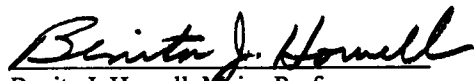
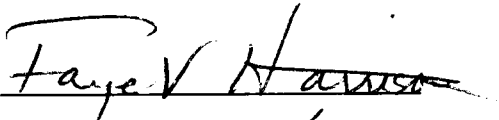


To the Council:

I am submitting herewithin a thesis written by Carol Jo Evans entitled "Make No Little Plans: An Ethnographic Study on Educational Models in a Local History 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 Arts, with a major in Anthropology.


Benita J. Howell, Major Professor

We have read this thesis
and recommend its acceptance:




Accepted for the Council:


Associate Vice Chancellor
and Dean of the Graduate School

"MAKE NO LITTLE PLANS"

An Ethnographic Study on Educational Theories in a Local History Project

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

Carol Jo Evans

December 1994

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ABSTRACT

This study took place in a rural community in eastern Tennessee, Cedar Ridge, whose primary source of income and heritage, has traditionally been from the various textile mills in the community. Female members from a grassroots organization, Cedar Ridge Action For Today (CRAFT), originally wanted to create a museum in the community to document the general history of the community. Upon the suggestion of the director of a regional heritage tourism project in a neighboring town, CRAFT members decided to capitalize on the fact that the community's heritage was built upon the work of women in the textile industry and chose this subject as the theme for the local history project in Cedar Ridge. With financial support from a grant from the National Endowment of the Humanities (NEH) to the Tennessee Humanities Council (THC), the local history project expanded its goals to serve as an educational tool, to "bring the humanities to the public," focusing primarily on the adult out-of-school population.

This thesis analyzes to what extent three educational theories (Critical Educational Theory, Critical Feminist Educational Theory, and People's History) were employed along with the National Endowment For The Humanities Model in the local history project. Data for analysis included both qualitative and quantitative methods, with emphasis on the former. Quantitative data were collected through the use of two community evaluations. Evaluations sampled residents' feelings toward the local history project before its implementation in the community and residents' reactions after its completion. Evaluations also aimed at discovering how formal educational institutions "reproduced" the status quo and if, or how, the project "transformed" consciousness or "produced" critical consciousness of women's place in the community. Qualitative data were obtained from twenty-eight months of participant-observation and informal interviews with both male and female adult residents of Cedar Ridge and staff members of a regional heritage tourism project in a neighboring town. Residents include key participants in the local history project, textile operatives, and local elementary teachers. Informal interviews aimed at gaining background information on the community and discovering how formal educational institutions

"reproduced" the status quo and the origins of the local history project in Cedar Ridge. In addition, informal and formal interviews were conducted over a period of three months after the opening of the museum. Interviews focused on obtaining information on attitudes towards the local history project upon its completion and the "production" of critical consciousness through the agent of workshops sponsored by the NEH, the publication of a guidebook, and the creation of a museum exhibit. Adult educational workshops supported by the NEH are a hybrid of both "formal" and "non-formal" education.

Both interviews and evaluations allowed for an analysis of prior goals, later perceptions of accomplishments, and influences of the local history project on residents. Responses to evaluations were computer-coded and statistically analyzed using Fisher's Exact Test with SAS. Comments from evaluations and interviews were analyzed using the qualitative approach of grounded theory with core categories emerging to demonstrate both gender and class difference. While the identification of women's role and contributions in the community existed among both male and female residents, female responses tended to reflect more on women's contributions and on the lack of female representation in conventional history. While critical consciousness was not evident among female textile workers, a few operatives demonstrated what Paulo Freire calls a "naive-transitive" state of consciousness. Female members from CRAFT demonstrated possible or emerging critical reflection of oppressive structures. However, because members were not yet reflecting on actively resisting the hegemonic forces in their community to bring about social change, critical consciousness did not emerge during the local history project. Class difference between female textile operatives and female CRAFT members, and requirements set forth by the NEH, influenced which educational theories were, or were not, employed in the local history project in Cedar Ridge. Although elements of People's History were evident in the project's design, the only model really operative in the local history project was the National Endowment For The Humanities Model.

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Chapter I

INTRODUCTION

For readers to evaluate the validity of analysis, the role of the researcher must be understood (see Brodkey 1987). During my role as a consultant for the Tennessee Humanities Council in a local history project, I became personally involved with community residents. I had hoped and expected that critical consciousness would emerge among residents, especially among the women mill workers who were the subject of the local history project. However, with a self-critique of my personal interests in this community, a different account of events is presented in this thesis.

This study was conducted in a rural community in eastern Tennessee, whose major source of income and heritage has traditionally been from the various textiles mills in the community. Because of the town's heritage in the textile industry, the one industry in Appalachia whose workforce consisted primarily of women, members from a grassroots community organization were supported by a grant to the Tennessee Humanities Council (THC) from the National Endowment of the Humanities (NEH) to conduct a local history project. Subjects for this thesis include both male and female adult residents of Cedar Ridge (a pseudonym) and staff members from a regional heritage tourism project in eastern Tennessee. Residents interviewed include key participants in the local history project, textile operatives, and local elementary teachers. The idea for this study originated from my work as consultant on the local history project in the community, a project implemented at the request of female members from the grassroots community organization Cedar Ridge Action For Today (CRAFT).

Techniques for collecting data for this thesis included both qualitative and quantitative methods, with emphasis on the former. Qualitative data were obtained from twenty-eight months of participant observation and informal interviews, beginning when I became chief researcher employed to assist CRAFT with their THC project. Both informal and formal interviews were conducted over a period of three

months after the opening of the museum. Formal interviews were conducted with members of a grassroots organization, CRAFT, who oversaw the implementation of the local history project. Quantitative data were collected through the use of two community evaluations (see Appendix A and B). The first evaluation was implemented to fulfill a requirement set forth by the NEH. The second evaluation was to collect statistical data for this thesis. Comments to open-ended questions on the evaluation were analyzed by applying the method of grounded theory.

Statement of the Problem

Adult education is not new. However, its recognition as an instrument in social change is (Jarvis 1989). When most people hear the words "adult education," thoughts of vocational classes, job improvement skills, and similar things come to mind. Adult education as an agent for change is known by those few who have been exposed to critical consciousness in one form or the other. Critical consciousness is the "transformation" of one's world view, or the identification and cognizance of hegemonic forces upon one's life. Critical consciousness is the "production" of oppositional knowledge. This study analyzes to what extent three educational theories (Critical Educational Theory, Critical Feminist Educational Theory, and People's History) were employed along with the National Endowment for the Humanities Model in a local history project. Did a local history project, designed by the National Endowment for the Humanities (NEH) not to promote change but to educate members of society about the humanities or to "bring the humanities to the public," lead to the elevation of consciousness of local residents? If so, did this critical consciousness (via the agent of workshops sponsored by the NEH, the publication of the guidebook, and the creation of a museum exhibit) lead to social change?

Critical educational theorists discussed in this thesis include Antonio Gramsci, Paulo Freire, and staff members of the Highlander Folk School (presently known as the Highlander Research and Education Center). Because women in the textile industries at Cedar Ridge were the central theme in the local history project, Critical Feminist Educational Theory was also employed in this study.

Antonio Gramsci, Marxist theorist and activist, believed the cultural hegemony of the dominant social classes in Italy could be destroyed with the help of worker education. Gramsci advocated a structural reform of the Italian school system and the establishment of a common school, a "counter-hegemonic" institution, where self-consciousness would be exposed to all. Within the context of Gramsci's educational thought, self-consciousness is the awareness of one's reality (Weiler 1988; Entwistle 1979; Gramsci 1957).

Similarly, Paulo Freire supported social change in Latin America by advocating reform of educational structures. Working in and reforming within the educational system, Freire practiced what Gramsci termed counter-hegemony while teaching literacy to peasants in Latin America (see Taylor 1993; Bell, et. al. 1990; Stratiff 1984; Smith 1976; Freire 1970). He accomplished this through the non-formal technique of group discussions, centering on the realities of the peasants' own lives, what he called "the anthropological notion of culture" (Freire 1970: 114). Through these discussions, individuals eventually acquired critical consciousness, conscientization, or "conscientizacao."

Myles Horton chose to educate individuals by working outside of formal institutional structures, leading him to co-found the Highlander Folk School [Highlander] in Tennessee (Glenn 1988; Adams 1975). The intent of the school, again what Gramsci referred to as a counter-hegemonic institution, was to use education as an instrument to bring about a new social order. Like Gramsci and Freire, Horton believed that problems should be "identified," "reflected upon," and "acted on" by the group affected by these problems through "collective consciousness," a lesson he learned while teaching Vacation Bible School at Ozone, Tennessee.

According to Thomas Heaney, director of the Lindeman Center at Northern Illinois University, Highlander has survived until today because "its plans and its vision have been broad enough both to reach into the future and to encompass genuine, grass-roots movements for democratic social change" (1992: 55). Heaney also suggests that Daniel Burnham's words, 'Make no little plans,' could have served as Highlander's motto throughout its history (1992: 54).

Though Gramsci, Freire, and Horton worked in different countries they all came up with parallel approaches to ways of thinking. This compendium of thought resulted in the same theoretical approach applied in certain areas by different theorists. Adult education has been used as an agent of change, through raising individual awareness and creating a collective consciousness among people to participate in society and not just function in society, by transforming pre-existing social structures or practices.

Kathleen Weiler (1988) integrated critical educational theory and feminist theory to construct a critical feminist educational theory: a theory which illuminates how gender is socially constructed and reproduced within educational institutions and how these institutions can be utilized in producing change on views of gender. Both traditions are concerned with the critical analysis of society in reference to the relationship between the individual subject and an oppressive social structure. Both encompass the opposing theoretical approaches of "reproduction," to maintain and replicate existing social structures, and the "production" of new meaning, referring to the "transformation" of uncritical consciousness to individual critical consciousness. This production of critical consciousness often results in social change through collective consciousness and resistance. Both critical educational theory and feminist theory recognize that knowledge, like social structures, is socially constructed and thus open to opposition and change.

Similar to the methods utilized in critical theory (for example participatory research), People's History encourages the general public to be active participants in researching and documenting their own history. Participatory research involves close interaction between community members and outside educators or researchers. The nature of participatory research, presents opportunities for consciousness to be raised among participants (both formally trained researchers and community members) as they research, identify, and reflect on their situation. Critical consciousness often leads to action against hegemonic forces. Action, or resistance, can lead to social change (see Oldendorf 1987).

While workshops sponsored by the NEH do not advocate change, but to educate members of society about the humanities, was critical consciousness raised in the process of encouraging local residents to be participatory researchers in documenting their own history at Cedar Ridge? To what extent was

participatory research implemented in the project? Was there an increased awareness among residents of the importance of the humanities in their lives? Did either the workshops sponsored by the NEH, the guidebook, or the museum exhibit lead to the "identification" of hegemonic forces influencing women's place in society by community residents? Did this identification lead to "critical reflection?" Did this critical reflection lead to the "production" of new gender meaning or the "transformation" of gender knowledge? The next question addressed in this thesis is if critical consciousness (via the agent of workshops sponsored by the NEH, the publication of the guidebook, and the creation of a museum) lead to "action" by community residents? Did this action, displayed in the form of resistance (both mental and physical) to hegemonic forces, lead to social "change?" Social change is understood as the transformation of existing social structures or practices. Analysis of answers to these questions will provide information for the identification of educational models employed in the local history project.

Significance of the Study

Cedar Ridge allows the opportunity to study the impact of a local history project on a rural community. Greater knowledge of the community's perceptions of this project can potentially contribute to more effective management of similar cultural conservation projects based on local history and NEH adult education efforts in general. This case study explores and contributes to the literature on critical consciousness and non-formal education. Of the four forms of education (formal, non-formal, informal, and international) presented in this study, non-formal education is the least studied (Paulston 1972).

Chapter II identifies the meanings of formal, non-formal, informal, and international education used in this study. These definitions are followed by a description of the underlying theoretical perspectives, consisting of three radical educational theories (Critical Educational Theory, Critical Feminist Educational Theory, and People's History) and one liberal educational theory (the National Endowment for the Humanities Model), and research methods applied in this study. Chapter III presents a case study on the origins of the community of Cedar Ridge, climaxing in the description of residents who are participants

in the community through their involvement in the grassroots organization: Cedar Ridge Action For Today (CRAFT). The case study also provides the necessary backdrop for an analysis of the project's impact on the community. Chapter IV identifies and describes the goals and accomplishments of the local history project in Cedar Ridge, as identified and described by residents (CRAFT members, textile operatives, and local elementary teachers) and staff members from the regional heritage tourism project: East Tennessee Connection (ETC). Chapter V discusses and analyzes if, or how, educational theories presented in this thesis were employed in the local history project. Conclusions draw on community responses to the local history project in terms of the "reproduction" of social position and "production" of critical consciousness on women's place in the community. The chapter also addresses if critical consciousness (through the agent of workshops sponsored by the NEH, the publication of the guidebook, and the establishment of a museum exhibit) indirectly lead to "action" or "social change." Conclusions also draw on community responses to the local history project in terms of an increased awareness of the humanities and the extent of participatory research in the community.

To allow the reader to appreciate a recurring theme within this study, networking systems, pseudonyms are given to individual Cedar Ridge residents and staff members of the regional heritage tourism project. Recurring themes from grounded theory analysis of interviews appear in **bold face** to facilitate identification for the reader.

Chapter II

THEORY AND METHODS

The more people participate in the process of their own education, the more the people participate in the process of defining what kind of production to produce, and for what and why, the more the people participate in the development of their selves. The more people become themselves, the better the democracy. The less people are asked about what they want, about their expectations, the less democracy we have.

Paulo Freire,
We Make the Road by Walking (1990: 145)

In order to determine to what extent different educational theories were employed in the local history project presented in this study, one first needs a carefully operationalized notion of education. Rolland Paulston (1972) has constructed a model of the educational complex with four basic components: formal, non-formal, informal, and international. He envisions these components as concentric circles, with formal educational systems at the core. Next, moving out from the center, comes non-formal educational systems or periphery, followed by informal, and international educational systems (see Figure 1).

Paulston describes "formal education" as taking place in and through hierarchies, age grades for example. Formal educational structures predetermine what is to be learned, when, where, and how. It is intentional learning in a classroom setting, with a vertical relationship between teacher and students. In contrast, "non-formal education" is defined as intentional learning which is carried out systematically by a teacher or school outside the school's structures. Non-formal learning takes place in settings such as workshops, seminars, or similar short-term activities aimed at transferring knowledge; often changing attitudes or behavior in fairly distinct target populations. Adult education, management training, union educational activities, remedial training, and retraining youth activities are examples of non-formal learning. Paulston defines "informal education" as learning which is not carried out by teachers or schools. Instead, informal learning is non-systematic and takes place in unstructured settings such as cultural

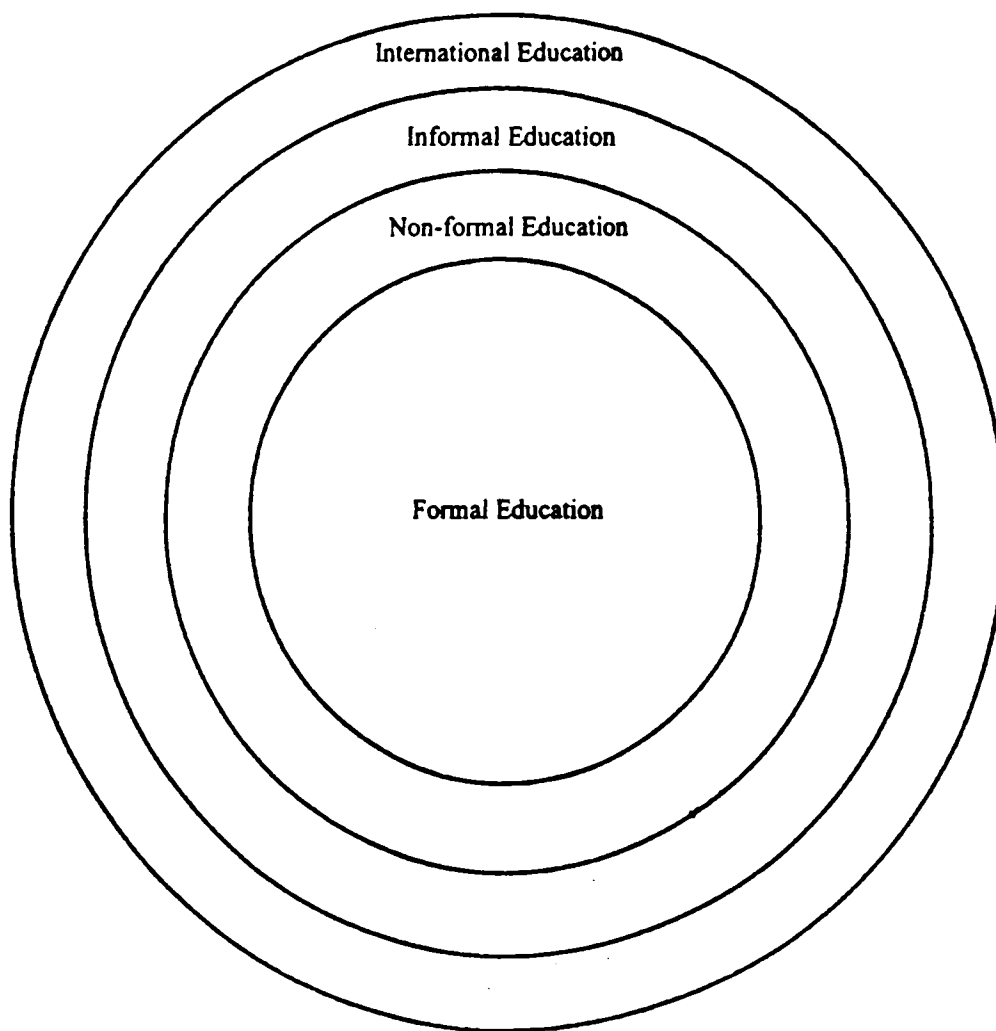


Figure 1. The Educational Complex.

facilities (clubs or bars), the mass media, political processes, and so forth. "International education" is defined as taking place outside national boundaries and resulting chiefly through travel, attending conferences, or similar circumstances. This type of learning is usually limited to those workers who are very well paid or belong to unions. Of these four concentric circles, according to Paulston, non-formal education is the least studied and understood. In discussing formal and non-formal education, Paulston stated:

As the world crisis in formal education intensifies, interest in non-formal, or non-school, education has grown at a rapid pace...A better comprehension of non-formal educational inputs, programs, processes, and outputs is...a critical need for educational planners in both the developed and developing nations. Unfortunately, educational planners have devoted their attention almost exclusively to the formal education sector and have neglected the admittedly difficult-to-study non-formal sector. What is now needed is a widening of the scope of educational planning to include relevant data from the non-formal education sector (1972: ix-xi).

This paper is concerned with the extent of participatory research as a means of "non-formal education" in a local history project. A secondary concern is "informal education" acquired by community residents while viewing a museum exhibit.

For purposes of this research, Paulston's description of learning is integrated with those of other educators (Bell, et. al. 1990; Holland and Eisenhart 1990; Jarvis 1989; Weiler 1988; Belenky et. al. 1986; Mead 1959) to generate the following operational definitions. "Formal education" is defined as traditional schooling or mainstream education. It is intentional learning and hierarchical, with the teacher in a structured classroom setting, with courses and curricula designed by the state or other funding source. Peter Jarvis, educator and sociologist, describes both formal education and vocational adult education as being designed to assist the individual to fill a niche within the structures of their social system (1989), or the "reproduction" of the status quo. It should be noted, however, that not all "formal" education is hegemonic (John Gaventa, personal communication 1994). "Non-formal education" is also intentional learning, but often challenges hierarchical authority. It is structured with those individuals seeking education identifying their own needs and goals, with guidance from a school or educator outside the

educational system. Non-formal learning allows the people to identify, define, and act on their own perceived problems. It is potentially counter-hegemonic with consciousness changing goals. It is concerned with the "production" or "transformation" of knowledge.

In this study, "reproduction" is defined as maintaining and replicating existing social structures; therefore maintaining the status quo. "Production" refers to the "transformation" of uncritical consciousness to individual critical consciousness. Critical consciousness is the "identification" and cognizance of hegemonic forces upon one's life, often emerging into "critical reflection" and possible "action" towards these forces. Action is the resistance (both mentally and physically) to imposed social structures and practices. Social change is defined in this study as the transformation of existing social structures or practices. Social change is more likely to occur when individual consciousness has transformed into collective consciousness.

An example of a setting for "non-formal adult education" is grass-roots community organizations. Other examples include groups organized around their work environment (i.e., unions) and groups organized around the issues of gender, class, or race. Those utilizing participatory research in critical educational projects and members of people's history workshops are exposed to non-formal education.

As defined in this study, workshops sponsored by the National Endowment for the Humanities (NEH) represent a hybrid form of both formal and non-formal education. Workshops are a type of formal education in that they are conducted by humanities scholars who assume the role of an authoritative teacher, with the public as the passive learners. In this form, workshops conducted by scholars are more of an academic extension than something taking place outside of scholastic institutional structures. Workshops are also a type of non-formal education in that the NEH encourages public participation in its sponsored projects.

"Informal learning" is casual learning. It is non-systematic and unstructured, meaning that it is outside the conventional school system and outside the conventional teacher-student role relationship. The casual visitor to a museum is an example of an informal learner. "International learning" takes place

outside national boundaries and results chiefly from travel, or from encounters with visitors from other cultures.

Critical Educational Theory

Most critical educational theorists have been influenced at some point by Marxist thought (i.e., viewing capitalistic society critically as both exploitative and oppressive, and advocating for a classless society). Capitalism not only has to reproduce itself by physical means, such as equipment and products, but also in terms of labor skills and capital's relation to labor. Critical educational theory, what has been designated as the new sociology of education in Britain and radical educational theory by theorists in the U. S., is specifically concerned with the "reproduction" and "production" of class position through schooling under capitalism (Weiler 1988).

Reproduction theorists who have studied the role of education in relation to capitalism include Louis Althusser, Basil Bernstein, Pierre Bourdieu, Samuel Bowles and Herbert Gintis. Social reproduction theorists (French Marxist Althusser; Bowles and Gintis) were primarily concerned with the reproduction of class structure. Cultural reproduction theorists (English linguist Bernstein and French anthropologist Bourdieu), however, focused on the reproduction of class culture, knowledge, and power relations. While providing different viewpoints, they all concluded that the educational system reproduces workers for capitalism by emphasizing discipline, control, and teaching students the authority relations of the capitalist division of labor (Westwood 1985: 37). Kathleen Weiler best described this common vein among reproduction theorists when she stated:

While these theorists focus on different aspects of schooling all share the underlying view that students are shaped by their experiences in schools to internalize or accept a subjectivity and a class position that leads to the reproduction of existing power relationships and social and economic structures (1988: 6).

Recognizing the power of structural determinants in the sense of material practices, economic and political institutions, and modes of power, production theorists of critical educational theory (Weiler 1988; Willis 1981; Freire 1970; Gramsci 1957) are concerned with how individuals and classes act on their own experiences and resist the ideological and material forces imposed upon them. According to Weiler, this dialectical interplay between individual consciousness and structural determinants has led critical production theorists "to seek more developed theories of ideology, hegemony, and resistance, and to the development of what has been called 'critical ethnography'" (1988: 13). In addition to the influence of Marxist thought on critical production theory (i.e. the Frankfurt School of Marxist critical theory), the work of Antonio Gramsci and the practice of Paulo Freire has affected the development of the theory tremendously.

Antonio Gramsci

Antonio Gramsci was born in 1891 in Ales, Sardinia. He dedicated his life to the struggles of the Italian working class. Not only was he a theorist of a new revolutionary strategy in Italy, he was also one of the founders of the Communist Party in Italy during the early 1920s. In the 1930s he was viewed as a revolutionary martyr because of his eleven-year imprisonment in Mussolini's prison, suffering from tuberculosis, arteriosclerosis, Pott's disease, insomnia, and other ailments, which ultimately caused his death in 1937. During his imprisonment Gramsci wrote his famous *Letters From Prison*. The first edition of *Letters* appeared in 1946, when Italy was emerging from the devastations of World War II. According to Lynne Lawner, scholar of Italian literature, "Gramsci was an entirely new fact on the cultural scene: his *Letters* and what followed them had the effect of an electric shock, waking Italy out of the trauma of the war and setting its brain in motion" (1973: 3).

Gramsci focused on the analysis of structural determinism and the possibility of human self-consciousness, critique, and action. He was concerned with education in the broadest sense. Viewing schools as a formal apparatus of indirect control, he proposed a structural reform of the existing school system which supported the hegemonic status quo (Weiler 1988; Entwistle 1979). According to Sallie

Westwood, education, the legal system, and the media are all forms of legitimation for the status quo (1985). Gramsci's central focus, as described by Weiler, was:

The various ways in which the dominant classes in any society impose their own conception of reality on all subordinate classes, and the possible ways in which the oppressed can create alternative cultural and political institutions to establish their own understanding of oppression in order to oppose and change it. Gramsci addresses these problems through the concept of hegemony (1988: 13).

For Gramsci the concept of "hegemony" is not only to analyze sources of social control from various institutional structures, or how values supporting the ruling ideology shape the consciousness of subordinate groups, but for individuals to become aware and understand the historical and economic influences which have shaped their present position. It is within the context of this theory of hegemony that Gramsci argues for the establishment of "counter-hegemonic" institutions.

According to Gramsci, counter-hegemonic institutions would provide a locus where "organic intellectuals," individuals whose awareness has emerged from an understanding of the common sense world, can develop. He felt it was crucial for these organic intellectuals to come from the working class itself, manual workers who understand their own experience within the context of class experience, and not through the conversions of sympathetic intellectuals from other social classes (see Entwistle 1979; Gramsci 1957). Gramsci's counter-hegemonic institutions, structures outside formal institutionalized and hierarchical educational systems, provided a setting for non-formal education to develop.

