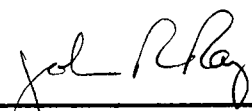


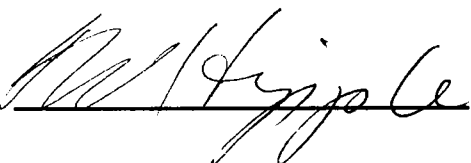
To the Graduate Council:

I am submitting herewith a dissertation written by Lynn Griggs Alexander entitled "Appalachian Characteristics Portrayed in Children's Literature Set in Appalachia." I have examined the final copy of this dissertation for form and content and recommend that it be accepted in partial fulfillment of the requirements for the degree of Doctor of Education with a major in Curriculum and Instruction.



John R. Ray, Major Professor

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and recommend its acceptance:



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APPALACHIAN CHARACTERISTICS PORTRAYED IN
CHILDREN'S LITERATURE
SET IN APPALACHIA

A Dissertation
Presented for the
Doctor of Education
Degree

The University of Tennessee, Knoxville

Lynn Griggs Alexander

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ABSTRACT

The purpose of this study was to examine, through content analysis, a selection of books set in Appalachia to determine the presence or absence of characteristics consistent enough to portray a distinctive or stereotypical regional character. The reading sample was limited to fictional works written for primary grades. Each book appeared in a professional selection tool. Sixteen books were included in the sample.

Content analysis was made with instruments developed by Daniel Katz, Kenneth Braly, Bruce Ergood, and this writer. Each book was examined in terms of text and illustrations. Descriptors appearing in the sample books and the content analysis forms were recorded. Conclusions were based on percentages of occurrence for descriptors.

Results of the content analysis revealed that descriptors were basically positive for all books. The most frequent descriptors used were industrious, loyal to family ties, harmony with nature, and individualistic. However, the descriptors were consistent enough to present a distinctive Appalachian character who was likely to live on a farm, to have a limited income, to wear overalls, to work very hard, to live in a log cabin, to be very independent, and to love his family.

In summary, the descriptors used were very positive when taken individually. However, the sample as a whole presented characters who were

far too consistent to fully represent an entire region and thus offered a stereotypical picture of Appalachians.

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CHAPTER I

INTRODUCTION

So many lies and half-truths have been written about us, the mountain people, that folks from other states have formed an image of a gun-totin', 'baccar-' spitting, whiskey-drinking, barefooted, foolish hillbilly, who never existed, but was conceived and born in the minds of the people who have written such things as *Stay on Stranger* and the *Beverly Hillbillies*. And as lies seem to be more easily believed than truths, no matter what we do, we can't make folks believe we are any different. These lies and half-truths have done our children more damage than anything else. They have taken more from us than the large coal and gas companies did by cheating our forefathers out of their minerals for that was just money. These writers have taken our pride and dignity and have disgraced us in the eyes of the outside world. When our children go into cities for work or are drafted into the army, they are forced to deny their heritage, change their way of talking, and pretend to be someone else, or be made to feel ashamed, when they really have something to be proud of (Slone, 1979, p. xii-xiii).

Literature is a great communicator of ideas and concepts, and if Verna Mae Slone is correct, when the setting is Appalachian, it often presents damaging half-truths. The purpose of this study was to examine, through content analysis, a selection of books set in the Appalachian Highlands which were recommended for primary school children, to see if stereotypes were present and to determine if these stereotypes were of a positive or negative nature. Children do

learn from what they read and can develop cultural prejudices and debasing ideas about themselves and others if that material contains inaccurate stereotypes. Therefore, this is an area that deserves close attention when one is selecting books for young people.

Charlotte Huck contends that books should not substitute for firsthand experiences, but in many cases they often do and are the only contact a young reader has with a place or group of people. Since books are great socialization tools, they can be used to raise the consciousness level of children and to increase their understanding of many ideas, including cultural differences. Rather than ignore differences among various groups of people, children need to learn to appreciate the unique qualities of each group as well as the universal traits common to many. Various minorities have become critical of how their culture is portrayed in literature. According to Huck, "at this time in our history it is necessary to evaluate minority literature not only with regard to its general literary value but in a special light according to the image presented by the group" (Huck, 1979, p. 431).

Public awareness of minority images presented in literature and the media in general has steadily grown since the 1960s along with the general interest in the civil rights of various groups, especially black Americans, native Americans, Hispanic-Americans, and women. As research has branched out to include many other minorities such as the elderly, the disabled, and smaller cultural groups such as Appalachians, distortions have been found in the presentation of almost every group (Applebee, 1979, p. 451). Few

books are truly value free. According to Robert Sutherland most individual books and genres carry the ideology of the author (Sutherland, 1972, p. 144). In many cases, this ideology conforms to society's dominant view of the group of people under consideration. This dominant image often contains various stereotypes that may or may not be accurate. Few studies have looked at stereotyping in children's literature, but the limited research has shown that minority peoples have been stereotyped even in the face of changing realities that have proven these misconceptions to be false (Gast, 1967, p. 12).

There is still a debate as to whether or not a truly unique culture exists for Appalachia. According to the Harvard Encyclopedia of American Ethnic Groups, group identity is only partial for the Appalachian region, but nevertheless residents are often perceived as a group. Because of hillbilly stereotypes, many Appalachians disavow their heritage (Billings and Walls, 1980, p. 125). Often they claim their community is not part of the Appalachian region, so repugnant is the idea of being associated with the term Appalachian. Many people of the region do not see themselves as hillbillies, mountaineers, highlanders or perhaps even Appalachians. There is no real standard variety Appalachian, but the forces of the media, literature, political reform, and social studies have created one in the minds of many. No general image is entirely accurate. Many are stereotypes and often carry prejudice and ignorance of the true set of people living in the region (Ergood, 1978, p. 36). The problems for Appalachian children can start in school

when they begin to search for familiar experiences in their reading material (Gates and Weller, 1975, p. 224). They see little if anything that truly relates to their communities and what they do find may be stereotypes of mountain children running barefoot through the hills speaking non-standard English. Children and teachers from outside the region often assume that Appalachians are hillbillies and treat all members of the group accordingly. Schools should see the importance of honoring various cultures since it is within their domain that children first realize they may be different from others. As Appalachian children see themselves talking differently, enjoying different foods, and often even dressing differently from other groups, they may brand themselves hillbillies (Hathaway, 1979, p. 82). Others may also use the word hillbilly to describe a group that they feel is not only culturally different, but also culturally deprived (Dundes, 1969, p. 478).

Statement of Problem

In this study, the investigator analyzed the image of Appalachians found in a selection of children's literature to determine if stereotypes were present, what these stereotypes are, and if they are of a positive or negative nature. Inferences will be made as to what these images say about how the dominant culture perceives people of the region. According to Joel Taxel, curricular materials, including literature, are not value neutral. They sometimes contain subtle representations of the values of the

dominant elements of society. Children's fiction is a cultural product which is grounded in specific ideological orientations of which the author may not be aware. People tend to believe what they read even if it is a fictional work. Thus, authors may be legitimizing an idea, such as the hillbilly image, simply by falling back to the easy characterizations instead of developing a fuller more accurate image (Taxel, 1980, p. 1-17). "The books children read are generally believed to influence their attitudes. In light of this, children should have access to books that foster realistic rather than stereotypic attitudes" (Tyndall, 1981).

Teachers often explore a regional social studies topic through fictional literature. Or children may select a book where setting plays a dominant role in plot and character development. In either case, the book chosen should present images that help children learn to respect and appreciate the diversity of their own culture and that of others (Huck, 1979, p. 431). The problem for teachers and students is to find materials that will meet these criteria. The solution to the problem is often difficult to find without the help of selection tools which have been developed around a criterion which will insure at least some degree of accuracy and an attempt to portray the full range of values found in a culture.

Purpose of the Study

The purpose of this study was to examine, through content analysis, a selection of books set in Appalachia to determine if there

were any stereotypes present. An underlying assumption is that teachers and librarians will use selection tools when developing a list of reading materials on a given topic. Therefore, this study also used authoritative selection tools in the area of Appalachian reading material for elementary school children when selecting the books for analysis.

The ultimate purpose of this study was to look at an area in which there has been little research consideration in the past for the presence or absence of characteristics consistent enough to portray a distinctive or stereotypical regional character, which may or may not have much in common with the social reality of the region. If the desire is to present materials which will give a balanced picture of American life without using old stereotypes, children's literature portraying minorities should be reviewed carefully.

Importance of the Study

Books are great communicators of ideas and concepts. Through the guise of fictional literature, children have observed how to cope with death and divorce, how to relate to the child next door, and how children in other countries and regions live. Unfortunately they may have learned many destructive things as well. When literature or textbooks ignore or stereotype minority cultures, they may damage self-concepts and inhibit appreciation and understanding of the rich cultural heritage that is found in American society.

To promote cultural understanding and appreciation, researchers and teachers need to examine materials selected for classroom use to determine just how closely the image presented in the text relates to the situation under consideration. Accepting the fact that the stated and hidden curriculum of a school plays an important role in shaping the ideas and attitudes of its students, one must assume that educators would want to use only those materials which present areas like the Appalachian Highlands with respect, integrity, and a desire for realistic portrayal.

An analysis of the images portrayed in children's literature, as presented in this study, could be very helpful to educators who wish to provide a balanced picture of regional culture. It is often very difficult to look at a culture of another group or region without comparing it to one's own background or the dominant culture of society. Consequently, many books can be found that offer only a patronizing attitude toward lifestyles that differ from the mainstream. If a criterion for success is to include all children in the public school system, educators must learn to accept the cultural diversity of the nation and to protect it with recommended materials that honor its existence. Finding ways to look at children's fiction which will show the presence of damaging stereotypes may be one important way to achieve cultural diversity in public schools.

Limitations of the Study

This study was limited to fictional works set in the Appalachian Highlands and written on a primary school level. This grade range was chosen because this is the first time that children may realize they are different from others or that different regions have unique cultures.

Only works listed in the professional selection tools described in the sample section of this chapter were included. The sample list was further limited to fictional works with a twentieth century setting. Since biographies, folktales, and non-fiction works are written for different purposes and with different limitations, they were not included in this study.

Design of the Study

The study had four major phases. The first phase involved selection of the sample. The second phase was the literature review, which presented a view of Appalachian culture from the field of social science. The third phase was the actual content analysis of the sample. The final phase was the analysis of collected data.

