To the Graduate Council:

I am submitting herewith a thesis written by Pamela Crant Owens entitled "Women's Roles In Church And Community In An Urban Appalachian Neighborhood." I have examined the final copy of this thesis for form and content and recommend that it be accepted in partial fulfillment of the requirements for the degree of Master of Arts, with a major in Anthropology.

Benita J. Howell

Dr. Benita Howell,
Major Professor

We have read this thesis
and recommend its acceptance:

Judy Irene

Faye V. Harrison

Accepted for the Council:

C.W. Minkel

Associate Vice Chancellor and
Dean of The Graduate School

WOMEN'S ROLES IN CHURCH AND COMMUNITY IN AN URBAN APPALACHIAN NEIGHBORHOOD

A Thesis

Presented for the

Master of Arts

Degree

The University of Tennessee, Knoxville

Pamela Crant Owens

December 1993

ACKNOWLEDGEMENTS

I would like to express my gratitude to the members of my graduate committee: Dr. Benita Howell, Dr. Faye Harrison, and Dr. Judy Fiene. The chairperson of my committee, Dr. Benita Howell, believed in me when I did not believe in myself. For her patience and editing skills I will always be grateful. Dr. Harrison sparked my interest in social inequality and inspired me to look at issues from a different perspective. And Dr. Judy Fiene offered comments and suggestions that greatly improved the quality of this thesis. To all of these women I am grateful.

I would like to thank my friends Katherine Park and Dianne Naftel for their support and encouragement during the writing of this thesis.

A special thanks goes to my parents Bruce and Linda Crant who have always supported and encouraged me to succeed.

I am grateful for the help of Reverend Wilson and the women of City Heights, and the congregation of Holy Power Baptist Church for their cooperation and assistance.

And finally, I would like to thank William Owens who I married during the writing of this thesis. Without his love and support this thesis would not have been completed.

ABSTRACT

In her 1992 Master's thesis, Sue Remaley uncovered a neighborhood type in Knoxville, Tennessee that contrasts with prevailing perceptions of urban poverty. The urban poor are often described as having high numbers of female headed families, high crime and unemployment rates, and are often portrayed as black or Hispanic. Remaley discovered that many poor neighborhoods in Knoxville are composed of two-parent families, have high employment rates, live in homes they own, and are predominantly white.

This thesis focuses on one such neighborhood in Knoxville, Tennessee that exhibits a strong sense of community and stability. Specifically, this research focuses on the women of this urban Appalachian neighborhood, and how their roles in the church and community foster the stability found in the neighborhood. In order to examine religiosity among the women of this neighborhood, and ethnographic approach was taken. This included structured interviews, informal interviews, and participant observation. A general questionnaire was constructed to locate church participants and to gather information on community attitudes. A group of twenty women were then selected for an additional interview based on church involvement. These women were observed in the church environment to determine what roles women

have in the church. Support networks among church-going women were evaluated to determine if friendships among these women are based almost exclusively on similar religious beliefs and behaviors.

Through participant observation and informal interviews it became evident that the women of this neighborhood play an important role in the maintenance of the church. Although women cannot hold cleric positions of authority, they do play important decision making roles in the missionary and social outreach work of the church in the community.

TABLE OF CONTENTS

CHAPTER		PAGE
I.	INTRODUCTION	1
	A. Issues Of The Place	1
	B. Research Questions	9
	Religion In Appalachia	16
	C. Conclusions	18
II.	CONDUCTING RESEARCH IN CITY HEIGHTS	21
	A. Introduction To The Research Community	21
	B. Research Hypotheses	25
	C. Techniques Of Field Research	27
	Informant Interview Schedule	27
	Questionnaire And Structured Interview Data	28
	Participant Observation	31
	Informal Interviews With Church Members	33
	Follow-Up Interviews	34
	D. Conclusions	37
III.	SURVEY RESULTS	38
	A. Demographic Data	40
	B. Community Data	41
	C. Data on Religion/Religiosity	42
IV.	THE CHURCH	47
	A. History Of Holy Power Baptist Church	47
	B. Size Of The Holy Power Baptist Church Congregation	50
	C. Worship	53
	D. The Church As Community	65
V.	WOMEN IN THE CHURCH AND COMMUNITY	72
	A. Biblical Authority	72
	B. Women's Roles In The Church	76
	Financial Matters	77
	Music	76
	C. Women And The Church In The Community	78
	Home And Special Sings	78
	Home And Campus Prayers	79
	Special Dinners	80
	Nursing Home Visits	81
	Rummage And Bake Sales	82
	Raising Money For Needy	83
	D. Religious Women And Their Support Networks	84
VI.	CONCLUSIONS	92

REFERENCES CITED 100

APPENDIXES
APPENDIX A. PRELIMINARY QUESTIONNAIRE. 112
APPENDIX B. CONSENT FORM 117

VITA 119

LIST OF TABLES

TABLE		PAGE
1.	Frequency Of Church Attendance	43
2.	Changes In Religious Behaviors	44
3.	Ranking Of Variables According To Importance .	45
4.	Size Of Holy Power Baptist Church Congregation	52

LIST OF FIGURES

FIGURE PAGE

1. Selection of Subjects for Study 36
2. Church Seating at Holy Power Baptist Church . . 56
3. Basic Order of Worship 57
4. Order of Worship(Sunday Morning) 63
5. Friendship Networks. 89

CHAPTER I

INTRODUCTION

This research examines the ideology and religious beliefs of women in a poor working class neighborhood in southern Appalachia. Specifically, the research looks at how the small neighborhood church functions in creating and maintaining a sense of community and social cohesion among the women of this neighborhood. Gender based roles in the religious sphere are evaluated to see how and to what extent women participate in the functioning of the church. In addition, the roles women play in religious services and in missionary outreach work in the community are assessed to determine how much power, if any, women have in the church. And finally, women's support networks are surveyed to determine if friendships among church going women are based on similar religious beliefs and/or church attendance.

A. Issues of the Place

Given a poor working class neighborhood with more stability and continuity in residence than one would expect from a general profile of urban poverty, what role does the church play in creating a social/spiritual community? In her 1992 M.A. thesis, Sue Remaley, a geography student at the University of Tennessee,

utilized a statistical demographic approach to uncover a neighborhood type in Knoxville, Tennessee that is in contrast to prevailing perceptions of urban poverty. The urban poor are often described as having high numbers of female headed families, crime, high unemployment rates, cramped living arrangements, and are often portrayed as black or Hispanic (Wilson 1987). Remaley (1992: 2) found many poor neighborhoods in Knoxville are composed of two-parent families, have high employment rates, live in houses set on large lots, and are predominantly white.

Remaley (1992) indicates that Knoxville has characteristics that are different from those described by poverty researchers because of regional variations in poverty, and specifically because Knoxville is set in the Appalachian region. This geographical area is defined by the Appalachian Regional Commission to include portions of the states of Alabama, Georgia, Kentucky, Maryland, Mississippi, New York, North Carolina, Ohio, Pennsylvania, South Carolina, Tennessee, Virginia, and West Virginia (Ergood 1983; Fiene 1988). This broad Appalachian region is further divided into three subregions; northern, central, and southern Appalachia (Watts 1981). These sub-regional areas are based on distributions of local characteristics such as employment, income, and population. There are vast research opportunities for urban ethnographies in the

southern Appalachian region as this topic has been approached by few authors. Philliber and McCoy (1981) entitled a book The Invisible Minority: Urban Appalachians to reflect the lack of research in the area.

Cities are an important aspect of southern Appalachia, according to Watts (1981: 116) who states:

> Cities like coal, white water rivers, and fertile soil, are not evenly distributed throughout southern Appalachia. Although relatively few in number and small in size, they have proven important reservoirs of jobs, decent income, and adequate housing.

Knoxville, Tennessee is a major Appalachian city because it has a central location with access to several regions: east Kentucky, West Virginia, northern Alabama and Georgia, and the Tennessee Valley (Stanfield 1985: 133). Not only is Knoxville composed of many migrants from the surrounding rural area, but Knoxville has grown to encompass areas that at one time were considered to be on the fringe of the city (McDonald and Wheeler: 1983) and thus "rural." For these reasons Knoxville residents exemplify more rural characteristics than some other urban areas of Appalachia, such as Birmingham, Alabama. Furthermore, Knoxville actually lies within the Appalachian mountain area, unlike cities like Lexington,

Kentucky and Nashville, Tennessee which are close in proximity to the mountains but have developed different economic and industrial features.

Based on Knoxville's unique setting in the Appalachian Mountains, Remaley (1992) argues that generalizations made in the literature about the urban poor in mid-Western or northern cities should not be applied to Appalachian cities. Different migration patterns and industrial features make generalizations inaccurate. Therefore, Remaley (1992) chose a case study strategy to investigate neighborhoods (census block groups) in Appalachian cities.

Focusing on three neighborhoods that are "white owner-occupied block groups," Remaley (1992: 75) uncovered some unique characteristics:

> Knoxville's white owner-occupied block groups are radically unlike the underclass consensus. They have almost no black residents (3%) and very few female-headed households (13%). Most residents own their own homes and live in them for long periods. Also, very few residents receive welfare or public assistance, and most are employed, primarily in manufacturing jobs.

Whereas Remaley focused on the geographical aspects of the white owner-occupied block groups rather than on the cultural characteristics of these neighborhoods, this thesis examines the cultural aspects of one of the three

neighborhoods Remaley studied.

Within the Knoxville city limits, the research focuses on a neighborhood on the western side of town known as City Heights (a pseudonym). City Heights provides an excellent opportunity to study an urban Appalachian neighborhood and the people who live there. Due to physical boundaries such as a highway to the North, railroad tracks and an industrial section to the South, City Heights is somewhat spatially contained. In 1980, 638 persons lived in this neighborhood according to the United States Census. City Heights drew all of the early residents from rural parts of Tennessee and other Appalachian states. City Heights was founded in 1915 and was annexed by Knoxville in 1922. Today City Heights is situated well within the bounds of Knoxville, and is very close to the downtown area.

The population of City Heights is 97% white, which is somewhat indicative of Appalachian neighborhoods as a whole. Cabbell (1985: 3) points out that although Appalachia does have a significant number of blacks which are often overlooked in research, only one out of every fourteen Appalachians (7%) is black. It is important to consider that the racial composition of the City Heights neighborhood may mirror rural neighborhoods in surrounding counties where these people presumably migrated from in past generations.

Remaley found that this neighborhood as well as other white-owner occupied neighborhoods exhibits a strong sense of community. All of her survey respondents owned their own homes and lived in the block group for an average of 32.9 years (Remaley 1992: 89). In addition, Remaley (1992:89) found that forty-two percent of the City Heights respondents have lived in the neighborhood all of their lives. Seventy percent of the respondents have relatives in the neighborhood, and twenty percent have more than ten (Remaley 1992:89).

This research attempts to uncover the sense of community and stability found in the City Heights neighborhood. The terms "community" and "neighborhood" are often used interchangeably in the literature and should be clarified. There is some debate concerning the usefulness of community and neighborhood as terms to describe urban sociocultural phenomena. According to Mayer (1966: 102), an urban community is a heterogeneous collection of people who do not as a whole form groups. Neighborhoods can be defined (not exclusively) in terms of geographical settings that allow a bounded unit of analysis to occur (Whiteford 1988: 130). A neighborhood may or may not imply the existence of social relationships. In this research, the term neighborhood will be used to designate a geographical area; and community will be used to characterize a group of people

with similar lifestyles who interact with one another.

Examining an urban neighborhood such as City Heights allows for the utilization of techniques developed by urban anthropology. Urban anthropology as a field of study has only been in existence since the 1960's (Mullings 1987: 2). A problem that many anthropologists in this field have grappled with is the unit of study to be employed, and defining this unit of study in a coherent manner. According to Eames and Goode (1988: 85-86) there are five main social units which have been examined by urban anthropologists as distinct cultural entities:

1) units that are based on a common residence such as a neighborhood;
2) groups based on a common culture of origin such as ethnic or minority groups;
3) groups with common belief systems both political or religious;
4) occupational groups; and
5) units based on primary relationships such as households, support networks.

The majority of urban anthropological research thus far has focused on the first entity listed above as does this research. Residential communities or neighborhoods often have recognizable boundaries and homogeneous populations

which make them a popular unit of study. Eames and Goode (1988: 85) state most urban anthropologists have chosen to study "...small, clearly segmented groups within the complex urban mosaic" rather than attempting to study the city as a whole.

When people think of poor urban communities they tend to think of cities such as New York, Chicago, Detroit, Los Angeles and other larger areas. The literature on urban poverty focuses on these communities as well (McCoy and Watkins 1981; McCoy and Brown 1981; Photiadis 1981; Wilson 1987). Knox (1988) argues because of regional variations in settlement patterns, economic health, and different physical environments, northern and midwestern cities should not stand as models for urban social processes in other areas such as Appalachia. Migration by Appalachians into large northern and midwestern cities has received a good deal of attention (McCoy and Brown 1981; Photiadis 1981; Schwarzweller et al. 1971); however, migration of Appalachians into Appalachian cities such as Knoxville has received comparatively little attention (Remaley 1992: 4). A substantial amount of the migration literature has focused on rural poverty as an interesting aspect of Appalachia (Schwarzweller et al. 1971) rather than specifically focusing on the social phenomenon of urban Appalachian poverty.

B. Research Questions

Remaley (1992) uncovered a neighborhood type in Knoxville that exhibits a strong sense of community and stability. This is a somewhat unique research opportunity, as many poverty researchers focus on the pathology and instability of a group rather than on stability and adaptation found within a poor community. In addition, the prevailing picture of poverty is influenced by cultural and ideological biases that have led many poverty researchers to stress minorities over whites and pathology over stability. Furthermore, these researchers are in some cases influenced by "middle-class ideals" (Leacock 1971: 9) and a biased point of view (Valentine 1968: 17).

I wanted to examine the role, if any, that the small neighborhood church plays in fostering the strong sense of community and stability present in City Heights. I chose to focus on one church that is located near the center of City Heights, but to examine the religious sphere as a whole. This church, which will be discussed in depth in the forthcoming chapters, is attended by members of the City Heights neighborhood. By attending church and interacting with members, both within the church and outside of the church context, I came to understand the place of the church in the community in

the lives of the individuals.

Religion as a cultural system has been an important topic of research by anthropologists and other social scientists. Anthropologists have developed various theories regarding the function and importance of religion which are relevant to this study. Emile Durkheim, a key contributor to structuralism and functionalism (Appelbaum 1987: 109) defines religion as:

> ...a unified *(solidaire)* system of beliefs and practices relative to sacred things...beliefs and practices which unite into a single moral community called a church, all those who adhere to them (In Giddens 1971: 107).

In his writings, Durkheim examines the social function of religion in the life of the individual and society (Applebaum 1987: 110). Furthermore, he indicates how religion is used to express the collective sentiment. Durkheim views religion as a manifestation of social solidarity, and collective beliefs, and participation in religious rites as means to increase this solidarity (Giddens 1971: 107). This research utilizes Durkheim's approach to uncovering the social function of the church in the community.