Paulo Freire

Like Gramsci, Paulo Freire was committed to reforming educational structures and advocating education as a means of freeing people from their oppressive structures. To Freire, education "is the only viable means, other than that of the bullet and the bomb, for attaining social change and freedom" (see Taylor 1993). He believed people had the power as individuals to attain a critical consciousness of their own being in the world, to recognize and understand historic forces influencing their place in the world,

and develop the ability to change that world. His pedagogical method consisted of naming the problem, reflecting on the problem, and then acting on the problem (see Smith 1976).

Freire was born in 1921 in Recife, Brazil. His work and seminars took him to all corners of the world. The bulk of his literacy work took place among peasants in Brazil, Chile, and Guinea-Bissau, societies emerging from a history of colonialism and imperialism. Freire viewed education as a relationship between an individual and an oppressive social system. He also believed oppression was a form of domestication. In the oppressor-oppressed relationship, the former impose their will on the oppressed, transforming the latter's consciousness to conform or to be compatible with that of the oppressor (Stratiff 1984), often ending with the oppressed internalizing the values of the oppressor (Gaventa 1982). In the case of Brazilian peasants, the landlord and the church were the oppressive structures, reproducing the peasants' position in society by teaching them passivity and fatalism.

Central to his pedagogical work was the method of "dialogue" and "codification." Through discussions on the life experiences of the students, what he referred to as dialogue, key words continuously arose representing concerns of the individuals or students. Freire then used these key words (e.g., favela or slum) and concerns when teaching literacy to the peasants. He felt once individuals came to a critical consciousness of their situation and problems, they could act on these problems and bring about change. Working to transform formal educational structures, Freire utilized non-formal education as a means of producing social change.

Highlander Model

In Appalachia, as in the rest of the nation, adult education consists primarily of vocational or literacy classes, whose curriculum is dictated by formal educational techniques and conducted in a formal setting. One exception to this pattern is the Highlander Folk School in eastern Tennessee. Frank Adams, historian on Highlander, reinforces this statement by explaining:

In American culture and history non-traditional adult education usually has been taken up by emerging groups contesting oppressive restrictions on their aspirations for power, participation and ownership. Farmers, workers, Blacks

and Hispanics, women and others have created non-formal education to imbue each other with the skills necessary for the changes they seek, and, as well, the ideology of their movements. Brookwood, the Work People's College, Highlander Folk School are but three examples of where adult education has been collectively fashioned to serve social change (1975: 276).

In accordance with Adams, Reece McGee, author of *Education and Social Change*, believes education can be used as an agent of change by changing the existing ideologies of individuals and creating new ones. He also recognizes education as a condition of change that has occurred in a society or an effect of change that has taken place in other institutionalized structures (McGee 1967). The Highlander Folk School provides an excellent site for studying education in the context of these three subjects: education as an agent of change, a condition of change, and/or an effect of change.

Myles Horton was born in Savannah, Tennessee in 1905. In 1932 he, along with Don West, founded the Highlander Folk School (Highlander) in eastern Tennessee. The original intent of the school was to provide an educational center in the South for the training of rural and industrial leaders and for the conservation and enrichment of the indigenous cultural values of the mountains (Glenn 1988; Adams 1975). According to staff member Helen Lewis, "Highlander is an adult education center committed to economic democracy, education for empowerment, and a belief that change will occur from the bottom up as small communities begin to understand, take charge, and work together to make economic changes" (Hinsdale and Lewis 1992: 2).

Similar to both Gramsci's method for social change (self-consciousness, critique, and action) and Freire's pedagogy for social change (naming the problem, reflection on the problem, and action), Horton felt it was important for individuals to identify and name their own problems; after all they were the ones living the experience. As Heaney notes, "Highlander exemplified the principle that learning cannot be separated from doing; education is a process which includes both reflection and action" (1992: 55).

Appalachia shares many of the same characteristics Freire encountered among Chilean peasants. Freire stated, "As long as the oppressed remain unaware of their conditions, they fatalistically accept their exploitation" (1970: 51). Among the characteristics used to describe the people of Appalachia are a fatalistic attitude (Weller 1965) or impoverishment and powerlessness (Eller 1982; Gaventa 1982). In

Chile and Brazil, many of these characteristics can be traced back to the days of colonialism. In Appalachia, the roots of these characteristics can be found, in part, with the establishment of company towns: for example, mill villages, timber towns, and coal camps. Henry Caudill, former legislator and author of *Night Comes to the Cumberlands*, describes in vivid detail the story of both human and environmental degradation with the abandonment of company towns in the coal fields of eastern Kentucky (Caudill 1976; 1963).

The predicament of these areas, especially company towns, is greatly tied to the situation of corporate ownership and outside control of the local resources. Ronald Eller describes this when he explains that the persistent poverty of Appalachia is not from the lack of modernization, but in the way it was modernized. Eller best explains this when he states:

Where the traditional political order had relied largely on kinship, personal contacts, and a broad-based party structure, after the turn of the century the level of citizen participation declined, and the average farmer or laborer became isolated from the political process...Behind this transition in political culture lay the integration of the region into the national economy and the subordination of local interests to those of outside corporations (1982: xxi).

Without a consciousness of oppressive structures, or the power to act on exploitative practices, the people of Appalachia were, and to a certain extent still are, at the mercy of unknown sources.

In the 1930s, Highlander played an important role in the development of the trade union movement in Tennessee. Responding in part to the expanding situation of subordination and oppression, primarily due to the "tightening of purse strings" by company owners in response to the Great Depression. Highlander offered workshops and courses on labor history, union problems, parliamentary law, economics, public speaking, and labor journalism (Glen 1988). Since its founding and into the present, the Highlander Folk School (now the Highlander Research and Education Center) has provided a place for groups to meet and discuss common problems. Discussions are aimed at identifying and bringing hidden sources of problems into consciousness. The goal is that, collectively, the groups will create solutions for these problems.

In 1957, working with other colleagues and local residents, Horton helped to establish a Citizenship School on John's Island, South Carolina. The literacy program, the South Carolina Sea Island Citizenship Schools, helped African-Americans meet the literacy requirements for voter registration in South Carolina. Eventually the literacy program led to the operation of a Southwide citizenship education program by the Southern Christian Leadership Conference (Glen 1988). In turn, the educational program resulted in democratic empowerment for local residents participating in the literacy program. In reference to the Citizenship Schools, empowerment was defined as the ability to identify injustices and oppressive forces, to reflect on differences between democratic ideas and the realities of society, and to feel confident enough to act on these forces to bring about change. Applying Horton's ideas to the definition of empowerment, empowerment is the creative process which enables people to be participants in shaping a better world, both for themselves and others (Oldendorf 1987).

Sandra Oldendorf suggests that Appalachian schools should use the Sea Island Citizenship Schools as a model for democratic empowerment. According to Oldendorf, democratic empowerment is accomplished through education which questions "what is" (injustice, discriminatory, and oppressive) and aspires to "what ought to be" (dignity, justice, and freedom). In accordance with this study's understanding of empowerment, three assumptions are made. First, people must become more effective in identifying and interpreting injustices and oppressive forces in their lives. They must not allow outsiders to identify and solve their problems. They must overcome the reproduction of "learned helplessness" in their lives and work together to solve common shared problems. Second, community members must ask questions about differences between democratic ideals and the realities of society. They need to become conscious that accepting "what is" instead of asking "what ought to be" only reinforces the status quo. Third, members of the community must learn to combine their collective ideas and work together to take action against reform. Empowerment occurs through the production of consciousness. Empowerment is manifested in the ability to identify, reflect, and act on oppressive forces in one's own life.

In 1987, Helen Lewis visited the town of Ivanhoe, Virginia as a community educator. Her work was part of an economic education project sponsored by Highlander. Her purpose was to help assist the

Ivanhoe Civic League, a grassroots organization formed in 1986 to help save and revitalize the community, to understand the economic changes taking place in their community. Similar to other rural communities in the south, the once highly industrialized town was experiencing the hardships of "de-industrialization" (see Gaventa and Wiley 1987). Lewis' work eventually expanded to include three years (1987-1990) of participatory research in a local history project, concentrating on how the people of the community were affected by and responded to changes in their industrial base. Oral history was a very important data collecting technique in the project.

Unlike participant-observation or in-depth interviews, participatory research is more than a mere data-gathering technique. Instead, participatory research is problem-centered. Because it encourages grassroots organizations and community members to be active participants in solving local problems, it has also been referred to as participatory-action research or PAR (see Borda 1985). Participatory research, which involves close interaction between community members and outside educators or researchers, becomes an educational process for both the researchers and the community. Through dialogue and discussion, participatory research aims for active solutions to community defined problems. Control is left in the hands of the community, with the latter setting the agenda and controlling the direction of progress. As a result of this process, "organic intellectuals" arise, whose technical expertise and consciousness are raised as they grow in awareness and knowledge (Hinsdale et. al., 1992; Lawner 1973; Gramsci 1957). As defined in the Ivanhoe project, participatory research seeks:

...to understand the conditions underlying a problem in order to transform the conditions. It rejects research for the sake of research, seeing it as mere academic exercise which often leads to the exploitation and manipulation of communities and people as objects of research. Rather, it seeks to eliminate monopolistic control over knowledge-creation...The methodology of participatory research is closely identified with adult education, particularly the literacy work and educational philosophy of Paulo Freire and the educational approach of the Highlander Center in New Market, Tennessee (Hinsdale et. al., 1992: 2-3).

In discussing her own experiences in and other women's efforts in revitalizing their communities, Lewis stated:

In Ivanhoe, as in many other rural communities, women are taking the lead in the efforts to rebuild and revitalize communities. In times of family or community crisis, women are traditionally called on the 'pick up the pieces,' to help get everyone reorganized and

functioning. Today, where rural families and communities are in economic distress, women are coming forth as leaders... The knowledge needed is 'technical' in nature: business plans, feasibility studies and market research. For community based, participatory development, infrastructure includes human development, education for creativity, regaining and understanding popular knowledge and history, democratic decision-making, and a sense of identity and community pride. The community must reclaim knowledge and understanding of the economy in a way to enhance effective citizen participation and strategy-development, to be able to plan, control and monitor change. With this investment, people can become better equipped to rebuild their own communities and economies (Hinsdale and Lewis 1992: 1-7).

In the Ivanhoe study, community members became empowered through the application of participatory research in a local history project. Working together to restructure the economy of Ivanhoe, community members identified, reflected, and acted upon their own perceived problems. Due to this "from the bottom up" approach, members were empowered with the authority to set their own agenda and control outside interests from steering them away from problems identified by the community.

The above discussion on critical educational theory has described how formal educational structures have been used to reproduce the status quo. It has also demonstrated, through examples of alternative non-formal education, how critical consciousness and individual empowerment are key elements in non-formal education. For example, local history workshops using oral history and participatory research techniques give rise to consciousness and therefore empowerment. In contrast to formal education, non-formal education can produce counter-hegemonic teachings; producing change by creating resistance (both mental and physical) to oppressive social structures and practices.

Critical Feminist Educational Theory

While the development of critical educational theory has been greatly influenced by Marxist thought, it is weak when applied to feminist studies. Though Marxist thought is potentially applicable to feminist theory, it is inadequate in uncovering the specificity of women's experience and oppression because it subsumes women within the category of class. Feminist theory can extend the perspective on reproduction and production offered by critical educational theory. Whereas, critical educational theory focuses on the reproduction and production of class through schooling under capitalism, feminist theory

(including liberal feminist, radical feminist, and socialist feminist analyses) primarily addresses the reproduction and production of gender under a system of patriarchy.

Weiler (1988) integrated the traditions of socialist feminism and critical educational theory into critical feminist educational theory in order to study the lived experiences of teachers in a high school setting. This theoretical perspective facilitated study of both the reproduction and production of gender through schooling, with emphasis on the latter. While critical feminist educational theory studies structural reproduction (e. g., the reproduction of gender roles and status), resistance, and gender reconstruction through schooling, this thesis focuses primarily on non-formal adult education as a means of gender production.

People's History

People's history has as many shades of meanings as it does names. In contemporary writings, it is referred to as "British social history," "public history," "popular history," "local history," or "people's history" (Benson et. al., 1986; Samuel 1981). It uses "oral history" and participatory research as primary techniques. It has also been referred to as doing "history from below" (Benson et. al., 1986; Samuel 1981) or "history from the bottom up" (Duggan 1990).

In defining people's history, Raphael Samuel, editor of History Workshop Journal, stated:

The term 'people's history' is one which could be applied, in the present day, to a whole series of cultural initiatives which are to be found mainly, though not exclusively, outside the institutions of higher education, or on their extra-mural fringes. It has been enthusiastically adopted by...community based publishing projects...People's history always represents some sort of attempt to broaden the basis of history, to enlarge its subject matter, to make use of new raw materials and offer new maps of knowledge. Implicitly or explicitly it is oppositional, an alternative to 'dry as dust' scholarship, and history as taught in the schools. But the terms of that opposition are necessarily different in different epochs and for different modes of work (1981: xv-xvi).

People's history is the history of the common people, the general working populace, in contrast to the bulk of former historical documentation on great men and their conquests. People's history may represent an anti-academic structure within academia.

A model for peoples' history is found in the British History Workshop. In 1966, a revival of British socialist theory was initiated with the establishment of the History Workshop at Ruskin College, Oxford. The Workshop developed as an attack on the examination system, and the humiliations which it imposed on adult students. In discussing the origins of the Workshop, Samuel stated, "It was an attempt to create, within a very limited compass, an alternative educational practice, to encourage Ruskin students—working men and women, drawn from the labor and trade union movement—to engage in research, and to construct their own history as a way of giving them an independent critical vantage point in their reading" (1981: 410). The goal of the Workshop was to bring "the boundaries of history closer to people's lives" and "to make the past more relevant to working people" (Green 1986: 339). A series of pamphlets and books were published from the workshops, eventually evolving into a journal: *History Workshop: A Journal Of Socialist Historians*. The primary purpose of the journal reflects the original goal of the Workshop (Samuel 1976).

The popular renewal of people's history in the U. S. owes its origins to the political upheavals of the late 1960s and early 1970s. The editors of *Presenting the Past* discuss the influence of the civil rights, antiwar, and feminist movements on this new generation of historians when they state:

This new generation advocates a 'new' kind of history—one that explores long-neglected subjects like women, blacks, peasants, and workers; one that critically reexamines the centers of power and authority around the world; one that reaches beyond the confines of academe. To a remarkable degree these scholars have reshaped the practice of history in the United States and have won recognition and acceptance from the mainstream of the historical profession (Benson et. al., 1986: xi).

The goal for people's history projects was a more inclusive historical representation. However, by the mid-1970s, the people's history movement lost part of its activist zeal and public support. When the antiwar movement and feminist movement stymied, people's history came to focus more on working-class unity,

while moving towards more traditional institutions for funding. By the late 1970s, people's history projects became heavily dependent on funding from the National Endowment for the Humanities (Green 1986).

National Endowment For The Humanities Model

The National Endowment for the Humanities (NEH) is a federal grant-making agency, established by a Congressional Act in 1965 to "develop and encourage the pursuit of a national policy for the promotion of progress and scholarship in the humanities" (Miller 1984: 29). As defined by Congress:

The humanities includes, but is not limited to, the study and interpretation of the following: language, both modern and classical; linguistics; literature; history; jurisprudence; philosophy; archaeology; comparative religion; ethics; the history, criticism, and theory of the arts; those aspects of the social sciences which have humanistic content and employ humanistic methods;...and the study and application of the humanities to the human environment...with particular attention to reflecting our diverse heritage, traditions, and history and of the humanities to current conditions of national life (see Miller 1984: 28-29).

Designing and creating the categories of grants itself, the NEH supports research, teaching, and public programs in the humanities, for both academic and non-academic non-profit organizations, with primary concern in reaching the adult out-of-school public through its projects. In addition to increasing public awareness of the humanities, the NEH seeks to impart interpretive skills to participants in humanities projects.

The creation of the NEH was partly due to a report issued by a national commission on the humanities. The commission authored the *Report of the Commission on the Humanities*, referred to as the *1964 Report*, recommending the establishment of a national humanities foundation (see Miller 1984). The *1964 Report* led to the introduction of a bill into Congress. The bill became a law on September 29, 1965. Stephen Miller, author of *Excellence & Equity: The National Endowment for the Humanities*, best describes the fledgling goals of the NEH when he discusses the contents of the *1964 Report*:

Declaring that 'democracy demands wisdom of the average man,' it [the report] asserts that a national humanities foundation would make us 'wiser than we otherwise might be.' Such a foundation would enable the average American to learn more about 'such enduring

values as justice, freedom, virtue, beauty, and truth, 'and to fulfill his need for humanistic 'vision' (1984: 13).

The *1964 Report* also argued for a more balanced education, pointing out the federal funding difference between the "scientific haves" and the "humanistic have-nots."

The National Science Foundation (NSF), which later provided a model for the NEH to follow, was created in 1950. The earlier focus on scientific knowledge in American education was partly due to the nation's involvement in World War II. Scientists were employed and needed to conduct research for the federal government. In the late 1950s, with the launching of the Soviet Sputnik in 1957, an obsession with the sciences spread across the nation, partly out of fear. President Eisenhower stated that thousands more scientists were needed if the nation was to keep up with the Soviet Union. To facilitate this growth in the sciences, the federal government increased their financial support for the NSF from \$40 million to \$130 million. By the time of his farewell address to the nation, President Eisenhower asked if the nation was "the captive of a scientific-technological elite" (as quoted in Miller 1984: 11). It was not until the late 1960s, partly due to the war in Vietnam, that the sciences came under attack. Eyes began to turn toward the humanities for help.

Following the NSF model, the NEH was created as an institution primarily of and for academics. Consulting work and workshops conducted by humanities scholars were more of an academic extension than something taking place outside of academic institutional structures. The NEH model was and is one of humanities scholars teaching the general public. Its underlying assumption is that scholars are the experts and the public are the students. In this framework, the NEH parallels the formal educational model operationalized in this study, assuming the institutionalized and hierarchical relationships between authoritative teacher and passive learner. Humanities scholars set the agenda by deciding what is humanities content and serving as "watch dogs" to ensure its presence in humanities projects.

While the previous educational theories (Critical Educational Theory, Critical Feminist Educational Theory, and People's History) may be conceptually viewed as a form of radical adult education, the National Endowment For The Humanities Model represents the ideological concept of liberal adult education. Peter Jarvis described liberal adult education as:

The knowledge to be learned is not prescribed necessarily, so that the selection may be made by the learners in order for them to pursue their own interests or it may be prescribed by the teacher, the syllabus, etc. Hence, liberal education may be 'education of equals' or 'from above' and in this sense it may be regarded as a relatively value-free concept, but one that seeks to ensure that chaos does not reign but that society's scarce resources are distributed amongst the populace...liberal adult education may be seen to be embracing individualistic and elitist ideologies. The significant point is that the phenomenon of adult education is being interpreted from a specific ideological perspective that man is free and able to pursue his own interests in a rational manner (1989: 34-37).

The NEH promotes learning for the sake of learning, believing that an educated person can better participate in society.

In order to secure public support for the NEH and for the humanities in universities, museums, and other institutions, humanities projects are also designed to show the relevance of the humanities to the general public. This is accomplished in part through interpretative analysis of content in humanities projects. It is also accomplished through the expanding encouragement of local residents to participate in workshops and assume more authoritative positions in local projects. The NEH requires both the active participation of scholars in ensuring humanities content and to assist the general public in creating, directing, and implementing project goals. Therefore, as defined in this study, workshops sponsored by the NEH represent a hybrid form of both formal and non-formal education. Workshops are hierarchical with the teacher as expert, representing the formal educational model, yet they also allow the students to define their own needs and problems, as presented in the non-formal educational model. Difference between the two educational models (formal and non-formal) in projects sponsored by the NEH often causes tension (because of different agendas), as was the case in the local history project presented in this study. Like most of the projects supported by NEH, the humanities project described in this thesis was funded primarily through a regrant from the NEH to the state humanities council. Therefore, the remainder of this discussion will focus on the Tennessee Humanities Council.

The Tennessee Humanities Council (THC) was established in 1973. The agency provides several types of grants to individuals or non-profit organizations: Speaker Grants; Book and Film Discussion Grants; Public Research Project Grants; Conference and Workshop Grants; Interpretive Exhibit Grants;

Arts Interpretation Grants; Consultant Grants; Planning Grants; Media Project Grants; and General Humanities Project Grants. In order for proposals to be accepted and supported by the THC, six criteria must be met:

First, there must be sufficient humanities content in the proposed projects. Community groups are required to use humanities scholars in projects sponsored by the THC. Scholars not only conduct workshops (such as conducting oral history interviews, researching documents, collecting photographs or artifacts, analyzing data, and writing interpretive captions), but must also serve on the advisory committee to ensure humanities content. Secondly, there must be evidence of unity, meaning that the project should concentrate on a central topic or theme clearly stated in the proposal. Third, proposals must include a clear narrative description of what will happen in the project, when things are to occur, and who is to be involved in the project. Fourth, the budget must be fully itemized, and all budget items must be explained. Fifth, there must be support from humanities scholars and members of the general public, who sign personnel forms indicating their commitment and their understanding of their roles and the concepts and goals of the project. The formally prepared and complete project proposal is the final requirement.

To prepare for "Tennessee Homecoming '86," the state government joined the THC in funding a statewide community history project. The goal of the project, implemented by Governor Lamar Alexander, was to attract former Tennessee residents back to the state to join communities in celebrating their local history and shared heritage. In 1983, the THC began a three year community history project to research and interpret the heritage of communities in each region of the state. The Tennessee Community Heritage Project (TCHP) was to assist "Tennessee's adults to identify, examine, record, and interpret untapped cultural and historical resources in new and interesting ways" (Duggan 1990: 54), so that they would be prepared for the 1986 celebration. A key component in this project was to have the community decide the direction and intensity of assistance from TCHP staff. Betty Duggan, a Scholar-in-Residence on the TCHP, stated:

This 'from the bottom up' approach allowed the staff to help reshape and expand ideas which originated at the local level. Through forging a partnership with the public it sought

to serve, the TCHP was able in a brief time to involve thousands of Tennesseans as active participants in preparing local history exhibits, books, lecture series, conferences, workshops, festivals, radio series, and photographic copying days; as many as one million more people were reached as audience members of these activities, projects, and events (Duggan 1990: 54-55).

Because of the success of the TCHP, the THC's interest in grassroots participation has intensified. The THC now allocates the role of project director with the power of authority and decision-making to leaders of local organizations. While this approach enhances the chances of success, by assuring that there is local interest and support for the proposed project, problems with incompatible agendas may emerge when the author of the proposal is a humanities scholar rather than the project director from a grassroots organization who will implement the proposal. Benita Howell, anthropologist and humanities scholar, suggests that state councils should rethink their policies on awarding proposal development grants to authors other than prospective project directors in order to avoid this problem (1994: 157).

While the humanities council's policy has changed over the last decade, its primary goal has not. The goal was and is to increase public awareness and knowledge of the humanities. A key component of humanities projects is to serve as an educational tool to the adult out-of-school public. Scholars work on the projects to ensure the methods of the humanities (analysis, critical thinking, and interpretation) will be evident in the project's approach to presenting its topic. No project, however, may take an advocacy stand in its final conclusions and public THC presentations. In addition, it is not the intent of the THC or the NEH to raise critical consciousness or to promote societal change.

Research Methods

The purpose of this section is to present the reader with the anthropological techniques and procedures used in this research, in order that they may be evaluated and applied in similar studies. The focus of this thesis stemmed from my position as consultant for the Tennessee Humanities Council to the local grassroots organization sponsoring that project. Along with methods employed to acquire and analyze data, this chapter also outlines my role in the community.

Introduction and Role in Research Community

In the spring of 1986, ten female residents from the community of Cedar Ridge established the community organization Cedar Ridge Action For Today (CRAFT). In this thesis, community is defined as an area which evokes a sense of shared identity, providing protection and security through the development of maintenance systems. People living in the area share common interests, but also display a diversity of perspectives manifested in both antagonisms and cooperation among community members (Low and Staub 1990).

During the summer of 1991 members of CRAFT received a Planning Grant, a small proposal development grant, from the Tennessee Humanities Council (THC). The Planning Grant enabled CRAFT members to hire a humanities scholar to write a proposal for a larger grant, a General Humanities Project Grant. Because the THC requires a central topic or theme for projects, the director of a local history project in a neighboring town suggested, "Women in the Textile Industries at Cedar Ridge." While members of CRAFT originally wanted a local history project documenting the general history of Cedar Ridge, the proposal specified that both a guidebook and museum exhibit would be created to document the town's textile mill history and women's contribution to the community's economy. The grant to support this project was awarded in the winter of 1991. Because the THC requires active participation of scholars in projects, professors and humanities scholars from the University of Tennessee, Knoxville were hired as consultants to advise CRAFT members in implementing the project.

My introduction to the research community, in January 1992, was facilitated by a professor at the University of Tennessee, who was working on the local history project in Cedar Ridge. I was hired as a consultant for the project. My role was to conduct local history research with CRAFT members, and I became mediator between CRAFT members and the THC during the entire course of the project. I was to work closely with other humanities scholars by consulting with them on overseeing the collection of data and photographs for the development of the interpretive community guidebook, which I co-authored with project volunteers. I was to participate in workshops and be available for consultation with the volunteer research teams on problems arising during the course of the project. I was also to assist in the collection of

artifacts and memorabilia for the creation of the permanent museum exhibit which would serve both local and tourist audiences.

My first visit to Cedar Ridge was on the occasion of an all-day workshop in training CRAFT members and volunteers on research methods needed for the local history project. I found it easy to establish rapport with the local community, since I also came from a small town whose economic base is textiles and agriculture. In addition, preparations of the Planning Grant had built rapport between the community and other humanities scholars.