Population

The final sample included 16 books and represented 100% of the population meeting the criterion. Each was recommended for primary school children. Each was set in the Appalachian Highlands. Each was a fictional work. Each was set in the twentieth century.

The selection tools used for this study were Reading for Young People: Kentucky, Tennessee, West Virginia; Reading for Young People: The Southeast; and An Appalachian Studies Teacher's Manual. Selection tools for Appalachian studies are scarce. Few are current and many are merely a listing. Two of the three chosen were published by the American Library Association and the third by a respected children's museum in the region. These three were chosen because of recent publication dates, and use of reading level and regional setting categories.

An Appalachian Studies Teacher's Manual was edited by Jim Stokely and published by the Children's Museum of Oak Ridge (Tennessee). The manual is part of the project "An Appalachian Experience", which was funded by a grant from the National Endowment for the Humanities. The purpose of the book is to serve as a working classroom manual for lesson plans and activities in Appalachian studies. The manual includes reading lists for the general public and for every level of educational activity from primary to graduate school. Descriptions of college programs in Appalachian studies for several colleges and universities are also

included. Worksheets provide teachers with ready-made activities and lessons on the area. Thus, this work was chosen for its total impetus toward classroom use and educational development in Appalachian studies. It would be a prime source for teachers wishing to develop a unit on this topic and thus its recommended reading material might carry a great deal of weight. It seems to be one of the few such manuals available on this topic.

The ALA selection tools were chosen since the American Library Association is the recognized professional organization for the field. It was assumed that its selection tools would be widely used by teachers and librarians. The stated purpose of the regional bibliographies was to provide books which would offer other dimensions to the information found in standard texts on regional topics. These new dimensions would allow the reader to have a more intimate experience with the culture of the region. The bibliographies covered several areas including : fiction, folklore, poetry, drama, music, biography and personal experience, and other informational books. Selection criteria involved literary quality, appropriateness to the region under consideration, and suitability to grade level. State editors were asked to submit a list of 100 books on their states. The resulting lists revealed a general shortage of good regional literature across the country.

Fiction was chosen as the unit of study for this research to give focus to the project. It was felt that by looking at one form at a time, a clearer picture could be given of just where stereotypes appear.

Appalachian Highlands was defined as the highland areas of Tennessee, Kentucky, West Virginia, and North Carolina. This is a modification of the definition provided by the National Geographic Picture Atlas of Our Fifty States. Several definitions are available. This one was chosen since the text was designed for primary school use and it was assumed that teachers would likely turn to such a source when developing a unit of study on the region. Several books were eliminated from the sample that had a setting within one of the regional states but not in the highland area of that state. It was felt that themes dealing with lowland farming which was not adjacent to the highlands would explore entirely different cultures than the one in question.

When one author had more than one book on the list, the first one available to the researcher from a greater Knoxville area library was selected. Since many of the books are out of print, random selection was not always possible. This selection policy was used to avoid any one author having too great an influence on the overall research.

In summary, books were chosen for the sample in the following manner: each must appear in at least one of the selection tools; each must be recommended for primary grades; each must be a fictional work; each must take place in the twentieth century in the Appalachian Highlands as previously defined; and no author may have more than one book in the sample. A list of the complete sample is presented in Appendix A.

Methodology

Each book was read completely through once. Next the content analysis forms were completed. Items describing the characters were checked. Then each book was reexamined in terms of illustrations. Items were checked which reflected ideas presented in the illustrations. A different coding mark was used for text and illustrations.

The content analysis coding form was developed by Daniel Katz and Kenneth Braly in 1932 to determine the presence of stereotypes in the attitudes of 100 college students. As a result of this research, Katz and Braly published one of the first studies on stereotypes. This study may be the single most cited reference in the literature on stereotyping to date (Miller, 1982, p. 10). Although the form was not developed for content analysis of written material, it has become a classic instrument for detecting stereotypes in many areas.

The Katz and Braly research was designed to look at the nature of public and private attitudes toward racial and national groups. The authors asked 100 students from Princeton University to describe characteristic traits which they felt various groups exhibited. The groups included Germans, Japanese, Negroes, Irish, English, Jews, Americans, Chinese, Italians, and Turks. The students were given a prepared list of 84 adjectives and asked to check those that they felt applied to various groups. Subjects were given the option of adding additional adjectives as needed. The prepared list of

traits was compiled by 25 Princeton undergraduates who were asked to list all traits that described a given racial or national group. No suggestions were given to this group of students. Katz and Braly hoped that by allowing 25 people to develop the list, it would include ideas that were outside their own knowledge of racial and national qualities and stereotypes. The responses were tabulated into raw and percentage scores. A summary was given for the traits held valid by the sample population for each group. One computation gave the degree of agreement for each trait assigned to the group.

The technique is simple. Because of its wide use, results from this study can be easily compared to similar studies. Many projects have used the Katz and Braly list as a basic instrument, modifying it to suit individual needs. However, the technique has not been immune to criticism. Some have said that giving people a list of characteristics almost forces them to support stereotypes. On the other hand, some may not respond honestly and refuse to check items they believe apply simply to avoid showing any signs of bigotry. These critics prefer open-ended forms which allow people to write their own descriptors should they feel any apply. And yet the Katz and Braly form has remained the instrument of preference. According to Miller, "the impact of the Katz and Braly paradigm has been profound. It is the prevailing technique for the direct assessment of stereotypes of all kinds of groups" (1982, p. 14-15). This standardized format was used for this study in order that results could be compared with other studies in future research. The

form presents an established list of accepted descriptors that would lend themselves to universal interpretation.

Like many other studies, this one involved the use of a list modified to meet its particular needs. The Katz and Braly list was used in its entirety. An additional list developed by Bruce Ergood, from the Appalachian studies field, was included to determine if certain characteristics often called common to Appalachian culture were present. Ergood developed his list using descriptors found in 20 books and articles describing mountain or Appalachian people. He found 11 specific characteristics, all of which were included on the content analysis form for this study. The Ergood and Katz and Braly lists were kept separate for further analysis comparing the two instruments as they apply to this sample.

A third set of descriptors was developed by the investigator of this study to look at the question from yet another angle. Brief descriptions were recorded of the main characters' occupation, manner of dress, home, and speech patterns. These four areas were chosen as a result of the literature review for this study, which revealed them as possible places where stereotypical descriptions may occur. This will be referred to as the First Impression List, since these areas are usually very apparent to the reader even without careful consideration of character development.

At the end of the project, a list of descriptors checked was compiled and divided into positive and negative groups. Since stereotypes are not always negative connotations, it was felt that the

descriptors should be divided in this way for final analysis of the possible effect they may have.

These three lists were used to give a comprehensive look at the reading sample in an effort to discover every possible stereotype. Although the Katz and Braly list is considered the classic instrument in stereotype research, used alone it would not reveal some of the visual images so common to the Appalachian stereotype. Therefore, this study was designed, like many others, around a modified Katz and Braly list. The list used for this study is found in Appendix B.

Treatment of Data

After each title was read and the content analysis forms completed, frequency counts were tabulated and percentages of occurrence figured. A summary of characteristics for each book was also formulated to determine the effect of individual titles. Tabulation of the content analysis was reported in Appendix C.

Organization of Data

In Chapter I, the statement of the problem is presented as well as an introduction to the topic, purpose of the study, importance of the study, and discussion of methodology, sample, and procedures.

Chapter II is the literature review section. Topics discussed include stereotyping in general, how children might be affected by

reading material, and the nature of Appalachian culture as described in fiction and non-fiction material.

In Chapter III the analysis of data is presented and Chapter IV is a summary of the project, findings, conclusions, and recommendations.

CHAPTER II

REVIEW OF THE LITERATURE

It is generally accepted that books do influence readers. If that be the case, it is especially important that children have reading material that is free from stereotypes. Negative stereotypes could damage a young reader's self-concept and his attitude toward others, especially those he has no contact with outside the world of reading. Few studies are available on stereotyping in children's literature and even fewer on stereotyping in children's literature set in Appalachia. In the following literature review, an attempt will be made to give a picture of how stereotypes might work in children's literature, how they are developed, how they have developed in regard to residents of the Appalachian Highlands, and how social scientists have described the region.

The Power of Books

Disseminating the content of culture is the responsibility of educators, the media, the church, advertising agencies, entertainers, artists, and bureaucrats (Maggard, 1983-84, p.72). Several reports have noted that Appalachian children have poor self-concepts when

compared to children from other regions (Henderson, 1982, p. 53). Some contend that poor self-concepts are, at least in part, a result of negative images presented by these disseminators of culture. Young children often test themselves as they read, seeing how they measure up when compared to the characters. Opportunity to practice adult behavior is another function of children's literature (Tucker, 1972, pp. 51-53). Children need to find characters in their books with whom they can identify. If these characters are portrayed in a negative patronizing manner, the result could be the formation of a poor self-image.

Books have done a great deal to break down traditional barriers of sex and racial misunderstanding, but they still have a long way to go to portray the rich texture of life with all its unique and individual qualities. After World War II, authors and publishers realized minorities needed better treatment in children's literature. Trusting that books shape ideas, writers were becoming more sensitive to new interpretations of society which would offer less patronizing and stereotypical images and hopefully more honest portrayals (McQuire, 1971).

Research has confirmed that attitudes are formed at an early age. Therefore, it is never too early to be concerned about the ideas projected in children's literature. Certainly by primary school, children are beginning to form lasting ideas about the ways of the world. At this age, children believe books are absolutes. If it is in print, especially if the teacher reads it, it must be true. Thus, any

stereotype or inaccurate portrayal could have a lasting effect on how the reader perceives the world (Singh, 1973).

The danger of such stereotypes is that they are untrue to reality and dangerously simplify thinking. The negative subliminal influence of such portrayals is indeed frightening when one stops to realize that books may serve as the only means some children have of knowing what individual members of groups are like (Singh, 1973).

When many social scientists comment that the image of Appalachians is not people but prototypes, one must wonder what this does to the degree of understanding children gain from reading fiction. The common stereotypes take two forms—the ornery, independent, feuding moonshiner or the proud, honest, God fearing, subsistence farmer (Ergood, 1978, p. 37). These false assumptions could be damaging and contribute to prejudice and feelings of inferiority.