Other functionalists have been influenced by Durkheim's theories of religion. Bronislaw Malinowski proposes the function of religious rites is to reduce

anxieties brought on by crisis (Malinowski 1985: 225). According to Malinowski, religion quiets fears such as fear of death, injury or illness, and instills a confidence in the believer. Radcliffe-Brown was also influenced by Durkheim and argues that different parts of society, including religious organizations, function to maintain the equilibrium of a society (Applebaum 1987: 113). These two theorists, as well as Durkheim, contribute important concepts to understanding religion and the role religion plays in society.

Melford E. Spiro (1966) distinguishes three sets of basic desires--cognitive, substantive, and expressive, which can be satisfied by a corresponding function of religion--adjustive, adaptive, and integrative. According to Spiro (1966: 20) the adjustive function of religion satisfies the cognitive desires we experience as we attempt to understand what goes on around us, including events such as illness or death. The adaptive function of religion satisfies substantive desires such as the desire for rain or victory in a fight. The integrative component of religion is key according to Robert H. Lowie (1985: 21), who describes it as:

> ...faith serves to integrate the individual's behavior in society, to give him confidence in meeting the crises which life inescapably brings, and to introduce into his existence a stable central core in the light of which he

can assign values.

This research examines the adjustive, adaptive, and integrative functions of religion as expressed by Spiro (1966) and Lowie (1985) to determine the roles of religion in an urban Appalachian neighborhood.

When looking at belief systems it is essential to relate how these systems interact and exist within the community. In her article "Studying Religious Belief Systems In Their Social Historical Context," Sovine (1983: 49) argues that when looking at religion in the community context, many functional interpretations of religion (as it exists in society) are given; less is written about actual religious beliefs and behaviors. Sovine (1983:64) suggests a more complete analysis of religion can be achieved if religious beliefs and behaviors are dealt with in terms of the everyday "life contexts" in which they occur. This approach involves eliciting religious beliefs from believers themselves and "identifying and systematizing" these beliefs into categories of explanation (Sovine 1983: 49).

A frequent problem with research on religion and the role it plays is the emphasis placed on the male experience as being representational of both the male and female experience. Presenting a gender biased social reality is not necessarily intentional, but some researchers fail to acknowledge there may be two

divergent views of the same religion or religious practice. Presenting the male experience as social reality is what Bynum (1986) calls *homo religiosus*-- the religious experience of **man**.

Some anthropologists have been successful in addressing the religious roles or experiences of women as separate or different from men's experiences (Black 1986; Harrell 1986; Lawless 1988; Linderbaum 1985, 1987; Moody 1985; Parrinder 1980; Sanday 1981; Silverblatt 1987; Silverman 1981; Skitka and Maslach 1990). One of the earliest authors to describe women's religious encounters as different from men's is Zora Neal Hurston (1938). Hurston not only looks at women's religious activities in Haiti and Jamaica, but also presents the interlocking daily culture that religion fits into. She indicates how religion is a part of everyday life and how everyday life is molded and formed by religious beliefs and activities.

In her book Female Power and Male Dominance: On the Origins of Sexual Inequality, Peggy Reeves Sanday (1981: 15) considers how religious practices and mythic characters play a part in establishing and perpetuating sexual inequality:

> Religious and secular codes, such as those found in the Garden of Eden story and in the Declaration of Independence, present basic propositions regarding expected behavior...Often these propositions explicate

> the relationship between the sexes and the meaning of being male and female...From the propositions by which people codify their social and religious identity we can infer the historically approved plan structuring the relationship between the sexes.

Sanday (1981) and other authors such as Lawless (1988) make it clear that researchers of religion must take into account both formal and informal symbols and symbolic messages in order to understand the messages being transmitted. Furthermore, it must be understood that the messages are not always the same for men and women.

Religion is a cultural system (Geertz 1966, 1985; Jamzadeh and Mills 1986; Keys 1986; Wilk 1991) as well as a system that in some cases instills social inequalities (Quaglio 1983; Silverman 1981). Social inequality is defined by Kerbo (1983: 11) as a condition under which people have unequal access to valid resources, services, or positions in a society. Quaglio (1983) states religion not only instills these inequalities, but also has negative consequences for women and serves as a mechanism for the control of women. This control is necessary according to Quaglio (1983: 302) to keep the realities of patriarchy functioning and to keep women out of positions of power in the church. In some traditional societies menstrual taboos are used as a way to keep women away from sacred ritual objects and prevent them

from "polluting" male strength (Sanday 1981). According to Frank Young and Albert Bacdayan, these menstrual taboos are "..institutionalized ways in which males in primitive society discriminate against females" (In Sanday 1981: 91). As will be discussed in Chapter Five, in more modern societies Judeo-Christian writings and teachings have been used to keep women out of positions of power in the church.

It is important to question the presence of rituals and symbols of inequality in our own society and the amount of gender division in American religions. A large amount of the literature written about American religions has come from the fields of theology and sociology (Bartholomew 1981; Bradfield 1979; Darrand and Shupe 1983; Demerath and Roof 1976; Eliade 1969; Flynt 1986; Gardner 1970; Giddens 1971; Hadaway 1982; Hill 1988; Jordan and Stifle 1991; Ruether 1986; Ruether and Keller 1986; Weller 1970). However, some folklorists trained in anthropology such as Lawless (1988) and Titon (1988) have made significant contributions to the study of American religions.

Religion in Appalachia

A plethora of information has been written about the various religions and religious experiences in southern Appalachia (Balmer 1989; Bradfield 1979; Dayton 1987; Dorgan 1987b, 1987c; Hill 1986; Howell 1984; Humphrey 1974; Kane 1974; Photiadis 1978; Poloma 1989; Surface 1974; Titon 1987, 1988); however, these works have failed to single out women's experiences in the religious sphere as being different from men's. One excellent example of a gender balanced account of women's spiritual beliefs and actions is Troy D. Abell's (1982) Better Felt Than Said. Although his study does not focus on women alone, but rather on the rural Appalachian community, Abell does present women's participation in church life and indicates women are more active in the religious domain than men. Some works such as that of Wayne J. Flynt (1986) and Scott (1970) are successful in presenting women's roles in southern churches, but in cities such as Birmingham and Atlanta where church membership is often in the hundreds and the organization of church functions is more elaborate that what might be found in some smaller Appalachian churches. Scott's (1970) book The Southern Lady: From Pedestal to Politics, 1830-1930 was one of the first works on southern women (by a southern woman) that was considered to have scholarly significance (Dillman 1988: 2).

Several of the works written on Appalachian religions give excellent overviews of church beliefs and history (Dorgan 1987a; Photiadis 1978; Quebedeaux 1976; Titon 1987, 1988); again however, the religious experiences of women are neglected. Dorgan's (1986) book Giving Glory to God in Appalachia is a very informative account of six Baptist sub-denominations. Although Dorgan clearly points out the differences between the Old Regular Baptists and Primitive Baptists, he never differentiates the range of women's church participation other than commenting on their vocal responses during services.

Examining the role of women's church involvement is important because religion, as a system of knowledge, allows us to look not only at belief structures, but also the explanatory system that gives meaning to life (Sovine 1983: 64). Dorgan (1987c) questions the role of gender in two Old Regular Baptist denominations and extent of confinement that is imposed on women in this belief system. He found there is general agreement for example, that women should not cut their hair, and if they do so more than once, they may be "excluded" from membership in the congregation (Dorgan 1987c: 15). The Old Regular Baptists are also against Sunday school because in many church settings it is common to see women leading Sunday school, which they believe violates the Pauline mandate

stating that women should keep silent in the church (Dorgan 1987c: 17). Although his account is helpful, Dorgan does not examine what effects the severe church regulations have on women outside of the church in the community setting. The research will address this issue in chapters Five and Six.

There is a substantial lack of research focusing on the role women play in the maintenance and function of religion. A noteworthy exception however, is Elaine Lawless' (1988) wonderful account of women in Pentecostal churches. Lawless develops a model for examining women in fundamentalist religions, which includes collecting narratives from women about their lives and religious beliefs, and attending church with these women. Lawless (1988: xv) argues that extended fieldwork with one folk group or one church is a valuable undertaking as it allows for the researcher to get to know all the members of the church and the relationships that exist there between members.

C. Conclusions

This research examines the role of the church in an urban Appalachian neighborhood in Knoxville, Tennessee. There is a racial bias in the social sciences of American poverty that characterizes urban poor as being black or Hispanic with an "underclass" status (Wilson 1987: 169).

This neighborhood, known as City Heights is an example of a poor working class white enclave that challenges generalizations of urban poverty based on race or ethnic background, and patterns of instability and heterogeneity.

In addition, this research contributes to a more accurate understanding of women's roles in the religious sphere and in the community. Specifically, this research examines how a small neighborhood church functions in creating and maintaining a sense of community and social cohesion among women of this neighborhood. Support networks are evaluated to see if friendships among church going women are based on similar religious lifestyles, or if friendships are independent of spiritual beliefs.

Chapter Two "Conducting Research In City Heights" discusses the methodology used during field work, starting with my introduction to the research community and my impressions of the neighborhood, and moving through the precise research questions I worked with. Chapter Three, "Survey Results" reports findings from the questionnaire administered in City Heights including demographic data and descriptive data. Chapter Four "The Church" describes Holy Power Baptist Church where I observed women's church participation. This chapter includes a history of the church as well as descriptions of typical church services. Chapter Five "Women in the

Church and Community" focuses specifically on women and how they interact with one another in the church and outside of the church. And Chapter Six "Conclusions" summarizes the research and the information it yields.

CHAPTER II

CONDUCTING RESEARCH IN CITY HEIGHTS

A. INTRODUCTION TO THE RESEARCH COMMUNITY

I first heard of City Heights and its unique community life from a University of Tennessee professor familiar with Remaley's thesis research and intrigued by the quasi-rural neighborhoods that project uncovered. She then suggested I investigate the possibilities of fieldwork in City Heights focusing in greater detail than Remaley had on the cultural aspects of the neighborhood. Having an interest in religion and more specifically women's roles in religion and spiritual life, I began looking for a church in City Heights in which I could observe women's roles, and the role of the church in the community.

City Heights is a predominantly white neighborhood. Approximately 3% of residents are black, according to Sue Remaley (1992). The neighborhood is made up of mostly one-story houses on large lots. Many houses have large fenced-in yards, either front or back. City Heights has some "rural" attributes, such as farm animals (chickens) in the yards that are not commonly found in urban neighborhoods. There are many wood or coal burning furnaces that are used for heating the houses in the winter. Old appliances sit on several front porches.

There are no sidewalks and the streets are in need of repair.

In order to study a church in the City Heights neighborhood, I needed a cooperative pastor. I made contact with Reverend Wilson (a pseudonym), who spent a long afternoon with me on his front porch discussing my research. Reverend Wilson is the preacher at Holy Power Baptist Church in City Heights and lives about two blocks from the church. Holy Power is a small church which sits at the end of one of the main streets in City Heights next to a creek that is used for baptism. Reverend Wilson was very interested in my research but was concerned about "people passing judgement," so I assured him I would not reveal the actual name of his church nor his name in the text of the thesis. In addition, I would develop a pseudonym for the church that would be similar to the real name and thus give the same impression. Once I assured him I was not there to pass judgement or give negative descriptions of him or his church, he welcomed my presence.

After a rapport was built between Reverend Wilson and me, he began to open up and tell me about his church and his life. Holy Power Baptist Church is approximately thirteen years old and is an independent Baptist church. The name of the church was created by the sister of the first preacher who donated the land and stipulated the

church have that exact name. Reverend Wilson has been a preacher at Holy Power for five years and prior to that was the preacher at another City Heights church. He gains no financial benefit from his preaching other that fifty dollars a month for gas, as he believes it is wrong to take money for something God has called you to do. At the time of this interview, Reverend Wilson had been jobless for several years and considered himself to be unemployed although he gives several hours a day to church activities and preparation for church events.

In addition to his pastoral duties, Reverend Wilson is writing a book about evolution and is preparing to write a critical book about Billy Graham, as he is in disagreement with a good deal of Graham's views. Reverend Wilson has had no formal education since high school and the books he has published have been for family and friends to read.

During our first meeting Reverend Wilson was interested in hearing about my religious background and what I thought about issues such as evolution. As an anthropology student, discussing the subject of evolution with a fundamentalist Christian believer put me in somewhat of an awkward position. I did not want to completely contradict his views on evolution, so I asked if I could see some of his writings. He showed them to me and became very involved in the explanation of his ideas.

In the end, my views on evolution were not discussed. However, when it came to my overall religious upbringing I could not avoid the issue. When Reverend Wilson asked about my religiosity I decided disclosure might work to my advantage. If I revealed some of my life to him, he would feel more comfortable opening up to me. I explained to Reverend Wilson I had been raised a Roman Catholic by a Southern Baptist mother and a Catholic father. I further explained I was still searching for my own beliefs, so I could not call myself a "practicing Catholic." I did not want to leave him with the impression I was looking for a church to belong to, so I tried to explain to him some of the parameters I would have to set in order to do research, such as participant observation and objectivity. The issue of my conversion to his church did, however, come up and will be discussed in a following section.

Since my field research was going to take place over a relatively short period of time (from the end of May, 1992 to the middle of August, 1992), I wanted to participate in as many church related functions as possible. Reverend Wilson informed me there were several weekly activities including a Tuesday night Bible study group, and a Thursday night church service. I asked Reverend Wilson about the Thursday night service as most of the Baptist congregations in the area have church on

Wednesday night. He explained that the Thursday night service avoided the Wednesday night competition with his "home" church--the church in which he was raised and where his mother currently attends. He felt those in the community (including himself) who wanted to attend both churches during the week would be able to do so.

In addition to regular church services and Sunday school, the congregation of Holy Power Baptist Church is involved in many community related events. These events include home sings for the sick, fund raisers for those having financial difficulties, bake sales, special dinners, rummage sales, and so on. These activities will be discussed in more detail in Chapter Four and Chapter Five.

B. Research Hypotheses

Two broad hypotheses were constructed prior to field work to address issues concerning women's church and community participation in City Heights. These hypotheses were viewed as a starting point from which to narrow and clarify the research objective and were based on the available literature.

> 1. a) Women will participate in more informal (lay) than formal (cleric) roles in sustaining the church and the religion. b) The female congregation will be more physically and

vocally active in church services and c) will participate to a larger extent in church social activities than men. d) In addition, women on average will contribute more time to church and church related activities.

2. a) The small neighborhood church (such as Holy Power Baptist Church) will serve as a mechanism to foster a sense of "community" within the area, particularly among the female congregation. b) Daily life support networks developed in the church setting and religious sphere will serve as a haven from the everyday problems experienced by lower income women. c) Interviews will reveal that the church and secular support groups which are based on church participation are valued to cope with crises and stress as the women define them.

These hypotheses were not constructed as absolutes since a *grounded theory* research method was adopted which advocates developing a theory based on "systematic data collection and analysis of data pertaining to that phenomenon" (Strauss and Corbin 1990:23). The qualitative method of analysis is particularly useful when looking at social phenomena such as religious experiences. This method allows the researcher to uncover what goes on behind a phenomenon and understand it in a meaningful way. How these hypotheses were addressed in this research will be discussed in the following sections.

