

To the Graduate Council:

I am submitting herewith a thesis written by Patricia G. Lane entitled "Mountain View: An Ethnographic Account of Cooperation and Conflict in a Tennessee Community on the Cumberland Plateau." 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.

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MOUNTAIN VIEW: AN ETHNOGRAPHIC ACCOUNT OF
COOPERATION AND CONFLICT IN A
TENNESSEE COMMUNITY ON THE
CUMBERLAND PLATEAU

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One of the settlers of Mountain View, who became a key informant and a friend, died the day I returned to Knoxville from my final visit to the community. Learning of her death made the completion of this work both difficult and necessary for me. This thesis is dedicated to her memory, and to all the people of Mountain View.

ABSTRACT

Many small rural communities in the United States have experienced rapid social, cultural, and economic change associated with increasing urbanization. These interrelated changes have often been found to trigger a deterioration of community identity and participation. Yet communities do not necessarily deteriorate, as local residents may initiate adaptive, revitalizing responses to the changes affecting their communities.

In order to examine how members of one small community have adaptively responded to change, this study focuses on patterns of cooperation and conflict over a period of 45 years since the community was settled. An ethnographic approach was taken to examine these patterns in Mountain View, a small rural community on the Cumberland Plateau in Middle Tennessee. Although participant observation and informal interviewing were the basic means of data collection, various research techniques were used in the study. Qualitative data were used as the primary basis for analysis, with quantitative data used to further verify conclusions.

The circumstances of Mountain View's settlement facilitated the development of close and cooperative relationships in the community, and a number of mechanisms have helped to maintain those relationships to some extent to the present. Yet Mountain View has gone through many changes, and tensions and conflicts within the community have threatened cohesion. Community members have, however, successfully adjusted to changes and managed tensions in order to preserve a strong

sense of community identity, participation, and cooperation. They have, through unconscious means as well as consciously planned avenues, prevented the deterioration of their community.

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CHAPTER I

INTRODUCTION

This study concerns cooperation and conflict in an Appalachian community. The idea for the study originated during my research on the community's history, a project conducted at the request of local residents. During the early stages of historical research in Mountain View (a pseudonym), I was particularly impressed by the cohesion of the community, and by the extent to which residents cooperate with one another. However, as I talked with informants about the beginnings of the community and about the changes that have affected it since its inception in the late 1930s, I became aware of tensions and conflicts within the community as well. My interest in looking at mechanisms favoring cohesion and cooperation expanded to looking at sources of tension and conflict as well, and eventually to examining the ways in which community members have attempted to minimize these tensions and conflicts.

Mountain View began in 1938 when poor, landless farmers from the Guntersville, Alabama area and from several East Tennessee counties bought inexpensive, undeveloped land on the Cumberland Plateau in Middle Tennessee, approximately 65 miles northwest of Chattanooga. Four of the original settlers, who moved to Mountain View as married adults, were living in the community at the time this research was conducted. Many of the settlers' children and grandchildren have stayed in the community. Some have carried on the traditional

occupations of farming and timbering, whereas others have turned to other means of employment. All, however, have maintained an image of their group as a distinct entity, and often refer to themselves as "pioneers" or "descendants of pioneers."

A spirit of cohesion and cooperation developed among the settlers of Mountain View during the early years as they struggled to establish themselves on their new farms with minimal equipment and limited financial resources. This spirit has continued to some extent up to the present, and community members cooperate on farm and timber work and frequently interact on a social basis. However, over the course of the community's history, there have been numerous changes which have altered lifestyles and relationships in Mountain View. Community members view some of the changes, such as improved farm methods and equipment, increased material possessions, and better overall living conditions, as positive contributions to their lives. Yet they consider others, notably the closing of their school, the conflicts within their church, and the increasing heterogeneity of the community, as threats to the cohesion and cooperation which they feel make Mountain View special.

A. STATEMENT OF PROBLEM

Over half of the population of the Appalachian region and approximately one-fourth of the total United States population reside in rural areas. Yet these areas are not isolated from the larger American society, and such regions have experienced numerous changes

associated with increasing urbanization, particularly in the period since World War II. Mountain View began at a time when major change was sweeping rural America, and this community has gone through many of the same changes affecting other rural communities. Farms have become larger and more mechanized, and many farmers have, by choice or necessity, turned to other means of employment. Improved transportation and communication have put rural people into closer touch with mass American society. School consolidation has brought an end to the one-room country school, and decisions affecting rural areas are increasingly made by agencies and institutions outside the locality.

Many anthropological studies of rural communities in the United States have examined social and economic changes in the context of a general theory of "community deterioration." Yet such changes do not necessarily lead to the gradual decline and death of a community. As Adams points out (1981:51), growth and decay are both natural and simultaneous processes, and researchers are called upon to examine not deterioration, but rather the failure to revitalize.

In discussing the theory of the dying community, Levin (1980:272) ✓ suggests that people adaptively respond to the threat of community decline when they select what was fundamentally important from the past "community" and reintegrate it to meet changing needs. It is this presence of revitalization in Mountain View that makes its story an instructive one. The local history project with which this research began was itself a revitalization effort. The project was an

attempt by community members to hold onto what they perceive as good and important from their past--specifically the close and cooperative spirit which developed among the settlers. Yet, as will be shown here, Mountain View residents are not clinging to the past, but rather are attempting to rekindle this spirit and redirect it to meet the changing conditions that affect their community.

Examining the process of revitalization in Mountain View first requires looking at the role of cohesion and cooperation in the successful development of the community, and at the mechanisms which have favored the continuation of that spirit. One must also discover the sources of tension and conflict, and examine the ways in which old resources have been adjusted to deal with these. This study suggests that small communities do not necessarily have to sacrifice rural values to exist in an increasingly urbanized and mechanized country. Yet values are not static, and they require continuous adjustment as communities face changing circumstances. Combining an effort to adjust to change with a desire to maintain what was good about the past, actively developing new social arenas to accommodate altered community structure, and finding ways to resolve conflicts between traditional and modern values are adaptive responses to the threat of community deterioration.

B. THE CONCEPT OF COMMUNITY

Considerable confusion can arise over the use of the term "community," as it has been used in various ways. Community is viewed

here both as a group of people sharing a common geographical space, and as a category in the minds of those people. When people view themselves as a distinct group sharing common bonds and a common way of life, the group can be studied as a unit which exercises a particular force in the lives of its members.

There are approximately 97 households in the geographic area of Mountain View, but there is a much smaller group of people who consider themselves, and are generally considered by others, to be the "real community." This group consists of the four surviving settlers who moved to Mountain View as married adults, along with descendants of the settlers who have, in the words of one member, "stayed with the community." Families who were living in the area when the settlers arrived, and intermarried with the settling families, are also considered members of this group, which can be referred to as the core community. This core group was the focus of research. Other families living in the spatial community have necessarily been considered as they relate to the core.

It is useful to view the core community as the center of a set of concentric circles (see Figure 1). There are 36 households which are unquestionably core with 16 others which can be regarded as being on the fringe of the core, since they are not considered outsiders, but are not quite considered core members either. This fringe group consists primarily of families who were living in the area when the settlers arrived but did not intermarry with the settling families. There are also approximately 12 Mennonite households, and a larger

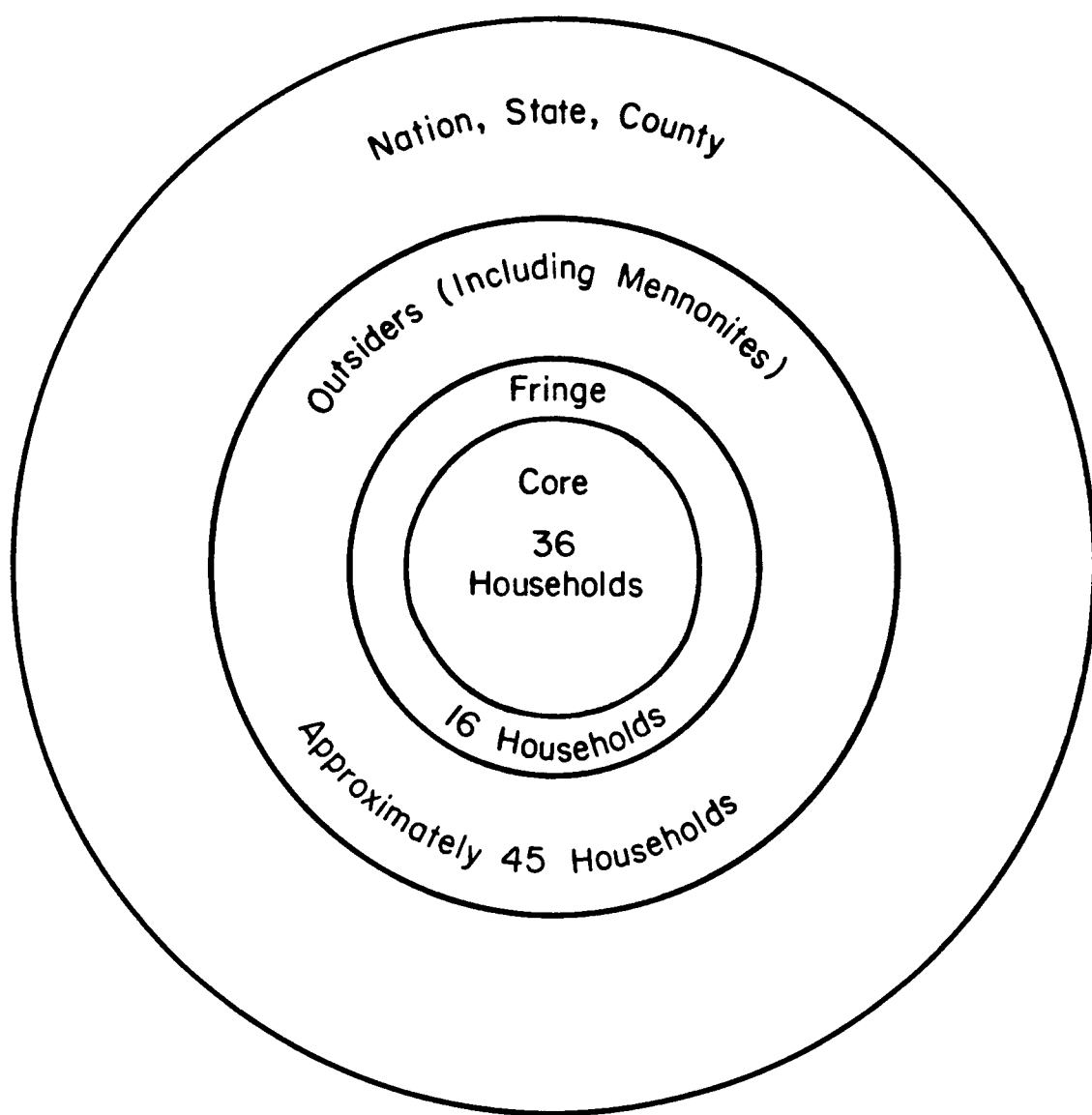


Figure 1. Conceptual View of the Research Community.

number of "newcomer" or "outsider" households. Most of the newcomers have moved into Mountain View within the past 20-25 years.

The present study focuses on the core families for several reasons. The social and economic changes throughout the community's history can best be illustrated by examining the experiences of families who have been a part of the community since its inception. The core today constitutes the majority of farmers in the community, and best illustrates those principles of cohesion and cooperation which were a primary concern of this research. Perhaps most importantly, core members view themselves as distinct, and yet part of, the larger community. As Taylor (1983:176) has pointed out, ✓ "community" may best be defined by the people themselves, and this is probably the ethnographer's best cue for defining the unit of study.

C. BACKGROUND FROM COMMUNITY STUDIES

The community study method has been widely used in social and cultural anthropology. Although anthropologists have traditionally focused their attention on societies and cultures other than the United States, a solid base for research in this country has been established. Robert Redfield's research in the Mexican village of Tepoztlan is frequently cited as the beginning of the expansion of social anthropology into complex societies. In the decades following publication of this research (1930), many community studies have been conducted in Latin America, Africa, and Asia. However, little ethnographically-oriented work was done in Europe and the United

States prior to the 1950s, and consequently fewer published studies are available for these areas. By the late 1970s, European communities were well-represented in the ethnographic literature, but research in the United States lagged behind.

Although Arensberg and Kimball (1965) report that "hundreds of accounts of American communities already exist," many of these accounts come from disciplines such as sociology and rural sociology, agricultural economics, city and community planning, human geography, and regional or local history. W. Lloyd Warner is recognized as an early contributor to the development of anthropologically-oriented community studies in this country, with his Yankee City (1963) and Jonesville (1949) research. These monographs, along with the Lynds' Middletown (1929), all based on research done in the late 1920s and early 1930s, approached American culture from an anthropological point of view, examining problems of American class structure as manifested in the small town.

One of the first anthropological studies of a United States farm community was Walter Goldschmidt's As You Sow (1947). Goldschmidt focused on the effects of mechanization in a California community, describing the transformation of a traditional community into one based on industrialized farming. He noted that as farming becomes more of a business and less of a way of life, pecuniary values come to dominate social as well as economic relationships. As farmers shift to a preference for renting equipment and hiring labor rather sharing with one another, social cohesion is weakened. In his restudy of

James West's Plainville (1945), Gallaher (1961:140) indicated that mechanization of farming operations was the most important factor contributing to a breakdown of social interaction in this Missouri community.

Although the agricultural situation in Middle Tennessee is different, particularly in relation to California agriculture, mechanization has affected farming here as well, and relationships in Mountain View also changed as farmers became less dependent on one another for assistance. Yet, in some respects, Mountain View offers a contrast to both Goldschmidt's and Gallaher's findings. Whereas integrative clubs and activities ceased to unite residents of Goldschmidt's California community within a period of about 40 years following the advent of mechanization, such activities in Mountain View have continued to bring community members together. In contrast to Gallaher's observation that kinship bonds in Plainville had weakened and become functionally insignificant, kin ties in Mountain View have remained strong, and these ties form the primary basis for cooperation.

In his ethnography of Plainville, West (1945:211) suggested that increasing contact with the outside world, due to improved transportation and communication, had undermined the stability of kinship bonds. Increasing involvement with the larger society, the loss of local autonomy, and the infusion of modern values into rural areas are processes which have been found to go hand in hand with the mechanization and industrialization of agriculture. Both Goldschmidt

and Gallaher noted these interrelated factors associated with the urbanization of rural areas in the United States (see also Wilkinson 1978:116-117). Hatch (1979), in his examination of a rural town in the Central Coast region of California, suggested that these interrelated factors contribute to an "overall process of deterioration characteristic of small rural communities all over America."

The present research is concerned with the manner in which members of one small community in Middle Tennessee have adapted to changes, and how they have attempted to prevent the deterioration of community identity and participation. Conflicts between traditional values and more modern and progressive ones have threatened the cohesive and cooperative spirit in Mountain View, but they have not destroyed that spirit. Despite increased involvement with the outside world, kinship and friendship bonds within the community still define the basis of most frequent social interaction, and there has continued to be an active group social life. In Mountain View, there is continuity as well as change, and cohesion as well as conflict.

D. SIGNIFICANCE OF THE STUDY

Mountain View provides a unique opportunity for the study of rural change and development in the United States. The community was established in the late 1930s, in an era of growing governmental concern for, and involvement in, rural development. Since the early years of the 20th century, Southern agriculture, particularly the

tenant system, had been a target for reform movements, and by the mid-1930s government programs were reaching throughout the region. The Resettlement Administration, created in 1935, provided rural rehabilitation loans to farmers displaced from their old homes because of depressed economic conditions or due to the development of Tennessee Valley Authority dams. Numerous other programs and agencies were formed to deal with such problems as well. Some tenant farmers received a great deal of government assistance; resettlement communities carefully planned by the New Deal administration gave selected tenants an opportunity to participate in organized, cooperative farming communities, thereby having a chance to become self-sufficient landowners.

A great deal of scholarly attention has been devoted to analyzing the relative success or failure of various experimental communities (e.g. Campbell and Coombs 1983, Conkin 1959, Eaton 1950, Howell 1984, Infield 1945). Mountain View was settled by tenant farmers, and around the same time the New Deal communities were developed. Yet the settlers of Mountain View established a successful community with only minimal government assistance. The examination of factors contributing to the success of this community can be instructive for those interested in problems of rural development, or decline, in the United States.

More specifically, the present ethnography of Mountain View can contribute to the literature attempting to provide a broader understanding of Appalachian people and communities. Many studies of

the Appalachian region reveal the influence of Oscar Lewis's (1966) "culture of poverty" approach, focusing on poverty-stricken areas and suggesting that the attitudes and values of the people are the causes of their poverty. Some of the most well-known and frequently quoted books on the region, such as Jack Weller's Yesterday's People (1966) and John Fetterman's Stinking Creek (1970), refer to the "Appalachian mountaineer" as fatalistic, individualistic, and present-oriented. These books have perpetuated the stereotypic image of the "ignorant, apathetic mountaineer," resistant to change and unwilling or unable to plan for the future. Although other authors have pointed out the absurdity of viewing the region as a homogeneous entity (e.g. Ergood and Kuhre 1978, Hicks 1976:6-7, Stephenson 1968:213-216), comparatively little research has been done in communities where poverty is not widespread, where welfare is not a major source of income, and where residents and lifestyles are similar to those in rural communities in other areas of the country. Stephenson (1968:216) has called attention to the need to examine "how and why some of [the Appalachian region's] people and some of its communities have successfully conquered the challenges of a changing environment."

This study of Mountain View can also make a contribution to efforts directed toward an understanding of the problems of family farming in America. Bennett and Kohl (1981:104) have stated that the family farm is "possibly a passing kind of socioeconomic structure that is under grave pressure in the modern world," and have pointed out that most researchers have concentrated on limited economic

concerns, failing to consider the complete social context. If the family farm is indeed a disappearing structure, there is a need to examine the intersection of social and economic criteria in those communities where small-scale farming is still practiced. Such research may also have much to offer those facing that "grave pressure," as well as those rural planners and agricultural agencies attempting to ease the pressure and ensure the continued viability of family farming in this country.

The community of Mountain View has existed for less than half a century, but there are advantages in studying such a relatively "young" community. The limited temporal framework, the availability of documentary data, and the memories of those who have experienced the changes of the past 45 years facilitate a dynamic approach to the examination of cooperation and conflict. Research in Mountain View also points to the value of the life history technique for ethnographic inquiry. By using life history materials, the changes of nearly half a century can be directly related to what Mountain View residents are experiencing today.

The historical approach to this study is reflected in the summary offered in Chapter III. This historical summary, along with the assessment of the current situation in Mountain View in Chapter IV, provide background for a more focused examination of community life. Although cohesion and conflict are discussed in separate chapters of the text, this division is merely for organizational purposes, as the two are not necessarily separate or antagonistic forces. Chapter V

examines factors which have contributed to cohesion and cooperation in Mountain View. Chapter VI focuses on change and conflict. Chapter VII brings the two together, analyzing the means by which community members have successfully dealt with change and conflict and maintained some stability in their community.

CHAPTER II

METHODOLOGY

Research in Mountain View began with a local history study, conducted at the request of community residents. The study enabled me to obtain complete historical background on the community, develop a focused research problem, and establish the rapport necessary to obtain information relevant to that problem. The purpose of this chapter is to discuss the transition from doing local history to doing ethnography, and the various approaches taken in the study of community cooperation and conflict. Although participant observation is the basis of ethnography, many other methods can be employed to supplement observational data and strengthen research results. Various data elicitation techniques and analytical methods were used in this study.

A. INTRODUCTION TO THE RESEARCH COMMUNITY

I was first introduced to the people of Mountain View by a University of Tennessee professor in December of 1982. At the request of Mountain View residents, she had developed a project to research and document the community's history. I had been hired as the principal researcher for the project, which was funded by a grant from the Tennessee Committee for the Humanities, with matching contributions made by The University of Tennessee and the community. The purpose of the December 1982 trip was primarily to introduce me and

other staff members to those community residents who had been actively involved in planning the project. Rapport established between my professor and the community while the proposal was being developed (April-September, 1982) made my entrance into the community quite easy.

