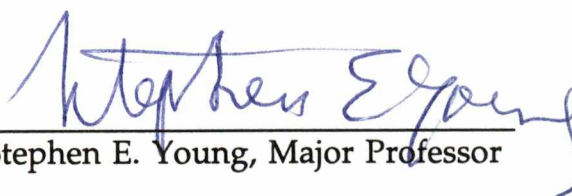
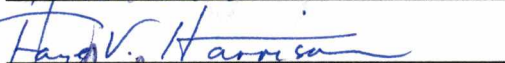
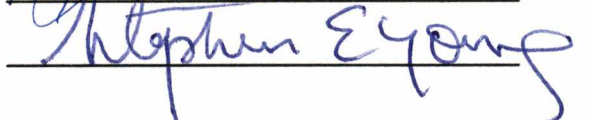


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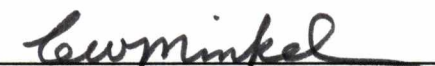
I am submitting herewith a thesis written by Sean Kevin McCollough entitled "Music and Cultural Identity Among Adolescents in Rural Appalachia: A Participatory Research Project." I have examined the final copy of this thesis for form and content and recommend that it be accepted in partial fulfillment of the requirements for the degree of Master of Music, with a major in Music.


Stephen E. Young, Major Professor

We have read this thesis
and recommend its acceptance:

Accepted for the Council:


Associate Vice Chancellor and
Dean of The Graduate School

Music and Cultural Identity
Among Adolescents in Rural
Appalachia:
A Participatory Research Project

A Thesis
Presented for the
Master of Music Degree
The University of Tennessee, Knoxville

Sean Kevin McCollough
August 1996

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Abstract

This ethnomusicological study focuses on a single case study of the music culture of eighth graders at a rural school in East Tennessee. The research took place in the context of a ten-day, curriculum-based residency done by the principal investigator with all three eighth grade U. S. history classes. The research was participatory in nature in that the students were asked to collect data about the music history and culture of their community by interviewing family members and friends. The end result is an ethnography within an ethnography. The inner ethnography was written by the students and is made up of the songs and stories that the students collected from members of their community. This ethnography shows the history of popular music during the 20th century in the students' community. The "outer ethnography" was written by the principal investigator and is based on his interactions with and observations of the students. This ethnography uses music as a window through which to view the attitudes of the students about their own history, popular culture, regional stereotypes and adolescence. The primary conclusion of the study is that the majority of the students have internalized popular negative images of Appalachia and have, in turn, rejected their own culture and the music that they associate with it. The degree to which this is true seems due in large part to the interplay of modeling from older generations and input from popular culture.

Table of Contents

	Page
Chapter 1 -- Introduction	1
Chapter 2 -- Research Methods	10
Participatory Research Methods	10
Primary Ethnographic Techniques	10
Data Analysis	12
Data Security and Anonymity	13
Chapter 3 -- From Hillbilly Music to MTV: The Music Culture of Eighth Graders at Hillview School	14
Thursday, March 7, 1996	14
Friday, March 15, 1996	17
Monday, March 18, 1996	22
Tuesday, March 19, 1996	24
Wednesday, March 20, 1996	28
Thursday, March 21, 1996	28
Friday, March 22, 1996	30
Tuesday, April 9, 1996	34
Wednesday, April 10, 1996	35
Thursday, April 11, 1996	36
Friday, April 12, 1996	39
Wednesday, April 29, 1996	40
Chapter 4 -- The Students' Stories: "The <u>M</u> ost <u>U</u> nusual <u>S</u> ongs and <u>I</u> nterviews of the <u>C</u> entury"	42
Chapter 5 -- Cultural Identity and the Politics of Culture in Appalachia	78
Appalachia and the Relationship of Unequal Exchange	79
The Mining of Appalachian Culture	81
Music, Cultural Identity and the Students at Hillview School	84
References	95

	Page
Appendices	99
Appendix A -- Research Tools	100
A1. Interview Guide	102
A2. Curriculum	103
A3. Survey 1 (Administered the first day)	106
A4. Survey 2 (Administered the second day)	107
A5. Song List for Song-listening Exercise	108
A6. Song-listening Exercise Form	109
Appendix B -- Song-listening Exercise Results	111
Appendix C -- Musical Preferences	119
Appendix D -- Students' "Roots" in East Tennessee	121
VITA	123

Chapter 1

Introduction

The music of Appalachia has long been a topic of curiosity and study for people from both inside and outside the region. This can be seen in the early ballad collecting of Cecil Sharpe in the decade following 1910 to the fascination with early mountain music produced and marketed in the 1930s as "hillbilly music" to the resurgence of bluegrass music during the "folk revival" of the 1960s. Musical genres such as British Isles ballads, Celtic-sounding fiddle tunes and bluegrass have become synonymous in many people's minds with "Appalachian music."

But defining Appalachian music in such a limited way not only does a disservice to the rich diversity of music that has come out of this region (Malone, *Appalachian*), but also creates images of Appalachia as a region that has some set of distinct cultural codes that can be labeled and identified with one particular musical style or one cultural background. Alan Batteau points out that "there is no set or subset of cultural traits that is found exclusively in Appalachia" (110). He argues instead that the culture of Appalachia is one that should be understood as "contingent, negotiated, and politically constituted" (109) and that, in particular, Appalachian culture is "the product of an interaction between local values and external confrontation" (122).

It is at the point of this interaction that this research takes place. It is at the place where "hillbilly music" meets MTV and the Beverly Hillbillies define cultural identity. It is here that we begin.

This research has two primary objectives. The first is to facilitate a participatory research process in which middle school students in rural Appalachia document their community's historical music culture through their own eyes, ears and perceptions. The second is to gain some insight into the processes of cultural transmission and assimilation as they affect the development of cultural identity among those same middle school students. This objective is met through assessing the students' attitudes about music as they explore their own community's and region's music cultures.

This research is structured within the context of issues in and around Appalachian culture. It is important to recognize that the research data potentially tell us as much about adolescence in the age of music television (regardless of what part of the country the adolescents are from) as they do about anything having to do specifically with Appalachia. But ultimately, the focus of the research is on the ways in which the students, as residents of Appalachia, negotiate issues of cultural identity as they are affected by the political construction and reconstruction of Appalachian culture -- i.e. how do the students make sense, using Batteau's terminology, of the interaction of "local values" and "external confrontation." For instance, how do they assimilate popular culture, and, in particular, popular images of Appalachia, into their own experience?

The research focuses on a single case study of the music culture of eighth graders at a rural public school in East Tennessee. The research took place in the context of a ten-day, curriculum-based residency done by myself with all three eighth grade U.S. history classes at the school. The research was participatory in nature in that the students were asked to collect data about the music history and culture of their community by interviewing family members and friends. The end result, presented here, is an ethnography within an ethnography. The "inner ethnography"

includes the songs and stories that the students collected from members of their community. The students named their ethnography the "Most Unusual Songs and Interviews of the Century," and it is included here in chapter four. The "outer ethnography" is based on data that I collected as I interacted with the students. This ethnography uses music as a window through which to view the attitudes of the students about their own history, popular culture, regional stereotypes and adolescence.

Upon the outset of this research, one hope was to dig deeply into the cultural/musical history of the local community through the participatory method mentioned above. This would have resulted in the "inner ethnography" being the focal point of this document, with the "outer ethnography" being primarily an analysis of the process of working with the students. But upon beginning work with the students, it became apparent that two weeks is not sufficient time to motivate young adolescents to "dig deeply" into anything. Thus the focus of the research had to change.

Fortunately, I also realized quickly that while I was not going to get abundant data from the interviews the student's did, I was going to end up with significant data from my interactions with and observations of the students as we worked together. This data, rather than telling about the historical music culture of Hillview, per se, provided insight into issues of cultural identity for adolescents in a small rural Appalachian town.

I recognize that this change of focus places this research firmly at one end of an ideological spectrum within ethnomusicology. Since its growth in the United States in the 1950s there has been a split in ethnomusicology:

between those who think that the autonomous structure of code constitutes an explanation of a phenomena and those who think that the interplay of context with code is what needs to be explained. This

is essentially the split between musicological and anthropological ethnomusicology [Merriman 1969]. (Feld 207)

What is presented here is clearly more anthropological in nature. Musical analysis of specific songs is not used beyond placing songs within appropriate musical genres for the purpose of talking about musical preferences. Rather, music is used as porthole through which to observe cultural values and attitudes.

As I mentioned earlier, this project is participatory in nature. This implies two different things in this case. First, it implies the students' participation in collecting data and writing an ethnography. And second, it implies my direct participation in the students' school life. Both of these are important to recognize in considering the ethnographies that follow.

Let us consider the students' participation in the research first. Writing about participatory research, Bud Hall states that:

Knowledge itself has to some extent become a commodity. Commodities, as products for exchange, are directly subject to the influences of the market economy. This implies that the type of knowledge created is by and large determined by the material social relations. (394)

This is certainly the case for knowledge production concerning issues of "Appalachian culture." As I discuss more thoroughly in chapter five, Appalachian culture is a social/political/economic construction that has been commodified and exploited along with the natural resources of the region. Thus, images of Appalachia and of Appalachian people are often distorted and stereotypic in nature. The penetration of mainstream popular cultural imagery into even the deepest hollow would seemingly make it difficult for people within the region to sort out who they are or who they want to be. The participatory nature of this research is intended to address these issues of knowledge production and cultural identity.

The field of participatory research has developed in response to the growing awareness of the commodification of knowledge. Participatory research is generally done in response to a community-identified problem that the community wants to solve (which often means confronting the holders of dominant knowledge production). The research presented here, does not fit strictly into this model, but has similar goals that are related more to issues of cultural identity than those of political economy.

"In a nutshell, participatory research is defined as a three-pronged activity: it is a method of social investigation involving the full participation of the community; it is an educational process; and it is a means of taking action for development" (Hall 406). This research can be seen as fitting into this definition. Certainly a central part of this research was to involve the community (the eighth graders) in a method of social investigation. This was done both through the interviews the students did and through the contextual discussions we had in the classroom. I also believe that this was an educational process for the students. And, in this context, the students took action to further develop their own understanding of regional history and culture and to assimilate that into their own developing cultural identity.

Unfortunately, the students were not easily motivated to interview older members of their community, a process that I think would have been helpful toward the goals mentioned above. But they did do some exploratory work, and they did produce a final "product" that they can claim as theirs.

It seems appropriate to also mention that I initially had the naive plan of somehow "measuring" a hoped-for positive change in student attitudes about musical diversity and cultural identity. Thus, a pre- and post- test were done in the form of a song-listening exercise. But two weeks is perhaps too short a time to directly foster any significant change in attitudes, and even if there were some

change, there is no guarantee that it would be measurable using the methods employed here. Rather than showing much about changes in attitude, the pre- and post-tests more likely show how the comfort level of the students with me increased from the beginning to the end of my program -- i.e. they seemed more willing to be candid in their responses the second time around.

Which brings us to the next point -- the consideration of the direct role that I played in these students' lives. I was a teacher and facilitator as well as a researcher. I directed the students' activities and structured our interactions.

Herbert Gans outlines three possible roles for the researcher as participant/observer:

One is the total participant, the fieldworker who is completely involved emotionally in a social situation and who only after it is over becomes a researcher again and writes down what has happened.... A second is the researcher participant, who participates in a social situation but is personally only partially involved, so that he can function as a researcher.... The third is the total researcher, who observes without any personal involvement in the situation under study. (Gans 54)

Because of the nature of this research, the primary role I played was that of the total participant. I was directly involved in the activities of the school day and only stopped to reflect and write when the day was done.

I chose this engaged participant/observer strategy in large part in reaction to the myth of pure objectivity, neutrality or impartiality in ethnographic research. Historically, many ethnographers have worked under the assumption of complete detachment and objectivity both in observation and ethnographic writing. Renato Rosaldo points out in his critique of this notion that "according to ethnographies written in the classic mode, the detached observer epitomizes neutrality and impartiality" (168). The goal is to maintain objectivity through detachment from the culture being studied. However, Rosaldo contends that "the detached observer

appears as a complicit actor in human events rather than as an innocent onlooker" (207). He stresses that the social analyst is a positioned subject in the cultural setting, and is not a "blank slate" without cultural baggage or biases.

My research strategy reflects my agreement with these assertions. This, of course, has implications not only for the research methodologies and data interpretation, but also for ethnographic form and style. It would be inconsistent, and perhaps even dishonest, to turn around after being completely engaged as a participant and present a formal list of research findings that were disconnected from my participation, feelings and biases. It would be equally bad form to write an ethnographic description that somehow ignored that I was there and central to the activity.

Thus, I have chosen an ethnographic form that not only admits to, but celebrates, the researcher's role in the ethnographic process. This form is that of a first-person narrative -- a narrative of my interaction with seventy-two eighth graders in rural Appalachia. The narrative is based on my field notes and other data gathered during my fieldwork. It is full of description and is thus akin to what has been called in anthropology "thick description" (Geertz). But it is also a story. It is readable -- I hope (though I have no great plans of becoming a novelist). It is also honest.

By this, however, I don't mean that everything in it is exactly how it happened, or that quotes are exactly what were said. In fact, "it is possible to be serious, truthful, factual, thorough, scrupulous, referential -- without claiming to describe anything" (Sanjek 68). But this ethnography is descriptive. I have simply added my own spin -- exercised my creative license. Ruth Behar describes this process in her book *Translated Woman*, as she explains how she took her conversations with her primary subject, a Mexican woman named Esperanza and created a very readable life history:

As I undid the necklaces of words and restrung them, as I dressed up hours of rambling talk in elegant sentences and paragraphs of prose, as I snipped at the flow of talk, stopped it sometimes for dramatic emphasis long before it had really stopped, I no longer knew where I stood on the border between fiction and non-fiction (16).

Behar's work fits into the constructivist paradigm that contends that "the investigator and the object of investigation are assumed to be interactively linked so that the 'findings' are literally created as the investigation proceeds" (Guba and Lincoln 111). "There is no true version of life after all," Behar states. "There are only stories told about and around life" (16).

I proceed from this assertion and the recognition that, after all, there is arguably an element of fiction in all ethnography (Clifford 6). But none of this is to say that what I have written is untrue. In fact, I believe it reveals more truths than it would have had I written in a more conventional style. It also argues for a new academic style, one that not only recognizes the researcher's role in the construction of research findings, but that is more accessible and meaningful to people outside of academia.

This argument has been put forward recently in the field of educational research -- a field to which this research is certainly related. Thomas Barone argues that "we adopt an empowering view of ourselves as willing and able to educate the public through powerfully crafted, accessible stories about school people and the conditions under which they live and work" (15). He further urges researchers not to leave this up to talented journalists but to take it upon themselves (21).

I have heeded this call (if only for the sake of practice) -- not as an educational researcher, but as an ethnomusicologist with a particular interest in issues of Appalachian culture. Thus, the heart of this report is presented in chapter three as a first-person narrative. I should note at this point that the narrative is written to stand

alone as a story. It does not refer to other parts of this report, yet the rest of the report is certainly dependent on it.

Chapter four is made up primarily of the ethnography that the students and I put together along with a brief introductory analysis of the content of the ethnography. I have included this as a central piece in the main body of this report in recognition of the importance of the participatory nature of this research. Chapter five then relates the data presented in the narrative of chapter three and the data in chapter four to more theoretical issues. The Appendices include samples of the research tools that were used as well as numerical data from the quantitative research methods.

Chapter 2

Research Methods

Participatory Research Methods

Because this is a participatory research project, there are two different sets of methods that were used -- those that the students used and those that I, as the principal investigator, used. The primary method that the students used was open-ended interviews with members of their community. Students interviewed parents, grandparents, great grandparents, neighbors and friends. The goal of these interviews was to collect songs and stories about the music that these informants listened to growing up. Many of the students audio taped their interviews. Some just took notes. The students based their interviews on an interview guide that I provided for them (see Appendix A1). We also spent one class period practicing interview skills. The students reported on their interviews to the class and then wrote a story about what they learned.

Primary Ethnographic Techniques

As the principal investigator, I used several methods including participant/observation, two short surveys, directed student journal entries, song-listening exercises, open-ended interviews and minimal song analysis. My primary informants were the students themselves. Their attitudes and reactions were the focus of these techniques.

My ethnographic research strategy was primarily "interactive" in nature (Peltó and Peltó). What I mean by this is that I was an active participant in the students'

school life, and it was from my interactions with the students that I gathered the majority of data. Since I was presenting a curriculum (see Appendix A2) for the students, there was no presumption of pure objectivity or impartiality. In fact, my input into the process was purposeful and necessary to get the students thinking about their values and attitudes about their own culture as it is reflected through music. The curriculum was in effect a methodological tool. The curriculum had four basic research objectives: 1) to get the students thinking about their community's music culture and their attitudes about that culture, 2) to provide a context for the research the students did by teaching them some of the general history of music in this region, 3) to teach some of the skills necessary for interviewing and collecting songs, and 4) to provide a process for students to reflect upon what they did find in their research.

As I explained in the introduction, I utilized a participant/observer strategy with my role being primarily that of the "total participant" (Gans 1982:54). I kept a journal and made entries at the end of each day.

Two short surveys were administered, one on the first day and one on the last, to gather some background information on students' families and musical tastes (see Appendix A3 and A4).

The students were asked to write a response to the question "What is 'hillbilly music'?" They were given five minutes to respond and were told not to worry about sentence structure, grammar, spelling, etc.

A song-listening exercise was used as a pre- and post-test (See Appendix A5). It was done on both the first and last days of the residency. The students were asked to listen to songs representing several different genres of music that were covered in the residency with particular emphasis on songs often associated with Appalachia. They were then asked to do three things: rank the song on a scale from

one to five (with one being "horrible" and five being "great"), categorize each song according to the type of song they believed it to be (they used their own categories), and write down anything else that the songs brought to mind.

Follow-up interviews were done with select students to delve more deeply into issues that surfaced from the ethnographic data collected. Interview questions were based on written and oral comments that students had made in response to the program and were thus not the same for every student but were more conversational in style. This directed, yet unstructured, interview style was used to allow each student to take the conversation in the direction that he or she wanted, leaving room for unexpected revelations (Burgess 1982:108).

Finally, songs that the students mentioned and songs that they discovered in their interviews were minimally analyzed, primarily for the purpose of placing the songs in the correct musical genres. The lyrical content of several songs were analyzed in relation to the attitudes and values that they convey.

Data Analysis

The Excel spreadsheet program was used to help analyze numerical data and create tables from the song-listening exercise and the surveys. Totals and averages were calculated (See Appendix B for the song-listening exercise results and Appendix C and D for the quantitative survey results.) The results of that data and the written and oral responses from the students were analyzed thematically, looking for responses that occurred frequently and for those responses that were out of the norm. For instance, I noted the frequency and meaning of descriptive words such as

"hillbilly" and "old people's music" that were used to describe certain songs. I also analyzed my journal thematically, again looking for trends as well as abnormalities.

Data were linked through a process of triangulation by which I simply mean that the results of the different methods were compared to check for validity -- i.e. "if diverse kinds of data support the same conclusions, confidence in it is increased" (Fielding, 1986: 24). By comparing the data from the song-listening exercises, surveys, interviews and observations I was able to identify the results that were consistent and thus most valid.

Data Security and Anonymity

All of the interviews and class sessions were tape recorded for the purpose of analysis. All tapes and written responses from the students will be kept in a locked filing cabinet by the principal investigator for a period of at least five years. At that point they will be destroyed or continue to be stored in a locked filing cabinet. Only the principal investigator has access to the majority of data for analysis. The only exceptions to this are the audio tapes and notes from the interviews that the students performed. Each individual has access to the data that they collected.

For the purpose of anonymity, pseudonyms have been assigned to each person involved in this study. The names of the school, county and town have also been changed.

Chapter 3

From Hillbilly Music to MTV: The Music and Culture of Eighth Graders at Hillview School

Thursday, March 7, 1996

It is a little before 11:00 AM and the cafeteria is already full of elementary school students seated at long tables on little, round, saucer-like seats -- about the right size for third graders, but a bit small, I think, for the eighth graders that I'm here to see. On one side of the cafeteria is the teachers' lounge and the main office. On the other side is a stage filled with chairs and music stands.