These dominant views are often the only ones available to both residents and outsiders. Society rarely recognizes any other. Maggard defines this narrow attitude as hegemony which works by selecting a definition for mass acceptance and then nurturing it within the content of the dominant culture, which is different from the group in question. The dominant culture operates to reinforce existing power relationships. Many journalists are simply ignorant of the region, according to Maggard, and have little real contact with the people. Thus, they are more likely to absorb uncritically

stereotypical definitions of Appalachians as ethnically separate and inferior (Maggard, 1983-84, p. 78).

Like all forms of literature, children's literature is shaped by the author's value system. This value system may be unique to the author or reflect the views, assumptions, moral principles, and norms of the dominant culture. According to Robert Sutherland, when an author promulgates his ideologies, he is making a political statement. These statements take three basic forms—politics of advocacy, politics of attack, and politics of assent. In politics of advocacy, the author is offering an object lesson to enhance self-concepts or to educate the reader. Examples of the politics of attack are abundant in cartoons, for example, when the "bad guy" gets his just rewards in the end. Examples of politics of assent are more difficult to detect since they usually affirm the status quo and thus may result from an unconscious effort by the author. Readers are less aware of the assent mode since it usually reaffirms their own values and will cause little thought-provoking activity. In other words, when a story conforms to the idea already stored in the reader's mind, there is little questioning of its accuracy. In this sense, stereotypes are not used to be derogatory or to advocate their authority. They are merely representations of the accepted way to view a certain subject. By their very nature, these almost invisible ideas are very powerful perhaps more powerful because they are so subtle (Sutherland, 1972, pp. 143-155). The "consequence in shaping attitude and behavior is profound. By inhibiting change and supporting tradition,

it has great potential impact on the shape of society—for good or ill" (Sutherland, 1972, p. 155).

Children's literature often reflects the attitudes of the dominant population. When stereotypes and over generalizations are found in many books, movies, television programs, and magazines, it should not be surprising that they are also present in children's literature. If children are exposed to these ideas often enough, their perceptions will be distorted until the myths become realities (Tyndal, 1981, pp. 2-7). Distortions can be subtle and reflected in what is not said as much as in what is. "Stereotypes in children's literature are one-dimensional, of limited variety, with stereotyping of occupations, personalities, home situations, and physical features" (Applebee, 1979, pp. 451-453). Until rather recently, educational materials, like mass market publications, were ethnocentric reflections of the dominant white middle class culture. These materials deprived children and adults of the richness that is found in American culture with all its diversified components (Keating, 1967, p. ix).

But during the 1960s, there was an increased interest in, as well as an increase in written material on minority history describing individual groups like blacks, Hispanic-Americans, women, and the poor (Shapiro, 1985). With the civil rights movement, more and more people were demanding that this new literature not include old stereotypes that were considered damaging. Children can be hurt if they see few members of their social group in the books they read. If their lifestyle is never described, they can feel left out

of basic American culture. This does not help the development of a good self-concept. Children who feel left out can find educational experiences less than meaningful. Studies have shown that children improve in school when given materials with which they can identify (Keating, 1967, p. ix). A study by David Gast (1967) shows that Appalachian children have poor self-concepts when compared to children from other regions (Henderson, 1982, p. 53). Perhaps a lack of materials on the subject, especially non-stereotyped materials, could be part of the cause. A respect for cultural diversity is important in any educational setting, especially in light of possibly damaged self-concepts.

Gast found that many traditional teaching materials ignore or stereotype most minorities. This is especially true for Appalachians who are not often recognized as a unique ethnic group. In a study of children's fiction written between 1945 and 1962, Gast analyzed the presence of stereotypes. Forty-two books written for kindergarten through the eighth grade were examined. The content analysis form used was developed by Katz and Braly. Gast concluded that virtually no negative stereotypes were used in this sample and that traditional negative stereotypes had been dropped. Traits consistent with the majority of Americans were stressed (Gast, 1967, pp. 14-19).

Elnor Bellon (1973) conducted a content analysis study of literature for children set in the South and found that negative stereotypes were present in her 36 book sample. Characterizations were consistent enough to show a stereotypical Southern child. Most

characters came from a deprived background. Most lived in a rural setting. Few attended school a full term. A majority spoke a dialect. Less than half of the children lived with their parents and most worked very hard because of economic hardship.

Elements of characterization found in these books may cause readers to repress identification with the main character. Studies have shown that children tend to repress identification with a character who suffers unpleasant experiences or who has values different from his own (Bellon, 1973, pp. iv-v).

If children are reluctant to identify with children who have unpleasant lifestyles or different values, then they must have an especially hard time relating to characters who live in their own area and are depicted in a negative manner. Such depiction may be the cause of poor self-concept and refusal to associate oneself with an Appalachian heritage.

The Nature of Stereotypes

Looking back we can see how indirectly we know the environment in which nevertheless we live. We can see that the news of it comes to us now fast, now slowly; but that whatever we believe to be a true picture, we treat as if it were the environment itself. It is harder to remember that about beliefs upon which we are now acting, but in respect to other peoples and other ages we flatter ourselves that it is easy to see when they were deadly earnest about ludicrous pictures of the world.

.....
 The war, of course, furnished many examples of this pattern: the casual fact, the creative imagination, the will to believe, and out of these elements, a counterfeit of reality to which there was a violent instinctive response. For it is clear enough that under certain conditions men respond as powerfully to fictions as they do to realities, and that in many cases they help to create the very fictions to which they respond (Lippmann, 1949, pp. 4 and 10).

The quote by Walter Lippmann appears in a chapter of Public Opinion entitled, "The World Outside and Pictures in Our Minds."

Careful consideration of the chapter title might make reading of the quote unnecessary since it so eloquently captures the essence of Lippmann's theory. According to Lippmann, there is a world inside the mind that is shaped and colored by the individual's experience, family heritage, education, and personality—the pictures inside our mind. And then there is "The" world as it actually exists without personal interpretation. Of course, no one can ever see that world, although people may feel they actually do. Everyone has an agenda which colors the way they act and react to situations and people. This agenda has as much to do with determining one's reality as do the actual components of reality.

Lippmann, a journalist, inspired academic interest in stereotypes. He stressed the importance of knowing how people perceive events in their environment, if one wants to truly understand any group. He appreciated the great power and subtlety of subjective impressions. He felt that people do not act on the basis

of an objective and real environment but in terms of their personal perception of that environment. Information about the world is so abundant that people must reduce it to more manageable units, organize it, categorize it, classify it, and assign constancies. It is from these organizational efforts that stereotypes begin to take shape (Miller, 1982, pp. 3-5).

For the real environment is altogether too big, too complex, and too fleeting for direct acquaintance. We are not equipped to deal with so much subtlety, so much variety, so many permutations and combinations. Although we have to act in that environment, we have to reconstruct it on a simpler model before we can manage it (Lippmann, 1949, p. 11).

The world is so complex that it is impossible for man to have firsthand knowledge of very much of what he has stored in his mind. Lippmann contends that man defines first and then sees. That is, in the world's confusion, one will pick out what has been preconceived or ordained by his culture to be true. This preconception is a stereotype that society has developed in an effort to manage massive quantities of information. This is not bad in all cases, but necessary in many, if one does not want to learn everything for the first time with each new situation. Stereotyping is a form of economy. If a person saw everything in detail and without any preconception, instead of in type, category, and with some generalization, life would be totally exhausting and almost out of the question. No one has the time or opportunity to learn everything firsthand and without using

information gained from past experiences. "Instead we notice a trait which marks a well known type, and fill in the rest of the picture by means of the stereotypes we carry about in our heads" (Lippmann, 1949, p. 59). Stereotypes rely more on categorization and less on uniqueness. Lippmann saw this as a functional process which, for example, allows a person to visualize a concept like sunset without actually being in front of one. He deplored the consequences of negative stereotyping, yet felt that without stereotyping in general, human existence would be very difficult. He saw a great difference between the process of stereotyping as a way of storing information and a product of stereotyping such as bigotry. It is also a motivational way of defining oneself and justifying one's attitudes, a way of protecting self-respect and values. He said stereotyping was in everyone, as a reflection of the culture, language, and manner of thinking. Lippmann viewed the process as basically normal (Miller, 1982, pp. 9-10).

The process of stereotyping as defined by Lippmann is not bad in itself simply because it relies on generalizations; however, much stereotyping activity also relies on ethnocentric behavior which implies that certain groups have inborn traits or that one group is by nature better than another. The process begins at an early age and is based on historical interaction between the groups in question. J.C. Brigham (1971) has research data contending that by the fourth grade, children have absorbed many of the stereotypes held by the adults of their social group. Racial classification can begin as early

as the age of three. Group differences affect the way children relate to one another. Since the "outgroup" is supposed to have different characteristics, the ingroup may not want to interact and thus develop negative attitudes toward the group. Overgeneralization often means that group members will not be seen as individuals but as people who have certain traits in common attributed to them by the dominant group. Expectancies develop as to how the outgroup will behave. Even if the outgroup behaves in an unexpected manner, the dominant group may call this an exception to the rule and use it to reaffirm basic assumptions. Stereotypical behavior is viewed in positive terms by the ingroup when its own behavior is described, but when the same traits are assigned to the outgroup a negative term is used. For example, the ingroup may be described as loyal to family, but the outgroup would be called clannish for the same behavior (Stephan & Rosenfield, 1982, pp. 127-128).

People often respond to the personification of a symbol and not to an individual (Katz & Braly, 1933, p. 280). Identification of an individual as part of a group often depends on the use of group labels. The labels facilitate access to traits associated with the group, which will help place a group member in a context, even when he is not known personally. It is often assumed that the person will have the accepted traits as a prototype member of the group. The major function of these labels is to give order to a world jammed with information, and to divide the social world into intelligible units. The content of these labels is determined by the unique past interaction

between the groups. When that interaction has been negative, labeling allows people to believe they have a basis for their negative stereotypical attitudes (Stephan & Rosenfield, 1982, pp. 95-97). A widespread view is that stereotypes perform a function for the prejudiced, in that they provide a way to rationalize hostility toward other groups (Bringham, 1971, p. 27).

Some writers see stereotypes as generalizations of situations which may exist, although to a lesser degree.

In sum, there is ample evidence that ethnic stereotypes can have 'kernels' of truth, at least in a convergent validity sense, that is, agreement between [sic] several groups as to the traits that characterize a particular object group. However, the absence of acceptable validity criteria leaves the question of whether all such stereotypes have some validity unanswered (Bringham, 1971, p. 26).