I found the people of Mountain View warm and friendly from the start. A group of about 10 community members had gathered at one home to meet us, and after several hours on the road, the hot coffee, sandwiches, and assortment of homemade desserts they had waiting for us were more than welcome. Members of the group were excited about the project, and my first afternoon in Mountain View was spent listening to fond and proud reminiscences. Part of the community's contribution to the project was to provide room and board for the researcher. When the subject came up of where I was to stay when I began research in January, I felt for the first time a slight hesitance among the group; although they had gladly agreed to this condition earlier, they were suddenly faced with deciding what to do with me. The discovery that I had grown up on a farm and therefore was not a "city girl" eased their fears somewhat, and I was assured that I would have a place to stay. One of the group said, "I don't guess we'd know how to treat a city girl. If you know how to live like country folks, we'll do okay." I did know how to live like country folks, and before long felt very much at home among those with whom I resided.

Fieldwork was conducted over a period of 18 months, and during that time I resided in the homes of several different community members. For the majority of my time, however, I stayed at the home of a 75-year-old widow, one of the surviving settlers of Mountain View. Her son and his wife also provided lodging on several of my trips. Other community members who provided room and board for brief periods included an 85-year-old female settler, one of her daughters, and the daughter of another settling family. Approximately 10 different trips were made to Mountain View between January and June of 1983, and total time spent in the community during this period was about seven weeks. A continuous five-week period was spent there during August and September of 1983, and three other short (two or three day) trips were made in October of 1983 and June of 1984.

The community history project provided an advantageous starting point for conducting ethnographic research. Establishing rapport was facilitated by the fact that community members had requested the study. Older residents in particular were anxious to tell how they had come to a wilderness and created a community. Ideas for an ethnographic investigation of cooperation and conflict developed during the weeks of historical research, and community members were told early in the project that I wanted to do a more detailed study in addition to the local history they had requested.

In the early stages of fieldwork, some informants were hesitant to talk about contemporary community life, particularly its problems. To them, a historical study was preferable in that it concerned only

dates and facts of the past. However, I soon found a common ground between the community's interests and my own. I focused on the collection of genealogies and kinship data. There was an early interest on my part in the extent to which descendants of the original settlers had stayed in the community, and in the strong conceptual boundaries which separated this group of "pioneer descendants" from other residents. Community members themselves expressed pride in the fact that many young people had stayed in Mountain View, and they also pointed with pride to the extensive kinship connections which exist throughout the community. Constructing family trees was therefore seen as a relevant pursuit, and it was primarily through the collection of genealogies that informants first began looking at the past and the present as inextricably connected.

When the history project was completed, community members continued to open their homes and their lives to me. They gave me a place to sleep and good food to eat, and spent many hours with me interviewing and completing questionnaires. The shift from collecting genealogies and talking about the old days to asking sensitive questions about income, land ownership, and community problems was easier for both the ethnographer and the informants because of the relationship which had developed during the initial study. By the end of the summer of 1983, community members openly discussed community problems as well as the close and cooperative relationships among the people of Mountain View.

The pros and cons of doing research in one's own society have been debated in recent years (e.g. Messerschmidt 1981). The fact that I was much like the people of Mountain View, having grown up in a small East Tennessee community, helped me develop rapport very quickly, a factor which is most important in doing ethnographic research. Experiences and knowledge from my own past helped me understand the community and the people, and offered a chance for continuous comparison between Mountain View and other small rural communities I have known. However, I was aware that familiarity might interfere with objectivity, as well as cause me to overlook potentially important information. As I considered these possible problems, the value of employing a variety of approaches in ethnographic study became even more apparent.

B. RESEARCH TECHNIQUES

As pointed out in the Peltos' Anthropological Research: The Structure of Inquiry, "examining cultural behavior with a variety of different approaches greatly enhances the credibility of research results" (1970:121 italics original). The Peltos advocate a "judicious mixture" of techniques, and the collection of both qualitative and quantitative data. I employed a variety of research techniques in Mountain View, and three primary types of data were collected: documentary and statistical materials, interview and questionnaire data, and data from participant observation. Quantitative data were used primarily to complement and further verify

qualitative data, the latter serving as the primary source of information upon which this analysis of Mountain View is based (see Appendixes for quantitative data).

Participant Observation

I arrived in Mountain View equipped with a tape recorder, a camera, and a general informant interview schedule. Yet an ethnographer's primary research technique is participant observation, where the researcher lives with, and somewhat like, members of the community selected for study. Through participant observation, I became acquainted with practically everyone in Mountain View. I lived for short periods of time with several residents, visited many homes, and attended church services, Homecomings, family reunions, and various other community events. I tried my hand at quilting with the women of the Home Demonstration Club, learned to can tomatoes and dry apples, and discovered that advice to "stand straight" when hoeing out the cabbage crop was best heeded if I wanted to avoid having an aching back long before the work day was over. By participating as fully as possible in community life, I learned much about what it means to live in Mountain View, about the strong feeling residents have for their home, and about their fears for the future of their community.

Informant Interview Schedule

Interviewing in the community began with a general door-to-door survey, designed as part of the local history project (see Appendix A). An informant interview schedule was used primarily to prepare a

basic census of the research community. Questions were designed to elicit data on household composition, place of birth and length of time in Mountain View, church membership, size of landholdings and uses of land, and occupation. Other questions elicited data on early life in Mountain View and changes which have occurred since settlement, particularly in reference to employment. Genealogies were also collected as a part of this informant interview schedule, and proved useful in determining the extent to which patterns of cooperation and conflict reflect family lines.

Initially, the schedule was administered to 30 of the 36 core households and nine of the 16 fringe households, as these groups were most familiar with the history of the community. The schedule was later administered to approximately 30% of the newcomers, including the Mennonites. Choice of which newcomer families to contact was based primarily on a desire to survey those who had been in the community longer than 15 years as well as more recent arrivals, and to survey a mixture of those actively involved in community life and those who keep to themselves.

Interviewing

Open-ended interviewing was conducted with core, fringe, and newcomer informants. Such interviewing, along with participant observation, continued throughout the duration of fieldwork. Key informant interviewing and collection of life histories was limited to members of the core group, as this group represented the primary focus of research.

Life history interviews with the four surviving settlers of Mountain View, as well as interviews with many of their children, provided information on the community from its beginning. The life history materials were particularly useful for relating the many changes that have occurred in this community to what its members are experiencing today. In-depth interviews and life histories were tape recorded for 16 core members, one core fringe member, two former community residents, and two valley residents who have been closely involved with the people of Mountain View.

Interviews with the present and former Mason County agricultural extension agents were also tape recorded. In addition, the present extension agent provided a great deal of assistance concerning the collection of data on farming practices in Mountain View.

Documentary Sources

Documentary and statistical materials were collected from various United States Bureau of the Census publications, county governmental offices, school and church records, and personal records of community members. Although church records are scanty and have not been kept for all years, they were extremely useful for verifying and supplementing the information on conflicts within the church provided by key informants. Other documents, such as school registers, warranty deeds, and tax assessors' statements, were also useful for verifying interview data.

Some key informants functioned as research collaborators, in that they not only provided, but also helped gather, information. In

addition to searching courthouse records, they were particularly active in contacting former community residents, helping fill in gaps in the genealogies, and gathering photographs that documented early life in Mountain View.

Questionnaires

In the summer of 1984, after interviewing and participant observation were completed, two questionnaires were developed, not only to provide some additional information, but to help verify other data as well.

The first of these questionnaires was made up of three parts. A Likert scale was developed to quantitatively assess community opinion of various aspects of life in Mountain View. Respondents were asked to rate their community on a five-point scale for 15 different qualities (see Appendix B). They were then asked, using the same scale, to rate the nearby Mennonite community, as well as Dunbar (the largest and most urbanized town in Mason County), Mason County as a whole, and the city of Knoxville. The scale was developed to provide quantitative data on Mountain View residents' perception of social, religious, and economic aspects of life in their own community as compared to other areas.

A sentence completion exercise was included as the second part of this questionnaire, to provide supplementary data on attitudes toward Mountain View. Questions were designed to determine what community residents perceive as positive and negative aspects of life in Mountain View today, as well as their opinions about the changes that

have occurred and their attitudes regarding the future of their community.

The final section of this questionnaire was made up of six questions, which were formulated to determine patterns of community interaction (see Appendix C). Three questions dealt with patterns of interaction based on ties of friendship or affection (affective ties), and the other three dealt with patterns based on efforts to achieve individual goals (instrumental ties). This section was developed to help determine the extent to which ties of personal affection and those of economic effort merge in Mountain View, as well as to examine the role of kinship in community interaction.

This first questionnaire, including the Likert scale, sentence completion task, and the six standardized questions on behavioral interaction, was mailed with a cover letter to 36 core households, 14 fringe households, seven newcomers, and three core members who no longer live in Mountain View. As attitudes of the core and fringe members were most important to the research problem, questionnaires were mailed primarily to members of these groups. Questionnaires were completed and returned by 23 core members (64%), two core fringe members (14%), and five newcomers (71%). Two additional questionnaires were returned but were not complete enough to be useful.

A second questionnaire (see Appendix D) was developed to verify and supplement information on farming practices in Mountain View, particularly in relation to income, land use, and cooperative forms of

behavior. This questionnaire also elicited data on attitudes toward farming. The farm questionnaire, unlike the earlier one, was hand-delivered and explained to 20 Mountain View farmers (nine full-time and 11 part-time farmers). Those who only farm occasionally were not included because they felt they did not know enough about farming practices and history to merit completing this questionnaire. Of the 20 who did receive the questionnaire, 12 (60%) completed and returned it (nine full-time and three part-time farmers).

This tool proved to be most useful for generating data on income, and for verifying information on types and amounts of crops grown. Several of the questions concerning cooperation in the community were frequently left unanswered on this questionnaire, however. I was aware that farmers frequently swapped machinery, occasionally helped one another with farm-related chores, and cooperated in various other ways when the need arose. Interestingly, some of the farmers told me they failed to answer those questions because they were aware that I already knew how people in Mountain View helped one another. Again, I became aware of the value of using a variety of research techniques, and of the fundamental importance of participant observation to ethnographic inquiry.

Data from the farm questionnaire, as well as those from the earlier questionnaire dealing with attitudes and behavioral interaction, were used primarily to complement and verify data collected through participant observation and interviewing.

C. DATA ANALYSIS

✓ As Bohannon points out (1981:42), data analysis is a continuous process, one which cannot be separated totally from the tasks of data gathering and presentation.

Preliminary analyses during fieldwork helped to focus my research, and aided in designing new instruments to further verify my initial conclusions.

Data from participant observation and interviewing were analyzed descriptively, with statements made by informants being used to clarify or illustrate particular points. Life history materials were used to document how members of Mountain View have adjusted to changing situations. The tape recorded interviews were catalogued, and field notes were organized by topic.

The initial informant interview schedules were used to prepare a basic census of the research community, to construct genealogies, and to obtain information on land ownership, land uses, and types of employment. All of these data were checked against information obtained from open-ended interviewing, from participant observation, and from documentary sources.

Data from the two questionnaires were used to complement and further verify qualitative materials. Hand or calculator tabulation was adequate for descriptive analysis of much of the numerical data. However, computer analysis was used for the Likert scale (first questionnaire). It was not possible, because of the small sample size, to compare responses of core community members with those given

by fringe members or newcomers. Likert scale responses were pooled into one group, and the communities being rated were compared with one another (two by two) on each of the 15 descriptors. Frequencies and Chi-square values were obtained using the SAS program FREQ (SAS Institute, Inc. 1982). Fisher's Exact Test was used in the few cases where Chi-square was not appropriate. Results of the Likert scale analysis are shown in Appendix B, as well as discussed in Chapters IV and VI.

Answers to the sentence completion section of the first questionnaire were examined for patterning of responses. Answers were grouped into categories which grew out of the data rather than being formulated beforehand. Responses are also reported in Appendix B, and discussed in Chapter IV of the text.

Responses to the third section of the first questionnaire (a series of six standardized questions on behavioral interaction) were used to construct two networks, one based on ties of friendship (affective) and one based on efforts to achieve individual goals (instrumental). Network relationships were first tabulated in matrix form, and simple descriptive statistics helped to determine the number of ties between any given actor and all others, and to assess the overall density of the networks. Descriptive analysis of the networks required consideration of other interview data as well. Results of this analysis are discussed in Chapters V and VII and network diagrams are shown in Appendix C.

Data from the second questionnaire, dealing with farm practices, were used primarily to support and supplement information obtained from other sources. These data are incorporated into Chapters III, IV and V of the text. Results of the attitude questions are reported in Appendix D.

D. CONCLUSION

Although participant observation and open-ended interviewing were the basic means of obtaining data, other techniques and instruments were used to double-check, supplement, and support these data. The local history project conducted in Mountain View provided historical depth, as well as an opportunity to formulate a research problem based on first-hand knowledge of the community. Weeks of fieldwork provided the knowledge and understanding necessary to design additional research instruments. By using a variety of research techniques, and a mixture of both qualitative and quantitative data, conclusions can be stated with a greater degree of confidence than if they were based on any one type of data alone.

CHAPTER III

GEOGRAPHIC AND HISTORIC CONTEXT

A. THE SETTING

The community of Mountain View is situated in the northwest section of Mason County (a pseudonym), on the western edge of the Cumberland Plateau (elevation approximately 1800-1900 feet). It is located approximately five miles by paved highway from the county seat; however, many government offices, including the Agricultural Extension Service, the Agricultural Stabilization and Conservation Service, and the Farmers Home Administration, are located approximately 20 miles away in a town in the southern end of the county. Mountain View families also live within 10 miles of another small town in an adjacent county, and both this town and the Mason County seat are utilized for banking and minor shopping. More extensive shopping, for groceries as well as farm and household needs, is generally done in the larger towns of adjacent counties, as Mason County has no major shopping centers. Chattanooga and Nashville are also easily accessible, as the community is located only about 25 miles from I-24. Shopping trips to these cities are not frequent, but are occasionally made by some families. Spur-of-the-moment trips are sometimes made to pick up needed parts for tractors or other machinery, and young people occasionally take advantage of recreational opportunities in these cities.

Many Mountain View residents are very conscious of this easy access to surrounding areas, for they remember the days when travel was not so easy and was usually done on foot. Improved transportation is only one of many aspects of life that have changed since the first settlers traveled up the mountain on a narrow gravel road. Over the years there has been an increasing involvement of the community with the outside world.

The population of Mountain View has grown from about 40 persons in 1940 to approximately 400 today. The total population of Mason County is approximately 13,700, and the county is classified by the United States Census Bureau as 100% rural. In 1980, 11% of the county labor force was unemployed; the majority of those working were employed in manufacturing (33%), with over half of those working outside the county. Two garment factories provide most of the manufacturing jobs inside the county, and these employ primarily women. Agriculture is still important in the economy and 10% of those working were employed in that occupational category. According to the 1982 Census of Agriculture, there were 356 farms in the county, with a total acreage of 39,487 acres and an average size of 111 acres. Market value of county agricultural products sold in that year was \$12,379,000.

Mason County reflects the national trend since World War II toward a decreasing number of farms and an increasing size of those remaining. This trend has been cited as one of the primary visible effects of increased mechanization in American agriculture (Lewis

1979:25; Penn 1980:19; Rodefeld 1980:3-4). An examination of the agricultural census records for Mason County since 1945 shows a general tendency toward a decrease in the number of farms and an increase in average acreage, although number of farms increased and average acreage decreased between 1974 and 1978 (see Table 1). Average value per acre for farm land and buildings in the county has steadily increased, from approximately \$40 in 1945 to approximately \$1,022 in 1982, but Mason County still ranks slightly lower than most counties in the Southern Cumberland Plateau region for this statistic (see Table 2).

Poultry and poultry products account for over half of the total market value of agricultural products in Mason County (\$7,892,000). Many farmers in the county, including some in Mountain View, grow broilers on contract with the local division of a chicken company whose products appear in supermarkets throughout the Southeast. Not only does this bring in cash, it also helps out with family food bills, as growers are allowed some broilers for their own consumption. Other important commodity groups in the county are livestock, grains, soybeans, nursery and greenhouse products, and vegetables. Sales of vegetables (including sweet corn and melons) have shown the greatest increase in the past four years, from a total of \$94,000 in 1978 to \$418,000 in 1982.

The soils and climatic conditions in Mason County were recognized as favorable for the development of garden and truck farms as early as 1897. The Soils of Tennessee, a Tennessee Agricultural Experiment

TABLE 1

Mason County Farms and Acreage 1945-1982

	1982	1978	1974	1969	1964	1959	1954	1950	1945
Number of farms	356	383	339	411	454	498	596	981	1065
Average Size (Acres)	111	105	138	99	104	90	88	66	47
Value of Land and Building									
Average Per Acre	1022	793	471	224	113	90	46	39	38

Source: Census of Agriculture, United States Department of Commerce, Bureau of the Census, 1945-1982

TABLE 2

Average Value of Farm Land and Buildings, Per Acre
Southern Cumberland Plateau Region

	1982	1978	% of increase
Mason County	1022	793	29%
County A	1043	925	13%
County B	1179	1071	10%
County C	1052	867	21%
County D	877	650	35%
County E	1138	948	20%

Source: Census of Agriculture, United States Department of Commerce, Bureau of the Census, 1982.

Station Bulletin published in that year, suggested that with careful planning the vast unused acres of mountain land in the county could be developed into productive truck farms by the year 1950. The report stated that the primary hazard to mountain land was the practice of burning off the woods each year to improve pasturage for summer grazing of livestock. This practice was common throughout the South in the late 19th and early 20th centuries, and, although the bulletin states that the practice was rapidly decreasing even in 1897, it continued in the area where Mountain View was established until the early 1940s, when a county law was passed outlawing the open grazing of livestock.

Mountain View is an important part of the agricultural segment of the county. Only a few families rely totally upon agriculture as a means of livelihood, but several operate small farms while also working at other jobs. Based on information gathered from 1982 governmental office records, there are approximately 30 farms in the community, with an average holding of 108 acres; however, not all of these are operating farms. Community farmers have played an important role in the vegetable production of the county. The settlers of the community began growing and selling vegetables within a few years after moving to the area, and several community farmers continue to rely on vegetable sales for a large part of their farm income. Based on questionnaire responses, approximately 35% of farm income in Mountain View is derived from sales of vegetables (see Table 3).

According to 1982 Agricultural Census reports, vegetables make up only about 4% of total county agricultural sales.

TABLE 3
Mountain View Farm Income, 1983

Average gross farm income (full and part-time farmers)		\$40,845
Average gross farm income (full-time farmers only)		\$53,524
Percent of Farm Income by Commodity Group (full and part-time farmers)		
	Livestock	37.0
	Vegetables	35.0
	Broilers	11.0
	Corn and Grain	8.5
	Tobacco	4.5
	Miscellaneous (Other)	4.0

Interestingly, many of the Mountain View settlers first attempted to grow cotton as a cash crop, but found the growing season on the mountain was too short. They then began growing corn, soybeans, and a few Irish potatoes. As the story is told in the community today, one farmer set out a crop of cabbage in 1942 simply because his soybean crop was destroyed by a hailstorm and he had extra cabbage plants on hand. He had greater success with the cabbage than with any previous crop. Other farmers began growing cabbage around the same time, and

found they could invest less money and earn more than with other crops. One surviving settler (age 80) remembers his first cabbage crop well:

We cut that three acres of cabbage and hauled it to Chattanooga to the Farmers' Market. It sold for \$80 a ton; I'd never seen so much money in my life--don't remember ever having \$100 before that. We got started from that, and we're living pretty good today.

Since that time, community farmers have grown and sold a variety of vegetables, including tomatoes, beans, squash, and pimento and bell peppers, but cabbage has continued to be a major crop. In 1984, more acres (about 250) were planted with cabbage than with any other single cash crop. However, the single vegetable crop which has produced the most income for community farmers overall is probably pimento peppers. Farmers grew pimentos on contract for national companies for several years, beginning in the mid-1960s and continuing until 1983, when the market became flooded and no contracts were awarded. One farmer made enough money on his pimento crop in 1982 to pay off his farm, and several other farmers have said pimentos were their best money-making crop. Only a few pimento contracts were given in 1984, but community farmers hope to again grow pimentos on a large scale. In 1984, Mountain View farmers were also planting approximately 70 acres of tomatoes and much smaller acreages of bell peppers, squash, and October beans. In addition to vegetables, a few farmers were growing tobacco as a cash crop.

Along with other aspects of life in Mountain View, farming practices have changed greatly. It is necessary to look closely at

the community's beginning before examining the major changes which have occurred in the community, and assessing the impact of those changes. The next section will present a brief history of Mountain View, providing a background for the analysis of cooperation and conflict that follows.