At my second meeting with CRAFT members and volunteers, I became aware that a few members had different agendas in mind for the museum exhibit, in contrast to those outlined by the Tennessee Humanities Council grant proposal. Some seemed to care more about tourist dollars than creating a high quality exhibit to present their town's history to visitors. They viewed the creation of the exhibit as a means to bring in tourists to purchase their own handmade crafts. Needless to say, these volunteers rarely helped out when it came time to conduct background research for the guidebook or exhibit. Even a few of the volunteers who did help out with the research, also had personal motives for their involvement in the project. For them it was a means of acquiring recognition and profiling their relationship to former members of the community. This was reflected in problems I encountered with research data collected by volunteers.

The data-gathering techniques employed in the local history project were oral history interviewing and research on historical documents. Although informants were targeted to represent a cross-sectional view of life in a textile mill town, a great majority of the material gathered at first seemed to focus on only certain aspects of Cedar Ridge's history. Themes that tended to surface repeatedly were the local churches, post offices, the railroad, and schools. Despite constant reminders to CRAFT members that the topic approved by the THC was the key role women have played in the textile industry at Cedar Ridge, little information was gathered on this topic.

Even the majority of the photographs collected for the guidebook were of churches, schools, post offices, family members or friends; only a handful of the photographs represented women associated with

the textile mills in Cedar Ridge. This was not due to the lack of photographs of female mill workers. On the contrary, at a public photo copying day when local community residents brought in old photographs, committee members ignored (or showed little interest in) several photos of female textile workers. Only when I insisted that the grant project required these photos did the committee agree to copy mill photos which had previously been rejected. Later, I discovered a partial reason for these biases toward particular local topics. Many of the volunteers had either a strong involvement in the local churches or worked within the local school system. It was during a conversation with the project director that I discovered the reason why members did not want to copy certain photographs of female mill workers. One reason is because hostilities still exist between two families over the ownership of the first cotton mill.

This problem of difference in agendas emerged because the author of the proposal was a humanities scholar, aware of humanities requirements and content, rather than the project director of CRAFT whose role was to implement the proposal. The problem was quickly resolved by a compromise, with the creation of a photographic calendar for the upcoming year. The cost of the calendar was to be covered by funds raised by CRAFT and not by the THC. Therefore, the local volunteers could use any themes and photographs they wished to represent their history in the calendar. It was through this agreement that the volunteers became willing to focus more on the topic required by the THC for the guidebook and exhibit (see Evans 1992).

Research Techniques

This study was accomplished by applying both qualitative and quantitative methods, with emphasis on the former. As discussed by Pelto and Pelto (1978), successful description and hypothesis testing depends on a combination of both qualitative and quantitative methods. The Peltos also note that through the application of multiple instruments in research, the credibility of results is increased.

Qualitative data came from participant-observation and interviews, with literature on qualitative research methods tending to focus on these techniques (Pelto and Pelto 1978). My interviews consisted of two types: informal and formal. Informal interviews and participant-observation were conducted while I

was employed by the THC as consultant to CRAFT members. Twenty-eight months of conducting local history research with CRAFT members provided informal background research for this thesis. Formal interviews, primarily with CRAFT members, were conducted after the completion of the local history project.

According to regulations governing university-sponsored research involving human subjects, the thesis project was reviewed by the Committee on Research Participation at the University of Tennessee, Knoxville. Appendix C is an example of the Informed Consent Form issued to subjects before formal interviews and evaluations commenced. Due to human subjects guidelines, only adult subjects (those over the age of 18 years) participated in formal interviews and surveys. For a period of three months after the opening of the museum, formal interviews were conducted with CRAFT members and informal conversations continued with both male and female adult residents of Cedar Ridge, humanities scholars, and staff members of ETC. Interviewees were chosen based on contacts I made while I was employed as researcher on the local history project.

Ten members from CRAFT and two ETC staffers were formally interviewed about their reactions to the guidebook and exhibit. These formal open-ended interviews lasted 60-90 minutes. Among questions asked were: How do you feel about the local history project in Cedar Ridge? How did this project originate? How did the community organization CRAFT evolve? How did you become involved in the community organization? Why are the leaders and members of CRAFT predominantly women? What do you feel has been accomplished by the local history project in Cedar Ridge? How did CRAFT become involved in the heritage tourism project in the region? What do you feel has been accomplished by the heritage tourism project in the area and in Cedar Ridge? What has your organization accomplished? How has your organization contributed to adult education? Interviewees were also asked to describe their previous educational experiences in teaching them about women in history, and if or how the local history project had increased their knowledge of women's contribution in Cedar Ridge's history. Because interviews often took place at community events, church gatherings, or over lunch, they were not tape recorded.

Quantitative data come from an evaluation conducted by CRAFT in the early stages of the local history project (see Appendix I) and from a second evaluation I administered at the textile museum opening (see Appendix II). The first evaluation was distributed to local residents at a community spring festival in May, 1993, approximately ten months before the guidebook on women in the Cedar Ridge's textile mills was published. Subjects were identified by approaching every adult who visited an outdoor booth selling the Cedar Ridge history calendars which CRAFT members had recently published. I conducted fifteen-minute oral interviews and transcribed responses onto the evaluation form. CRAFT used this evaluation to monitor their project for THC, especially to gain a better understanding of local attitudes about their project and about the selection of their town to represent the textile industry in regional heritage tourism (ETC's project). Twenty-five evaluations were collected from approximately 150 residents who attended the morning events of the festival. Most residents declined to complete the evaluation when they were approached. No attempt was made to obtain evaluations during the evening events of the festival.

The evaluation I designed was administered at the opening of the textile museum on March 25, 1994. It was separate from the final evaluation required by THC, which was done by a staff member from ETC. The majority of those attending the museum opening were considered the "well-to-do- folks" of the community, the "middle class" and the "upper class" or the "elite." They included county commissioners, CRAFT members, teachers, mill owners and inspectors, preachers, lawyers, and business owners as well as staff members from ETC and humanities scholars. Several members of this group did, however, have family members who worked, or still work, in the local textile mills. A few who attended were retired mill workers whose work in the mills had helped finance college education for the adult children who attended the opening with them.

Subjects for my evaluation were identified by approaching every tenth adult (over 18 years old) who completed the tour of the exhibit. Those who were residents of McMinn County and who agreed to spend 15-30 minutes being interviewed about their reactions to the exhibit became subjects. They first read and signed the Informed Consent Form (Appendix III) and then answered questions orally while I transcribed responses on the evaluation form. Evaluations were obtained from thirty respondents (twenty

females and ten males) among the approximately 125 who attended the museum opening. The aim of this evaluation was to obtain community attitudes toward the local history project in their community upon its completion. Questions were aimed at gathering information for evaluating whether the project accomplished its goals, along with identifying the "production" versus "reproduction" of knowledge from both the guidebook and the museum. To discover the "production" versus "reproduction" of women's roles and recognition in the community, questions were posed concerning the subjects' earlier education as well as discovering what residents learned from the local history project. Other questions probed these dimensions: consciousness of women's role in local history; consciousness and understanding of the humanities; specific knowledge gained from the guidebook or exhibit; if information about women presented in the project was accurate; and if the local history project in their community met their expectations.

Due to my role as a researcher and consultant in the community, twenty-eight months of participant-observation was drawn upon to interpret responses to interviews and reaction towards the project. Participant-observation was not only conducted to obtain background information on local culture, but to also observe social interaction. Content analysis of interviews and replies to evaluations were achieved through the method of grounded theory (Strauss and Corbin 1990; Strauss 1987). Interviews and evaluations used together allow for an analysis of prior goals and later perceptions of accomplishments by subjects.

Data Analysis

Evaluations:

Responses to the closed ended questions on the THC evaluation conducted at the spring festival were tabulated and are reported as percentages in Chapter IV (Table 1). Responses to open-ended questions were content analyzed to discover themes in community attitudes toward the local history project at an early stage. Findings are presented and discussed in the first section of Chapter IV.

The evaluation I designed and administered at the museum opening was intended to generate quantitative data for this thesis. In addition, open-ended questions provided qualitative data on residents' feelings upon completion of the local history project. Grounded theory techniques were used to analyze responses to open-ended questions and integrate these with themes emerging from analysis of interviews. Additionally, response categories were tabulated so that variation according to demographic variables could be examined. Because of the small sample size ($n=30$), computer-coded data were statistically analyzed using the Fisher's Exact Test (Scholthauer and Littell 1987) of SAS. Results appear in Chapter IV, Tables IIa-IIk, and findings from qualitative analysis of the second evaluation are also presented and discussed in the second section of Chapter IV.

Interviews:

In order to document and present perceptions of respondents, data from both formal and informal interviews are presented in narrative form so that the reader can become an active participant in constructing the various meaning subjects' responses may come to have. One of the most recognized systems for coding and analyzing qualitative data is the grounded theory approach. Grounded theory allows one to build theory from what people say about their own experiences. As defined by Strauss and Corbin (1990: 23), a grounded theory "is one that is inductively derived from the study of the phenomenon it represents. That is, it is discovered, developed, and provisionally verified through systematic data collection and analysis of data pertaining to that phenomenon...One does not begin with a theory, then prove it. Rather, one begins with an area of study and what is relevant to that area is allowed to emerge."

As noted by H. F. Wolcott, author of *Writing Up Qualitative Research*, "the critical task in qualitative research is not to accumulate all the data you can, but to 'can' [to eliminate] most of the data you accumulate. This process requires constant winnowing [to sort out and separate]" (1990: 35). In grounded theory, this begins with open coding, the process of breaking down, examining, comparing, conceptualizing, and categorizing data. An essential aspect of open coding is axial coding, intense analysis around one category at a time in terms of the paradigm items (conditions, consequences, and so forth),

followed by selective coding, coding systematically for the core category (Strauss 1987). In using grounded theory in analyzing data, coding is required at several levels throughout the analysis process. Through the use of analytical memos, researchers describe the coding scheme and the theoretical significance of the emerging categories.

Open coding is the part of analysis that pertains specifically to the naming and categorizing of phenomena through close examination of data. Data are broken down into discrete parts, closely examined, compared for similarities and differences, and questions are asked about the phenomena as reflected in the data (Strauss and Corbin 1990). Conceptualizing is the process of describing an event and applying a conceptual label, while categorizing is the process of grouping concepts that seem to pertain to the same phenomena. The aim of open coding is to "produce concepts that seem to fit the data" (Strauss 1987: 28).

Axial coding is a set of procedures whereby data are put back together in new ways after open coding, by making connections between categories. This is done by utilizing a coding paradigm involving conditions, context, action/interactional strategies, and consequences (Strauss and Corbin 1990). It involves placing similar categories under a more inclusive category. Axial coding, should culminate in the identification of a core category, which is related to all others, thereby achieving theoretical integration. The core category can then used as a guide to further theoretical sampling and data collection (Strauss 1987). Core categories account for "most of the variation in a pattern of behavior" (Strauss 1987: 34) and are illustrated in Chapter IV and Chapter V of this thesis.

Chapter III

CEDAR RIDGE: A CASE STUDY

To determine the influence of educational structures and practices is to understand something of the way in which hegemony is established and maintained through education. Hegemony may be born in the factory as Gramsci believed, but it is baptized in the political party, and bred in the school, although in complex and paradoxical ways.

David Hogan,
Education and Class Formation: The Peculiarities of the Americans (1982: 47)

The Setting

In order to protect the anonymity of subjects, a pseudonym was not only given to the place of study, but also to surrounding towns, that would reveal the community's location. Additionally, all personal names appearing in this case study are pseudonyms. Certain information has been omitted intentionally, to ensure confidentiality and mutual respect between researcher and subjects.

Physical Characteristics

The community of Cedar Ridge (a pseudonym), lying in the Ridge and Valley section of Southern Appalachia, is located in McMinn County in southeastern Tennessee. The county, carved from Cherokee Indian Territory, was established in 1819 (Brown 1990) and covers 420 square miles (274,500 acres) of diverse ecosystems. The county has a long history of human inhabitants replacing complex natural ecosystems with more simplified ecosystems such as forests which were "girdled" for incipient agriculture by Native Americans and "clear cut" by descendants of Euro-American settlers for mono-cropping and grazing purposes.

The low ridges and knobs of the county supply minerals such as lead; limestone, with veins of fine gray marble; and to the south-east side of the county, an abundance of the best quality iron ore is found (Raitz and Ulack 1984; Killebrew 1874). No coal has been found in the county. There are, however, several mineral springs in the area used for both medicinal purposes and drinking water, and in the past as a means of keeping perishable food items cold.

The forests of the county are among the richest in flora and fauna in the area (Beverly 1992). Census data from the U. S. Department of Agriculture show forest area comprising of 49.5% (136,500 acres) of the county's total land area in 1989. Not only do the forests supply a diversity of timber and wild game, but also a variety of medicinal plants, collected by contemporary residents for both personal use and as a market commodity. Ginseng, Golden Seal, and Mullein are the most popular plants collected by residents.

Situated in a small creek valley along a railroad junction, Cedar Ridge is separated from its neighboring rural towns by a series of wooded knobs and low ridges. Several of the knobs are treeless, referred to as a "bald," from the many years of timbering in the region. Intensive selective cutting of hardwoods began shortly after the Civil War, when the national market for timbering increased. Large scale timbering, however, did not begin until the 1890s, when northern companies started to buy up large tracts of timberland. Similar to other areas of Southern Appalachia, logging had shifted from a family enterprise, of small saw mills and "splash dams," to a highly integrated industrial operation (Eller 1982). The expansion of railroads in southeastern Tennessee during the 1890s also facilitated the transportation of timber. By the 1920s, when most of the lumber barons were moving out of Appalachia and leaving huge tracts of timberless land behind (Byrum 1984; Eller 1982), enough pasture land was created in the county for the development of a large dairy industry: Mayfield Dairy Farms. Six swift creeks traversing the county in the mid-1800s proved to be the underlying source of energy for the operation of "mills of every kind" in the county (Killebrew 1874) until water-power was replaced by coal fueled steam boilers in the early 1900s.

Agricultural products traditionally grown in the region include wheat, corn, soybeans, tobacco, and cotton. The moderate temperature of the area also promotes seasonal agricultural work. The average temperature in winter months is 43° Fahrenheit and during the summer months 78° F. The growing seasons are from early April to late October, with average yearly precipitation of fifty inches. The valleys drain water from the Blue Ridge mountains lying to the east, into the Mississippi Valley, eventually finding its way into the Gulf of Mexico (Raitz and Ulack 1984).

Demographic Characteristics

The total population of Cedar Ridge is 1,611, with 87% of the residents being born in the state of Tennessee according to 1990 U. S. Census data. Female residents of Cedar Ridge comprise of 55% (885 persons) of the total population, and males 45% (726 persons) of the population. In reporting their socially designated "racial" category 99% (1,605 persons) answered White; 0.3% (4 persons) answered Pacific Islands, Samoa to be exact; and 0.1% (2 persons) answered Native American. No one, 0%, living in Cedar Ridge answered Subsharan-African, Asian, or Hispanic as their origin. Among those residents reporting their heritage, the largest percentages claimed an ancestry of either Irish, Scottish, Scotch-Irish, German, English, Dutch, or French.

The town of Cedar Ridge was classified by the 1990 Census of Population and Housing as 100% rural, however, the town lies between two metropolitan cities in neighboring counties. Knoxville lies to the northeast of Cedar Ridge and Chattanooga lies to the southwest. Seven miles of paved road to the west lies the rural town of Spartansburg. Likewise, seven miles of paved road to the south lies the rural town of Muddy Waters, whose origins stemmed from the development of a large railroad line and terminal in 1905. Towards the east of Cedar Ridge lies the Cherokee National Forest, and the silent Great Smoky Mountains. Three other small rural towns lie sporadically within a ten mile range of Cedar Ridge, though rarely visited by residents.

Muddy Waters is frequently used by Cedar Ridge residents for minor shopping, elegant dining or "grabbing a burger" from a national fast food chain, and for a variety of forms of entertainment. Because

of the scarcity of jobs in Cedar Ridge, several residents have to commute to Muddy Waters for work , in either service jobs, retail, or industry. Therefore, frequent shopping trips to Muddy Waters are facilitated. Additionally, the central location of the high school between Cedar Ridge and Muddy Waters, in which students from both towns attend, lessens the length of a trip for Cedar Ridge residents. Parents often continue on to Muddy Waters to shop for daily groceries, after picking up their kids from school, since a grocery store does not exist in Cedar Ridge.

While several residents commute as far away as Chattanooga or Knoxville for work, others continue to work in the few service jobs or business establishments in Cedar Ridge. The majority of salary workers are employed in one of the two existing textile mills in Cedar Ridge. As in its early development in the 1850s, the textile industry is still an important component in the economy of Cedar Ridge, with female residents continuing to play an important role in the community's economic sustainability.

Historical Background of a Textile Mill Town

Origins of a Mill Village

The early eighteenth century settlers of Southern Appalachia were primarily of English, Irish, Scots-Irish, and Highland Scots ancestry, with some German and Dutch. At the time of the nation's first census in 1790, the population of Southern Appalachia was approximately 175,000, with the majority settling in what is now Virginia. By the early 1820s, after the Cherokee nation ceded a portion of their territory from which McMinn County was carved with the treaty of 1819, land in southeastern Tennessee was opened up for legal "white" settlement (Brown 1990). Settlers came from the north, by way of the Great Valley. Many of the deeds in the early 1800s were land grant deeds, given after entries or land claims had been made. People often sold their entries and moved on to new western frontiers, especially to Texas. Such was the case with James Stevenson, who sold 160 acres of land along the bend in a creek bed, to Joseph McKissick in 1825. To the nineteenth century farmer of McMinn County, land was valued

according to three classes. The first class lands were the river bottoms, the second were the creek valley lands, and the third were the thinner ridge lands (Killebrew 1874).

According to the McKissick's family records, Joseph was a Presbyterian and born in Virginia on May 6, 1806. He was orphaned at some point in his early childhood and became a "bond boy." A bond boy was a boy bonded out to a man, or a family, for his rearing and education in a trade. McKissick served as an apprentice to a cabinet maker. Though McKissick became a furniture maker by trade, according to family records, he was a natural genius with any type of mechanical device. It was upon his wife's urging, that McKissick bought 160 acres of woodland along a swift flowing creek. One notation in the McKissick's family records stated:

His wife...pushed and dogged him into making the purchase with borrowed money. It was the best business move that he ever made...he later successively built a grist mill, a water powered furniture factory, and a water powered cotton spinning mill. Since early cotton spinning machinery was largely made of wood, he built a considerable part of his cotton machinery in his own furniture factory.

Cotton spinning mills were established in the South as early as 1810, particularly in the Piedmont. Similar to other mills of the time (Hall et al., 1987), the cotton spinning machinery at Cedar Ridge was propelled exclusively by water power. What parts could not be made from wood, were shipped by rail from Boston, Massachusetts to Spartansburg, Tennessee and then carried by an ox-drawn wagon to the mill site. Though originally employing only a handful of local women from neighboring small farms, the transition to wage labor from unpaid work in the home was to have major repercussions on women's influence in the future development of Cedar Ridge's economy. In time the McKissicks expanded their lands, later selling sections of it to people settling in the region from Virginia and North Carolina, and to the railroad. According to one land deed entry, in October 1889, Joseph McKissick sold Knoxville Southern Railroads Co. 60 feet of "right of way" for railroad passage through part of his farm at a price of one dollar.

In 1823, Thomas Embree, born May 1, 1806 in Virginia to a strong Quaker family, moved to southeastern Tennessee. There he met and married Susan, a Methodist, with whom he would eventually

have eleven children, three not surviving to adulthood. In 1835, the Embrees moved to Cedar Ridge, eventually buying a 230 acre farm from Joseph McKissick "on time." The system of "on time" meant they could pay off the mortgage with the earnings they made working. The last payment on the farm was made in 1857. Until the 1840s, the county was still a frontier settlement with self-sufficient farming as the major occupation of its inhabitants. Though residents of McMinn County at this time were predominantly of English, Irish, Highland Scotch, German, Dutch, or Scots-Irish ancestry, a large number were of African-American descent. According to U. S. Census data, 1,257 slaves lived in McMinn County in 1834. By 1860, the slave population of McMinn County had grown to 1,909, representing 14% of the total population of 13,555. Only eight families in the county owned more than 20 slaves, yet several families did have one or two slaves. When voting on whether or not to join the Confederacy, the majority of county residents voted against succeeding from the union (Ealy 1984). No one in Cedar Ridge ever owned slaves, and no one of African-American descent presently lives in the town of Cedar Ridge.

In the early 1870s, the Embrees eventually acquired, some allege by questionable methods, the small cotton spinning mill Joseph McKissick had built from wood in the 1850s. Around this same time, late 1850s, McKissick had joined in a partnership with the Embrees. The Embrees were to take care of the business end of the factory and McKissick was to watch over the mechanical end. According to contemporary descendants of the McKissicks, the Embrees fixed the books so McKissick could not pay off a note for a large amount of money he had borrowed. As stated by an entry in the McKissick's family records:

The affair dragged on for about a year and when Joseph McKissick could not pay the note, maybe because the Embrees saw to it that he would not get any income out of the business, they foreclosed on the note which they [the Embrees] had bought...Coming home on his horse from the first court hearing, Joseph McKissick fell off his horse, apparently from a heart attack, and died soon afterwards...This early generation of Embrees of Joseph McKissick's time got the name of being the biggest rascals and schemers in the whole area. They had a habit of loaning people money and then sitting back and waiting until hard times struck and foreclosed on the notes. They got several farms...that way and for only a fraction of their worth.

Embree descendants contend that it was not their ancestor's ill deeds that caused Joseph McKissick to lose his farms, and eventually his life, but the financial problems stemming from Civil War Reconstruction. Though this incident caused feuding between the McKissicks and Embrees in the past, the two families hold only a deep grudge against each other as the twenty-first century draws near. Those who remain in the area avoid arguments by avoiding each other.

Upon the acquisition of the mill by the Embrees, the work force was expanded. In 1875, 19 employees spun 78,000 pounds of cotton by 528 spindles, into 156 dozen cotton yarn, to be sold in southern Kentucky and eastern Tennessee. Workers were also needed to work on the Embrees' growing farm complex. The Embrees rented almost all of their land and were paid in crops.

Eventually a mill village grew, with the guidance of the Embrees, to accommodate the families of workers moving in from the local knobs, ridges, and small farms. Many of the families moved to what they perceived to be a more secure and better way of life. By the 1880s, with a total population of 14,000 for the county, there were seventeen single-family dwellings for the farm and mill workers on the Embree farm. Workers were paid \$10.00 per month and boarded or \$16.00 a month and board themselves (Killebrew 1874). Each house had enough area for a vegetable garden and a chicken coop, to help ease the transition from farm to village life. Formerly self-sufficient farmers and homemakers gave up their independent way of life for wage labor, and a position in America's growing social hierarchy. The authors of *Like A Family* best described this situation when they stated:

First-generation workers in southern mills had more to learn than just the mechanics of a new job. On the farm they had chosen and ordered their tasks according to their needs and the demands of their crops. Now they drove themselves to the continuous pace of a machine. Whereas most men, women, and children had once worked together and enjoyed the fruits of their own labor, now they were 'hands,' working under a boss's orders and for someone else's profit. Farm work, to be sure, had been hard, but mill work...Millhands rose early in the morning, still tired from the day before...Noise, heat, and humidity engulfed them. The lint that settled on their hair and skin marked them as mill workers, and the cotton dust that silently entered their lungs could eventually cripple or kill them. At best, mill work was a wrenching change [from farms] (Hall et al., 1987: 53).

Each mill house had a front room with a fireplace, a kitchen with a wood burning stove, and two or more bedrooms. Usually four or five could sleep in a bedroom. A few of the houses had two stories, though all were built to accommodate large families. The Embrees preferred to hire large families so more children could work. A letter from Thomas Embree's eldest son, James, stated:

In taking in families we always try to select as want to do straight honest work, attend strictly to their own business, and especially let others alone, and families who regard a good moral character as the best thing anyone can have--we try not to have whiskey drinkers. We also try to keep folks from swearing--sometimes the children hear swearing and get to thinking they should swear which is very ugly--we want the children that grown up here to have good moral characters.

You can see from the above what we want. Study it--and if you want a chance to live a quiet life you can move Monday next.

While the Embrees saw this form of paternalism as benefiting the growing community on a whole, it was a form of social control.

Similar to the work force in other southern textile industries (Hall et al., 1987), the family labor system was "capitalized upon" by the Embrees. Children began working when they were about ten, earning only ten cents a day. Young boys were first hired as doffers or in the carding room as clean-up hands, eventually leading to the job of carding held by men. Carding was the process of cleaning and separating cotton fibers into a "sliver," or a continuous untwisted strand of fibers. Girls were placed in the spinning room, quickly learning how to move up and down a row of machines repairing breaks and snags in the cotton yarn. A doff boy was one who removed full bobbins of yarn from the spinning machines and replaced it with an empty bobbin. Full bobbins were then taken to the winding machines which wound the yarn onto cones.

According to U. S. Census data, 239 children worked in manufacturing cotton goods in the state of Tennessee in 1880. Children were identified by U. S. Census data as those males being below the age of 16, and females below the age of 15 years (U.S. Department of Interior, Bureau of the Census, Census of Manufacturing 1880: 175) It should be noted, however, that Census data underestimates the number of children working in the textile industry at this time. The reason for this discrepancy is because several

children went unreported as workers due to their "helping out" family members who worked in the mills. This "helping out" can be viewed as a form of apprenticeship, where basic skills and industrious habits are transmitted to each new generation (Hall et al., 1987).

Children were well trained in the process of spinning by the time they became eligible for paid work. Playing and "helping out" eventually evolved into full-time employment. While mill owners benefited from this unpaid work force, "helping out" was also a vital part of the family's economy. A child's help could increase a paid family member's piecework earnings. In addition, families often did not have someone at home to look after the children. At the time, families felt **hard work** was the best education available for children. It was more important to teach children to have a strong work ethic and industrious habits, instead of the "three Rs."