It is my first day at Hillview School where I plan to spend ten days with the eighth grade U.S. history classes playing and talking about music and asking the students to think some about music as it relates to their own lives, culture and history. "Our cafeteria isn't big enough for all of our students at once, so we have to start early," a teacher tells me later. Not that Hillview School has that many students -- despite including kindergarten through eighth grade, it only has a population of 638 -- but then it's not a very big building either.

Located in Greenfield County (1992 population 34,770) in East Tennessee, Hillview is a small town with a population of about 1,771 (1992). I chose Hillview School as a place to do my graduate research for two reasons. The first is simply that I had played a concert there the previous year and had met the U.S. History teacher, John Carter, who I believed would be open to my proposal that involved taking up two whole weeks of his class-time. The second reason is that Hillview is a relatively

small, rural town in Appalachia, and thus fits my interest in studying the music and culture of the Appalachian region.

So, here I am, ready to assume my multiple roles as researcher, educator and musician. But on this first day, I am only here to see the school, meet the students and introduce myself and my program. I walk into the main office, introduce myself to the secretary and the principle (who remembers me from the year before) and sit down to wait for the classes to change.

At exactly 11:05 the automatic bell rings and the secretary buzzes John Carter on the intercom telling him that his visitor is waiting. *Mr. Carter*, as I come to call him along with the students, comes and takes me down to his classroom where members of the fourth period U.S. history class are settling into their seats. I notice that my name is on the board as part of the day's schedule along with the word "ethnomusicology." I sit down in the back and wait my turn. First there are some announcements during which a boy turns around and asks me if I play bluegrass. I quickly answer "yes," trying not to disturb the class too much. After the announcements, the students take a short test. Then, it is time for me to talk. Mr. Carter introduces me as a UT graduate student who is there to do a music program.

I then move to the front of the room, having a momentary flashback to my own awkward, self-conscious eighth grade year. But then I begin to speak: "Hi, my name is Sean McCollough. I'm going to spend two weeks with you exploring different kinds of music. I'm a musician, and I play in schools as well as playing concerts for adults. I'm also a student. I'm working on my master's degree in ethnomusicology at UT." I point to the word written on the board. "Does anybody have any idea what this word means?" Immediately someone says: "the study of ethnic music." "That's good," I say, "but not quite. The end part, 'ology', does mean 'the study of'. So, the study of music is a good start. But 'ethno' isn't exactly

the same as ethnic." I ask them to think a little about what ethnic means and we eventually move toward a definition of ethnomusicology as "the study of music and culture" -- or even more simply put: "the study of music and people."

"What this means," I go on to say, "is that I'm not interested in just studying the notes in a song or how to play it. I'm interested in studying the people who play it and the people who listen to it and why it's important to them. So that's what we're going to do together." I go on to explain what I'm planning for the two week period that I spend at Hillview: "We're going to begin by listening to several different kinds of music and I'm going to ask you to tell me what you think about them. Then we will spend several days listening to and talking about the development of some types of music in the United States and, in particular, in Appalachia. And finally, I'm going to ask you to interview someone from your community about the type of music they grew up with." I ask if anyone has any questions and no one says a word. Mr. Carter asks if I'll be playing any of the music myself, and I say that I will. He thanks me and says it's time for lunch.

As the students get up to leave the class, the boy who asked me about bluegrass earlier approaches me with a couple of other students and asks if he can bring a bluegrass tape to play the next time I'm there. "Sure," I say, "we'll try to fit it in." And though I'm worried about making time in the packed schedule I have planned, I am also happy that at least one person has shown some interest in what I am doing.

I learn that the student's name is Scott and that he and about three other students in the class really like bluegrass. "Great," I think. "If that holds true in the other two classes, then that's a pretty significant number of kids who are interested in something besides what's on MTV." But (as I eventually learn) this is not the case.

The end of fourth period is when the eighth grade goes to lunch, so I end up walking down to the cafeteria each day with the fourth period history class. On future days, I will sit with the students, but today, I sit and talk with Mr. Carter at the staff table about my plans. He isn't going to be there my next day back, so there will be a substitute. We decide this is fine because I'm going to spend most of the class-time doing surveys.

When lunch is over, it's back to the classroom. Sixth period goes fairly smoothly. A couple of students ask clarifying questions but nothing too strange. I walk into seventh period, however, to a comment that again sends my head spinning back to eighth grade. "You're Mr. Carter's *buddy*, aren't you," one boy sneers sarcastically. I sit down in the back of the class and wait. When it is my turn to begin, I am barraged with questions. Most are relatively predictable: "What kind of music are we going to listen to?... What instruments do you play?... Do we need a pencil and paper?... Are you married?... Do you have kids?... What are you doing that for?...."

"Doing what for?" I say. It's the same boy who made the "buddy" comment. "Why are you getting a degree in ethnomusicology," he drags out the last word. Taken off guard, I simply reply, "because I like it." "But you're not going to make any money," he says. Not knowing these students at all yet, I decide to move on. "You're right," I say. "But money isn't all that's important in life.... Any more questions?" The class wraps up and I'm on my way back home.

Friday, March 15, 1996

I arrive early to the school today. I sit and watch the students in the cafeteria. I notice that the students must sit with the class that they come in with. They must

take the next available seat after going through the line, and they must remain seated until they are dismissed by whoever is in charge that day.

I move into the teacher's lounge as classes are about to change. There are a couple of teachers sitting at a big table in the middle of the room, looking through papers, getting up to make copies, and generally looking busy. A couple of teachers are seated at a small round table scattered with newspapers, talking and drinking coffee. 11:05. The bell rings and the halls are instantly filled with students. I head for fourth period, tape player in hand.

I introduce myself to the substitute and she tells me to go ahead and start. First, I ask them to fill out a short survey about their own background and musical interests. This goes smoothly. "OK," I say, "now I'm going to play you a tape of ten songs. I want you to listen to each of them and respond in three ways. First, I want you to rate the song on a scale from one to five with one being 'horrible' and five being 'great.' The scale is on the sheet I am handing out. Next, I want you to tell me what kind of music you think it is. And finally, I want you to write down anything else that the song makes you think."

I push "play," and Fiddlin' John Carson plays "Little Log Cabin in the Lane." There are some moans and groans from the class as the lone fiddle drones on for two-and-a-half minutes. Next is Pearl Jam's song "Last Exit" with distorted guitars and loud drums. The class visibly reacts to the contrast. The tape rolls on and moves through the rest of the songs:

"David's Lamentation" -- Sacred Harp or Shape Note.
"She's Got the Rhythm" -- Alan Jackson, Contemporary Country.
"Don't Believe the Hype" -- Public Enemy, Rap.
"Quil O' Quay" -- Nimrod Workman, Ballad.
"On Bended Knee" -- Boyz II Men, Rhythm and Blues.
"Ain't I Right" -- Plantation Song from Georgia Sea Island recording.
"It's Mighty Dark to Travel" -- Bill Monroe, Bluegrass.
"Whole Lotta Shakin' Goin' On" -- Jerry Lee Lewis, Rockabilly.

When the Boyz II Men song starts several of the girls smile and mouth the words. Most of the class seems to like it. Other songs do not receive such a positive response -- particularly the Nimrod Workman rendition of a ballad and Bill Monroe's bluegrass tune. But by the time Jerry Lee Lewis belts out "Whole Lotta Shakin' Goin' On," the class seems pretty relaxed.

There are five minutes left before lunch and Scott calls out: "let me play my tape." "No!" someone cries, "that stuff's horrible." I put the tape in the player and start it up:

She walked through the corn leading down to the river
Her hair shown like gold in the hot mornin' sun
She took all the love that a poor boy could give her
And left me to die like a fox on the run
Like a fox (like a fox, like a fox, like a fox) on the run

One girl rolls her eyes, so I ask, "why don't you like it?" "I don't know," she says, "it sounds bad." "What sounds bad?" "The whole thing," she says. "The instruments or the singing?" I ask. "Well, mostly the singing. It sounds like they're holding their noses."

I ask the class as a whole what they think of the music. There is a mixed response, but the most vocal ones don't like it: "It's old people's music.... It's not on the radio...."

There isn't a bell for lunch, but everyone knows when it's time to go -- 12:10 and they're out the door and in line for food. Several ask me to sit with them. A couple of boys manage to save me a seat though they are supposed to take the next available one.

I sit down with my sandwich. I mostly listen today. They seem unhindered by my presence, talking to each other about what they think about teachers, other students, television shows, etc. I ask a general question to everyone sitting around me: "What kind of music do you guys listen to?" Alternative, country, rap, rhythm

and blues, pop, bluegrass. With the exception of bluegrass, their tastes pretty much fall within the confines of commercial popular music. I'll learn more about this later.

After lunch, the students head outside for about ten minutes. Scott, his friend Jesse and a couple of other boys ask the substitute if they can go into the classroom with me and listen to more of the bluegrass tape. She looks at me. "Sure," I say. Their tape is made up of songs they have recorded off the radio. As it plays we talk about what they like: Bill Monroe, Jim and Jesse, Flatt and Scruggs -- mostly the older stuff. Scott and Jesse know all the songs. The other boys seem to like it, but are obviously not into it quite as much.

When the rest of the class returns from outside, we turn off the tape player and classes change. "I'll bring my tape tomorrow," Scott says as he heads out the door.

In sixth period the students ask a lot of questions as we do the surveys and listen to the songs: "Why do you want to know all this stuff?... Where did you find this music?... Do you *really* want to know what we think?...." "Yes. Tell me what you really think," I say. When I read their responses later, I see that some took me to heart.

Seventh period is almost antagonistic. Perhaps it's because it's the last class of the day. I certainly find that I'm tired by then and I only began my day at 11:00 while these students have been at it since 8:00.

At home that evening I look over the results from the survey questions concerning the student's musical preferences. What I learn is interesting. I had asked the students to list the music they listen to most often and then list any other music to which they listen. I tally the "votes." Alternative music "wins" with rap coming in second and country third. I guess I shouldn't be surprised. Alternative and rap are mainstays of MTV and commercial radio. But still, I had thought that considering the

region, the demographics of the school (only twenty-one minorities -- eleven African Americans, seven Latinos and three Asians), and the resurgence in country music popularity in general, that country would have ranked higher. At any rate, the three of them are relatively equal in popularity with 50, 45 and 43 votes.

As I would have guessed from my conversation with a few of the students in the cafeteria, the top five categories cover the primary commercial music genres -- alternative, rap, country, rock and rhythm and blues (with the nebulous category of "pop" receiving ten votes). The most interesting result, however, is the difference between fourth period and the other two regarding bluegrass music. Bluegrass received seven votes overall with five of those coming from fourth period and only one each from the other classes. As I look over the song-listening exercise, I notice the same trend. The bluegrass song ranked higher in the fourth period class than in either of the others (a whole point higher than seventh period). The fourth period ranking was 2.66, a little more than halfway between "bad" and "OK." Sixth period was 2.0, right at "bad." And seventh period was 1.6, between "horrible" and "bad." Their written comments showed the same trend. While the ranking of the bluegrass songs in fourth period were still below "OK", their responses tended to not be particularly negative. No one, for instance, called it "stupid" or used the term "hillbilly" in a negative way as a description. On the other hand, in sixth, and seventh period in particular, several people make very negative comments: "redneck, stupid, hick, hillbilly...."

I begin trying to formulate a theory to explain why these classes seem so different in this regard. I look at the survey to determine if fourth period has more students with deep family roots in East Tennessee. What I discover is that there is not a significant difference between the classes in this regard. The families of the majority of the students in all of the classes have lived in East Tennessee for over

three generations. Only seven students overall say that they and their parents are the first to live in East Tennessee. One of those is from fourth period, two from sixth, and four from seventh. But still, this does not seem significant enough to skew the data.

Monday, March 18, 1996

As I drive to Hillview I begin to wonder if these classes are tracked -- perhaps seventh period are the ones more on the college track and thus have their sights fixed past Hillview, leading them to reject what they see as the "old", "backward" culture of their community. When I walk into the teachers lounge, Mr. Green, an eighth grade teacher whose room is next to Mr. Carter's, is sitting at the table working on some papers.

"I have a question for you," I say. He looks up from his work. "I've been trying to figure out why these classes I'm working with have such different reactions to what I'm doing", I continue. "I've begun to wonder if they're tracked in any way." "No, they're not tracked," he replies. I act puzzled, and he thinks for a minute. Then he mentions that several of the students in the seventh period class are all in an advanced algebra class together and that perhaps this results in them having some other classes together.

"Interesting," I think. But it certainly is not definitive enough to draw any real conclusions. Perhaps they are slightly tracked by this algebra class, but I realize that without more information I can never really draw any direct connection between tracking and attitudes about music. So, I am still confused. I ask the same question of Mr. Carter later. He doesn't believe they are tracked at all: "they tried that once here, and it didn't work. Now all the students are mixed together." I ask him if he can think of any explanation for the differences in the classes. "Every class has a

personality," he says. "And by this late in the year, that personality is pretty set." I'm satisfied for the moment.

Today, we spend the class time talking about "old music." We begin with British Isles ballads. I sing one with my banjo and then we start by talking about some history: who settled these hills... what was it like here when they came? "A ballad is a song that tells a story," I explain. Then I play them a recording of Nimrod Workman singing a ballad called "Lord Daniel." "Listen carefully," I say. "I want you to tell the story back to me when it's done." Nimrod starts. His high, nasal voice and his thick Appalachian dialect can be a bit hard to understand at times. In fourth and sixth period, however, several volunteers offer to tell the story back to me: "This guy's wife cheats on him and he gets mad and comes to fight the other guy and he gets killed." "Who gets killed," I ask. "Lord Daniel."

"That's right," I say. "Lord Daniel's wife cheats on him while he's away. He comes back and finds them together. He offers the lover a sword and they fight. The lover ends up killing Lord Daniel." We discuss for a few minutes how much this is like modern-day television and movies, pointing out that this was a major form of entertainment for the early settlers in the mountains.

"Somebody tell me the story," I say in seventh period. No one answers. Several people express that they couldn't understand him. Is it the accent, I wonder. Could the whole class really not understand it or did some just not want to admit that they could. Or maybe they are just tired out at the end of the day. I tell them the story and we move on.

Perhaps it's about peer pressure. In fourth period, there are enough people who openly like bluegrass music and embrace their local culture, that it swings attitudes in that direction. In seventh period, the most vocal leaders are critical of bluegrass and "hillbillies" and heavy accents, thus swinging the general attitudes in

that direction. Sixth period seems to be somewhere in the middle. Whatever it is, the theme keeps recurring.

After lunch, again Scott and some others go back to the room with me and we listen to the bluegrass tape. Scott asks me if I know the song "Paradise." I get my guitar out and play it for him. I know the song primarily from listening to John Prine, who wrote it. Scott knows it from Jim and Jesse's bluegrass version:

Daddy won't you take me back to Muellenberg County
Down by the Green River where Paradise lay
Well I'm sorry my son, but you're too late in askin'
Mr. Peabody's coal train has hauled it away.

It strikes me as a bit odd that he likes it so much. Unlike other bluegrass songs, it is slow -- in waltz time. And there's no coal mining in Greenfield County.

Tuesday, March 19, 1996

I'm going to start class today by asking you to write something," I begin. The class is clearly not pleased as they shift uncomfortably in their seats and several express their displeasure out loud. "This isn't a test," I continue. "You won't be graded on your answer. In fact, there is no right answer. I want you to tell me what you think" -- a request that seems foreign to many of them still, but which they are becoming more and more willing to oblige. "I want you to write down what you think 'hillbilly music' is. You can describe what it sounds like, who plays it, what it makes you think about, etc. You can tell me what a hillbilly is. You can say whether you like hillbilly music."

They spend about five minutes writing. When they hand their papers in, I notice that several are only one or two words. A few are almost a whole page, and the rest are somewhere in between. Here are some examples:

Old country music, type of bluegrass, usually fast, makes me think of
old farms and farm folk, music really for back woodsy music,

Hillbilly Music, banjos, guitars, and harmonicas and big old blow jugs. Makes me think of my grandfather and my great grandfather. They used to play things like that. Make me think of kind of people that lived in Indian times. Really old people, playing and singing together. Really high voices. Really loud and fast and it usually has a very good fast, hard beat. Mostly with banjos.

Don, 4th period.

I think of old people in the mountains with a jug and bottles. I think poor people are the ones who listen to hillbilly.

Liz, 7th period.

I hate it. It sucks. It is mostly old people.

Jack, 6th period.

Back porch, Hee Haw, red plaid, overalls, banjo, fiddle.

Susie, 7th period.

Good, old, famous. Hillbilly music is a good type of music to listen to. People call it hillbilly music because of the way they talk and their accents. Most people don't like hillbilly music because of the way they talk. I like it because I grew up around it. Some people also like it because they grew up around it. I think Hillbilly music is better than rap and reggae. Hillbilly music is very old. It is so old I don't know when it started. I think it was the first type of music that was made.

Joey, 4th period.

I think it means country folks on their porch singing and playing banjos. Hicks, old people. It's people back in the country that have nothing to do except sing, well try to.

Suzie, 4th period.

Back woods, long haired people. Not much education. Old.

Doug, 6th period.

It's good music played in the country by good country people. It's good to listen to because it most always tells a good story about how people live in the country in the good old days. It's the best music in the world. The people that sang the music tells it like it is.

Scott, 4th period.

Old people singing, acting stupid. Sounds O.K.

Arlene, 4th period.

Hillbilly music means that it is played by blowing in bottles and stuff like that. I hate hillbilly music because it is a real old version of country. It makes me think of people back in the hills making music. I don't know any one who plays hillbilly music. I don't like hillbilly music because it is so old and is played by people who are sometimes real old or people who are raised by people playing hillbilly music.

Bill, 4th period.

We spend the rest of class talking about and listening to early Appalachian instrumental music, tracing, in particular, the history of the banjo. I play the banjo several times during the class -- "Forked Deer," "Old Molly Hare," "Little Birdie," "Cindy."

The banjo is a wonderful metaphor for the cultural development of the United States. Beginning as an African-American instrument popular on plantations, it has been transformed (i.e. appropriated by whites) over time into an instrument associated most often with bluegrass music -- a musical form played almost exclusively by whites. African Americans have all but abandoned the banjo, and it has become associated with the stereotypical images of the hillbilly. Through shows

such as the *Beverly Hillbillies*, the *Dukes of Hazard* and *Hee Haw* and movies such as *Deliverance*, the banjo has become a symbol for negative images associated with Appalachia.

What did the banjo player get on his ACT test?...drool.

What's the difference between a trampoline and a banjo?... You don't have to take off your shoes to jump on a trampoline.

I try to get the students to think about some of these issues. "Where do you think the banjo comes from?" I ask. "Spain...England...Scotland...Alabama" No one guesses Africa. When I tell them it's from Africa, some are visibly surprised. We talk for a minute about the banjo used with the fiddle to accompany dances on early plantations. We talk about the black-faced minstrels (whites with their faces painted black) who traveled from town to town singing about plantation life in an often mocking, racist way. I sing them a minstrel-type tune, "Cindy":

Massa has a yaller girl
She comes from way down south
Her hair it curls so very tight
She cannot shut her mouth

We talk about how these racist lyrics, along with those of songs such as "Oh Susannah," have been filtered out over the years:

You oughta see my Cindy
She comes from way down south
She's so sweet the honey bees
Swarm around her mouth

Get along home, Cindy, Cindy
Get along home.
Get along home, Cindy, Cindy
I'll marry you someday.

The students seem to get it, though their response is minimal. We wrap up the class with a brief discussion of early country music. When they first started

heavily marketing country music to rural southerners they called it "hillbilly" music, I tell them. But the negative stereotypes that were quickly becoming associated with the term "hillbilly" made that name unappealing to an urban audience. So the record companies opted for a new image to go along with country music. The readily available option was the "cowboy" since Gene Autry and Roy Rogers had already developed that association on the silver screen as singing cowboys who were, in fact, performing "hillbilly" songs from the mountains.