C.Research Techniques

Three primary types of data were collected during the study of City Heights and the Holy Power Baptist Church: questionnaire and structured interview data, data from participant observation, and data from informal interviews with church members. Statistical analysis was used to gain an understanding of the women in the neighborhood as a whole when compared to the qualitative data from church members.

Informant Interview Schedule

Interviewing women in the neighborhood began with a door-to-door survey. At the start of the research, I attempted to maintain a somewhat random pattern by locating informants at every third house. However, due to the low income level of the neighborhood and safety precautions taken by residents, this was not always possible. Several residents have a fenced-in front yard with a dog (or two) to protect the house. When this was the case I would automatically skip to the next house. If there was a fence but no dog in sight I would attempt to locate the resident, however in these cases I found the women to be less receptive to strangers. After surveying up and down the three main residential streets in City Heights my respondent numbers were still somewhat low. I

then began asking respondents if they thought their neighbor would be interested in participating. About fifteen of the fifty-three interviews were gained in this way or by referral to a relative in the neighborhood.

Most individuals were somewhat reluctant to be interviewed, but as my explanation became more succinct and to the point, my refusal rate went down. Apprehension about the interview is a common feeling for the subject, according to Spradley (1979:79), as well as for the interviewer. Several women stated they had seen me walking with Reverend Wilson as he showed me around the neighborhood, and concluded I must be trustworthy and worth talking to.

Questionnaire and Structured Interview Data

Before a questionnaire could be administered (Appendix A), a written informed consent form had to be signed. This form (Appendix B) was approved by the Committee on Research Participation at the University of Tennessee, Knoxville. The consent form includes a research explanation, a description of risks, a description of benefits, possible alternative procedures, a statement on confidentiality, and a statement that participation is voluntary. The consent form was administered to every potential subject prior to the conduct of any activities that constitute a research

encounter, in accordance with the Committee on Research Participation's standards. Due to the nature of the study, only adult subjects (18 years or older) were interviewed. The consent forms have been kept in a secure location due to the fact that subject names are identified.

The preliminary questionnaire was administered (successfully) to fifty-three subjects to obtain data on church affiliation, residence, family history, and church participation. By conducting the questionnaire orally, problems of literacy were avoided and in many cases additional information was volunteered that would not have been evident if the survey had been done by mail. As mentioned previously, most subjects were contacted in a random fashion, however several women in the Holy Power church and other City Heights churches were interviewed purposively. Thus, the sample includes both church goers and non-church participants among the women of City Heights.

It is important to note that some of the women who were recruited for the study may have seen me out in the neighborhood with Reverend Wilson. This may have led to a bias in the numbers with church participants being more willing to participate than non-church participants. The potential bias is discussed in more detail in chapter Three.

During the initial survey, responses were recorded by note taking on the forms themselves. This was followed up by a more lengthy assessment in a field notebook. The preliminary survey allowed several factors to be evaluated. Length of residence in the neighborhood, family history, and attitudes about "community" are all important factors as Remaley (1992) found these residents to be very community oriented. Secondary factors such as spousal church involvement and family participation in church related activities are also evaluated.

In addition, the survey allowed for the level of participation to be determined. By this I mean those who attend church once in a while will be differentiated from those who attend church more than once a week. Women who participate in other church activities such as women's groups, Sunday school, and so on are also identified.

The first questions (#1-7) determine residence and marriage patterns including length of residency in the neighborhood, marital status, employment, number of children, familiarity with neighbors, and desire to stay in or move out of the neighborhood (the survey appears as Appendix A). Questions (#8-17) look at church and community behaviors. Subjects are asked to rank order variables in order of importance, describe their feelings about religion, specify church or non-church attendance, location of church, and degree of involvement in church

activities. The final four questions ask for information on income, age of subject, highest grade of school completed, and age. The results from the survey will be discussed in Chapter Three.

Participant Observation

Participant observation is one of the most commonly used methods of qualitative data collection. The researcher identifies him or herself and interacts with participants in the social process under study, but makes no pretense of actually being a true participant (Babbie 1983). A key to participant observation is the open knowledge that the observer is a researcher and does not claim a false identity. Bernard (1988: 148) describes this method:

> ...establishing rapport in a new community; learning to act so that people go about their business as usual when you show up; and removing yourself every day from cultural immersion so you can intellectualize what you've learned, put it into perspective, and write about it convincingly.

Participant observation is particularly helpful when looking at social phenomena that cannot be addressed in any other adequate way. Church participation is a good example of a subject that can be understood more

accurately by participant observation. Because I attended Holy Power Baptist Church as often as possible, people became more comfortable with my presence which helped to reduce reactivity. During my first church service Reverend Wilson asked me to stand up and explain my research to the congregation and openly gave me his support. This support of an authority figure made entrance into the church setting go very smoothly. He stated that I was not only there to study them but also to worship with them.

During the services I would sing with everyone, pray with everyone, and put money into the basket as everyone else did. I was invited to sing in front of the congregation once but I declined due to a poor voice. Participation in any church setting, however, can raise issues of conversion. As mentioned previously, Reverend Wilson knew of my spiritual background and knew that I was not entirely content with my own religion. From my first service attendance to my last, I felt as if he and other members of the church wanted to "bring me to the Lord." Elaine Lawless (1988) found this issue to be a problem with her work in the Pentecostal church. She states: "What better testament to God and his power than the conversion of one who has merely come to study and observe?" (Lawless 1988:xviii).

The issue of my conversion eventually subsided after

several casual conversations with Reverend Wilson about the ethics of field work. I explained to him as graciously as I could that I could not become a member of his church during my field work, but that I would consider my personal feelings after the study was complete. I did not want to shut the door on the issue completely, but I could not leave it wide open as well. He seemed to understand my situation and continued to support my efforts.

Informal Interviews With Church Members

Informal interviews with church members, usually very casual in nature, began taking place before and after church services. I would ask open-ended questions about beliefs, church participation, church activities, and length of membership in Holy Power Baptist Church. I found that in the beginning it was the male members of the church who were more open and willing to talk to me while the wives of these members would stand by their side and not respond at all. The response of male members may have been due to the members' strong belief in missionary work, and their belief only men can preach. Again, I was a new potential member to many of these people. In time the women began to open up to me as I asked more questions only they could answer, and as I explained that I was primarily interested in the

religious experiences of women.

Several informal interviews took place in the home of Reverend Wilson after the Sunday morning service. He would invite a few people over for lunch ("supper") and the women would all sit together in one room while the men sat in a different room. It was usually over this lunch table that women would volunteer information about other members of the church whom I may or may not have interviewed. Occasionally I was "warned" about particular members because they were considered to be untrustworthy. I found the dynamics of these conversations to be very interesting because it was usually the wives of those with positions of power in the church who were gossiping. In these cases I remained neutral and tried to ask questions that applied to the person who was present, rather than asking questions that would lead to speculation about other members of the congregation.

Follow-Up Interviews

After administering the first questionnaire to the sample population, I chose a core group of twenty women for an additional interview.

These women where selected based on their responses during the first questionnaire. Women who attend church at least twice a month within the City Heights

neighborhood were selected as reflected in Figure 1. Most of the twenty core subjects attend church more than two times a week. Of these women, ten were members of Holy Power Baptist Church and ten were members of "City Heights" Fundamental Baptist Mission. The two churches are located with half of a mile from each other and have a similar history and congregation. Furthermore, the sermons and messages of the two churches were very similar. Since Reverend Wilson came from City Heights Fundamental Baptist Mission to take over Holy Power Baptist Church, the former can be said to be the "mother" of the latter. I would like to have selected all twenty subjects from Holy Power Baptist Church, but due to the small congregation size, there were not enough women to choose from.

During the secondary interviews the women were asked open-ended questions about their church activities and friends. Questions determined how many "close" friends the respondent had and if these friends were members of their church, a different church, or no church. Questions focused on who the subjects spend free time with, could depend on, talked to about problems, and if these friends were members of their church and/or community. These questions were designed to discern support networks among the women of City Heights, and ascertain if these networks are based on church

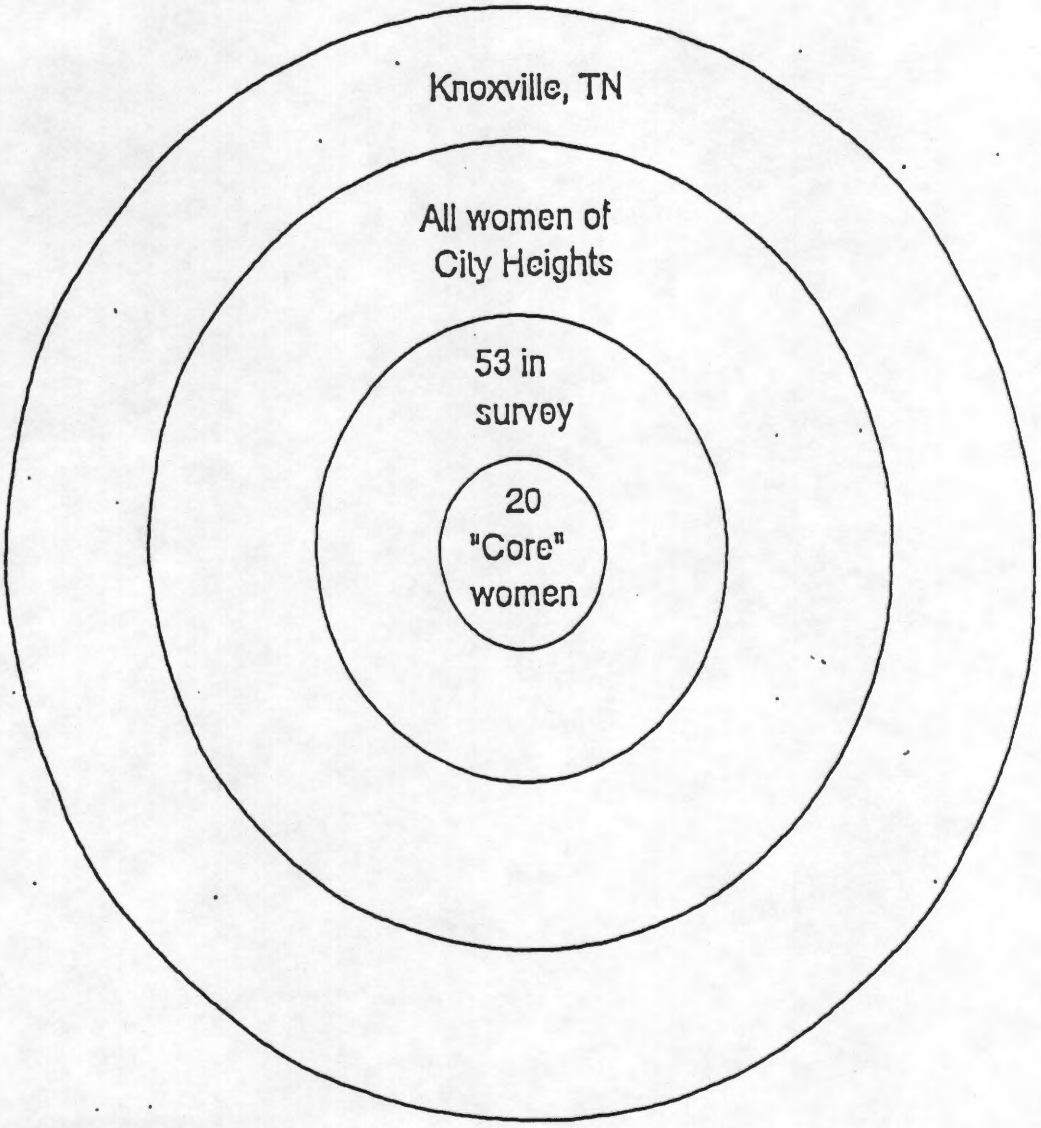


FIGURE 1. Selection Of Subjects For Study

involvement or membership. The advantage of using open-ended questions is that additional information may be disclosed that is often determined to be important at a later date.

D. Conclusions

By utilizing three data gathering strategies (questionnaire survey, participant observation, and open-ended interviews) the qualitative and quantitative analysis in Chapter Three is more representational of the social reality under study than it would have been if only one of the three techniques had been used. Most of the data are qualitative in nature but will be presented in a statistical framework when possible.

CHAPTER III

SURVEY RESULTS

The questionnaire discussed in the previous chapter was administered to fifty-three women living in the City Heights neighborhood to determine the extent of church participation and religiosity. The survey was structured to yield information about the neighborhood as a whole, and allowed me to locate women who are involved in a neighborhood church for an additional interview. In addition, the initial questionnaire allowed me to structure further research questions for the core group of religious women that would be meaningful and significant.

It must be noted once again that there may be a bias in who elected to participate in the study, due to my interaction with Reverend Wilson. Some women may have seen me with Reverend Wilson, as mentioned in Chapter Two, and assumed I was somehow affiliated with his church. It is possible that women who do not attend church were more likely to decline to participate, thus creating a bias in the church participation numbers indicating more religiosity than characterizes the neighborhood as a whole. However, the main functions of the first survey were to locate religious women for an additional interview, and to obtain information on

community attitudes. With or without the possible bias, these goals were met.

During the survey, a total of twenty-one questions were asked of respondents as shown in Appendix A. Questions 2, 3, 5, 18, 19, and 20 elicited demographic data; questions 1, 6, 7, and 17 asked for information on community attitudes; and questions 9 thru 16 determined religious beliefs and behaviors. Question 8 asked respondents to rank in order of importance the following variables: family, God/church, community, financial security, and job/livelihood.

After the survey interviews were complete, answers were coded into meaningful categories as advocated by grounded theory (Strauss and Corbin 1990). Open coding, a method which involves the process of "breaking down, examining, comparing, conceptualizing, and categorizing data" (Strauss and Corbin 1990: 61) was utilized. By coding answers in this way qualitative data can have quantitative properties in that relative frequencies of responses can be ascertained. Where possible, statistical data are reported, however, most of the data are presented on an ordinal or interval scale (Pelto and Pelto 1978: 144).

A. Demographic Data

Of the women surveyed, 81% are married at the present time with 80% living with their spouses. Further, 2% have never married, 7% are divorced, 2% are separated, and 4% are widows who have never re-married. Responses indicate forty-two (79%) of the women have children, and thirty (57%) have children or young adults living at home with them at the present time. Ages of respondents range from 22 to 82. The mean age as well as the median age of respondents is forty years.

Over half of the respondents (57%) work outside of their homes. The most common occupations are service oriented. These range from cleaning services to restaurant services such as waitress or cook. Some of the higher paying jobs include school teacher and doctor's assistant. When combined with their husband's income (if married) average household incomes are $19,386.

Educational data indicate only nine of the fifty-three subjects (17%) have attended any college or junior college and 30% are high school graduates. A high number of women (42%) have a tenth grade education or less and stated they dropped out of school early to get married or to work. Two women said they quit school because they got pregnant.

B. Community Data

Questions were constructed to determine attitudes about living in the City Heights neighborhood and if there was a sense of community among residents. The shortest period of time any of the subjects has lived in the same home in City Heights is half a year with longest being thirty-seven years. Many residents state they have lived in the neighborhood all of their lives, but have moved around to different houses. Cumulative frequencies show 30% of residents have lived in the same house for five years or more with the average number of years in residence being 9.76 years.