During the early 1880s, top rate pay for men was \$2.40 a week, while women were paid a lower rate of \$1.90 a week. Working thirteen and a half hours a day, five days a week, the work day began at 6:00 a.m. and ended at 8:30 p.m. Lunch and supper breaks consisted of thirty minutes each, usually consisting of cornbread and beans with meat, and eaten in the workers home. On Saturday the work day began at 6:00 a.m. and ended at 4:00 p.m. Workers did not work on Sundays. Sunday mornings were a time for church, and afternoons for leisure time or visiting family and friends.

In addition to the mill houses, the Embrees built a company store for their employees. The store was a two-story building with a four rail hitching post in front of it. A few of the items sold included shoes, overalls, women's hats, material for gingham or calico dresses, food, coffee, spices, pots and pans, stoves, plows, quinine, patent medicines like Mrs. Lydia Pinkham, and stamps. The store also served as the local post office.

At the request of his wife, Susan, Joseph built two churches in the village for their employees. Upon the request of Susan's daughter-in-law, Molly Boyd Embree, another church was built in 1893. The building served as a school during the weekdays. According to one local resident, Molly also created a "culture center" at the farm in the 1890s for her daughters, to keep them away from the drinking and gambling which often went on near the mill.

Until this time, education for children working in the mills at Cedar Ridge had been neglected. While educational institutions existed in other parts of the county, in the village of Cedar Ridge, only those who could afford to do so sent their children off to school. A child in school was one less child contributing to putting food on the family's table, or money in the Embrees' pocket. If children were to learn the "three Rs," they had to do so sitting at their mothers' knees. Those families who could afford to send their children to school, such as the Embrees, sent their children to either private schools, which were called "academies" or "seminaries." Other families in the county could only afford to send their children to public schools, often referred to as "pauper schools" or "poor schools." Mill schools enabled children to save time traveling between work and school. There were also itinerant teachers who traveled around from place to place, teaching a few weeks for room and board.

Molly eventually hired a woman to teach weekdays, for about \$25.00 a month. The teacher was also boarded in the Embree's home. School was in session for three months each year, always being closed September and October so children could pick peas on the Embrees' farm. A copy of a lesson plan, an assignment from an English class, was available from the Embrees' scrapbook. According to the lesson plan, students were to, "Tell in your own words the story of *The Ant and the Grasshopper*. What was meant when the ant said, 'If you were foolish enough to sing all the summer, you must dance hungry to bed in the winter.' " The moral of the story, of course, is the value and necessity of **hard work**.

In 1893, the first public secondary school was opened in Spartansburg, the county's first High School. It was also in 1893, when the first child labor law was enacted in the state of Tennessee. The law stated that no child under the age of twelve years could be employed in any workshop, mill, factory, or mine. The minimum age was raised to fourteen years in 1901.

While discussing the reformation of the "New South," I. A. Newby, professor of history, stated about child labor and the textile industry:

No social problem proved more perplexing to Progressives than child labor. Here was a real problem on which they expended great effort and achieved very little. The difficulty was that child labor existed chiefly in textile factories, and the effort to abolish it brought reformers into conflict with local, as opposed to outside, economic interests. It also ran counter to the traditions of economic paternalism and parental authority. At the turn of the century more

than a quarter of all workers in southern cotton mills were under sixteen years of age, and more than half of these were between the ages of ten and thirteen. In North Carolina 18 % of the mill work force were in the latter age group, and their wages averaged about 30 cents a day...Most reformers had difficulty appreciating the special problems and perspectives of the groups they excluded from the body politic, and these groups included poor whites as well as blacks and women (1978: 367).

Early child labor laws were rarely enforced by mill owners. In addition, mill parents resisted these early efforts to curtail child labor. At the time, the family-based labor system benefited both mill families and mill owners. It helped mill families by children's contributions to the family income and mill owners by having unpaid laborers and trained workers in the future.

While paternalism and a growing social hierarchy was evident in the mill village, several residents whose parents worked for the Embrees believe the relationship between mill owners and mill workers was symbiotic. According to one resident:

The Embrees felt responsible for their employees, and continually expressed their paternalistic concern, even at a sacrifice to themselves. They gave them everything they had. If you got sick they helped you. They gave if they had money or didn't have money. Turnips were kept in the basement of the store and given to the workers. Fruit from the twenty-five acre fruit orchard behind the Embree home could also be picked by employees in their free time.

From Mill Village to Mill Town

The community of Cross Roads was established in 1893, located two miles north of the Cedar Ridge village, due to the building of a railroad junction. In 1907, the Embrees decided to move their mill complex to the junction, to facilitate the export of finished cotton yarn, and the import of cotton and coal. Coal powered steam boilers were to replace the previous water powered machinery. Along with their machinery and workers, the Embrees brought the village's name of Cedar Ridge with them, replacing the community's previous name of Cross Roads. The Embrees claimed they had all their factory mail addressed to Cedar Ridge and did not want to change it. The Embrees had the bricks for the new mill made on their farm, using sand from the creek that powered the first mill in the 1850s. Within a decade, the community developed into the textile town of Cedar Ridge.

With more dependable coal power, fueling steam boilers to run the machinery, more workers were needed. From surrounding counties, families began to move into the newly developing town of Cedar Ridge. Workers were recruited through letters from residents to friends or family members and by word of mouth. A few of the families came from the Piedmont area of North Carolina, crossing the Great Smoky Mountains, joining family members who already lived at Cedar Ridge. A new company store was erected, along with thirty-two mill houses, and a church.

A one-room schoolhouse had been constructed around 1894, when the community of Cross Roads was established. The school was a subscription school, requiring each family to pay fifty cents each month for tuition and the teacher's salary. The school term was only three months out of the year. In 1907 a new schoolhouse was erected, Cedar Ridge School, consisting of three rooms separated by curtains. Classes were then held three to four months a year, with school hours from 8:00 a.m. until 4:00 p.m. An hour was given for lunch, since most of the students walked home. As one resident stated about the Cedar Ridge School, "The school curriculum consisted of the three Rs. There was lots of memory work and 'expounding' was required daily. There were also daily chapel programs, consisting of scripture, prayer, and choir. It usually went on for about 30 minutes." Because a few of the students wanted to continue in school beyond the eighth grade, high school courses were added in 1908. The first basketball team was also created. In 1911, the first graduation took place with five graduating seniors.

In 1913, Abraham Crawford and a few Knoxville investors built a new mill. Crawford was a resident of Cedar Ridge and a partner with the Embrees in a Milling Company there. The new textile mill employed thirteen women to produce misses and children's cotton hosiery. The owners also oversaw the building of mill houses for their workers. In the early 1920s, the owners built a state-approved school for their young employees upstairs in the mill. Students could go to work in the morning and go directly to school in the afternoon.

Economic growth continued in Cedar Ridge as the nation entered its first World War. In 1914, the Embrees expanded their mill complex to accommodate machinery for the manufacture of men's long

handled underwear or "union suits." The mill also expanded its labor force, fluctuating between 200-300 employees. The majority of workers were women, as one former employee states:

I don't remember what we made an hour. They had some mill houses, but they had to rent them. There is still some...down at the lower crossing. Most of the women that worked at this mill, they came out of the country and they came on Sunday afternoons and went home on Friday nights. They stayed in people's home, people kept boarders.

The work day began at 6:00 a.m. and ended at 6:00 p.m., with thirty minutes for lunch.

Similar to other areas of the nation, the early 1920s was a time of economic growth and prosperity for McMinn County. With more jobs available from the expanding mills at Cedar Ridge, parents were better able to provide for their families, depending less on children as an economic necessity. A number of one-teacher rural schools and mill schools were consolidated all over the county in order to spread educational opportunities. There was also greater emphasis on school attendance. In Cedar Ridge the school term was lengthened to 156 days. Economic prosperity brought with it greater concern for children as children, instead of as miniature adults who worked.

In 1924, the federal government attempted to restrict child labor on a national scale by implementing a constitutional amendment, with minimum results. The decline in child labor which did occur was not so much out of humanitarian concerns, but changes in technology requiring more strength and skill, and the increasing supply of adult workers. Many mill owners skirted the law so as to make use of the town's young, and captive, work force. At times, "helping out" changed to "hiding out" by children when government officials came thorough. Parents also encouraged their children to lie about their age, in order for the children to be eligible to work in the mills. According to one resident, Scott O'Leary, who worked in the hosiery mill at Cedar Ridge during the 1920s:

The family that lived next door to us, all of their children, not the parents, worked in the mill. They were old enough. I dropped out of school in the eighth grade and started work. We lied about our age. I believe I was 15. I think the law said 16 was the minimum age but I know some ladies who worked in mills at an early age. They had to stand on boxes to reach the machines...The object was always to work as hard as you could and produce as much as you could. There was a story about a woman who must have been under 20 years old. She had children at home but she walked to work everyday. She was

*one of the most productive workers. She produced 20 dozen per day. She became pregnant and worked up till when the baby was born. She began walking home and went into labor, had the baby beside the railroad tracks, picked the baby up out of the weeds and went home. I have always remembered that story. She was a **hard worker** and much admired by many people in the area.*

Another resident also remembers lying about her age in order to work in the mills:

I moved to Cedar Ridge from Muddy Waters when I was 12 years old. I was born in 1909. I worked in the cotton mill all day when I was 15, in 1924. I went to work before I was 15, but they let us work all day when we turned 16. The youngest was supposed to be 16, but I lied and told them I was 16. I worked from the time before I was 15 until I married. I got to where I could run eight sides [spinning frames],...my sister only could run seven. And we had to walk up and down to keep the thread running. If the thread broke, you had to fix it. That's why you had to walk up and down, to keep the thread going. And when it was about to run off, we had to take it [bobbin of cotton yarn] off and put another one on. And when a thread broke, it would ball up in a little ball of cotton and you had to get down there and fix it, and if you didn't get to it, it would tear down no telling how many threads...It kept us pretty busy.

The early socialization of children into industrious habit, conditioned them to eagerly take up the respected position of a **hard worker** in the mill complex.

The Depression and a One Industry Town

The Depression affected Cedar Ridge and its surrounding towns differently. In 1934, Spartansburg, with a diversified economy, was not as hard hit as Muddy Waters and Cedar Ridge. The industrial base of Spartansburg at the time consisted of various mills and companies. Muddy Waters, however, was primarily a one-industry town. Though a few small industries existed, the town's economic base centered on the railroad. The economic decline in Muddy Waters actually began before the Depression, in 1928, when Tennessee switched to steel gondolas instead of using wooden cars. One of the businesses in Muddy Waters was the building and maintenance of the wooden cars (Ealy 1985). Like Muddy Waters, Cedar Ridge was a one-industry town.

Economic decline began in Cedar Ridge in the late 1920s, paralleling the general decline of textile manufacturing in the nation, extending into the Great Depression of the 1930s. The causes for this decline were multiple and complex, including national fashion changes and the introduction of new materials such

as rayon. In 1931, both of the textile mills, the primary employers in Cedar Ridge, were forced to close. At one point the Embrees had to pay their workers in "punch outs," a form of scrip, redeemable only at the company store. Other businesses also closed, including the bank. Similar to other mill owners in the nation, the Embrees began selling off their mill houses, the company store, and eventually part of their farm.

Many of the families reacted to the Depression by tightening kinship ties and friendships. As noted by one resident who remembers the Depression,

People helped each other a lot back then, they had to. Families and friends became even more important. Now don't get me wrong, families have always been important and still are. But people needed each other more then. A lot of them cooperated in community efforts too. If the town went bust, we did too. The church and schools had a lot to do with this. They helped to organize everyone and kept our spirits up. Women helped to organize a lot of the things.

According to the authors of *Like a Family*:

Women's acts of sharing and mutual aid nourished the bonds that held mill communities together. From birth to death, women attended one another through crises, both grand and small, and performed rituals that reaffirmed the cohesiveness of the neighborhood. When a child was born, women showered the mother with gifts and boxes of second-hand clothes...and in times of death, women washed the body and prepared it for burial. Cooperation grew out of the close personal relationships women created and maintained through a porch culture of visiting and gossip...Gossip was the currency of community life, and through it women learned of others' needs...Through talk, women 'looked after one another' and regulated the flow of goods and services in the mill community (Hall et al., 1987: 169-171).

If possible, mill workers reacted to lay-offs by returning to their former agrarian backgrounds. Several of these self-sufficient skills were those traditionally practiced by women. Men took what odd jobs could be found, on local farms particularly. Women plucked chickens for feathers to make pillows and mattresses; they made clothes, underwear, and quilts from feed sacks; soap from leached birch ashes; and at times provided the only food available, from their vegetable gardens or perishable food items they had previously canned. Many of the women and children in Cedar Ridge made chenille bedspreads in their homes for a small extra income. Often they worked on the bedcoverings by lamplight after their day's

regular chores were done. The materials were brought to their homes by a man from Dalton, Georgia. He came later to pick up the finished bedspreads.

Because of the harsh times, children became an economic necessity again. They were expected to contribute to the family's income in any way they could, though their education was important to their families. In November 1931, the county school board voted to close the schools because of lack of funds. However, the schools never closed. As noted by one resident of Cedar Ridge, "The McMinn Schools never closed during the 1930s, making them a source of community identity and **pride**; they were the most stable institutions in the county." The schools remained opened because the teachers all volunteered to teach the remainder of the school term without pay. It was also in the 1930s when there was a transition from horse drawn wagons and trucks to steel school buses. In 1938, with the federal Fair Labor Standards Act, employment of children under sixteen was strictly enforced and upheld (Hall et al., 1987). It was also in 1938 when minimum wage was first instituted with The New Deal program (Newby 1978).

Eventually with the help of several government programs, local businesses recovered. The two textile mills reopened, however one with a different owner. The Embrees lost a lot during the Depression, though they were able to keep their home and farm with the old water-powered mill Joseph McKissick had built in the 1850s. They were also able to keep a few of the buildings they owned in the two block business district of Cedar Ridge. The Crawfords were able to reopen their hosiery mill, though they had to lease their former building.

The maximum combined employment of both mills in 1934 was approximately 325, 63% (205 persons) being women. Women who worked in the mills took advantage of every opportunity they offered. Sock tops and discarded looper strings from the process of making socks, were often made into rugs, potholders, and comforters. Break time was scheduled to nursing patterns, so that infants could be carried to work with mothers who had no one to care for them at home. A box of socks made an excellent crib. Men went to work for the Tennessee Valley Authority (TVA), which brought electricity to the eastern section of the county and to Cedar Ridge.

Economic Prosperity and Decline

In time, prosperity returned to Cedar Ridge. New factories geared up to meet wartime needs and later contributed to post World War II recovery in both America and Europe. Several new mills were established, between the late 1930s and early 1940s. One mill, a hosiery mill, was established in a small building located on the outskirts of the town's limits. At its beginning, in 1946, there were about eight employees, five were women. They earned a minimum wage of 40 cents per day or about \$16.00 per week before deductions. Another hosiery mill was started in a resident's garage. When the mill opened in 1949, the owners employed four women to work the machines. By 1952, a new building had been built to accommodate additional machinery and 40 employees working two shifts. In other areas of the town, large brick buildings were built to accommodate the new mills being established by both local residents and outside corporations. The majority, however, were local family owned textile businesses. In the 1940s, approximately 12 textile mills were established in Cedar Ridge. Between 1950-1955, four additional mills were established, primarily small spin-offs from the former mills. Products produced by the mills were either socks or men's trousers. Most of the mills ran two or three shifts. One mill was converted to operate as a sorting center for clothes donated to post-war European relief. It opened in June 1945, with 243 workers and three foremen, and closed later that fall.

In 1949, workers from one of the textile mills voted to join the AFL-CIO affiliated Amalgamated Clothing Workers Union. After several disputes over "lockout" charges and "labor walkouts," the union was voted in. The mill operated as a union shop until its closing a few months later. One of the two owners had part of the equipment moved to Muddy Waters one night when the mill was closed and established a new factory there. The following year, in 1950, the other owner opened up a new mill in the same building but with a different name. That mill closed the next year, in 1951.

During W.W. II Cedar Ridge had a thriving economy, but by the 1960s, the post-war economic boom had faded away. Eleven of the 16 textiles mills had closed. Cedar Ridge was on a declining economy. A few residents felt the problem was the owners failing to retool and restructure the textile

plants after the war. Others felt there were just too many textile mills in Cedar Ridge. One resident explained:

When something is good, and bringing in a lot of money, you want more of it. It's human nature. People weren't thinking about a diversified economy then, they just jumped on the band wagon and went for a ride. We should've learned from the Depression, the problems that come when you put all of your eggs into one basket. But when there's money to be made, common sense seems to fly out the door. People here seem to think of today, not the future, or any long term planning. I think that's beginning to change, here and all over America. Perhaps we can learn from our past mistakes.

In response to the loss of textile jobs in Cedar Ridge during the late 1950s and 1960s, several of the workers and residents went to work at the newsprint plant established in 1952 near Muddy Waters. Others went to work for the Tennessee Valley Authority (TVA) or Oak Ridge National Laboratories in Knoxville, the American Aluminum Company of America in ALCOA, or Dupont Inc. in Chattanooga, Tennessee. The problem for the female workers was that these corporations primarily employed men. Several of the female workers did find employment in nearby towns, but others remained unemployed and received unemployment benefits.

On December 23, 1963, the old Cedar Ridge School caught fire. The only part of the building to survive the fire was the gym room added on in 1948, which has been used for kindergarten classes since the first class in 1969. After the fire, students attended classes in the National Guard Armory in Spartansburg. By 1966, a new elementary school was built on the same site and a new consolidated high school was built between Cedar Ridge and Muddy Waters: County Central High School. The majority of the people in both communities objected to the consolidation of the two schools. As Bill Aikens, Appalachian historian, stated to Sally Ealy, oral history scholar:

Consolidation for educational efficiency was an idea that always came from outside, either from professional educators or progressives. No record was found where any McMinn County community asked to have its school consolidated with another. To the contrary, parents demanded that schools not be consolidated. The small community school was a great source of pride for neighborhood residents; when a community lost its school, it lost its identity since so many activities revolved around the school (Ealy 1985: 49).

According to a retired teacher of both the former Cedar Ridge High School and County Central High School, moving the high school out of Cedar Ridge killed the town's community spirit. A teacher from the new Cedar Ridge Elementary School commented on her experiences in the town's educational system:

I was born in McMinn County, in Muddy Waters. I went to college and I majored in Business. I worked for the Civil Service in Washington D.C., then I married, moved back here [Cedar Ridge], and had a child. There were no Civil Service jobs here, just TVA. But that was not here in Cedar Ridge. So I signed up at the community college in Spartansburg, so I could get the classes I needed to teach. I went into teaching for the hours, so I can be with my children when they get out of school. Teaching is never boring, everyday is different. It's just so nice to see kids I've taught do so well,...though some go to jail. There's problems with violence and drugs now at the County Central High School. When the high school was here, you didn't have so many problems. It seems that students are loosing their sense of pride for their families and community these days, and withdrawing into themselves.

In 1970, the population of Cedar Ridge was 1,878, or 5.3% of total population for the county. The average educational level in the county was nine years and the median family income \$5,404.00. The textile industry was still a major economic influence in Cedar Ridge. A few of the residents worked the third shift at night so they could attend classes at the community college in Spartansburg during the day. Work in the textile mills paid for their college education. One resident, who has taught in various schools in Tennessee, described how working in a hosiery mill helped to pay for his education:

I was born in Spartansburg in 1911. My family moved to Cedar Ridge because of the availability of employment in the Crawford's hosiery mill. Ten or eleven members of my family worked in the mill...Sometime around 1918 or 1920...I do recall living in a house owned by the mill. It was a two-story frame structure containing a kitchen-dining room, four bedrooms, and a living room. It had an outside toilet, a storm house, and a garden space. The mill furnished a barn to house live stock for the employees. The water supply was a community pump centrally located to the residents. Coal was purchased from the mill to heat the homes...Employees walked to work. The longest distance of employees living in a mill home was about a fourth of a mile.

The resident continued to describe his educational experiences in Cedar Ridge:

I attended Cedar Ridge Elementary School. I also attended a school located in the mill. I was 15 or 16 years old when I worked in the mill. The school was structured so students

could work in the morning and go to school in the afternoon. At mid-term the schedule was reversed. The school was state-approved. I attended this school in 1925-26 year. I did not quit school to work in the mill. After the mill school was discontinued I went to the regular community school. Mr. Crawford, the owner of the mill allowed me to work before and after school. My work schedule was determined by my school schedule. Mr. Crawford was a most understanding gentleman, who wanted to help those who were going to school. My work hours were usually 6 a.m. to 8 a.m. The after school work schedule was 4 p.m. to 10 p.m. After graduation from Cedar Ridge High School, I received an Associate of Arts from the community college in Spartansburg. Eventually I received a Doctor of Education degree from the University of Tennessee, Knoxville.

Other operatives planned to make the textile industry a life-long career, like their ancestors before them. However, by 1979, two of the remaining five textile mills closed. In 1982, another mill closed, with only two textile mills remaining in Cedar Ridge. One mill, a garment mill, continued to make men's trousers and the other, a hosiery mill, knitted socks. A 1984 report to the Commission on Trends and Issues in Appalachia commented on the decline of textiles industries in the region:

The apparel industry is one of the most competitive in the world and it is characterized by new technology and cost saving devices. Between 1970 and 1980, output in the apparel industry increased by 30%. During a comparative time, 1968-1981, employment decreased by 10%. The apparel industry nationally and within Appalachia was and is faced with increased productivity and decreased employment. About 26% of national employment in the apparel industry is in the region [Appalachia]...The apparel industry is under severe pressure from imports. Like many other of the industries within the region, textiles and apparel reflect the increased internationalization so that textiles are exported and apparels made from the same materials are imported (Couto 1984: 52).

In accordance, another report, sponsored by the Highlander Research and Education Center, discusses the "deindustrialization" of America's economy. The primary focus of the study is on the state of Tennessee. According to this report, the U. S. economy has undergone significant changes since the 1970s. The change is a shift from higher paying manufacturing jobs to low paying service or retail work. From a survey conducted in Knoxville, Tennessee, the report brings to the reader's attention the impact of this change from the worker's viewpoint: plant closings; unemployment; lower wages; loss of health insurance; foreclosures on homes; mental stress; and a diminishing quality of life. The report also noted that in Tennessee, work in service or retail jobs were less likely to be found in rural areas than in cities (Gaventa and Wiley 1987). This partially explains the high rates of unemployment in rural areas.

In 1990, the average personal income in the state of Tennessee was \$11,995. The average personal income for McMinn County was \$10,298, and for Cedar Ridge \$6,646. The character of Cedar Ridge at this time, as reflected in its buildings, streetscapes, and neighborhoods, showed the influence of economic decline. The central business district, consisting of two blocks paralleling a railroad track, displayed business fascades in need of repair, windows boarded up with plywood and cardboard boxes, deteriorating plastered walls in a few buildings, and several vacant buildings whose businesses had expired. Businesses which continued to exist in the business district included a city hall, a police station, a fire station, two banks, a tax office, two gas stations, a laundry mat, a drug store and cafeteria, a pizza shop, seven retail stores, and one textile mill (built by Thomas Embree in 1907). There are also two churches in the town's business district, and three more located within the town's limits. The Cedar Ridge Elementary School and Kindergarten also lies outside the business district, but within the town's limits. The consolidated High School, lies outside of the town's limits, as does a hosiery mill, located at the outskirts of the town's limits since its founding in 1946.

The hosiery mill has changed a lot during the last 40 years. Change has occurred not only in the plant's facilities, machines, and processes, but also in its number of employees. With the installment of computerized machines, several steps can be saved in the process of making socks. These saved steps mean a lost of jobs. In 1992, the hosiery mill employed a total of 85 workers, 82% (70 persons) were women. As of August 1994, the company continued to be a lucrative business manufacturing socks. In 1994, women represented 77% (63% persons) of the total work force of 82 persons. The mill operated six days a week, working by production, with three shifts. The first shift started at 7:00 a.m. and ended at 3:00 p.m. The second shift ran from 3:00 p.m. to 11:00 p.m. The third shift started at 11:00 p.m. and ended at 7:00 a.m., when the first shift started. The mill closed on Sundays. One worker who continues to work at the hosiery mill described her experiences:

I went to work at the hosiery mill as a turner in 1975. That is where you take the sock that has finished from the knit department. Its been sewed and you turn it and its packed in a box. I have never been layed off since I have been at work at the hosiery mill. I have saw slack times, but since I have been working, I have never drawn but seven unemployment checks in my career, so I feel like I am very fortunate to never have been without a job. Now, I've

operated the detexomat. This machine sews and it turns and it packs all in one operation. Everything is going automatic, computerized. The knitting machines are computerized now. They have lights that signal when there is something wrong, when a thread is broken...They are going to enlarge the mill and the number of workers. Our socks are shipped to North Carolina, Chattanooga, Georgia, and there are a lot of companies who would like to have our socks, they are such good quality. They are all unbleached, not dyed. They are called gray goods...There are so many dead beats here, people who want to come in at 8:30 or 9:00 and leave at 1:30. But the owner is weeding them out. These people want to work just long enough to draw ADC or whatever. The government pays enough money after you buy gas and pay for a baby sitter as they make at the mill...I'll tell you right now that you have never walked until you have rubbed shoulders with [one of the owners of the mill]. He is one of the finest young men, most considerate, well tempered...The owners sponsor a Christmas carry-in meal. The mill furnishes the meat, the table ware, and our drinks.

The other mill in Cedar Ridge manufactures clothing, filling orders for corporations such as K-Mart or Wal-Mart. The garment mill is located in the brick building built by Thomas Embree in 1907, situated in the town's historical business district. In 1990, the mill employed 140 workers, 93% (130 persons) were women. In 1992, 120 workers were employed, with 92% (110 persons) being women. In 1994, the total number of workers were 91, with 93% (85 persons) being women. Workers begin at 7:00 a.m. and ended at 4:00 p.m. This schedule is followed Monday through Friday, with Saturdays being only a half day's work, and Sundays off.