Marlene Mackie (1973) states that there are two assumptions about stereotypes: they are inaccurate by definition and they function as false rationalizations for outgroup antipathy. But she finds that a review of the literature reveals that stereotype is really a multidimensional concept whose degree of accuracy has never been checked and is a concept that is not truly synonymous with prejudice. Further, she suggests that perhaps liberal social scientists can not bring themselves to accept any positive interpretation of stereotype and will not test ethnic stereotype accuracy, perhaps because they fear what the results may be. Sociologists prefer an equalitarian interpretation of society, but what they are doing is

pushing ethnocentrism by muting or denying the differences between groups. They assume any idea that differs from middle class values is shameful. This is not to say that stereotypes are all good or even usually true, but Mackie does point out that there are real differences among groups. If one claims group identity, differences which define the identity of the group must also be claimed. Few would deny that there are group differences. The problem arises over the association of different with unequal. Finally, Mackie observes that bigots and cultural integralists share the same rhetoric in that both claim cultures have distinctive values. If a culture or ethnic group is worth defending, then there must be distinctive differences which set that culture apart from others in the eyes of observers (Mackie, 1973, pp. 431-444).

Self-identification is a crucial factor in group formation. Groups form around certain "markers" which define group population. Self-identification is good in that it encourages people to form social groups. This implies that these markers are valid to some extent. For nonmembers, these markers may become stereotypes for personal and group identity which determine social interaction with outside groups and roles for group members.

By confirming identity, stereotypes form the individual filaments of the web of myth which binds individuals into social groups. By projecting identity, stereotypes enable group members to manipulate others to the group's advantage (Obermiller, 1981, p. 26).

Stereotypes in this sense disallow any other group image and will not allow the group to share many traits with others. Homogeneity within the group is desired. The traits are considered organic in origin and close social contact does not seem to change the preconceived image held by the outgroup (Obermiller, 1981, p. 25).

People enter most situations with a preconception about what will occur within that framework. They are most receptive to information which confirms these preconceptions. Research has found that individuals prefer information that confirms their ideas on a subject rather than information that offers new insights (Miller, 1982, p. 6). People will often see a certain behavior, even if it is not there, if it conforms to their expectations. And, they often do not notice behavior which will challenge these preconceptions. This behavior may be conscious or unconscious. Some expectations are so strong that they almost force people to behave in a certain way. In some cases, expectations can be the determining factor for behavioral outcomes. When these expectations are based on half-truths and myths about a certain group, the outcome can be damaging.

Myths are potent enough to survive evidence; they are not disarmed by understanding. Once myths gain currency . . . they become real and function as self-fulfilling prophecies (Billings, 1986, p. 137).

Appalachian Stereotypes

There is much debate about the true nature of stereotypes, which questions if they are always undesirable and how they differ from other generalizations. If stereotypes are markers used by society to separate its members into groups, the process of how stereotypes are formed warrants some investigation. The question of just how accurate these markers are may not be the important one to ask. In many cases, empirical information is not available to confirm or deny the stereotypes. And, some research has shown that accurate information or personal contact with the stereotyped group does not seem to have any adverse effect on stereotypes held by outgroup members. If information can not deter the formation of stereotypes, then one must accept the fact that they are a very strong force. They have a great effect on individual and group identities. In many cases, they determine group image and when negative stereotypes outnumber positive ones, they often control the group's interaction with the rest of society. Negative stereotypes come most often from outgroup members but are often accepted by group members. Negative stereotypes are stigmas which are often hard to overcome (Obermiller, 1981, pp. 21-25).

One stereotype associated with Appalachians is poverty. Few examples are available in literature, the media, or non-fiction works

which describe middle or upper class individuals or lifestyles in Appalachia. Most place their stories in lower or lower middle class groups, emphasizing the struggle to survive. This association with the poor immediately places Appalachians in a negative situation because of the strong forces of the "culture of poverty." The culture of poverty theory has existed since the fourteenth century when large bands of homeless people roamed Europe looking for better jobs. Since that time, the culture of poverty has become a defined attitude toward the poor, which defines all members of this class with very negative stereotypes. This theory says that the poor share attitudes, values, behavior, and beliefs which separate them from the core culture—or from middle class values (Roach & Grusslin, 1967, p. 384). The theory goes one step more and claims that it is the poor's own value system that keeps them poor. It is their fault.

There is some evidence that a sense of security is obtained when another person's misfortune can be blamed on something that person did or did not do. For example, it may be easier to hear about someone dying in an auto accident if the report says high rate of speed was the cause. Or, to hear that the young athlete died of a drug overdose instead of a heart attack. These people caused their own trouble. They could have avoided it. Some people, reading about these two deaths, will feel more secure if they can rationalize that this could not happen to them. It is the same when dealing with the poor. It is much easier to say people are poor because they want to be or because their heritage makes them lazy, than to say they are

poor because their place of employment closed. This can threaten members of the core culture—affect their self-confidence. It is more likely that people will try to explain a person's membership in the lower classes in terms of personal characteristics, instead of environment (Jones, 1982, p. 42).

There are many ways to describe behaviors. Some have more evidence to support them than others. But there seems to be a preference for personal causality, which includes personality and heredity. This is the same preference which then leads to stereotypes. People who follow this theory will say they like or dislike certain groups because of the way they act. One might say, "I don't like mountain people because they are poor, dirty, uneducated, and roughnecks." The speaker will claim to dislike these people for these reasons. Sociologists may say there are in fact other real reasons, but these characteristics are socially acceptable, often cited, and easy to understand. Organic group differences often are preferred over situational differences, which describe the clash of two groups living in the same community (Miller, 1982, pp. 22-23).

The culture of poverty theory fits this pattern perfectly. This theory states that values of the poor are transmitted through the generations. Beliefs of the parents determine the behavior of the children (Roach, 1967, p. 390). People like to believe that they get what they deserve in life—those who work hard will get ahead. Conversely, people are poor because they are not willing to work hard or to do what is necessary to improve their lives (Lerner, 1971,

p. 51). Before the fourteenth century, people often felt sorry for the poor. Wealthier people felt they had a duty to help the poor, especially the injured, handicapped, widows, or orphans. After the bubonic plague, which killed half of the work force, many people took advantage of the labor shortage and moved around Europe searching for the best wages. While they were looking for work, they needed help. Many had to beg. A few turned to crime. And so began the association of the poor with criminals and vagrants. It is interesting to note, that the whole process started with people moving to take advantage of better paying jobs. This was an ambitious undertaking in line with middle class attitudes, but the result was not positive for the lower classes. "In short, poverty was becoming 'disreputable'" (Morris & Williamson, 1982, p. 413).

From that time on, leaders of public opinion in Western civilization have usually questioned the integrity of the poor. Negative stereotypes about the poor were about the only descriptors available—immoral, uncivilized, lazy, obscene, dirty, loud, rude, etc. In colonial America, the poor were seen as vagrants roaming around looking for trouble, not work. They were called dangerous, degenerate, vicious, and irresponsible. Even leading "gentle folk" of the day had little use or compassion for the poor. Compassionate treatment of one's servants was not the rule but the exception (Morris & Williamson, 1982, pp. 412-415).

The Protestant ethic, developed between the sixteenth and seventeenth centuries, offered a rigid ideology which justified this

hostility to the poor and challenged the traditional Catholic compassionate view. Martin Luther said one could serve God best by working as conscientiously as possible, no matter what the financial rewards. Idleness was sinful. Material reward was not the major goal as was the establishment of God's kingdom on earth. Reward was not the purpose, but it was the outward testimony of how hard one worked for the kingdom of God. Therefore, poverty was associated with a lack of moral character. Very rich people were considered very moral and thus gained a great amount of power and respect. The deserving poor, the elderly and handicapped for example, were spared this repressive judgment (Morris & Williamson, 1982, pp. 413-414).

The Puritans in the American colonies felt the poor lacked God's Grace. Most immigrants were poor in the beginning, and even trained artisans lacked financial reserve to help them through an economic crisis. In New England, new arrivals were not official residents until after a three to twelve month probationary period. The poor were not always allowed to stay and the idle poor were often punished. During the seventeenth and eighteenth centuries, members of the elite society viewed the poor as lazy, immoral, and anti-social. This attitude was lessened somewhat with the Great Awakening which suggested greater charity and understanding of the poor.

Stereotypes about the poor changed somewhat with the economy. During the labor shortage between 1820 and 1837,

unemployment was a greater stigma than ever before. But during times of depression, especially during the 1930s, when masses of people were out of work, unemployment and poverty were milder stigmas as people with established middle class identities were often out of work and even poor. During these times, situational and environmental reasons were the most popular explanations for poverty. However, for many people this was only a temporary explanation. When the economy improved, many people once again preferred to believe that people were poor because of personal or ethnic deficiencies (Betten , 1973, pp. 1-5).

During the nineteenth century, many fortunes were made. Social mobility was a way of life. Through hard work, people often could overcome their temporary poverty. People with a virtuous character and the will to work could succeed no matter what the odds, or so the American dream implied. People trusting this interpretation saw society as offering equal opportunity for all to succeed. If one remained poor the standard negative stereotypes were used once again. Social Darwinism claimed that the fittest survived and prospered in society. Therefore, the morally degenerate would never prosper. The best in society would rise above the others. The stereotypes were not new, but for the first time their users had "science" to back them up.

While the "science" involved was pseudoscience at best, an important precedent had been established. Stereotyping of the rich and the poor (and those in between), even in

crude form, could be presented in a fashion that was compatible with a "value-free" mode of analysis. It could now be argued that social-class stereotyping was ultimately grounded neither in material self-interest nor in religious faith, but in the logical conclusions generated by systematic analysis of reality (Morris & Williamson, 1982. p. 416).

Even in the face of research. which concludes that in many cases people are poor because of lack of education, opportunity, or skills, ideas persist that the poor lack the moral character to be any other way. Negative stereotypes revealed by these studies are consistent in seeing the "undeserving" poor as lazy, immoral, and improvident. Causes for this attitude are complex but the results are obvious-- discrimination and stigmatization (Morris & Williamson, 1982, p. 454).

The culture of poverty is an example of confusing traits of the poor with causes of poverty. Many people in Appalachia are poor, but should the blame, for example, be given to the man who has lost his job because the mine closed? Who is to blame when the land has been divided too many times to support families? Who is to blame when the soil washes away after the timber and coal are taken? Perhaps this is how many Appalachians first encountered poverty. Does this make them lazy and immoral? The answer for most people would be, "No," but this is how many portray Appalachians in literature and media. A common stereotyped image would include-- lazy, sitting back on the front porch watching the world go by; dirty,

in torn clothes and no shoes; immoral and violent; and uneducated, speaking in heavy dialects and showing no signs of literacy. These are all common stereotypes for the poor in many cultures.