I get little response in class to these assertions. Maybe they're too young for such an abstract discussion. Later, when I am further analyzing the student's responses to the song-listening exercises, I am struck by how successful the music industry was in making this image change. While many students used the term "hillbilly" to describe the ballad, the fiddle tune and the bluegrass song, not a single person associated that word with the contemporary country song. On the other hand, several people did refer to cowboys.

Wednesday, March 20, 1996

Time for plan B. When I wake up this morning, there are several inches of snow on the ground in Knoxville. I turn on the radio and find out that school is closed in Greenfield County. We were going to talk about commercial country music and the development of rock and roll today. I thought the students would enjoy this, but we'll have to skip it now.

Thursday, March 21, 1996

Fourth period is short because of the snow schedule, but all the classes accomplish basically the same thing today. This is the day that we prepare for the students to do their interviews. I pass out individualized index cards to each of the

students with a suggestion for who they should interview. (The suggestions come from information I got on the surveys.) We talk about interviewing techniques and the students pair off to practice with each other. Then a volunteer in each class interviews Mr. Carter in front of the class and we critique the interview. The students get a kick out of this part.

Classes really go pretty smoothly this day with nothing much to note. After lunch, during fifth period, I have my "planning period" when I'm not with a class. I usually spend this time in the teachers' lounge writing or thinking. Today, Scott and Jesse convince their math teacher to let them out of class to come talk to me. They sit down and we start to chit chat about bluegrass. I dig a couple of bluegrass tapes out of my bag for them to borrow.

They both talk about how they would like to learn to play bluegrass someday, but they don't know if they'll ever have the money to buy the instruments. "My grandma and grandpa and uncle plays bluegrass," Jesse tells me. "I bet your uncle would teach us," says Scott.

"What instrument does he play," I ask. "He plays them all," they respond, "mandolin, banjo, guitar." "I want to play the mandolin," says Jesse. "I wanna learn banjo," says Scott.

"Why do you think you guys like bluegrass when most everyone else in your class doesn't," I ask. "I guess we just grew up with it," says Scott. Jesse shrugs in agreement. It turns out they both like their dads and hang out with them -- going hunting and listening to bluegrass together.

"I guess they just grew up hearing it" say other students when I ask them about why Scott and Jesse like bluegrass.

Friday, March 22, 1996

"How many people brought something to listen to today," I ask at the beginning of class. Several hands go up. I had mentioned to the students yesterday that we could listen to "their" music if people would bring some recordings. Realizing that we do not have time to listen to everything that the students have brought, we list all of our options on the board according to musical genre -- i.e. alternative, rock, country, rap, etc. Then the students vote for one out of each category.

All three classes choose to listen to an Alanis Morissette song as the "alternative" selection. "Alternative to what?" I ask. "It seems pretty mainstream to me if everybody listens to it." "It's just the name of the music," they all tell me, exasperated with my ridiculous question. Morissette sings about relationships. The songs "Ironie" and "You Ought to Know" rank at the top of the students' list. They're both played on the radio and MTV. We listen to "Ironie" in class because the students warn me that they might get in trouble for some of the words in "You Oughta Know." But after sixth period, two of the girls want to play it for me anyway. They show me the words to make sure I get it:

I want to you to know that I'm happy for you
I wish nothing but the best for you both
An older version of me
Is she perverted like me
Would she go down on you in a theater
Does she speak eloquently
And would she have your baby
I'm sure she'd make a really excellent mother

'Cause the love that you gave that we made
wasn't able to make it enough for you to be open wide, no
And every time you speak her name
Does she know how you told me you'd hold me
Until you died, 'til you died
But you're still alive

Chorus:

And I'm here to remind you
Of the mess you left when you went away
It's not fair to deny me
Of the cross I bear that you gave to me
You, you, you oughta know

You seem very well, things look peaceful
I'm not quite as well, I thought you should know
Did you forget about me Mr. Duplicity
I hate to bug you in the middle of dinner
It was a slap in the face how quickly I was replaced
Are you thinking of me when you fuck her

'Cause the love that you gave that we made
wasn't able to make it enough for you to be open wide, no
And every time you speak her name
Does she know how you told me you'd hold me
until you died, 'til you died
But you're still alive

Repeat Chorus

'Cause the joke that you laid in the bed that was me
And I'm not gonna fade
As soon as you close your eyes and you know it
And every time I scratch my nails down someone else's back
I hope you feel it. . . well can you feel it

Repeat Chorus

Sean: Do you get along with your parents?

Stephanie: (laugh) When my sister's not there. The past three days
I've been fussin' with my whole family.

Sean: What do you fuss about?

Stephanie: My older sister getting her way all the time. The other
day she had one of my tapes in her car. I told my dad she had stole it
from me. And so he was like "shut up, I don't want to hear it." I told
my mom about it and they both started jumping on me then. And then
she [my sister] was going to come in and get some of my nail polish
remover and I didn't let her borrow it. And they made me let her use
it.

Sean: Why do you think your sister gets her way?

Stephanie: Because she's a suck-up. I mean, seriously though.
She'll hit me and she won't get in trouble. I'll hit her, and I get fussed
at.

Sean: Do you get in trouble with your parents about other things?

Stephanie: Not too much. I spent the night with Jenny one night and
drove Steve Pruitt's car, and my mom didn't like that too much. And
I snuck out of the mall to go ridin' with Jimmy.

Sean: Who's Jimmy?

Stephanie: He's my cousin. but I didn't know it at the time.

Sean: How old is he?

Stephanie: Nineteen.

Sean: Do you have a boyfriend?

Stephanie: No. My life's pathetic. What are you thinkin'? But I like this guy. His name is Scott. He's nice.

Sean: How old is he?

Stephanie: Seventeen. And I broke up with this other guy. He's seventeen. He's a jerk. And there are these other guys who like me but....

Sean: Do you usually date guys that are older than you?

Stephanie: Yeah, they're just more fun to be around. The guys my age are like really stupid acting. The guys who are like older, are more mature and stuff.

Sean: Why was your last boyfriend a jerk?

Stephanie: Because my friends told me that he was going out with other people, and like messin' around and stuff. They told me that he was going out with me just to, you know, do stuff.

Sean: You said you like Alanis Morrissette. What does she sing about?

Stephanie: There's this one song that I like. She's singing about this guy that she like broke up with: "You Oughta Know."

The group Immature is mentioned a couple of times in the rhythm and blues category along with TLC and Boyz II Men. For rap it's Coolio and L.L. Cool J. Country is Faith Hill and Tim McGraw. One person brought in a Grateful Dead tape and played "Casey Jones." The class complained until he turned it off. Another student brought in Aerosmith and the class complained so much that he decided not to play it at all. Scott brought his bluegrass tape and played it despite protests from the class.

Sean: Tell me what you think. Why are you one of the few people in your class who likes bluegrass music?

Scott: I just like it -- grew up around it.

Sean: Do you think other people didn't grow up around it.

Scott: I don't know. Some people did but just don't like it, I guess.

Sean: The only two songs that you said were "horrible" on the survey were the alternative song and the rap song. Why is alternative horrible?

Scott: Mostly you can't hardly understand 'em. It's about stupid stuff mainly, talkin' about "Peaches" [the name of a song]. Can't they find nothin' better to talk about?

Sean: Why do you think so many people like it?

Scott: I guess they wanta be like 'em.

Sean: The people who sing it?

Scott: Yes.

Sean: Do you watch it on TV?

Scott: We don't have cable. We live too far back.

Sean: How about rap?

Scott: (long pause) People talkin' about killin' people and stuff. Mainly stupid. I can't stand it. Bluegrass they talk about normal stuff. They talk about their lives. Like "Waterlillies" -- she talks about goin' down to the pond and she thinks she can stand on the waterlillies and she drowns. Everything makes sense. You can put it all together.

Sean: Maybe talking about people getting killed in the street is talking about some people's lives.

Scott: Well, why do they do it? Why do they go out and kill people? (By this point Scott seems very tense about the conversation and since I have no real easy answer to his question, I try to move on.)

Sean: I know in my junior high there were different cliques like the jocks and the brains and the preps. Is that true at your school?

Scott: Most of them wanta be something they ain't.

Sean: What is it they don't want to be?

Scott: They don't want to be white. They don't try to act white.

Sean: What do you mean?

Scott: They do all that stuff black people do. Try to talk like 'em, wear clothes like 'em.

Sean: Where do they get it?

Scott: I guess it's off TV. I don't watch cable. I don't get none of that. I ain't like it.

Sean: So why do you think they don't want to be white?

Scott: I guess they think they'll be better. I don't know.

Sean: Back to your opinion about rap music for a minute, you didn't seem to think that the plantation song that we listened to was as bad as the rap song.

Scott: Stuff that makes sense is fine.

As several of the boys help me carry my instruments out to my car at the end of the day, I begin trying to make sense out of these students' musical tastes. Stephanie's affinity for songs like "You Oughta Know" clearly shows her position as a young adolescent girl struggling to find meaning in the confusing messages that popular culture feeds to her. Scott, on the other hand, has clearly rejected much of popular culture. But why? A fear lurks in the back of my mind that a racist,

reactionary family background could be at the heart of it. I don't have enough information to make that judgment, however, and his desire to befriend me despite my insistence in the worth of rap music and my celebration of the origins of the banjo, seem to indicate that perhaps there are also some positive motives behind his yearning for life in the country and the "good old days."

On one level he is wrong, I decide. I don't think that the other students "don't want to be white," for that implies that they want to be black. But I also think his observations point to an interesting process that I do see occurring -- a process by which these students have rejected much of their own culture and history while at the same time buying (literally and figuratively) the culture that is fed to them on the television and radio.

Tuesday, April 9, 1996

I worry the whole way up to Hillview: did the students do their interviews? It's been over two weeks, and I've really had no contact with the students except indirectly through a couple of phone conversations with the teacher. Today I plan to have the students report back about what they learned in their interviews.

In fourth period, about half the students did an interview. What a relief. "I interviewed my neighbor," begins one boy. "She's almost sixty years old. She like the 'Great Spotted Bird.'" "Did she sing or play it for you?" I ask. "No, she doesn't have a recording. She used to hear it on the Grand Ole Opry." "Did she say who sang it?" I ask. "Yeah, but I don't remember."

"The person who made it popular was Roy Acuff, an early country singer from East Tennessee," I say. "It's actually called the 'Great *Speckled* Bird' and is based on a Bible verse. I think I have a copy. I'll bring it tomorrow so everyone can hear it."

Others report on their interviews. A few have interviewed grandparents and great-grandparents and the rest have interviewed their parents. Sixth and Seventh period didn't do so well. Only about one-fourth of the students did an interview, but that's a good enough place to start. Several promise to do one tonight.

Wednesday, April 10, 1996

I've decided that the best way I can think of to pull together the interviews is to have the students write them down in some fashion. For those who haven't done an interview, I decide it would be best if they interview each other so that everyone can participate. I also decide to give them the option of drawing pictures to go along with the interviews. Several students end up opting for this choice.

As I walk through the halls, students ask what we're going to do today. "You'll see when you get there" I say, not really wanting to tell them that they will have to write something again. I've been warned by some of the teachers that getting them to write is like "pulling teeth."

"Did anyone do an interview last night," I ask at the beginning of each class. Several people have and they share what they learned. Then we're ready to get down to the business of writing. I take a deep breath: "OK, we're going to work on writing these interviews down as stories." There are a few grumbles, but not as bad as I had expected. Those who haven't done an interview pair off and go out into the hall to interview each other.

On the board I list the words:

Who?
What?
Where?
When?

"Start your story by answering these questions about your interview. Then write what you learned about music." I move around the room answering questions as they begin to work. At the end of class they hand me all of their papers. I promise to make comments by the next day.

At the beginning of seventh period, Sally McCoy reports on her interview with her mom. She plays the tape of the interview and we hear her mom talk about a daughter who sings. After a minute it becomes clear that the daughter she is referring to is Sally. After class I ask Sally about it and she says that she likes to sing and does every chance she gets. Another student says that Sally sang the national anthem at a football game once, and I get the feeling that she must sing fairly well. I'll ask her later if she would like to learn a song with me to sing as part of the Bicentennial Celebration the school is planning.

At home that night, I read all the interview stories. Many are not completed. Others read like a list of facts. It will take some work to get the students to make these more readable. I make my comments in red pen.

Thursday, April 11, 1996

On Sunday, the 7th, I interviewed my great grandma, Lib McClure about the music she and her family listened to. She has 84 years of experience. I went to her house about 11:00 A.M. She lives back to the side of me in a white house. We sat at her table and talked for 10 minutes but only got about three on tape.

She said that the kind of music she listened to was gospel and Grand Ole Opry [country]. She told me how they got their first radio. She said, "we loaded up the children. I carried one, Clarence carried one. We went to Mr. McClure's. He had a radio and we didn't. We went three or four Saturday nights to listen to the Grand Ole Opry and I guess he got tired of us comin' up there or something. I don't know what. About the fourth Saturday night we started up there and we could hear the music before we got there. Zip, he turned her off and he was settin' with his feet on the fire place. He never said he turned it off because you come up here or what. Clarence said, I'll fix the old man. I'll bet we have music next Saturday night." He mortgaged the only cow we had and bought a radio.

-- Scott, 4th period.

Students spend class today finishing and "polishing" their stories. Some of them are pretty good.

On April 8, I interviewed my grandmother, Cindy Helms on the different kinds of music that she liked to listen to when she was growing up. She is from North Carolina, I think. I interviewed her at her house on Cody Road. It wasn't too hard to interview her because she only lives about 60 yards away. We went into the guest room so that no one else would bother us and totally mess up our interview. It was about 6:30 and it was a fast-moving day because we did not have school.

I asked her about what kind of music she listened to and she said mostly rock 'n roll. She said that "there was one concert that I would never forget and that was when I went to see Elvis Presley when he was first starting. Actually, he was touring with some country music singers before he really got out into his main field of music. He was not even a headliner then because nobody had ever heard of Elvis Presley. When he was singing you could just feel that there was something different about him than anybody else that I have seen. I guess that it was just a certain charisma that I guess he had. Girls that you had probably seen on television programs were yelling and fainting. It was not a put-on. It was just something that he brought out in people. Just a few months after that he was real big and headlined his own shows, and he has just been big ever since. I guess I will always remember it.

She also told me of the songs that Pat Boone sang. The name of the song is "Love Letters in the Sand." She sang me a few of the words: "On a day like today, we passed the time away, writing love-letters in the sand." She said that she first heard it in Myrtle Beach and that is what made it stick in her head.

-- John, 4th period.

The stories provide a generational look at popular music. From early country songs like "Great Speckled Bird" and "You are My Sunshine..."

Judy Holloway is 60 years old and is my neighbor. She is a very interesting woman. I interviewed Judy about the music she used to listen to on her grandfather's radio. He sold their only cow to buy it. I interviewed her in her kitchen in her big house about church music, the "Great Speckled Bird" and "Rocky Top." When she was young, she also really loved the song "You are My Sunshine." She went to many concerts. The only ones she can remember are a man named Roger something and Roy Acuff. She says it was really his only big hit, "The Great Speckled Bird."

-- Don, 4th period.

...to Buddy Holly and the Temptations...

I recently interviewed Mary Francis Kerr who is my mother. She is from Ste. Geneviers Missouri. I visited with her one night after dinner in the living room.

When I interviewed my mom, I asked her what kind of music she listened to when she was growing up. She said she liked mostly rock and roll. Some of her favorite songs were "Rock Around the Clock" by Buddy Holly and "Purple People Eater" by Spike Jones. Some of her other favorite musicians were the Temptations and Bobby Venton. Mary mostly heard these on the radio. Also on the radio....

-- Kelly, 7th period.

... to Led Zeppelin and Lynyrd Skynyrd...

Mike Seals is my dad. He is 35 years old. We just moved to Hillview last summer. I interviewed him on what kind of music he listens to. I interviewed him while we were driving from wrestling practice.

The type of music he listened to was 70's music or what he calls "the real rock-n-roll." His favorite groups were Who, Yes, Led Zeppelin, Three Dog Night, Lynyrd Skynyrd, and the Police. He's still got an 8 track. It's like a CD player but it's alot different.

-- Tim, 6th period.

... to George Strait and Whitney Houston...

I interviewed Rachel. She is a friend of mine from school. She is from Tennessee, and is fifteen years old. Our discussion took place in the hallway of Hillview School on April 10, 1996. She said she grew up listening to country music and her favorite musician was George Strait. Her favorite song was "You'll Never Find a Love Like Mine." She has gone to several concerts and dances and said "they were cool." Her favorite love song is "I Will Always Love You" by Whitney Houston, and it reminds her of her long-term boyfriend, Clint.

-- Julia, 7th period.

At the end of class I promise the students that I'll make their stories into a book for the school to keep.

At lunch today, I ask Mr. Carter about the possibility of some students singing with me as part of their Bicentennial Celebration in May. "I understand that Sally sings," I say. "Yeah, that would be fine," he says, "as long as you can relate it to Tennessee. "

During my "planning period" I run into Sally in the office. She has just returned from high school cheer leading tryouts -- she made the squad. Sally's anything but shy and readily agrees to the idea of singing with me. I ask her if she knows any country songs. She mentions Shania Twain and Allison Kraus. We decide to go with Allison Kraus' song "When You Say Nothing At All." We plan to get together fifth period the next day when she is in P.E. class.

Friday, April 12, 1996

Mr. Carter is kind enough today to administer the song-listening exercise so I can conduct interviews during class. I can tell that the students aren't thrilled to have to sit through the same songs again, and when I read their responses later, I see that several even commented on being bored by the process.

I'm surprised at the quality of Sally's voice -- it's very nice. We practice singing during fifth period:

The smile on your face lets me know that you need me
There's a truth in your eyes saying you'll never leave me
The touch of your hand says you'll catch me whenever I fall
You say it best... when you say nothing at all

We couldn't find an empty room in the school so we're sitting outside the front doors. As we finish singing the song for the second time, I see Scott and Jesse come around the corner. They've gotten out of math class again and have been looking for me. "What are you doing out here?" Scott asks. "We're practicing my song," replies Sally. I explain. We sing it again for them.

"I'd like to be able to sing like that, but I can't" says Scott. "Maybe you all could help me sing a bluegrass song during the Bicentennial Celebration," I encourage. Despite their lack of confidence, they are eager.

I start to play "Fox on the Run." When I get to the chorus, I sing the first part: "Like a fox." Jesse sings it again up a third and then Scott sings one more time up another third. Perfect. We are all surprised. Sally doesn't know the song. I teach her the fourth part and she gets it the first time. "Let's practice that a few times, I say. But the more we do it, the more they think about it. And the more they think about it, the more they can't do it. After a while, they get discouraged.

"Let's sing 'Paradise'," Scott says. We sing through it. Sally joins in on the chorus. It's a bit easier, so we decide that's what we'll sing at the celebration.

Wednesday, April 29, 1996

It's Tennessee Bicentennial Day at Hillview School. When I arrive, nobody is where they are supposed to be -- how refreshing. The automatic bell has no power today as the students are all involved in special programs. I wander around for awhile and finally find Mr. Carter. He tells me the plan for the afternoon. The program that I'll be part of is after lunch. It includes a storyteller, some cloggers, Cherokee dancers, an Elvis impersonator and me and the students.

I eat lunch with the students. I pass around copies of the book I put together from the students' interviews. They seem pleased. Several of the students want a copy. I leave two copies with Mr. Carter for the school to keep.

Timmy starts the program by playing "Rocky Top" on the piano. He had pulled me aside one day last week and asked me to come listen to him play the piano. I was surprised by how good he is. I am also surprised that he is showing any interest in what we've been doing because he had mocked the program before -- once he turned in a survey with a fictitious name instead of his own. Sally sings the chorus as they had practiced during lunch.

The storyteller tells traditional "Jack Tales." Two fifth-grade girls "clog" to a 1990s pop dance song, complete with synthesizer and drum machine. The two Cherokees drum, sing and dance, explaining what they are doing as they go along.