Increased mechanization has made work less physically demanding, reducing the need for workers, especially women. Fastener snaps, once applied manually are now attached by an automatic feed machine. Another factor affecting the availability of jobs at the garment mill is the importation of garments. According to a relative of the mill owner:

It's terrible what happens. Material is cut out here and shipped out to be sewed in Mexico or Asia. They will work for a week, what someone here will get paid in a day. It's hard to find workers, we could use 20-25 more workers right now. But they can get more from welfare than what they can get working in the mill. They get more money if they're not married and have kids. There's a lot of drugs in schools these days too. Kids are let loose, with no sense of direction, or control...When I first came to Cedar Ridge, there were hardly any men here in the mills, just mainly in the cutting room. There's even fewer today. A lot of men didn't work, and still don't. They just let their wife support them. A lot of men here are like that. On Friday, more men pick up their wife, they want to get their hands on that check. It reminds me of the Dolly Parton song, 'He's a real go getter,' when his wife gets off work he will go and get her.

A teacher from the Cedar Ridge Elementary School also recognized Dolly Parton as a role model for the community.

Women don't think of themselves highly and they do not stand up for themselves. There are biases on the way women feel about their role in life. Men like to be dominant. Males always have to have that power role. The girls at school are becoming more aware. There's a lot more conversation on the role of women and what they can do. You're not so limited in what you can teach now, TV is a spearhead in any community. Dolly Parton has been a great role model, she 'broke out.' Kids today don't assume they're going into the mills like their parents did. Kids these days leave and try to 'break out'. They want to be pro-basketball or baseball players. And the girls tell me I'm not gonna work in the mills, I'm not gonna get caught up in that. They want to be a movie star, a nurse. Some think they'll just get married and have children themselves. You can't talk to any kids whose family didn't work in the mills at some time. It's interwoven into their being. For example, the many ways they use the discarded cones from the mill in school projects. They use them in projects like reconstructing a Cherokee village, though the Cherokee never had tipis...I've seen a lot of the teachers from here go to work in the hosiery mill for extra money, during the summer when they have the time.

Since the 1980s, residents have been trying to "break out" of their situation by finding higher education or jobs elsewhere, abandoning a town which offered them little economic opportunity or advancement.

In Cedar Ridge, from the total population of 1,611, 79% (1,274 persons) are over the age of 16 years, with 51% (654 persons) in the labor force. Of those in the labor force, .5% (3 persons) are in the armed forces and 99.5% (651 persons) are in the civilian labor force. Sixty persons, or 9.7%, are unemployed and 90.3% (588 persons) are employed. The majority of these are employed in manufacturing, in either Cedar Ridge or neighboring towns. From the total population of those employed in the labor force (654 persons), 89% (583 persons) stated they commuted to work. The mean traveling time to work was 20.7 minutes. Fifteen persons or 3% stated they walked or worked at home, while 76% (441 persons) drove to work alone, while others carpooled.

Since the 1980s, Cedar Ridge has been faced with problems of layoffs in the two remaining textile mills, and the continuous threat of the garment mill closing. Several residents have adjusted to this job shortage by commuting to nearby towns for work, while others found employment in the few retail and service jobs in Cedar Ridge. By the mid-1980s, economic decline was exhibited in the vacant buildings

left abandoned by former businesses. However, a group of local women, spurred on by "Tennessee Homecoming '86," began efforts to revitalize their dying community.

Local History and Heritage Tourism for a Dying Textile Mill Town

Since the 1980s, with the "deindustrialization" of the nation's economy, one-industry towns have been abandoned by their former means of economic support, leaving communities in economic decline and bewilderment. Depending on the circumstances surrounding deindustrialization, towns have experienced and displayed economic decline differentially. In seeking solutions to revitalize these towns, local history projects and heritage tourism are becoming a more popular choice. In the last decade, there has been an increase of interest in heritage tourism as a means to "stimulate economic growth and enhance quality of life to help moribund communities attract new business and industry" (Howell 1994: 150).

From its beginning, the women of Cedar Ridge formed a major part of the work force and cooperatively nourished the bonds that held the community together. Therefore, they played an important role in the establishment and growth of the town. Because of its heritage in the textile industry and implementation of a local history project, Cedar Ridge was chosen to participate in a regional heritage tourism project in 1991. The purpose of the project was to preserve and promote cultural and historic resources, thereby encouraging visitors to extend their stays, and revitalize towns in order to attract other businesses or residents into the area. By doing so, the project plans to expand and diversify the economic base of the region. In addition, the project plans to serve as an educational tool. To accomplish these goals, a self-guided driving tour was created to tell the story of the region's diverse industrialization and the decline of one-industry towns in southeastern Tennessee. Towns chosen for the heritage tourism project were targeted because of the circumstances which brought growth to each of them. Cedar Ridge is unique, in that textile manufacturing is the only industry in Appalachia where the work force was and is primarily women.

A Woman With A Vision

In 1989 the Muddy Waters Arts Commission, a grass-roots community organization, finished a local history project, an exhibit and a guidebook on their heritage as a railroad town, sponsored by the Tennessee Humanities Council and the National Endowment for the Humanities. The Tennessee Humanities Council (THC) was established in 1973 as the state program for the National Endowment for the Humanities. The National Endowment for the Humanities (NEH) is a federal agency established by Congress in 1965 to promote progress and scholarship in the humanities. In the mid-1980s, the THC started a community heritage project, to provide assistance to communities wanting to research and interpret their local histories. The THC is primarily concerned with bringing the humanities to the adult public through its projects.

After the project was completed, one member of the Muddy Waster Arts Commission became "propelled" to do more; and she did. Rebecca Stone, president of MWAC in 1989, learned by word of mouth about a pilot project sponsored by the National Trust for Historic Preservation and the Tennessee Department of Tourist Development. The aim of the pilot heritage tourism project was to assist communities in preserving and promoting historic, natural, and cultural resources.

Stone, working with the help of other local Muddy Waters residents, submitted an application to the program. Four states were selected from over a dozen applications, among them were Indiana, Texas, Wisconsin, and Tennessee. West Virginia was later added (Howell 1994). Stone's vision became a reality when the East Tennessee Connection (ETC) was born. A program was designed to promote tourism and economic development in three counties located in southeastern Tennessee. Stone's contribution to the regional project is best expressed in the words of an ETC project member:

Rebecca Stone is the reason this [the East Tennessee Connection] even exists. The rest hang on her coattail and they better hang on tight. She's worth millions of dollars to the whole region. It wouldn't have been without her. She had a knowledge coming in, she's very intelligent and extremely creative. She's the one who thought of a driving tour representing the different industries in this area of Appalachia.

Rebecca Stone, project director of the East Tennessee Connection in 1994, responded when asked how she became involved in the regional heritage tourism project:

Well, this is a fascinating area over here, a macrocosm of the story of Appalachia. I thought a driving tour, like an exhibit to interpret the area, would be a good idea. We sorta' have a joke around here, in our town, until GM Motors discovers us, [meaning until the corporation moves to the town and provides jobs] we have a few things we can be doing. So many other towns in this region have suffered in the same way as Muddy Waters, being company towns. Most of them are on skid row now because they didn't have diversified economies. They started to hurt when the main companies left.

Stone continued discussing her thoughts on the heritage tourism project:

I'll tell you, one good thing that did come out of the railroad project, was making people not feel so guilty about the 1922 strike. They thought that the strike made the railroad not care about the people anymore. The book on the railroads here helped to educate people that they didn't do anything wrong. The layoffs that happened were part of a national movement. They felt the Railroad left town because they went on strike. Some people realize this now and they don't feel as guilty. I was curious if something like this happened in other towns. I also wanted to see us do more cooperative marketing of the museums in this area. The towns can't stand on their own very well, but together they have a lot to offer. Regional cooperation is good economic sense.

The East Tennessee Connection

Visitors are nothing new to eastern Tennessee. For decades a large number of travelers have come to explore its rivers, rapids, peaceful valleys, and the Cherokee National Forest. The East Tennessee Connection (ETC) is, however, a heritage tourism project. One of the goals of the heritage tourism project is to preserve and promote cultural and historic resources, thereby increasing visitation, and encouraging visitors to extend their stays. In doing so, the economic base of the region is expanded. In addition, the project plans to serve as an educational tool, by means of interpreting historic sites and telling the story of the East Tennessee Connection area and its relation to Southern Appalachian culture and history in a creative and exciting way. The project also plans to develop a community education plan, establish a network of information centers, and promote special heritage events.

To accomplish these goals, a self-guided driving tour, with accompanying exhibits, is being presently created to illustrate the history of the working class folk in eastern Tennessee: fur traders, share

croppers, miners, loggers, railroaders, and textile workers. Several towns were chosen to represent the various industries, histories, and lifestyles in the area. Cedar Ridge, however, is different from the other ETC towns. The town evolved because of textile manufacturing, the one Appalachian industry which employed large numbers of women in "public work" and "paid work" outside their homes.

Cedar Ridge Action For Today

Cedar Ridge Action For Today, CRAFT, is an offshoot of a former Cedar Ridge community organization, developed to organize the town for celebrating "Tennessee Homecoming '86" with other citizens of Tennessee. The state celebration was implemented by Lamar Alexander, then Governor of Tennessee. Cedar Ridge celebrated by publishing a short book on the history of Cedar Ridge, creating a video called *Cedar Ridge Now*, and hosting a banquet of 700 school alumni and friends for "Tennessee Homecoming '86."

After plans of festivities for "Tennessee Homecoming '86" were complete, five members from the "Tennessee Homecoming '86" organization and five other female residents formed the community organization of CRAFT. According to one of the co-founders of CRAFT, "We became elevated, like we were on cloud nine. We were kind of cocky, because we thought we did such a great job with the Homecoming. So we wanted to do more. We wanted to add some life back to our community." Though CRAFT's origins began in the spring of 1985, it was officially founded by ten local women in the spring of 1986, and received its Tennessee nonprofit charter during the fall of 1991.

The mission of CRAFT is to "promote activities that help to uplift and enlighten Cedar Ridge area residents." The group has accomplished this in part by developing a walking track for the park and decorating a platform stage on the town square with seasonal displays. CRAFT also sponsors annual activities and festivals for the community such as "Cedar Ridge's Spring Jamboree" in May and "Christmas on the Commons" in December.

During the spring of 1991, CRAFT members collectively decided a community museum documenting their history might be what the town needed to "uplift and enlighten local residents." For

guidance in their new venture, CRAFT members talked with other local community groups who had established a museum representing the heritage of their own town. In the beginning, CRAFT members' original goal was to create a museum documenting the general history of their town. While seeking information and guidance, the director of the ETC suggested that Cedar Ridge capitalize on the fact their heritage was built upon the work of women in the textile industry. She also suggested that Cedar Ridge join the ETC, with the town offering representation of the one Appalachian industry which predominantly employed women.

CRAFT member Rosie Spencer became the project director of the local history project in Cedar Ridge. Spencer wrote a two page proposal, with advice from ETC members, requesting a Planning Grant from the Tennessee Humanities Council. The Planning Grant was to fund the hiring of a humanities scholar to assist CRAFT in writing a larger grant, a General Humanities Grant, to help fund the local history project CRAFT was about to undertake. A few months later, CRAFT received a \$12,000 grant from the Tennessee Humanities Council (THC), for the development of a museum and publication of a guidebook representing the life and work of women in the textile industry in the area. A part of the grant awarded was to help fund workshops and consultations with humanities scholars.

Along with funding from the THC came guidelines and regulations. CRAFT members had to expand their original goals for the museum, and incorporate those of the THC. Besides narrowing the focus of the museum, to the work and life of women in the textile industries at Cedar Ridge, an interpretative community guidebook to be sold in the museum was added to the project. In addition, the THC grant also required that scholars and professionals in the humanities work with members of the general public in order to produce a "quality project." THC expects these scholars to ensure methods of the humanities (analysis, critical thinking, and interpretation) will be evident in the project's approach to presenting its topic. Problems arise, however, when humanity scholars are held responsible by the THC to ensure the quality of content in these types of projects, especially when the local participants have different agendas than those outlined by the THC (Howell 1994).

In the following months CRAFT members began to work closely with Tennessee humanities scholars. Meetings were held to define goals and a means to meet them. Topics of research for both the guidebook and museum were also discussed. Published materials on writing oral histories and installing museum exhibits, suggested by the THC for groups working on humanity projects, were studied. Humanities scholars presented workshops on the collection of photographs, the art of interviewing, the use of documentary sources, caption writing, exhibit design, the use of artifacts, and so on. Later, due to the determination and resourcefulness of CRAFT members, another grant was received from Whittle Communications to help sponsor an even more detailed guidebook and museum.

When CRAFT became involved with the ETC, there were eighteen members. All were women except three members: Randy Smith, a pharmacist in a local drug store, George Cross, a retired office worker from a local textile mill, and David Slade, the town's mayor. The five members from "Tennessee Homecoming '86" who helped to co-found CRAFT were still very active members when the heritage tourism project began. These women include Ginny Klassen, the former chairperson of the "Tennessee Homecoming '86" organization, a retired school teacher, and former mill supervisor of the Garment Recycling Plant at Cedar Ridge during World War II. Sandra Stoneham, a teacher's aid at Cedar Ridge School, and Pam Gibbs, a housewife. Other founding members included Carolyn Aydlett, a retired mill owner and worker, and Gina Sandy, a fourth-grade teacher at Cedar Ridge Elementary School.

A few of the other newer members include Pearl Asbell, part owner of a cottage industry of handmade cloth dolls, whose mother worked in several of the textile mills in town. In discussing her goals for the local history project, Asbell replied, "I hope we can preserve our heritage. And I guess if this is to happen, it's gonna have to be us women to do it." Brenda Pendleton's mother worked in the mills, and she has also worked in several of the mills in Cedar Ridge. Rosie Spencer, project director of CRAFT, is a former librarian of the Cedar Ridge Elementary School. While attending one of the celebrations sponsored by CRAFT, Spencer's daughter Linda said, "One thing that mom has taught me, is that I can do anything I want if I put my mind to it, and not let being a women stop me. Spencer's husband, Joe explained in an interview, "Rosie wasn't very active in sports, but she was always on the sideline doing

something." When asked what her goals for the local history project in Cedar Ridge were Spencer responded: "I just want to depict our history so that we will have it visually and in writing for the younger generation, because even the middle generation knows very little. I think this is an important thing to do and I think the people here will come to appreciate what we're doing. I think they're going to be surprised too." While the goal of CRAFT at this time was to help uplift and enlighten local residents, by creating a museum and guidebook to preserve and demonstrate the heritage of Cedar Ridge, very few of the residents had input into this decision. The majority of residents had never even heard of "heritage tourism."

When the Muddy Waters Arts Commission (MWAC) first became involved with the Tennessee Humanities Council, on a local history project, the Commission was primarily interested in acquiring assistance in researching and interpreting its local history through oral history. At this time, emphasis was on educating local residents of the town's heritage as a railroad town. The focus of MWAC expanded, however, when the organization became involved with the Tennessee Department of Tourist Development and the National Trust for Historic Preservation on a heritage tourism project. The pilot project was a partnership between two nontraditional partners: the historic community and the tourism industry. From the MWAC, evolved the East Tennessee Connection (ETC), whose primary focus centered on educating locals of their heritage, but also encouraging them to be proud enough to market their heritage to outsiders. This was accomplished through interpretive brochures, slide shows, guidebooks, and a variety of exhibits in the area. ETC soon discovered that the small businesses in these towns must learn to capitalize on this changing market, by restructuring for a new tourist industry. Eventually, ETC became involved with the Rural Connection Program, sponsored by the East Tennessee Community Design Center, to assist small communities with efforts to increase community income. Similarly, when CRAFT members first approached ETC, members were primarily interested in researching and documenting the history of their town for the local residents. This interest eventually evolved to include local history and heritage tourism as a means to "uplift" the town's economy, while educating tourists of their newly found "proud" heritage.

The project director of ETC commented when asked if the heritage tourism project was more of a record for local residents or more of a marketable resource to outsiders:

It's circular. It's to educate locals on their heritage. To have them recognize that their town has something to offer and to be proud of their heritage. Then the local people feel proud about presenting their heritage to outsiders, and gain additional pride by outsiders recognizing their heritage is worthy enough to market. But most of the towns originally became involved with this because they wanted to have something about their heritage.

The ETC is not trying to replace former one-industry towns with the one-industry of tourism, but to expand or augment the economic base of the area and to attract people to the region. The project aims at educating adults on how the humanities are relevant to their life. Therefore, the heritage tourism pilot project has a dual purpose: first is the use of tourism as a means of economic development and the second is to educate adults on the industrial heritage of the region.

Chapter IV

FINDINGS: GOALS AND ACCOMPLISHMENTS OF A LOCAL HISTORY PROJECT IN CEDAR RIDGE

One important consequence of tourism worldwide is that it increases contact between members of different cultural groups. This can produce stress,...But there can also be positive benefits to tourism and its attendant contacts with outsiders. Contact with members of the other groups is generally recognized as an instigator of ethnic pride and solidarity and of ethnic revitalization in contexts of acculturation. Tourism, by providing these contacts, can encourage a renewal of pride and the preservation of local expressive culture, if not the entire culture itself.

Marjorie R. Esman,
Tourism as Ethnic Preservation (1984: 452-453).

This chapter identifies and describes the goals and accomplishments of a local history project in Cedar Ridge, Tennessee. To facilitate this process, the chapter has been divided into three parts. The first part of this chapter, *A Community's Perceptions of Local History and Heritage Tourism: Early Stages*, presents responses to a community evaluation (Appendix I) aimed at understanding the feelings, attitudes, and expectations of residents towards the project in its early stages. The evaluation forms were distributed to local residents gathered at a community spring festival in May, 1993, approximately ten months before the Cedar Ridge textile museum opened and five months before the publication of the guidebook on the women in Cedar Ridge's textile mills. Evaluations were distributed to residents to fulfill requirements set forth by the National Endowment of the Humanities. Part two, *New Voices From the People: Responses to the Museum*, presents the results and responses from a second community evaluation (Appendix II), distributed to attendants at the museum's opening on March 25, 1994 for purposes of this thesis. The evaluation was not a part of humanities requirements but designed by myself and my major professor. The following section, *Community Development: Building Community Spirit with Local History*, presents data from informal interviews and formal interviews conducted over a period of three months after the opening

of the museum. Informal interviews were conducted with both male and female adult residents of Cedar Ridge, humanities scholars, and staff members of a regional heritage tourism project in a neighboring town. Formal interviews were conducted with members from the grassroots community organization Cedar Ridge Action For Today (CRAFT).

In order to document and present respondents' perceptions, data from the evaluations are presented in tables, while interviews are presented in narrative form, so that the reader becomes an active participant in constructing the various meanings subjects' responses may come to have. Both interviews and evaluations allow for an analysis of prior goals and later perceptions of accomplishments by ETC and CRAFT project members, and community residents. To allow the identification of a recurring theme within this study (networking systems), pseudonyms were given to both members and volunteers for identification of networking interplay. Also, reoccurring themes appear in **bold face** to facilitate identification for the reader.

Community's Perceptions of Local History and Heritage Tourism: Early Stages

The following section presents and discusses responses to a community evaluation (Appendix I) distributed to local residents gathered at a community spring festival in May 1993. The aim of the evaluations was to gain a better understanding of the feelings, attitudes, and expectations of residents towards the local history and heritage tourism project in Cedar Ridge during its early stages. Though approximately 150 residents attended the morning events of the festival (consisting of craft booths, school and civic performances, dunking booths, and a hot dog stand), only 25 evaluations were collected. Most residents declined to complete the evaluation when they were approached. No attempt was made to obtain evaluations during the evening events of the festivals (consisting of square dancing, two-stepping, line-dancing, cake walks, and a hot dog stand). Analysis of the evaluations appears in Table I.

**Table I: Community Attitudes Towards a Local History Project and Heritage
Tourism: Early Stages**

	<u>N*/Yes</u>	<u>N*/NO</u>
Have you heard of "Heritage Tourism?"	12/48%	13/52%
Have you heard of the East Tennessee Connection heritage tourism project?	10/40%	15/60%
Did you know the East Tennessee Connection chose 10 different towns in the region, including Cedar Ridge, to represent the different industries of Southern Appalachia?	6/24%	19/76%
Do you think the local history project or the heritage tourism project will affect you personally?	5/20%	20/80%
Do you think the East Tennessee Connection project will help Cedar Ridge's economy?	15/60%	10/40%
N*=Number of responses		
N*=25		

A Waste of Time and Money

Residents were asked, "When you hear the words 'Heritage Tourism' what comes to your mind?"

Responses included:

Taking a trip back in time.

Learning about the past. Past history.

Old time places and people. Museum tours.

The Heritage museum in Athens.

Local tourist interested in local history.

The Cedar Ridge museum that's coming soon.

Projects going on in Cedar Ridge.

Lord, Lord, I don't know.

The 48% of residents who recognized "Heritage Tourism" associated it with history, the past, museums and tourists. But only 40% had heard about the pilot heritage tourism project in their area, the East Tennessee Connection.

Only 24% knew that the East Tennessee Connection chose 10 different towns in the region, including Cedar Ridge, to represent the different industries of Southern Appalachia. Only 12% of residents interviewed could name one of the towns other than Cedar Ridge. The towns mentioned were Muddy Waters and Copperton.

When asked "How do you think the local history project or the heritage tourism project will affect you personally?" 20% responded positively, in terms of economics and historical memories:

It will bring back memories of past history here at Cedar Ridge.

A better understanding of local history.

I will enjoy seeing people use the museum, especially visitors.

Maybe more people will come and visit my antique and craft store.

This allows me to learn more about the town, its history, and the family I have married into.

The majority of respondents, 80%, expected not to be affected.

It won't, and I work in a mill.

I don't see how it could, I'm retired. I use to work in several of the mills here, so I already know about them....And I've lived here all my life, so I already know about the town, and the people here.

From the respondents, 60% thought ETC would help Cedar Ridge's economy, specific comments included:

Yes. The project will bring out history and make people want to visit here.

I believe it will bring in tourism.

Yes. By bringing in tourists to see the museum they're working on. Hopefully they will spend money.

It will bring people to the town especially during the Olympics. A lot of people pass through, now they may stop.

It will bring visitors to Cedar Ridge. It should make the few business owners here happy.

One person observed that economic benefits of tourism would affect only a few business owners, businesses whose clientele included tourists and visitors.

From the results and responses given by residents during the early phases of the project, it is obvious that very few members of the community knew about the heritage tourism project being implemented in Cedar Ridge and the surrounding area. Fewer still felt the local history or the heritage tourism project would affect them personally, except to bring back memories. Many of the residents who first learned of the projects while being asked to fill out the evaluation form, stated they felt it was "crazy," "dumb," or "a waste of time and money," to have a museum about textile workers to begin with. A museum about the Cherokee who lived in the region or what happened in Cedar Ridge during the Civil War seemed to be more suitable subjects for a museum. As one resident stated, "What on earth does people in the textile industry have to say about anything anyway?"

New Voices From the People: Responses to the Project Upon Completion

A few of the members from CRAFT, with the help and technical advice of the Tennessee Humanities Council and local volunteers, have recently completed work on an historical museum focusing on women in the textile industry at Cedar Ridge. A guidebook was published, with the guidance of humanities scholars and CRAFT members, to be sold in the museum. The guidebook and museum document women's contribution to the growth of industry and the building of a town, their place in history and role in society. Oral excerpts describe the personal sacrifices these women made in order for their family and the town to survive.

This section will review the responses and results to an evaluation (Appendix II) distributed to local residents during the opening of the community textile museum on March 25, 1994. The aim of the evaluation was to obtain community attitudes toward the local history project in their community upon its

completion. Questions were aimed at gathering information for evaluating whether the local history project accomplished its goals, along with identifying the "reproduction" versus "production" of new meaning, or the "transformation" of uncritical consciousness to critical consciousness from the guidebook and the museum.

To discover the "reproduction" versus "production" of women's place in the community, questions were posed concerning subjects' earlier education as well as discovering what residents learned from the local history project of women's role in the community. Open ended questions were included to identify the extent of subjects' awareness of hegemonic forces operating on women's position in the community. Other questions probed these dimensions: awareness and understanding of the humanities; specific knowledge gained from the guidebook or exhibit; if information about women presented in the project was accurate; and if the local history project in their community met their expectations. Analysis of the evaluations appear in Tables IIa-IIk.

Several variables arose in explaining difference of thought between residents. **Gender** accounts for much of the variation in responses. Because of the overriding influence of this variable, tables in the following sections display male and female responses. Through the continued application of grounded theory, other variables emerged to explain additional differences in perceptions between community residents. These variables include age, level of education, and if they or a member of their family had worked in a textile mill at Cedar Ridge. The latter two variables were later discovered during interviews, to define a second major division between respondents: **class**.

Lack of Historical Female Representation

As described in Chapter II, the people who attended the museum opening were the "well-to-do" of Cedar Ridge. When subjects of my evaluation were asked how they rated their earlier education in teaching them about women's contribution in history, 30% of the male sample felt their previous education was poor, 40% answered "fair," while 30% answered "average." No male responded "above average" or "excellent." Similarly, no one from the female sample felt their previous education on women's

contribution was "excellent" or "above average." Ten percent of the female sample answered "average," 30% "fair," and 60% answered "poor " (see Table IIa for ratings).

Table IIa: Ratings of Female Recognition in Previous Education

	(#)	Poor	Fair	Average
Male	(10)	30% (3)	40% (4)	30% (3)
Female	(20)	60% (12)	30% (6)	10% (2)
Total	(30)			

These percentages demonstrate a trend towards rating female recognition in earlier education as "poor" or as virtually non-existent. Females rated their previous education "poor" twice as often as males did. However, the difference between male and female responses was not statistical significant according to a Fisher's Exact Test ($p= 0.227$).