Due to the fact City Heights is a poor neighborhood as defined by the United States Census, I was surprised to find 62% of subjects stated they would not move out of the neighborhood. Women claim their friends and families are living there, so they have no desire to move. Some women said they would move into a "nicer" home in the neighborhood if they could, but they would never want to move into one of the new developments in Knoxville. Several women stated that all of their childhood memories are in City Heights, and although the neighborhood has changed in their lifetime, they would never want to move. Many women spoke proudly of their neighborhood and expressed a deep sense of loyalty to their community. When I asked women if they knew their neighbors by name,

75% said they did. Those who had lived in the neighborhood a short amount of time said they did know some of the neighbors well enough to speak to them, but did not know their names.

Finally, the women were asked if they were involved in any community related activities that were not church related. Only 40% stated they are involved in community activities. These activities include park clean-ups, fund raising, women's sewing groups, and activities involving their children. Several women said they have very little free time for such activities because of work.

C. Data on Religion/Religiosity

The first question I asked to determine religiosity is "would you call yourself a religious person?" Responses indicate 85% of women surveyed said they did consider themselves to be religious while 15% stated they are not religious. However, when I asked about church attendance in the last six months, only 70% of the subjects said they attend church at least once or twice a month as seen in Table 1. Attendance was broken down into four categories: attendance at more than two services a week, attendance at one to two services a week, attendance at one to two services a month, and never.

TABLE 1.

FREQUENCY OF CHURCH ATTENDANCE

	#	%
More than two times a week:	9	17%
Once or twice a week:	7	13%
Once or twice a month:	9	17%
Never:	16	30%
Total:	53	100%

Responses indicate a large number of women (47%) attend church at least once or twice a month and 17% of the women attend church more than two times a week.

Women who stated that they attend church were then asked how long they have been a member of their current church. Twelve of the women (30%) have attended their church for five years or less, twenty-one (53%) have attended for six to nineteen years, and seven (17%) have attended their current church for more than twenty years. Most women (80%) know most or all of their church members by name. Those who attend large churches in Knoxville indicated that membership changes so much it is difficult to keep up with everyone's name. Women who attend smaller churches stated that they know every member's name.

I asked women who stated they are "religious" if their spiritual beliefs or church attendance have changed during the course of their lifetime. I was concerned that some women who attended church in the past but no longer did would be overlooked. Therefore, I coded answers to this question into six categories and recorded responses in Table 2.

TABLE 2.

CHANGES IN RELIGIOUS BEHAVIORS

	#	%
Beliefs/attendance has increased:	24	45%
No change/always religious:	15	28%
Decreased as adult:	6	11%
Decreased for other reasons:	2	4%
Still religious but don't attend church:	3	6%
Never religious:	3	6%

And finally, I wanted to see if the women who attend church are involved in any other church related activities such as Sunday school or fund raisers. About half (51%) of the women said they are involved in these activities.

One question was asked of the subjects that allowed several of the previously mentioned topics to be

examined. Women were asked to rank the following variables according to importance to them: family, God/church, community, financial security, and job/livelihood as indicated in Table 3.

TABLE 3.

RANKING OF VARIABLES ACCORDING TO IMPORTANCE

RANK	1	2	3	4	5
Family	15%	60%	21%	4%	0%
God/Church	77%	19%	0%	2%	2%
Community	0%	2%	30%	45%	23%
Financial Security	8%	15%	30%	23%	24%
Job/Livelihood	0%	4%	19%	26%	51%

The rank ordering indicates that God/Church is ranked as first or second in order of importance 96% of the time. Family is ranked as first or second 75% of the time. These rankings reflect the high percentage of church participants among women questioned. Again, the possible bias in data must be considered. A meaningful comparison between church and non-church participants is not possible because the survey sample are predominantly church-goers. However, the survey was designed for two

reasons: to allow demographic data and information about the neighborhood in general to be gathered: and second, to facilitate locating women who are church participants for a second interview. In this regard, the questionnaire is successful.

Twenty of the fifty-three women questioned were selected for at least one more interview. These women were selected because they stated that they consider themselves to be religious, attend church at least monthly (preferably more), and are members of a church in the City Heights neighborhood. Many of these women attend services weekly and are very involved in their church. This "core" group of religious women is discussed in depth in Chapter Five.

CHAPTER IV

THE CHURCH

A. History of Holy Power Baptist Church

Holy Power Baptist Church is an independent missionary church that has been in existence for 13 years. As mentioned previously, the name of the church was specified by the first pastor's sister who donated the land for her brother's church. The first pastor preached for nine years at Holy Power then passed his position on to Reverend Wilson. Reverend Wilson grew up in the City Heights neighborhood and had been preaching at a close by church when he was asked to take over Holy Power. He has been at Holy Power for five years but still preaches occasionally at his old church.

Reverend Wilson has no formal pastoral training, but he has clear authority over his church. Authority can be defined as:

> ...to control, direct coordinate, or otherwise guide the thought and behavior of persons and groups in ways that are considered legitimate by those person and/or groups (Carroll 1981:100).

In many cases this authority is based on shared values and social norms. The degree of clergy authority is an important factor in the religious sphere (Bartholomew

1981; Carroll 1981). Bartholomew (1981) states that as religious organizations differ, so also do the manifestations of authority vary among them. When examining the role of the church in a small community or neighborhood, the influence of the religious personnel outside of the church should be ascertained.

At Holy Power Reverend Wilson is granted his authority based on his "call" to preach. The "call" is seen as the only legitimate authority needed to preach (Titon 1987:350). Seminary training is not viewed by members of Holy Power as important, and in fact is frowned upon. Reverend Wilson told me: "If Jesus Christ calls you to preach, then you don't need no fancy education or written out sermons. You preach what is in your heart because it comes directly from the Lord".

It should be pointed out, Holy Power Baptist Church is not affiliated in any way with the Southern Baptist Convention. Reverend Wilson and his congregation believe their independence from the Convention or any other affiliation protects their rights to practice their religion as they see fit. Reverend Wilson told me he has several theological differences with the Southern Baptist Convention and disagrees with many of the positions the Convention takes.

Howard Dorgan (1987a: 43) states that many churches that call themselves "missionary" churches in Appalachia

are actually "traditional 'old-time way' churches" that practice sacraments such as footwashings, creek baptisms and old-style singing. This assessment is not entirely true of Holy Power as it only practices two sacraments: baptism and the Lord's Supper, according to Reverend Wilson. However, Dorgan (1987a: 43) says independent missionary churches place a fundamental importance on spreading the word of the gospel and evangelizing, which is descriptive of Holy Power Church. The only Bible that is believed to be authentic, and from which readings are taken by Reverend Wilson and his following is the King James Version of the Bible.

Dorgan (1987a) characterizes the independent missionary Baptist churches in Appalachia as having many practices that are rooted in the nineteenth century. He states (1987a: 43) that many of these churches:

> ...take staunchly conservative stances on such issues as alcohol sales, abortion, prayer in the public schools, and sex education; challenge the value and/or legitimacy of indoor baptisteries, robed choirs, seminary-educated ministers, and women preachers; and hold tenaciously to those practices that they believe to be Gospel ordinances...

When compared to typical Southern Baptist congregations, these missionary Baptists seem somewhat exuberant, while the former may seem more reserved. This is certainly

true of Holy Power Church where the music is loud and joyful and the participation is high. Members believe in being able to speak out when they get the urge, to say "amen" or "praise the Lord" at anytime. One Sunday school lesson at Holy Power centered around this issue with the teacher saying it is the Devil's work to keep people quiet in the church. Churches that keep their congregation quiet are not truly praising the Lord, according to this Sunday school teacher.

B. Size of the Holy Power Congregation

During my first discussion with Reverend Wilson he told me that there are usually between twenty-eight and fifty members at each service. He stated fifty-one is the largest attendance at a service in his church in the last five years. Over the months from June to early August, I attended three church related activities a week: Thursday night service, Sunday School, and the Sunday church service which follows. Since some people come to Sunday morning services after Sunday school, I decided to count Sunday school and Sunday morning church as two separate entities when calculating my numbers.

The largest congregation observed occurred at a Sunday morning service after Sunday school and consisted of thirty-three individuals. The smallest congregation observed was twenty at a Thursday night service. Of

twenty-five services attended, the average congregation size was 27 (26.88) as seen on Table 4. The average number of men in attendance at all services was 11 (10.6) and the average number of women in attendance was 12 (12.16). An average of 3 (2.8) female children (under the age of fifteen) were present and 1 (1.32) male child at all services. All of the children were either infants or usually between the ages of five and ten. Therefore, I did not have to choose where to count young adults. The average attendance at Thursday night services was 25 (25.22), Sunday school was 26, and Sunday morning church was 30 (29.62). I had expected to see a more significant difference in attendance between Thursday night and Sunday morning services. However, the average difference in attendance was only five.

Before I started my field research, I had the church congregation pictured in my mind as being made up of a majority of older individuals. I was surprised to find most of the members are under the age of forty, and many are in their twenties. Several members are young married couples who come to worship together and bring their small children. I found the atmosphere to be very family oriented.

TABLE 4.

ATTENDANCE AT HOLY POWER BAPTIST CHURCH

TYPE OF SERVICE	TOTAL ATTENDANCE	MEN	WOMEN	FEMALE CHILDREN	MALE CHILDREN
Thur P.M.	28	11	13	3	1
Sun School	26	9	13	3	1
Sun AM	33	11	16	4	2
Thurs PM	26	10	10	4	2
Sun School	23	9	10	3	1
Sun AM	26	10	11	4	1
Thurs PM	28	12	13	2	1
Sun School	26	11	11	3	1
Sun AM	29	11	14	3	1
Thurs PM	20	9	8	2	1
Sun School	24	9	10	3	2
Sun AM	27	10	12	3	2
Thurs PM	26	11	11	3	1
Sun School	29	12	14	2	1
Sun AM	32	14	15	2	1
Thurs PM	27	10	12	3	2
Sun School	25	9	11	3	2
Sun AM	29	12	14	2	1
Thurs PM	21	9	11	1	0
Sun School	27	10	12	3	2
Sun AM	31	12	14	3	2
Thurs PM	25	10	11	2	2
Thurs PM	26	9	13	3	1
Sun School	28	11	13	3	1
Sun AM	30	12	11	3	1
TOTAL	672	265	304	70	33
PERCENTAGE	26.88	10.6	12.16	2.8	1.32

All of the men, including Reverend Wilson, attend all church activities dressed in jeans and some sort of shirt with a collar. All of the women wear skirts or dresses. I never saw a male member wearing a tie or a female member in pants. Even if members could afford what is considered to be "fancy" or "stylish" clothes I doubt they would be worn. Members associate "fancy clothes and things" with more modern and society conscious churches. Reverend Wilson explained that the old-fashioned dress and lifestyles of his followers reflects the humility of Jesus. This humility is particularly expected of women. Reverend Wilson's wife told me to wear pants or shorts in the "House of the Lord" is disrespectful. It is okay for small children to wear shorts in the summer-time, but when girls get to be teen-agers they should dress like the women, she said.

C. Worship

Holy Power Baptist Church is located at the end of one of the main streets in City Heights. The structure itself is a small, white building with two windows in the front which support two air conditioning units. At one time there was a sign out front that gave the name of the church and the time of services, but it has recently been taken down. Across the street and between two houses is the newly purchased Fellowship Hall which currently is

being used for storage until enough money is raised to furnish it.

Members gather at the front stairs of the church (with Bibles in hand) prior to each service to greet everyone who arrives. Most women continue on into the church building while the men congregate and talk to one another outside. On my first arrival at the church I was given a warm welcome as Reverend Wilson had told several people I would be attending. In a church with such a small congregation it is difficult to overlook a new face. I was greeted by every member of the church with a hand shake either on the way into the church or after I had taken my seat.

The inside of Holy Power Church consists of thirteen pews, two organs, and a pulpit. Old sheets hang on the windows to block out the sun, and the carpet is old and worn. The two organs found in the church are played on Sunday mornings by the Reverend's wife and daughter. They usually play at the same time, however, occasionally the mother will play unaccompanied by her daughter. Three of the pews in the church are on the right side of the altar area facing the pulpit while the other ten pews face forward toward the pulpit. The three side pews are always occupied by Reverend Wilson, any male church elders that are present, and any of the preachers in training. Usually the trainees sit on one of the two

front pews facing the pulpit, but occasionally there is not enough room, so they sit on the side. In addition to these things is a board hanging above one of the organs stating last Sunday's attendance, last Sunday's donations, total church membership, largest church attendance, and total amount of money collected this year.

One of the first things I noticed about the church is that no women sit on the front pews. Wives and children of those on the front row sit one or two rows behind their husbands. I asked Reverend Wilson about this one day after church and he said he wants his young preachers and other men who are studying the Bible and waiting for the "the call" to be close to him and close to God. By sitting in the front row these men are able to participate in the service more closely, according to Reverend Wilson. Because the congregation is so small people usually sit in the same seats for every service as shown in Figure 2.