B. HISTORICAL BACKGROUND

Mountain View began in 1938 when five families from the Guntersville, Alabama area and four families from Bradley, Meigs, and Polk counties in East Tennessee bought undeveloped land on Cumberland Mountain for five dollars an acre. Prior to their move to Mountain View, these families had lived as tenant farmers. The four surviving settlers of the community (as well as many of the second-generation members) refer to themselves as pioneers, and discuss their early life in the new community in terms reminiscent of late 19th and early 20th century frontier accounts. To them, the mountain where they established their new homes was a frontier, a "wilderness" in their terms, but it was a place to make a new beginning.

There were several factors involved in the initial migration of the settlers to Mason County, factors also reminiscent of late 19th and early 20th century westward frontier expansion (see Goldschmidt 1947:150). The limited economic opportunities for these families as Southern tenant farmers, the ties of friendship and kinship which connected the settling families in their old homelands, and the

optimistic faith of these families in a brighter future all played a role in their decision to migrate.

First there was the immediate economic situation. Land values in the South had been steadily increasing since the turn of the century, and, following the Great Depression of the 1930s, prospects for poor landless farmers became even more bleak. Acquisition of land for Tennessee Valley Authority dams in the 1930s led to displacement and relocation of many rural families. Land values in the surrounding area were pushed higher due to development and the increased public demand for land. Between 1933 and 1940, TVA and the Army Corps of Engineers constructed eight dams in the Tennessee River Valley. Most of the Mountain View settlers were affected either directly or indirectly by land acquisition for the Guntersville Dam in northern Alabama and the Chickamauga Dam in East Tennessee. Many of these families had been trying unsuccessfully for years to buy land in their home communities, but even when inexpensive land could be found it was essentially out of reach for those with little money and no collateral. One settler, the son of a tenant farmer and a tenant farmer himself, had attempted to buy 50 acres of land in East Tennessee for \$250 but was unable to find anyone willing to loan him the money to make the purchase. A series of events eventually led him and others like him to Mason County, where they established the Mountain View community.

In 1937, approximately 12,000 acres of undeveloped land on Cumberland Mountain were offered for sale at five dollars per acre.

News of the available land first reached farmers in northern Alabama through an advertisement which appeared in the Alabama-Georgia edition of The Progressive Farmer. The dissemination of the news from that point illustrates the second and equally important factor involved in the decision to migrate. Interest in the land spread through channels of friendship and kinship. Although the surviving Alabama settlers point out that they "weren't close there like we are here," most of them knew one another prior to the move. Three of the four settling families from the East Tennessee area were related to one another by kinship. News reached the fourth East Tennessee family from a Guntersville acquaintance. One Guntersville farmer had lived in East Tennessee prior to losing his farm during the Depression. On a trip from Guntersville to visit relatives in East Tennessee, this farmer met an old acquaintance (the man whose earlier attempt to buy land had failed) and told him about the mountain land. The Guntersville farmer offered to sell this man 50 of the 200 acres he had already purchased, asking only that he "pay as he could." The men struck a deal; \$25 was offered as a down payment, and the two agreed to work together their first year on the mountain.

The surviving settlers emphasize the economic aspect--the chance to buy their own land and be independent rather than working for someone else--but the importance of the social aspect should not be underestimated. The knowledge that others with similar lifestyles and from similar backgrounds would also be entering the unpopulated, undeveloped area made the decision to move easier. These connections

between settling families were extremely valuable to them in enduring the hardships of the first few years.

The third factor involved in the settling of the community was the settlers' hope for future progress. Future-time orientation is often cited as "a conspicuous feature of life on the frontier" (Vogt 1955:93; see also Bennett 1969:20, Goldschmidt 1947:150-152). The Mountain View settlers' orientation toward the future is reflected in the following statement of a 75-year-old woman, referring to her husband and another early settler:

If [their] talk had done any good, there'd be a gold road paved around the top of this mountain. They sometimes sat up here 'til midnight talking about what was going to happen in this community.

The settlers had to start from scratch in building their homes, their farms, and their community, but they were always looking ahead. Less than half a century ago they entered an area of scrub woodlands traversed only by narrow log roads, but they saw a community of homes and farms in the future. They held school and church services in an abandoned sawmill shack, but they saw a school and a church at the center of their future community. They cleared their land slowly, with cross-cut saws and axes, built their homes with culled lumber, and swept out the snow as it blew in through the cracks in the walls. They drank water from puddles when the springs went dry, and recycled their wash water until it was black with the dirt of repeated use. Yet they saw a better life ahead, for themselves and for their children, and that vision made the hardships easier to bear. Certainly, there were some doubts. Three of the four surviving

settlers (one man and two women) stated that when they first came to the mountain they wanted to turn right around and leave. When asked why they stayed, a common answer is, "there was nowhere else to go."

However, not all who came to the mountain stayed, and not all who contracted for land actually moved to the mountain. Those who came and stayed were willing to accept the uncertainties and hardships of the present in the hope of future progress. There was plenty of uncertainty in the early days, and residents in the surrounding valleys generally did not expect the new settlers to stay past the first year. Yet men and women who had dreamed of and planned for owning their own farms for years were not willing to give up easily, and the fact that others thought they'd never make it increased their determination to stay. The term "pioneer," which they apply to themselves proudly, implies hard work, frugality, rugged individualism, and an optimistic faith in one's ability to overcome the odds through individual strength, skill, and determination. These characteristics are evident in the history of the community's development, but they do not tell the complete story.

The individualism of the settlers, based in the general American ideal of private land ownership and the belief that one can progress only through initiative and hard work, was tempered with a recognition of the need for cooperation. The settlers came to Mountain View as economic equals. Most of them had been able to make only small down payments on their land, and had little money left after the expenses of relocating. They had no money to buy materials or hire labor for

building homes and barns. Although some of the earliest settlers by necessity built their first cabins alone, cooperative building of houses and barns became common as soon as more families began moving into the area. Working together not only made each family's job easier at the time, but also gave the men a chance to develop close working relationships that carried over to help them and their kin in future years. It gave the women a chance to develop similar relationships, since they pooled their dinners to take to the work crews and had a chance to visit and get to know one another better in the process. Settlers also cooperated during the first few years to protect one another's homes when cattlemen from the surrounding valleys set fire to the mountain woodlands each spring in preparation for summer grazing of livestock. Although no one remembers any of these early fires coming dangerously close to houses or barns, the fact that there was little cleared land surrounding homesteads made a ready source of potential firefighters desirable. This firefighting practice was probably valuable later when community residents helped Forest Service personnel battle a forest fire which threatened homes on the mountain in the early 1950s.

As a group, the settlers had two early goals: the building of a school and of a church. Within a year after they arrived, the settlers sent a community representative to the County Court requesting that a school be built in Mountain View. Their petition was approved, and by 1940 a one-room school had been constructed by laborers (mostly from the county) paid through the National Youth

Administration. One man who later married the daughter of a settler was involved in the construction, but no other community members helped in the actual building. Yet community members did become actively involved in supporting the school once it was built. Activities such as Christmas programs, graduation exercises, and box suppers, along with efforts to improve the school, united the settlers in a common cause. Community women cooperated to make quilts for fund-raising raffles, and donated canned goods for school lunches. Community members were also actively involved in planning for betterment of the school through the Parent-Teacher's Association. Early records filed with the county Department of Education document the cooperative and enthusiastic attitudes of Mountain View parents.

Although community children now had their own elementary school, those who wanted higher education had to travel to the county high school approximately 20 miles away. In the early years, a school bus did not drive into the community to pick up children, but made only one stop at the top of the mountain on the main road. Some high school students had to leave home as early as 4:30 a.m. to walk to the bus stop, but by the mid-1950s a bus picked up students at their homes, an improvement Mountain View parents had begun pushing for years earlier.

Consolidation of community schools also began in the mid-1950s, but the Mountain View School remained open until 1963. Since that time, elementary school students have been bussed to a school about seven miles away. School consolidation has not ended local

involvement in school affairs. One of the children of an early settler is a member of the county school board, and his wife is principal of the school which Mountain View children now attend. Yet many of the older core members still mourn the loss of their school, feeling that close relationships began to break down when improving the community school ceased to unite residents for a common goal. Many researchers have pointed to the community school as a symbol of unity, and to its closing as a pivotal event in the breakdown of community solidarity and cohesion (West 1945:76; Goldschmidt 1947:94; Gallaher 1961:142; Hatch 1979:147,158). Community members also recognized their school as a symbol of unity, and took steps to retain custody of the building after the school was closed. In 1963, the county school board transferred ownership of the building to the community church, which is itself an important symbol of solidarity to many core members.

The building of the church was not as smooth and rapid as the building of the school, and its history is one of conflict as well as cooperation. The settlers began holding church services in an abandoned sawmill shack and in one another's homes as soon as they came to the mountain, and they agreed very early that a church should be built. From that point on, however, the values of cooperation conflicted with those of individualism and self-interest. The first problem the settlers faced was acquiring land. One settler donated part of his land and a foundation was laid, but building ceased when the settler wanted to name the church for his family. After a couple

of years, land was obtained from a neutral party, an Alabama migrant who had purchased mountain land but chose to live in the valley a few miles away. A name for the church, Pleasant Ridge, was supposedly suggested by two five-year-old children, and was accepted by all since the children were "free of pride" and therefore could not be suspected of attempting to further individual interests in any way. At that point, cooperation once again took hold as settlers donated lumber and building supplies as well as their labor to construct the church. Donations were sought from valley residents and churches to help purchase tin for the roof and a wood-burning stove to heat the building. The women of the community did their part by providing dinner for the work crew, and by setting aside a portion of their money earned from the sale of butter and eggs to pay for the first church piano. The building of the church was a slow process. The men had little time to devote to work on the church due to the time they had to spend clearing land and working their farms.

Such tasks were usually carried out by individual families, although neighbors occasionally helped one another. After two or three years, when families accumulated a little extra money, they pitched in to buy a community stump-puller to help in the ongoing task of clearing land. The mule-powered stump-puller was available to anyone, and farmers occasionally worked together in its use. Families also pooled their money to buy a community incubator for hatching chicks.

Practically every family kept chickens, along with a milk cow and a few hogs for meat. The women sold eggs, milk, and butter, or used these items for trading at the local store. The majority of the family food was produced on the farm. Several women worked together to can fruits and vegetables for their families, as each could not afford an individual canner. Two of the pioneer men went into partnership and bought a grist mill to grind corn for themselves and others, sometimes for payment in cash, but more often in exchange for services other neighbors had to offer. Their wives cooperated to make sauerkraut, which they sold for ten cents a gallon. Almost all families grew sorghum cane, and syrup-making time in Mountain View was a social event as well as a cooperative chore. A few families sold syrup to make a little extra money, and all of the settlers had to find various ways to support their families until their farms became economically stable.

Successful farms were not established quickly or easily. Clearing land brought in money to support families in the beginning, as several men set up sawmills and sold lumber. Cross-ties hewn with a broadax sold in nearby towns for about sixty cents each. After the land was cleared, about the only way to work it was with a mule-drawn "gee-whiz" or "scratcher." This implement had three feet which would spring back when they hit roots remaining underneath the soil of newly cleared land. This method of clearing and working the land was different from what other county farmers were accustomed to. The former county agricultural extension agent remarked that it was

unusual for people to clear land and attempt to grow crops on it without allowing it to lie in pasture for a few years. The Mountain View farmers did not have time for that; they had to get a crop in the ground as soon as possible to support their families. However, their efforts were relatively unsuccessful during the first few years.

Most of the Alabama settlers attempted to grow cotton in the new community, but soon discovered that the growing season was too short. There were other failures as well. Unaccustomed to the late spring and early autumn frosts of their new homeland, several families lost vegetable crops their second year, after losing cotton crops the first. Not all crops were destroyed, and families were therefore able to share with one another, but some farmers still found it necessary to take temporary jobs to help their families recover from the agricultural failure. Almost every man in Mountain View had been warned by valley farmers that he was "going to starve his family to death on the mountain." Some may have begun to believe it after the second year's crop failures, but things began to turn around in the third year, and even the most skeptical agreed that the Mountain View farmers were going to make it. What turned things around for the settlers was the development of vegetable production. Mountain View farmers found a ready market for their vegetable crops on courthouse squares in nearby towns, and some made weekly trips to the farmers' curb market in Chattanooga. After they began growing vegetables with good results, they became eligible for various government loans which enabled them to develop and improve their farms.

The settlers found it necessary to rely on one another for assistance during their first few years in Mountain View. Although the community had begun at a time of increasing government concern for, and assistance to, impoverished farmers, the Mountain View settlers received little aid during their first few years. The Resettlement Administration, created in 1935 to consolidate parts of various federal aid agencies such as the Federal Emergency Relief Administration and the Division of Subsistence Homesteads, offered low-interest rural rehabilitation loans to farmers for the purchase and development of small subsistence farms. By 1938, when the Mountain View settlers began buying land, the rural rehabilitation division was the responsibility of the Farm Security Administration (FSA). Most of the settlers obtained low-interest FSA loans to buy seed, fertilizer, and livestock feed, but did not qualify for more extensive land purchase and development loans. The agency wanted to be sure it granted loans only for farms with a proven potential to support a family and ensure repayment of the loan. The Mountain View farms were at first considered a poor risk, as there was little cleared land for cultivation, and many Southern mountain farms developed on lands recently logged were infertile and subject to erosion.

Although the mountain land in Mason County was relatively inexpensive compared to land selling in other areas, most of the Mountain View settlers were able to make only small down payments. They were fortunate in that the land company, which was owned by an

old and established Mason County family, allowed them to pay for their land gradually. At least three settlers helped pay for their farms by selling land for the company on a commission basis. By the late 1940s and early 1950s community farmers had cleared enough land and made enough improvements on their farms to qualify for more extensive FSA loans, but by then they had almost 10 years of hard times behind them. At the end of those 10 years of shared hardship they had developed not only their individual farms, but also a close and cooperative community.

The Mountain View settlers experienced hard times during their early years, but mutual hardship is one of the factors which contributed to the development of close and cooperative relationships within the community. The surviving settlers remark that they "would never have made it" if they had not helped one another. Bennett (1969:177,281), Goldschmidt (1947:113), and other researchers have also noted that the sharing of common hardships greatly favors a cooperative spirit among community members.

The development of close and helpful relationships in Mountain View was facilitated by the fact that many of the settlers were already connected by ties of kinship and friendship. Although these ties did little to unite these families in their old homelands, such ties quickly grew in importance due to the pressing need for mutual assistance in this new setting.

The Mountain View settlers were able to mediate between self-reliance and group cooperation. These seemingly contradictory

values were not at all at odds in a situation where the independence and progress of individual families required cooperation with others. The chapters that follow will examine the extent to which this cohesive, cooperative spirit exists in the community today, as well as the conditions that have come to threaten it.

CHAPTER IV

MOUNTAIN VIEW TODAY

Many of the dreams of the early settlers of Mountain View have come true--a road has been paved through the community, a school bus picks up children at their homes, and the area is served by electricity, telephone, and mail service. Perhaps the biggest dream of the early settlers, however, was that their children continue the community they had begun; this dream has also come true. Only two of the nine original settling families are not represented in the community today. Of the seven remaining families, over half (53%) of the settlers' children (hereafter referred to as the "second generation") still live in Mountain View. An additional 7% grew up and established homes on the mountain but are now deceased. Most of those who left returned to areas near their old homes in Alabama or East Tennessee, or moved to nearby towns or cities such as Nashville and Chattanooga. A few of those who have moved away still own land in Mountain View.

Many of the grandchildren of the first settlers have also stayed in the community; approximately 64% of the children of second-generation members who stayed in the community also still live there. This figure is not as informative as that for the second generation, however. The third generation covers a wide age span, and some of those are still youngsters living at home. Also, the third generation is much more mobile than their parents, and some adult

members of the third generation move in and out of the community. If one looks only at those third-generation adults who have established permanent homes in the community, the percentage falls to about 38% of the total children of second-generation members staying in Mountain View. Again, some of those who left still own land in the community.

Third-generation members, as well as their parents, express pride in their heritage. Few of the young from core families express a desire to leave, and some of those who have left express a desire to return to Mountain View. Young women who marry outside of the community often move to their husbands' home communities, but generally these women maintain close contact with Mountain View through frequent visits and attendance at community church services and other community events. One young woman recently fulfilled her desire to return to the community, as she talked her husband into building a home on the mountain; another has expressed the hope that she can do the same. Stated reasons for the desire to stay or to return usually include a wish to be near family and friends, and a pride in being part of a "unique" community.

Core members view their community as a distinct unit, and have a generally positive attitude toward their community as compared to other communities. Responses of Mountain View residents to a Likert rating scale support this impression. Analysis of the Likert scale data shows that Mountain View residents see their community as being significantly different from Mason County as a whole on 13 of 15 descriptors, and they rate their community favorably on all 13 (see

Table 4 in Appendix B). Residents also rate Mountain View favorably on 13 of 15 qualities when compared to Dunbar, the largest and most urbanized town in Mason County. One quality on which there is no perceived difference between Mountain View and Dunbar or the county as a whole is prosperity. Whereas Mountain View residents consider themselves equally prosperous, they rate the social and religious aspects of life in their own community above those of the other areas. For Mountain View residents, the ideal community would be one which is economically prosperous, and yet one in which people still help and share with one another, and where the pursuit of money doesn't destroy a commitment to social and religious values. Likert scale results show that they conceptualize Mountain View in ideal terms and perceive their community as striking a balance between social and religious life and economic prosperity.

Answers to a sentence completion exercise support the idea that residents of Mountain View feel good about their community. Sentence completion answers also reveal the sense of "belonging" which core members feel toward their community. When asked why they live there, 63% of core members responded "because it is home." An additional 21% gave answers related to the presence of family and friends. In contrast, the newcomers who responded to this question gave answers such as "because I own land," "for privacy," and "because of my job."

Although older core members sometimes express the opinion that people in the community are not as close as they once were, there is some evidence that core members in all age groups still feel a sense

of cohesion. In response to a question as to "the best thing about the community," over half of the core members gave answers such as "the people are close," "you always have family and friends," and "there are so many good neighbors." As for the "worst thing about the community," only one core member responded with an answer such as "people have drifted apart." Answers to the question about the worst thing in the community related more to external amenities than to internal qualities of the people, with the two most common answers being "it's too far to go shopping" and "lack of recreational facilities." Lack of recreation is a concern particularly among young people, and developing recreational facilities is the one major improvement they would like to make in Mountain View.

Older core members are more concerned with the lack of jobs than with the lack of recreation. Moreover, their primary economic concern is with increasing land taxes and high interest rates. Although some core members have taken factory jobs, many have continued the traditional occupations of farming and timbering. There are nine full-time farmer-timbermen in the community, all of whom are core members. About five other core members have maintained independent employment as truckers or mechanics, and approximately six others are employed in the farm and timber operations of relatives or neighbors, preferring this to other forms of employment. Some of those who have taken full-time jobs outside the community also farm locally on a part-time basis.

Most of the adult core members, including the nine full-time farmer-timbermen, have been employed at factory jobs or other wage-paying jobs (generally referred to as "public work") at some time. Stated reasons for taking these jobs are always economic ones; stated reasons for leaving them are more elusive, relating to a desire to be "independent" and to be "out in the open, close to nature." The following are approximate statements (taken from field notes and taped interviews) of some core members concerning their desire to farm:

Full-time farmer who returned to farming after seven years at a factory (age 41):

I always just wanted to grow up and be a farmer. I worked at the factory for seven years and made good money, but I just couldn't stand going in to work in the springtime with the sun shining and everything coming out pretty and green. I was farming part time too, and it was rough. I finally realized I had to give up one of them--and you can see which one it was.

Full-time farmer (age 56):

The reason I like farming is that I can get out there on my tractor by myself and get in touch with my feelings and with God. I can put more things together right there than anywhere else. I came close to giving up a few times, and it's still easy to get discouraged in years like this when everything in the world goes wrong. But I learned a long time ago not to question God about rain, or drought, or hard times. All we can do is our part, and it'll all work out.

Full-time factory employee and part-time farmer (age 46):

I've always done public work off and on along with farming. I don't like it though; my dream is to be able to make it just by farming. I finally managed to buy this place several years ago, and I'm just trying to build up slow. People here are good about helping somebody out when they're trying to get started.