From both the male and female subjects' comments on what their previous education taught them about women's contribution in history, two common elements arose. First they believed there was a **lack of female representation** in historical documentation. Secondly, they felt history texts and classes discussed token female figures primarily in the realms of **politics, nation-building, or economics**. In noting the **lack of female representation** in history, male subjects responded:

It was non-existent.

There wasn't very much about women.

I went to school in a one room school house with eight grades in it. All we were taught were Reading, Writing, and Arithmetic. I don't remember anything about women, not even reading anything on them.

Among the female subjects, responses on the **lack of female representation** included:

There wasn't a lot of emphasis on it, the curriculum didn't include it. It just wasn't there. They felt the men were the leaders.

I don't remember so much about women and their importance. It just didn't exist. Though they worked hard. I guess, well I never thought about it, women ya' know. Women have more of a place in society now...I don't remember when women got the vote, I guess I was about ten, so I don't remember but so much. I didn't understand it, I was too young. I don't remember anyone even talking about it. We didn't have TV then, and didn't get a newspaper.

Women have only been acknowledged in the last few years...Dad always wanted us to go to college, to make it better. He taught eight different grades in a one room school. Ma wasn't ashamed where she made her money, in the mill. My two daughters worked in the garment mill one summer for extra income. One said 'Just lead me to the University.' and the other replied 'I don't believe I can handle it either.' They sewed tags on garments. Big name tags, like Pierre Cardin.

Nothing particularly,...I don't remember hearing anything about women.

It was non-existent. They never taught anything about women, they never taught them to get involve in things like politics or economics, that was for the men to do. Women's focus was on caring for the family. And now it looks like they were the ones doing most of the work in the mills.

My earlier education did not expose me to women's contribution in history. This includes other area minorities also.

These comments demonstrate the collective perceptions of both male and female subjects regarding the **lack of representation** of women figures in past history. Women's responses, however, demonstrated a new consciousness of women's importance in society. In addition, the last comment makes note of the lack of any "minority" group being represented in history. This observation may be explained by the resident being a teacher and falling within the 31-40 age range for subjects, suggesting she was exposed to the values and attitudes of the Civil Rights and feminist movements of the 1960s.

Male and female residents also shared the belief that coverage of women was limited to a few specific historical figures, especially Betsy Ross. Among the male subjects, recollections of female figures from their previous education included:

I remember people like Betsy Ross, that's about it...Women weren't in politics or economics then. They didn't hold positions of visibility. All that's beginning to change now.

I don't remember people saying much about women, not even in church. Except Mary. It seems all the teachers were women though. The only women I remember anyone mentioning in school was Betsy Ross, of course. Oh, and Nancy Ward, she was important. But I'm not sure I learned about her in school.

As close as I can remember there wasn't very much. No one took time to write down what women were doing. I do remember something about Henry the Eighth and all his wives, and Queen Elizabeth.

These comments from male residents demonstrate the identification of historical female figures primarily in the realms of **politics, nation-building, or economics**. Betsy Ross was identified by residents as a "national" representation for women because she was the seamstress of the nation's first flag. Next to Sequoyah, writer of the Cherokee alphabet, Nancy Ward was perhaps the most famous Cherokee Indian in southeastern Tennessee. Being revered by her own tribe, Nancy Ward was given the title of "Beloved," the highest title a woman could have been given by the Cherokee. The title was equivalent to sainthood in modern vocabularies. Her first marriage was to an important chief, Kingfisher. Her second marriage was to John Ward, an English trapper (Byrum 1984). It should be noted that in the mid-1700s, several marriages took place between settlers and the native Cherokee. In addition, several Native Americans changed their names to Christian names during this time. It was not until 1838 when the Cherokee were forced to resettle in western Indian Territory during the Trail of Tears. However, pockets of the Cherokee tribe survived in both Tennessee and North Carolina, explaining those residents in Cedar Ridge who claim Native American ancestry.

Though women residents also identified both **national** and **political** figures, their comments express more regret that their history lessons included so few women:

There's always been a little on Molly Pritcher, Betsy Ross or someone like Eleanor Roosevelt. There were just so few. They're [books] not saying women are not important. There's just not much said either way, good or bad.

I don't even remember anyone talking about women, except for someone like Florence Nightingale.

Won't too much in books about women, just the few special ones, like Florence Nightingale and Molly Pritcher. Not anything on textile women.

Women had no notoriety, unless they were big. Like a president's wife, or Madame Curie, Abe Lincoln's mom or Amelia Earhart. Women didn't play much of a role in history or economics. Women were not given a lot of credit. You were just not taught about women and their contributions, but it was a sin by omission than intention. There wasn't negative thoughts about women. Just nothing about them.

The lack of representation on historical women figures of African-American descent, Harriett Tubman for example, reflects reluctance for African-American to live in Cedar Ridge. As one resident revealed, "A sign used to stand at the town's limits. It said 'Let no Nigger let the sun set down upon you in Cedar Ridge.' Then a new minister came in the 70s and made the town take the sign down."

In addition to collectively recognizing the lack of representation of women in history, unless it was in the realm of politics, nationality, or economics, both male and female respondents recognized women within their own **family and community** as important figures. Although they were not seen as historical figures, these women had a great impact on the residents' own lives. This is illustrated by the following comments made by male subjects:

I remember one of my teachers, Mary Sue, who was always concerned with your grades. She would come by and check on how you were doing. Teachers then took a personal interest. She would encourage you to stay in school, especially if you were from the wrong side of the town. It's easy to drop out and get a job. But this is a small town and there aren't that many jobs. I was lucky to have a job at 16 in the mills, people had no way of getting anywhere. You had to move to where work was.

My mom taught me mainly. I got a lot of values from her. I learned a lot more from her about everything.

My mom and aunt raised me. They were good women. They always helped each other out, with taking care of the kids and cooking. And they traded clothes all the time.

Female responses said:

My ma taught me about hard work. My ma would white wash the fence every week.

My mom should be in history books, she was quite a women. She worked hard, but she was always there for you or anyone else. Lordy' did she ever have a lot of energy. I guess she had to be, raising six kids like she did.

While female members of the community were recognized as important figures by a few subjects, recognition by male subjects was primarily based on **traditional care-giving roles** and as **teachers of values**. Female subjects, however, recognized women primarily for their contributions of **hard work**, though in reference to the domestic sphere. These categories did not, however, constitute a place for women's recognition in historical documents or in residents' previous education. Subjects only recalled women figures in the realms of politics, nation-building, or economics. This suggests the salience of power. The above categories demonstrate the "reproduction" of women's roles, passiveness and powerlessness, by a variety of diverse social structures: family and peers, religious teachings, and the educational system.

Women's Recognition

When subjects were asked how they rated the local history project in teaching them about women's contribution in Cedar Ridge's history, 50% of the male sample rated the project as "excellent" and 50% of the sample rated it as "above average." No one from the male subjects rated the project as "average," "fair," or "poor." Likewise, of the female sample, no one rated the project as "average," "fair," or "poor." Thirty percent of the female subjects rated the project "above average," with 70% rating it as "excellent" in demonstrating women's contribution in Cedar Ridge's history. While both male and female subjects ranked the project very high in teaching them about women's contribution in Cedar Ridge's history, a higher percentage of excellent responses came from female residents (Table Iib).

Table Iib: Ratings of Female Recognition in Local History Project

	(#)	Above Average	Excellent
Male	(10)	50% (5)	50% (5)
Female	(20)	30% (6)	70% (14)
Total	(30)		

While percentages show a trend towards females rating the local history project more positively, there was no statistical significance according to a Fisher's Exact Test ($p=0.425$).

When subjects were asked to comment on the project's success in demonstrating women's contribution in Cedar Ridge's history, only two of the male subjects responded. Each now commented on women's recognition in terms of **hard work**:

It's time they [women] were recognized, I remember how hard my mother worked in the mills, she's what kept the family going.

It showed how many people worked back then, look at them all in the pictures. The women outnumber the men 50 to one. And they all worked so hard. It seems the only time they weren't working is on Sundays. They probably spent the day cooking then.

Among the females several responses were given (this may be partly due to the larger representation of females in the sample). Themes arising from the women's responses also included recognition of **hard work**:

The women worked hard, then and now.

Mills couldn't exist without women. Men wouldn't do it, it wasn't manly. It wasn't farm work.

It taught me how hard they did work.

They just didn't record it [women's contributions]. You weren't taught much on women working, let alone how hard they worked.

It taught me how much women used their hands and today we punch keys on computers. I guess it's because we have better dexterity.

Female subjects also tended to comment on their perceptions of the museum itself and its future impact on the community:

This is something Cedar Ridge will appreciate.

Good emphasis on women, I don't know any other museum that's chosen this emphasis. I'm glad our community did.

It's a visual reminder. We can read and read but the pictures and visuals help. And they've done a good job displaying them. The community is going to love this.

It's one of the best museums in this area.

Females' concern for the community is demonstrated by the majority of members in CRAFT being women. Women's involvement and concern for "uplifting" the community may be viewed as extensions of their reproduced roles as care-givers.

Comments of both males and females demonstrate the growing recognition of women's importance in the community. This "production" new of knowledge emerges as residents demonstrate a new awareness of women's "active" role in the community. In addition to their extensive contributions of **hard work** to community and family.

Community Awareness and Women's Recognition: Hard Work and Teachers of Values

Male subjects continued to comment on women as **teachers of values**, when asked how the heritage tourism project had increased their awareness or understanding of women's role in Cedar Ridge's history. More important, however, were the comments which demonstrated their newly found awareness of women's contribution in terms of **hard work**. In addition to recognizing women's traditional roles or "unpaid domestic work," recognition expanded to include non-traditional roles or "paid industrial work." Male responses included:

I didn't realize how hard they worked back then, in both the family and work.

Well it shows that women have always done the work and done the teaching. Like the saying 'The hand that rocks the cradle rules the world.' Like values, the women teach the children their values. It's the women who are instilling the leaders of tomorrow. Though traditionally they haven't been the leaders. Just the women behind the man, sort of speak.

I probably know more than you do, secrets. I already knew women were very instrumental in the survival of the Embree family. Molly Embree created a culture center up here at the farm in the 1890's, for her daughters. She made the men move down to Old Cedar Ridge to work at the mill because they drank and gambled. Back then the mill kept changing hands to whom ever won that week. Molly would often pay off the men's debts, she was the one who kept the things going.

What or just how much they did contribute to Cedar Ridge's history.

I've always been aware of that. Men have been trained wrong, to be dominant. I believe in equality. Women are the only ones doing anything, especially for the community.

There are good people who work in textiles. I know women who are good workers, especially those whose families depend on them. If it's just for extra income, they know they can quit work anytime. They're the bad workers. There are still people who live in the former mill houses. I live in a mill house, but I've fixed it up.

The importance of volunteer help in history, the expanded women's efforts. Like the number of people involved in the clothing recycling during W.W.II.

The specific identification of volunteer help in the last comment may be partly explained by the respondent being a preacher by profession.

The large number of statements from male subjects reflects the large majority, 80%, stating the heritage tourism project had increased their recognition of women's role in Cedar Ridge's history, especially in terms of the **hard work** women contributed to the economic base. Previously, male subjects had only recognized women's contribution through family and traditional domestic roles. Without exception, 100% of female subjects stated they felt the project had increased their awareness of women's contribution to the area (for results see Table IIc). This difference between male and female responses was not statistically significant in Fisher's Exact Test ($p=0.103$), however.

**Table IIc: Increased Recognition and Awareness of Women's Roles
in Cedar Ridge**

	(#)	Yes	No
Male	(10)	80% (8)	20% (2)
Female	(20)	100% (20)	0% (0)
Total	(30)		

Female respondents also demonstrated an increased recognition of women's contribution to the community's economic base, especially in terms women's **hard work**:

Well, that they worked so hard back then when it all got started. I know how hard they work now.

This all just reinforces what I already knew, they worked a lot and still work a lot.

I liked seeing the looper machines and how they worked, it must be tedious work.

I think a person should be viewed as a person and not male or female. Textiles just happens to be something women evolved into. They were doing it at home before they left home, you know domestic kind of stuff: cooking, cleaning, sewing...Textiles just didn't suit men, they worked on the farms or railroads instead. Now, men living here work at large plants like the newsprint mill or other large plants. But like back then, families moved in from the farms to let the women work in the mills, a lot of families are relocating today because of the wife's job. I saw an hour show on it the other night.

Pioneer life wasn't a romantic way of life, women worked a dog's life. My grandmother tells me, that Industrialization was the best thing that happened to women. It helped them get out of the house, it was a means of a 'way out.' She would take in her nieces and teach them telegraphy, I believe around 1911, so they could get a job and take care of themselves, somewhat.

I never felt a women's place was in the home. I remember one time when I gave my husband a large list of groceries. He was use to picking up a few things for me when I was out. Later he told me he didn't mind picking up a few things from the store, but not a weeks worth of groceries, because that was women's work. I held my tongue. Then the next week we were in the store together and saw the mayor with his three kids hanging off him, and buying the family's groceries. I looked at him [her husband] and held my tongue. He got the message.. No, I've never asked him to buy a lot groceries again.

Women back then in those days did nothing but work, they went home and worked, slept, and got up to start another shift. Because they were working all the time, they couldn't be much of an influence in community affairs. Only those who had time to could.

In addition to comments on how women worked hard, female residents' responses also demonstrated their newly found awareness of the extensiveness of women's contribution to both their families, to the economy, and to the town:

I'd not stopped to realize how important women in Cedar Ridge had been, they were our parents. I didn't realize what they did, and my mom worked in the mills.

I was already aware of women's contributions, but it's going to increase other peoples.

Just so many women in the pictures, I never realized how many worked in the mills. You just never think about those kind of things.

Bringing up old pictures. There's something interesting in each one, and so many women in them.

I am not from Cedar Ridge and I really was not aware all that the women did. I never realized women played such of a role in Cedar Ridge's economy and family. A lot of times women worked when men weren't, like farmers in the winter months. Women were the mainstay of the family.

This museum has increased my awareness of women's role in Cedar Ridge in every way. It tells so much about them. Their history, their life, how hard they had it and what they did in their leisure time to get through it. I can't imagine plucking enough geese to make feather beds for the entire family. That's a lot of geese.

The major contribution women made in this area, the county.

I'm impressed this is a museum about women.

I'm more aware of it all.

They [women] formed the town for example, but the men were in front and the women behind.

These comments, from both men and women, demonstrate an increased awareness of women as active participants in Cedar Ridge in terms of family, unpaid domestic work, and paid industrial work. This hidden "active" role was masked by factors such as "the woman behind the man" or "women as the teachers of tomorrow's leaders." Residents have now, however, become conscious of women's various roles and contributions to the community; the veil has been lifted.

Increased Awareness of the Humanities and Community Spirit

The majority of both male and female attendants, 80%, felt the local history project increased their awareness and understanding of the humanities, how history is relevant to their own lives and how it has influenced their present position in society (see Table IId). These equal percentages occur where one would expect no gender difference.

Table IIId: Increased Awareness and Understanding of the Humanities.

	(#)	Yes	No
Male	(10)	80% (8)	20% (2)
Female	(20)	80% (16)	20% (4)
Total	(30)		

When asked how the local history project had increased their understanding of the humanities, male respondents included themes of **pride** and **community spirit**:

I would like for the rest of the communities in the counties to preserve their heritage.

*I think its important that we maintain our heritage, it gives one a sense of community.
I only knew bits and pieces of history I had heard from people. I never put some of them
together before. To see the big picture of it all.*

I've always been interested in my heritage. I'm Scotch-Irish with some Cherokee.

I was always interested in history.

*It's increased my awareness on local history. I've really just enjoyed watching the
communities response. Really amazing response. Everyone is so proud of it. Cedar Ridge
has always been a proud little town, especially when it comes to competing in sports like
basketball and baseball. The town lost its spirit, its identity, its zeal, when the high school
was relocated. Joe mentioned this in a newspaper article last week. The museum may help,
it won't hurt to get it back, the town spirit.*

Female responses included themes of **recollections**, **pride**, and **community spirit**:

*It makes you stop and think, and how much easier things are now, though that was a
simpler life.*

*I've worked on my genealogy for years, I like learning about our heritage. We're from
Scotch-Irish and German descent.*

It has helped me understand the people here more. When I was teaching here before, and when my husband was a pastor here, I wish I had known something more about the people here. I wish I had known about the women and how hard they worked, I think it could of helped us help the community more. To understand what their life was like, and their place in the community.

I've always liked history. I'm glad women are getting a little bit of notoriety, before they were left in the dark, before they were not acknowledged. I'm proud that we've done [the community] something like this.

I like history to begin with.

I appreciated history already.

I have always been aware of the importance of history in our lives, but this has increased my awareness on Cedar Ridge's history and how the women supported its existence.

It comes with getting older, you appreciate history more

It made me think more about my history. I take things, life, for granted. Its made me stop and think what's been here.

I like history, it's important to me anyway.

I'm aware of that anyway [awareness of how history is relevant to one's life], I work in a museum.

Don't know, just makes me remember.

Helped me remember things I'd forgotten.

I think everyone should look at their heritage and what was in the past. It's sorta' like a pyscho-self analysis. When you understand yourself, it's easier to understand others. And when you find you share a common history, it bonds people together. I think any public history project unites people together and raises the community's spirit. Folks tend to work together more, working towards a common good for the community, to work together to change shared common problems.

Responses to Guidebook

Among the male subjects, only 30%, stated they had read the guidebook about the women in the textile mills at Cedar Ridge, which was published to be sold in the museum. The majority of female subjects, 60%, claimed to have read the guidebook (see Table IIe). Though twice as many female subjects stated they had read the guidebook, a Fisher's Exact Test ($p = 0.245$) shows no statistical significance between male and female responses.

Table IIe: Read Guidebook

	(#)	Yes	No
Male	(10)	30% (3)	70% (7)
Female	(20)	60% (12)	40% (8)
Total	(30)		

In finding something unexpected or surprising in the guidebook, male subjects ranked higher with a score of 67%. Less than half of the female subjects, 42%, claimed to have found something unexpected or surprising in the guidebook (see Table IIe). However, a Fisher's Exact Test ($p = 0.569$) shows no statistical significance between female and male responses.

Table IIe: Something Unexpected in Guidebook.

	(#)	Yes	No
Male	(3)	67% (2)	33% (1)
Female	(12)	42% (5)	58% (7)
Total	(15)		

Male subjects' responses demonstrate a surprise in the number of workers:

How people lived back then, and how things have now changed. A lot of change has happened since earlier years. Like the machinery, so much is mechanized now. Though I suppose women still make up the majority of the workers in the mills, that hasn't changed.

How Cedar Ridge ties into the South, it includes the perception of an outsider.

Female attendants were also surprised at the number of women who worked in the mills:

The whole book has good pictures of what happened here, I'm surprised some were found.

I found it surprising that so many women worked back then.

Though few attendants gave comments on something unexpected in the guidebook, themes pertaining to women's recognition demonstrated an awareness of female residents as a key component in the community's work force.

The majority of female subjects, 75%, stated they had learned something from the guidebook. Male subjects less often reported learning from the guidebook than women (see Table IIg), but the Fisher's Exact Test ($p = 0.242$) was not statistically significant.

Table IIg: Something Learned From Guidebook.

	(#)	Yes	No
Male	(10)	33% (1)	67% (2)
Female	(20)	75% (9)	25% (3)
Total	(30)		

The only male who stated he learned something from the guidebook, responded in terms of education:

School within the mills. I thought all the time the kids went to a regular school half-time.

I learned they had a teacher in the mill.

Female subjects stated they learned about the women who worked in the mills, especially in terms of their wages and large representation in the work force:

How important of a role my mom played in the community.

I'm now more aware of what happened here. How the folks have always looked out for one another.

I learned about the hours and wages. And how big it was at that time, all the mills and workers.

About the history of the town, moving it and all and taking the name of their former mill village with them. And that the company store gave out "scrip" during the Depression. And about the workers, their long hours, and their wages.

The wages.

In Muddy Waters before the 30s women didn't work because the men worked for the railroad. They had good jobs so the women didn't have to work. I never thought that in the early 20th century that women were working so much, they were even the main work force.

Responses to the Exhibit

Almost equal proportions of males and females stated they found something unexpected or surprising in the exhibit.

Table IIh: Something Unexpected in Exhibit.

	(#)	Yes		No	
Male	(10)	60%	(6)	40%	(4)
Female	(20)	65%	(13)	35%	(7)
Total	(30)				

Male subjects tended to comment on the **professionalism** of the exhibit or something about the **machinery**:

How professionally done the exhibits were. It was very impressive. I particularly enjoyed seeing all the machinery.

The set up of the mill itself, the machinery.

The loom, I've never seen one. I've seen a spinning wheel.

I learned what women demand once you volunteer.

Female responses tended to comment on the **creativity** of the exhibit or on **domestic themes**:

The artistic presentation. I knew the artifacts were around. But what I like the most about the exhibit is the way the sections are divided with the artifacts instead of walls as dividers.

I was surprised at how good it was, the mannequins are a little thing but brings it to life.

The way they put it together is great.

They did a magnificent job, the things they got are priceless.

That they got it all together. It is all just really nice, for Cedar Ridge the size of town it is.

The room at the end, its so realistic.

The variety of textiles from such a small town, and the artifacts. To find especially textiles, and feed sacks, and the Looper String and Chenille bedspreads.

All the pictures and the quilts.

The quilts were real nice, I made quilts for each of my six kids when they graduated. I have three girls and three boys.

A few of the female attendants' comments included themes of recollections of the past and an increased awareness of the large representation of women in the work force:

Remembering things that use to be. I'd forgotten how things use to be back then. The pictures helped me to remember. Things were simpler then.

*I was very surprised to see Dr. Seay's bag [large black leather medicine bag]. When anyone was sick Dr. Seay would always bring that bag with him, when he came up to the house. It sure does bring back memories. Sometimes when we didn't have money we would give him eggs and flour instead. Dad worked at the grist mill at times. Mom and I worked at the hosiery mill. Dad was a healer too. He said if you always drink Sassafras tea, you will never get sick. He said ramps and onions are good for you too, or poke greens (*Phytolacca americana*; also known commonly as inkberry) with boiled eggs. In the 1940s something*

bad was going on, I think it was the whooping cough. Dad made up a bag to wear around your neck. An 'asifidety' or 'acid-fissa' bag. I don't remember too well.

It was more extensive than what I expected. I also never expected so many workers were women. Just never thought about it.

The wages were so low, and there were so many women workers.

More men than women stated that they learned something from the exhibit, but the Fisher's Exact Test ($p=0.384$) was not significant (see Table Iii).

Table Iii: Something Learned From Exhibit.

	(#)	Yes		No	
Male	(10)	60%	(6)	40%	(4)
Female	(20)	80%	(16)	20%	(4)
Total	(30)				

Male responses primarily included themes of women's work:

How work conditions, wages and hours have changed.

When you work in a textile mill you already know this. And you get use to the women hallowing do this and do that. Before kids came in and out of the mills. They would take lunch to their parents. Now there's new insurance and they don't want kids to go into the mills. Today you never hear of kids in the mill. Back in the earlier times child labor was nothing but legalized slavery.

I learned about the community's concern of knowing where they came from.

I grew up with it. Both my mom and my aunt worked most of their lives in the mills. My mom worked at the mills a as a knitter and looper. I was a teacher at Cedar Ridge School, before it burned down, and then I went to teach in the new school with Muddy Waters. I knew a lot already about the history of the area.

Women worked a lot back then, to bad so many don't today, and men too.

One male subject commented on his newly found awareness of the "stigma" attached to mill workers:

Someone pointed out to me while ago, when we were talking about the book [new guidebook], that there was a stigma attached to women who worked in the mills. They were looked down upon by those who didn't work there. They would go to church in the country whereas the mill owners and more well to do people would go to the Methodist or Baptist churches in town. I remember the big revival they had at the old dance hall where everybody of all stations came because it was such a big thing...It was sometime during the 1920s.

Though this man worked in the hosiery mill as a child, during the 1920s, he became aware of the differences of "stations" between mill workers and mill owners through the project.

Female responses also included themes on work:

I did not realize they did so much in the home and outside in the mills.

In every small town everyone knows everyone already. And I've lived long enough to know a lot, let alone I've work in the mills myself for 30 years. I first worked in a hosiery mill as a finisher and then later I was the floor lady.

I've worked here all my life, so not much to learn.

I haven't learned much, been in it all my life. I heard about the Embrees and I heard ma and dad talk about their work in the mills.

Nothing. I've been in a textile family for 35 years, in management. I knew this by living here. I knew nothing of the knitting process however. What the hosiery mill does, we [people employed in the garment mill] cut and sew.

I didn't realize a lot of the roles women had lived here in Cedar Ridge. Women would go into work early to make sure they would meet production for the day.

It's more looking back. Growing up here I'm part of it. Both my parents and sister worked in the mills. I heard about if from all of them. Both my parents worked at the Tennessee Hosiery Mill. Dad worked in the dye room and mom folded boxes for finished socks. My sister worked in the mill too. My parents encouraged both of us to do what we wanted, to get an education or work in the mill, but to do it. I went to school so I could teach...When I taught 7th grade science so many of the girls felt it was a man's world, and so was science and math. They'd say 'I don't need math, I'm gonna be a nurse.' I told them they might and that my daughter was a chemical engineer. And that other women are in technology and science. It's not easy to do in earlier grades, not much opportunity to expose them and for them to understand.

I learned that Cedar Ridge recycled clothes during World War II. And that women work so hard back then.

I learned about the on site child care in the mills, the garment mill had 'flex time.' They let the women with kids in school work the 9-3 shift, during school hours. It's hard to get industries to do that now. What gets me is they were doing it earlier, for the wrong reason perhaps, but doing it today is considered a radical thing.

I learned about the working conditions back there in the poem, the one about World War II. I can't believe all the donations made to the museum.

I didn't know much about mills anyway. I had never been inside one before. The display back there (of work place inside mill) is very striking. I liked the machinery parts. They all had a hard life back then, the women who worked in the mills really had a hard life.