Assuming these stereotypes are the ones often associated with the Appalachian hillbilly image, one might wonder how such descriptors were linked with the culture in the first place. How did this image of a poor, dirty, uneducated, feuding hillbilly become synonymous with Appalachians? Perhaps it goes deeper than merely associating all these negative markers simply on the basis of income. Or maybe even 200 years ago, when the first negative descriptors of Appalachians began to appear, people associated poverty, even on the frontier, with immorality. Regardless of the reason, negative stereotypes associated with Appalachians can be traced to their first encounters with people from other American cultural groups.

Some view Appalachians as contemporary ancestors, members of a frontier society frozen in time, living much the way all Americans lived 200 years ago (Banner, 1984, p. 127). To these people, Appalachia represents a quaint, basically honorable culture, which respects nature and strict codes of honor in human behavior. Others see Appalachians as a comical people who exhibit depraved, inbred behavior associated with worthless hillbillies (Whisnant, 1975, p. xxvi). Some people like to read about characters who

seem like themselves. Many prefer to read about exciting or exotic people. So the mountaineer needed to be wild, larger than life. But even when they were at their worst, drinking and feuding, the Appalachians of popular fiction were worth saving. Even in their squalid homes, some were always striving to become worthy of success (Williams, 1961, p. 62). Whichever view one prefers, the result is still a romanticized version of a complex reality. But the tendency to stereotype began long before the romantic era.

Anne Newport Royall was one of the first to write about the uniqueness of Appalachia.

These counties, remote from commerce and civilized life, confined to their everlasting hills of freezing cold, all pursuing the same employments, which consist in farming, raising cattle, making whiskey, (and drinking it), hunting and digging sang [Ginseng], as they say, present a distinct republic of their own, every way different from any people. . . . They are, both male and female, extravagantly fond of dress; this and their beauty, only serves to expose their unpolished manners, and want of education. They have no expression of countenance, nor do they appear to possess much mind. One great proof of this, is that all places of honor, profit, or trust are monopolized by strangers. . . . (Royall, 1975, p. 73).

Royall was born in 1769.

William Byrd II did not recognize Appalachians as a unique group of people per se, but he did write a rather unpleasant description of people from the region even before Royall's observations.

Surely there is no place in the World where the Inhabitants live with less Labour than in N Carolina. It approaches nearer to the Description of Lubberland than any other, by the great felicity of the Climate, the easiness of raising Provisions, and the Slothfulness of the People. . . .

To speak the Truth, tis a thorough Aversion to Labour that makes People file off to N Carolina, where Plenty and a Warm Sun confirm them in their Disposition to Laziness for their whole lives (Byrd, 1975, p. 58).

Byrd made these observations between 1728 and 1729. He was a true aristocrat and his views represented the dominant attitude about the lower classes. "In fact, Byrd helped to establish dividing lines between social classes as well as states" (Higgs & Manning, 1975, p. 57).

This was not an uncommon idea for any member of eighteenth century society. In this pre-romantic, pre-humanitarian age, few people were concerned with the problems of social justice. They were usually insensitive to human need and often hostile to their social inferiors. This was a matter of common experience during this time (Bailyn, 1986, p. 4). The mountains were not very accessible and travel was limited. But what travelers there were who made their way in and returned to write about it, made a lasting impression that was to carry through to the twentieth century (Higgs & Manning, 1975, pp. 55-70).

However, the reports were not all negative. Timothy Flint, born in 1780, was a great defender of the West, which at that time included Appalachia.

The backwoodsman of the West, as I have seen him, is generally an amiable and virtuous man. His motive for coming here is to be a freeholder, to have plenty of rich land, and to be able to settle his children about him. It is a most virtuous motive (Flint, 1975, pp. 69-70).

This is probably more accurate, despite the fact that it was written by someone with a definite point of view which was favorable to the West. Before the Civil War, residents of the Appalachian Highlands were viewed, and viewed themselves, as residents of the frontier and not as a unique people. They settled in the mountains, for the most part, because land in the lowlands was no longer available. Before this time, mountaineers as a distinct group were virtually unknown (Billings & Walls, 1980, p. 127).

After 1800, fictional literature presented Appalachians as a unique people, no longer simply another group of pioneers struggling to survive in a new, unsettled land. Now they were called mountaineers, not because of where they lived but because they were unique in their perceived lifestyle (Williams, 1976, p. 45). Local colorists thrived after the Civil War, seeking to write with realism and truth. They sought authenticity in their depiction of various parts of the country, but they usually fell far short of the goal and offered patronizing pictures for genteel Northern readers. Local colorists were very fond of mountaineers as subjects, and they gave them a unique status among Southerners. The best known writers of this group include: Mary N. Murfree, Joel Chandler Harris, and John Fox, Jr. (Higgs & Manning, 1975, pp. 31-132). Murfree

probably did the most to separate the mountaineers from the rest of society, treating them as unique people in a unique land. She used dialect, among other things, to show this uniqueness.

"Then who war holpin' at the forge terday?" asked Mrs. Ware surprised. "I 'lowed I hearn the hand-hammer an'sledge too, same ez common."

There was a change among the lines of charcoal that seemed to define his features. He looked humbled, ashamed. "I hed my brother a-strikin' fur me," he said at last (Murfree, 1970, p.14).

The dialect in this example impairs understanding and makes the character seem ignorant. Murfree was equally extravagant with her descriptions of all characters.

Local colorists included long descriptions of the mountains, plenty of dialect, and similar family situations for all characters. A typical family would use "you'ens," "we'uns," "hit," and "hain't," in their speech. They often married at 14 and had 15 children. They brewed and drank moonshine. They plowed steep hillsides and were saved at camp meetings. They wore homespun and overalls. It was not that mountaineers did not do these things. They did, but no one mountaineer did them all. Local colorists assumed that the group was homogeneous. These characters created a national prototype for a generic mountaineer. The image was firmly established in the minds of readers. It was a very limited view but at the same time offered some superficial accuracy. The image was accurate in that it acknowledged a group distinguished by certain traits related to the

environment. Outsiders in the story took a patronizing attitude to mountain people and their ways. Their views were condescending, narrowly conceived, and distorted. This patronizing attitude was carried over to other periods in literature and social service as well (Banner, 1984, pp. 3-14).

Noted English historian, Arnold J. Toynbee wrote about Appalachians as white barbarians. Needless to say, this view has been harshly criticized.

. . . The Appalachian has relapsed into illiteracy and into all the superstitions for which illiteracy opens the door. His agricultural calendar is governed by the phases of the Moon; his personal life is darkened by the fear, and by the practice, of witchcraft. He lives in poverty and squalor and ill-health. . . . In fact, the Appalachian "Mountain People" at this day are no better than barbarians. They are the American counterparts of the latter-day White barbarians of the Old World. . . (Toynbee, 1975, pp. 385-386).

Other scholarly writing appears to offer no better picture of life in Appalachia. Some publishers, like the University of North Carolina Press, did try to offer a different picture of the region although they, too, did not always use sound principles of research.

In 1935, UNC Press published Muriel Early Sheppard's Cabins in the Laurel which was one of the most ambitious attempts to capture life in the mountains published in the entire decade. It was a Book of the Month Club selection in 1935 and listed on New Republic's list of 100 best books of 1935. It received favorable reviews from many quarters. During the depression, UNC Press

needed ready cash to survive, and this could come only from books which would sell well with the Northern reading public. Cabins in the Laurel was seen as a potential best seller. The book relied on popular stereotypes, despite the fact that more balanced scholarly books on the subject were on the UNC publication list. The publisher, thinking pictures sold books, knew the public thought the mountaineer was quaint—and quaint was what was offered in this work. The book was not written by a scholar, but it was accepted as a scholarly work. It portrays the lower class as if it is the only class of the region. Everyone lives in a cabin, few roads are shown, little machinery is present, and many people pictured are poorly dressed and aged. Some are shown leaning up against cabin walls with picture captions claiming this to be their normal position. There is no attempt to document the variety of Appalachian lifestyles. There is little or no interest in anyone above the poverty line or homes built after 1900. According to the publisher, no one wanted to buy a book about the middle class—they could see that in their own neighborhoods. People wanted the sensational, and that is what they got in Cabins in the Laurel (Watkins, 1985, pp. 147-154).

Emma Bell Miles, 1879-1919, was a writer whose background was a mixture of mountain and middle class values. She was the daughter of school teachers and attended art school in St. Louis. She married an unskilled worker from the mountains, much to the dismay of her parents and wealthy patrons who financed her education. She spent the rest of her life living in two worlds—writing, painting, and raising a family on little or no income in the

rugged mountains around Chattanooga. Her family was often in debt and food was not always in good supply. She would often escape to the city to paint or write and continued to sell her work despite her isolation. She had a keen understanding of mountain ways and described them in great detail without comparison to middle class values with which she was also so familiar. She allowed the mountain culture to be different and yet remain an equally viable heritage (Abrahams, 1975, p. ix). She described the mountains as only a native can, with true integrity and understanding for a life she actually lived.

Of course, many habits of cabin life would seem uncleanly to dwellers in a better civilization.

But this existence is nearly as primitive as that of the Dark Ages, and primitive life is necessarily dirty, if for no other reason than that it is close to the ground. Nearness to the soil is not so much a mere figure of speech as we are apt to imagine. . . .

When the mother of his household has to pick and dry wild fruits; wash the wool, card, spin, and weave it; make soap, hominy, butter, lard and molasses; take care of meat when the men have killed and cut it up--yes, and raise poultry, besides all the ordinary care of a household . . . with all this, oh, dear! how can she comb her hair every day (Miles, 1975, pp. 20-21).

Miles saw life in the mountains from a perspective of one who lived it. She offered insights few scholars can match.

Regional writers like Wilma Dykeman, John Foster West, Thomas Wolfe, James Still, Jesse Stuart, Harriette Arnow, and others offer pictures of their region often without apology and with true

insight into this unique culture. Lesser known local writers have also joined the ranks of Appalachians who are trying to give a more balanced picture of their region. But they, like other writers, often use stereotypes which tell very little of the true nature of the area and offer more or less what the buying public expects to find. "Most observers of the complex realities see more or less what they expect to see, and thus it has been with the mountains and mountaineers" (Whisnant, 1975, p. xxvi).