Wife of a full-time farmer-sawmiller (age 54):

I guess if he had his choice of any job in the world, he'd be where he is right now (in the tobacco patch). After he had his logging accident and had his leg amputated, the Rehabilitation people offered him a nice desk job, but he told them if that was all the help they could give him they could just keep it. We couldn't get partial disability payments, so we just had to make it the best we could. We set out five acres of tobacco that year before he ever got his artificial leg. It was a lot to cope with, but a man can farm with just one leg if he tries hard enough. Why, he'd never have been able to sit behind that desk all day.

Farmers often work 14-16 hour days during the busy season, and are aware that they could make more money working fewer hours at other jobs. Yet they express the feeling that the social costs outweigh the economic benefits. Although Mountain View farmers compare farming unfavorably to public work on economic criteria, they rate it favorably on social criteria. They consider farming a wholesome, rewarding way of life, a way of life that keeps kin and neighbors close, and give a man a chance to provide for his family without "having the boss looking over his shoulder all the time." Of course, the fact that he must provide for his family requires him to consider economic factors. If the economic security of the family is threatened, a man will take a factory job for several months or even several years. He will often continue farming part time and then return to full-time farming when he feels he has built up enough cash reserve to carry the family through for awhile.

Second-generation farmers have basically continued the cycle followed by their fathers. From late March until late November, a great deal of time is devoted to planting, cultivating, and harvesting

various crops, although some men continue timber work or sawmilling during that period as well. The months of December, January, and February are devoted primarily to timbering. At any time during the year, however, but particularly during the winter months, a man might take a public job. These jobs are usually taken when the family has had a poor farming year, or when an illness or other crisis has made extra cash necessary. Most of the full-time farmer-timbermen in the community have not found it necessary to take public jobs for about the last 10 years, although some of those years have been lean ones.

Some third-generation men took full-time jobs after high school graduation, and then decided they wanted to return to farm or timber work. Their parents helped them do so by cosigning loans for land purchases and allowing them the use of equipment. Generally young farmers continue to work with their parents even though they may own their own farms. A family farm operation may therefore consist of two or three separately owned farms and sets of machinery. The owners of these separate resources, although they are all "family," are considered business partners, and the farm operation is conducted in a businesslike manner.

Many of the second and third-generation women have also taken jobs, in contrast to their first-generation mothers and grandmothers who devoted full time to the farm and household. Two garment factories in the county employ primarily women, and have provided jobs off and on for many of the Mountain View women; some continue working at these factories today. Some core community women also work at full

or part-time professional jobs. There are more jobs available inside the county for women than there are for men. These jobs, although sometimes not paying high wages, have provided extra cash income for the family and enabled the men to devote full time to independent work.

The need for cash is greater in the community today than in the early years when families produced most of what they needed, or traded butter and eggs to the local storekeeper for those goods they could not produce. Today most housewives make weekly or biweekly shopping trips to supermarkets in adjacent counties. However, their grocery bills are undoubtedly much lower than those of city-dwellers, as they still produce some of their own food. Vegetables from home gardens or from commercial fields and fruit from home orchards are used throughout the summer and canned, frozen, or dried for winter use. Several families butcher or have butchered a hog or two, and a few have a beef killed each year. Freezers are generally well-stocked with a supply of pork, beef, and chicken as well as fruits and vegetables. A few families keep a milk cow and churn their own butter, although margarine is also purchased. The typical farm family in Mountain View today produces an estimated 35% of their yearly food supply. This estimate is a conservative one, based on information obtained from a questionnaire administered to farm families. Some of those families who reported that they produced none or very little of their own food probably produce more than they report. As noted by Kollmorgen (1941:43) in his study of German immigrant farmers in

northern Alabama, truck farmers tend to underreport home food production because they are involved in growing vegetables primarily for sale rather than for subsistence, and often do not grow home gardens. However, vegetables from the commercial fields also supplement the family food supply.

Living expenses in Mountain View are also reduced by making and recycling of clothing and other goods. Some women make clothes for themselves and their children, and one woman buys inexpensive material in quantity to make her own sheets and pillowcases. A few women make dolls and stuffed toys for their children and the children of relatives. Children's clothing and toys, whether homemade or purchased, are often passed from family to family as they are outgrown.

In general, consumption patterns have changed a great deal since the early days of the community. Electricity became available on the mountain around 1951, and telephone service a few years later. Mountain View residents were anxious to take advantage of these conveniences; one second-generation core member recalls that she and her husband purchased a telephone subscription before they even had their house built. Today, the majority of homes have telephones, and nearly all are equipped with basic appliances such as refrigerators, electric ranges, freezers, radios, and televisions. In addition, many families own clothes washers and dryers, and a few own dishwashers. These are considered closer to necessities than to luxuries; time and labor-saving appliances are important to the farm wife who may spend

many hours in the fields and still cook family meals, keep a household running, and keep the records for the farm business. Farmers and farm wives have perhaps become increasingly aware of the value of time as the need to hire outside labor has increased along with expansion in farm and timber operations.

In general, home furnishings are neat but not extravagant. Houses themselves range from the "old homeplace" built by oneself, parents, or grandparents, to the modern three-bedroom brick rancher built by a hired contractor. The older houses have been modernized: indoor bathrooms have been built, kitchens redesigned for electric appliances, and new rooms added. Some of the older houses have been covered with aluminum siding. A few houses in the community appear dilapidated and in need of repair and, on the other hand, a few would easily fit in any modern suburb. However, the majority of houses in Mountain View are modest but neat and in good condition, usually surrounded by well-kept lawns. Most homes are heated with gas or electricity supplemented by fireplaces. Only a few have air conditioning, which is probably the only possession in the community which is considered a real luxury. Although those with air conditioning are sometimes envied on hot August nights, there is generally a breeze which keeps mountain homes pleasant throughout the summer. Those who have "city water" are also sometimes envied. Only about half of the homes in the community are supplied, and water is still a scarce resource for some families in summer. When wells go

dry, those affected rely on relatives or neighbors with city water or good wells.

In contrast to the early years of the community, practically every family in Mountain View today owns an automobile, usually a late-model but not a new or particularly expensive one. Some families are in possession of two vehicles, as teenagers or young adults still living at home may have their own cars. A few own motorboats, and fishing is a major form of recreation for many males. Families have also purchased increasingly sophisticated and expensive farm and timber equipment since the first tractor in the community was purchased in the early 1950s. Today, every farmer owns a tractor (or several), and these range from small, second-hand models to new-model, large, and expensive ones. Most farmers also own some combination of cultivators, plant setters, disks, sprayers, haying equipment, and one or more farm trucks. Those involved primarily in timbering own trucks, log lifts, loaders, and various other equipment.

Although each farmer-timberman owns a great deal of equipment compared to the essential mule and gee-whiz and cross-cut saw owned by his parents or grandparents, each is quick to point out that he can not afford all the equipment needed to run a successful business. Farmers indicate that the potential to swap out equipment with relatives and neighbors has helped them stay in business. A lot of equipment-swapping does go on in the community, a fact which makes the acquisition of any new piece of equipment something of a community

event. When a family buys a new piece of equipment, relatives and neighbors usually go by to look it over.

Kinship ties are important in the exchange of machinery, as brothers, brothers-in-law, and fathers and sons most frequently swap machinery among themselves. However, core farmers also exchange machinery with non-relatives in the core as well as with some of the newcomers in the community who are farming part time, and with some of the Mennonite farmers. Most farmers say they do not like to borrow equipment, but all say they are more than happy to lend. Apparently, there have never been any "short words" or hard feelings over equipment-swapping. If any machinery has ever been returned to its owner damaged, community members do not discuss it, and if ever a farmer has borrowed equipment but failed to return the favor in some way, that too is not discussed. Open disagreements are potentially hazardous in a small community where farmers necessarily rely upon one another, and there seems to be little conflict over matters pertaining to business in Mountain View. Some core members do mildly criticize others for not working hard enough, and those in turn criticize them for working too hard, and forgetting how to relax and enjoy life, but these critical exchanges do not interfere with cooperation among members of both groups.

Although the exchange of labor is relatively rare today compared to the years when the settlers were building houses and first getting their farms started, neighbors do sometimes help one another. Occasionally during planting time, when one farmer gets his crop out,

he takes his entire work crew--family as well as hired laborers--over to help a relative or neighbor finish his planting. For core members just trying to get started in farming, or for community newcomers who have just begun farming part time, these impromptu visits are certainly welcome. Yet assistance on labor is much less frequent than exchanges of machinery, as most farmers are too busy with their own farms to devote time and labor to others. Cooperative efforts which do not require an investment of time are more common. Yet many community farmers are saved some time and money by the fact that one or two of the larger vegetable growers, who purchase plants in Georgia and Florida, often pick up plants for smaller growers as well. Although they do not get the plants any cheaper this way, the cost of transport is lessened for all.

There are no formally organized cooperative farm groups in Mountain View, but at least one community farmer has been actively involved in attempts to establish such a group. This man was instrumental in the formation of the Tennessee Vegetable and Small Fruit Growers Association, and has been attempting to organize a group on the county level. One of the goals is to establish a packing shed in Mountain View so that individual growers can be freed from the pressure of grading, packing, and marketing their crops. This farmer has worked with the Mason County agricultural extension agent to apply for grants or loans to build the shed. The Mason County Vegetable Field Day, sponsored by the County Agricultural Council, the Agricultural Extension Service, and the Tennessee Vegetable and Small

Fruit Growers Association, has been held in Mountain View for the past two years, and has attracted the attention of local and state officials to the needs and problems of vegetable growers in the county.

Some core members do not seem to be putting their wholehearted support behind the efforts to develop a packing shed, although they are not openly critical of these efforts. Members of core farm families do recognize the economic value of cooperation, but they stress the social aspect--the friendliness and neighborliness, the "pioneer spirit" of voluntarily helping one another. Perhaps there is some fear that a formally organized group would make the economic aspect more obvious and reduce the social value of this cooperation. However, there has never been a great deal of informal cooperation among Mountain View farmers on marketing of crops, and it is one area where many farmers have experienced some difficulty.

Interest in developing a packing shed is growing, and several community farmers recently took a trip to Kentucky to observe a vegetable packing shed in operation. This was not the first time community farmers have left the state seeking new ideas to apply to their own farms. Various Mountain View farmers have participated in at least one of three trips made to observe cabbage-growing operations in Wisconsin. As one farmer said, "the best way to learn how to do something is to study how others do it." After deciding to grow broccoli last year, this man also took a trip to Texas to talk to broccoli and cabbage growers there; he tracked the growers down from a

name he saw on a cabbage box in Nashville. Core farmers have always been progressive, seeking new ideas and putting these to work, trying new crops and advanced methods, buying increasingly sophisticated machinery, and sometimes designing their own when they could not afford to buy. Several community farmers built their own pepper-picking wagons when they were growing pimentos in large quantities. Seats for the pickers were made from old boat or automobile seats; workers picked the peppers and deposited them on the wagon where others packed them in bags. One farmer attempted to design a more sophisticated pepper-picking wagon, with conveyors to carry the peppers into attached bags, thereby saving one step in the process of harvesting. This wagon was used only for a year or two, as the farmer "never got the bugs worked out."

As farmers have improved their individual farms, they also express a desire to help others manage to stay in business or get their own farms started. Timbering, which has been a major source of income for some core members and at least a minor source for almost all, is becoming less dependable, as most good stands of timber have already been cut. Some feel that farming will become more important in the community economy in the next 10 years than it has been for most of its history, and that young third-generation farmers will continue the farms their grandfathers began. Others fail to see such a bright future, fearing that as a few farms grow larger and more successful, and as timber becomes less and less dependable as a source of extra income, the smaller operators will be squeezed out of

business, young farmers will find it increasingly difficult to survive, and youth will begin leaving the community in larger numbers. Most farmers in the community still own relatively small acreages, although some farms have grown quite large. Land holdings of full-time farmers in Mountain View today range from approximately 40 acres to over 300 acres.

Most of the land purchased by the original settlers has stayed in the family. The preference of some of the settlers to divide their land among their sons, and sometimes their daughters as well, has on the one hand enabled more of their children to stay and build homes in Mountain View, but on the other has split farms into smaller, less productive acreages. Although in most cases land has been split between two or more children, in some cases the entire farm has been sold or deeded over to only one descendant. When land is split between children, the eldest son generally gets first choice. Land is generally deeded over to one or to several children before the death of the parents, and the transaction is treated as a business deal. Land is usually deeded over when a son "marries and settles down," and he agrees to "pay a little along" and usually to work for the entire family as well as for his own new family. Parents maintain ownership of their house and a few acres until their death, at which time these become the property of a previously designated heir. The one settling family which had no sons sold small parcels to some of their daughters when they married; the remaining land (50 acres) was sold at auction

after the death of the farmer, but only his daughters were allowed to bid.

Many second-generation farmers who acquired small acreages from their parents have been able to add to their own farms by purchasing land from relatives who left the community or who decided they preferred public work to farming.

Farmers have often helped one another acquire the land they wanted or needed. One man sold a strip of 17 acres to his niece and her husband at a low price because they needed more cleared land to qualify for a Farmers Home Administration loan. Another farmer purchased 100 acres at auction, agreeing to transfer ownership to a neighbor as soon as that man's loan came through. The neighbor's father had once owned the farm, and he wanted to get started in farming himself, but was unable to obtain a loan before the auction. The farmer who bought the farm for his neighbor wanted to see the land stay in the family rather than go to an outsider. Although by no means rich, the first farmer was financially able to expand his own farm and could have added this acreage to it, yet his desire to see a son continue his father's farm was of greater importance. This act reflects the willingness of community members to help one another. These two men, the first a successful full-time farmer, the second a struggling part-time one, have continued to cooperate on farm business.

In recent years, local competition for land has been growing. The land which settling families started with has been divided in

various ways among second-generation members, and most of those who wanted to sell out did so long ago. More and more newcomers are moving into the community, and less land is available for purchase, although land prices are still relatively low (about \$1,000 per acre). Some families have already acquired rather large holdings, whereas others are still farming less than 100 acres. Those who have enlarged are generally in a better position to buy more land as well, and there is some fear that individual interests will override cooperation as far as land acquisition is concerned, and that the sons of smaller second-generation farmers will have little hope of continuing their independent employment in the years ahead.

The cooperative attitudes of core members have enabled them, however, to maintain their independence, to expand their farm and timber operations, to improve their homes and material possessions, and to survive through hard times without welfare assistance. When the nine settling families came to Mountain View they were determined to make it without relying on welfare, and although some did receive government commodities in their old homelands, apparently none did in the new community. One woman said of her deceased husband, "I guess he would have starved before he would have taken a government handout; he was determined that we could make it on our own." This woman recently tried to convince her daughter to apply for food stamps when her husband became ill and could not work. The daughter refused, and her mother is proud of that refusal, even though she felt the family would be justified in asking for assistance. The husband has now

returned to his job and farms part time, and his wife has gone to work at one of the local garment factories. She admits that it has been a hard year for them, but says they have made it "with the help of God and our friends." Members of all core families express similar feelings about welfare, and are proud that they have managed to survive through difficult times without such assistance. In a county where 21% of the population is living below the poverty level, and a similar percentage is receiving food stamps, core members feel they have good reason to be proud of their community.

The strength of the bonds uniting core members is especially evident during times of illness or crisis. Even those who do not cooperate on a regular basis help one another when a home or barn is destroyed by fire or when serious illness affects a loved one. Although the core group may not be as close and cooperative as it was in the early years when pronounced hardship was a fact of everyday life, the ties binding members together have not, by any means, disappeared.

CHAPTER V

CONTINUITY AND COHESION

Several factors have contributed to maintaining a cohesive and cooperative spirit in Mountain View. Shared experiences, kinship ties, and community integrative activities have served to unite core members over the years. The strength of bonds which developed among the settlers of Mountain View may have waned as core members have become less dependent on one another for economic and social needs, but the bonds have not dissolved.

The fact that core members share a common background contributes to the solidarity of this group. The settlers of Mountain View were all poor, ex-tenant farmers striving for a better way of life; they shared common goals, common values and beliefs, and common upbringing. They were all white, Southern-born Baptists. Over the years, the population of Mountain View has become increasingly heterogeneous. Yet members of the core group are still united by their shared past. They see themselves as a unique group, as people who "carved a community in a wilderness," or as descendants of those who did so.

Most of the land purchased by the original settlers has stayed in the family, and some residents of Mountain View have continued to live in houses built by their parents or grandparents in the early 1940s. Core members are bound together by what has been referred to as "collective memory" (see Reining 1980:7). They know the history of various tracts of land, and where the first houses were located. They

share a knowledge of one another's past successes and failures, and of the personal troubles that have beset various core families. They have shared the experiences of working together, playing together, and attending school and church together. Sometimes they have even "married together." In the early spring of 1982, as baby showers were being held for several young community women, a second-generation member remarked that it reminded him of earlier days when members of his own generation were getting married and starting families of their own.

Second-generation core members occasionally had double weddings, but all third-generation weddings have been single ones. Marriages in the second generation also tied many of the core families together in kinship, as children of the settlers matured and chose mates from other settling families. For example, of the seven children in one family, five of the six who moved to Mountain View married children of other settlers. The other married a man whose family was living in the area when the settlers arrived. Their marriage was one of the first in the community, and two of the man's brothers later married into another settling family; therefore, this family is considered to be as much a part of the core as the settling families themselves.

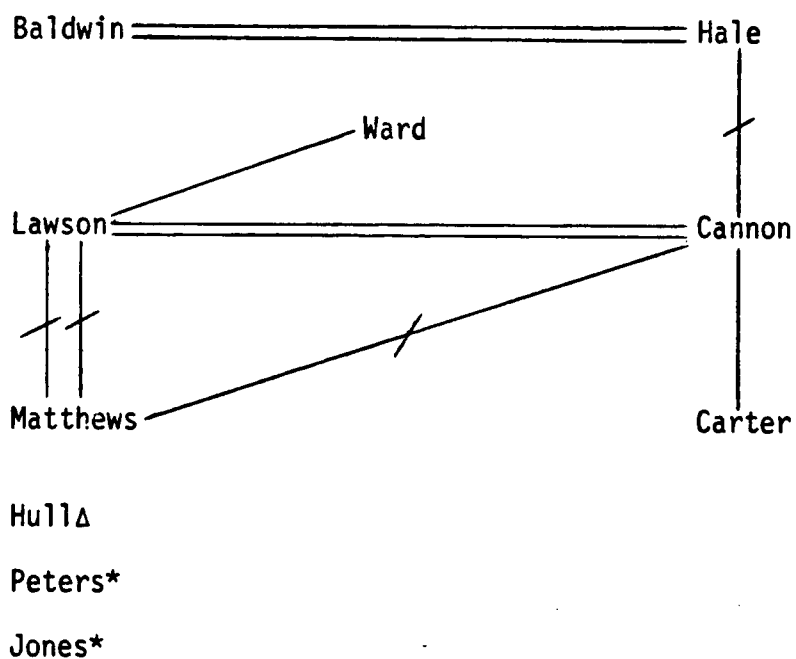
Core members frequently make statements such as "we're all just one big family here," or "we're all kin to one another here." Such statements are often heard in small rural communities, and have been found to reflect social as much as genealogical connections (Batteau 1982, Bryant 1981, Vogt 1957:153). In his study of a Kentucky

community, Batteau suggested that the statement "we're all kin" could be interpreted to mean "we're all alike" (1982:28). Core members in Mountain View, by saying "we're all just one big family here," are recognizing and affirming their common backgrounds and shared values and experiences. However, many of the core families are tied together by actual genealogical connections. As a result one is likely to see representatives of almost all core families at any one family reunion. Figure 2 shows the second-generation marriages between settling families (including the one family which married into the core group early). The double lines connecting some surnames represent cases where siblings from one family married siblings from another. In the third generation, there are also two instances of such marriages, although they are not marriages to other original settling families.

Kinship connections between families have served to strengthen community solidarity. Double connections are particularly important in this respect. In the American kinship system, Cumming and Schneider (1961) have distinguished between "horizontal solidarity," or cohesion between collateral relatives (siblings and cousins), and "vertical solidarity," or cohesion between lineal relatives (descendants and ascendants). They suggest that:

Horizontal solidarity with collateral kin can be thought of as an integral part of a social system which requires a high level of coordination and mutual dependency but which, at the same time, values a high level of autonomy, freedom of choice and equalitarianism (Cumming and Schneider 1961:505).