Then we're on. Scott doesn't want to go out on stage. Sally drags him up to the front. They do great. The program finishes with Elvis and it's time for the school day to end and me to head back home.

There's a sense of sadness as we pack up my sound equipment. "Will you be back before the end of the year?" "Will you come see us at the high school?" I realize that I've just begun to build a relationship with these students -- just begun to really gain their trust. But it's time to go and school is almost out for the year.

"I don't know if I'll ever get a banjo," says Scott as he carries my instruments to my truck. We have one last conversation about his desire to learn to play bluegrass. I realize I may never know if this is just a fleeting adolescent fancy or a goal that he will someday reach.

"How can I be a star?" Sally asks as we load things into the truck. I consider going into a diatribe about how that shouldn't be her life's goal, about how stars are really just pawns to a music industry that has sucked the soul out of her own culture. But I decide against it. "Beats me," I say. "If you figure it out, let me know."

Chapter 4

The Students' Stories: The "Most Unusual Songs and Interviews of the Century"

What follows is a reproduction of a collaborative effort between myself and the eighth grade students at Hillview School. This is the students' ethnography. It is made up of stories written entirely by the students with guidance from me. It was named by the students: "Most Unusual Songs and Interviews of the Century." Student artwork is also included in the document. My primary direct contribution in the creation of this document was typesetting and layout which I chose to do due to time constraints.

The document is a culmination of the work I did with the students at Hillview School. It is the end "product" of the participatory part of my research. The stories are based on interviews done by the students using a standard interview guide that I prepared (Appendix A1) and helped "train" them to use. The nature of the questions on the interview guide evoked responses mostly about popular music through the years. Perhaps different questions would have resulted in more data about music in oral tradition. The closest we get to that in this document is the one reference to "Froggie Went A Courtin'" which is a song that lives in oral tradition to this day as well as having been recorded.

It was my hope that the students would interview mostly people from older generations. However, as I explain in chapter three, this is not what happened. The students as a group interviewed people from several generations -- from great-

grandparents to each other with a heavy concentration toward the younger end of the spectrum. The result is a generational look at popular musical tastes in the Hillview area during the 20th century. But it is really more than that. These stories show the development of some popular musical styles in Appalachia and the United States in general.

We see, for instance, the development of rock and roll. Some of the grandparents and parents talk about early rock and roll stars such as Elvis Presley and Percy Sledge. Some parents talk about the Beatles and folk-rock stars such as Peter, Paul and Mary and Jim Croce. Still others mention hard rock groups such as Led Zeppelin and southern rock groups such as Lynyrd Skynyrd. In the students' interviews of each other we see the emergence of "alternative" as a rock genre in the 1990s with groups such as Bush and Presidents of the United States of America.

In a similar way, these stories tell us about the development of country music. Again, we have a chronology as with rock and roll -- from early Grande Ole Opry stars such as Roy Acuff to rockabilly stars such as Johnny Cash to contemporary stars such as Vince Gill and Garth Brooks. But what is perhaps more notable is what these stories show about the ebb and flow of country music popularity. The interviews with great-grandparents and grandparents show how in the early days of country, before the birth of rock and roll, country was *the* popular music of choice for that generation in this region. There are some mentions of gospel music, but there was not even always a clear line between gospel and country as can be seen in country songs such as "Great Speckled Bird".

But with the birth of rock and roll, country lost much of its popularity (Malone 1981). This is reflected in the interviews with the parents. There are a few mentions of country music as a favorite style, but many more mentions of rock and roll. Then, in the students' interviews of each other, we see a resurgence in country

music popularity, as it seems to take a relatively equal place alongside the other popular musical forms.

In the students' interviews with each other we also see the multiple musical styles that the music industry has been successful in marketing to a mass audience. Of particular note is the popularity of "African American" musical styles such as rap and rhythm and blues among this almost entirely white population. This is in sharp contrast to earlier generations. For instance, the interviews with people in the older generations (i.e. 60 years or older) indicate almost no "crossover" of African American musical styles into this predominantly white region. (Of course, this is said with full recognition of the contribution of African Americans to all of the musical styles mentioned.) This crossover doesn't really show up until the mentions of rock and roll. Among other things, this seems to show the increasing power of the media in determining musical tastes -- an important theme in the next chapter.

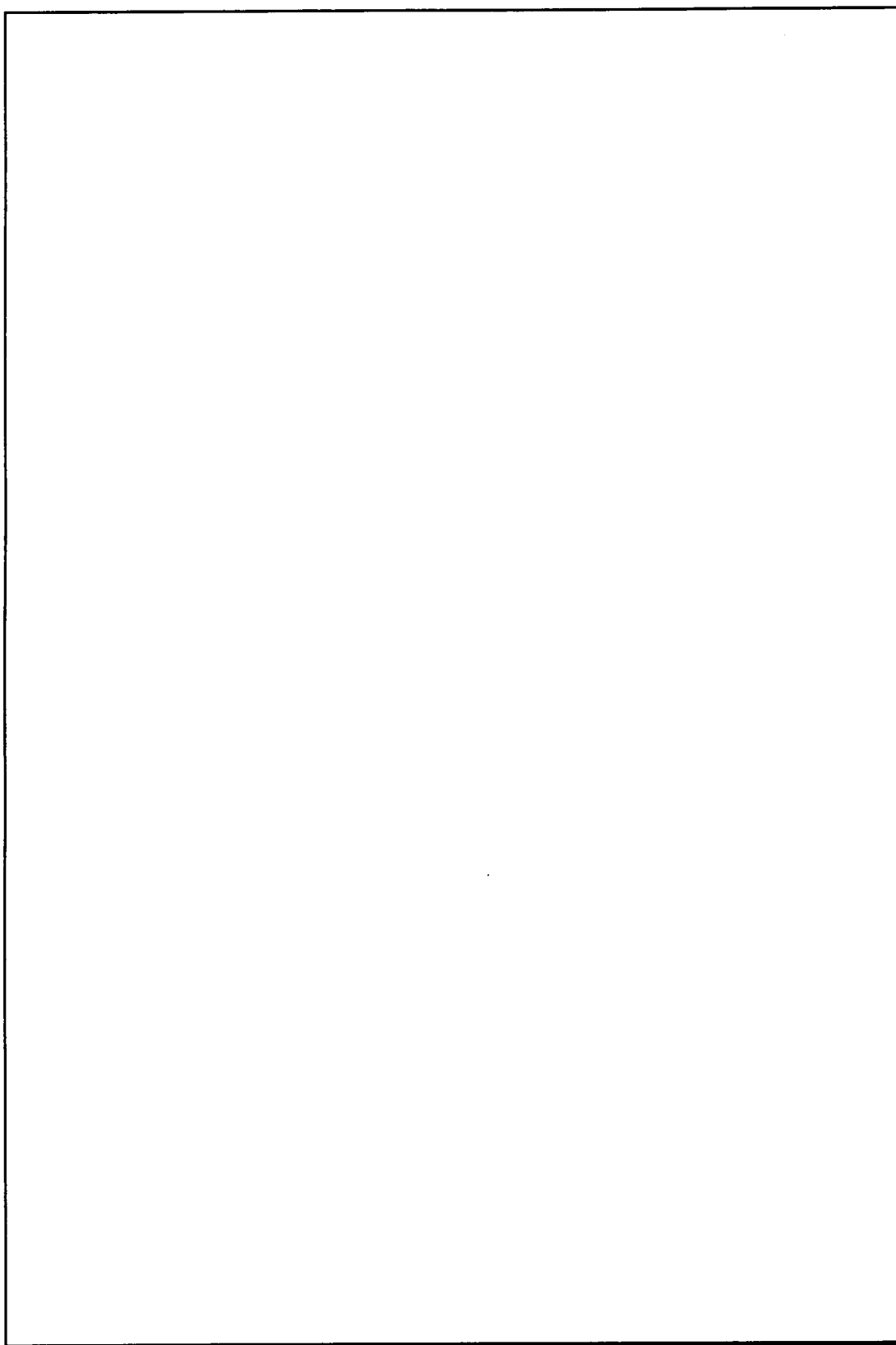
Perhaps one of the most useful functions of this document in relation to the other chapters in this report is to help give a flavor of who these students are. As I read and re-read the following ethnography, I realize how much some of the stories tell about the students' personalities and backgrounds.

The document is most interesting read from front to back. It is put together in rough chronological order with some attempt to group the stories in a logical manner. I hope it is enjoyable to read. It was certainly fun to put together. (Note: the original is a bound document with a cardstock cover and is printed double sided.)

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Hillview's Musical History
 by
 The 8th Grade Class of 1995-96
 at
 Hillview School

1996



Introduction

The following stories were written by the eighth grade students in Mr. John Carter's United States History Class at Hillview School. The stories are based on interviews done by the students during a two week music program that I presented as part of my graduate work in ethnomusicology at the University of Tennessee.

The students interviewed people from the Hillview area about the types of music they listened to growing up. Some students interviewed great grandparents or grandparents. Others interviewed parents or neighbors. And the rest interviewed each other. The resulting stories give us a glimpse into the history of music in the Hillview area. But they also tell part of the story of music in the United States in general. The interviews show us the birth of country music and rock and roll. They show us how these musics have changed over the generations. They show us the wide variety of tastes of contemporary teenagers -- from rap to country to alternative to rhythm and blues to bluegrass. And they show us that, even though the music keeps changing, people keep listening.

I appreciate all of the hard work of the students and the hospitality of John Carter and all the people at Hillview School.

Thanks,
Sean McCollough

Student Art: Benjamin -- p. 20
Kevin -- p. 12
Jack -- pp. 6, 8, 25
Alex -- p. 23
Elijah -- p. 28

Title Concept: Kelley

I talked on April the eighth to Ruth Harper about the kinds of music she heard as a child growing up. Mrs. Harper is seventy-eight and my grandmother. I interviewed her at my house in my bedroom.

Mrs. Harper heard the song "You Are My Sunshine" very often. She heard alot of religious music. She heard music at home, on the radio, at school, and at church. She took piano lessons for several years. She said. "The first song I learned to play was 'Dixieland,' and my daddy liked it when I played it because he was a Southern Democrat."

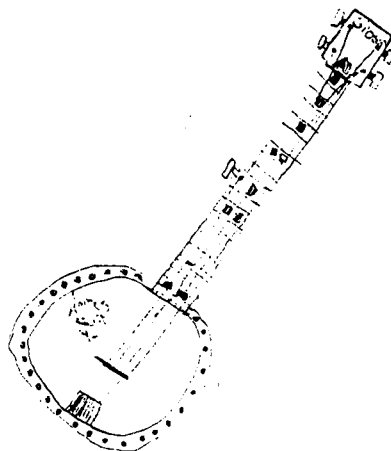
— Emily, 7th period

U R my 
my only 
U make me 
When Skies R 
U'll never no 
How much   U
So please don't
take my  away!

I interviewed my grandma and grandpa. His and her names are George and Barbara. I interviewed them at their house past the city limits in Newport, and about two weeks ago, right after I interviewed them, they went and played some bluegrass and then they listened to some.

My grandma started out playing the piano in church when she was just small. Now my grandpa plays the bass and he plays the guitar and he was the one that started her playing bluegrass, and he also started her playing the guitar. Now they go to all kinds of places to play music like Bulls Gap, Morristown, and other places. That is mostly what they do.

— Paul, 7th period.



I interviewed Iris Atley. She is my grandmaw. I think she is about sixty or a little older. She has lived in Hillview all of her life. What I did is went over to her house and asked her if she cared for me to ask her some questions, and she said go ahead. I interviewed her at her house in the kitchen. She had just got through eating supper when I went over there. It was on the day of March 31, 1996. It was about 8:00 P.M. that night.

She liked only one specific kind of music when she was growing up. The kind of music was Country. She had allot of favorite musicians. A couple of them where Hank Snow, Johnny Cash, and Roy and Dale Evans. She said her favorite song was "Movin On." That song was sung by Hank Snow.

She told me about one of the shows she listened to back then on the radio. The show was Lumb and Abner. She had said that it was about how they would always run into each other and just talk about anything. They always had goofy remarks and answers to each other.

— Jon, 7th period.

I talked with Dorothy Lynn, 64 years of age, who is my grandmother. She lives in Newport, TN and has lived there or near there her whole life. I interviewed her at her home in Newport on March 29, 1996. Church and school were the two most popular places to listen to music, besides the radio. Town was too far away to go listen to music.

Bluegrass and country were her favorite kinds of music. My grandmother couldn't remember any favorite musicians or songs, although she did have a story about going to school fund-raisers. She told me there used to be pie suppers at school and everyone would buy a ticket. While they were eating their food they could listen to a local country or bluegrass band perform.

When I turned the tape recorder off and finished the interview, my grandmother started to sing "Froggie Went A Courtin'." I guess she was afraid of being on tape.

— Stephanie, 4th period.

Froggie Went A Courtin'

**Froggie went a courtin' and he did ride
Froggie went a courtin' and he did ride
sword and pistol by his side**

**He went up to miss mousey's hall
He went up to miss mousey's hall
and for miss mousy did loudly call**

**He took miss mousy on his knee...
said "miss mousy would you marry me?"**

**Oh kind sir I couldn't do that...
without the consent of my dear uncle rat**

**Uncle rat laughed and shook his fat side...
to think that his niece would be a bride**

**Where shall the wedding supper be...
way down yonder in the hollow tree.**

**What shall the wedding supper be...
two green beans and a black-eyed pea.**

**The first to come was the old gray louse...
upon her back she carried her house.**

**Next to come was the bumble bee...
banjo and fiddle on his knee.**

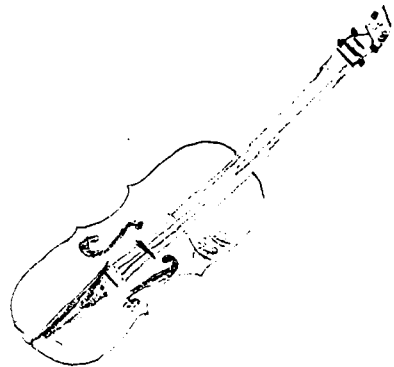
**Next to come was the big brown cow...
she tried to dance but she didn't know how.**

**Next to come was the big black snake...
ate up all the wedding cake.**

On Sunday, the 7th, I interviewed my great grandma, Lib McClure about the music she and her family listened to. She has 84 years of experience. I went to her house about 11:00 AM. She lives back to the side of me in a white house. We sat at her table and talked for about 10 minutes but only got about three minutes on tape.

She said that the kind of music she listened to was gospel and Grand Ole Opry (country). She told me how they got their first radio. She said, "we loaded up the children. I carried one, Clarence carried one. We went to Mr. McClure's. He had a radio and we didn't. We went three or four Saturday nights to listen to the Grand Ole Opry and I guess he got tired of us comin' up there or something. I don't know what. About the fourth Saturday night we started up there and we could hear the music before we got there. Zip, he turned her off and he was settin' with his feet on the fire place. He never said he turned it off because you come up here or what. Clarence said, 'I'll fix the old man. I'll bet we have music next Saturday night.' He mortgaged the only cow we had and bought a radio."

— Scott, 4th period.



On April 5, at about 3:30 pm, I sat with my grandmother, Joy Heinz, and I asked her what kind of music she listened to growing up. She said that she listened to lots of different types of music and who some of her favorite country and rock and roll singers were. She said for country: Elvis, Patsy Cline and Hank Williams. For rock and roll: Chuck Berry and Fats Domino.

My grandmother said that she listened to most music on the radio and some on television. I asked her if she ever listened to any shows on the radio and she said the "Grand Ole Opry." I asked her if she had a favorite love song of any time and she said "Look at Us" by Vince Gill. I asked her if reminded her of anyone and she said it reminded her of her husband Johnny. They played that song when they renewed their vows in '92.

I knew that my grandmother and grandfather sang in a group, the Cherokee Quartet. My grandmother let me record the song "I'll Make It All Right." This was one of my grandmother's favorite gospel songs.

— Regina, 4th period.

The person I interviewed is my grandmother. I interviewed her at my house in March. She said that she did not have a radio so she had to go to church to listen to music. Her favorite songs were "The Old Rugged Cross" and "Amazing Grace." She never went to a concert in her life because she worked all the time.

— Bill, 4th period.

On Monday, April 8, 1996, I did an interview on my grandmother, Amanda May South, 64 at her black and white house in Talbott, Tennessee. She likes to listen to gospel. She likes the song "Amazing Grace." She used to listen to country music from the Grand Ole Opry, Roy Acuff and Midday Merry-Go-Round.

— Susie, 4th period.

Amazing Grace

Amazing grace, how sweet the sound,
that saved a wretch like me.
I once was lost, but now am found.
Was blind, but now I see.

Tw'as grace that taught my heart to fear,
And grace my fears relieved;
How precious did that grace appear,
The hour I first believed.

Through many dangers, toils and snares,
I have already come;
It's grace that brought me safe thus far,
And grace will lead me home.

When we've been there ten thousand years,
Bright shining as the sun,
We've no less days to sing God's praise
Than when we first begun.



Great Speckled Bird

What a beautiful thought I am thinking,
Concerning the great speckled bird,
Remember his name is recorded,
In the great Book of God's Holy Word

The great speckled bird sits in splendor,
All surrounded and despised by the mob,
The great speckled bird is the Bible,
Representing the Great Church of God.

I am glad that I come to your meeting,
I'm proud that my name is of a bird,
For I want to be one never fearing,
In the arms of my Savior's true Word.

When He comes, if He comes, I will greet Him,
On a cloud that is floating in the Word,
I will rise up my Savior to greet Him,
On the wings of a great speckled bird.

Emily Blount is who I interviewed. She is about 75 years old. I interviewed her at her house. She lives next to me on Hwy. 25-32. I interviewed her Monday at 6:00 pm after I played baseball with some people.

She likes to listen to Gospel and some country. She likes Roy Acuff. she says her favorite song he sung was "Great Speckled Bird." She heard him at the Grand Ole Opry when she was young. The Grand Ole Opry is in Nashville, Tennessee. It is where many country singers perform.

— Jason, 6th period.

Judy Holloway is 60 years old and is my neighbor. She is a very interesting woman. I interviewed Judy about the music she used to listen to on her grandfather's radio. He sold their only cow to buy it. I interviewed her in her kitchen in her big house about church music, the "Great Speckled Bird" and "Rocky Top." When she was young, she also really loved the song "You Are My Sunshine." She went to many concerts. The only ones she can remember are a man named Roger something and Roy Acuff. She says it was really his only big hit, "The Great Speckled Bird."

— Don, 4th period.

I did a music interview on my papaw. His name is Joe Drinnon. Joe is in his 60's. I interviewed him before supper. He listens to country and hymns. His favorite songs are "Great Speckled Bird" and "Did You Think to Pray." He said he heard the songs in church and at school.

