family bound by emotional ties; few common interests
Separation of family and outside world

RELATIONSHIPS WITH OTHERS

Reference group less important
Object-oriented life pattern
Association between sexes
Strong pressure of status
Striving for excellence
Readiness to join groups
Ability to function in objective ways in a group
Attachment to work; concern for job security and satisfaction
Emphasis on education
Cooperation with doctors, hospitals, and "outsiders"
Use of government and law to achieve goals
Acceptance of the world
Participation in organized amusements, cultural activities, etc.

Reference group most important
Person-oriented life pattern
Little or no association between sexes
No status seeking
Leveling tendency in society
Rejection of joining groups
Ability to function in a group only on a personal basis
Detachment from work; little concern for job security or satisfaction
Ambivalence toward education
Fear of doctors, hospitals, those in authority, the well-educated
Antagonism toward government and law
Suspicion and fear of outside world
Rejection of organized amusements, cultural activities, etc.