In considering the relationship between family and community in Mountain View, the importance of the collateral bond must be taken



Δ original settler is only family member still living in Mountain View

* no longer represented in the community

broken lines represent divorce or death of a spouse

Figure 2. Second-Generation Marriage Connections Between Settling Families.

into account. Strong collateral bonds strengthen ties between nuclear families, and help provide a stimulus for the cooperation which is necessary in a small-scale agricultural community such as Mountain View.

Based on responses on the farm questionnaire regarding exchanges of machinery, the importance of kinship is clearly seen. Approximately 37% of all equipment exchanges in Mountain View were between brothers or brothers-in-law. Although the response rate to these questions was relatively low, this pattern of kin-based exchange is supported by participant-observational and interview data.

Marriages between siblings of one family and siblings of another serve to strengthen the collateral bond which already exists. Children of such marriages, double first cousins, are often closer in age to one another than to their siblings, and therefore sometimes establish relationships as close as, or closer than, those between siblings. As Matthews (1969:6) points out in her study of an Appalachian community, the strongest bonds are those consisting of blood, marriage, and long association.

Strong collateral bonds are evident in social as well as work-related contexts. For example, a particularly strong working relationship exists between two brothers who married a pair of sisters. These two men frequently swap machinery and labor, and they farmed in partnership in the past. The male children of these two couples (now teenagers or young adults) participate in most recreational activities, such as fishing and softball, as a group.

One of the county recreational softball teams is made up primarily of young men from these two families. The only two female children have married and left the community, but both frequently visit their relatives in Mountain View.

Although kinship is not the only factor involved in the exchange of machinery and labor among farmers, it is naturally a very important one, as all but one of the full-time farmers in Mountain View are connected by ties of blood or marriage. Fathers and sons or brothers frequently conduct farm and timber business in partnership, and the majority of machinery and labor exchanges are between men who are in some way related. A marriage in Mountain View is perceived by the core as binding together entire families, not just the principals, and even the breakup of a marriage generally does not totally dissolve the bonds between the families involved. (Only one of the links in the chart on page 72, that between the Cannon and the Hale families, can be considered "tenuous," as the marriage lasted a very short time due to the death of the wife, and no children were born of the union. Other links between families have remained strong despite deaths or divorces.)

Responses of core members to the mail-out questionnaire on affective interaction also shed light on the importance of kinship in Mountain View. Interestingly, individuals listed in response to the question: "Who were the last three people, who are not members of your household, who ate supper at your house?" were primarily community newcomers or persons who do not live in Mountain View.

Young adults who have established their own households frequently eat meals at the homes of their parents, yet their parents rarely mentioned them in response to this question because Mountain View core members think in terms of "family" rather than in terms of "households." Individuals usually come and go as they please in the homes of their parents, and sometimes those of their siblings as well. If one happens to be around at mealtime, an invitation to "stay for supper" may or may not be issued, but it is by no means required, as one takes meals at the homes of close relatives as freely as he or she would at home.

Young adults usually establish their own separate households as soon as they marry, although some second-generation couples often lived with relatives (usually the husband's parents) for a period of time while building their own houses. Although a few third-generation members have followed this pattern, the majority have established their own households immediately upon marriage. Sometimes a young couple will rent a house in a nearby town for a few years, and eventually build their own house in Mountain View, generally near the homes of parents and married siblings.

Kinship connections between core families help maintain the conceptual boundaries around the core group, boundaries that exclude community newcomers.

Newcomers are also somewhat separated from core members geographically. Most of the homes of core members (as well as those of the fringe members) are located along two paved roads, which meet

at a point near the old schoolhouse and the Pleasant Ridge Church. The area where newcomers now live was still "wilderness" in the 1940s, and their homes are located on side roads which core members rarely use except for some specific purpose. Although newcomers and core members may interact at church and at community events, they do not, for the most part, interact on a daily basis. Core members interact daily primarily with their closest neighbors, who are usually parents or siblings. Thus, both kinship and geographical nearness define the most frequent patterns of interaction among core members.

Although some newcomers have become very active in church and community life, they have remained "outsiders." They do not share the pioneer heritage of the core families; they are not tied into the kinship network; and the geographical location of their homes further separates them from the core community.

Ties between core families serve to bind members together both physically and conceptually. As can be seen by examining Figure 2 on page 72, two of the families (Peters and Jones) which are not connected by such ties are no longer a part of the community. The Hull family is represented only by the 80-year-old original settler; his wife is deceased and all of his children have moved to nearby cities. Some of the children return for annual church Homecomings, but as a group they do not seem closely attached to the community. In contrast, for members of other families who have moved away, physical distance has weakened emotional or psychological solidarity only slightly. One woman, who returned to Alabama with her husband (now

deceased) many years ago, makes frequent visits to Mountain View, and generally spends most of her time with her sister who was at one time married to her husband's brother. She remarked, "No matter where I live, Mountain View will always be my home." Others who have moved away also frequently visit relatives in Mountain View and they regularly attend church Homecomings and family reunions. Three of the settling families carry on the tradition of holding annual reunions; sometimes these are held in the old home areas of East Tennessee or Alabama, but in the summer of 1984 they were all held in Mountain View. Although the reunions seem to be most important to the surviving settlers and the second-generation members, third-generation members also faithfully attend.

The third generation is the most removed from its "pioneer heritage." While second-generation core members recall the days of scarcity, of flour-sack clothing, and of cross-cut saws and gee-whiz scratchers, these are just stories of the past for those in the third generation. Yet third-generation members are bound together, for most of them received their early education at the community school, which did not close until 1963. Despite this, they do not seem to feel the emotional attachment to this school which is felt by their parents and grandparents. Nonetheless, attending school together did help maintain and strengthen bonds among third-generation members. They also have their own memories of working together in the fields, of swimming on hot summer afternoons, and of attending church services and Bible school. Many still regularly attend the Pleasant Ridge

Missionary Baptist Church built by their grandparents in the early 1940s. The church continues to be an important symbol of community solidarity, and Homecoming is a special day in Mountain View, a day when both former and present residents get together for an "all-day meeting and dinner on the grounds." This event provides an occasion for reaffirming bonds between core members, and for reintegrating those members who have left Mountain View.

Close social relationships developed in the early years with the settlers' efforts to build a church, and social life continued to revolve around that institution and around the community school. Weekdays were filled with the hard work of building and operating farms, but when the church doors were open the settlers were there. In the early years, revival meetings were usually held twice a day, but no matter how busy they were the settlers left their fields to attend. There was no need to "dress up" in those days, the older members recall; everyone just came to services in their work clothes. In the early years of Mountain View, the church encompassed practically everyone in the community. Revivals and singing schools, as well as regular services, were times when community members could join together in worship as well as catch up on the news of their neighbors' triumphs and troubles and make plans to help one another when they could.

A ritual that grew out of this fellowship was the monthly birthday dinner, which provided an opportunity for community members to socialize outside the church. Each month a dinner was held to

celebrate all the community birthdays in that month. These dinners, held at individual homes, almost always included prayer and singing, and occasionally there was preaching as well.

Religion also played a part in the weekly Women's Club, which was first formed by the Agricultural Extension Service Home Agent in 1938. Bible reading and prayer opened each meeting, and collecting money for the first church piano was an early project for the women. Although the county lost its Home Agent due to a funding cutback, the Mountain View women continued their meetings, and the Women's Club was still in existence when a new agent was hired about 1941. Today, the Women's Club is called the Home Demonstration Club, but it is still very active in the community. In 1983, the women cooperated to make a quilt to be raffled off to raise money for the county 4-H, just as they had done 40 years earlier to raise money for their own community school. Today, the Home Demonstration Club seems to be made up primarily of second-generation core members and several community newcomers, although third-generation core women also participate, especially in the winter months when farm work demands less of their time. One third-generation core woman, who left the community when she married, drives 20 miles to attend meetings, preferring to belong to the Mountain View Club rather than the one in her new community. The Home Demonstration Club sponsors a community picnic every August which is well attended by core members and newcomers alike.

The birthday dinners, on the other hand, ceased to be held sometime in the early 1960s, and attempts to revive them in the late

1970s failed--"everyone was just too busy," one core member remarked. The church does, however, sponsor widows' dinners twice a year to honor all the widows in the community, inviting some from surrounding communities as well.

Another event that grew out of the church and continues today is the Fourth of July celebration. This event, held "off and on" for many years, has been held every July fourth for the past eight or nine years. In the past, the Pleasant Ridge preacher planned the celebration, which generally included singing and preaching as well as a cookout. Recently, the event has become more secularized, and in 1984 a community committee was organized to plan the celebration.

A New Year's Eve party is also held each year, either at the old schoolhouse or at someone's home. When asked if this celebration is associated with the church, a 54-year-old core member said, "Well, it's the church and the community both, I guess you'd say."

Separating the church and the community is difficult for many core members, for in the past they were one and the same. This situation has changed, however. At least two third-generation core members married local Mormons and began attending a Mormon church several miles away. Some other second and third-generation members also now attend churches other than Pleasant Ridge, and a few rarely if ever attend church at all.

The Pleasant Ridge Church has experienced many changes over the years, and the congregation has split twice because of internal strife. Core members express particular concern over the problems in

the church, for they have always viewed their church as a force which held them together. Yet, as will be shown in the next chapter, the church has also been the primary arena of conflict throughout the community's history.

CHAPTER VI

CHANGE AND CONFLICT

Change is inevitable in any community, and Mountain View has experienced numerous changes since it was founded in the late 1930s. In some cases, core members have helped to bring about change; in others they have found it necessary to adjust to changes over which they have had little control. Although core members today see some of the changes in Mountain View as advantageous, they consider others detrimental to their lives. They are especially concerned about recent conflicts in the community, viewing these conflicts as threats to the unity of their group. Yet conflict, like change, has affected the community since its beginning. The fact that these conflicts have consistently been associated with the church may be the least-changed aspect of life in Mountain View.

When discussing the changes that have occurred in Mountain View, a primary one noted by most core members is the influx of newcomers or "outsiders" in the past 20 years. Although core members rarely say anything negative about individuals in this group, there seems to be a general feeling among older core members that this influx of new families has had a negative effect on the community. They express the opinion that the newcomers are not "close" like the old group, and that they are less interested in working to improve the community. Some newcomers in turn express the feeling that they have been "shut out," and that they are not encouraged to work together with the old

group to improve the community. The core does shut out newcomers to some extent, as they have tried to maintain the solidarity of their own group. New people with new ideas and different lifestyles pose some threat to that solidarity. For the core to exist at all, it must be exclusive. Although a new family which moves in is generally visited, invited to church and to community events, and often comes to participate greatly in such affairs, the family never truly becomes a part of the core group. Those who do participate, who attend church services and Home Demonstration Club meetings, who do some part-time farming and cooperate with core farmers on sharing of equipment, are liked and respected and are more fully considered a part of the community, but they are still "different." The core group can be thought of in terms of what F. G. Bailey refers to as the "moral community" (1969:37-39). This group is made up of people who share a common past and a common knowledge of one another's values, reputations, and activities. They may interact with one another on many different levels--as relatives, as neighbors, as old school mates, as fishing buddies or quilting partners, as fellow farm or timber workers, and as worshippers in the same church. The newcomers do not share the pioneer past of the core families, and they do not know what it was like to struggle through those early years. They do not understand the pain core members feel over losing their school or the fear they feel over the possibility of losing their church. They are not tied into the kinship network of the core families. Many have

different occupations, they often live in fancier homes, and most follow different lifestyles.

Rural areas all over the United States, particularly since 1970, have experienced population growth as people have moved out of the cities seeking the privacy and relaxed living conditions that rural areas seem to offer (Johansen and Fuguitt 1984:2-3). Referring to this as the "great population turnaround," Schwazweller (1979:16) suggests that the influx of large numbers of culturally and socially different newcomers is likely to disrupt the social organization in rural areas by hastening the blending of rural and urban worlds. Although it is difficult to say whether the newcomers have actually hastened this blending in Mountain View, it does seem that their presence has made the core group more aware of the changes that have occurred since the community began.

World War II is often cited as a critical turning point for rural communities--a time when the radio and the automobile became common-place and increased the contact of these communities with the outside world. It was a time when young men left the farm, experienced different lifestyles, and often returned just long enough to see that their small home community had little to offer compared to the economic opportunity and social excitement of the city. The war also stimulated the economy, and many farmers enjoyed financial rewards which pushed the poverty and misery of the Depression years into the category of "memories;" they began paying off old debts, buying more land, and acquiring better farm equipment. Cash, not

butter and eggs, became the medium for paying the grocery bill, and farmers in general became oriented more toward cash profit than subsistence.

When World War II began, the Mountain View community itself was just beginning. Perhaps because their community was so young at the time, core members today do not view the war years as a time of great change. The war undoubtedly did have some effect, as Mountain View families reaped the benefits of increasing agricultural profits and farms became economically stable. The early 1940s was the time when Mountain View farmers first "made money" on their crops; it was also the period during which most families acquired radios and almost all purchased some type of motor vehicle.

Major changes did not begin until the early 1950s. This period stands out for most core members as the beginning point of change in Mountain View. The early 1950s was a time when many of the second-generation members living in the community today were coming of age, getting married, and having children of their own. Some fought in Korea, and came home to start farms. Others left to pursue job opportunities elsewhere. Those who did stay found that getting started was not as difficult as it had been for their parents, but it still was not easy. Most second-generation members started their own farms with little more than a gee-whiz and a turning plow, but they were able to borrow mules and other equipment from community farmers who were already established. Most of the second-generation men combined farming, timbering, and public work to make a living, as

their fathers had. In contrast to their mothers, many young women also began taking jobs outside the home. One taught school in a remote mountain community nearby, and several went to work in local garment factories or plant nurseries. Work opportunities occasionally took young people far from their mountain community for short periods of time. One second-generation member joined a first-generation pioneer on a trip to Detroit, where they worked in an automobile factory during the winter. For the younger man, the job was necessary to reestablish security for his young family after both his truck and barn full of tobacco burned in 1952. His wife also took a job. She continued to work in a nearby garment factory even after her husband returned from Detroit to farm in the spring. She worked at the factory for over 10 years, but today she and her husband devote their full attention to the farm, managing to make a good living.

Although most of the second-generation members who chose to stay on the mountain made sacrifices and endured hardships, living conditions were beginning to improve. The 1950s saw the coming of electricity, of telephones, of better roads, and of modern farm equipment. The first tractor in the community was bought about 1950, although there is no agreement as to who actually bought the first one. A group of five farmers, primarily kinsmen, pitched in to buy their first tractor together. Most of the first tractors in Mountain View were jointly owned by fathers and sons or brothers.

Many of the first-generation farmers clung to the old way, preferring to plow with a mule while their sons used the tractors,

particularly for bushhogging. But the days of the mule and gee-whiz were coming to an end, and the first tractors led to more modern equipment and methods. Several of the second-generation men had enrolled in county agricultural and mechanics courses on the G.I. Bill after coming home from the service, and were eager to put their learning to use. Even the older Mountain View farmers were gaining a reputation among county agricultural leaders for being innovative--always willing to try new crops, new varieties of seed, new fertilizers, and new techniques. The agricultural courses taken by young second-generation farmers added considerable stimulus for change and innovation.

Mountain View farmers willingly give credit to the agents of the Agricultural Extension Service for helping them increase production and improve the quality of their crops. In turn, the agents credit the Mountain View farmers with helping advance the status of farming in Mason County. In an article about one of the first-generation Mountain View farmers published in a 1967 edition of The Tennessee Farmer, the farmer jokingly accuses the county agent of increasing his tax liability by helping him increase his farm sales and income (Walker 1967:5). This man, one of the first in the county to stake his tomatoes and spray to control blight, agreed to appear on a radio talk show to discuss his success and encourage others to follow the practices recommended by the Extension Service. More recently, the present extension agent has praised a second-generation farmer for his success in establishing new markets for vegetables.

Along with the beneficial changes, such as better farm machinery, improved methods, higher incomes, and better overall living conditions, there are negative changes which core members associate with the 1950s as well. Some core members cite this period as a time when close and cooperative relationships began to suffer. As community members increased their incomes and bought more efficient equipment, there was less need for families to cooperate as they once had. One second-generation member put it this way:

People used to pitch in and help one another build houses and get their work done, but then they just seemed to quit. People got to making more money of course and could hire it done--but that don't mean it was done any better.

In his restudy of Plainville, Gallaher (1961) noted that mechanization was the primary factor contributing to a breakdown of community social interaction. He also found that mechanization had indirectly led to weakening of kinship bonds, as exchange partners had usually been kinsmen. As the functional significance of these relationships declined, the strength of kin bonds declined as well. In contrast to Gallaher's Plainville, kin ties beyond the nuclear family have remained strong in Mountain View. Ties between adult siblings and cousins, particularly double-cousins, have continued to be important in social as well as working relationships. Family reunions, seldom held in Gallaher's Plainville, are still held annually by three of the Mountain View core families. These reunions, which encompass some members of almost all core families, serve to strengthen and reaffirm kinship bonds.

In other ways, however, social relationships did begin to change in the 1950s. As more families acquired automobiles, young people began traveling in small groups to see movies in a nearby town. Large gatherings of young people to take walks in the woods or play games at one another's homes became less common. As more families began buying televisions several years later, the large Saturday night gatherings to listen to the Grand Ole Opry on radio came to an end. Although school and church activities remained an important part of community life, many social activities became confined to individual families and small groups of friends rather than encompassing large segments of the community. However, even today core members socialize more with one another than they do with people outside the community. Fishing is an important male social activity, and frequently large groups of community men join together for fishing trips or tournaments in nearby counties. For the women, Home Demonstration Club meetings, bridal and baby showers, and occasional Tupperware parties provide opportunities for large groups to gather and socialize.

As modes of transportation and communication improved, and Mountain View became more involved with the outside world, external interests in Mountain View also increased. In 1959, a hunting preserve which supplied bobwhites, ringneck pheasants, and chucker quail, was developed on the mountain, and drew hunters from all over the state and sometimes from out of state as well. Some older core members, as well as others living in the area, were opposed to the development of the preserve, fearing that it would encourage drinking

and gambling. However, it provided jobs for some of the younger men, and jobs which did not require leaving the mountain were welcome. While the preserve eventually closed after several seasons, it had attracted wider attention to the small mountain-top community, it led to the paving of a road through the community, and it drew an influx of visitors. Mountain View was never isolated from the larger world, and many core members had traveled and gained experience through military service or occasional jobs. Yet the hunting preserve provided a challenge to core members in that for the first time they were forced to deal with large numbers of outsiders within the context of their own community. Soon afterward, they were required to deal with outsiders to an even greater extent.

In the mid-1960s, a group of Mennonite families began moving to Mountain View, and about 12 families continue to live there today. The Mennonites had established contact with the community long before moving there, as some families had regularly bought or traded for apples with a Mountain View farmer. Apparently, their move into the community had little disruptive effect, although they were known to be different. They dressed, talked, and acted differently, yet they were similar to core members in their emphasis on hard work, cooperation, and dedication to God. Because of this, they entered Mountain View without disturbing the social order of the core. Moreover, they soon established their own church and a Christian Day School. In a sense, they created a separate community within Mountain View, but due to the values they shared with core families, the Mennonites could coexist

and cooperate with them. Some core members helped the Mennonites build houses and barns, and they in turn helped the core with work as needed. Today, one Mennonite farmer in particular swaps machinery with core farmers.

Although the core members and the Mennonites have shared little social life beyond occasional visiting, bonds between the two groups become strong during times of crisis. In the summer of 1983, a young Mennonite man was killed in a tractor accident. Many core members went to visit the family and offer their condolences, some leaving their fields as soon as the tragedy became known. One core woman recalled the kindness of the Mennonite neighbors when her own son had been killed in an accident years earlier.

Even though the Mennonites are considered to be a separate community, other Mountain View residents feel their Mennonite neighbors are much like themselves. This was revealed by their responses to a Likert rating scale. Analysis of the comparison between Mountain View and the Mennonite community shows a significant difference on only four of 15 descriptors (see Table 4 in Appendix B). Mountain View residents rated themselves as friendlier, more big-hearted (or less selfish) and more progressive than the Mennonites, but they rated the Mennonites as being more prosperous.

The impression that the Mennonites are prosperous probably relates to their situation when they moved into the community. They did not experience the difficult years of getting started as the first Mountain View settlers did; most of the Mennonite farmers had been

well-established in their old community and came to Mountain View in a much better economic situation than the earlier settlers. Although Mountain View farmers had begun buying mechanized equipment nearly 15 years earlier, none of them owned equipment as large and as expensive as some of that brought in by the Mennonite farmers. Prior to about 1970, most core farmers owned only small tractors and a minimum of other equipment.