Appalachia in the Eyes of the Social Sciences

Many have asked why Appalachians have not found a prosperous life. They live in an area rich in resources. They have no physical traits which would handicap them to the extent of other ethnic groups. So what is the problem? Why are more negative than positive stereotypes associated with them? The conservative answer is that there is something wrong with the Appalachians or with their value system. They have been held back by an inherited disability. This conservative view is called victim blaming and it is part of the culture of poverty theory (Williams, 1978, p. 427). The liberal view takes the opposite side contending that Appalachians do not enjoy a high standard of living, according to middle class ideals, because the economy of their region can not support them or because they have not been given an opportunity to learn useful job skills. Some see the Appalachian culture as a unique experience and others see it as

just another example of lower class lifestyles. There is much scholarly debate as to whether or not the Appalachian culture does represent a unique group.

Appalachians have not always had a unique identity. Before the Civil War they were considered pioneers—who just happened to live in the mountains. No one paid them any special attention. Not until the local color writers adopted them as their favorite subjects did they achieve any national notoriety. Once they were credited with this unique status, they were the favorite target of missionaries, exploiters, folklorists, and social scientists (Snyder, 1982, pp. 122-127). Every generation since the Civil War has discovered the Appalachians in some way and sent missionaries, teachers, and businessmen to rescue the area (West, 1978, p. 13). Most Appalachians do not share this feeling of uniqueness, and for generations many have resented outsiders coming to their region to "uplift" them to meet standards imposed by an outside community. In reality, they are not a simple group, homogeneous in nature. They have a complex society, layered with nuance and enigma (Watkins, 1985, p. 147). They do not see themselves as mountaineers, hillbillies, or even Appalachian highlanders—but just as plain folks (Otto, 1985, p. 324).

In the beginning, they probably were just plain folks. Early descriptions of mountain people are not too glowing, but according to most historians, this is how the upper class viewed anyone beneath them on the social scale. Cratis Williams offers a well-accepted view of how this region was settled. He contends that the mountaineers

came from the same stock as did the other pioneers. Some Anglo-Saxon, Scotch-Irish, English, and people from other European countries all found their way to Appalachia. Scholars still debate which group was the dominant one. Williams states that regardless of the dominant group, the heritage was sound and the settlers brought evidence of education and culture across the mountains with them. Books, even some classics, were found among the possessions of many mountain people, even ones who themselves could not read. Williams contends such evidence proves that early Appalachians were literate people and that later generations became illiterate when education was not provided in the isolated communities. Unfortunately, somewhere along the way they grew to see education as superfluity, if not evil. The stereotyped mountaineers were not the ones who settled these mountains, but are their descendents. When the first settlers came to Appalachia, it was not different from any other part of the frontier. To say they settled here because they wanted to escape social development, would give these people the blessing of historical foresight they could not possibly have had (Williams, 1961, pp. 1-45).

After the Civil War, other parts of the country began to develop rapidly. The mountains were too isolated to benefit from this trend. Roads were limited and industrialization passed them by. It was this new contrast with the developing nation that made Appalachia suddenly seem unique. Valley residents had an easier time of farming and took advantage of the growing economy. Mountaineers saw themselves slipping farther and farther behind their lowland

cousins. They withdrew and made the best of their subsistence economy. Inheritance practices called for an equal division of property. Once thriving family farms soon became many small units, which were too small for anyone to farm successfully. Some valley sons and daughters went into the hills, seeking relief from over-divided family farms. What they found was a very meager existence. Soon the soil was depleted, the game was gone, and the scene was set for generations of poverty. Isolated from the outside world and from their neighbors as well, mountaineers sometimes became very different indeed from their valley cousins (Williams, 1961, pp. 1-60).

Although the region has been romanticized by missionaries and local-color writers as an "arrested frontier," it has never been as isolated as is popularly believed. Subsistence agriculture supported a rural culture that stressed freedom, democratic values, and fundamentalist Protestantism, as was the case throughout the South. . . . (Billings & Walls, 1980, p. 126).

Literature gives two pictures of the mountaineer. One finds him a fine example of an equalitarian who believes in the rights of every man and lives a very individualistic life. He is independent, honorable, in touch with nature, and a strong individualist. The other view finds him proud and fearful of anything that does not conform to his ideals. He is clannish and trusts only those in his family. He has strong family loyalties to the point of feuding with

anyone who crosses him or his kin. He can be immoral, ignorant, unclean, and criminal (Ergood, 1978, p. 37).

The image of Appalachians is varied. Of course, no one theory tells the story for the entire group. There are middle and upper class mountaineers as well, but their story has rarely been told. For the fiction writers and social scientists, this segment of the population was too normal to attract much attention, thus outsiders have been given only one part of the story and that one part has become the whole for the vast majority. It is true that many Appalachians can be called clannish, proud, ignorant, fundamentalist, independent, feuding, etc., but that does not make it true for the entire group. John C. Campbell's Southern Highlander and His Homeland, published in 1921, was one of the first attempts to offer an accurate picture of the Appalachians. He used careful research techniques, charts, and tables to come up with this classic work. Campbell was reacting to the need for a clear understanding of the diversity of the region (Beaver, 1978, p. 2). As Campbell said:

Let us now come to the Highlands—a land of promise, a land of romance, and a land about which, perhaps, more things are known that are not true than of any part of our country (Campbell, 1969, p. xxi).

Even natives often believe many of these untruths or offer very negative views of Appalachian heritage. Harry Caudill's Night Comes to the Cumberland is perhaps one of the most popular books on Appalachia. Caudill is from Eastern Kentucky, yet many

Appalachian historians fault him for offering a negative picture of regional heritage and blaming the people for their poverty.

Statements like this one call his critics to arms.

These forces had been at work long before the mountaineer's ancestors reached these shores, and for three or four generations before he reached Kentucky. By 1840 they had accomplished their work. The twig was bent. The tree had grown. The course of the mountaineer's development was determined. Consider then these forces in synopsis: The illiterate son of illiterate ancestors, cast loose in an immense wilderness without basic mechanical or agricultural skills, without the refining, comforting and discipling influence of an organized religious order, in a vast land wholly unrestrained by social organization or effective laws, compelled to acquire skills quickly in order to survive, and with a Stone Age savage as his principal teacher.

From these forces emerged the mountaineer as he is to an astonishing degree even to this day (Caudill, 1963, p. 31).

It is theories like this one which have made some residents of the region reluctant to claim their own heritage. When a popular book, published by a native, claims ignorance and poor genetic background for Appalachians, it is no wonder that cartoons and television programs like "Snuffy Smith" and "The Beverly Hillbillies" present similar backgrounds for their characters.

Initially, mountaineers welcomed others who passed by or came to stay. When they realized they were being ridiculed by their guests and made the object of missionary uplifting reform, they were offended and withdrew. Descriptions of them varied from

contemporary pioneer to hillbilly. None were very accurate and many were offensive. These descriptions led to tensions which in turn led to more misunderstanding (Dykeman, 1978, p. 81). The first use of the word hillbilly occurred around 1900, in a New York journal describing a person who:

. . . is a free untrammelled white citizen who lives in the hills. . . has no means to speak of, dresses as he can, talks as he pleases, drinks whiskey when he gets it, and fires off his revolver as the fancy takes him (Otto, 1985, p. 327).

This was to become the prototype for the hillbilly character so common even today. "Li'l Abner," "Snuffy Smith," "The Beverly Hillbillies," "Hee Haw," and "Andy of Mayberry" all offer variations of this character. Even the United States Government often sees the stereotype more than the complex reality. In 1964, President Lyndon Johnson came to the region and launched his war on poverty. Little was ever shown of the region beyond the poor and blighted countryside. Few questioned the reasons for this poverty. And even fewer questioned the middle class values which defined the region as deprived. Appalachia was treated as a disease. No one questioned the values of the dominant society voiced by the coal, timber, and textile industries, that may have created the problem in the first place (Maloney, 1972, p. 24).

Thomas R. Ford completed a study in 1962 which looked at the region with empirical eyes. This classic study determined that Appalachians have embraced middle class values. Ford refuted the

culture of poverty theory for the region, seeing instead a group of people who are trying to improve their lives while maintaining several unique characteristics including individualism, traditionalism, and religious fundamentalism (Ball, 1968, p. 889).

CHAPTER III

ANALYSIS OF DATA

Introduction

Children have vicarious experiences from their reading and see places and cultures they may otherwise never know. Literature gives the reader pleasure, information, and if the author has been careful, understanding.

This understanding comes from the exploration of the "human condition," the revelation of human nature, the discovery of humankind. It is not explicitly the function of literature, either for children or for adults, to try to reform human beings, or to set up guidelines for behavior; however, it is the province of literature to observe and to comment, to open individuals and their society for our observation and our understanding (Lukens, 1982, p. 3).

Ideally, this understanding will come from accurate pictures of a culture portrayed in the story. Understanding based on misinformation or stereotypes can be harmful both to the reader and to the humankind portrayed. The purpose of this study was to look at books set in Appalachia to determine what "understanding" a primary

school reader may receive from reading them. The purpose of this study was to determine if characterization is consistent enough to present a stereotypical Appalachian and if such stereotypes are present, are they of a positive or negative nature.

The sample consisted of 16 books listed in previously described selection tools, which are readily available to primary school teachers and librarians. Each book was set in the Appalachian Highlands, recommended for primary grades, and a work of fiction. Content analysis of each title was completed with data forms based on the work of Daniel Katz and Kenneth Braly, Bruce Ergood, and this writer.

Data was addressed one book at a time for individual analysis and finally as a sample group. In the final portion, only significant data was addressed. Major themes and stereotypes were identified.

Analysis of Individual Books

Hush Up!

Hush Up! was written by Jim Aylesworth and published by Holt, Rinehart and Winston in 1980. The main character is Jasper Walker who "was just about the laziest man in Talula County. His tiny farm lay up in the red hills near the edge of the pine forests where the breezes hardly blow" (Aylesworth, 1980, p. 1). Jasper is found napping since it was too hot to do anything else. "It got so hot old Jasper quit doing nothing in particular, propped his feet up, tilted his chair back and fell asleep" (Aylesworth, 1980, p. 2). Seeing their master sleeping, all the barnyard animals decide to take a nap. The

tranquility of the scene is disrupted when a buzzing horsefly, the meanest, nastiest one ever, bites the sleeping mule. This starts a commotion which eventually awakens Jasper. Trying to restore order, Jasper finally screams, "Hush Up!"