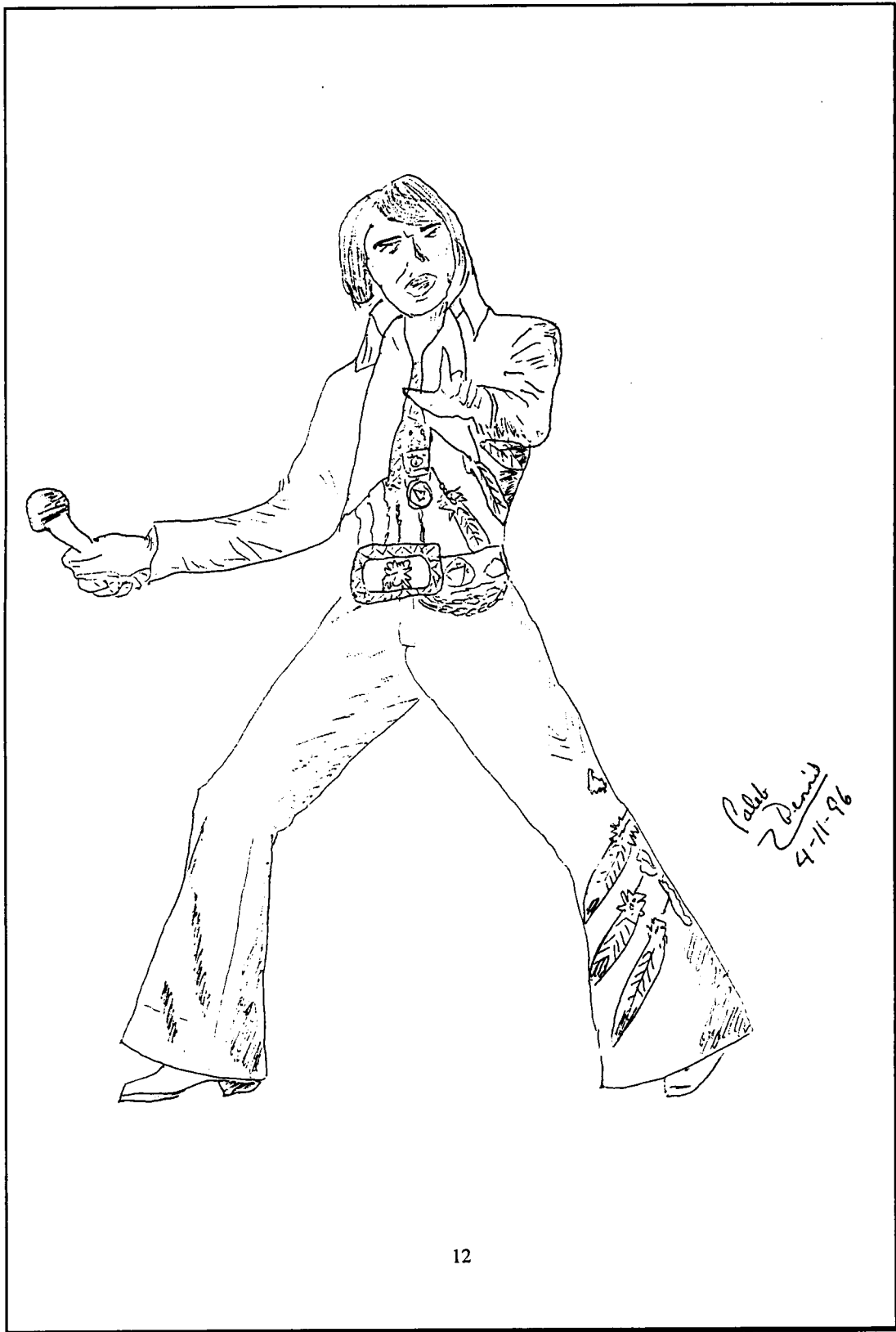
— Ron, 4th period.

On April 8 I interviewed my grandmother. Cindy Helms, on the different kinds of music that she liked to listen to when she was growing up. She is from North Carolina, I think. I interviewed her at her house on Ridge Road. It was not too hard to interview her because she only lives about 60 yards away. We went into the guest room so that no one else would bother us and totally mess up our interview. It was about 6:30 and it was a fast-moving day because we did not have school.

I asked her about what kind of music she listened to and she listened mostly to rock n' roll. She said that "there was one concert that I would never forget and that was when I went to see Elvis Presley when he was first starting. Actually, he was touring with some country music singers before he really got out into his main field of music. He was not even a headliner then because nobody had ever heard of Elvis Presley. When he was singing you could just feel that there was something different about him than anybody else that I have seen. I guess that it was just a certain charisma that I guess he had. Girls that you had probably seen on television programs were yelling and fainting. It was not a put-on it was just something that he brought out in people. Just a few months after that he was real big and headlined his own shows, and he has just been big ever since. I guess that I will always remember it."

She also told me of the songs that Pat Boone sang. The name of the song is "Love Letters in the Sand." She sang me a few of the words: "On a day like today, we passed the time away, writing love-letters in the sand." She said that she first heard it in Myrtle Beach and that is what made it stick in her head.

— John, 4th period.



On April 10 and 11 I interviewed my dad, Kyle Cecil Anderson, in the living room of our house. He told me that the type of music he listened to was country like that of the Grand Ole Opry. Some people he listened to include Hank Snow, Kitty Wells, Roy Acuff, Patsy Cline, Elvis Presley, Hank Williams and Bill Carlisle. He told me about a couple of songs and a movie. One song was the "Great Speckled Bird" sung by Roy Acuff. Another was "Love Me Tender" by Elvis Presley. He also said he liked the movie *Blue Hawaii* starring Elvis.

— James, 6th period.

.....

Love Me Tender

Love me tender, love me sweet,
Never let me go.
You have made my life complete,
And I love you so.

Chorus:

Love me Tender, love me true,
All my dreams fulfill.
For my darlin' I love you,
And I always will.

Love me tender, love me true,
Take me to your heart.
For it's there that I belong,
And we'll never part.

Chorus

Love me tender, love me dear,
Tell me you are mine.
I'll be yours through all the years,
Till the end of time.

Chorus

I interviewed my mother, Emma Durham. She was originally from Cleveland, Tennessee. She is now 40 years of age. I interviewed her for a school project. We talked about the kind of music she listened to growing up. We did the interview at my house in the living room. We did the interview Monday, April 8, 1996.

Emma said she listened to mostly soft rock. She liked groups such as the Grassroots, Beatles, Peter, Paul and Mary, and her favorite musicians were B.J. Thomas and Mac Davis. She told me about a concert she went to where, she said, she and her friends were at a B.J. Thomas concert, and she waited outside the stage door and got his autograph. She also told me about playing the piano. She told me she and many of her friends took lessons from the same teacher, and that they created their own duets. She said her favorite love song was "Leavin' on a Jet Plane" by Peter, Paul and Mary.

— Susie, 7th period.

Leaving On A Jet Plane

All my bags are packed, I'm ready to go,
I'm standin' here, outside your door,
I hate to wake you up to say good bye.
But the dawn is breakin', it's early morn,
Taxi's watin', he's blowin' his horn.
Already I'm so lonesome I could die.

Chorus:

So kiss me and smile for me,
Tell me that you'll wait for me;
Hold me like you'll never let me go.
Cause I'm leavin' on a jet plane.
Don't know when I'll be back again;
Oh, babe, I hate to go.

There's so many times I've let you down,
So many times I've played around,
I tell you now they don't mean a thing.
Every place I go I'll think of you,
Every Song I sing, I'll sing for you.
When I come back,
I'll wear your wedding ring.

(Chorus)

Now the time has come to leave you.
One more time . . . Let me kiss you,
Then close your eyes I'll be on my way.
Dream about the days to come,
when I won't have to leave alone
About the times I won't have to say:

(Chorus)

I recently interviewed Mary Francis Kerr who is my mother. she is from Ste. Geneviers, Missouri. I visited with her one night after dinner in the living room.

When I interviewed my mom, I asked her what kind of music she listened to when she was growing up. She said she liked mostly rock and roll. Some of her favorite songs were "Rock Around the Clock" by Buddy Holly and "Purple People Eater" by Spike Jones. Some of her other favorite musicians were the Temptations and Bobby Venton. Mary mostly heard these on the radio. Also on the radio was the show "Let's Pretend," "Hop Along Cassidy" and "The Lone Ranger."

Mary used to go to sock hops where she did the jitterbug and the stroll. Her sisters once saw the Crewcuts. Her sister sings and play the piano. She used to play violin.

— Kelley, 7th period.

PURPLE PEOPLE EATER

WELL I SAW THE THING A COMIN OUT OF THE SKY.
IT HAD ONE LONG HORN AND ONE BIG EYE.
I COMMENCED TO SHAKIN' AND I SAID, "OOH WEE,
IT LOOKS LIKE A PURPLE PEOPLE EATER TO ME.

IT WAS A ONE-EYED, ONE-HORNED, FLTIN' PURPLE PEOPLE EATER,
IT WAS A ONE-EYED, ONE-HORNED, FLTIN' PURPLE PEOPLE EATER,
IT WAS A ONE-EYED, ONE-HORNED, FLTIN' PURPLE PEOPLE EATER,
SURE LOOKED STRANGE TO ME.

WELL, HE CAME DOWN TO EARTH AND HE LIT IN A TREE.
I SAID, "MISTER PURPLE PEOPLE EATER, DON'T EAT ME."
I HEARD HIM SAY IN A VOICE SO GRUFF,
"I WOULDN'T EAT YOU 'CAUSE YOU'RE SO TOUGH."

WELL, BLESS MY SOUL, ROCK 'N ROLL, FLTIN' PURPLE PEOPLE EATER,
PIGEON-TOED, UNDERGROWNED, FLTIN' PURPLE PEOPLE EATER,
HE WEARS SHORTS, FRIENDLY LITTLE PEOPLE EATER,
WHAT A SIGHT TO SEE.

Time in a Bottle

If I could save time in a bottle,
The first thing that I'd like to do
Is to save every day 'till eternity passes away
Just to spend them with you.

If I could make days last forever,
If words could make wishes come true;
I'd save every day like a treasure and then again
I would spend them with you.

Chorus:

But there never seems to be enough time
To do the things you want to do once you find them.
I've looked around enough to know,
That you're the one I want to go through time with.

If I had a box just for wishes,
And dreams that had never come true.
The box would be empty except for the memory
Of how they were answered by you.

Chorus

On April 10th, 1996 I interviewed Wanda Minnick to see what kind of music she listened to when she was growing up. She said she listened to all kinds, from religious to hard rock. Her favorite musician is Jim Croce. He sings "Time in a Bottle." It was played at her wedding and it reminds her of Ralph (husband) Minnick. She has went to music festivals and singing at church. She has went to school dances and classical concerts at Carson Newman. She listened to rock-n-roll. Her favorite song is "Close Enough to Perfect" by Alabama.

Her husband's uncle played the banjo and guitar in bluegrass. Another person was her sister Joan Parrot. She plays the piano. She likes to hear people that get into their music.

— Holly, 6th period.

My mother's name is Melissa Smith.
We have lived in Hillview for about eleven
years now. I talked to my mom at our house
on March 25 of 1996. She told me the names
of some singers such as Conway Twitty,
Loretta Lynn and The Beatles. She listened to
rock and country. Mom didn't really have a
favorite song then. Her favorite love song is "I
Swear" by John Michael Montgomery. She
said, "It reminds me of my husband." She went
to an Alabama concert one time. She told me
that "their hit song was 'Old Flame' and every-
one lit their lighters when they played it."

— Kelley, 6th period.

Old Flame

I saw you staring at each other.
I saw your eyes begin to glow.
And I could tell you once were lovers.
You ain't hidin' nothing that I don't know.

Chorus:

There's an old flame burning in your eyes
That tears can't drown and make-up can't disguise.
Now that old flame might not be stronger,
But it's been burnin' longer
Than any spark I might have started in your eyes.

You said it ended when he left you.
You say your love for me is strong.
But those old memories still upset you.
And I might be a memory before too long.

Chorus

I am interviewing my mom. Her name is Joni Stevens. She is 30 years old. I am interviewing her in my trailer. She listened to Steve Miller Band, Grateful Dead, Aerosmith, Led Zeppelin, and I forgot the others. Some of her favorite songs are Black Dog by Led Zeppelin, Space Cowboy by Steve Miller Band, and Sweet Emotion by Aerosmith. She went to a Led Zeppelin concert. She said it was "cool." They held up lighters when they played "Black Dog" cause that was the best song Led Zeplin sang. My mom's sister has Led Zeplin's autograph.

— Jack, 6th period.

Mike Seals is my dad. He is 35 years old. We just moved to White Pine last summer. I interviewed him on what kind of music he listens to. I interviewed him while we were driving from wrestling practice.

The type of music he said he listened to was 70's music or what he calls "the real rock-n-roll." His favorite groups were Who, Yes, Led Zeppelin, Three Dog Night, Lynyrd Skynyrd, and the Police. He's still got an 8 track. It's like a CD player but it's alot different.

— Tim, 6th period

I interviewed my Aunt Tina Taylor in April, 1996 about her favorite music growing up. She is 37 years old. She listened to "pop" music. Her favorite singers were Elvis Presley and Percy Sledge. Her favorite song was "Blue Suede Shoes" by Elvis Presley and her favorite love song was "When a Man Loves a Woman" by Percy Sledge. She said that's all she really listened to.

-- Jill, 4th period.

My mother, Joyce Smith, is 40 years old. I interviewed her in our home, after school on Friday the 29th. We just moved to Hillview at the beginning of the school. We like it okay. She listened to a lot of country and a little rock and roll. She went to a lot of dances, but she never went to any concerts.

— Joe, 6th period.

I talked to my step dad at my house. I asked him about the kinds of music and songs he likes. He likes Charley Daniels and Lynard Skynard. His favorite songs by those two are "Simple Man" by Charley and "Sweet Home Alabama" by Lynard Skynard. He likes Eric Clapton and ZZ Top. That is what I found out from my step dad.

—Mitchell, 6th period.

I interviewed my dad. His name is Donny Hampton. I interviewed him on Monday, April 8. This interview helped me to learn the music that he liked. When he was younger, he mostly listened to country. Also, he listened to some rock-n-roll. Christmas time was a time he liked because he loved Christmas music. At church and at school he listened to music. There was a mixture of all kinds of music at his prom. His favorite singer was Loretta Lynn. Other singers that he liked were Conway Twitty, Charley Rich, Patsy Cline, Johnny Cash, and B.J. Thomas. He never did like Elvis much. Loretta Lynn and B.J. Thomas were the two most popular artists.

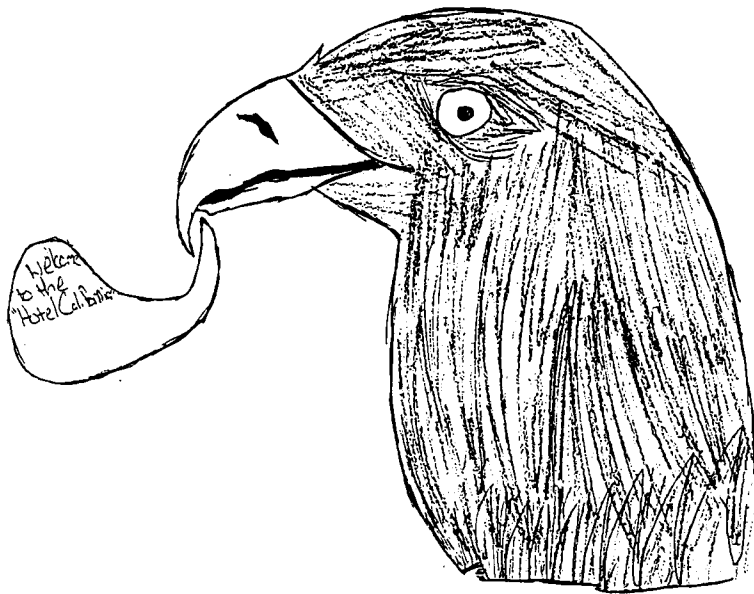
— Beth, 7th period.

I interviewed Katie Leigh. My mom is 42 and lived in California. What we did was an interview. I did it at home in Hillview. It was also in the kitchen. It was 5:33 to 5:51 pm, Sunday, March 31. She listened to the Beatles and the Eagles. Some songs were love and some were rock. The songs were "Hotel California." Musicians were Joe Walsh.

— Benjamin, 7th period.

.....
Hotel California

Welcome to the Hotel California.
Such a lovely place (such a lovely place)
Such a lovely face.
There's plenty of room at the Hotel California
Any time of year (any time of year)
You can find me here.
.....



Dock of the Bay

Sittin' in the mornin' sun
I'll be sittin' when the evenin' comes
Watchin' the ships roll in
And I'll watch 'em roll away again

Chorus:

Sittin' on the dock of the bay watchin' the tide roll away
Sittin on the dock of the bay, wastin' time.

I left my home in Georgia
Headed for the Frisco Bay
I have nothin' to live for
Look like nothin's gonna come my way

(Chorus)

(Interlude) Looks like nothin's gonna change
Everything still remains the same
I can't do what ten people tell me to do
So I guess I'll remain the same

Sittin' here restin' my bones
Wish this loneliness would leave me alone
2,000 miles I roam
Just to make this dock my own.

(Chorus)

I interviewed my mom Monday night at home. She likes Otis Redding and Joe Cocker. Pop is the type of music she likes. She had two favorite songs: "Sitting on the Dock of the Bay" and "I Heard it Through the Grape Vine." Her dad plays the banjo and the guitar. He used to make up songs about each child all their own, and sing it just for them.

George, 7th period.

At 1:00 P.M., Monday afternoon, Billy and Lynnette Samples let me interview them over their musical interests and experiences. The meeting took place in the family room in Baneberry, Tennessee. The forty-year-olds gladly agreed to talk to me.

Lynette Samples stated that she played the piano when she was young and even played the song "Midnight Cowboy" from the movie *Midnight Cowboy* starring Dustin Hoffman. She said the only stations around then were A.M. Stations.

Billy Samples, who has been a guitarist for some years, played the songs "900 Miles" and "If I Were." He stated that when he was a little boy he ran away to see Bing Crosby play. Unfortunately, he got caught stealing a bike and was taken home.

The couple said they listened to such songs as "Nights in White Satin" by the Moody Blues and "Suite Judy Blue Eyes" by Crosby, Stills and Nash. The Rutledges also listened to singers such as the Bee Gees, Neil Diamond, Jimmy Buffett and The Beatles.

— Elizabeth, 7th period.

I interviewed my dad named John H. Moyers. He is fifty-six years old and has lived in the East Tennessee area all of his life, I think. I interviewed him about his music interests and his favorite songs and concerts he went to. I talked to him at our home in Hillview, well, not exactly in Hillview, but it's considered Hillview. All this took place on Easter Sunday, April the seventh, nineteen-ninety six. It was fun but he didn't give that much information.

But he did say that he used to listen to the "Merry-Go-Round" and "Kaz Walker" on the radio and TV. Kaz Walker had alot of special singers like Dolly Parton, so he probably heard alot of people. He said that his favorite singers were Elvis, Patsy Cline, The Everly Brothers, Jerry Lee Lewis ["Great Balls of Fire"] and Merle Haggart.

— Jennifer, 4th period.

Great

Balls



Fire

On Monday, April 8th, I interviewed my mother, Susanne McCoy, about the type of music she used to listen to. She liked to listen to the type of music from the 60's. Mostly the Beatles and Rolling Stones. Some of her favorite musicians were Paul McCartney, John Lennon and Mick Jagger. They played mostly contemporary rock. And she liked country, but later in life.

Susanne liked many different songs, yet mostly the Beatles. Unfortunately, she did not sing any for me and she did not have a recording. She heard music mostly in church, at school, and on the radio. Susanne went to many dances during her high school year. She went and saw the Beatles in concert and a couple days before the concert a hurricane had hit Jacksonville. The concert was uplifting and fun.

— Sally, 7th period.

On April 9, 1996, I interviewed my aunt, Jenny Howard. Jenny is twenty-five years old and she lives in Newport, Tennessee. She is from Cosby, Tennessee and she just turned twenty-five yesterday when I interviewed her. We had to keep trying just to make the interview right.

During the interview, I got to learn a lot about her. I found out her favorite type of music is rock and roll or love songs. Her favorite song is "November Rain." She told me her favorite musicians but I forget.

Autumn, 7th period.

I interviewed a friend of mine. Her name is Sue Ellen Greene. She is not actually related to me. She is 29 years old. The interview went well. We looked over the questions before the interview. After she looked over the questions it was easier for her to answer. I interviewed her at my house in my room. I interviewed her Monday, April 8, 1996. This interview helped me to learn more of what she likes.

When she was younger she listened to soft and hard rock, and she also listened to rock and roll. She had one favorite song and one favorite love song. Her favorite song was "**You Light Up My Life**" by Debbie Boone. And her favorite love song is "I Will Always Love You" by Whitney Houston. She said, "My uncle used to play piano, guitar, banjo and mandolin."