Core members see a conflict between the Mennonites' emphasis on simple living and avoidance of the outside world and their possession of expensive and sophisticated farm equipment. The acceptance of modernity has not altered other areas of Mennonite life. Clothing is usually hand-made and simple, and other material possessions are kept to a minimum. Homes are generally furnished sparsely, and decoration consists primarily of a few framed Bible verses. These aspects of their life, along with the fact that they produce most of their own food and avoid colas and "junk food," lead Mountain View residents to view the Mennonites as traditional in comparison to themselves, and to the rest of Mason County. Even though they express admiration of the Mennonites for sticking to the traditional way of life, Mountain View residents are also proud of their own progressive attitudes, and few would choose to return to the simpler life of the old days. Mountain View residents equate themselves with Dunbar, the most urbanized town in the county, on progressiveness, rating themselves higher than Mason County as a whole.

The Mountain View residents' opinion that the Mennonites are somewhat selfish may also be related to their assessment of them as prosperous. There is some feeling in the community that being prosperous may require being somewhat selfish. The feeling that the Mennonites are less friendly than other residents is probably related to the fact that they "keep to themselves" and do not participate in community social events.

About the same time the Mennonites began coming to Mountain View, other newcomers began moving into the area as well. For a brief period in the 1960s, a small group of people whom core members refer to as "hippies" moved to a remote area of the mountain community. Apparently, the group was not in the area long enough to establish any kind of relationship with other residents, but the occasional references of older core members to "the hippies" reflect the curiosity and the fear this counterculture group evoked.

Among others who began moving into the community were the "summer people," families who owned homes on the mountain but lived in them only part of the year. Other newcomers established permanent homes on the mountain, and became involved in local affairs. Some have gained a certain acceptance by the core, and two newcomers in particular cooperate with core farmers on exchanges of equipment. Yet the newcomers have not become a part of the core group, and because they do not have their own community as the Mennonites do, they pose some threat to the older core community.

Although core members express concern about the increasing presence of newcomers, they seem to be more troubled about changes which have occurred within the core itself. If there is a feeling that the new people are not as close as the old, there is also a feeling that the old are not as close as they once were. If there is a knowledge that the new people are of different backgrounds, different beliefs, different occupations and economic standings, there is also an awareness that core members themselves are becoming more and more differentiated on such traits. If there is a belief that newcomers are not concerned with community affairs, there is a realization that many core members have become less concerned as well.

Today, core members view the changes which have occurred in Mountain View both positively and negatively. Surely they do not wish to go back to a mule and a gee-whiz or see their children study by lamplight. But they do long for the days when neighbors visited one another rather than sitting at home watching television, and when personal relationships were more important than pecuniary interests. A second-generation core member reveals this sentiment well:

One year me and my brother-in-law were both farming and at Christmas we didn't have the first cent. We were going back to cut some stave bolts to sell, but it was so cold it busted the cans of pork and beans we took for dinner. My dad came out and said, "Boys, I've got \$7.50; I'll third it with you." We went on and tried to make it, but came back and took him up on his offer. That was all we had for Christmas, but it was just as good. Back then you had one another; everyone now is too busy. Back then you stopped your mule and talked two hours at a time; now everything's too rushed for that--everybody's too busy trying to make a buck.

This member, one of the most successful farmers in the county, is himself occasionally criticized as one who refuses to slow down, who pushes himself and his workers too hard, and who has let the pursuit of money and success get in the way of social relationships. Other core members perhaps see in him a reflection of the conflict the entire community is now experiencing.

The economic status of all core families has improved dramatically since the early days of the community. Some families, however, have progressed faster than others. The core is no longer the egalitarian group it was in the beginning. Even though core members still profess that they are "all pretty much alike here," widening economic disparities within this group are evident in housing conditions, farm machinery and material possessions, land ownership, and incomes. There have also been widening differences in values and attitudes among core members. The conflict between rural virtues of neighborliness and solidarity and urban values oriented toward business and profit has affected many rural communities. Mountain View, however, has only recently experienced this conflict.

Core members have always been oriented toward progress. It is one of the characteristics that first brought them to the mountain and helped them establish a successful community. They have always wanted things bigger and better--their school, their church, their farms and equipment, their community. Some hope the community itself will someday grow enough to gain its own post office. Yet growth and

progress threaten the cohesion which, in their minds, makes their community special.

As the population of the community has grown, it has become more heterogeneous. The community is no longer the small, close-knit group of families sharing common backgrounds, common goals, and common lifestyles. As one older core member said, "Everybody used to know everybody else, but it's just not like that anymore. Why, I used to know every car that passed on this road, but they come and go so fast now that I can't keep up with them."

Even the close-knit core group has changed. Although neighbors still cooperate with one another, they do not work together the way they once did, and almost all farmers, full or part-time, find it necessary to hire outside labor in the busy season. One second-generation farmer, the son of a former tenant farmer, now himself has a tenant, employs one farm worker year-round, and hires many others during planting and harvest time. There is a feeling that people have gotten too busy with their own farm operations to help one another. When one farmer's crop needs to be harvested, it is likely that his neighbors are busy harvesting their own, and he must hire workers to get the job done. In the past, when smaller acreages were planted, farmers were more capable of helping one another with such tasks.

Like other rural communities throughout America, Mountain View has lost control over many of its own affairs. It lost its school, a cherished institution, in 1963, and its separate voting precinct in

1980. Each year, more and more farming is done on contract with large outside companies, and even those farmers who have remained independent of these companies are still more involved with the outside world than earlier generations who sold their crops on local courthouse squares.

Core members recognized the loss of their school as a threat to close community relationships. One surviving settler remarked, "I thought losing the school was just the worst thing that ever happened. When you lose your school, you lose your close community." Planning to improve the school had united community residents for a common cause, and school activities had brought them together socially. Yet the closing of the school was only one of several disruptive events. The early 1960s was the time when the monthly birthday dinners, which had been an important part of community social life, came to an end. It was also the time when the other unifying institution, the church, experienced the first of two schisms.

The 1963 disagreement in the church seemed to hinge on the issue of what can be referred to as "cold religion versus old-time religion." A disagreement over the practice of foot-washing apparently initiated the dispute and eventual schism. Some church members, who believed in the practice of foot-washing, also felt that worship services in the Pleasant Ridge Church were becoming too formal rather than being "led by the Spirit." A group of about 20 members left the church and built a new Independent Missionary Baptist Church less than half a mile from the original church. The split in

membership mirrored family lines. Most of the settling families stayed with the church they and their parents had built. Members of two settling families left, but most eventually returned to their old church. The majority of those who split off from the original church and did not return were members of families who had been living in the area when the settlers first arrived. Today, these families make up the "fringe" of the core.

The church again split in the summer of 1983, although fewer persons left the church this time. The disagreements underlying this split began with a dispute over the meaning of "wine" as used in the Bible. During a discussion of alcohol use in a Sunday School class, the Pleasant Ridge preacher said that when the use of wine was advocated in the Bible, it referred to grape juice rather than wine. One core church member in particular disagreed with him. The dispute escalated over the next few weeks, and included accusations that some church members had "always tried to run the church." The pastor eventually resigned, and several members left the church. Some of those who stayed expressed the feeling that the preacher had tried to run things without asking the approval of the church membership, and that he and some church members were trying to turn Pleasant Ridge into a Free Will Baptist rather than a Missionary Baptist church.

In the summer of 1983, it was primarily members of one core family who left, although a few other church members followed. The core family which left was made up of descendants of settlers who had married into families which had been living in the area when they came

to the mountain. Even though a few of those who left have returned, core community members are still very concerned about the problems in their church, problems they recognize as a threat to the unity of their group.

Conflicts in the Mountain View community have always been associated with the church, beginning with the early 1940s squabble over where to build it and what to name it. Core members are aware that conflict is not new to their community and their church. The following statement made by an older core member after the 1983 split reveals this awareness: "The Devil was nailed up in that church house and we haven't gotten him out yet."

The conflicts in the church may reflect more than disagreements over doctrine. They may also reflect differences in values and attitudes among community and congregation members. One interesting aspect of both splits is that most of those who left the original church were members of families who had been living in the area when the settlers arrived. Although descendants of the settlers see themselves as the "old families," they were themselves once the newcomers with new ideas. They came into an area devoted to timbering and sawmilling, yet they planned to farm it. They carried on steadfastly as skeptics shook their heads. They eventually proved themselves, thereby becoming well-known clients of agricultural change agencies such as the Extension Service. Although they were not totally responsible, of course, for the changes that occurred after their arrival on the mountain, their progressive and innovative

attitudes probably did hasten local change. They were always trying new crops and new techniques. One valley resident remarked:

The reason people thought that mountain wouldn't grow anything is because the old-timers didn't believe in using fertilizer, so it really wouldn't. These people (the settlers) came in and started using fertilizer and that changed everything.

One of the core settlers had worked in the fertilizer industry in Alabama before moving to Mountain View, and the settlers began using fertilizer on their farms even without being informed to do so by the county extension agent. The settlers also pushed for other changes--for a school, for better roads, and for mail service. Some of them were even involved in bringing the hunting preserve to Mountain View.

The church, being the focal point of their community, was also a major candidate for change. It also mirrored changes in other areas of life. Several researchers have noted a correlation in Appalachian communities between church membership and an individual's social and economic status (Photiadis and Maurer 1978; Ford 1960; Gerrard 1978). In his study of a Kentucky mountain community, Stephenson (1968:58) found that as individuals progressed socially and economically, they moved from traditional fundamentalist churches to more liberal ones. Churches themselves can also change as their members progress--the buildings are improved, better-educated ministers are hired, and services become less emotional, with little or no lay participation (see Kaplan 1971:110-111). Forrest (1982) discusses changes made in the physical appearance of a Missionary Baptist Church in North Carolina, suggesting that such changes are not only manifestations of

social changes, but interdependent with them, and perhaps aid in guiding behavior within the congregation. Physical changes in the North Carolina church were designed to make it appear more prosperous and modern, and church members also indicated that services should be controlled and not overly emotional.

The Pleasant Ridge Church building has continuously been improved and expanded. The unpainted wooden building was covered with white clapboard as soon as enough money was available (as early as the mid-1940s), and the building has been painted frequently. Sunday School rooms, indoor bathrooms, and even a small office space for the preacher, complete with telephone, have been added over the years. Central heat and air conditioning have replaced the wood-burning stove. Before each annual Homecoming, church members gather to clean the building and grounds. In 1983, this involved laying new carpet in part of the auditorium, painting the walls, cleaning the paneling, and refinishing the wooden floors. The seats of the pews were padded and upholstered. The cleanliness of the church reflects the importance its members attach to it. Some members express a desire to eventually build a new, bigger, and better church.

Services at Pleasant Ridge have also changed over the years. In 1983, church services were quiet and orderly, with an occasional "Amen" as the only lay participation. Most of those "Amens" came from a member who has now left the original church. Services in the early days were quite different, as revealed by the remarks of two community members:

Sometimes the men would go down next to the woods to pray. If the crops needed rain, everybody would really get down and pray for rain. Sometimes the men would come in the door shouting and praising God; they'd just bring the service in with them as they came through the door. There were some good meetings up there. You didn't have to have fine clothes back then. We went to church to have meeting, not to show off our clothes.

We just had a wonderful time, and lots of people got saved. We had the best testimony and shouting. Some people would just shout all over that whole house. That church is just not alive the way it used to be.

The conflicts associated with these changes are not unique to Mountain View. Church disagreements sparked by such feelings have been witnessed in many rural Appalachian communities. In Mountain View, there is some feeling that many church members have become too concerned with worldly things and not concerned enough about salvation. In his study of three churches in a North Carolina community undergoing rapid social change, Kaplan (1971:114-116) found greater internal strife within the Missionary Baptist Church than within either the more modern and liberal Methodist Church or the more traditional and fundamentalist Free Will Baptist Church. Interpersonal tensions in the Missionary Baptist Church arose from conflicts over the meaning of sin (for example, whether all dancing was sinful), over the issue of emotionalism, and over a literal versus an interpretive reading of the Bible. The more fundamentalist Free Will Baptist Church was formed by members who left the Missionary Baptist Church. Yet, as in the Pleasant Ridge Church, the split did not bring an end to internal tension in the original church.

Such tensions are often the result of a clash between traditional values, ones emphasizing simple living and frugality, and more progressive values oriented toward economic advancement and the acquisition of material wealth. These conflicts may also arise from widening economic differences within a given congregation, where those who have prospered most have also shifted more toward modern-day values. Although the ideology of egalitarianism still prevails in Mountain View, core members are not equals. Economic distinctions are denied by most core members, but are evident in housing, material possessions, and overall styles of living. The differences between core members which are denied in the secular world come into open play in the religious realm, that is, in the church.

Core members are especially concerned about church-related problems, because they view the church as the one place where harmonious and cooperative relationships should be easiest to maintain. Jordan (1955:109) indicates that church conflicts are usually covert because "the role of the church is one of cooperation, not conflict." Yet in Mountain View, open conflict has been associated with the church more than with any other area of life. These church disputes have involved not only disagreements over doctrine, but also personal conflicts and struggles for power within the church and the community. Conflict surrounding the church began with the desire of one settler to name the church for his family. More recent conflicts, although beginning with doctrinal disputes, have escalated to arguments over "who is running the church."

Core members have become more concerned about these conflicts in recent years because of other changes which have threatened cohesion in Mountain View. The loss of the community school, the influx of newcomers, and the increasing heterogeneity of the core group itself have contributed to decreasing unity. Yet conflicts themselves may have sparked adaptive responses to conditions of change affecting Mountain View.

CHAPTER VII

ADAPTIVE RESPONSES

Since it was founded in 1938, Mountain View has gone through many changes, some of which have led to greater tension and increased potential for conflict among community residents. The settlers of Mountain View came to Mason County as social and economic equals, yet today there are widening socioeconomic distinctions within the community, not only between the old core group and the newcomers, but even within the core group itself. There are also associated differences in values and attitudes. Yet despite this increasing differentiation, the ideology of egalitarianism persists, and core members maintain that they are all "pretty much alike." Although this is becoming less and less an accurate account, there are certain mediating factors which have served to prevent the widening differences from destroying the cohesion and cooperation of the core group. This chapter examines the ways in which community members have maintained a sense of stability and cohesion in the face of change and conflict.

No group is without conflict, but conflict does not necessarily destroy cohesion. Simmel (1955) and Coser (1956, 1967) have pointed out that open conflict can have integrative functions by helping to reaffirm basic values and reestablish common ground, or by leading to the emergence of new norms and standards for interaction. According to Coser (1956:154), "a flexible society benefits from conflict

because such behavior, by helping to create and modify norms, assures its continuance under changed conditions."

The second splitting of the Pleasant Ridge Church perhaps provided the stimulus for the emergence of a new community institution: the Community Club. This organization may have the potential not only to reunite core members split by church disputes, but also to unite the core, the fringe, and the newcomer segments so that all may work together for the good of the entire community. In discussing the Community Club, one second-generation core member had this to say:

Well, our church doesn't include us all anymore, and we've got to realize that. We've grown and changed so much, and we've had so many problems in our community and our church. We did okay when we were up here sort of isolated. But the world has gotten more with us, and the more it creeps in the harder it is to get by.

Core members are aware that they cannot reverse the changes that have occurred in their community, nor for the most part do they really want to. Most of them have no desire to give up their material possessions and live a simple life again. They even view the desire of others to revive the old ways as being quite odd, often associating pursuit of a primitive, natural life with "hippies" or religious cults. Their brief experience with the counterculture group in the 1960s may have contributed to this attitude.

The majority of core members also have no desire for their community church services to revert to the "singing and shouting" variety, although they may look back on those early services fondly. As an older core member said, "I like a good service with shouting and

testimony, but young people today wouldn't go for that sort of thing, and they might quit coming to church. You have to change with the times." Older core members for the most part realize that without the continued participation of the young, the church they built will eventually cease to be an important force in the community.

Even though most core members do not want to return to the old ways, neither do they want to give up the values associated with their particular history. The Community Club mediates this incongruity between the past and the present. It was organized to try to bring people together to work for common goals, something that was once accomplished through the school and the church. Core members were most instrumental in getting the Club started, but beyond that they preferred to stay in the background. Most of the leadership positions were delegated not to core members but to newcomers. Core members tended to avoid leadership roles because of the factions in their group and their fear of criticism for "trying to run things" (see Hicks 1976:88-99). The Club has continued for a year, and has sponsored several projects, the most recent being the establishment of a Neighborhood Watch Force to protect community homes from crime. The Community Club has also taken over some of the functions once carried out through the church, such as the annual Fourth of July celebration. Club meetings themselves are social events, usually including a potluck dinner or homemade refreshments, over which daily life is discussed.

Although it would probably seem strange to core members to consider the newcomers as a potential integrative force, it is perhaps the continued participation of newcomers which can prevent the Community Club from experiencing a fate similar to the church. There is also a potential, of course, for the newcomers to get caught in the middle of core factions, thereby eroding the Club's integrative function.

In examining the changing role of the newcomers in the community, it is useful to look at patterns of community interaction revealed by questionnaire responses. Whereas core members interact primarily with one another for matters dealing with farm and household work, it is a community newcomer who is the focal point of relationships based on personal matters. This newcomer was named more frequently than any other community member in response to two of the three questions on personal relationships: "Who are the last three people who did a personal favor for you?" and "Who would you talk to about a personal problem?" In response to the question about personal problems, some core members gave answers such as "the preacher," "God," "my neighbors," or "my friends," rather than citing specific persons. The newcomer, who was mentioned almost twice as many times as any other individual in response to this question, has lived in Mountain View for about fifteen years, and is very active in church and community affairs. As one's personal problems often involve those with whom one is closely involved, a person who is outside the close-knit core and

yet still aware of what goes on in the community makes a good listener.

Although people in Mountain View do not seem to spend a great deal of time gossiping, news travels quickly through the core group. Core members are usually aware of their neighbors' comings and goings, for example, and the presence of a stranger in Mountain View is known throughout the core within a short period of time. Discussing one's problems with an outsider slows down the communication process, or at least gives one a sense that it does.

The different patterns of the two interaction networks (see Figure 3 in Appendix C) indicate that personal relationships are somewhat separated from instrumental ones in Mountain View. It is important for core families involved in small-scale farming and timbering to cooperate with one another on business matters, and the instrumental network shows these close relationships among core members. The importance of newcomers or outsiders in the affective network, particularly in relation to discussion of personal problems, represents the efforts of core members to prevent interpersonal tensions within the core from interfering with working relationships. Rather than disrupting close relationships among core members, newcomers may in the long run help preserve the cooperative relationships which have been so important economically to core families.

The fact that interpersonal conflicts are played out in the religious realm rather than the secular world may also serve to

prevent serious disruption of working relationships. In his ethnohistorical study of a Long Island community of Dutch oyster fishermen, Taylor (1984) deals with the integrative functions of religious conflicts, suggesting that schisms along religious lines might prevent more serious divisions within a community or society.

He notes that:

While separated on Sunday, members of the two congregations mixed on other days and in other contexts, and there is no indication, for example, that the oyster houses were segregated according to church membership. . . . (1983:161)

.
In all cases the Reformed communities reacted to a modernization they themselves had helped to create, by translating the threat it presented to the community into particular issues of doctrine and practice which could then be argued and fought, though inevitably lost, at which point another symbolic issue would arise to replace it. (1983:171-172)

Although the 1963 split of the Pleasant Ridge Church divided community members into two separate congregations, the two groups did not cease to cooperate with one another in the secular world. There is today little evidence of hostility or hard feelings between the two congregations, even on religious grounds. Members of the two congregations do not criticize one another, and express the opinion that "they have a right to their own beliefs." There is even evidence of cooperation here. When the Pleasant Ridge Church acquired new pews, the old ones were donated to the newer church.

The second church dispute, in the summer of 1983, did not split the entire community as the first one had, although it may have been even more traumatic for some members, as it came closer to dividing close kinsmen into two factions. The second split also seemed to

revolve more around the problem of leadership. One member was openly criticized for "trying to run the church." Others indicated that the preacher was trying to run things without the congregation's approval. The church has had only three full-time preachers in its history, and two of those resigned because of church disputes within a period of less than a year. In discussing church problems, one core member remarked, "the problems we've had with our preachers is that they just don't understand you can't make us mountain people do anything."