In addition, female responses demonstrated a **sense of pride** in someone from their family, or themselves, working in the textile mills:

I learned that my ma was the second women hired at the hosiery mill. She never thought that was anything important enough to tell anyone.

The room back there [display of the inside of a hosiery mill] is great. I think this is something Cedar Ridge can be proud of.

I wish my mom had lived long enough to see this. She worked in the mills all her life. Now she could have told you things.

When subjects were asked if they felt the local history project **accurately** portrayed the influence of women in Cedar Ridge's history, the majority of male and female subjects answered "yes." The remaining attendants stated they were "unsure" if the project portrayed the women accurately. No one answered "no," that the project did not accurately portray the influence of women in the community's history (see Table IIj). While male subjects gave more postive responses, a Fisher's Exact Test ($p= 0.694$) showed no statistically significant difference between female and male responses.

Table IIj: Accurate Portrayal of Women in Project.

	(#)	Yes	Unsure
Male	(10)	70% (7)	30% (3)
Female	(20)	55% (11)	45% (9)
Total	(30)		

All respondents stated that the local history project had met their expectations (see Table IIk).

Table IIk: Expectations of Local History Project.

	(#)	Yes		No	
Male	(10)	100%	(10)	0%	(0)
Female	(20)	100%	(20)	0%	(0)
Total	(30)				

Only women volunteered comments on their expectations for the local history project in Cedar Ridge:

There's just so much about them. It exceeds my expectations.

I love it because its about women and kind of celebrates women. You usually don't think about women working.

Oh yes! It's more than what I expected. I feel this all will help the town as a tourist attraction. Muddy Waters and Spartansburg did something on their heritage. This raises Cedar Ridge's status. I think it will raise self-esteem and the community's spirit. I think it was Joe, Rosie's husband, who said when the High School was relocated outside of Cedar Ridge, the town lost its community spirit. Maybe this will help to get it back.

Such comments demonstrate positive attitudes towards the Cedar Ridge local history project upon its completion. Not only have residents become aware of the lack of women's representation in history, but also the role women have played in the history of Cedar Ridge's development. As several residents stated, no one ever took time to think about women and their role in the community until someone from a neighboring town brought it to their attention. Before the completion of the local history project, male residents tended to view women's roles in the community as teachers of values or as some type of traditional care-giver. Female residents were more specific, stating that their mothers taught them the value of "hard work," though primarily in reference to the domestic sphere.

Comments from both men and women who attended the museum opening, demonstrated a recognition of the extensive contribution female residents made to the town's textile industry and to the life of the community itself. From the local history project has come the recognition of women as "active" participants in the community of Cedar Ridge. This "production" of new knowledge, or awareness of women's role in the town's heritage, has also produced a sense of self-esteem in both male and female residents. If someone was not presently working in one of the two textile mills at Cedar Ridge, a former relative had.

Community Development: Building Community Spirit with Community Heritage

This section presents data from both nonformal and formal interviews taken with East Tennessee Connection (ETC) staff, Cedar Ridge Action For Today (CRAFT) project members, and local volunteers. Formal interviews with CRAFT members were conducted during a three month span after the opening of the museum. Questions included: How do you feel about the local history project in Cedar Ridge? How did this project originate? How did the community organization CRAFT evolve? Why are the leaders and members of CRAFT predominantly women? What has your community organization accomplished? What do you feel has been accomplished by local history project in Cedar Ridge? How did CRAFT become involved in the heritage tourism project in the region? What do you feel has been accomplished by the heritage tourism project in this area and in Cedar Ridge? How has your organization contributed to adult education? Interviewees were also asked to describe what their previous educational experiences had taught them about women in history and if or how this project has increased their knowledge on women's contribution in Cedar Ridge's history.

The "Old Boys" Network System, Local Heritage, and Community Spirit

In August, 1993, the East Tennessee Design Center, a non-profit organization which provides technical assistance to community economic development organizations, asked several of the local

community development organizations to come together and meet under one roof to "talk." The agenda title read, *Building Community Here and At Home: A Retreat for Neighborhood and Rural Community Groups*. According to one participant, the issue to be discussed was: "Why were the rural organizations more successful than the inner-city organizations in their community development projects?" The place chosen for this discussion was the Highlander Research and Education Center in New Market, Tennessee.

Among the community organizations which participated in the discussion were project leaders and representatives from the ETC, CRAFT, Copperton, Timbers Hollow, Muddy Waters, and various urban organizations in Knoxville, Tennessee. Helen Lewis, program associate of Highlander, and Madeline Rogero, Knoxville City Councilwoman, acted as facilitators for the discussions. The meeting included both written evaluations about the representatives' own projects and informal discussions between groups on their community projects, on their failures and successes.

Questions on the evaluation form included: What have you done to increase or encourage participation? Do participants reflect community diversity? How do you insure democratic decision making? How did you use the arts and humanities in your project? As one participant describes, "Representatives from the rural organizations easily gave examples on how they used the humanities in their projects. Members from the urban organizations, however, felt the question was irrelevant to the issue of community development. Issues of opening more soup kitchens and establishing additional shelters were more pertinent to the problems they faced." The goal of the meeting was met, with two different groups with different perspectives and solutions coming together under one roof to learn and help each other. Their purpose was to identify differences and collectively seek out solutions, to share problems and information. At the end of the meeting, several representatives from the rural organizations felt part of the reason the inner-city organizations were having difficulties was because of two factors. The first factor was the lack of *networking*, or lobbying, for help with problems by the urban representatives. As one participant representing a rural organization explained:

People from the urban groups were whining about never receiving enough help with their projects. They just didn't understand how the system works. Rural people are independent. They don't rely on governmental agencies to help get them out of problems. We rely on ourselves. A lot of agencies and

*offices are available to urban projects. But they [urban organizations] rely on other people to come help them out. They didn't understand the system, just because the projects they were working on was worthwhile, they felt like they were suppose to get done. And they should, but they didn't lobby for it, they didn't know how to play the game. You know, the old boys **networking** system, something we rural women have always done. To help each other out and share information. And all these agencies are available for these urban groups, they just need to go out and find them...Rural folks are fiercely independent and that's why we're successful. People in the mountains have to be self-sustaining. I've heard of this independent nature, and now it's startling to me to see it going on, in practice.*

The second problem identified was that the inner-city organizations were not thinking creatively about their community. They were not thinking about how to capitalize on their **heritage**. As project director of the ETC, Rebecca Stone, explained:

*They didn't see the opportunity in the **heritage** their community had to offer. So they were missing an opportunity to build **community spirit** through events such as community festivals, which help bring people together, and perhaps get them to work together for a common good. To work cooperatively to solve their shared problems. In the end they got ideas from the rural folks.*

Another participant in the workshop stated:

While you can't compare the East Tennessee Connection project to a soup kitchen, tourism to a social issue, it does help to meet with each other and get ideas from each other.

The East Tennessee Foundation is currently studying the future application of these ideas to helping local community groups improve their organizational skills. As of August 1994, analysis of evaluations from the community groups was not completed.

Women's Intricate Networks, Cooperative Work, and Building Community

In order for the East Tennessee Connection to link together the various communities and agencies participating in it, guidance was needed from specialists in several different fields, in addition to local volunteer help and leadership. According to the project director of the ETC, Rebecca Stone, "So many different people have helped out with the project, but most of the leadership has come from women."

When asked why she felt this was so, she responded:

We don't expect someone to do our correspondence for us, we do it ourselves. Men have to have secretaries. We're use to being caregivers anyway. Men seem

to work off by themselves, we don't mind helping each other out. The next County over has strong women leaders and a woman mayor. Cedar Ridge had an early woman mayor, and there is a lot of strong women in CRAFT.

In a conversation about the ETC with Kathryn O'Brien, another female staff member of the ETC, and Mary Smith, a humanities scholar on the project, O'Brien relayed:

*If you look at who's doing the work, it's the women. They're the ones writing the proposals for grants, writing the strategic plan, the marketing plan, and lobbying the most. Now don't get me wrong, there are men there too and working. But it's the women who are more action oriented. They're the ones running around taking care of different things. Women are use to being caregivers anyway. They're use to taking care of things. **Networking** is just another word for something we have always done, women were always the ones organizing things at times of death, and birth. Now don't get me wrong, men network too. But women have more **intricate networks**, like threads in a tapestry.*

Smith added to this conversation:

*Yes, and its been the women who kept open the **kin networks**. Women have always worked together cooperatively, like quilting groups, **cooperative work** which **builds community**. That's why they're so good at community development projects like this one. It's a different kind of development, you've got to do stuff from the bottom up. Women seem to be able to do that, pick up the pieces, making do, starting with what they have, instead of bringing in big factories for industrial development. The big factories are going elsewhere these days too, sending a collar to be sewn here and a zipper there, it's a global economy now. And it's mainly the women who are working to bring life back to these communities, to rebuild the communities.*

Feminist educators Ann Bookman and Sandra Morgen concur when they state, "Women not only see themselves as members of communities (whether in neighborhoods or at the workplace), they work hard at developing and maintaining the **networks** and relationships that give life to these communities" (1988: 303). In the past, work was often a means of socialization. Technology and mechanization have replaced a lot of cooperative work and therefore diminished social ties. Without a sense of community, **community spirit** is hard to raise.

Oral History and Self-Consciousness

Helen Lewis, an educator and humanities scholar, has facilitated several workshops at the Highlander Research and Education Center. In the fall of 1984, a workshop was held to bring women from

various parts of the South together to discuss their work history and to share the experiences of their communities in trying to develop economic opportunities for women. Thirty women attended the workshop. Lewis stated about the workshop, "The women who attended the workshop are community leaders and their stories show how they became leaders, the process of developing *consciousness*, self-confidence, a measure of independence and the determination to work in their communities for better times for all" (Lewis et. al., 1986: 3). The women hoped their stories would encourage other women to look at their own working history and life, and to come to an understanding of their importance and to gain empowerment to change the hegemonic patterns of economic life, for both themselves and other women like them.

Helen Lewis has explained the value of history projects thus:

To document past history, reflect on it and use it for education and economic development. My emphasis is on understanding history of economic changes in a community to rebuild or develop community. I have worked with communities in economic development and doing community history to reflect on past development. I emphasize understanding history of industrialization and deindustrialization and the place of the community experience in the restructuring of the local, national, and global economy. I'm especially interested in women's stories as both workers and community developers, picking up the pieces when the economy changes (Helen Lewis, personal communication 1991).

Another woman educator who acknowledges the importance of oral histories is Jan Coe. Coe teaches 7th and 8th grade history at Cedar Ridge Elementary School. By using the non-traditional technique of oral history, Coe is working and reforming within the school system. According to Bernhardt, an educator on oral history:

Oral history is one means we have of correcting the historical bias that favors 'great men.' Oral history is simply the collection of eye-witness accounts of life stories with the use of a tape recorder. Through oral history interviews, the experiences of people whose lives we wouldn't read about in books can be preserved and passed on (Bernhardt 1980).

During the spring of 1992, Coe gave her classes lectures on the methods of oral history collection. She then assigned names of retired textile workers to her students for them to interview. The oral history

interviews were to be given to CRAFT for their project on women in the textile industry at Cedar Ridge.

Coe related one day:

*I would do anything for Rosie. And the students, they really enjoyed helping out with the oral interviews. They're the ones who came up with the old pictures of the mill houses. Students don't usually associate themselves with history, except for that book over there, I use **oral history** to bring history down to earth. I try to help my students perceive both American history and Tennessee history in a positive way. When students research what their grandparents did as children, like what games they played, what they ate, what it was like to grow up then, it makes history more personal for them. To think that Granddaddy was in World War II, or that Grandma was Rosie the Riveteer. It gives them an awareness of their own life and how it fits into history. How history has shaped their own life, and how their history has shaped the world. Most of them are surprised that their families know a lot of history. That carries over into an appreciation for the older generation. You can't appreciate your history if you don't know it.*

When asked if the heritage tourism project in Cedar Ridge met her expectations, Coe replied:

*Oh listen, do you know any other small town that has preserved that much history? I cried when I saw the lady in the back room. My mother was a looper, it was so realistic, especially with the lint in her hair and the looper strings scattered across the floor. I liked how it was chronologically organized too. I'm planning to take my class to see it before school lets out. I know they will be as touched as I, especially because they were partly involved. They're going to be so **proud** to see something they helped to develop.*

Women's Recognition, A Sense of Pride, and Community Awareness

Over the past two years CRAFT has been guided by various specialists and scholars on community organizations and Appalachian culture. Workshops were held on economic development, how to conduct feasibility studies to identify barriers and possible ways to overcome them, designing a proforma to evaluate cost, how to collect literary sources and conduct oral history interviews, methods in collecting and interpreting photographs and artifacts, designing exhibits and label writing, to name a few.

There are presently twenty members in CRAFT; all but two are women. While a few members have dropped out of CRAFT over the past two years, other residents have been inspired to join because of CRAFT's involvement in the heritage tourism project. George Cross, a retired office worker from a local textile mill whose mother worked in several of the local textile mills, stated about the project:

*I think this project will grow, it's about time women around here were **recognized***

for their contributions and hard work. There are good people who work in textiles. I know women who are good workers, especially those whose families depend on them. They're always either working or taking care of their families. If it's just for extra income, they know they can quit work anytime. They're the bad workers. There are still people who live in the former mill houses. I live in a mill house, but I've fixed it up.

Several residents have gained a new *sense of pride* about their community since the implementation of the heritage tourism project. This is demonstrated by the additional care given to lawns and homes, which also demonstrates a sense of *community spirit*.

In an informal meeting with CRAFT members, discussing the goals they have accomplished over the last two years, the following comments were made. Rosie Spencer, project director of CRAFT, related, "I have gained several new insights while working with the humanities scholar. I have learned how to conduct oral interviews, to do grant writing and proposals, editing, fund raising, and about displaying exhibits." When asked what skills she has learned, the alternate director of CRAFT, Sybil Asbell, stated, "Oh, well fund raising, that's the big thing. I've learned how to give out orders too, and to mediate...how to coach someone into doing work. Always make them think it was their idea. I've learned not to give demands out, that doesn't work. I've also learned how to better handle stress." Brenda Pendleton, who briefly worked in the textile mills stated about her concern for the community, "Golly, I never realized how much outside forces influenced us here. Like this NAFTA thing. I guess I best start watching the news more, and start thinking about voting." Another member of CRAFT, Darlene King, replied, "I've learned better skills in cooperation, and the best way to conduct rummage sells. We had so many, so we could raise more money for the museum. I also feel more confident in myself, that I've accomplished things I wasn't sure I could do."

When asked to state the previous goals for the local history project in Cedar Ridge and whether they felt these goals had been accomplished, Spencer quickly responded:

Well we wanted to preserve and show our history and the importance of women in it. I think we accomplished that. We aren't quite finished, there is still so much we want to do. We want to add to it and change some things. But for the most part, yes. I think we've accomplished our goals. Oh, let me tell you what Herbert [a resident who is considered a scholar by the community] said, he said 'You know in my will I was going to name the University of Tennessee to receive my money, but I think I will name the museum.' He was so impressed with all of this, the book and the museum.

Asbell, alternate director and part owner of a cottage industry of handmade cloth dolls, replied:

"I'm gonna tell you something, we made the paper, first page for two days. Now I think we can be pretty proud of that. I think the residents around here are pretty proud too, I know they're excited about it. We had six visitors from California come to the museum the other day." Asbell also commented that originally she was worried the humanities scholars advising CRAFT would make the guidebook too "stuffy," too professional with "big words no one knew but them." She added, "I think having all the quotes in the book made it sound like the people here were telling the story." King concurred when she said:

I was worried that it wouldn't be about the women's real life, I thought the UT people would write it from their viewpoint. I'm glad they let the women tell the story. There are an awful lot of quotes in the book; the women are doing the talking. Outsiders just don't have a feel of the area like those who have lived here all their life. They did an excellent job. It demonstrated the importance of women in the development of our town.

Sandra Stoneham, a teacher's aid at the elementary school, added:

Oh I think a lot people here in town have been surprised. I've had so many people come up to me and tell me how great everything looks. They say we've done such a professional job. I like it too. You know, I hadn't thought about women. I didn't realize that women were the ones who contributed so much to the town. Until Rebecca Stone brought attention to it. It was just the way things were. My mother worked in the mills, and I never thought to think that the women were the majority of the workers, that they made such a big contribution to the town. That they contributed so much to the town's development.

Asbell commented, "Yes. My mother was a mill worker. Even we don't stop and think that this is what our town is about."

The women members of CRAFT who are retired textile workers themselves, eventually rose to positions of clerk, inspector, foreman, etc. They were women who were action oriented and possessed the efficacy to handle the job. The other female members are either elementary teachers, teacher's aides, a librarian, business owners, or Sunday school teachers. Representing the "middle class" of Cedar Ridge's residents, even CRAFT members did not see the common thread uniting its residents, until an outsider "from the next town over" pointed out their heritage of women in the textile industry. The community of Cedar Ridge has also opened its eyes to its rediscovered heritage. Community activities such as a quilt

square contest (depicting any event, building, or activity pertaining to the county) and community festivals have been developed and advertised in the community's new CRAFT Newsletter. The last page of the Newsletter contains an address for community residents to send their ideas on future community projects. So that their voices can be heard on plans for future community projects. CRAFT members, however, will continue to have the final decision on what future community projects they decide to implement.

When asked why there were so many women in CRAFT, the members agreed with Asbell who simply stated, "Most men just won't take time to worry about it. They leave community affairs to the women, as they've always done." Spencer added, "Yes, and a lot of women have helped us out. Both Rebecca and Katherine have given us a tremendous amount of encouragement. We couldn't of done it without them."

When talking with ETC staff about the accomplishments of CRAFT, Kathyrn O'Brien stated:

We feel like we talked Rosie into this, and at one point, Rebecca and I kinda' of looked at each other one day, and said, gholly, we almost feel guilty because there was so much work to be done, it wasn't just a museum as we had done, but also the building. They had to totally redo the building. I'm so pleased. Last week I sent out thousands of brochures about the ETC and one person in particular asked specifically for brochures on the textile mill. So we're on our way to getting people in here from all over the area.

O'Brien continued,

I've heard people talking about the Cedar Ridge book being so touching. Seems a lot of people have a better sense of pride. No one has come out and said it, but I sense that they feel better about themselves. Sensing it from what they are saying. I sense that they are proud, better feeling what happened. I feel the women on the Cedar Ridge project now have a different feeling.

As mentioned previously, one of the requirements of the THC is to have local citizens work closely with humanities scholars in projects it sponsors. One scholar, advising CRAFT members on local history and documentary research, stated about the guidebook and textile museum:

I know the East Tennessee Connection are very proud of the project. It is a quality project, with an outstanding book and museum. Rarely is a community of this size represented by a museum of this size and a quality book. All people from the county can be proud of this. This whole region can be proud of this project. And it just happened to coincide with the County's 175th anniversary? The book, you can't just read it one time and forget about it. Each time I read it I find something I failed to see before.

In commenting on the contribution of the guidebook, the humanities scholar continued:

There was a time when the writing of history was considered the domain of professional historians. The book is an excellent example, that researching and the writing of history is not only necessarily the domain of the professional historians. Because the book is a professional piece of work. Particularly impressive is the use of documents and oral interviews, the superb photographs and interpretive captions, through this the authors and editors have woven together an interesting, very factual, and entertaining work. It tells the history of a community and the a region, the lives of the people. It fills in gaps, chapters missing, on the county's economy. It discovered missing pieces in the study of industrialization is this area.

A representative of the Tennessee Humanities Council stated about the accomplishments of the project in Cedar Ridge:

This has been a project that has been held up to many other community groups in the last couple of years. About how to do these projects, how to write grants, and how to go about putting together multiple-exhibitions like this. So the council has been happy to sponsor CRAFT's work, but at the same time, they have been an inspiration and a model for other communities through out the state of Tennessee to do this kind of thing. So we had a good mutual relationship. It was obvious at the beginning that this was a quality project, and I am so pleased it came out that way.

These comments demonstrate that both the THC and humanities scholars believe the local history project in Cedar Ridge accomplished its goals.

Empowerment and Class Differences: Community Spirit and Self-Worth

Ironically, very few of the textile workers (male fixers or female operatives) have visited the museum. In a discussion with one of the textile operatives, during her lunch break at a local hosiery mill, as to the general "attitudes" of the operatives toward the project, she responded:

A lot of the women workers are excited about the book, especially those with their pictures in it. They're really happy about that. For the most part, most haven't been to the museum yet. They're interested in the museum, and plan to go, someday. It's just finding the time to go, most are more concern about getting to the tanning bed after work, picking up their kids, and getting supper on for their husbands. There's just not enough time in the day. The older ones are just too tired to go, though you hear them talking about it [the museum and guidebook] on breaks... I have a copy of the book, but I haven't had the chance to read it yet.

Another operative related, "I'm gonna go. My kids have been, and they say it [museum] was great. Their school took them. They told me there was a mannequin there with lint in her hair like mine somedays. Who would've believed it. I'm glad our town did something like that."

When an operative, who originally stated a museum on the women of Cedar Ridge was "a waste of time and money," was asked if she now felt a museum on the women textile operatives was a worthy topic, she replied "Oh yes! Ya' know, I didn't understand why in the world anyone would want to write a book about us and the mills. But then, after I got talking about it, I realized that we did have something to say." From the previous statements, it is obvious that though operatives have not taken or had the time to visit the museum or read the guidebook, there is a sense of *self-worth* and *pride* they share among themselves at work and with their family at home.

In discussing race relations on a college campus, Judith Hanna speaks of self-segregation and defensive structuring. According to Hanna, defensive structuring "takes place when a group attempts to create a feeling of *self-worth* and self-identity. On one hand, black Americans have a low sense of efficacy in American society, yet they have high personal self-esteem, which is influenced by relations with family and friends" (1993: 14). Similarly, in reference to *class* relations in Cedar Ridge, many of the operatives previously had a low sense of efficacy in their own community. Several of the retired mill operatives remember having to sit in a designated section for the mill workers at the local Baptist church, or attend a different church. A few residents have commented on how you can identify many of the women who work in the mills, by the "beat down look they have about them." While some of the operatives have been referred to as "hicks," others have been called "angels" or "the life of their family." It is suggested here that the societal identity placed on these operatives would threaten one's *self-worth*. Operatives turned instead to family and friends for self-identity. This "cultural survival" of close family ties and friends carries over to contemporary social organization in most rural communities. It appears to be even stronger among those sections of a community that are excluded or separate themselves from certain community functions.

In spite of the small representation of textile operatives who have visited the museum or read the guidebook, there does seem to be a new sense of efficacy emerging among the mill operatives, a consciousness of their **self-worth** and contribution to the community. This previously "lower-class" sector of the community is now recognized as a central and historical part of the community's existence, its development, and present sustainability. Knowledge of recognition is important to mill workers' **self-worth**.

While the notion of a textile heritage may well enhance residents sense of **pride** and **self-worth**, it also translates into a project of **community spirit**. As one resident stated:

*I feel all this will help the town, as a tourist attraction. Muddy Waters and Spartansburg did something on their heritage. This raises Cedar Ridge's status. I think it will raise self-esteem and **community spirit**. I think it was Joe who said when the High School was relocated outside of Cedar Ridge, the town lost its **community spirit**. There was an article in the newspaper about it a few weeks ago. Maybe this will help to get it back.*

The title of the article mentioned by this resident read, "END OF AN ERA: High School's Activities Focus of Cedar Ridge Community Life." The article explained that high school sports were once a vital part of the community's social identity. The town was especially proud of its male baseball and basketball teams, with the majority of the residents always "turning out" for the games. However, with the relocation of the Cedar Ridge High School, due to its burning in 1963, a valued focal point for community activities was cut off.

After the burning of the high school in 1963, classes were conducted in the National Guard Armory and area churches. A new school was eventually built, located half-way between the town of Cedar Ridge and Muddy Waters. Muddy Waters High School was then merged with Cedar Ridge to form the County Central High School. According to Joe Spencer, a retired teacher and coach of both the former Cedar Ridge High School and present County Central High School, the relocation of the High School out of the town killed the town's community spirit. Spencer stated:

Take a high school out of a town and it does something to the town. It hurts the town and causes it to lose something. The closeness of the community is not the same as it would be if the high school was still here. Back then, the high school had to be the center of activity because teenagers didn't really have any place

else to go. But then they didn't need any where else to go. Today they have too many places to go, and too easily. School activities were about the only social outlet most of the young people had. There were sports and the occasional theater production, soda shops, and of course the railroad depot. During the summer, most of the activities were centered around sports too, small town baseball leagues played against one another. Ya' see, Cedar Ridge and Muddy Waters were rivals, they lived to whip each other in sports, rivals ya' know, like Tennessee and Alabama.

To several of the residents, losing the high school did something almost indescribable to the town. The closeness and the caring that was once a vital part of the community left when the high school was moved. When asked if he felt the heritage tourism project in Cedar Ridge would help bring back the community's spirit, Spencer replied, "I hope so. It seems people are beginning to see their town as unique again, that they have something to offer. Its good for the women too. Its time they were recognized for all their hard work and contributions." On the evening of the textile museum's grand opening, the director of ETC was approached and asked if she felt the heritage tourism project in Cedar Ridge accomplished its goals. Stone enthusiastically replied:

Just look at them, how people feel about themselves. They're so excited and happy now. If you were to first meet someone while driving through town, they [local residents] seem almost apologetic about not being prosperous. I think this project will help get rid of that. I think it will help them move on and not grieve over what was. I sense that people are proud of their heritage, and some of them are realizing that it's a marketable resource. I think it has definitely raised the community's spirit.

Chapter V

DISCUSSION AND CONCLUSIONS

During the past several years, community history projects have sprung up throughout the United States. Although these projects differ widely, most share certain broadly humanistic purposes: the encouragement of cooperation between professional historians and lay people, the presentation of community history to the public, the use of history to build community identity and pride, and the encouragement of appreciation and respect for the participation of nonelite groups in the community's history. Some projects also adopt progressive social goals and give a historical perspective on current local issues in the hope of encouraging activism and change.