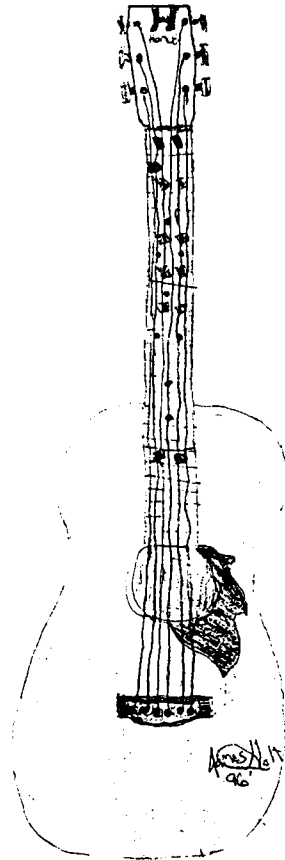
— Lilly, 7th period.

You Light Up My Life

You light up my life
You give me hope
to carry on.
You light up my days
and fill my nights
with song.
It can't be wrong
when it feels so right.
Cause you light up my life.

I interviewed Ron. He's in 8th grade and he's 14 years old. He listens to country. Ron's favorite song is "Standing Outside the Fire" by Garth Brooks. The reason he likes it is because it has a good rhythm. He has listened to country ever since he was little, but he cannot remember when he got his first radio.

— Jane, 4th period.



I did my interview on Ladonna. She is no relation. Ladonna is 14-years-old. She is from Virginia. The interview I had learned that she grew up listening to rap and 2-Pac on the radio. Ladonna also went to a rap concert in new Hampshire to see TLC, Mary J. Bilge and Shabbaronks.

Her father is a party DJ and plays all kinds of different music. She likes listening to rap music. Her favorite songs is "California Love." Ladonna's favorite love song is "Down Low" by R. Kelly.

— Bill, 7th period.

I interviewed Rachel. She is a friend of mine from school. She is from Tennessee, and is 15 years old. Our discussion took place in the hallway of Hillview School on April 10, 1996. She said she grew up listening to country music and her favorite musician was George Strait. Her favorite song was "You'll Never Find A Love As True As Mine." She has gone to several concerts and dances and said "they were cool." Her favorite love song is "I Will Always Love You" by Whitney Houston, and it reminds her of her long-term boyfriend, Bill.

— Julia, 7th period.

I Will Always Love You

*I should stay.
I would only be in your way,
So I'll go, but I know
I'll think of you each step of the way.*

*Chorus:
And I will always love you.
I will always love you.*

*BITTER SWEET memories,
That's all I am taking with me.
Goodbye, please don't cry,
We both know that I'm not what you need.*

Chorus

*I hope life treats you kind
And I hope you have all that you ever dreamed of,
And I wish you joy and happiness,
But above all of this, I wish you love.*

Chorus

I interviewed George. He is a young student enrolled at Hillview School. He is currently an eighth grader. He is from Hillview, Tennessee. The date that I interviewed him on was April 10, 1996.

The type of music he listens to is rap, country, rock and alternative. As you can see, he has a wide range of music to choose his favorite song. He chose the song "I Will Always Love You." It was a song by Whitney Houston.

— Britt, 7th period.

I interviewed Misty who is 13. She is related to her twin sister Laura. I talked with her out in the hall during 6th period. Misty listens to music at home, school, and in the car. She is interested in Immature who is R&B and Alanis Morissette who is alternative. Her favorite songs are "We Got It" by Immature and "You Oughta Know" by Alanis Morissette.

Misty's male relative plays bluegrass or country music at family reunions. That is where she heard him play and sing. She said he plays pretty good. Misty does not know if he plays in a band.

— Jennifer, 6th period.

Holly is who I interviewed and she is 14 years old. She is my distant cousin. I interviewed her outside in the cold wind. It was during 6th period at 2:00.

She listens to country music and R&B. Her favorite song is "Sittin' In My Room" by Brandy. Her favorite musicians are Silk. She saw them on TV singing "Lose Control." This is my report on Holly.

— Kim, 6th period.

Harmony's favorite musician is Mariah Carey. Her favorite song is "No Doubt." She likes Rap Music. Harmony's grandmother is the only one in her family that plays an instrument, and that is the piano in the church.

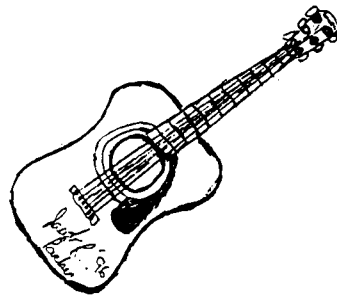
— Amber
6th period.

On April 10, 1996, I interviewed Jennifer on what kind of music she listens to. She is 13 years old. Jennifer said she listened to Alternative, a little bit of country, R&B and rap. Her favorite groups are Immature who sing R&B, Alanis Morissette, who sings alternative, Coolio who sings rap, TLS who sings R&B and No Doubt who sing Alternative. She went to some kind of WIVK concert and heard Aaron Tippon, Lori White, and Ken Mellons, who all sing country. Her favorite love song is "Always" by Bon Jovi.

— Misty,
6th period.

I interviewed Joey. He is in eighth grade. I interviewed him to see what music he likes. I found out that he likes alternative. I interviewed him at school in my 4th period history class, April 10, 1996. His favorite song is "Dune Buggy" by Presidents of the United States of America. The song is cool, he says. He also likes bluegrass. He grew up with it. His favorite song is "Fox on the Run."

— Arlene, 4th period.



Fox on the Run

She walked through the corn leading down to the river.
Her hair shone like gold in the hot morning sun.
She took all the love that a poor boy could give her.
And left me to die like a fox on the run.

Everybody knows the reason for the fall.
When woman tempted man down in paradise's hall.
This woman tempted me alright, then took me for a ride,
But like the lonely fox, I need a place to hide.

Come take a glass of wine and fortify your soul.
We'll talk about the world and friends we used to know.
I see a string of girls to put me on the floor.
The game is nearly over, the hounds are at my door.

I interviewed Ross, age 14, 8th grade, in history class, 4th period on April 10, 1996. He told me that he grew up listening to alternative and country music. Some of his favorite musicians were Green Day, Presidents of the USA, Garth Brooks, Alan Jackson, and John Michael Montgomery. Some of his favorite songs are "Lump" by Presidents, "Peaches," and "When I Come Around."

— Melissa, 4th period.

Lump

Lump sat alone in a boggy marsh
Totally motionless except for her heart.
Mud flowed up in lumps pajamas
Totally confusing all the passing Pirhannas.

Chorus:

She's lump, she's lump, she's in my head.
She's lump, she's lump, she's lump, she
might be dead.

Lump lingered lasting life for brains
And the ones she got were sorta rotten
and insane.
Small things so sad that birds could land
As lump fast asleep were rockin' out the
band.

Chorus

I interviewed Bill. Bill is 14 years old, he is from Hillview, Tennessee. I interviewed him outside during 7th period history class. The type of music he listened to was mostly rock-n-roll. His favorite song was "December" by collective soul. He heard most of his music on the radio and at concerts.

— L:adonna, 7th period.

I interviewed Emma at school during fourth period. She is 14 and listens to alternative, rap and old rock. Some of the people in alternative is Alanis Morissette and Presidents of the United States of America. Rap — Brandy and Coolio. Old rock — Eagles and Lynard Skynard. She watches MTV, CMT, listens to the radio, and goes to church to hear music. Her granny plays the piano and she can to.

— Missy, 4th period.

I interviewed Julia. She is a good friend from my school. She is from Mississippi. I interviewed her April 10, 1996 in the hall of my school. The music she grew up listening to is country; her parents listened to it. Her favorite song was "Cathy's Clown" by Reba McEntire. Now, her favorite song is "Anything" by 3T Brotherhood.

— Rachel, 7th period.

Amber, 14 years old. Her favorite music is country. Her favorite singer is Clay Walker, Garth Brooks, and George Strait. Her favorite song "Hypnotize the Moon" by Clay Walker. Her grandfather Bruce plays the guitar at home. He started playing the guitar when he was young.

— Harmony, 6th period.

Stephanie is my friend. Her favorite song is "Hypnotize the Moon." It is a country song by Clay Walker. She loves to listen to Alanis Morissette. The song she likes is "You Ought to Know."

—Michelle, 6th period.

Hypnotize the Moon

**You better run for cover.
You better hide your heart
Cause once you start to love
me,
You know you'll never stop.**

**She shines like a diamond
When she walks into the room
She could charm the stars,
Hypnotize the moon.**

I interviewed Billy. He is 14 and likes to listen to rap. Bobby heard the song "Regulate" on a tape. Bobby likes Warren G. and Nate Dogg. Bobby has never been to a concert.

— Marcus, 4th period.

His name is Brett. He is my friend. I set and talked to him about music. It was at school. He likes to listen to Rap like L.L. Cool J. His favorite song "Daddy's Home."

— Billy, 4th period.

I interviewed Harmony out in the hall. She is 14. I talked to her about what her favorite group is and what they sing. She likes Rap music. Her favorite song is "1979." Her favorite musician is Mariah Carey. The only person who plays an instrument in her family is her grandmother. She played the piano at church.

—Amber., 6th period.

Michelle likes rap music and her favorite rapper is 2 Pac. "I wanta be a N-i-g-g-h" is her favorite song by 2 Pac. She's been to alot of dances and danced with alot of guys. Michelle has also been to allot of concerts. Her favorite concert was AC/DC. Boyz II Men's song "I'll Make Love To You" is her favorite love song. Her cousin Jason plays music. Her cousin can not play music any more because he is paralyzed. He played drums just like AC/DC.

— Stephanie, 6th period.

I'll Make Love To You

Close your eyes, make a wish.
And blow out the candle light.
Cause tonight is just your night.
We're gonna celebrate, all through the night.

Chorus:

I'll make love to you
Like you want me to.
And I'll hold you tight,
All through the night.
I'll make love to you,
Like you want me to.
And I will not let go
Until you tell me to.

Baby tonight, is your night
And I will do it right.
Just make a wish on your night.
Anything you want, I will give you.
The love of your life, your life, your life.

I interviewed Judy. She is in the 8th grade. She is 14 years old. Her favorite group is Live. They sing "Lightning Crashes." She has never went to their concert. The song "Lightning Crashes" is about a woman having a baby. And an angel comes down to watch over her.

Judy's family sings bluegrass. Her parents sing too. She has heard them sing at a family reunion. Nikki and I talked about the kinds of music she likes. I interviewed her at school. She likes it because she thinks it's cool.

— Mary, 4th period.

On April 10, I interviewed Lucas over the types of music he likes. He mostly likes Alternative and old rock. When I asked him some of the concerts he had been to. He told me he had been to Bush. Goo Goo Dolls and No Doubt. He said that they were all good and the thing he liked most about them was they were alternative.

The songs and CD's he likes are Bush, No Doubt, Oasis, Grateful Dead, and Goo Goo Dolls. He also wants to go to a Grateful Dead concert more than any other because Jerry Garcia (who plays for them) died and he knows he will never get to see him in a concert. This is what Lucas thinks about music. I think that you will find out it is just what most other teenagers think about music.

— Bob, 4th period.

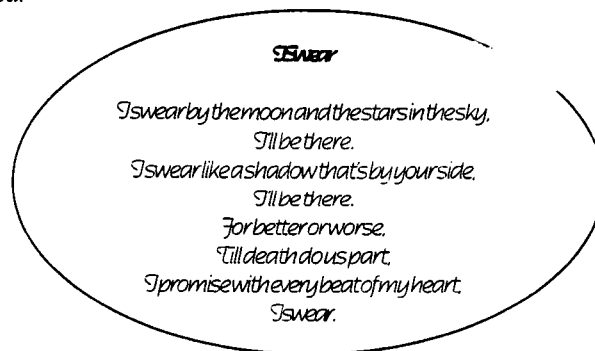
On April the 10th, 1996, I interviewed a friend from school. His name is Doug. I interviewed him to see what kind of music he liked. He said "mostly country." His favorite Musician is Alan Jackson. His favorite song is "I Swear" by John Michael Montgomery. He heard the songs from the radio. Doug is 14 years old.

— Holly, 6th period.

Kim is an eight grade student. She is 14 years old. Her favorite song is "I Swear" by All-4-One and it is the pop version. She likes "Open Arms" played by Mariah Carey. She has gone to a dance and it was at school on a Friday night.

She has a cousin that plays "Amazing Grace" on his violin and his sax. Her papaw plays "My House is Full" on the guitar. These songs are gospel.

— Doug, 6th period.





Bluegrass Music

The reason we like bluegrass music is we was raised up with it. Most people in Jack's family plays it, and most people in Jason's family listens to it. We like Ralph Stanley, Larry Sparks, Jim and Jesse, Bill Monroe, Lester Flatt and Earl Scruggs, Virginia Mountain Boys, Clinch Mountain Boys, just about anybody. Bill Monroe made the mandolin and bluegrass period.

-- Scott and Jesse, 4th period.

Chapter 5

Cultural Identity and The Politics of Culture in Appalachia

In this chapter, I analyze what the attitudes of the students at Hillview School about music have to tell us about their values concerning "Appalachian culture" and the development of their own cultural identity. In order to do this, I first explore how the marginalization of Appalachia as a region not only has political and economic implications, but cultural ones as well. I then look at the ways in which youth in general, and the students at Hillview in particular, utilize different types of music as badges to identify themselves among their peers. And finally I juxtapose the attitudes of the majority of students whose musical badges reflect mainstream popular culture with those whose badges reflect more regional or rural values.

I conclude that the majority of students at Hillview School have internalized negative images and stereotypes of Appalachia resulting in their rejection of "Appalachian culture." The students' attitudes about bluegrass and other "Appalachian" music are clear indicators of this phenomenon. Still, there is a small group of students who do not share these same attitudes and who seem to embrace Appalachian culture as part of their own identity -- for example, they even describe the generally pejoratively-used term "hillbilly" in a positive manner. Drawing upon Alan Batteau's definition of Appalachian culture, it is clear that these students strike a different balance from the majority between "local values" (i.e. values based upon their own experiences and modeling from older generations) and "external confrontation" (i.e. popular culture).

Appalachia and the Relationship of Unequal Exchange

One cannot talk about issues related to Appalachian music and "Appalachian culture" without recognizing the history of Appalachia as a marginalized region. This history has influenced both popular and academic images of Appalachia -- images that are directly connected to both the production and consumption of musical styles such as bluegrass and country music. Thus, I begin my analysis with an overview of what David Whisnant calls the "politics of culture" in Appalachia.

In the field of Appalachian studies, poverty and underdevelopment have long been common themes. Few would disagree that these are appropriate characterizations of a region much in need of revitalization. But how this need is interpreted can vary greatly. In response to this challenge of interpretation, several different development models have been proposed. Some of these models, unfortunately, are based on a "blame the victim" paradigm. The "Culture of Poverty Model," for instance, "attributes regional problems to the deficiencies of the people and their culture" -- i.e. they are stupid, apathetic, ignorant, defective, backwards, primitive, etc. (Lewis 1). This type of explanation certainly can act to legitimate oppression and injustice.

The Internal Colonialism model developed in response to these "blame the victim" models and compares Appalachia to colonized nations that are dominated by outside interests.

The value of the Internal Colonialism Model lies in its ability to bring into focus issues of decision-making and control of everyday life that tend to be ignored in the analysis of area problems and consequently in public policy formulation. The other models describe many of the problems and conditions that are a result of domination and exploitation, but they fail to address these things as causal factors. As social scientists, we are seeking causes rather than descriptions (or justifications).
(Lewis 3)

But while this model is useful, there have been criticisms of it based upon the breakdown of the colonialism analogy when taken to its logical conclusions and extremes (Walls 236-238). Thus, another model has been proposed that characterizes Appalachia as a peripheral region within a capitalist world system. "As the core-periphery distinction is presently used by several schools of economic thought, it seems reasonable to apply the term peripheral to such regions within advanced capitalist countries as Appalachia which share many of the characteristics of underdevelopment, poverty and dependency found in the peripheral countries of the third world" (Walls 242).

Whichever of these last two models we choose, what is most important is that we understand what these models have to tell us about the marginalization and exploitation experienced by the people of the region. Appalachia is an area that for many years has been involved in relationships of unequal exchange with other regions in the United States and abroad. Natural resources have been consistently controlled and extracted by outside interests, leaving a legacy of poverty, powerlessness and environmental degradation (Gaventa).

A small number of individuals control a large portion of the wealth, yet give little back to the region in return. Land ownership patterns in the region are a good example of this dynamic. A study entitled "Who's Paying Their Fair Share: A Study of Land and Mineral Taxation in Fourteen Counties in East Tennessee" shows that the top ten land owners in each of the fourteen counties studied (28.8% of whom are absentee owners) own 38.8% of the land yet pay only 4.7% of the total property taxes in the county (Save Our Cumberland Mountains 59).

Another prime example of the relationship of unequal exchange is the coal-mining industry. Appalachia is a region that is rich in natural resources -- coal being one of the most exploited. But it is not generally the majority of the people from the

region who benefit from the wealth created by the extraction of these resources; it is either outside interests or those who have come to be called in some literature, the mountain elites. Consider, for instance, that "based on a 1970 census, in Pike County, the highest Kentucky mountain coal producer, the per capita income is little more than 40 percent of the national per capita.... Pikeville, Kentucky, a town of fewer than 5,000 people in the heart of the coal fields, has 38 millionaires living within its limits" (Weller 48-49).

Strategies to combat the poverty and underdevelopment of the region have varied greatly depending upon the development model from which they stem. For instance, the Culture of Poverty model brought missionaries, the national "War on Poverty" and the development of the Appalachian Regional Commission and other programs directed at "fixing" the regional "defects" that were seen as impediments to development. Internal Colony and Periphery models, on the other hand, have brought community organizing and education aimed at empowering individuals and grassroots organizations from the region to take control of the decisions being made about the region's resources and future. These responses are vastly different forms of intervention. They point to the tensions that exist in any such attempts (particularly by outsiders) to alter the course of a region -- tensions concerning who has the power, who holds the blame and who is speaking for the people, history and culture of the region.

The Mining of Appalachian Culture

It can be argued that the exploitation of the natural resources in Appalachia has been paralleled by exploitation of the culture. The paradoxical nature of this cultural exploitation is fascinating. On the one hand are images of the idyllic mountain scene with patchwork quilts and music and a life that is simple and pure.

On the other hand are the images that come with the *Beverly Hillbillies* and "Snuffy Smith" -- images of the lazy, ignorant, barefoot mountaineer who lives in a culture that has stood still in time for a hundred years. These are images that unfortunately have not only been a prominent part of popular culture but also have remained central themes in academic discourse about the region (Dunaway).

This second set of images has made for good justification of the injustices and domination experienced by the people of Appalachia. Just as Western colonizers have often dehumanized those they wish to dominate in an effort to rationalize their often violent actions (Taussig), so have the exploiters in Appalachia dehumanized, or at least sub-humanized, the mountaineer.

The more idyllic images and stereotypes of mountain culture have also been exploited along-side the negative stereotypes. And in this exploitation we can see some tension of cultural representation.