The "ethic of neutrality" which George Hicks (1976) noted among residents of a North Carolina community colors most relationships in Mountain View. There is a hesitance to make statements which could be misconstrued as "orders" or to act in any way which might lead others to accuse one of being "bossy." Those who assume leadership roles take this risk. Until recently, the church has been the only area where the assumption of formal leadership roles was possible. Gallaher notes that "the problem of leadership is acute in small communities undergoing rapid social and cultural change" (Gallaher 1961:160). He found that residents of a Missouri community quickly ceased to participate in a community development club because of feelings that "one or two were trying to run things." The Mountain View Community Club could suffer a similar fate. Yet by delegating leadership positions to newcomers, tensions between core factions are reduced.

The fate of the Community Club awaits the test of time. Its formation, however, reveals the constructive effort of Mountain View

residents to deal with changes and maintain some control over their community. Residents know that their school is gone and their church no longer unites them. They also realize that the core families, bound together by ties of kinship and shared memories, make up only a portion of the community today. And they realize fully that future change is inevitable. Despite recent problems, all but one of the core members who responded to a sentence completion exercise indicated that they think things are better in the community today than they were 10 years ago. However, they are less sure about the future, with almost half expressing the feeling that things are likely to get worse in the next 10 years. Yet the formation of a Community Club is an adaptive response to a dynamic situation. It embodies the pioneer spirit of solidarity and cooperative efforts to reach common goals, and applies this spirit to meet new, ever-changing problems.

CHAPTER VIII

CONCLUSION

The changes which have occurred in Mountain View since its beginning are similar to those associated with increasing urbanization of rural areas throughout the United States. Some researchers have found that these changes often lead to a general deterioration of community identity, social interaction, and cohesion. Yet, as Mountain View shows, deterioration is not necessarily the inevitable fate of rural communities. Whereas much of the literature on small communities in this country has concentrated on decline, Mountain View provides a case study in community adaptation and revitalization. Certainly the potential for degeneration exists in Mountain View, but community residents have confronted the threat of decline and have taken active steps to try to prevent it. Despite the changes of the past 45 years and the conflicts which have occurred in Mountain View, there continues to be a strong sense of community identity and pride, and social relationships have remained relatively close and cooperative.

In order to examine how and why Mountain View has continued to be a "successful" community in terms of identity, participation, and social and economic interaction, it was necessary to look not only at the avenues leading to cohesion and cooperation, but at the sources of tension and conflict as well. Doing so required an ethnographic approach, the establishment of good rapport, and the use of

participant observation as a basis for research. By living in Mountain View and participating in all aspects of community life, I was able to observe both cooperation and conflict in process. Yet sound research methodology also required that quantitative data be collected to supplement and verify conclusions drawn from the primary body of qualitative data.

Mountain View offered a unique opportunity for examining community responses to culture change. It was settled less than half a century ago, and several of the settlers who moved to the community as married adults were living there when this research was conducted. Through the use of life history materials, as well as the use of available documentary sources, I was able to obtain a complete historical profile of the community. This time depth in data made it possible to examine patterns of cooperation and conflict as dynamic, adaptive mechanisms.

The conditions under which Mountain View was settled facilitated, and perhaps even required, the development of close and cooperative relationships among community members. The settlers were all poor ex-tenant farmers seeking a better way of life. They had little equipment and little capital to invest in their new homesteads, yet by working together they cleared their land, built their houses and barns, and developed successful farms within a few years. They cooperated to get a school in Mountain View and to construct a church, and they worked together to build and improve their "community" as well as their individual farms.

Once these relationships emerged, a number of social mechanisms quickly surfaced which served to maintain them. Children of the settlers established friendships and later intermarried, and a web of kinship has continued to tie these families together. School and church activities, as well as community-wide holidays, functioned to unite families. Certainly, the shared memories of these families and their mutual pride in a "pioneer heritage" have continued to serve a similar end.

Yet the community has changed. It is no longer comprised of a small group of struggling "pioneers." While certain changes have been welcomed, other forms of change affecting Mountain View have been perceived as threats to the community. The closing of the school and the schisms in the Pleasant Ridge Church are cited most frequently as factors contributing to an erosion of social relationships. Some core members perceive the increasing presence of newcomers in Mountain View as disruptive as well, and there is also some fear that increasing numbers of core young people will leave the community.

There have been other disruptive changes which core members rarely discuss, even though they undoubtedly are aware of them. Primary among these is a widening economic disparity within the community, and even within the core group itself. Although I did not concentrate on economic factors in my research and analysis, economic differences in the community are obvious. Some farms have grown quite large, while landholdings of some families have decreased since the early years of the community. Certain families have enjoyed greater

economic success, while others live within more modest means. These differences have not, thus far, fragmented Mountain View into distinctive socioeconomic groups, yet the potential for such stratification does exist. While the founders of Mountain View were economic equals, true equality no longer characterizes this community.

In the face of widening economic disparities, however, core members have maintained a spirit of egalitarianism, something quite significant for enhancing cooperation and solidarity. Conflicting values and attitudes associated with economic differences can, of course, lead to tensions and hard feelings in any setting. In Mountain View, residents have successfully managed these tensions, just as they have successfully adjusted to other changes affecting their lives. Certainly one way of coping is simply to suppress negative opinion of others, and avoid public disclosure of such sentiment in the interest of group harmony. Total suppression of interpersonal conflict, however, may be harmful, if not impossible. There are other ways in which tensions can be vented and thus reduced. For example, the conflicts in the Pleasant Ridge Church, although disruptive to the surface harmony of the congregation, have allowed hard feelings to be aired publicly. By relegating conflict to the religious and symbolic level, albeit unknowingly, core members have prevented the differences within their group from interfering with close and cooperative relationships in the secular world. Church conflicts have naturally been painful and disturbing to core members, yet such conflicts serve a latent function by providing a needed

outlet for the expression of embittered feelings which have built up in the community.

Most residents are probably not aware of the functional significance of church-related disputes. There are other avenues for coping with tension that community members do consciously recognize, however. For example, by utilizing newcomers as neutral listeners and sounding boards, core members release many of their frustrations, thereby reducing the build-up of tensions within this close-knit core group. Importantly, this has also enabled newcomers to become more active participants in community life.

Newcomers have also been accepted into the community as a result of their active participation in non-kin based secular organizations, such as the Home Demonstration Club and the newly formed Community Club. The formation of the Community Club, perhaps sparked by the most recent church dispute, is the most consciously adaptive response to community change in Mountain View. The Club was formed purposefully to try to unite the core, fringe, and newcomer segments to work collectively for the good of their community. This unity of purpose was once accomplished through school and church activities, but the school no longer exists and the church no longer encompasses the entire community as it once did.

The Community Club has existed for only a year, and it is impossible to say at this point if it will continue to serve its intended integrative function. But surely one should not automatically speculate that it is doomed to fail. Mountain View

itself has existed for less than half a century, but it has existed successfully. Compared to situations in many other small communities throughout the country, Mountain View stands out as a result of its cohesive and cooperative nature. Community members work and socialize together. Local identity and pride continue to be strong, and social interaction as well as collective economic endeavors remain important features of daily life. Mountain View has not simply been affected by change, but rather its members have addressed change constructively and adaptively.

The story of Mountain View suggests that communities do not necessarily deteriorate as a result of rapid social, cultural, and economic change. There is a pressing need for researchers to examine the process of community adaptation and revitalization, not only in rural areas, but in urban settings as well. Although several researchers have pointed out that our understanding of the process of community deterioration is still quite limited, our understanding of the process of revitalization in these communities is perhaps even less developed. Hopefully, the present research will add to an improved understanding of how people respond to change in a positive way.

The residents of Mountain View, in the past as well as today, have successfully met the diverse challenges of a changing society. By holding onto their unique history, as well as the cohesive and cooperative spirit which emerged among the first settlers, the people in this community have not only withstood ever-changing conditions,

they have ensured that Mountain View will not succumb to the pattern so commonly seen in rural America: it will not become a "dying community."

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APPENDIXES

APPENDIX A
INITIAL INFORMANT INTERVIEW SCHEDULE

(Introduction)

1. Did anyone in your family ever: (who, what, when, where)

- _____ 1. Quilt
- _____ 2. Weave
- _____ 3. Spin
- _____ 4. Make baskets
- _____ 5. Make dolls, toys or miniature furniture
- _____ 6. Make pottery
- _____ 7. Make musical instruments
- _____ 8. Do needlework, crochet or knit
- _____ 9. Make furniture (chairs, cabinets, etc.)
- _____ 10. Whittle or carve in wood
- _____ 11. Make household implements (brooms, etc.)
- _____ 12. Make farm implements
- _____ 13. Do blacksmithing
- _____ 14. Build houses or other structures
- _____ 15. Other

2. Does anyone you know (or do you) still do any of these things?
(who, what, etc.)

3. Do you have any examples of their (or your) work? (Get specifics--who, where to find, who to contact) Do you have any photographs of their work?

4. If anyone in your family ever made/did these things or now makes/does these things, were/are they for family use only or for trade or sale?

5. Do you have any old furniture, tools or other things that belonged to your parents, grandparents, other relatives? What do you know about the history of these things--who made them, when they made them, etc.?

General Household Information

1. How many people live in this house?
2. Who are they? (relation to head of household)

What are their ages?

3. Do you own or rent this place?
4. How much land is here?
What is it used for (farming, garden, any livestock, etc.)
5. How long have you lived here?
6. Where did you live before? Is that house (or any outbuildings) still standing?

If not, do you have any photographs of it?

(For old structures, get details--where they are, who could take me to them, etc.)

If house where living is old, get more details: when was it built, how, of what, who built it, what changes have been made--when and why.

Cemetery Information

1. Where are your deceased relatives buried?
2. Do you know of any early cemeteries in the community?

Church Information

1. Are you a church member? Pleasant Ridge or other?
2. Do any members of your family belong to a different church?

Family Histories/Genealogy

1. When did your family first move into this community?
2. Where did they come from?
3. Why did they move here?

4. Do you have relatives who still live nearby?

5. Have some of your relatives moved away?

Who? Where? Why did they leave?

How often do they come back to visit?

Does your family hold family reunions when most of your relatives return to the community?

Genealogical Information

Head of Household

Spouse

parents:

parents:

grandparents:

grandparents:

siblings (and mates):

siblings (and mates):

children (and mates):

children (and mates):

Occupational Information

1. What are the present occupations of the adults in the household?
2. Is it a year-round job?
Have they always done that?
If not, what were their previous occupations?
3. Does anyone in the household do other things to make money? (Sell plants, honey, etc.)
4. What did your parents do for a living?

Did they do any other things to make money?
5. Do you have any photographs of you, your parents or other relatives working on their jobs (farming, logging, building things, etc.)?
6. Do you have a garden to grow food for use at home?
Do you preserve anything from the garden?
How do you do it? (canning, freezing, etc.)

APPENDIX B

LIKERT SCALE ANALYSIS AND SENTENCE COMPLETION RESPONSES

Name _____ Date of Birth _____

Number of School Years Completed _____

Were you born in the Mountain View community? (Circle one) Yes No

How many years have you lived in this community? _____

What other communities, towns, or cities have you lived in for at least a year?

Current Occupation _____

How many children do you have? _____

How many of your children have moved out of the Mountain View community? _____

Please rate the people of the Mountain View community on the following by circling one of the numbers in each row. For example, in the first row, a score of 5 would be the most friendly, and a score of 1 would be the least friendly. If you have no opinion, circle "0".

1. friendly	5	4	3	2	not friendly	1	no opinion	0
2. close	5	4	3	2	distant	1		0
3. cooperative	5	4	3	2	uncooperative	1		0
4. prosperous	5	4	3	2	not prosperous	1		0
5. religious	5	4	3	2	not religious	1		0
6. honest	5	4	3	2	dishonest	1		0
7. moral	5	4	3	2	immoral	1		0
8. hard-working	5	4	3	2	lazy	1		0
9. big-hearted	5	4	3	2	selfish	1		0
10. wholesome	5	4	3	2	unwholesome	1		0
11. relaxed & easygoing	5	4	3	2	tense & hurried	1		0
12. clean	5	4	3	2	dirty	1		0
13. quiet or reserved	5	4	3	2	pushy or uppity	1		0
14. attractive	5	4	3	2	unattractive	1		0
15. progressive or modern	5	4	3	2	traditional	1		0

Please rate the following in the same manner.

The Mennonites

1. friendly				not friendly	no opinion
5	4	3	2	1	0
2. close				distant	
5	4	3	2	1	0
3. cooperative				uncooperative	
5	4	3	2	1	0
4. prosperous				not prosperous	
5	4	3	2	1	0
5. religious				not religious	
5	4	3	2	1	0
6. honest				dishonest	
5	4	3	2	1	0
7. moral				immoral	
5	4	3	2	1	0
8. hard-working				lazy	
5	4	3	2	1	0
9. big-hearted				selfish	
5	4	3	2	1	0
10. wholesome				unwholesome	
5	4	3	2	1	0
11. relaxed and easygoing				tense and hurried	
5	4	3	2	1	0
12. clean				dirty	
5	4	3	2	1	0
13. quiet or reserved				pushy or uppity	
5	4	3	2	1	0
14. attractive				unattractive	
5	4	3	2	1	0
15. progressive or modern				traditional	
5	4	3	2	1	0

Please rate the following in the same manner.

Dunbar

1. friendly				not friendly	no opinion
5	4	3	2	1	0
2. close				distant	
5	4	3	2	1	0 0
3. cooperative				uncooperative	
5	4	3	2	1	0
4. prosperous				not prosperous	
5	4	3	2	1	0
5. religious				not religious	
5	4	3	2	1	0
6. honest				dishonest	
5	4	3	2	1	0
7. moral				immoral	
5	4	3	2	1	0
8. hard-working				lazy	
5	4	3	2	1	0
9. big-hearted				selfish	
5	4	3	2	1	0
10. wholesome				unwholesome	
5	4	3	2	1	0
11. relaxed and easygoing				tense and hurried	
5	4	3	2	1	0
12. clean				dirty	
5	4	3	2	1	0
13. quiet or reserved				pushy or uppity	
5	4	3	2	1	0
14. attractive				unattractive	
5	4	3	2	1	0
15. progressive or modern				traditional	
5	4	3	2	1	0

Please rate the following in the same manner.

<u>Mason County</u>					
1. friendly				not friendly	no opinion
5	4	3	2	1	0
2. close				distant	
5	4	3	2	1	0
3. cooperative				uncooperative	
5	4	3	2	1	0
4. prosperous				not prosperous	
5	4	3	2	1	0
5. religious				not religious	
5	4	3	2	1	0
6. honest				dishonest	
5	4	3	2	1	0
7. moral				immoral	
5	4	3	2	1	0
8. hard-working				lazy	
5	4	3	2	1	0
9. big-hearted				selfish	
5	4	3	2	1	0
10. wholesome				unwholesome	
5	4	3	2	1	0
11. relaxed and easygoing				tense and hurried	
5	4	3	2	1	0
12. clean				dirty	
5	4	3	2	1	0
13. quiet or reserved				pushy or uppity	
5	4	3	2	1	0
14. attractive				unattractive	
5	4	3	2	1	0
15. progressive or modern				traditional	
5	4	3	2	1	0

Please rate the following in the same manner.

Knoxville

1. friendly				not friendly	no opinion
5	4	3	2	1	0
2. close				distant	
5	4	3	2	1	0
3. cooperative				uncooperative	
5	4	3	2	1	0
4. prosperous				not prosperous	
5	4	3	2	1	0
5. religious				not religious	
5	4	3	2	1	0
6. honest				dishonest	
5	4	3	2	1	0
7. moral				immoral	
5	4	3	2	1	0
8. hard-working				lazy	
5	4	3	2	1	0
9. big-hearted				selfish	
5	4	3	2	1	0
10. wholesome				unwholesome	
5	4	3	2	1	0
11. relaxed and easygoing				tense and hurried	
5	4	3	2	1	0
12. clean				dirty	
5	4	3	2	1	0
13. quiet or reserved				pushy or uppity	
5	4	3	2	1	0
14. attractive				unattractive	
5	4	3	2	1	0
15. progressive or modern				traditional	
5	4	3	2	1	0

This instrument was designed to provide quantified data on the attitudes of Mountain View residents toward social, religious, and economic aspects of life in their own community as compared to other areas. Twenty-four core members, two core fringe members, and five newcomers completed this section of the questionnaire. Because of the small sample size, it was not possible to compare attitudes of core members with those of fringe members or newcomers.

Knoxville was not included in the analysis, as many respondents omitted that section because they were unfamiliar with life in Knoxville. Also, some who did respond to this section rated Knoxville based on their attitude toward the researcher, who lived in that city. Knoxville proved to be a poor choice for assessing attitudes toward "city life," yet it was selected for several reasons. Nashville was not used because its identity as state capital might have interfered with respondents' assessment of the quality of life there. Knoxville was selected over Chattanooga because many residents seemed to be more familiar with Knoxville in many ways than with the nearer city. However, it is probable that they only talked more about Knoxville because the researcher lived there.

Results from all other areas were included; however, a few respondents omitted Dunbar, a town only 20 miles away, indicating that they were unfamiliar with life there as well.

Although the four different communities were rated on a five point scale, results were collapsed into only two categories for ease of analysis. Scores of 4 and 5 (considered better than average) were

given a value of 1, and scores of 3 or less (considered average or worse) were given a value of 0. Communities were then compared with one another (two by two) on each of the 15 descriptors. Chi-square values are shown in Table 4. Fisher's Exact Test was used in cases where Chi-square was inappropriate.

The results substantiate the impression, gained from interviewing and observation, that Mountain View residents see their community as a distinct unit, and have a generally positive attitude toward life there as compared to other areas. There is a significant difference between Mountain View and Mason County, and between Mountain View and Dunbar, on 13 of the 15 descriptors. Mountain View residents consider their own community equally as prosperous as Dunbar and the county as a whole, but rate the social and religious aspects of life in Mountain View above those of the other areas.

Mountain View residents equate themselves with Dunbar, the most urbanized town in the county, on progressiveness, and rate themselves as more progressive than Mason County as a whole. There is some feeling in the community that Mason County has remained a poor, somewhat backward, county because the "old-timers" are afraid of change. Community members feel that they, on the other hand, came to Mason County and attempted to change conditions for the better. As one second-generation core member said:

The old-timers seemed like they didn't want the county to grow. They were bearing the tax burden to send children to school, but they weren't providing any incentive for young people to stay here. Since we've been in this community, we've tried to look for ways to build up the area--we're trying to do something to keep our young people here.

TABLE 4

Chi-square Values, Comparing Mountain View With Other Areas

	MV-MN χ^2	MV-DU χ^2	MV-MC χ^2	MN-DU χ^2	MN-MC χ^2	DU-MC χ^2
Friendly	6.950°	10.314Δ	5.067+	.580	.172	1.320
Close	.186	7.065°	2.909	4.916+	1.523	1.268
Cooperative	.888	9.145°	6.193°	4.506+	2.292	.574
Prosperous	4.308+	.120	3.475	4.945+	13.784°	1.862
Religious	4.758*	25.980Δ	11.079Δ	38.443Δ	22.070Δ	5.426+
Honest	.034*	24.958Δ	21.853Δ	21.854Δ	18.882Δ	.560
Moral	4.320*	13.001Δ	16.854Δ	25.230Δ	29.819Δ	.049
Hardworking	1.542*	22.222Δ	13.160Δ	28.138Δ	18.668Δ	2.275
Bighearted	6.916°	16.333Δ	14.854°	3.069	1.657	.387
Wholesome	.096	15.513Δ	21.806Δ	12.738Δ	18.304Δ	.219
Relaxed	.960	12.896Δ	11.315Δ	7.322°	5.638+	.387
Clean	.034	9.979°	26.780Δ	8.248°	23.455Δ	3.948+
Quiet	.005	12.500Δ	21.493Δ	12.018Δ	20.538Δ	.845
Attractive	1.520	7.239°	10.887Δ	2.333	4.246+	.152
Progressive	7.179°	1.389	13.379Δ	1.755	1.074	5.240+

MV = Mountain View
 MN = Mennonites
 MC = Mason County
 DU = Dunbar

Δ significant at the .001 level
 ° significant at the .01 level
 + significant at the .05 level
 * 20% of cells with expected
 frequencies less than 5;
 Fisher's Exact Test used as
 alternative

The author acknowledges the use of the University of Tennessee Computing Center, Knoxville, Tennessee, in obtaining these results.