Text and illustrations work together to enhance the lazy theme. Jasper and the animals seem perfectly at ease in their sleeping positions. Their bodies indicate that they may not be expected to do much else. There is no indication that they are napping following any kind of work. In fact, the opposite is true. Jasper quit doing nothing in particular to take a nap. Sketchy strokes reinforce the idea that the place and characters are unkempt. Several items are turned over, falling down, or out of place. The farm appears small and no crops or machinery are present.

Illustrator Glen Rounds offers a rather unsympathetic view of the characters and their environment. Structures and characters slouch and droop. Roof lines are not straight. Nails are bent and buckets are dented. The mule is swaybacked. The hound is thin. And Jasper's face, when shown in thought, presents an image of a man bewildered by the events around him. His eyes are small, his hair uncombed, his nose is large, and his jaw hangs slack beneath a slanted forehead.

Jasper solves the main problem of the story, noise in the barnyard, without showing any thinking to the reader. He merely screams. The apparent reason for solving the problem is to return to sleeping, which all the characters do in turn.

Only two items were checked on the Katz and Braly list: lazy and quarrelsome. Quarrelsome was selected because of the over-reaction of Jasper to the noise and disturbance. His facial expression was very intense and most unpleasant. Nothing was checked on the Bruce Ergood list. The First Impression list reveals: Jasper wearing overalls and sloppy shoes; living in a cabin; and apparently farming for a living. Although "Hush Up!," his only words in the story, are not exactly substandard, they do present a rather quaint usage pattern. Thus, the overall impression given by the text and illustrations is of a lazy, unkempt, quarrelsome farmer who has a quaint vocabulary. When one considers that two of the most popular stereotypes connected with Appalachians are lazy and feuding, the overall impact of the book could be negative.

Yaller Eye

Yaller-Eye by Thelma Bell was published in 1951 by Viking Press. It was illustrated by Corydon Bell. Yaller-Eye is a cat owned by Randy Reed, a young boy who lives on a mountain farm. Randy's family includes his parents and a cousin, Fran. A major theme of the book is close family ties. The Reeds are shown in text and illustrations as a close family who share work, leisure times, and personal concerns. The plot develops around the arrival of a stranger, Miss Kenmore, who comes to the Reed home looking for a scenic overlook to enjoy the mountains.

Miss Kenmore acts as a foil to contrast life in the mountains with life in outside communities.

Randy watched with steady gaze as a smart, black roadster joggled up his father's rough, mountain road as far as it could go without being tipped over by the criss-cross of deep ruts. A well-dressed woman stepped out of the car into the afternoon sunlight. Randy examined her store clothes with open admiration (Bell, 1951, p. 7).

The outside elements are described as "smart and well-dressed." The mountain elements are rough, rutted, and awed by elements from the outside. Miss Kenmore dresses in tailored clothes and wears a short neat hair style while Mama Reed, the mother of the family, wears her hair in a chignon, a more dated style. Bell took several opportunities to show the contrast between mountain and outside ways. Mountain conditions appear quaint and perhaps less desirable but are not obvious negative situations.

The family is hard working and shown doing a variety of tasks. Of the 57 illustrations in this book, seven show family members involved with chores. The father is concerned with issues in the community such as finding a good teacher for the school. They are friendly to Miss Kenmore and welcome her into their home and community. The Reeds live in a well-tended log home which shows no sign of electricity. Mrs. Reed washes by hand near the creek and the family shares evenings together beside the fire talking and working by oil lamp. There is little evidence of toys, fancy clothes, machines, or other items that would require cash to purchase. The difference is clear between mountain and city life in the manner of dress, speech, and items possessed by the characters.

By some standards, this family might be considered poor; however, the attitude of the characters does not show that they have any feelings of poverty. They seem happy with their life and content with their home despite the fact that they notice others like Miss Kenmore have nice store clothes and smart roadsters.

This is a story of contrasts. There are several instances where Miss Kenmore questions the methods of the mountain people, hinting that there may be a better way to live. In this sense, the story is an example of the "missionary spirit" that has shaped the way many outsiders have related to mountain people over the last 100 years. In some ways, Miss Kenmore is like a missionary who has come to the quaint mountaineers to improve their speech, their method of dealing with children, and their culture. For example, Miss Kenmore is "distressed" because Yaller-Eye catches birds and eats them. She wants the children to feed her something else since birds are so beautiful. The children and Mrs. Reed merely look at one another, not really understanding why she should find this natural activity so distressing.

When Miss Kenmore plays a word game with the children, she reminds herself that they are poor, and again the children fail to come up with the same evaluation of the situation.

These children were proud. Since they wore torn overalls and ragged sweaters, they might not want to say the word "poor." Miss Kenmore was embarrassed, so she gave the opposite of rich in a hurry (Bell, 1951, p. 22).

Randy and Fran do not understand the connection between rich and poor at all. To them poor means you do not feel well, not the opposite of rich. When Randy tells about hunting ducks, Miss Kenmore fails to see that to mountain people hunting is merely a way of feeding one's family--not sport. She shows her cultural bias when she asks: "Ducks are so gay and pretty," protested Miss Kenmore. 'Must you kill them?'" Again Randy can not seem to understand her objection. "'They eat good,' Randy answered seriously. . . . 'If they eat good, they're good to eat,' he finished in a rush" (Bell, 1951, pp. 43-44). Finally, when Yaller-Eye is injured, Miss Kenmore quietly takes Mr. Reed to task when he does not understand it is very important that Randy learn how to take care of the weak and injured. Miss Kenmore suggests that Randy be allowed to keep the disabled Yaller-Eye. Mr. Reed instantly sees her point and complies, despite his earlier objections which were based on long traditions of survival of the fittest. In the end, Miss Kenmore takes the job of school teacher and everyone is pleased. No one argues with Miss Kenmore that her ideas may not be best for the mountain people.

Seven items were checked on the Katz and Braly list: superstitious, industrious, faithful, kind, individualistic, courteous, and loyal to family ties. Superstitions are mentioned including watching the signs for weather changes and the ability of the east wind to cause Miss Kenmore's cold. Four items were checked on the Ergood list including independence, strong family ties, harmony with nature, and honor. Randy displays a strong measure of

independence when he takes care of Yaller-Eye as he sees fit despite the fact that his father does not like this behavior.

The First Impression list reveals that the family is supported by farming, lives in a log cabin, the men wear overalls and the children wear no shoes, and quaint speech patterns are in use. The characters did use quaint speech patterns, but not to the point to classify them as ignorant. For example, they used "ain't," "git," "see-off," and a variety of double negatives which Miss Kenmore quickly corrected.

The overall impression given by the book is positive to a point. Illustrations present characters and environments which are neat and orderly and characters are often shown at work. Postures and general condition of various elements reflect pride and care. However, the book is also patronizing since Bell shows the outsider in a superior manner. The characters are hard working, honorable, and love their family, but Miss Kenmore will teach them more refined manners, better speech, and the fine art of dealing sensitively with children. Their ready acceptance of these new ideas implies that the mountain ways are not as valid as ones brought in by the outsider. The theme is that these people are hard working and mean well, but they simply do not know all the finer points of refined living that an educated outsider like Miss Kenmore can give them. It is somewhat amazing that they seem to take to these new ideas with so little struggle to keep their old traditions.

Bell was born in Detroit in 1896 and moved to a remote mountain farm in North Carolina in 1944.

Daniel's Duck

Daniel's Duck by Clyde R. Bulla, was published in 1979 by Harper and Row. The setting is not contemporary, nor is it exactly described. However, judging from the clothing, one can assume it is some time during the first quarter of this century. Young Daniel lives with his family in a log cabin in the mountains of Tennessee. The entire family is shown both in text and illustrations as artistic, hard working, and concerned for one another. The parents are proud of their children's talents and encourage them. During the winter months, when the family is confined indoors, each member works on something for the spring fair. Working in crafts is a central theme of the story. It is an important part of the family's lifestyle. Each person takes pride in fine workmanship and is eager to have items ready for the traditional spring fair.

It appears from the size and style of the log house that the family is not wealthy; however, poverty never enters into the story. The family works with its hands, takes pride in its skills, and enjoys sharing the results of its labors with the community. They respect craftsmen who have surpassed them in skill and work to improve their own abilities. They are ambitious in that they want to improve their skills; however, there is no mention that improved abilities will be used as a vehicle to leave the mountain community for a "better" life elsewhere.

This family was not compared to middle class urban America by Bulla. Patronizing attitudes and quaint mountain speech were not

used. In fact, there is very little to show that this family is any different from any other. What sets them apart from an urban family, for example, is the mountain setting, the log cabin, manner of dress, and occupation. In other words, it is more a matter of setting than personality. Their speech and understanding of the world around them does not seem to be influenced by their environment. Their crafts are treated with as much respect by Bulla as would probably be given the work of a successful urban artist. The reader is not led to believe that the work is crude or unsophisticated. The noted craftsman in the community is smartly dressed in slacks, striped shirt, and bow tie. He is from this community and at ease with its residents. The reader is not given any reason to diminish his worth simply because he is from Appalachia. His uniqueness as an artist is a matter of format and locale, not of worth or ability.

The theme of this story is personal growth. Daniel is learning how to cope with skills that do not match his expectations, with situations where he will feel uncomfortable, and with the need for hard work to achieve goals. It is a story of family unity and community involvement. This is not a story where characters are at a disadvantage or considered unique because they are from Appalachia. One might infer that the community spirit and family support system shown in this story offers the characters an advantage over people from other areas. Although no comparison is ever directly made, this story does show life in Appalachia as thoughtful and worthy of respect on any level.

Seven items were checked on the Katz and Braly list: industrious, ambitious, individualistic, sensitive, artistic, tradition-loving, and loyal to family ties. Five items were checked on the Ergood list: independence, strong family ties, traditionalism, honor, and born trader. "Born trader" was marked because trading is an important aspect of the annual fair. The First Impression list reveals the family occupation as farming and crafts, overalls as the main form of dress for the male family members, barefoot children on occasion, standard speech, and a log cabin home.

The overall impression of this book is definitely positive. The life of each family member has meaning, goals, and honor. Each member is shown making a valuable contribution to the community. No one is eager to be "improved" by some outside force. Of the 32 illustrations, twelve show some sort of work activity. Most of the remaining illustrations show careful examination of the items produced by careful workmanship. The characters are shown as industrious, sensitive people concerned with personal achievement, family ties, and community involvement.