Linda Shopes
Oral History and Community Involvement (1986: 249).

The idea for this study originated from my work as consultant on the local history project in Cedar Ridge, Tennessee. It was a project implemented at the request of members from the grassroots organization Cedar Ridge Action for Today (CRAFT). The purpose of this thesis was to analyze to what extent three educational theories (Critical Educational Theory, Critical Feminist Educational Theory, and People's History) were employed along with the National Endowment for the Humanities Model in the local history project. Questions addressed to enable analysis included: While workshops sponsored by the National Endowment for the Humanities (NEH) do not advocate change, was critical consciousness raised in the process of encouraging local residents to be participatory researchers in documenting their own history at Cedar Ridge? To what extent was participatory research implemented in the project? Did either the workshops sponsored by the NEH, the guidebook, or the museum exhibit, lead to the "identification" of hegemonic forces influencing women's place in society by community residents? Did this identification lead to "critical reflection?" Did this critical reflection lead to the "production" of new gender meaning or the "transformation" of gender knowledge? The next question addressed in this thesis is if critical consciousness (via the agent of workshops sponsored by the NEH, the publication of the guidebook, and

the creation of a museum) lead to "action" by community residents? Did this action, displayed in the form of resistance (both mental and physical) to hegemonic forces, lead to social "change?" Social change is understood as the transformation of existing social structures or practices. Analysis of answers to these questions provided information for the identification of educational theories employed in the local history project. Through the application of grounded theory and statistical analysis, it was discovered that difference between subjects' responses toward the local history project was due to **gender** difference. In addition, **class** difference between female CRAFT members and female textile operatives, along with requirements set forth by the NEH, influenced which educational theories were employed in the local history project.

Gender

Non-formal, informal, and international educational practices are something new to the residents of Cedar Ridge, though several women in the town's history have been strong leaders and advocated for formal educational institutions in the past. Molly Embree, wife of a textile mill owner, insisted that her husband build a school in the mill village for the workers in the late 1890s, the curriculum being set up in a formal manner. Similar to other schools in the nation, until the last few years, books were full of men's great stories and women's contributions rarely mentioned. Additionally, most of the books only perpetuated the role of women in their subordinate status (Gough 1976; Stacey 1974). The school served as a means to socialize and reproduce women into an oppressed position, in both unpaid domestic labor and paid industrial labor. As feminist scholars note on education:

For many women, the 'real' and valued lessons learned did not necessarily grow out of their academic work but in relationships with friends and teachers, life crises, and community involvement. Indeed we observed that women often feel alienated in academic settings and experience 'formal' education as either peripheral or irrelevant to their central interests and development (Belenky et. al., 1986: 4).

Schools in the mills at Cedar Ridge served to "reproduce" residents to fill their niche in society, reproduction being the maintenance and replication of existing social structures. This is demonstrated in

the lesson plan *The Ant and the Grasshopper* from the first mill school, whose lesson was to teach the value and necessity of **hard work**.

Comments in response to the evaluation submitted to residents at the opening of the museum demonstrated that both male and female attendants recognized the **lack of female representation** in historical documentation especially in the realm of **politics, nation-building, or economics**. This token representation symbolizes the limitations and circumscription of women's power in political and civil society (Faye Harrison, personal communication 1994). Both male and female subjects recognized women from the community as important figures in their lives. Male subjects tended to recognize women in terms of **traditional care-givers or as teachers of values**. Females subjects tended to recognize women primarily for their contribution of **hard work**, though largely in reference to the domestic sphere. These categories did not, however, constitute a place for women's recognition in historical documents or in residents' previous formal educational literature. Instead, formal education in Cedar Ridge tended to serve as a means to reproduce the "ideal" role for women in terms of passiveness and powerlessness or nurturing and domesticity. Both male and female residents were conditioned to the value of **hard work**.

Not only did residents become aware of the lack of women's representation in history, but also of the important role women have played in the history of Cedar Ridge's development. Both male and female residents gave high ratings to the local history project in demonstrating women's contribution in Cedar Ridge's history. Males now commented on women's recognition in terms of **hard work** in the textile mills, where previously women were only recognized in terms of family and traditional domestic roles. Several female subjects continued to comment on women's recognition in terms of their hard work, but now in terms of "paid work."

Comments from both male and female attendants, demonstrate an increased awareness of women as active participants in Cedar Ridge in terms of family, unpaid domestic work, and paid industrial work. However, while both male and female subjects "identified" contributions women have made to the community, female subjects tended to reflect more on this newly found awareness. Content analysis of females' comments demonstrated a greater "reflection" on their identification of women's role and

contribution in the community; males' comments did not. Analysis of females' responses showed that they were actually thinking about what they identified and related this identification to other areas in their life. While both qualitative analysis of open-ended questions and quantitative analyses of male and female responses did reflect a difference due to gender, low p-values in all the Fisher's Exact Tests show no statistical significance between computed percentages.

Class

On the surface level it appears that the community as a whole has experienced a revitalization of the town's **community spirit**. Residents felt the town had lost its community spirit when the High School was consolidated with the neighboring town of Muddy Waters. Renovated buildings in the historical business district, the care given to resident's lawns and homes, and additional community activities suggest a revival of community spirit, however. **Community spirit** was a recurrent theme in interviews with residents and in evaluations after the museum's opening. As residents became aware of their heritage, of its uniqueness and the **strong work ethic** which the town of Cedar Ridge was founded upon, they acquired a **sense of pride** in their community, family, and of themselves. Pride comes from being recognized among themselves and by "outsiders" as being unique—**pride** here meaning a reasonable or justifiable self-respect. A few residents, both female textile operatives and CRAFT members, stated they felt the best thing about the museum was that they now have something they are proud of to show friends and relatives when they come to visit Cedar Ridge.

While residents regained a sense of common unity due to their shared heritage, they reacted to this new *sense of pride* depending on their *class* position within the community itself. Class position is easily defined for members of CRAFT (business owners, teachers, and former mill owners), however, class position is not as easily defined in the textile mills. One resident explained how teachers often work part-time in the mills during the summer, while other "middle class" women from the community may only be found in the mills around Christmas time as a means to supplement their income. It is these "middle class"

women who participate more actively in community activities. On the lower end of the class level, are workers who "scrape together whatever they can find to just make ends meet." Several of these workers live just above the poverty level, they neither have the time or the money to be involved in community organizations or in community activities such as visiting the museum. As noted by the wife of a local mill owner:

*A lot of the women who work in the mills aren't the type of people who usually demonstrate **community spirit** anyway. They're just not the type of people who would be interested in going to a museum, they're of a different class so to speak. Now others who work in the mills, they would be interested in participating in community activities if they just had the time.*

It is this "different class so to speak" who internalize their **sense of pride** as a means of **self-worth**, which they share with family members and friends. However, according to the wife of a retired mill owner and a member of CRAFT herself, other workers would be interested in participating in community activities if they were asked to help:

*I think any of the women who work in the mills would participate in any community activity if you asked her to help. If you don't think you know her well enough to ask, you know someone who does. This is a small town, and everyone knows everyone pretty much. The workers who don't participate in activities that promote **community spirit**, are usually the ones whose family depends entirely on them, on their income. They just don't have the time or the money to participate actively. But I think they carry **pride** for their community in their hearts, especially since the guidebook was published. I know that if we ever needed help on the museum, like information about the machinery or the process itself, they were always happy to help in any way they could.*

Perhaps operatives' exclusion from participation in community projects, even if it is by choice, also affects to their internalization of **self-worth**.

That workers were excluded from participating in NEH workshops, because of "lack of time" or purposeful exclusion by certain CRAFT members, is irrelevant here. What is important is that by not participating in the local history project, but serving as subjects instead, operatives did not have open space to "identify" or "reflect" on their own working history and life. They missed the opportunity to recognize forces shaping their position in life or to gain empowerment to change hegemonic patterns of economic life. Furthermore, workers were not involved in acquiring skills (grant writing experience, oral history

collection, fund raising knowledge) to act on critical consciousness if it had been able to transform.

Because operatives were excluded from participatory research in the project, critical consciousness did not emerge from the working class: from below. Instead participatory research was implemented by female CRAFT members: from the middle.

As noted in a local history project conducted in Baltimore, Maryland, participation must come from all levels of the community, especially the working-class, if critical consciousness and social change is to occur from below. Linda Shopes, who worked on the Baltimore Neighborhood Heritage Project (BNHP), stated about the project:

...my own experience with the Baltimore Neighborhood Heritage Project persuades me that unless such local history efforts are firmly rooted in the communities being studied and have well-developed links with local institutions and organizations, these goals will be translated into a series of awkward public meetings, a collection of oral history tapes, or a photographic exhibit. Such efforts may for a time stir up some enthusiasm for the community's history, but they ultimately go nowhere. The project becomes a series of discrete events and products, not a process of enhancing the historical consciousness of the community's residents. This outcome is particularly likely when class differences separate the project organizers and the members of the community (Shopes 1986: 249).

In order for substantial resistance to occur, it must come from the people directly involved and affected by existing problems. In order for social change to occur, there must be resistance. Not only were the voices of the operatives edited by CRAFT members (a form of social control), but they later became passive learners of their history instead of active participants in its discovery.

Instead of "producing" critical consciousness, or "transformation" of one's world view, the local history project acted more in the sense of "reproducing" women's place in Cedar Ridge as hard workers but mostly passive members of the community. Content material in the local history project did include a discussion on how female workers in the past were ignored or punished when they tried to say something about their working conditions. For example in 1949, several workers organized to have the Cedar Ridge Garment Company unionized. However, the operatives' voices were short lived. A few nights after the union was voted in the owner of the mill moved his machinery to the neighboring town of Muddy Waters,

leaving the workers behind without a job. Since then the operatives have felt that it is best if they say nothing.

The local history project did not discuss how several female workers at the existing hosiery mill resent not being able to acquire the job of a "fixer" because of their gender, what Chris Weiss (1993) terms "occupational segregation." The separation and status between the sexes is also demonstrated by the pictures of scantily dressed females in the "fixers" toolbox. In addition to not discussing females' resentment of being denied certain jobs that men have traditionally held, photographs of workers operating faulty equipment or in rooms with poor ventilation at the existing garment mill were edited out by CRAFT members. It should be noted, however, that humanities scholars also suggested that these photographs be edited since the NEH does not promote change and avoids controversy.

Educational Models

An extensive description of educational theories (Critical Educational Theory, Critical Feminist Educational Theory, and People's History) has been presented within this thesis. This section discusses which theories, along with the National Endowment for the Humanities Model, were employed in the local history project presented in this study.

Evaluations administered to residents in the early stages of the local history project in Cedar Ridge demonstrated little knowledge of the project, the humanities, or the heritage tourism project in their region. Only 20% of the residents stated they felt the local history project would affect them personally. In contrast, evaluations administered to attendants at the museum opening demonstrated an equal increase (80%) among both males and females in an awareness and understanding of the importance of the humanities in their lives. Both evaluation forms, in addition to informal and formal interviews conducted after the completion of the local history project, suggest that goals of the National Endowment for the Humanities Model were accomplished in the local history project at Cedar Ridge.

Originally members of the grassroots community organization CRAFT, looked to the NEH for support in implementing a local history project. While CRAFT members decided a museum exhibit on the general history of Cedar Ridge would help "uplift" residents of the community, the NEH proposal specified that the theme for the exhibit would be *Women in the Textile Industries of Cedar Ridge*. Once the project was financially supported by the NEH, CRAFT members had to follow NEH guidelines or risk losing their financial support.

As previously described, the NEH requires scholars to assist the general public in creating, directing, and implementing project goals in order to ensure appropriate humanities content. Workshops sponsored by the NEH were defined in this thesis as a hybrid form of both formal and non-formal education. Workshops are hierarchical with the teacher or scholar as expert, as in formal education. Yet, workshops also allow community members to define their own needs and problems in addition to participating in research, as in non-formal education. While participatory research is encouraged by the NEH, it also directs and regulates the amount of participation by residents. Because of guidelines required by the NEH, participatory research was limited for CRAFT members working on the project. It was also demonstrated in this thesis that the difference between the two educational forms (formal and non-formal) often causes tension due to difference between agendas of the NEH and local residents. Because participatory research was not only limited to a certain segment of Cedar Ridge, the "middle class," but also regulated by NEH's agenda, People's History was not employed in the local history project in its true form as defined in this thesis.

Evaluations submitted to residents at the opening of the museum demonstrated an elevation in awareness of the extensive contribution female residents made to the town's textile industry and to the life of the community itself. Several residents commented on how no one ever took time to think about women and their role in the community until it was brought to their attention by someone outside of Cedar Ridge. Awareness of women as historical agents in Cedar Ridge's social and economic development represented the assimilation of new information, with the casual visitor to the museum exhibit experiencing informal education. While the local history project increased residents' awareness of women's place in the

community, there is no evidence that it "produced" critical consciousness through the "transformation" of residents' world view. Therefore, neither the educational theory of Critical Educational Theory or Critical Feminist Educational Theory was employed in this project in its completed form (identification, reflection, and action).

If critical consciousness was evident in the previous chapters, it was displayed in the words from the project director of the heritage tourism project on the region, the East Tennessee Connection (ETC):

Well, this is a fascinating area over here, a macrocosm of the story of Appalachia. I thought a driving tour, like an exhibit to interpret the area, would be a good idea...So many other towns in this region have suffered in the same way as Muddy Waters, being company towns. Most of them are on skid row now because they didn't have diversified economies. They started to hurt when the main companies left...I'll tell you, one good thing that did come out of the railroad project, was making people not feel so guilty about the 1922 strike. They thought that the strike made the railroad not care about the people anymore. The book on the railroads here helped to educate people that they didn't do anything wrong. The layoffs that happened were part of a national movement. They felt the Railroad left town because they went on strike. Some people realize this now and they don't feel as guilty. I was curious if something like this happened in other towns. I also wanted to see us do more cooperative marketing of the museums in this area. The towns can't stand on their own very well, but together they have a lot to offer. Regional cooperation is good economic sense. ...It's circular. It's to educate locals on their heritage. To have them recognize that their town has something to offer and be proud of their heritage. Then the local people feel proud about presenting their heritage to outsiders, and gain additional pride by outsiders recognizing their heritage as worthy enough to market. But most of the towns originally became involved with this because they wanted to have something about their heritage.

Not only is identification and reflection evident from the above statement, but also "action" against deindustrialization in the region. After becoming aware of hegemonic forces shaping one's present position in society, with the transformation of one's world view and the "production" of critical consciousness, often comes action against these forces. Heritage Tourism has been implemented as one way to expand the economic base in the area, not in terms of providing a large number of jobs, but to make the area an attractive and viable place to recruit new businesses and residents to the region. In addition, residents of Cedar Ridge, staff members of ETC, and humanities scholars have commented on how the local history project has restored residents' sense of pride and raised community spirit. With community spirit, community organization and action is facilitated among concerned residents.

Stages of Critical Consciousness

Because critical reflection was not evident among residents of Cedar Ridge at the completion of this study, action and social change did not emerge in the community. Adult education did not lead immediately to social change within the time frame of this study. However, perhaps potential space was created where hegemony can be, and is, contested by a few members of CRAFT. Not only did the project director comment on the possibility of becoming more involved in local politics in the future, but one member commented on becoming more involved in shaping forces which in turn shape her own life, as demonstrated in the following quote, "Golly, I never realized how much outside forces influenced us here. Like this NAFTA thing. I guess I best start watching the news more, and start thinking about voting." In addition, perhaps potential space for the emergence of critical consciousness among other community residents was created. Not only may the museum inspire workers to research and reflect on their own history, but to become conscious of hegemonic forces in their lives. In addition, a new awareness of social stratification in the community has emerged among residents, evident in the following comment:

Someone pointed out to me while ago, when we were talking about the book [new guidebook], that there was a stigma attached to women who worked in the mills. They were looked down upon by those who didn't work there. They would go to church in the country whereas the mill owners and more well to do people would go to the Methodist or Baptist churches in town. I remember the big revival they had at the old dance hall where everybody of all stations came because it was such a big thing...It was sometime during the 1920s.

This new awareness of social stratification in the community, along with reflection on hegemonic forces keeping female workers from obtaining higher paying jobs traditionally held by males and female workers recognition of job loss due to increase mechanization, is what Paulo Freire (1972) calls a "naive-transitive" state of consciousness. Preceding this level of consciousness, is what Freire has termed "semi-intransitive consciousness," with critical consciousness (maximum of potential consciousness) transcending the two. Each of the three levels of consciousness (semi-intransitive consciousness, naive-transitive consciousness, and critical consciousness) consists of three properties: "identification," "reflection," which often leads to "action," with the latter transcending into the next level of "identification."

Semi-intransitive consciousness is the awareness of events which lie within one's own lived experience, attributing events or situations to either some super-reality or to something within oneself. As

Freire explains,

It is not hard to trace here the origin of the fatalistic attitudes men adopt in certain situations. If the explanation for those situations lies in a superior power, or in men's own 'natural' incapacity, it is obvious that their action will not be oriented towards transforming reality, but towards those superior beings responsible for the problematical situation, or towards that presumed incapacity. Their action, therefore, has the character of defensive magic or therapeutic magic (1972: 62-63).

The majority of the female textile workers demonstrated this level of consciousness by stating that though they do not care for their present working conditions, "Things will work out somehow, God willing."

However, a few of the female workers also demonstrated a transcendence to the next level of consciousness. The passage from semi-intransitive consciousness to naive-transitive consciousness, an awakening of the consciousness, consists of the unveiling of social reality and the emergence of an infantile awareness of one's dependent state. This is demonstrated by female workers' "identification" and "reflection" about lost of jobs due to increased mechanization, in addition to their new realization that something must be done about the town's economy. If critical consciousness did exist among workers, comments would have included recognition that they themselves will have to be "actively" involved in changing these hegemonic forces. This identification of potential active resistance was demonstrated, however, among a few members of CRAFT. While certain CRAFT members identified the importance of being actively involved in changing existing hegemonic forces in their community through voting or direct participation in local political issues, the transformation of their world view was incomplete at the completion of this study. Members were not yet reflecting on actively resisting the hegemonic forces in their community to bring about social change. Perhaps the guidebook and museum will encourage both CRAFT members and the female textile workers to look even more closely and critically at their own working history and life, to understand the economy within their own experience, and come to a better understanding of their importance and to gain empowerment to change hegemonic patterns of economic life. As one member of CRAFT stated, "I think this project will grow."

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APPENDICES

APPENDIX A

PROJECT EVALUATION FORM I

Early Attitudes of Residents on a Local History and Heritage Tourism Project in Cedar Ridge, TN

The aim of this questionnaire is to better understand the feelings, attitudes and expectations citizens of Cedar Ridge, TN have towards a local history project before its implementation in the community. The evaluation also aims to identify residents' attitudes towards their town being chosen to represent the textile industry in a regional heritage tourism project. You may stop this questionnaire at any time and skip any questions you wish to or those which do not apply to you.

I would like to begin the questionnaire by finding out more about you and your background.
[Please circle the number of your answer or write-in the response where indicated]

1. Sex of Subject: 1 Male 2 Female

2. How old were you on your last birthday? [YEARS] _____

What is your date of birth? ____/____/____

3. How much education have you completed?

- 1 Up through 4th grade
- 2 5th - 8th grade
- 3 9th grade - high school incomplete
- 4 High school completed [INCLUDING GED]
- 5 Post high school business, trade or professional school
- 6 Attended college
- 7 Community/Junior college completed
- 8 4-year degree completed
- 9 Post graduate education

4. Are you: 1 Single--Never married?
2 Widowed/Widower? ____ [YEARS]
3 Divorced? ____ [YEARS]
4 Separated? ____ [YEARS]
5 Married? ____ [YEARS]

5. Where do you presently live and for how long?

(town/city) (county) (state) [YEARS]

6. If you did not grow up in East Tennessee:

a. Where did you live before? [NEAREST TOWN AND STATE]

b. Why did you move to this location?

7. Have you heard of "Heritage Tourism?" Yes No

8. When you hear the words "Heritage Tourism" what comes to your mind?

9. Have you heard of the heritage tourism project, the East Tennessee Connection?

Yes No

Where/how? _____

10. Did you know the East Tennessee Connection chose 10 different towns in the region, including Cedar Ridge, to represent the different industries of Southern Appalachia?

Yes No

Can you name any of these other towns?

11. Do you think the local history or the heritage tourism project will affect you personally?

Yes No

12. Do you think the East Tennessee Connection project will help Cedar Ridge's economy? Please explain your answer.

Yes No

APPENDIX B

PROJECT EVALUATION FORM II

*Attitudes of Residents on the Completion of a Local History Project
in Cedar Ridge, TN*

Female ____ Male ____ Your age group: ____ 18-20 ____ 21-30 ____ 31-40
____ 41-50 ____ 51-60 ____ 60+

1. Do you or have you ever lived in Cedar Ridge? No Yes ____ [YEARS]

Do you or have you ever lived in McMinn County? No Yes

Other _____

2. Occupation _____

Have you or anyone in your family ever worked in a textile mill in Cedar Ridge? No Yes

3. Where did you first hear about this exhibit: ____ A news article; ____ An invitation; ____ A friend;
____ A poster; _____ Other

4. How do you rate your earlier education, in teaching you about women's contribution in history?

1	2	3	4	5
poor	fair	average	above average	excellent

Comments: _____

5. What level of education did you complete? _____

6. How do you rate the local history project (guidebook and museum), in teaching you about women's contribution in Cedar Ridge's history?

1	2	3	4	5
poor	fair	average	above average	excellent

Comments: _____

7. Has this project increased your awareness and understanding of women's role in Cedar Ridge's history? No Yes
How? _____
8. Has this project increased your awareness and understanding of the humanities--how history is relevant to your own life/how it has influenced who and where you are today? No Yes
How? _____
9. Have you read the book, *Then & Now: The Women in Cedar Ridge's Textile Industry*? No (go to # 7) Yes

Was something in particular unexpected or surprising to you? No Yes
If Yes, what _____
What has been the most important thing you have learned or gained from the book?

10. In the exhibits, was something in particular unexpected or surprising to you? No Yes
If Yes, what _____
11. What do you feel was the most important thing you learned or gained from the exhibits?

12. Do you think this project accurately portrays the influence of women in Cedar Ridge's history? No Why not? _____
Yes In what specific ways? _____
Unsure _____
13. Did the local history project (guidebook and museum) meet your expectations? No Yes
What were your expectations? _____

14. [For interviewees who stated they, or a family member, have worked in a textile mill at Cedar Ridge # 2].

Why do you believe unions do not exist in Cedar Ridge today? _____

How do you feel about layoffs due to automation or competition from labor in Third World countries? _____

APPENDIX C

CONSENT FORM

I am Carol Jo Evans and this study is my masters project for a degree in Anthropology at the University of Tennessee, Knoxville.

The study, Adult Education in a Local History Project, is interested in evaluating peoples' reactions toward a local history project in Cedar Ridge, TN. The research project is directed through the University of Tennessee, Knoxville. Cedar Ridge was chosen for this research due to its participation in the local history project and the regional heritage tourism project.

Participation in this study will require approximately 15-30 minutes of your time and is completely voluntary, refusal to participate will involve no penalty or loss of benefits. You will be asked questions on your perception of the local history project's accomplishments and failures. While it is hoped you will answer each question, you may skip over any question you prefer not to answer or terminate your participation at any time without penalty or loss of benefits.

Participation in this project should hold minimal risks for you. You will not be identified by name on notes taken during your interview, and only researchers from the University of Tennessee will have access to the interview notes. Your answers will be strictly confidential. Pseudonyms will be used for quotes taken from the interviews. Data obtained will be stored in a locked file in my office at the University of Tennessee. The signed consent forms will be stored separately from the interview notes.

Subjects may not personally benefit from the study, except to help in the community's evaluation of the Cedar Ridge history project. Greater knowledge of the community's perceptions of local history and heritage tourism in Cedar Ridge can potentially contribute to more effective management in cultural conservation projects, the regional heritage tourism project in eastern Tennessee, and the future projects sponsored by the Tennessee Humanities Council.

If you have further information or questions about this project, please write or contact: Carol Jo Evans or Dr. Benita Howell at the Department of Anthropology, 250 South Stadium Hall, University of Tennessee, Knoxville, TN 37996-0720; (615) 974-4408.

Consent: I understand the explanation of this project given above. I voluntarily consent to participate by being interviewed and completing an evaluation form.

Signature

Date

VITA

Carol Jo Evans was born in 1963 in Elizabeth City, North Carolina. She grew up in northeastern North Carolina and graduated from Northeastern High School in 1981. Graduating Cum Laude, she received her Bachelor of Arts Degree in 1988 from East Carolina University, Greenville, majoring in Anthropology with a History minor. She attended the Universidad de Costa Rica, in Heredia, Costa Rica as an exchange student during the summer of 1986. After working at various jobs, including Administrative Assistant at the Albemarle Regional Local Government Commission in eastern North Carolina and researcher for the Center on Aging at East Carolina University, she entered the graduate program in Anthropology at the University of Tennessee, Knoxville. There she received a Graduate Teaching Assistantship, a Research Assistantship, and a Teaching Assistantship. She has also taught Anthropology courses in Tennessee for the College of St. Francis and has worked on various research projects in eastern Tennessee. She received the degree of Master of Arts in Anthropology in 1994, with a minor in Sociology. Her concentration in this field was in Cultural Anthropology with research interests in community development, cultural and environmental conservation, and gender studies. The author is a member of Phi Kappa Phi, the Southern Anthropological Society, Center for Appalachian Studies and Services, History of Medicine Society of Appalachia, Society for International Development, and the Albemarle Environmental Association. She has been accepted by the University of Lexington, Kentucky, where she will enter the Anthropology program during the fall of 1994.