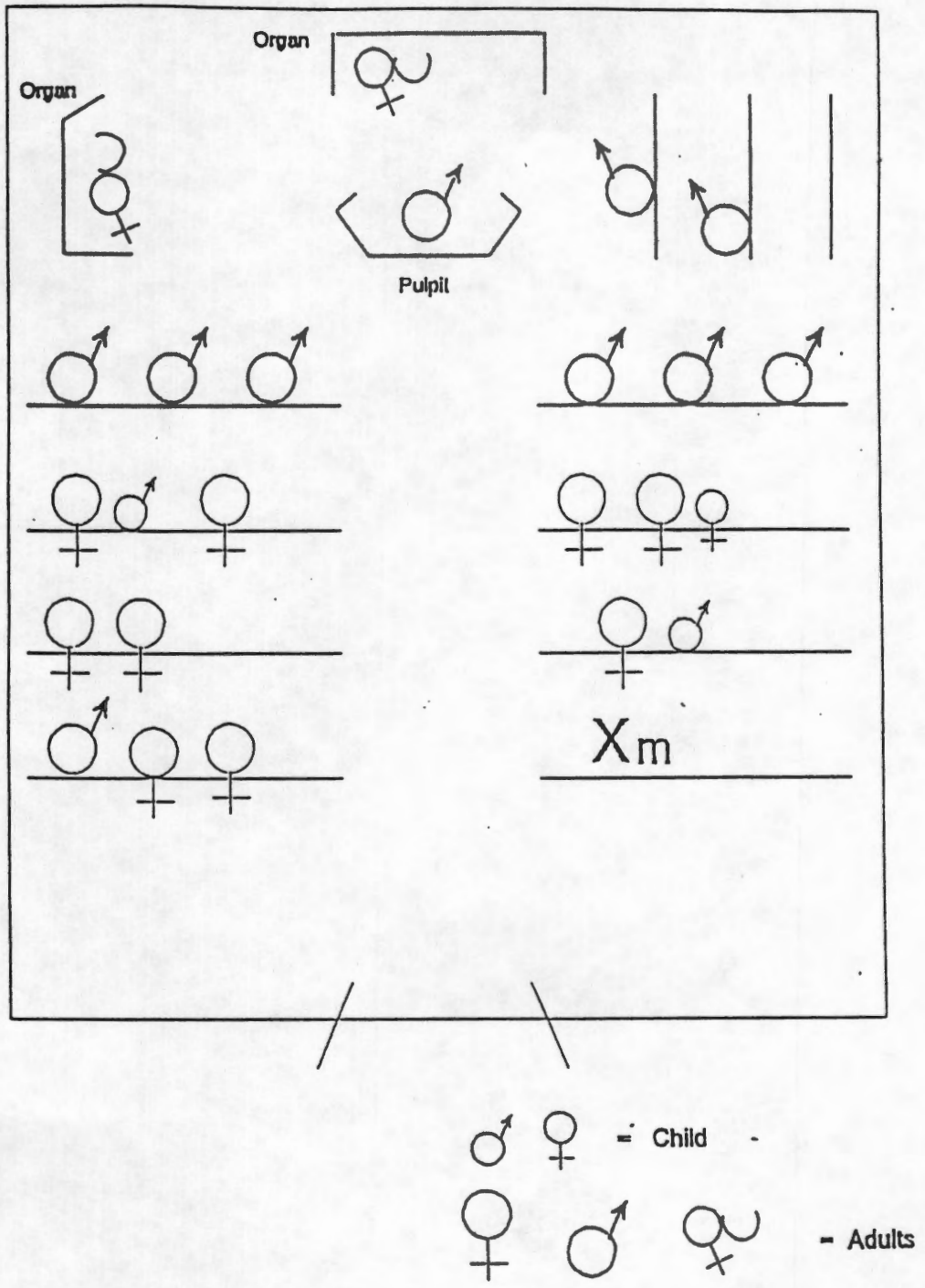


FIGURE 2. Church Seating At Holy Power Baptist Church

ORDER OF WORSHIP

1. Greeting
2. Congregational Hymn Singing
3. Prayer Request
4. Offering
5. Song
6. Altar Prayer
7. Congregational Hymn Singing
8. Scripture Reading and Sermon
9. Altar Call and Song
10. Closing Prayer
11. Closing Song
12. Processional to Altar

Figure 3. Basic Order of Worship

Figure 3 shows the basic order of worship used for Thursday and Sunday night services. "It's good to be in the House of the Lord" was the call to worship for almost every service I attended. After greeting everyone with a few comments Reverend Wilson typically asks for a song or two to get things going. After the songs are complete either Reverend Wilson or one of his two trainees will ask for remembrances. Almost everyone in the church asks the congregation to pray for someone they know who is sick or grieving, or for themselves. During this time a

male member of the congregation will pass around the collection basket. If someone has had a birthday that week or an anniversary, the congregation will sing "Happy Birthday" or "Happy Anniversary."

When the remembrances and offerings are complete Reverend Wilson says "let's go to the Lord" and all the men in the front rows, usually six or seven, will quickly come forward and kneel with Reverend Wilson in a circle at the front of the church. Each man will then say his own prayer out loud, but the voice that is the easiest to distinguish is that of Reverend Wilson. This altar prayer goes on for three to five minutes and slowly, one by one, each man will stop praying, but will continue to kneel until Reverend Wilson gets up. Only in one case did one of the men continue to pray after Reverend Wilson had stopped. According to one of the pastoral trainees, this practice is justified in Matthew 18:20: "For where two or three are gathered together in my name, there am I in the midst of them." I noticed when visiting preachers and some individuals from their congregation were present they were never invited to participate in this prayer session nor did they do so voluntarily.

In his book Powerhouse For God, Jeff T. Titon (1988:7) states that among Baptist folk groups in Virginia, what seems like a disorganized or confused service is filled with deliberate meaning and

organization. Rules are present that govern behavior and are understood by all of the actors and are learned by imitation. This is certainly true of Holy Power Baptist Church. Titon (1988: 8) found praying aloud was one principle of performance that was found in the churches he studied and was expected of members. By praying aloud individuals showed they had nothing to be ashamed of. This performance (as Titon calls it) is an important part of the services at Holy Power Church.

After the altar prayer there were always two or three songs. At this point one of the male members would often come up and play guitar and sing with one or two women. I was always impressed with the music that was produced in this small church. In many cases the singing and guitar playing sounded like Bluegrass music with its upbeat toe-tapping rhythm. Music is used to rejoice and praise the Lord, according to Reverend Wilson and should be shared by all.

The sermons that followed had many interesting messages. One Thursday night the message centered around how God is in everything, including the Tennessee flag. Would'nt it be great," Reverend Wilson said, "if the Tennessee flag was the flag of Christianity?" The red in the flag represents the blood of Jesus, the circle represents never ending life, and the three stars represent the Father, the Son, and the Holy Ghost. "We

can see the Lord in everything and everyone including those who make our life difficult," Reverend Wilson said.

The most frequent sermonizing on Christian life concerns the subject of poverty, in contrast to the "riches of heaven." The idea that God will provide for all of a person's material needs (food, clothes, shelter) is associated with members' beliefs in humility. Poverty is seen as what Titon (1988: 349) calls a "badge of humility." As long as you have enough to "get by" it is believed God is looking out for you. Before one Sunday service an older woman handed me a poem. She did not know the author of the poem but it reflects this humility in lifestyle:

Lord I've never moved a mountain
And I guess I never will,
All the faith that I could muster
Wouldn't move a small anthill.
Yet I'll tell You, Lord I'm grateful
For the privilege knowing Thee
And for all the mountain moving
Down through life You've done for me.

When I needed grace to lift me
From the depths of deep despair,
And when burdens, pain and sorrow
Have been more than I could bear,
You have always been my helper
To restore Life's troubled sea.
And to move these little mountains
That have looked so big to me.

Many times when I've had problems
And when bills I've had to pay,

And the worries and the heartaches
Just kept mounting everyday,
Lord, I don't know how You did it
Can't explain the whereas or whys.
All I know, I've seen these mountains
Turn to blessings in disguise.

No--I've never moved a mountain,
For my faith is far too small,
Yet I thank You, Lord in Heaven.
You have always heard my call.
And as long as there are mountains
In my life I'll have no fear,
For the mountain-moving Jesus
He shall make them disappear.

Fellowship and witnessing are often mentioned in sermons. "We are instruments of God," preaches Reverend Wilson and "by witnessing to others we are doing God's work. When we don't witness, we are telling God no. When we do the Lord's work, he takes care of us" and "God gives us everything we need...we may not have the best car or the best house, but we have the Lord and that is all we need...people would rather have the world than God."

After the sermons Reverend Wilson asks if anyone wants to come up to the altar to ask for forgiveness and/or to accept Jesus as their Lord and Savior. In one case, a man came forward and knelt down by the altar. All of the men in the front rows gathered around him and they put their hands on him and prayed for about five minutes. After the prayers stopped, again with Reverend

Wilson being the last to finish, the man stood in front of the congregation and explained that he and his wife had a fight just before he came to church and he was thankful for the support of the church. This was followed by handshakes and hugs among the men at the front of the church.

Many times when a sermon was completed Reverend Wilson would not ask if anyone wanted to come forward, but would instead ask for a song. I asked him about this one day following a service and he said he would call people to come forward based on that day's sermon. If the sermon was educational in nature (how to be a better Christian) then the spirit was not right for calling people. However, if he felt the congregation needed reviving he would alter his sermon to fit the situation. Some of Reverend Wilson's sermons were very long and some were very short. He explained this by saying, "if the spirit has come and gone then you should leave with it." However, none of the services I attended lasted for less than an hour and a half. Reverend Wilson made fun of some of the "long-winded" Baptist preachers who go on "long after they should."

After each service Reverend Wilson asks the congregation to come up and shake his hand so he knows everyone is in agreement with what he has said on that particular day. As people file forward in the church

everyone shakes hands with those they pass. Reverend Wilson said this practice strengthens the fellowship among the congregation while also allowing those with disagreements to come face to face and forgive one another. Once outside of the church many people stand around and talk. People will finally leave after Reverend Wilson and his family get in their car and drive off.

ORDER OF WORSHIP
(SUNDAY MORNING)

1. Greeting
2. Congregational Hym Singing
3. Prayer Request
4. Offering
5. Song
6. Altar Prayer
7. Scripture Reading/Prayer
8. Sunday School
9. Song
10. Sermon
11. Altar Call
12. Song
13. Closing Prayer and Procession to Altar

Figure 4. Order of Worship (Sunday Morning)

Sunday morning services are somewhat different than Sunday night or Thursday night services as indicated in Figure 4. There is a greater degree of participation by members on Sunday morning in readings and prayers than at other times. Sunday school usually begins with a greeting done by one of the pastoral trainees. This is followed by a congregational song led by Reverend Wilson's wife while she plays the organ. Once the song is completed, the trainee will take prayer requests and include his own prayers. Another song follows and the offering is taken up. The collection is followed by Reverend Wilson saying, "let's go to the Lord," and the men come forward for the altar prayer. After the altar prayer one of the deacons reads a passage from the Bible and Sunday school begins.

The Sunday school teacher is in his mid-sixties and only attends church on Sunday mornings. Because the church building has no classrooms, Sunday school for the adults takes place in the church sanctuary itself. Three or four of the young children are taken outside by two women and the adult group listens to a prayer by the teacher. After the prayer he reads his chosen passage for the day and delivers a sermon-like lecture on the passage. On some occasions there is a discussion about the passage with both women and men participating equally. After the lesson is finished, the children are

brought back in and two or three songs are sung. People who are attending the church service only arrive at this time. Usually four to five people come into the sanctuary, at this point, who were not at Sunday school. The order of the service after Sunday school is very much like any other church service. Reverend Wilson delivers his sermon, there are more songs and a closing prayer. After Sunday school, people seem to be more open to sing and participate. Overall, the atmosphere on Sunday morning is more joyous than on Thursday nights.

E. The Church As Community

The small Appalachian church, whether it be rural or urban, serves to unite individuals as a group having similar values and lifestyles. Holy Power Baptist Church provides a community or family-like haven for its members. Community is defined by The Scribner-Bantam English Dictionary as:

> 1. social group with common interests living in the same locality and under the same laws; 2 group within a larger community having specialized interests of narrower scope... 3. joint participation, sharing...

Based on the above defining factors, Holy Power Baptist Church can be called a community. Most members live in

the City Heights neighborhood; have specialized religious interest; and participate and share with other members of the church.

There are several examples of the church as community. First, members refer to one another as "brother" or "sister." This symbolizes a sense of familiarity with one another and a family-like atmosphere. Each member, including strangers, is greeted by a hand-shake. Reverend Wilson shakes everyone's hand either before or after the service, exemplifying he is one of the congregation.

Members gather twenty to thirty minutes before each service to talk to one another about both religious and non-religious subjects. The men continue to congregate outside and talk while the women and children gather inside. This fellowship between members is another example of the sense of community found at Holy Power Baptist Church. Members feel most at home at the church or around other members of the church. If a member shows up who has missed a service or two, the men outside will greet them enthusiastically. "It's good to see you!" is the welcome, not "where have you been?"

Singing is another example of how individuals come together as one. By opening each service with a song, the channels of communication are opened between the congregation and the divine. Most songs are from the

printed hymnal which allows everyone to sing along. The twenty to thirty people will all sing as loud as they can, and the music can be heard down the street. Reverend Wilson told me when their music can be heard in the neighborhood, then others might choose to come in and accept the Lord. Sometimes an individual will come to the altar and sing a song that is not in the hymnal, but members will still participate vocally by saying, "praise him, Jesus!" "praise the Lord!," "amen," "bless her Jesus!" during the song. Singing re-affirms the importance of the group, and allows all who participate to have equal access to the spiritual world.

Another forum in which all members can participate is remembrances. During remembrances members who have not been to church recently are prayed for, members who have passed away are prayed for, and members struggling with their religion are prayed for. By praying for absent members attention is given to their situation and often efforts are then taken by members to bring them back into the church community. This time is also a time of support for those who are having spiritual struggles. Those who openly admit to spiritual struggles are given support and encouragement by the group. One man discussed how he carried his Bible to work one day and was chastised by fellow workers. He said he felt ashamed and embarrassed by his Bible at first, but then tried to

witness to his co-workers about his beliefs. At this point they began calling him names, so he gave up. He told the congregation this story and asked for a prayer for the men, as they needed spiritual help. The man was praised by the church community for his efforts and was told not to give up.

The church can be seen as a community because it is a place where disagreements and arguments can be solved. Because of his social and spiritual authority, Reverend Wilson mediates between parties either directly or indirectly. An example will illustrate my point: one of Reverend Wilson's pastoral students has been divorced and remarried. Many fundamentalist religions do not believe in remarriage if a former husband or wife is still alive (Dorgan 1987a: 51), and this was the case with the trainee. This issue caused quite a bit of disagreement among members. Reverend Wilson, however, took a strong position that divorce is okay if the marriage is a "very bad one" and involves physical violence or adultery. During one of my first church visits and during the height of this argument, Reverend Wilson dedicated an entire sermon to divorce and forgiveness. He pointed to several places in the Bible where divorce is discussed and concluded if it is in the Bible, then divorce is okay under some circumstances. During his sermon he never mentioned the trainee or his case, but everyone

understood Reverend Wilson's point. He told the congregation he would be happy to show anyone the passages and talk further about the issue after church, if anyone wanted. Then he asked everyone to come forward to shake his hand to show all were in agreement. After church that day I did see three members talking to Reverend Wilson and looking at the Bible together. But for the time, the issue was resolved and the trainee continued to participate in services.

There are certain beliefs and norms of behavior that make the church a united community. All members dress alike, with the women wearing skirts or dresses, and the men wearing jeans and collared shirts. The women never wear lipstick or much jewelry. Even Reverend Wilson adheres to, and perhaps sets, the standard for dress. He never wears a tie or jacket when he preaches. All members believe in tithing even though they can not afford to give a lot. Every member will put at least a few cents into the basket. Very rarely are there dollar bills in the offering.

Another belief common to all members is that eating in the church building is a sin. This pertains not only to their own church, but to any church. Mrs. Wilson told me this belief is found in the Bible: I Corinthians 11:22, "What have ye not houses to eat and drink in?" and I Corinthians 11:34 states "And if any man hunger let him

eat at home, they ye come not together unto condemnation. And the rest will I set in order when I come." Reverend Wilson and his wife will not attend wedding receptions that take place in a church hall or fellowship hall because they feel these places are attached to the church and are considered to be the House of the Lord. Infants are excused from this rule, as bottles of milk are allowed in the church. However, small children are not allowed to bring in snacks, even during long services.

Baptism is seen as a public event for the community of the church to witness. Baptisms at Holy Power Church are done in the creek which runs along side of the building. The creek is very small so total immersion is almost impossible. I did not have the opportunity to witness this event, but Reverend Wilson told me occasionally they will go to a larger creek or pond out in the country for baptisms. The concept of baptizing outside comes from Mark I:9, "And it came to pass in those days that Jesus came from Nazareth of Galilee. And was baptized of John in Jordan" and John I:28, 29, "These things were done in Bethabara, beyond Jordan where John was baptizing."