Pick up any issue of a popular journal (*National Geographic*, say, or an airline public relations magazine). Depending upon the awareness (and the politics) of the writer, an article on Appalachia may or may not mention strip-mining or exploitative "development" programs, but it will inevitably expatiate on Appalachia's culture. The image is eminently predictable: split-rail fences against mountain vistas, bursts of color from artfully arranged quilts, banjos and dulcimers, moonshine stills, and geehaw whimmydiddles. The accompanying text will usually set these picturesque artifacts in an appropriate context of "folkways": convoluted kinship systems, "Elizabethan" speech patterns, resistance to modernity, and a stern and fatalistic religion that veers tantalizingly toward snake handling. (Whisnant 5)

These are images that lend themselves to exploitation and commodification. And music, being an important part of this imagery, has certainly also been a part of these processes. Alan Batteau notes that in Appalachia "the local colorists mined the region for literary images, the missionaries mined it for lost souls, and the coal operators mined it for natural resources" (Batteau 27). We might also say that the early record companies mined the region for a music rooted in history and rich in

content. Rich Kirby, a musician who plays "old-time mountain music," comments on this exploitation:

Our mountain culture was exploited in its own right, picked apart and ruined just as surely as our forests and coal seams. Old time music was removed from its roots and nearly destroyed. It had been freemade by many and shared by all. Now it was put in packages and sold. It is striking how this process went hand in hand with the opening of the coalfields. (Kirby 23-31)

In the early 1920s, record companies such as Victor and Okeh brought music from the hills of Appalachia to a wider audience by capitalizing on a fascination with the politically constructed culture of the Appalachian Mountains. "Hillbilly Music" was suddenly a part of American culture. The early recordings often utilized traditional Appalachian instrumentation and catered mostly to a rural audience. But while people in the music industry were more than willing to commodify the culture of the region to their advantage, they were also quickly willing to discard anything that would not sell, particularly when the urban market looked promising. One image that they rather quickly discarded was that of the "hillbilly" or the "mountaineer." It was traded for the more marketable image of the cowboy:

the cowboy, unrestrained by the confining regimens of city life, but bound by a code of proper behavior and loyalty to friends, symbolized freedom and independence. the mountaineer had once been identified with such qualities, but by the end of the 1920's, comic depictions of hillbillies or accounts of snake handling and other forms of eccentric behavior tarnished much of the romance associated with the mountains. Above all, persistent reports of Appalachian poverty and accounts of exploitation by coal operators and other economic interests significantly diminished the image of mountain independence. The cowboy, on the other hand, seemed peculiarly unmarked by negative stereotypes (Malone, *Country* 90)

The music itself was also changed:

Recording executives -- and, later, performers -- discovered that the chief stumbling block to the acceptance of country music by popular fans was the instrumentation. The hillbilly fiddle and the wailing electric steel guitar either repelled the musical sensitivity of listeners or created a "rural" or "tavern" image that urbanites wanted to avoid. (Malone, *Singing* 248-249)

Thus, in the mid 1950s, responding to the rock-and-roll explosion that had swept almost every other type of music off the popular music charts, country music entered a period in which the fiddle, the oldest American folk instrument, was banished from the commercial mainstream" (Blaustein 60). Now, in 1996, the fiddle is back, along with the steel guitar. But at the same time, much of country has come to sound more and more like other popular music with keyboards, electric guitars and drums providing the primary sounds. The result is that country still remains largely severed from its roots, simply taking its place alongside other popular musical styles in the commercial music market.

Music, Cultural Identity, and the Students at Hillview School

So where does this leave the students at Hillview School? How do they sort through and make sense of the popular images of their own region? What are the factors that influence their musical preferences? How can we make sense of these preferences and, in particular, of their responses to bluegrass and other music associated with Appalachia? These are the questions that this section begins to address.

Simon Frith asserts in a discussion of youth and popular music that "the analytic task is to explain youth styles by reference to the values they articulate and then to search for the origins of these values" (Frith 196). These seem appropriate goals for this analysis.

Let us begin by examining some factors that affect musical taste. One of the primary reasons often stated as a source for musical tastes among youth is peer pressure. It has been shown "that a substantial proportion of teenagers consider other's musical tastes in forming impressions of their peers.... Liking and being able

to talk about music are crucial to an adolescent's participation in the world of other youth" (Hakanen and Wells 57). Thus, during early adolescence, a particularly important period in the development of identity, peer pressure is sure to play a significant role in determining attitudes about musical styles.

One student at Hillview School, Liz, exemplifies this very clearly in her choice to listen almost exclusively to rap music. Liz's best friend is Ladonna, the only African American student in the entire eighth grade. Being part of such a small minority of African American students in the school (eleven students out of 638), Ladonna has formed a group of African American friends in a larger neighboring town. Liz also socializes primarily with this group of friends. They listen to rap.

Music, according to sociologists, is an aspect of peer-group organization. It is in their peer group that teenagers learn the rules of the social game ('achieve competence in the interpersonal domain') and develop sexual identity and social status; it is in the peer groups that they learn how to publicly handle private feelings. In sociological terms, all adolescents have these problems, all adolescents pass through peer groups, all adolescents use music as a badge and a background, a means of identifying emotion. (Frith 217)

The metaphor of music as a badge, an identifier of some sort, is useful in examining the Hillview students' attitudes. For most, it seems the badges that they wear simply say: "I'm part of the mainstream, I fit in." The students who wear this badge are the ones who listen to the whole gamut of commercial popular music such as alternative, rap, country, R&B etc.

For others, the badge may identify some specific attitude or value. For instance, I know that one student's badge implicitly says "I'm racist." He listens only to country and alternative (primarily white commercial music), but very vocally dislikes rap which he once wrote of as "nigger music." Of course, even if people's musical preferences are the same and their badges appear the same, they may not

mean the same thing -- i.e. not everyone who likes country and alternative and dislikes rap is overtly racist.

The badges of those whose musical tastes lie outside the mainstream, say: "I'm different." At Hillview, these students are the ones who listen to reggae and bluegrass. Only 11 students fall into this category (see Appendix C). They all also listen to commercial popular music.

The four girls who listen to reggae are Ladonna and her friends. For Ladonna, reggae appears to be a badge identifying her as an African American who isn't trying to simply fit into the dominant white mainstream -- i.e. she also likes rap, but it can't sufficiently serve this function since so many of the white students also listen to it. For the others, the badge perhaps primarily serves to identify them with Ladonna.

For the students who like bluegrass, their badge seems to identify them as country folk who aren't ashamed of their roots. These students also tend to have more positive views of other forms of music often associated with Appalachia.

It is beyond the scope of this research to examine the case of reggae. But it is appropriate to examine the case of bluegrass. I would like to begin by juxtaposing the attitudes of students' who like bluegrass and are open to other forms of "regional" music against those of the majority who dislike music that is associated with Appalachia. From the data I have collected, I believe that there are three primary factors in determining these attitudes. The first is the students' desire to differentiate themselves from older generations. The second is the success of commercial music in determining tastes. And the third is the degree to which the students at Hillview School have internalized popular negative images of Appalachia.

It is clear that one factor in determining the students' musical tastes is the need to identify themselves as different from older generations: "Music is used...to

distinguish the young from the old, to identify a place or time or occasion as youth's property" (Frith 216). This is most clearly illustrated in the reactions of the students to musical styles that they didn't like. Descriptors such as "old people's music" were used, for instance, in response to the song-listening exercise to describe the fiddle tune, the ballad and the bluegrass song. "Old people" was also the most common descriptor used in the students' written descriptions of "hillbilly music." In this case, sometimes the term was simply descriptive and sometimes derogatory. With only this information, one could make the case that students don't like bluegrass simply because they associate it with older generations. Clearly this is a factor, but I believe the evidence points to other important factors also.

The second factor is harder to demonstrate or "prove." While I do not care to enter fully into the debate over whether commercial music drives tastes or vice versa, it is important to at least consider the fact that the majority of Hillview students' musical tastes fall within the confines of commercial popular music. While one could argue that collectively, youth may wield a certain amount of economic buying power and thus effect what music becomes popular, it seems naive to believe that rural eighth graders in east Tennessee have any significant direct influence in determining the content of commercial popular music. I would argue, rather, that there is a significant degree to which the programming on commercial radio and music television prescribes musical tastes for the majority of eighth grade students at Hillview School. My observations of the students support this conclusion. For instance, while the students' tastes do vary according to the musical badges they choose to wear, I saw little evidence that they are significantly discerning within the musical genres to which they choose to listen. For example, several students who listen to alternative music told me that the words to the songs make no sense. When I asked them what they like about the music, their responses ranged from "it's just

cool" to "I don't know" to the slightly more thoughtful "it has a good beat." In response to my question about why she doesn't like bluegrass music, one student simply said, "because it's not on the radio."

While I believe these first two factors play a significant role in determining what musical badge the students choose to wear, it also seems clear that in relation to music that is often associated with Appalachia, the third factor is at play. I believe that many of the students have internalized negative images and stereotypes of Appalachia, and have, in turn, rejected cultural traits, and in particular, musical styles, that they associate with those images.

Before I provide evidence for this assertion, I feel the need to explain why I don't consider the students' attitudes about commercial country music as a significant indicator of their attitudes about Appalachia. The primary reason for this is that it is clear that the students themselves do not consider country music in the same category as bluegrass, ballad singing, etc. The students' comments about country music show that the music industry has been very successful in distancing country music from the negative images of its roots. While the term "hillbilly," for instance, was used frequently by students to describe bluegrass music, it was never used to describe country. On the other hand, "cowboy" was used as a descriptor several times.

In order to support my assertion about the students' attitudes and values concerning "Appalachian culture" I will use four sets of data as evidence. The first example is the low ranking of the ballad (1.52), the fiddle tune (1.68) and the bluegrass song (2.14) on the song-listening exercise, coupled with the use of stereotypic, negative images to describe the songs (see Appendix B for complete results).

The plantation work song rated equally poorly (1.51), so we could conclude from numbers alone that the ranking has mostly to do with the other taste-

determining factors. But I believe it is instructive to note the written responses also. "Hillbilly, redneck, hick, stupid, drunk people, and moonshine" were among the responses. So were the *Dukes of Hazzard* and the *Beverly Hillbillies*, indicating a direct association of the music with some of the sources of stereotypic images.

The students' descriptions of "hillbilly music" showed similar results. The task assigned to the students was simply to describe hillbilly music. They were told there was no right answer and that they could include such things as what hillbilly music sounds like, who plays it, if they like it, etc. Of the responses, seven could be characterized as positive reactions to hillbilly music, seventeen as negative and twenty-seven as simply descriptive in nature.

The positive responses were all given by the same students who like bluegrass music. Here is an example:

Good, old, famous. Hillbilly music is a good type of music to listen to. People call it hillbilly music because of the way they talk and their accents. Most people don't like hillbilly music because of the way they talk. I like it because I grew up around it. Some people also like it because they grew up around it. I think Hillbilly music is better than rap and reggae. Hillbilly music is very old. It is so old I don't know when it started. I think it was the first type of music that was made.

-- Joey, 4th period.

The descriptive responses included relatively neutral descriptions such as country, country people, mountains, and old people, along with some stereotypical images such as jugs, no teeth, no shoes, overalls, raggedy clothes, etc. Here are three examples:

Old country music, type of bluegrass, usually fast, makes me think of old farms and farm folk, music really for back woodsy music, Hillbilly Music, banjos, guitars, and harmonicas and big old blow jugs. Makes me think of my grandfather and my great grandfather. They used to play things like that. Make me think of kind of people that lived in Indian times. Really old people, playing and singing together. Really high voices. Really loud and fast and it usually has a very good fast, hard beat. Mostly with banjos.

-- Don, 4th period.

I think of old people in the mountains with a jug and bottles. I think poor people are the ones who listen to hillbilly.

-- Liz, 7th period.

Back porch, Hee Haw, red plaid, overalls, banjo, fiddle.

-- Susie, 7th period.

The negative responses included many of the same images as the descriptive responses along with strong statements such as "it's stupid" and "I hate it." Here is an example:

Hillbilly music means that it is played by blowing in bottles and stuff like that. I hate hillbilly music because it is a real old version of country. It makes me think of people back in the hills making music. I don't know any one who plays hillbilly music. I don't like hillbilly music because it is so old and is played by people who are sometimes real old or people who are raised by people playing hillbilly music.

-- Bill, 4th period.

Certainly, the dominant image of hillbilly music was stereotypically neutral at best and stereotypically negative at worst.

Conversations that I had with the students also validate these written responses. I asked Lilly about her description of hillbilly music.

Sean: You wrote that hillbilly music is "strange, crazy, weird."
What's a Hillbilly?

Lilly: Someone who acts weird.

Sean: You also wrote down the name "Paul." does that mean you think Paul is a Hillbilly.

Lilly: Yes.

Sean: What makes Paul a hillbilly.

Lilly: The way he talks. He doesn't really have an accent. It's just the way he says things.

Paul certainly speaks in a manner common to rural East Tennessee. Lilly clearly associates this dialect with negative images of hillbilly music.

In a conversation with Stephanie, similar themes came out:

Sean: You really like country, but you seem to really dislike bluegrass. What's the difference

Stephanie: Bluegrass is stupid.

Sean: Why?

Stephanie: It's hillbilly music.

Sean: What's a hillbilly?

Stephanie: It's like this person who lives in the hills and kills all their food and acts really weird, and plays weird music.

Sean: Is there anybody in your class who is a hillbilly?

Stephanie: Autumn -- I'm just kidding. But she does talk like a hillbilly. Jesse is a hillbilly.

Sean: Because of how he talks?

Stephanie: And what he does. He does, like, groundhog hunting and stuff.

Stephanie's distaste for bluegrass music is directly associated with negative images of Appalachia. She uses the term "hillbilly" in a derogatory manner. She says her friend Autumn is a hillbilly but makes sure I know that she's joking. Then she says that Jesse, who is Paul's older brother (he's been held back a year in school), is a hillbilly because of how he talks and what he does.

Paul and Jesse were the only names mentioned when I asked students if there are any hillbillies in the eighth grade. Paul and Jesse both listen to bluegrass. They both speak in a rural, east Tennessee dialect. They live in the country. And they do hunt with their dad.

But these characteristics are not specific to them alone. Scott, in particular, shares all of these characteristics and is good friends with Jesse, but no one mentioned him as a hillbilly. I asked the students who said that Jesse and Paul are hillbillies why they didn't mention Scott. "He just isn't one," was their general response. I asked Mr. Carter about the students' different perceptions, and his answer was insightful. Scott doesn't get into as much trouble as the others and he makes better grades -- he is smart by school standards. Thus, Jesse and Paul more clearly fit the complete image of a hillbilly that includes "ignorant" and "stupid" as important descriptors.

All of the "data" points toward a direct correlation between students' negative attitudes about Appalachian culture and their musical preferences. But what of Jesse, Paul, Scott and the others who listen to bluegrass music. What makes them different?

Jesse and Scott are the two students with whom I spent the most time. They are also the most enthusiastic about bluegrass music, so I will focus on them. When I asked them why they like bluegrass when so many others don't, they basically said "I guess it's because we grew up with it." Their fathers both listen to bluegrass. They both like their fathers and spend time with them -- hunting mostly. Jesse's grandparents play bluegrass. They both live where they don't get cable television. They don't watch MTV and only watch Country Music Television at friends' houses on rare occasion. They both speak in a thick east Tennessee dialect -- much more prominent than the vast majority of their peers.

A couple of observations about these characteristics may be useful. First, it seems that Jesse and Scott have had significant positive exposure to bluegrass that may balance out the negative images that are perpetrated by the dominant culture. Second, they are not as heavily exposed through television to commercial music and the seductive, popular images in and around that music. And third, they have held on to other vestiges of rural southern life such as hunting and their way of speaking. Scott expressed his feelings about the "country life" in his description of hillbilly music:

It's good music played in the country by good country people. It's good to listen to because it most always tells a good story about how people live in the country in the good old days. It's the best music in the world. The people that sang the music tells it like it is.

Perhaps this desire to hold on to things that are "country" is simply a reaction against the dominant culture. Perhaps it is motivated by fear or prejudice. Or maybe it is based on a true affinity for "country life." Most likely it is some combination.

At any rate, it is clear that for the eighth grade students at Hillview School, cultural transmission and cultural assimilation are linked to both modeling from older generations and input from popular culture. It is here that I believe we can see what Allan Batteau refers to as the interaction of local identity and external confrontation (Batteau 122). It is at this point of interaction that issues of defining Appalachian culture and individual cultural identity are negotiated.

I would like to end this analysis by briefly revisiting a comment made by Scott in the context of my formal interview with him. The entire conversation is printed on pages 36-37, but I'll include the highlights here: "Most of them wanta be somethin' they ain't," he said, referring to the majority of students at Hillview. When I asked him what they don't want to be, he said "they don't want to be white. They don't try to act white.... They do all the stuff that black people do -- try to talk like 'em, wear clothes like 'em." "Where do they get it?" I asked. "I guess it's off TV," Scott said. "I don't watch cable. I don't get none of that. I ain't like it."

As I mentioned in the narrative, on one level I think Scott is simply wrong. I don't think that the other students "don't want to be white," for that would imply that they want to be black. And I don't think that's truly the motivation behind their actions. But, at the same time, I think that his comments are insightful. Whatever else his comments might potentially tell us about his own attitudes, they also sum up several of the issues that I have discussed in this chapter.

For instance, as he implies, I think the students do look to television and other popular media for cultural identity. Some also likely appropriate traits from African American culture as these traits are also appropriated by the white dominant culture. Perhaps this desire to appropriate traits from another culture has something to do with a sense of "whiteness" as an empty cultural category (Frankenburg) and "hillbilly" as a negative cultural category. And finally, the fact that Scott doesn't

watch cable television is part of the reason why he's different -- why he has maintained his "country" way of talking and likes to live in the country, hunt with his dad, and listen to bluegrass music.

Drawing upon Batteau's definition of Appalachian culture, we could say that Scott negotiates issues of cultural identity by holding strongly to what he has learned from his father and community (i.e. "local values"). Most of the other students have internalized popular cultural images that they get from radio and television (i.e. "external confrontation") and thus form their identities based more upon these images. For all of the students, cultural identity is contingent upon the interaction of these "local values" and "external confrontations." It is at this point of interaction that the students must form their attitudes about music, Appalachian culture and cultural identity.

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Appendices

Appendix A

Research Tools

Contents -- Appendix A

A1. Interview Guide	102
A2. Curriculum.	103
A3. Survey 1 (Administered the first day).	106
A4. Survey 2 (Administered the last day)	107
A5. Song List for Song-listening Exercise	108
A6. Song-listening Exercise Form	109

Interview Sheet

Before the Interview:

- Test your tape recorder.
- Get paper and something to write on.
- Review interview questions.

Remember:

- Get the consent form signed.
- Turn on the tape recorder.
- Take notes.
- Don't ask "yes" or "no" questions.
- Be respectful!

General Questions:

1. What kind of music did you grow up listening to?
2. Who were some of your favorite musicians growing up?
3. What was your favorite song? Can you sing it for me? If not, do you have a recording I could hear?
4. Where did you hear music growing up? Did you hear music at church or at school? Did you ever go to concerts or dances? Tell me about one.
5. What did you listen to on the radio growing up? Tell me about the shows you heard.
6. Do you have a favorite love song? Who does it remind you of? Can you sing it for me? If not, do you have a recording I could hear?
7. Does anybody in your family play music? What do or did they play? Tell me about sometime that you heard them play or tell me a story that you have heard about them.

Questions for musicians:

(You can ask musicians the general questions too, but here are some more:)

1. What kind of music do you play?
2. What do you like about that music?
3. Where did you learn to play?
4. Could you tell me about one of your favorite songs and then play or sing it for me?
5. Do you play music with other people? If yes, who are the other people? Where do you play? Can I come listen?

A1. Interview Guide

Curriculum Outline

Goals:

1. To teach the students some of the general history of the music of Appalachia and the United States in general.
2. To prepare students to collect songs, stories and interviews from members of their community.
3. To provide a process for the students to reflect on the music, stories and observations that they collect.
4. To facilitate the creation of a musical history of the community.

Day One

Objective: To give the students an overview of the program and help them to begin thinking about music cultures.

- Present brief overview of the two weeks.
- Students fill out survey about background and musical preferences.
- Students listen to some musical examples and reflect in writing -- i.e. song-listening exercise.

Day Two

Objective: To teach students some of the general history of early ballad singing in Appalachia and early plantation songs.

- Brief history of ballad singing -- i.e. British Isles Connection.
- Sing some ballads as examples.
- Play Nimrod Workman singing "Lord Daniel."
- Discuss meaning and cultural significance of "Lord Daniel."
- Discuss importance of African American music in the development of music in the United States.
- Listen to an example of a plantation "work song."
- Discuss cultural significance of plantation songs.

A2. Curriculum

Day Three

Objective: To teach some of the history of early instrumental music in Appalachia.