There is also some feeling that a lack of cooperation has held Mason County back. Mountain View residents rate their own community as more cooperative than Dunbar and the county as a whole. As an example of lack of cooperation in the county, community residents point to the fact that government offices are split between one small town on the north end of Mason County (the county seat) and a larger town on the south end. One core member referred to Mason County as "just like a pair of balking mules." In contrast, they feel that the cooperative spirit in Mountain View is the primary factor which has helped them survive, grow, and prosper as a community.

TABLE 5

Answers To Sentence Completion Exercise

<u>Core (N=23)*</u>	<u>Fringe (N=2)*</u>	<u>Newcomers (N=5)*</u>
1. The single word that best describes Mountain View is:		
beautiful, peaceful	5	great
friendly, close, wholesome	5	home
good, nice	4	
simple	4	
prosperous, industrious	2	
home	1	
love	1	
independent	1	
		delightful 2
		rural 1
		home 1
		cohesive 1
2. The single word that best describes the people of Mountain View is:		
friendly, close	13	good
good, nice	4	
hardworking	3	
honest, God-fearing	2	
		helpful 2
		selfish 1
		pioneers 1
3. The best thing about this community is:		
closeness and friendliness	13	the people
good overall quality of		
life	9	
church	1	
good farming	1	
		the outsiders 1
		the privacy 1
		potential for progress 1
		friendliness 1

TABLE 5 (continued)

<u>Core (N=23)*</u>	<u>Fringe (N=2)*</u>	<u>Newcomers (N=5)*</u>
4. The worst thing about this community is:		
distance from recreation/ shopping	8	2
outsiders and the outside world	5	4
hard work and lack of industry	2	1
the fog in winter	1	1
people have drifted apart	1	
selfishness	1	
gossip	1	
old-fashioned	1	
lack of interest in the church	1	
intermarriage	1	
poor roads and services		4
the core shuts out newcomers		1
inadequate education		1
5. The one thing that has changed most in Mountain View in the past 10 years is:		
new and different people	12	2
standard of living	11	1
population	2	1
new people		2
increased crime		1
agribusiness		1
6. The main reason I choose to live in Mountain View is:		
it's home	15	1
family and friends	7	1
land ownership	2	1
land ownership		1
privacy		1
good for family		1
my job		1
good neighbors		1

TABLE 5 (continued)

<u>Core</u> (N=23)*	<u>Fringe</u> (N=2)*		<u>Newcomers</u> (N=5)*
7. Things are generally _____ (better; worse; the same) in the community than they were 10 years ago.	22	1	
better		better	1
same	1	same	2
		worse	2
8. I think things are _____ (better; worse; the same) in the community than they will be 10 years from now.	10	1	2
better	6	better	3
same	5	same	
worse	2	worse	
don't know			
9. If I had the power to improve the community, the biggest improvement I would like to see in the next 10 years would be:	7	1	3
recreation	6	a factory	improved services
school and better church	5	recreation	jobs
improved services	4		increase cooperation
jobs	2		
keep families close	1		
farmers' market	1		
beautify	1		

TABLE 5 (continued)

<u>Core</u> (N=23)*	<u>Fringe</u> (N=2)*	<u>Newcomers</u> (N=5)*
10. The single biggest threat to the future of Mountain View is:		
economy (high interest and taxes)	4	2
outsiders	4	1
lack of cooperation	3	1
monopoly of farmland and lack of timber	2	
closing of church	1	
crime	1	
lack of recreation	1	
modernization	1	1
		drugs
		hunting season
		a through-road
		people don't
		effectively use
		resources
11. If I had my choice, I would like to see my son(s) become:		
farmers/timbermen	7	
white-collar workers	6	
good citizens	2	
whatever they want	1	
more spiritual	1	
	farmer	1
	whatever they	
	want	1
		to benefit the good
		of man
		3

TABLE 5 (continued)

<u>Core</u> (N=23)*	<u>Fringe</u> (N=2)*	<u>Newcomers</u> (N=5)*
12. If I had my choice, I would like to see my daughter(s) become:		
good wives, mothers and	housewife	1
homemakers	mother and nurse	1
white-collar workers		to benefit the good
Christians		of man
whatever they want		a nurse
		3
		1

*Not all respondents answered every question. Also some respondents gave more than one answer to some questions.

APPENDIX C
BEHAVIORAL INTERACTION ANALYSIS

Part A.

Please answer the following questions:

1. Who were the last three people, who are not members of your household, who ate supper at your house?

2. Who were the last three people who helped you with work at your home or farm, without being paid wages for it?

3. Who were the last three people who did a personal favor for you?

Part B.

Please name the first three people you think of in answer to the following questions:

1. Who would you turn to if you needed to talk about a personal problem?

2. Who would you turn to if you needed some advice about your farm or home work?

3. If your house or barn burned, who would you call for help?

Relationships shown in Figure 3 are based on responses to only one of the instrumental questions (Part A) and one of the affective questions (Part B). However, these reflect the same general pattern as the overall networks based on all three instrumental and all three affective questions. Only one question was used here in order to present this pattern more clearly.

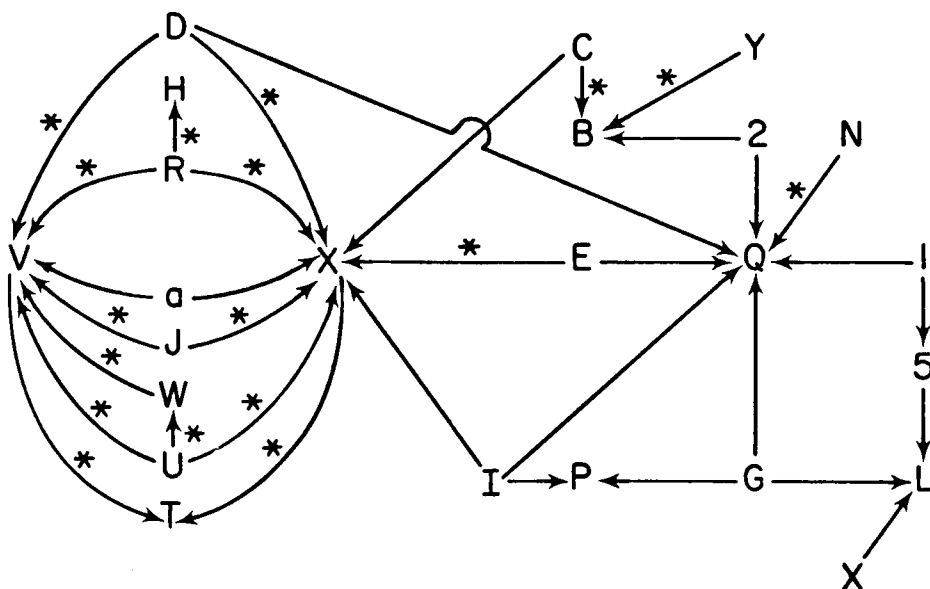
In analyzing the interaction networks, simple descriptive statistics were used to determine the number of ties between any given actor and all others. Density of each network was determined using the equation:

$$K = \frac{\sum_{i=1}^N \sum_{j=1}^N z_{ijk}}{N^2 - N} \quad i \neq j \quad (\text{Knoke and Kuklinski 1982:45})$$

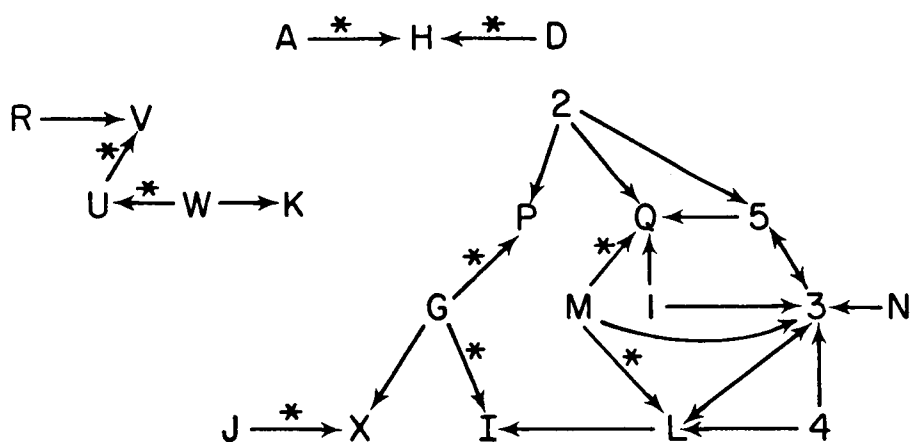
A density of 1.00 would represent a network in which every actor is connected to every other actor. Both the instrumental and the affective network are very loose-knit, with the density of the instrumental network 0.15, and of the affective network 0.10. However, these low densities can be misleading as a reflection of relationships in Mountain View.

Many questionnaire respondents did not name specific persons, and gave answers such as "my friends," "my neighbors," or "my relatives." Even specific questions asking for "the last three people who helped you" often elicited such responses. This hesitancy to pinpoint specific "friends, neighbors, or relatives" may itself provide greater insight into the nature of relationships in the community. The majority of those who responded to the questionnaire were core members

Figure 3. Patterns of Behavioral Interaction in Mountain View. The instrumental network is based on responses to the question: "Who would you turn to if you needed some advice about your farm or home work?" The affective network is based on responses to the question: "Who would you turn to if you needed to talk about a personal problem?" Capital letters designate core members, lower-case letters designate fringe members, and numerals designate community newcomers. An asterisk beside the connecting line indicates that two actors are closely related (parent-child, sibling-sibling, first cousins, or aunt/uncle-niece/nephew). Core members are central characters in the instrumental network. Actors "V" and "X" are a pair of brothers who married a pair of sisters. Actor "Q" is married to the youngest sister of "V" and "X" and is the largest farmer in the community. A community newcomer, Actor "3" is a central character in the affective network.



A. Instrumental relationships.



B. Affective relationships.

(23 out of 30). When a core member in Mountain View needs help (for example, to rebuild a burned barn), he or she has a large number of friends, neighbors, and relatives on whom to call for assistance. Also, relatives and neighbors in Mountain View frequently do small favors, either of a personal or a business nature, for one another. Cooperation on a small scale is practically an everyday thing in the community, and there is an unwillingness among core members to point out "three people" and take a chance on slighting others.

Systematic observation of actual interaction would provide a more accurate representation of community relationships. As such a systematic observational process (e.g. counting numbers of visits, numbers of times favors were done, etc.) was not undertaken during field research in Mountain View, these networks could be based only on questionnaire responses. However, in interpreting the networks, observational and interview data were used as well. It should be pointed out that the general pattern of the networks is supported by these data. However, the low densities indicate that people in Mountain View interact with one another rather infrequently, whereas observational data and interview responses indicate that they interact to a much greater extent.

APPENDIX D

FARM QUESTIONNAIRE AND PARTIAL SUMMARY OF RESULTS

I. Name of Person Completing Form: _____

List Members of Household	Dates of Birth	School Years Completed	Current Occupation
1. _____	_____	_____	_____
2. _____	_____	_____	_____
3. _____	_____	_____	_____
4. _____	_____	_____	_____
5. _____	_____	_____	_____
6. _____	_____	_____	_____
7. _____	_____	_____	_____
8. _____	_____	_____	_____
9. _____	_____	_____	_____
10. _____	_____	_____	_____
11. _____	_____	_____	_____
12. _____	_____	_____	_____
13. _____	_____	_____	_____
14. _____	_____	_____	_____
15. _____	_____	_____	_____
16. _____	_____	_____	_____
17. _____	_____	_____	_____
18. _____	_____	_____	_____
19. _____	_____	_____	_____
20. _____	_____	_____	_____
21. _____	_____	_____	_____
22. _____	_____	_____	_____
23. _____	_____	_____	_____
24. _____	_____	_____	_____
25. _____	_____	_____	_____
26. _____	_____	_____	_____
27. _____	_____	_____	_____
28. _____	_____	_____	_____
29. _____	_____	_____	_____
30. _____	_____	_____	_____
31. _____	_____	_____	_____
32. _____	_____	_____	_____
33. _____	_____	_____	_____
34. _____	_____	_____	_____
35. _____	_____	_____	_____
36. _____	_____	_____	_____
37. _____	_____	_____	_____
38. _____	_____	_____	_____
39. _____	_____	_____	_____
40. _____	_____	_____	_____
41. _____	_____	_____	_____
42. _____	_____	_____	_____
43. _____	_____	_____	_____
44. _____	_____	_____	_____
45. _____	_____	_____	_____
46. _____	_____	_____	_____
47. _____	_____	_____	_____
48. _____	_____	_____	_____
49. _____	_____	_____	_____
50. _____	_____	_____	_____
51. _____	_____	_____	_____
52. _____	_____	_____	_____
53. _____	_____	_____	_____
54. _____	_____	_____	_____
55. _____	_____	_____	_____
56. _____	_____	_____	_____
57. _____	_____	_____	_____
58. _____	_____	_____	_____
59. _____	_____	_____	_____
60. _____	_____	_____	_____
61. _____	_____	_____	_____
62. _____	_____	_____	_____
63. _____	_____	_____	_____
64. _____	_____	_____	_____
65. _____	_____	_____	_____
66. _____	_____	_____	_____
67. _____	_____	_____	_____
68. _____	_____	_____	_____
69. _____	_____	_____	_____
70. _____	_____	_____	_____
71. _____	_____	_____	_____
72. _____	_____	_____	_____
73. _____	_____	_____	_____
74. _____	_____	_____	_____
75. _____	_____	_____	_____
76. _____	_____	_____	_____
77. _____	_____	_____	_____
78. _____	_____	_____	_____
79. _____	_____	_____	_____
80. _____	_____	_____	_____
81. _____	_____	_____	_____
82. _____	_____	_____	_____
83. _____	_____	_____	_____
84. _____	_____	_____	_____
85. _____	_____	_____	_____
86. _____	_____	_____	_____
87. _____	_____	_____	_____
88. _____	_____	_____	_____
89. _____	_____	_____	_____
90. _____	_____	_____	_____
91. _____	_____	_____	_____
92. _____	_____	_____	_____
93. _____	_____	_____	_____
94. _____	_____	_____	_____
95. _____	_____	_____	_____
96. _____	_____	_____	_____
97. _____	_____	_____	_____
98. _____	_____	_____	_____
99. _____	_____	_____	_____
100. _____	_____	_____	_____

III.

How much land do you presently own? _____ acres

History of how you acquired your land: Please complete this chart for all the pieces of land you've acquired, starting with your first tract.

Acres	Approximately <u>when</u> acquired	From whom?	How acquired (purchased, inherited, etc.)

If you have taken loans to buy any of your land or equipment, please answer the following:

Credit Institution

Name of Co-signer (if you had one)

Has anyone else helped you in any way to get your land or equipment? No; Yes (circle one)
Who?

How did they help you?

Uses of privately owned land	Approximate Acres	Approximate Acres	
Corn and other grains	_____	Other (please list use) _____ _____ _____	
Tobacco	_____		
Vegetables for sale	_____		
Pasture for livestock	_____		
Garden	_____		
Timber	_____		
Land that you rent out to others	Acres	To Whom?	For What Purpose?

Land that you rent from others:

Acres	Who rented from?	For what purpose?
-------	------------------	-------------------

IV. Buildings and Equipment

1. List the buildings on your farm:

2. Did you lease building space to others? No Yes (circle one)
Who? For what purpose?

3. Did you lease space from others? No Yes (circle one)
Who? For what purpose?

4. List farm and timber equipment you own:

5. List any equipment you leased or rented from others: From whom? For what purpose?

6. List any equipment you borrowed (at no cost to you) From whom? For what purpose?

7. List any equipment you hired out to others for payment: To Whom? For what purpose?

8. List any equipment you loaned to others at no charge: To Whom? For what purpose?

V.

Do you own any land, equipment, or buildings jointly with other farmers?

No Yes (circle one) If Yes:

List what owned With whom? How paid for? How used?
(list acreage of land)Have you ever cooperated with other farmers to buy plants, seeds, fertilizers, insecticides, or other chemicals in bulk quantities? No Yes (circle one)
If Yes:

List Items Purchased Approximately When? Who cooperated with?

If you have loaned money informally to neighbors and kinsfolk, or borrowed money informally from anyone, please complete the following:

a. Loans You Have Made to Others:

Who you loaned to: For what purpose? Was person a relative (write yes or no)

b. Money You've Borrowed from Others: (individuals only, not banks or loan agencies)
Who you borrowed from: For what purpose? Was person a relative?

VI.

Approximately how many workers have you hired for your farm work in the past year? _____

Approximately how many workers have you hired for your timber or sawmill operation in the past year? _____

Approximately how many of the paid workers are related to you? _____

List those people who have helped
you without being paid:

Related to You?
(yes or no)

How helped you?

List those people You have helped
without being paid:

Related to You?
(yes or no)

How you helped them:

VII.

Have you asked the county extension agent for advice or information about your farm operation in the past year? No Yes (circle one)

If yes, information requested:

Have you asked anyone else for advice or information about your farm in the past year? No Yes (circle one) If yes, who?

What information was requested:

Please respond to the following questions by circling one number in each row. For example, in the first row, a score of "5" would be the most successful, and a score of "1" would be the least successful. If you have no opinion on any question, circle a "0" in that row.

1. How do you rate farmers in this community compared to other farmers in the county?

very successful					unsuccessful	no opinion
5	4	3	2	1	0	

2. How do you rate your farm business compared to other farms in the community?

very successful					unsuccessful	
5	4	3	2	1	0	

3. How do you rate farming compared to public work?

a. profitable					not profitable	
5	4	3	2	1	0	

b. rewarding					not rewarding	
5	4	3	2	1	0	

c. a good life					a bad life	
5	4	3	2	1	0	

d. relaxing					hectic	
5	4	3	2	1	0	

e. wholesome					unwholesome	
5	4	3	2	1	0	

4. How important are kinship and friendship ties in farming as compared to a public job (as in a factory)?

very important					not important	
5	4	3	2	1	0	

1. What is the biggest difference between farming today and farming as it was practiced in the community in the early 1950s?

2. How did the completion of I-24 to Nashville affect general life (farming, recreation, social life, etc.) in the Mountain View community?

3. What do you think the future holds for farmers in this community?

ATTITUDES TOWARD FARMING, BASED ON
RESPONSES OF EIGHT FULL-TIME AND TWO PART-TIME FARMERS

1. Rate farmers in this community compared to other farmers in the county: 5 (very successful)... 1 (unsuccessful)
mean = 4.1
2. Rate your own farm compared to other farms in the community: 5 (very successful)... 1 (unsuccessful)
mean = 3.3
3. Rate farming compared to public work:
 - a. 5 (profitable)... 1 (unprofitable)
mean = 3.2
 - b. 5 (rewarding)... 1 (unrewarding)
mean = 3.9
 - c. 5 (a good life)... 1 (a bad life)
mean = 4.4
 - d. 5 (relaxing)... 1 (hectic)
mean = 3.7
 - e. 5 (wholesome)... 1 (unwholesome)
mean = 4.4
4. Rate the importance of kinship and friendship ties in farming as compared to public work: 5 (very important)... 1 (unimportant)
mean = 4.6

SUMMARY OF ANSWERS TO ESSAY QUESTIONS

1. What is the biggest difference between farming today and farming as it was practiced in the community in the early 1950s?
 - faster and easier, with modern equipment instead of a mule and a gee-whiz 8
 - better markets for vegetable crops 1
 - people don't work together as much 1
 - people work together more today 1
 - people have started working smarter instead of working harder 1
2. How did the completion of I-24 to Nashville affect general life in Mountain View?
 - made it easier to haul produce to market 6
 - had no effect 2
 - better recreation opportunities for youth 1
 - no response 3
3. What do you think the future holds for farmers here?
 - a good future for farming 7
 - can only hope for better prices for crops 1
 - a lot of debts, worries, and hard work 1
 - monopoly of farm land, and young people leaving the community 1
 - no response 2

VITA

Patricia G. Lane was born in Russellville, Tennessee and attended public schools in Russellville and Morristown, Tennessee. She received a B.A. degree in English from Berea College in December of 1976. After working for several years at various jobs, including teaching English, newspaper reporting, and educational counseling, she entered the graduate program in anthropology at the University of Tennessee. She was awarded a Chancellor's Citation for Extraordinary Professional Promise in 1984.

The author is a member of the American Anthropological Association, the Southern Anthropological Society, and the Tennessee Folklore Society. She has accepted a job with the Tennessee Community Heritage Project, a project of the Tennessee Committee for the Humanities.