All members believe one does not become a Christian through gradual maturation and enlightenment, but by choosing to yield to God and the Lord and by experiencing a "new birth" that happens suddenly and totally. Being

"born again" is the result of repentance and asking the Lord for forgiveness in a vocal prayer before the congregation. Once an individual has become born again he or she will hug or be hugged by most members of the congregation. This violates the normal social rules of the handshake as being the only contact, but by embracing the convert, members express a welcoming into the community of the newly saved. Church members show their greatest joy after someone has been saved, has moved closer to God, or has returned to the faith. The handshake or hug not only seals the event, but also expresses community.

By coming together in prayer, the church community is united in its efforts to live a Christian life. Members support one another and reaffirm each others' beliefs. The emotionalism that is found during services, particularly when someone returns to the church or accepts Jesus, rejuvenates the feeling of community. Everyone is believed to have equal access to heaven if they live a proper and Christian life.

CHAPTER V

WOMEN IN THE CHURCH AND COMMUNITY

The information I gathered concerning the roles of men and women in the church and community comes from three sources: discussions with Reverend Wilson, participant observation, and informant interviews. In many cases I had to look beyond what Goffman (1971) calls "front" stage or expected behavior to find out how women really participated in the religious sphere.

A. Biblical Authority

During our first conversation, Reverend Wilson made it very clear to me he puts supreme authority in the Bible. If the Bible states something is against God's will, then it must be avoided without question. Therefore, the place of women in the church is governed by what the Bible says. There are two passages Reverend Wilson uses as explanations why women cannot preach. The first comes from I Timothy 2:11-15:

> Let the woman learn silence with all subjection. But I suffer a woman not to teach, nor usurp authority over the man, but to be in silence. For Adam was first formed, then Eve. And Adam was not deceived, but the woman being deceived was in the transgression. Notwithstanding she shall be saved in

> childbearing, if they continue in faith and charity and holiness with sobriety.

Women therefore, are not allowed to be deacons or ministers in the church and women may not lead any prayers or take part in altar prayers. The only times that women are allowed to speak to the congregation at Holy Power Church are during prayer requests and discussions at Sunday school. Occasionally a woman will give a brief testimony before singing a song, but if this testimony goes on too long the male members seem to get impatient.

There was one occasion when a women did speak at length in front of the congregation. She was the wife of a visiting preacher who had come to give a Thursday night sermon. Unknowingly, she violated several of the church's principles of proper behavior. First, she sat in the front row of the church with her husband and the other male church members, which is never done by the wives of the congregation. Secondly, when she got up to sing she used a tape recorder for background music rather than the musical instruments which were available in the church. In addition, she did not ask the congregation to join which is very unusual in this church. She violated the sense of "community" in the church and disappointed the musicians by not asking for their participation. And third, after she completed her song she gave a ten minute

testimony about Christian fellowship which was far too long (according to the standards set by the church), and sounded too much like a sermon.

After the following Sunday service I had the opportunity to talk to some of the women about what they thought of the visiting preacher and his wife. I did not want to ask any leading questions, so I asked very general questions about the occurrence. Several women commented that the preacher's wife had a very pretty voice for a "young girl." Although the woman in question was at least twenty-five, the church members could justify and excuse her behavior based on her age and "obvious inexperience" with such matters. No one commented on her testimony or where she sat in the church. Rules for behavior, however, may be different for visitors.

In addition to keeping women out of positions of formal power in the church, the Bible is used to justify a submissive position for women. Reverend Wilson pointed to many passages that advocate subordination of a woman to her husband:

> That they may teach the young women to be sober, to love their husbands, to love their children, to be discreet, chaste, keepers at home, good, obedient to their own husbands, that the word of God be not blasphemed(Titus 2: 4-5).

> Likewise, ye wives, be in subjection to your own husbands... Even as Sara obeyed Abraham, calling him Lord: whose daughters ye are, as long as ye do well, and are not afraid with any amazement. Likewise, ye husbands, dwell with them according to knowledge, giving honor unto the wife, as unto the weaker vessel...(I Peter 3:1, 6-7).

Women in Holy Power Baptist Church are expected to be submissive to their husbands in church, but not necessarily in the home. For example, once outside of the church, Reverend Wilson's wife will be very vocal about her beliefs. In fact, Reverend Wilson said she is probably "more religious and more strict" than he. She will often interrupt him during conversations about religion to interject her point of view. Sometimes they will both start talking at the same time and neither one will yield to the other. This battle to be heard will go on many times for several minutes.

Several of the younger women in the church were hesitant to talk to me without their husbands' permission. After church I would stand and talk to couples but it was usually the husbands who would dominate the conversation. I would try to direct questions to the women, but they would often look to their husbands to answer. When I had the opportunity to interview these women away from their husbands they were much more open and seemed to enjoy the opportunity to talk about their religious beliefs.

B. Women's Roles In the Church

Women are denied a public voice in this church based on Biblical authority and interpretation. In addition, they cannot perform silent ritualized duties that are reserved for men, such as taking up offerings. It is socially acceptable for a woman to say "amen" or "praise the Lord" or something of this nature during a song or sermon, but this is the extent of her contributions to prayer. Women are also denied the right to participate in Bible study classes that are held at the church every Tuesday night. Since women cannot preach, Reverend Wilson believes that Bible study for women is unnecessary and is reserved for "intense study" by his male congregation. However, there are roles and responsibilities in the church that are allocated to women. These roles function to maintain the church both spiritually and financially.

Music

One example of women having more control than men is over the musical sphere of the church. In many fundamentalist churches there is a male song leader, according to Titon (1988), who selects the hymns to be performed. This is not true of Holy Power Church where there is no official song leader. Reverend Wilson

chooses some of the hymns, but in most cases whoever comes forward to "share a song" decides what is appropriate at that time. All of the instrument players (five) are women except for one guitar player who also sometimes sings, but never alone. The organ is played by Reverend Wilson's wife and his daughter and is only played on Sunday. Usually both organs will be played at the same time by Mrs. Wilson and her daughter in the form of duets. The larger organ is played by Mrs. Wilson while her daughter plays the smaller and older organ.

Financial Matters

As mentioned, women cannot participate in taking up offerings. However, once the money is collected it is a woman who is in charge of counting the money and is responsible for depositing it in the bank. This woman holds the "treasurer" role because she deals with all of the financial aspects of the church. This includes handling money collected during services, money raised at bake sales, rummage sales, or any other activities that involve raising money for the church or fellowship hall. She also pays other expenses such as electrical or water bills. In addition, she is in charge of counting members at each service and changing the attendance board.

It is interesting to note that it is a woman who financially supports the pastor of Holy Power Church.

Reverend Wilson considers himself to be "unemployed" as he is not paid for his preaching. He has no other source of income. Reverend Wilson's wife, however, works full time in a service industry to support her husband and young daughter. If it were not for Mrs. Wilson's job which supports her husband, Holy Power Church might be without its pastor.

C. Women And The Church In the Community

Women are primarily responsible for the functioning of the church in community based activities. This includes organizing and participating in activities such as: home sings and special sings; home prayers and campus prayers; special dinners; visiting nursing homes; raising money for the needy; and rummage and bake sales. Each of these will be discussed in the context of women's involvement.

Home and Special Sings

Home sings take place when a member of the church cannot attend service due to illness or because he or she just cannot make it to church (old age). Most of the instrument players are women and they will get together and choose a home sing location. Once this has been done, one of them will make an announcement at church and

ask for members to accompany them to sing to their "brother" or "sister." Home sings show support and remembrance for those who cannot attend church.

Special sings are also organized by women musicians. These events take place about once a month and are performed by gospel or musical groups from other churches. One woman will announce in church that it is time for a special sing, and will ask if anyone has a request for a group. If not, that women will suggest a group either from town or from a city close by. Special sings are open to everyone who wants to attend, so the event requires planning and management. One or two women will be put in charge of notifying other churches in the neighborhood of the event, and will invite their congregations to attend. Signs are put up around the neighborhood to announce the event. Special sings are done several times a year and are always done around Christmas and New Year's.

Home and Campus Prayers

Home prayers are performed in the homes of members for a number of reasons: if a member cannot attend church because of illness, old age, or has suffered the loss of a family member. Five to ten members will all congregate in the home of a person needing a home prayer. These prayers are done either by request of the

individual or as deemed necessary by the congregation.

Campus prayers take place in a student's dorm room, a student's apartment, or anywhere on the local university's campus. During my field research, no campus prayer meetings took place, because the church did not have any link with the university at this time.

Both home prayers and campus prayers are organized by women. Several female members of the congregation will set up a home or campus prayer and will tell the men when and where the event will take place. At the home prayer, Reverend Wilson, his trainees, and church deacons will conduct the prayers while the women stay in the background and pray in silence.

Special Dinners

Another occasion that is organized by the women of Holy Power Baptist Church is the "special dinner." The special dinner can take place during a holiday or at someone's home after a funeral. This is an event almost all of the women participate in. If it is determined a special dinner is needed, the women of the church will get together after a service and hold a meeting to talk about the dinner. Reverend Wilson's wife usually takes charge, asking for volunteers to bring dishes of food and supplies. If the item needed is expensive such as a roast or turkey, then several of the women will get

together and contribute that item. Because the church funds are limited, only a small amount of the budget is set aside for special dinners. Donating food is seen as a gift to the church and the Lord; therefore, most members participate.

If the special dinner is for someone who has lost a family member, then the women go to the person's home to bring the food, but will not stay. Reverend Wilson will drop by at a different time to pray with the family in private.

The special dinner at Christmas time is a greatly anticipated affair. The women of Holy Power Church spend several months planning for the dinner and allocating tasks to different women. Church membership and participation is greatest around the holidays, Reverend Wilson told me, which makes the Christmas dinner a happy gathering of his congregation and requires a lot of effort by the women.

Nursing Home Visits

The members of Holy Power Church perform community service at a local nursing home the congregation chose. Several members visit people in the home on a weekly basis. On every Sunday afternoon three or four women will go to the home and sing for patients. The wife of the Sunday school teacher is in charge of organizing

trips to the nursing home and always makes an announcement about the nursing home during Sunday school. According to Reverend Wilson there are no church members at the nursing home, but one "never knows when someone may choose to accept Christ at the end of their life." By visiting the nursing home, members hope to keep morale up for those living there. Reverend Wilson will visit the nursing home occasionally, but it is mainly the three or four women who sing who go there regularly.

Rummage and Bake Sales

Once a month, a rummage sale or bake sale is conducted to raise money for the fellowship hall. Members bring clothes and other unwanted items to the church during the month, then these things are sold at an event resembling a garage sale. Tables are set up outside of the church with the items on display, and many people from the neighborhood come by and make purchases. The rummage sale gives members with children the opportunity to swap for things they cannot afford to buy, particularly clothes. One Sunday I donated a large sack of clothing which was received with gratitude as they need "all they can get," one deacon told me.

Bake sales usually take place during a rummage sale, but every once in a while they will occur at different times. Both the bake sale and the rummage sale are

organized entirely by women. The only way men participate is by moving clothes or setting up tables. These functions are important in the financing of the fellowship hall's renovation. Members like to participate because when the hall is finished, everyone will be able to enjoy it.

Raising Money for Needy

The members of Holy Power Church believe it is their duty to help those in need. This can be spiritual need or financial need. When someone in the neighborhood has a financial emergency, members step in to help. Membership in the church is not necessary, as in most cases those they help are not affiliated with their church. During my field work, members helped an older woman buy an air conditioning unit for her home. The heat of summer had affected her health, so members chipped in and donated the money for this cause, as she could not afford it. This act of goodwill meant sacrificing money for the fellowship hall that month, but the congregation felt it was worth it. Again, it was female members of congregation who made the woman's condition known to the church and took steps to help her.

All the above activities indicate how women participate in the functioning and maintenance of Holy Power Baptist Church. Women play important roles in

financing the church and ensure its continued survival. Women are denied formal positions of authority, therefore they take nurturing roles that are socially acceptable in the eyes of the church community. They are involved in missionary outreach work, community service, and fund raising. These activities do not contradict the church's beliefs about women preaching, so that women retain a submissive role as designated by the Bible. Women are passive and non-assertive in worship, but they are active and assertive in nurturing the church community and reaching out into the daily life of members and non-members through their missionary and charity work.

D. Religious Women and Their Support Networks

Of the fifty-three women who participated in the first interview, twenty were selected for an additional interview. These women were selected based on their answers to the first questionnaire. Women who said that they considered themselves to be "religious" and who attend church at least one to two times a month in the City Heights neighborhood were asked to participate in the follow-up interview. Respondents came from two churches (including Holy Power Baptist Church) in the City Heights neighborhood that are similar in character and located within a mile of one another. Both churches are fundamental Baptist missionary churches with small

congregations. Some people in City Heights attend both churches on different days.

The objective of the second interview was to uncover patterns of support networks among church going women. I wanted to find out if friendships between women were dependent on similar religious beliefs, or not. In addition, I wanted to see how many women have friends who belong to their own church or to a different church, or to no church at all. Prior to the field research, I hypothesized that daily life support networks would develop in the church setting. Furthermore, I stated that church and secular support groups which are based on church participation would be valued to cope with crises and stress as the women defined them. The second interview addressed these and other issues.

These interviews consisted of open-ended questions. First, I asked the respondent how many close friends she had whom she saw or talked to on a regular basis. Then I would ask how many of these friends go to church. If the friends did attend church, I would find out how many went to her church or a different church. Finally, I would determine how many, if any, friends did not attend church at all. Depending on the respondent's answers, I would probe to clarify her answers. Some women volunteered so much information about their friends that they answered many of my questions without being asked.

However, this was not always the case. When I asked one woman how many close friends she had, she responded that her only friend was the Lord. I then went on to ask her if she ever talked to other women at church or after church and she said she did. By probing further to see if she ever saw these women outside of the church setting or talked to them on the phone I was able to determine that she did consider these women to be close friends.

The mean age of the twenty women interviewed is 42 (41.95). This is slightly higher than the mean age for the remaining 33 (40.12). although the sample of fifty-three has a high marital rate of 81%, the twenty women surveyed had a marital rate of 90%. Two of the twenty are widows and two have been divorced but have not remarried. The employment rate among the church sample is high at 70% compared to the general sample at 57%.

The largest number of close friends reported by the women is six, and the smallest, one. The women had an average of three (3.35) people they considered to be close friends. They talk to these friends on the phone and in person on a regular basis. On average, two (2.05) of the friends belong to their church, while 1 (1.2) belongs to different church. Only two women claim to have friends (one each) who do not belong to any church at all or are not considered to be "religious" in any way.

Based on the interviews, I contend women who are involved in fundamentalist religions such as Holy Power Baptist Church, establish support networks based on similar religious backgrounds and beliefs. These friendships are not entirely based on attending the same church; however, friends who attend a different church always attend a church of a similar nature (i.e. independent Baptist).

The two women who had friends who did not attend church both claimed their non-church going friend was a neighbor. One woman said she sees her friend during the day, but her husband would be angry if he knew she was with her.

Belonging to the same church was a necessary prerequisite for friendship for five (25%) of the twenty women. These women told me they spend so much time at the church they really do not have time for outside friends. One woman told me it would be "unacceptable" for her to have friends outside of her church. I asked her if this was true even if they had the same beliefs. She responded that every church is different and only those who hear the message of her pastor can understand the message she is trying to live.