- Discuss the cultural roots of the different stringed instruments often associated with Appalachia -- i.e. fiddle, banjo, guitar, mandolin.
- Play some examples of early string-band music.
- Talk more about the roots of the banjo and how it came to be an instrument common to the Appalachian Mountains.
- Briefly discuss the beginnings of country music in Bristol.
- Play a Carter Family song and a Jimmy Rogers song.

Day Four

(this day was canceled due to snow)

Objective: To teach some of the history of the development of commercial country music and rock and roll.

- Trace the development of different styles of country music to the present playing several examples.
- Talk about reasons rock was born in the south.
- Play two different examples of dog songs -- R&B and white pop.
- Talk about the fusion of black and white music to create rock and roll.

Day Five

Objective: To teach students the skills they need to collect songs and interviews.

- Hand out and go over interview guide (see Appendix A1) -- emphasize that students should follow-up on answers and ask more questions than are on the guide.
- Have students pair up and interview each other for five minutes.
- Have students report back from interviews.
- Get a volunteer to interview Mr. Carter in front of the class.
- Critique the interview -- first positive feedback and then negative.

Day Six

Objective: To get the students to share some of their music and talk about what it means to them.

- List on the board all the music that the students have brought.
- Vote for one in each musical genre.
- Listen to each song and have the students talk about what it's about and why they like it or dislike it.

Two weeks for students to collect songs and interviews.

Days Seven and Eight and Nine

Objective: To get the students to share what they learned in their interviews and put them into a written form.

- Have students report on what they learned in their interviews.
- Have students begin to write up their interviews -- give them guidance and help during class.
- Have students polish their interviews after I make comments.

Day Ten

Objective: Administer song-listening exercise and follow-up survey.

- Have students do song-listening exercise.
- Have students do survey.

Student Survey

Name _____

1. How many generations of your family have lived in Jefferson County (including yourself)?
2. How many generations of your family have lived in Tennessee, North Carolina, Kentucky, or Virginia?
3. Who is the oldest person in your family living close enough to easily visit in a day? And how old are they?
4. What type of music do you most often listen to?
5. What other types of music do you list to?
6. Where do you listen to music?
7. Do you know any musicians in your community?
If yes, who?
What kind of music do they play?
8. Do you have a tape recorder that can record people talking?

A3. Survey 1 (Administered first day)

Survey

Name _____

Period _____

1. Do the following people in your family live in Jefferson County? If they are not still alive, did they live in Jefferson County when they were alive?

Any of your grandparents: yes no don't know

Any of your great grandparents: yes no don't know

Any family before your great grandparents: yes no don't know

2. Do the following people in your family live in East Tennessee? If they are not still alive, did they live in East Tennessee when they were alive?

Any of your grandparents: yes no don't know

Any of your great grandparents: yes no don't know

Any family before your great grandparents: yes no don't know

3. What kinds of music do your parents listen to?

4. What have you learned from this music program? What sticks out in your mind about the program?

A4. Survey 2 (Administered last day)

A5. Song List for Song-listening Exercise

1. "Little Log Cabin in the Lane" -- Fiddlin' John Carson, Fiddle Tune
2. "Last Exit" -- Pearl Jam, Rock.
3. "David's Lamentation" -- Sacred Harp or Shape Note.
4. "She's Got the Rhythm" -- Alan Jackson, Contemporary Country.
5. "Don't Believe the Hype" -- Public Enemy, Rap.
6. "Quil O' Quay" -- Nimrod Workman, Ballad.
7. "On Bended Knee" -- Boyz II Men, Rhythm and Blues.
8. "Ain't I Right" -- Plantation Song from Georgia Sea Island recording.
9. "It's Mighty Dark to Travel" -- Bill Monroe, Bluegrass.
10. "Whole Lotta Shakin' Goin' On" -- Jerry Lee Lewis, Rockabilly.

Song Listening Exercise

Name _____

Please do the following three things for every song:

A. Rate the song according to the scale listed below. Circle one number.

B. What type of music do you think the song is?

C. Write any other reactions you have to the song. You can write two or three words that the songs makes you think of, a sentence or even a couple of sentences.

1.	A.	Horrible	Bad	OK	Good	Great
		1	2	3	4	5

B.

C.

2.	A.	Horrible	Bad	OK	Good	Great
		1	2	3	4	5

B.

C.

3.	A.	Horrible	Bad	OK	Good	Great
		1	2	3	4	5

B.

C.

4.	A.	Horrible	Bad	OK	Good	Great
		1	2	3	4	5

B.

C.

A6. Song-listening Exercise Form

- | | | | | | | |
|-----|----|---------------|----------|---------|-----------|------------|
| 5. | A. | Horrible
1 | Bad
2 | OK
3 | Good
4 | Great
5 |
| | B. | | | | | |
| | C. | | | | | |
| | | | | | | |
| 6. | A. | Horrible
1 | Bad
2 | OK
3 | Good
4 | Great
5 |
| | B. | | | | | |
| | C. | | | | | |
| | | | | | | |
| 7. | A. | Horrible
1 | Bad
2 | OK
3 | Good
4 | Great
5 |
| | B. | | | | | |
| | C. | | | | | |
| | | | | | | |
| 8. | A. | Horrible
1 | Bad
2 | OK
3 | Good
4 | Great
5 |
| | B. | | | | | |
| | C. | | | | | |
| | | | | | | |
| 9. | A. | Horrible
1 | Bad
2 | OK
3 | Good
4 | Great
5 |
| | B. | | | | | |
| | C. | | | | | |
| | | | | | | |
| 10. | A. | Horrible
1 | Bad
2 | OK
3 | Good
4 | Great
5 |
| | B. | | | | | |
| | C. | | | | | |

A6. (Continued)

Appendix B

Song-listening Exercise Results

Appendix B

Song-listening Exercise Results

The following tables show the numeric responses to the song-listening exercises given at the beginning and end of the school residency as a pre- and post-test. Each student's individual responses are listed and the responses are averaged for each class. The students were asked to rank each song according to the following scale (see Appendix A6 for a copy of the form filled out by the students):

1. Horrible
2. Bad
3. OK
4. Good
5. Great

Under each song type (see Appendix A5 for specific song titles) listed in the top row is a column with each students pre-test response ("pre"), post-test response ("post"), and the difference between the two ("change"). The bottom row of each table is the average of each column.

There was initially some hope that the "change" column would provide interesting data for measuring any significant change in the students' attitudes as a result of being part of this project. Unfortunately the "change" is generally very minimal and the results so inconsistent that this did not provide such data.

4th Period	1. Fiddle Tune			2. Rock			3. Shape Note			4. Country			5. Rap		
	pre	post	change	pre	post	change	pre	post	change	pre	post	change	pre	post	change
Melissa	3	1	-2	4	3	-1	1	1	0	3	2	-1	2	1	-1
Billy	3	4	1	4	3	-1	3	3	0	5	5	0	4	4	0
Mary	2	2	0	3	3	0	1	1	0	4	3	-1	3	2	-1
Jesse	3	3	0	1	3	2	1	3	2	4	3	-1	2	1	-1
Bob	1			4			1			3			2		-2
Ross	2	3	1	3	4	1	2	2	0	4	4	0	1	2	1
Haley															0
Marcus	2	3	1	1	3	2	1	1	0	4	3	-1	1	1	0
Brett		3			2			1			5			5	5
Jane	3	2	-1	4	3	-1	2	1	-1	3	3	0	4	1	-3
Kerri	1	1	0	4	4	0	1	1	0	3	5	2	4	3	-1
Don	3	2	-1	4	2	-2	2	1	-1	3	2	-1	3	1	-2
Arlo	3	1	-2	3	3	0	1	1	0	5	5	0	4	4	0
Sabrina	2	1	-1	3	4	1	1	1	0	4	4	0	5	1	-4
Laura	1	1	0	3	3	0	1	1	0	2	2	0	3	2	1
Judy	3	3	0	3	3	0	3	3	0	5	5	0	2	2	0
Regina	1	1	0	3	3	0	2	1	-1	4	4	0	3	2	-1
Lucas	1	1	0	4	4	0	1	2	1	3	2	-1	2	1	-1
Scott	3	3	0	1	2	1	2	2	0	4	4	0	1	1	0
John	1	3	2	5	5	0	1	1	0	5	5	0	5	5	0
Bill	1	1	0	4	4	0	1	1	0	5	2	-3	3	3	0
Joey	1	1	0	3	3	0	1	1	0	5	5	0	1	1	0
Jill	1	1	0	3	3	0	2	1	-1	2	2	0	3	2	-1
Sarah	4	4	0	4	3	-1	2	3	1	5	4	-1	1	2	1
Emma	2	1	-1	4	3	-1	2	1	-1	3	4	1	3	2	-1
Jennifer	2	3	1	4	3	-1	1	2	1	5	4	-1	3	3	0
Missy	2	1	-1	3	1	-2	1	3	2	4	4	0	1	1	0
Susie	1	2	1	3	3	0	1	1	0	5	4	-1	3	2	-1
Ron		3			4			3			5			3	3
Theresa	1			4			1			5			3		-3
AVERAGE	1.963	2.037	-0.08	3.296	3.111	-0.12	1.444	1.593	0.08	3.963	3.704	-0.36	2.667	2.148	-0.467

B. (continued)

4th Period	6. Ballad			7. R&B			8. Plantation			9. Bluegrass			10. Rockabilly		
	pre	post	change	pre	post	change	pre	post	change	pre	post	change	pre	post	change
Melissa	1	1	0	5	5	0	1	1	0	1	1	0	1	2	1
Billy	5	5	0	5	5	0	4	5	1	5	5	0	5	5	0
Mary	1	2	1	5	5	0	1	1	0	2	2	0	3	3	0
Jesse	3	3	0	3	1	-2	3	1	-2	5	5	0	3	3	0
Bob	1			4			2			1			3		
Ross	2	1	-1	4	3	-1	1	1	0	3	3	0	4	3	-1
Haley															
Marcus	3	4	1	1	1	0	2	2	0	5	5	0	3	1	-2
Brett		1			5			1			1			1	
Jane	2	2	0	5	4	-1	2	1	-1	3	3	0	3	3	0
Kerri	1	1	0	5	5	0	2	2	0	1	2	1	4	5	1
Don	3	2	-1	4	2	-2	1	1	0	3	2	-1	3	3	0
Arlo	1	3	2	5	5	0	1	1	0	2	3	1	5	3	-2
Sabrina	1	3	2	5	5	0	1	1	0	1	2	1	2	1	-1
Laura	1	1	0	5	4	-1	1	1	0	1	1	0	3	3	0
Judy	4	4	0	5	5	0	2	3	1	4	3	-1	5	5	0
Regina	2	1	-1	4	4	0	1	2	1	1	1	0	3	3	0
Lucas	1	1	0	5	4	-1	1	1	0	4	1	-3	4	1	-3
Scott	3	3	0	2	2	0	2	3	1	5	5	0	3	3	0
John	1	1	0	5	5	0	1	1	0	1	3	2	5	5	0
Bill	1	1	0	5	4	-1	1	1	0	1	1	0	4	3	-1
Joey	5	3	-2	5	1	-4	1	1	0	5	5	0	3	5	2
Jill	1	1	0	5	4	-1	1	1	0	2	2	0	3	3	0
Sarah	4	3	-1	5	4	-1	4	2	-2	4	3	-1	4	5	1
Emma	1	2	1	5	5	0	1	3	2	1	2	1	3	3	0
Jennifer	2	1	-1	5	5	0	3	2	-1	1	2	1	5	3	-2
Missy	2	2	0	5	5	0	2	2	0	4	2	-2	3	2	-1
Susie	1	2	1	5	5	0	2	1	-1	3	2	-1	5	3	-2
Ron		4			5			1			4			3	
Theresa	2			5			1			3			2		
AVERAGE	2.037	2.148	0.042	4.519	4	-0.6	1.667	1.593	-0.04	2.667	2.63	-0.08	3.481	3.074	-0.4

B. (continued)

7th Period	1. Fiddle Tune			2. Rock			3. Shape Note			4. Country			5. Rap		
	pre	post	change	pre	post	change	pre	post	change	pre	post	change	pre	post	change
Jon		1			3			1			4			2	
Autumn	3			3			2			5			3		
George	2	2	0	3	3	0	1	1	0	1	3	2	3	2	-1
Paul	1	3	2	3	4	1	1	3	2	3	3	0	3	3	0
Benjamin	1	1	0	3	3	0	1	1	0	1	3	2	3	3	0
Kevin		2			3			1			3	3	4	4	0
Lilly	2	2	0	4	3	-1	3	3	0	4	5	1	5	4	-1
Rachel													3		
Kathy	1	1	0	4	4	0	2	3	1	2	2	0		3	3
Susie	2	3	1	3	3	0	1	1	0	4	3	-1	2	2	0
Sally	3			3			2			4	3	-1		4	4
Liz	1	1	0	3	3	0	1	1	0	3	3	0	5	5	0
Beth		2			3			2			4	4	3	4	1
Jack	1	1	0	4	5	1	1	1	0	5	5	0	4	5	1
Kelly	2	2	0	3	3	0	2	2	0	4	3	-1		4	4
Elizabeth	2	3	1	4	4	0	1	1	0	4	3	-1	5	5	0
Stephanie	2	3	1	3	3	0	1	1	0	2	3	1	2	5	3
Elijah	3	4	1	3	1	-2	5	3	-2		4	4	1	1	0
Emuna	1	1	0	1	3	2	2	3	1	1	4	3	5	5	0
Britt	1	2	1	3	4	1	3	1	-2	3	3	0	4	5	1
Ladonna	1	1	0	4	3	-1	2	1	-1	1	1	0	5	5	0
Amber	1	1	0	3	4	1	3	3	0	1	2	1	3	3	0
Emily	1	2	1	5	4	-1	1	1	0	2	3	1	3	4	1
Bill	1	1	0	3	2	-1	1	1	0	1	2	1	3	2	-1
Julia	1	1	0	3	3	0	2	1	-1	1	4	3	5	4	-1
AVERAGE	1.571	1.818	0.421	3.238	3.227	0	1.81	1.636	-0.105	2.6	3.174	1	3.524	3.652	0.636

B. (continued)

7th Period	6. Ballad			7. R&B			8. Plantation			9. Bluegrass			10. Rockabilly		
	pre	post	change	pre	post	change	pre	post	change	pre	post	change	pre	post	change
Jon		1			4			1			1			3	
Autumn	1			5			1			3			5		
George	1	1	0	4	3	-1	1	1	0	1	1	0	1	2	1
Paul	3	3	0	3	4	1	2	3	1	4	4	0	3	3	0
Benjamin	1	1	0	5	5	0	1	1	0	1	1	0	1	4	3
Kevin	3	1	-2	4	4	0	2	2	0		2			3	
Lilly	1	2	1	4	5	1	2	2	0	2	3	1	5	5	0
Rachel	1			4			1			1			3		
Kathy		1			5		3	2	-1	1	2	1	3	3	0
Susie	1	1	0	5	5	0	2	1	-1	2	2	0	4	4	0
Sally		2		5	5	0	2	2	0	3	3	0	5	5	0
Liz	1	1	0	5	5	0	2	2	0	1	3	2	4	4	0
Beth	1	2	1	5	5	0	1	2	1	1	2	1	2	4	2
Jack	1	1	0	3	5	2	1	1	0	2	1	-1	3	5	2
Kelly		2		5	5	0	2	2	0	2	2	0	3	4	1
Elizabeth	1	1	0	5	5	0	2	2	0	2	1	-1	5	4	-1
Stephanie	1	2	1	5	5	0	2	2	0	1	1	0	2	3	1
Elijah	3	2	-1	5	5	0	3	2	-1	2	2	0	5	5	0
Emma	1	3	2	5	5	0	1	1	0	1	1	0	1	3	2
Britt	1	1	0	4	5	1	1	1	0	2	1	-1	3	4	1
Ladonna	1	1	0	5	5	0	2	2	0	1	1	0	3	1	-2
Amber	1	1	0	5	5	0	2	1	-1	1	1	0	3	3	0
Emily	1	1	0	5	5	0	1	1	0	1	1	0	3	4	1
Bill	1	2	1	3	1	-2	1	1	0	1	1	0	4	3	-1
Julia	1	2	1	5	5	0	2	1	-1	1	1	0	2	2	0
AVERAGE	1.286	1.522	0.211	4.522	4.609	0.095	1.667	1.565	-0.136	1.609	1.652	0.095	3.174	3.522	0.476

B. (continued)

Appendix C

Musical Preferences

Appendix C

Musical Preferences

The following table shows the students' musical preferences. The students were asked two different questions (See Appendix A3):

1. What type of music do you listen to most often?
2. What other types of music do you listen to?

The results were counted as if they were votes. Students could each "vote" for multiple types of music. Results are given for each class and for all of the classes combined.

The "most" column indicates the responses to the first question. The "other" column indicates the responses to the second question. The "total" column is the sum of the other two columns.

	4th Period			6th Period			7th Period			Total		
	most	other	total	most	other	total	most	other	total	most	other	total
Alternative	15	5	20	7	7	14	5	11	16	27	23	50
Bluegrass	4	4	8	1	0	1	1	0	1	6	4	10
Country	5	15	20	4	5	9	7	7	14	16	27	43
Heavy Metal	1	3	4	0	2	2	0	2	2	1	7	8
Pop	0	1	1	1	3	4	1	4	5	2	8	10
Rap	7	10	17	4	8	12	8	8	16	19	26	45
Reggae	0	0	0	0	0	0	3	1	4	3	1	4
Rhythm and Blues	5	6	11	1	1	2	3	9	12	9	16	25
Rock	5	7	12	2	4	6	3	10	13	10	21	31

Appendix D

Students' "Roots" in East Tennessee

Appendix D

Students' "Roots" in East Tennessee

Students were asked to indicate if past generations of their family lived in East Tennessee by responding to the following three questions (See Appendix A4):

1. Did any of your grandparents live in East Tennessee?
2. Did any of your great-grandparents live in East Tennessee?
3. Did anyone in your family before your great-grandparents live in East Tennessee?

The totals for the answers to these questions are given in the following table by class period. The number of students who responded "yes," "no" and don't know "?" are given in the appropriate columns. The percentages of students from each class who responded in each manner are given in the appropriate columns labeled "%yes," "%no," and "%?".

Grandparents in East Tennessee						
	# yes	% yes	# no	% no	# ?	% ?
4th period	26	96%	1	4%	0	0%
6th period	11	69%	2	13%	3	19%
7th period	19	83%	4	17%	0	0%
Great Grandparents in East Tennessee						
	# yes	% yes	# no	% no	# ?	% ?
4th period	22	81%	2	7%	3	11%
6th period	8	50%	3	19%	5	19%
7th period	14	61%	8	35%	1	4%
Family before Great Grandparents in East Tennessee						
	# yes	% yes	# no	% no	# ?	% ?
4th period	13	48%	1	4%	13	48%
6th period	7	44%	5	19%	4	25%
7th period	12	52%	6	26%	5	22%

VITA

Sean McCollough was born in Anderson, Indiana on May 29, 1967. He lived in Michigan for most of his early life and moved to Tennessee when he was twelve years old. He received a Bachelor of Arts from the University of Tennessee, Knoxville in 1989 with a major in College Scholars with an emphasis on "Philosophy and Contemporary Culture." His senior thesis was entitled "From Big Brother to Participatory Democracy: Computers and Power in the Age of Information."

From 1989 to 1993 Sean worked as a community organizer for a grassroots organization called Save Our Cumberland Mountains (SOCM) which works in rural communities in middle and east Tennessee around economic, social and environmental justice issues. During this time, he often played and sang at SOCM gatherings and became interested in the importance of music in social change movements and in people's lives in general. In January of 1994, Sean began work on a Master of Music Degree in Ethnomusicology at the University of Tennessee, Knoxville. His two primary areas of interest are music in Appalachia and music and social change.

Sean is a singer and a songwriter. He plays guitar, banjo, mandolin, hammered dulcimer and piano. He performs adult concerts as well as children's shows. He is part of Jubilee Community Arts' "Traditional Artist Program" and "Cultural Heroes Program" which place artists in public schools for concerts and residencies.