Women who have friends in both their church and in other similar churches stressed "faith" as a necessary factor when choosing friends. Of these women, 55% (11)

have friends in both their church and in a different church, and 10% (2) only have friends in different churches.

The interviews revealed that for most of the women (90%), church participation is an important factor in determining friendships. However, friendship is not necessarily based on participation in the same church. Several women state some of their friends have moved to a different neighborhood and no longer attend the same church. Figure 5 indicates some patterns of relationships based on women's responses. The support networks found among the women have many functions. Many women mentioned that they gather with their friends to pray and strengthen their faith as a group. They often ask friends to pray for them in times of trouble or hardship. Some women mentioned that if they were having a personal problem that they did not want to bring up in church, they would ask for the prayers of their close friends. When faced with a moral dilemma, women reported they would often turn to their friends first, and their pastor second.

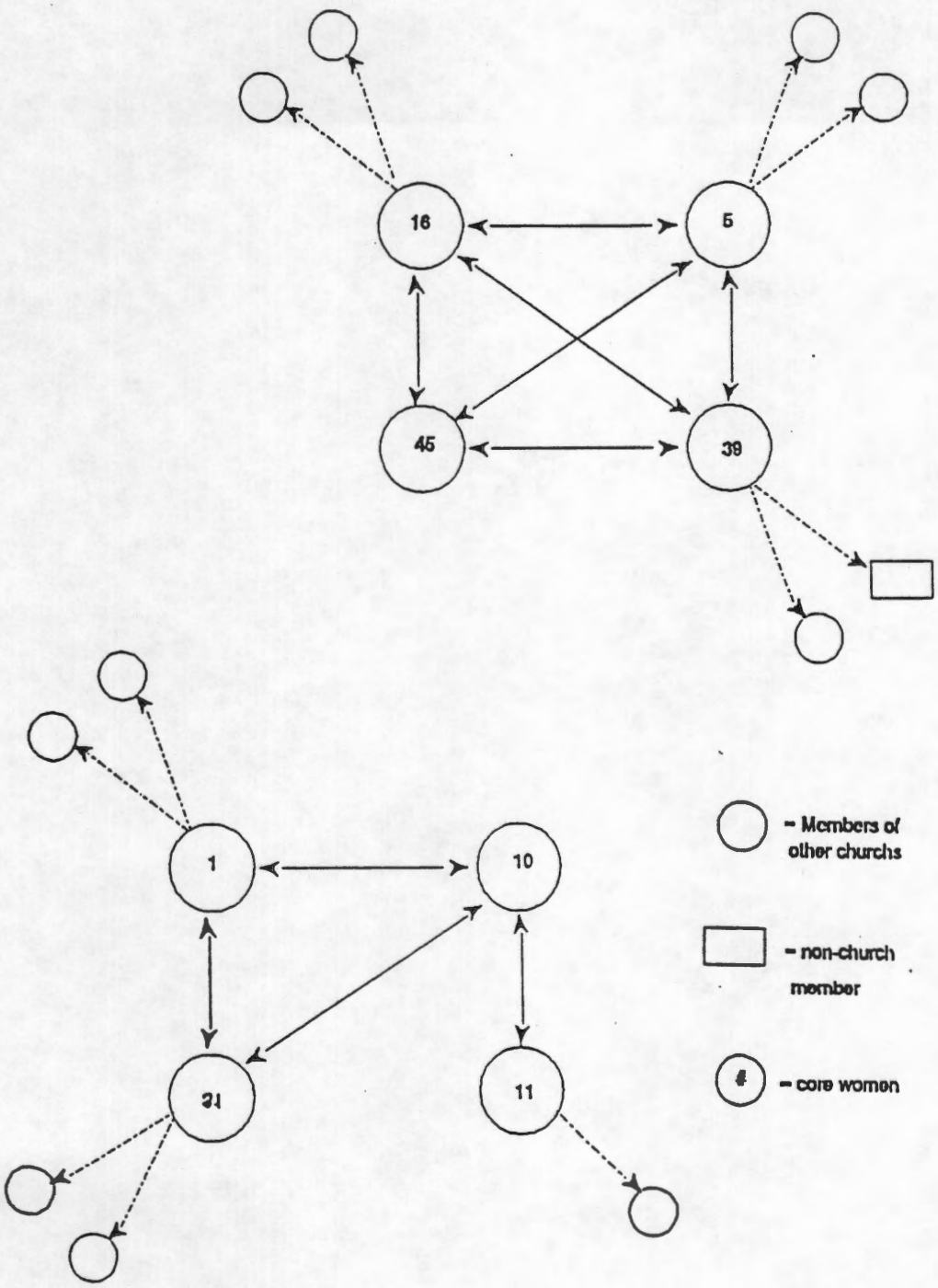


FIGURE 5. Friendship Networks

Friendship networks function to support these women in their day to day life and to help them with their moral and spiritual problems. In addition, several women stated they would get their friends together to do church outreach work such as as visiting nursing homes, bake sales and other activities. By doing this, women are able to combine the social and spiritual aspects of their lives.

Support networks are viewed as particularly valuable resources for women with children. Many respondents mentioned that if a child was sick and needed to be picked up from school, a friend could be called to pick the child up and care for it if the mother could not get off of work. In addition, several women stated that they babysit for one another to help accommodate work schedules. This is an important function of support networks, as the women often could not afford to pay for child care. Women also reported that they exchange and share children's clothing when possible to avoid spending a lot of money on new clothes. This occurs when a new baby is born or when a child grows out of their clothes.

Support networks have many other financial functions than those listed above. Several respondents disclosed that they help or have been helped by friends in times of financial difficulty. Usually this involves lending money or lending a car. Occasionally women would cook

meals for their friends in trouble, or help out with feeding the children. In addition to borrowing money from friends, several women mentioned they also received financial assistance from relatives.

The women interviewed indicated that support networks were important in the functioning of their daily lives. Women depended on these relationships for social, moral, religious, and financial needs. In addition, many women stated that they depended on their friends for help with their children and could not get by without this help. These networks are closely associated with similar religious beliefs and church attendance and in most cases are dependent on these factors.

CHAPTER VI

CONCLUSIONS

In her 1992 Master's thesis, Sue Remaley uncovered a neighborhood type in Knoxville, Tennessee that contrasts with prevailing perceptions of urban poverty. The urban poor are often described as having high numbers of female headed families, high crime and unemployment rates, cramped living arrangements, and residents are often portrayed as black or Hispanic (Wilson 1987). Remaley however, utilized a statistical demographic approach to show several neighborhood case examples in Knoxville that are different in character from these descriptions of the urban poor. She found that many poor neighborhood families in Knoxville are composed of two-parent families, have high employment rates, live in houses which they often owned themselves, and are predominantly white.

One of the neighborhoods investigated by Remaley is known as City Heights. City Heights in an example of a quasi-rural neighborhood in an urban Appalachian area. This neighborhood is found to exhibit a strong sense of community that is more typical in rural areas. The people know one another by name, have lived in the neighborhood for generations, are surrounded by relatives and friends, and attend church close to their homes.

Although it is a poor neighborhood, residents indicate they are content living there and would not move out of the neighborhood if given the opportunity.

This research addresses some of the cultural aspects of the neighborhood that were not addressed by Remaley's geography thesis. The preliminary research question asked is, "given a poor working class neighborhood with more stability and continuity in residence than one would expect from a general profile of urban poverty, what role does the church play in creating a social/spiritual community?"

In order to gain a general perspective on the women who live in the City Heights neighborhood, I interviewed fifty-three women. The survey indicates a very high percentage of church attendance. I have acknowledged that there might be a bias in my sample because of my known affiliation with Reverend Wilson. Those women who do not attend church may have been more likely to decline participation. However, the survey did allow me to locate active church women for the focus of the research. In addition, the survey indicated that the women of City Heights have strong ties to their community.

It is evident that the church plays a major role in facilitating a sense of community in the City Heights neighborhood. There are several churches in City Heights that are attended almost exclusively by neighborhood

residents. Church members interact with one another in the church setting which then carries over into the community setting. By attending church with the residents of the neighborhood and interacting with members, I knew I would be able to gain an understanding of the role of the church in the lives of those who attended, as well as the role of the church in the community. Therefore, I established contact with Reverend Wilson of Holy Power Baptist Church to discuss doing research in his church and with his congregation. He was cooperative and agreed to introduce me to his church and neighborhood.

I was particularly interested in observing the role of the church in the community, the church <u>as</u> community, and the roles women play in the church. The members of Holy Power Baptist Church are very active in the City Heights community both with members and non-members. Interaction with other members of the church is very common in the form of support networks among the women in particular. In addition, members of Holy Power Baptist Church frequently interact with non-members who live in the neighborhood who are seen to be in need of money, food, or material objects that can be provided by the church. These people are given what they need as a gift, not as a means of recruitment into their church. Church members also visit nursing homes, sing to elderly and

disadvantaged people, and conduct neighborhood rummage sales. These sales allow those who cannot afford new clothes to buy the items they need while supporting the community.

The church in itself exhibits traits that are community-like. Members refer to one another by "brother" or sister," and welcome one another to church with a handshake. Members gather before each service to talk to one another about religious and non-religious issues. This fellowship between members is a valuable aspect of the church atmosphere and is encouraged by Reverend Wilson. The congregation sings together as a group, and prays for one another's difficulties. Church is seen as a place where disagreements and arguments among members can be solved with the help of Reverend Wilson. The congregation of Holy Power Baptist Church have their own norms of behavior, including dress codes. For these and other reasons the church is a community within itself. Members state they feel they are "home" when they are at church with their "brothers" and "sisters."

In order to discover the roles women play in Holy Power Baptist Church I utilized participant observation methods and open-ended interviews. I attended two church services a week, including Sunday school, and participated in any other church related activities that

were going on at the time. All members knew why I was there and accepted me openly. Before I began doing fieldwork at Holy Power Baptist Church I was certain I would find that women had no power in the church setting. This was based on conversations I had with Reverend Wilson, the church's pastor, as well as literature research on fundamental Christianity. In the early days of my participant observation in the church, my beliefs seemed justified. However, when I began talking to the female congregation and interviewing several women, I realized my early conceptions were not necessarily true.

In Holy Power Baptist Church, the men do have all of the formal positions of authority. They dominate all of the liturgical roles in church worship. Reverend Wilson has authority over his congregation based on Biblical authority and his "call" to preach, both of which should not be questioned, according the members. Wilson's understudies also have church authority based on their "call" to preach. Women are excluded from preaching or speaking from behind the pulpit based on interpretations of the Bible, and all of the important ritual roles are filled by men (except music).

These factors led me to examine the roles of women more closely to determine how women participate in the religious sphere. After exploring the church community and observing male and female roles I concluded that

women play important roles in the functioning and maintenance of the church, especially in the community.

In her book God's Peculiar People, Elaine Lawless (1988) examines the roles of women in the Pentecostal church. In the beginning of her fieldwork, Lawless (1988: 110) thought the Pentecostal church under study was a truly egalitarian one. However, through participant observation and research she concluded that the Pentecostal church is one of the most male dominated religions in America (Lawless 1988: 110). Lawless (1988) presents a model for research on religious groups and the roles women play in them. In addition, she makes it clear that what seems to be social reality is not always the case, and by utilizing proper field techniques, the sociocultural phenomena under study can be more accurately understood (Lawless 1988: 111).

In time, it became clear the women of Holy Power Baptist Church maintain important roles. Women are passive and submissive in worship, following the norms of the church. However, women are active and quite assertive in community outreach work into the lives of members and non-members. Women contribute to the financial stability of the church by organizing fund raising activities such as bake sales and rummage sales. In addition, women are responsible for seeking out those in need in the community. The many activities that women

participate in have been discussed in Chapter Five, but the importance of these activities for the maintenance of the church in the community must be considered. I am certain that without the key contributions of the female congregation, Holy Power Baptist Church would cease to exist as an important part of the community.

This research also questioned the existence of support networks among the women. It was found that almost all church-going women base their friendships on similar spiritual lifestyles. These friendships between women help them to deal with their everyday lives, including moral and financial difficulties. The support networks are another example of the role of the church in the community, in that church membership for these women is in most cases a necessary prerequisite for establishing a relationship.

City Heights is an interesting community within the city of Knoxville, Tennessee. People there feel a strong tie to their neighborhood and to the residents who live there. The church plays an important role in facilitating and maintaining this sense of community. And the women of these churches play an important role in maintaining the church. In Holy Power Baptist Church, it is the quiet but diligent work of the women which helps maintain the church and its ties to the community. The men of Holy Power Baptist Church hold all of the formal

positions of authority and power within the church. However, women have power in community decision making outside of the church. Women determine the social mission of the church and help maintain the position of the church in the community. The stability and strong sense of community found in City Heights is due in part to the efforts of these women of Holy Power Baptist Church.

REFERENCES CITED

REFERENCES CITED

Abell, Troy D.
1982 Better Felt Than Said: the Holiness-Pentecostal Experience in Southern Appalachia. Waco, TX: Markham Press.

Applebaum Herbert ed.
1987 Perspectives in Cultural Anthropology. Albany, NY: State University of New York Press.

Babbie, Earl
1983 The Practice of Social Research: Fifth Edition. Belmont, CA: Wadsworth Publishing Company.

Balmer, Randall
1989 Mine Eyes Have Seen The Glory: A Journey into the Evangelical Subculture in America. New York: Oxford University Press.

Banton, Michael ed.
1966 Anthropological Approaches To The Study of Religion. New York: Frederick A. Praeger Publisher.

Bartholomew, John Niles
1981 A Sociological View of Authority in Religious Organizations. Review of Religious Research Vol.23(2):118-132.

Bernard, H. Russell
1988 Research Methods in Cultural Anthropology. Newbury Park, CA: Sage Publications, Inc.

Black, Alison H.
1986 Gender and Cosmology in Chinese Correlative Thinking. In Gender and Religion: On the Complexity of Symbols. C. Bynum et al, eds. Boston: Beacon Press.

Bradfield, Cecil David
1979 Neo-Pentecostalism: A Sociological Assessment. Washington, DC: University Press of America.

Bynum, Caroline O., Stevan Harrellk, and Paula Rlichman, eds.
1986 Gender and Religion: On the Complexity of Symbols. Boston: Beacon Press.

Cabbell, Edward J.
1985 Black Invisibility and Racism in Appalachia: An Informal Survey. In Blacks In Appalachia. W. Turner and E. Cabbell, eds. Lexington, KY: The University Press of Kentucky.

Carroll, Jackson W.
1981 Some Issues in Clergy Authority. Review of Religious Research Vol. 23(2):99-117.

Darrand, Tom Craig and Anson Shupe
1983 Metaphors of Social Control In A Pentecostal Sect. Studies in Religion and Society. New York: The Edwin Mellen Press.

Dayton, Donald
1987 Theological Roots of Pentecostalism. Grand Rapids, MI: Francis Asbury Press.

Demerath, N.J.III, and W. C. Roof
1976 Religion--Recent Strands in Research. Annual Review of Sociology Vol.2: 19-33.

Dillman, Caroline Matheny
1988 The Sparsity of Research and Publications on Southern Women: Definitional Complexities, Methodological Problems, and Other Impediments. In Southern Women. C. Dillman, ed. New York: Hemisphere Publishing Corporation.

Dorgan, Howard
1987a Giving Glory to God in Appalachia: Worship Practices of Six Baptist Subdenominations. Knoxville: The University of Tennessee Press.

--- 1987b "Brethren, We Have Met Again": The Old Regular Baptists and "Associated Time". Appalachian Journal 14(4): 334-346.

--- 1987c Comfort in Confinement: Gender Roles in the Old Regular Baptist Church. In Contemporary Appalachia: In Search of a Usable Past. C. Ross, ed. Boone, NC: Appalachian Consortium Press.

Eames, Edwin and Judith Goode
1988 Coping With Poverty: A Cross-Cultural View of the Behavior of the Poor. In Urban Life. G. Gmelch and W. Zenner, eds. Prospect Heights, IL: Waveland Press, Inc.

Eliade, Mircea
1969 The Quest: History and Meaning in Religion. Chicago: The University of Chicago Press.

Ergood, B.
1983 Toward a Definition of Appalachia. In Appalachia: Social Context Past and Present. B. Ergood and B. Kuhre, eds. Dubuque, IA: Kendall Hunt Publishers.

Fiene, Judith Ivy
1988 The Social Reality of a Group of Rural, Low-Status, Appalachian Women: A Grounded Theory Study. Dissertation, The University of Tennessee, Knoxville.

Flynt, J. Wayne
1986 Women, Society and the Southern Church, 1900-1920. In Religion In The South: Conference Papers of the Alabama Humanities Foundation. Tuscaloosa, AL: University of Alabama Press.

Gardner, Clinton E.
1970 The Christian Meaning of Community. In Appalachia In Transition. M. Glenn, ed. St. Louis: The Bethany Press.

Geertz, Clifford
1966 Religion as a Cultural System. In Anthropological Approaches To The Study of Religion. M. Banton, ed. New York: Frederick A. Graeger.

--- 1985 Religion. In Magic Witchcraft, and Religion. A. Lehmann and J. Myers, eds. Mountain View CA: Mayfield Publishing Co.

Giddens, Anthony
1971 Capitalism and Modern Social Theory: An Analysis of the Writings of Marx. Durkheim, and Max Weber. Cambridge: Cambridge University Press.

Glenn, Max E. ed.
1970 Appalachia In Transition. St. Louis: The Bethany Press.

Goffman, Erving
1971 Relations In Public: Microstudies of the Public Order. New York: Basic Books.

Hadaway, Kirk C.
1982 Church Growth (And Decline) in a Southern City. Review of Religious Research Vol.23(4):372-386.

Harrell, Steven
1986 Men, Women, and Ghosts in Taiwanese Folk Religion. In Gender and Religion: On the Complexity of Symbols. C. Bynum et al, eds. eds. Boston: Beacon Press.

Hill, Samuel S.
1986 New Directions in Understanding Southern Religion. In Religion In The South: Conference Papers of the Alabama Humanities Foundation. Tuscaloosa, AL: University of Alabama Press

--- 1988 Varieties of Southern Religious Experience: Baton Rouge: Louisiana State University Press.

Howell, Benita J. ed.
1984 Religion and Social Change In Appalachia. Phi Beta Kappa Fall Initiation Lecture presented at The University of Tennessee. Unpublished Manuscript.

Humphrey, Richard A.
1974 Development of Religion in Southern Appalachia: The Personal Quality. Appalachian Journal 1(4):224-254.

Hurston, Zora Neal
1938 Tell My Horse: Voodoo and Life in Haiti and Jamaica. New York: Harper & Row, Publishers.

Jamzadeh, Laal and Margaret Mills
1986 Iranian *Sofreh* From Collective to Female Ritual. In Gender and Religion: On the Complexity of Symbols. C. Bynum et al, eds. Boston: Beacon Press.

Jordan, Anne Deveraeux and J.M. Stifle
1991 The Baptist. New York: Hippocrene Books.

Kane, Steven M.
1974 Holy Ghost People: The Snake-Handlers of Southern Appalachia. Appalachian Journal 1(4):255-262.

Kerbo, Harold
1983 Social Stratification and Inequality: Class Conflict in the United States. New York: McGraw-Hill Book Company.

Keys, Charles F.
1986 Ambiguous Gender: Male Initiation in a Northern Thai Buddhist Society. In Gender and Religion: On the Complexity of Symbols. C. Bynum et al, eds. Boston: Beacon Press.

Knox, Paul L.
1988 Disappearing Targets? Poverty Areas in Central Cities. Journal of the American Planning Association Vol.54:26-47.

Lawless, Elaine J.
1988 God's Peculiar People: Women's Voices & Folk Tradition in Pentecostal Church. Lexington, KY: The University Press of Kentucky.

Leacock, Eleanor Burke, ed.
1971 The Culture of Poverty: A Critique. New York: Simon and Schuster.

Linderbaum, Shirley
1985 Sorcerers, Ghosts, and Polluting Women: An Analysis of Religious Belief and Population Control. In Magic, Witchcraft, and Religion. A. Lehmann and J. Myers, eds. Mountain View, CA: Mayfield Publishing Co.

--- 1987 The Mystification of Female Labors. In Gender and Kinship: Essays Towards a Unified Analysis. J. Collier and S. Yanagisako, eds. Stanford CA: Stanford University Press.

Lowie, Robert H.
1985 Religion in Human Life. In Magic, Witchcraft, and Religion. A. Lehmann and J. Myers, eds. Mountain View, CA: Mayfield Publishing Co.

Malinowski, Bronislaw
1985 Rational Mastery By Man of His Surroundings. In Magic, Witchcraft, and Religion. A. Lehmann and J. Myers, eds. Mountain View, CA: Mayfield Publishing Co.

Mayer, Adrian C.
1966 "The Significance of Quasi-Groups in the Study of Complex Societies". In The Social Anthropology of Complex Societies. M. Banton, ed. London: Tavistock.

McCoy, Clyde and James S. Brown
1981 Appalachian Migration to Midwestern Cities. In The Invisible Minority. W. Philliber and C. McCoy, eds. Lexington: The University Press of Kentucky.

McCoy, Clyde and Virginia McCoy Watkins
1981 Stereotypes of Appalachian Migrants. In The invisible Minority. W. Philliber and C. McCoy, eds. Lexington: The University Press of Kentucky.

McDonald, Michael J. and William Bruce Wheeler
1981 Knoxville, Tennessee: Continuity and Change in an Appalachian City. Knoxville: University of Tennessee Press.

Moody, Edward J.
1985 Urban Witches. In Magic, Witchcraft, and Religion. A. Lehmann and J. Myers, eds. Mountain View, CA: Mayfield Publishing Co.

Mullings, Leith ed.
1987 Cities of the United States: Studies in Urban Anthropology. New York: Columbia University Press.

Parrinder, Geoffrey
1980 Sex in the World's Religions. New York: Oxford University Press.

Pelto, Pertti and Gretel H. Pelto
1978 Anthropological Research: The Structure of Inquiry. Cambridge: Cambridge University Press.

Philliber, William W. and Clyde B. McCoy, eds.
1981 The Invisible Minority: Urban Appalachians. Lexington: The University Press of Kentucky.

Photiadis, John D.
1978 Religion In Appalachia. Morgantown, WV: West Virginia University Press.

--- 1981 Occupational Adjustment of Appalachians in Cleveland. In The Invisible Minority. W. Philliber and C. McCoy, eds. Lexington: The University Press of Kentucky.

Photiadis, John D. and Harry Scwarzweller
1970 Change in Rural Appalachia: Implications for Action Programs. Philadelphia: University of Penn. Press.

Poloma, Margaret M.
1989 The Assemblies of God at the Crossroads: Charisma and Institutional Dilemmas. Knoxville: The University of Tennessee Press.

Quaglio, Francine
1983 Religion as an Instrument of Social Control (1981). In Class, Race, and Sex: The Dynamics of Control. A. Swerdlow and H. Lessinger, eds. Boston: G.K. Hall & Co.

Quebedeaux, Richard
1976 The New Charismatics: The Origins, Development, And Significance of Neo-Pentecostalism. Garden City, NY: Doubleday & Company, Inc.

Remaley, Sue
1992 Knoxville's Poor Neighborhoods: Types of Poverty In An Appalachian City. Unpublished Thesis. Knoxville: The University of Tennessee.

Ruether, Rosemary Radford
1986 Women-Church: Theology & Practice. San Francisco: Harper and Row Publishers.

Ruether, Rosemary Radford and Rosemary S. Keller, eds.
1986 Women and Religion in America. San Francisco: Harper and Row Publishers.

Sanday, Peggy Reeves
1973 Toward a Theory of the Status of Women. American Anthropologist 75: 1682-1700.

--- 1981 Female Power and Male Dominance: On the Origins of Sexual Inequality. New York: Cambridge University Press.

Schwarzweller, Harry, James S. Brown and J.J Mangalam
1971 Mountain Families in Transition: A Case Study of Appalachian Migration. University Park: The Pennsylvania State University Press.

Scott, Anne Firor
1970 The Southern Lady: From Pedestal to Politics 1830-1930. Chicago: The University of Chicago Press.

Silverblatt, Irene
1987 Moon, Sun, and Witches: Gender Ideologies and Class in Inca and Colonial Peru. Princeton, NJ: Princeton University Press.

Silverman, Sydel
1981 Rituals of Inequality: Stratificiation and Symbol in Central Italy. In Social Inequality. G. Berreman, ed. New York: Academic Press.

Skitka, Linda J. and Christina Maslach
1990 Gender Roles and the Categorization of Gender-Relevant Behavior. Sex Roles Vol.22(3/4):133-150.

Sovine, Melanie L.
1983 Studying Religious Belief Systems In Their Social Historical Context. In Appalachia and America: Autonomy and Regional Dependence. A. Batteau, ed. Lexington: The University Press of Kentucky.

Spiro, Melford E.
1966 Religion: Problems of Definition and Explanation. In Anthropological Approaches to the Study of Religion. M. Banton, ed. New York: Frederick A. Praeger.

Spradley, James P.
1979 The Ethnographic Interview. Fort Worth, TX: Harcourt Brace Jovanovich College Publishers.

Stanfield, John H.
1985 The Sociohistorical Roots of White/Black Inequality in Urban Appalachia: Knoxville and East Tennessee. In Blacks In Appalachia. W. Turner and E. Cabbell eds. Lexington, KY: The University Press of Kentucky.

Strauss, Anselm and Juliet Corbin
1990 Basics of Qualitative Research: Grounded Theory Procedures and Techniques. Newbury Park, CA: Sage Publications.

Surface, Bill
1974 Sunday: Staying Right With God. In Appalachia: Its People, Heritage, and Problems. F. Riddel, ed. Dubuque, IA: Kendal/Hunt Publishing Co.

Titon, Jeff Todd
1987 "God'll Just Bless You All Over the Place": Hymnody in a Blue Ridge Mountain Independent Baptist Church. Appalachian Journal 14(4):348-358.

--- 1988 Powerhouse For God. Austin, TX: University of Texas Press.

Valentine, Charles A.
1968 Culture and Poverty: Critique and Counter-Proposals. Chicago: The University of Chicago Press.

Watts, Ann DeWitt
1981 Cities and Their Place in Southern Appalachia. Appalachian Journal 8(2):105-118.

Weller, Jack E.
1970 How Religion Mirrors and Meets Appalachian Culture. In Appalachia In Transition. M. Glenn, ed. St. Louis: The Bethany Press.

Whiteford, Michael
1988 Doing It: Urban Research in Popayan, Columbia. In Urban Life. G. Gmelch and W. Zenner, eds. Prospect Heights, IL: Waveland Press, Inc.

Wilk, Stan
1991 Humanistic Anthropology. Knoxville: The University of Tennessee Press.

Wilson, William Julius
1987 The Truly Disadvantaged: The Inner City, the Underclass, and Public Policy. Chicago: The University of Chicago Press.

APPENDIXES

APPENDIX A
PRELIMINARY QUESTIONNAIRE

PRELIMINARY QUESTIONNAIRE

Case#_____

Family/Community information

1. How long have you lived at this residence?

2. Are you married?

   Yes____ No____ Divorced_____

   Separated____ Married____times

3. Does your spouse live with you at this time?
   Yes____ No____

4a. Do you have any children?
   Yes____ How many____ No____

 b. Are These children living at home?

 c. Age?

5. Are you currently employed outside of the home? If so, where?

6. Would you ever consider moving out of this community?

Religious Beliefs

7. Do you know most of your neighbors by name?

8. In what order would you rank the following variables (in order of importance):

Family	____	Financial Security	____
God/Church	____	Job/Livelihood	____
Community	____		

9. How do you feel about religion? Would you call yourself a religious person?

10a. Do you attend church?

b. How often do you go to church?

More than twice a week ☐
Once or twice a week ☐
Once a week ☐
Once or twice a month ☐
Other_____
Never_____

c. If you attend church, which church do you attend most? Is it a church in City Heights or outside of the neighborhood?

d. If the church is outside of City Heights, why do you attend there?

11. How long have you attended this church?

12. When you attend church, whom do you normally go with?

13. Do you know most of/all of the members of this church?

14. Have your religious beliefs/church attendance changed during the course of your life? How?

15. Are you involved in any church related activities other than regular services? (i.e. Sunday school, etc.)

16. Is your spouse or other relatives involved in other church related activities?

17. Are you involved in any other community activities or groups that are not church related?

*General Information

18. Could you give me an estimate of your households yearly income?

19. What is your highest year of school completed?

20. What is your age?

21. Do you have anything else you would like to say at this time?

APPENDIX B
CONSENT FORM

CONSENT FORM

The purpose of this study is to gain an understanding of the roles of urban Appalachian women in the church and community. The study will look at the extent to which women in the City Heights neighborhood participate in church and church related activities and other community activities. You will be interviewed at least once to find out if you are currently attending a church in the neighborhood and how much time you spend attending church and/or church related activities.

This study will help those interested in Appalachian culture better understand the concept of community in cities like Knoxville. In addition, and in society. This study might not have direct benefits for you at this time, however, it may help students interested in the same topic in the future.

Your identify will be kept confidential. Only the investigator will have access to a list of numbers that will be assigned to names. These numbers anyone else. This list will be locked away in the home of the interviewer and will be destroyed after the research is complete.

If you have any questions about the research, either now or later please contact Dr. Benita Howell at 232 South Stadium Hall, The University of Tennessee at 974-4408. Your participation in this study is voluntary, and you may refuse to participate. You may withdraw at any time during the study.

I have read and understood the explanation of this study and agree to participate.

_____ _____

Name Date

_____

Signature

VITA

Pamela Crant Owens was born November 8, 1968, in Lexington, Kentucky. She grew up in Lexington and graduated from Lexington Catholic High School in 1986. She received a B.A. degree in sociology from Transylvania University in May of 1990 with a minor in anthropology.

After a semester of graduate school at The University of Mississippi and working as an archaeological research technician for the university, Pamela transferred to The University of Tennessee where she could focus on cultural anthropology.

Pamela is currently working as a research consultant for California-based Rand Corporation on a project in Birmingham, Alabama.