Bulla was born in King City, Missouri in 1914. Daniel's Duck was an American Library Association Noteable Book of 1979.

Beanie

Beanie by Ruth and Latrobe Carroll, was published in 1953 by Henry Z. Walck. Beanie lives on an isolated farm close to the forests of the Great Smoky Mountains with his parents and four brothers and sisters. The story centers around Beanie's birthday. Each family member gets Beanie something special. His father gives him what he wants most of all—a puppy. Beanie shows his independence by not wanting to do his normal chores or share his presents on his birthday. To avoid both situations, he takes his new puppy on a hike in the mountains. Here he shows his ties with nature as he observes the beauty associated with the Great Smoky Mountains. He is brave, to a point, and imaginative as he hikes deep in the woods to escape his family for the day.

The Carrolls show the entire family as hard working and very supportive of one another. The characters have pleasant expressions as they go about their chores. Even minor jobs like watering house plants are portrayed with contented smiles.

All those noises told Beanie that everybody on the mountain farm was busy. Everybody was working--everbody but Beanie. He knew he had a job to do. His job was to carry stovewood to the kitchen.

"I won't tote wood on my birthday," he whispered to his pup. "I won't, I won't, I won't. I'll run away from you, just for a while. I'll run away with my shirt and my overalls and my gun and my cap and my candy and you" (Carroll, 1953, p. 13).

Despite the fact that Beanie is trying to avoid chores and refuses to share, the reader does not get the impression that this is his normal behavior. It seems that he wants special treatment today since it is his birthday.

The birthday gifts are not elaborate, but seem very appropriate for a young boy. Beanie is thrilled with each one. The reader does not get the impression that the family is deprived despite the simple nature of their log home, clothes, possessions, and activities. No one is dirty, complaining, or planning a move to the city. They are portrayed with dignity and shown in harmony with their surroundings and lifestyle. Illustrations portray the characters with bright alert expressions and self-assured postures. There is no hint that the family feels inferior to anyone, and patronizing comparisons are not present. Pages two and three feature a family portrait, pets included, each face offers dark, alert eyes, a charming expression, and proud, erect posture. The viewer is invited into the picture as a guest—an equal asked to share an experience, not as a savior bringing knowledge to a naive community.

Seven items from the Katz and Braly list were present: imaginative, industrious, generous, individualistic, neat, persistent, and loyal to family ties. Three items from the Ergood list were present: independence, strong family ties, and harmony with nature. The First Impression list shows the family occupation as farming, men and boys wearing overalls and the children barefoot, quaint speech patterns, and a log cabin for the family home. Speech patterns are easy to follow even though they are not always

standard. Examples such as yonder, smellin', tote, reckon, plumb, and perten up are common in the text; however, the characters do not appear ignorant as a result of their use.

The overall impression of the book is positive. Beanie is shown as a typical boy who is not very interested in working or sharing on his birthday. Beanie's hike in the mountains to avoid his chores turns into a misadventure which sends his family in search of him. They welcome him home with love and gladness. Beanie is also glad to be home and happy to be back to his regular chores. There is no comparison with life in a middle class urban setting. No one is sloppy, patched, or dirty. The log cabin is sturdy and neat. Illustrations and text both support the idea of hard work and pride in home and family. The themes of hard work, close family ties, and harmony with nature dominate every page.

Latrobe Carroll was born in 1894 in Washington, D.C. and Ruth was born in 1899 in Lancaster, New York. Both worked in New York.

A Pocketful of Cricket

A Pocketful of Cricket by Rebecca Caudill was published in 1964 by Holt, Rinehart and Winston. This is the story about Jay, a six-year-old mountain boy, who is enjoying the last days of summer before the start of his first year of school. Every day he brings the cows home from pasture and enjoys the sights and sounds that surround his activities.

He walked along the lane on the side of a hill. The dust under his feet felt soft and warm. He spread his toes and watched

the dust spurt between them. Queen of the meadow grew on the hillside below the lane. The great pinkish crowns nodded on tall stalks. A gray spider slept in a web between two of the stalks. A yellow butterfly sucked nectar from one of the pink flowers. Jay stood and watched it fan its wings—open and shut, open and shut (Caudill, 1964, p. 3).

Several objects attract his attention and merit a special place in his pocket for future use—a flat rock with the print of a fern, a nut, a feather, some beans, and a cricket. The cricket becomes a prized pet whose value is ultimately respected by Jay's mother and teacher. Jay has a special cage for his pet. He plays with it, feeds it, and talks to it very much like he would to a traditional pet such as a dog or cat. He even takes the cricket to school. Jay shows his independence by refusing to remove the cricket from his pocket even for his new teacher. Despite the fact that he is only six, Jay shows a remarkable amount of independence and responsibility. He cares for farm animals and his pet cricket, and is willing to be punished rather than back down when he thinks he is right.

General themes of the book are very positive. Jay honors and appreciates his natural surroundings and takes pride in protecting them. His mother and teacher show gentle understanding for his need to keep his special pet. Despite the somewhat stereotypical illustration of Jay, overalls, straw hat, and bare feet, the story portrays the mountain people as sensitive, observant, neat, and industrious. Jay's home is neat and furnished with what might be family antiques. There are orderly fences, barns, and silos. Poverty never enters into the picture. Jay is not at odds with his

environment and the reader does not get the feeling that his life-style is lacking in any way. He has rich experiences. His mother and teacher support him in his efforts to learn from his immediate environment. They do not belittle what is important in his world. A patronizing attitude is not shown. The characters seem richer for their mountain heritage, not deprived because of it. There is no hint that this environment may be lacking in any way.

Eleven items were checked on the Katz and Braly list: alert, imaginative, honest, industrious, individualistic, straightforward, ponderous, sensitive, neat, persistent, and practical. Two items were checked on the Ergood list: independence and harmony with nature. The First Impression list finds: the family occupation as farming; overalls, straw hat, and bare feet for Jay's manner of dress; standard speech; and a non-log home. Jay's personal appearance closely fits the stereotypical view of a mountain child. However, his keen observation skills, straightforward nature, and independence work to make him a three-dimensional character who has worth well beyond the barefoot stereotype. Work, education, personal honor, and respect for nature are all important elements of this story.

Caudill was born in Harlan County, Kentucky in 1899. She wrote several stories about life in Appalachia. A Pocketful of Cricket, illustrated by Evaline Ness, was the 1965 runner-up Caldecott Award Book.

We Be Warm Till Springtime Comes

We Be Warm Till Springtime Comes was written by Lillie D. Chaffin and illustrated by Lloyd Bloom. It was published in 1980 by Macmillian. Young Jimmy Jack Blackburn is the main character. Jimmy appears to be the "man of the house" and thus takes on responsibility of keeping his mother and baby sister warm in their drafty log cabin during the coldest days of the winter. Poverty is definitely an issue in this book. The family obviously does not have enough money to afford a warmer house, or even fuel to heat the one they have. Jimmy's mother has only old rag shoes to wear, thus it falls to Jimmy, who has an old pair of boots, to go in search for fuel.

When the last heat goes up the chimney, the air is like a knife at my nose. I sit up, and it runs sharp fingers down my chest. I put my feet on the floor, and the cold bores into them. The cold creeps up my legs, meets and doubles itself up my backbone. . . .

.....
"Might be some coal up on the hill," I say.

"Be hard for me to get up there with just these old rag shoes," Mama says.

"I got big heavy shoes that could go to the North Pole," I say.

"You're not big enough to dig coal," Mama says.

"I'm big enough to freeze to death," I tell her, "but I'm not going to" (Chaffin, 1980, pp. 5 and 10).

Jimmy is a very young child, but he is willing to take on the responsibility of working to keep his family alive. His mother did not have to ask him to go for coal. He realizes if he is old enough to die, he is old enough to do something to stay alive. Jimmy shows

many positive traits. He may be poor but he is not helpless and downtrodden. The reader gets the feeling that he will rise above his present situation, not because an outside "missionary" force tells him there is a better way, but because he has ambition and determination to control his own destiny.

Despite his troubles, Jimmy Jack is shown smiling, as is his mother. They are having temporary hard times but their world is not without hope and joy—even if the joy is a simple, small fire. The illustrations are very powerful. The natural elements loom over the family. Large rolling clouds hang over the cabin and deep dark shadows fill every corner. The odds are clearly against this small family, yet they continue to nurture each other with smiles and tender gestures. The theme of survival is very strong and goes far beyond surface concerns such as being lost in the woods or what to do with a pet. This is a mature life and death struggle that is not demeaned in any way because it is a children's book. It offers a frank look at the harsh realities of poverty without romanticizing the setting. Jimmy Jack gets his coal from an abandoned mine, possibly implying his family is poor because the mine has closed and impoverished the entire area. Lack of work resulting from closed mines and factories is not unique to the mountains. The reader is not asked to feel sorry for a mountain family crushed by its environment but to admire a family's strength and spirit. The mountain economy may have weakened its finances but it did not weaken its character.

Five items were checked on the Katz and Braly list: industrious, ambitious, individualistic, persistent, and loyal to family ties. Even the extreme poverty of the Blackburn family is not portrayed in a degrading manner. It is a negative aspect of life, but it is not taking away its dignity. Jimmy has very strong positive characteristics most of which are concerned with hard work and determination to overcome a very bad situation. Even at his early age, Jimmy is thinking for himself and solving his own problems. Two items were checked on the Ergood list: independence and strong family ties. The First Impression list reveals that the family has no visible means of support; Jimmy Jack wears regular shirts and pants; some local speech patterns were used; and the family lives in a log cabin. Speech patterns were basically standard with some quaint usage such as "We be toasty warm till springtime comes."

Despite the very vivid portrayal of poverty, this story presents a positive picture of the character of mountain people. Jimmy is poor, but he is not afraid to work. He is not lazy or content to let life roll over him. He presents a very positive picture of a young boy's determination to overcome the problems in his life. This is a story of strong character, not merely a stereotypical picture of hopeless poverty.

Chaffin was born in Varney, Kentucky in 1925.

Down Down the Mountain

Down Down the Mountain was written by Ellis Credle. It was published by Thomas Nelson and Sons in 1934. Set in the mountain

highlands, this is a story of two children, Hetty and Hank, and their efforts to obtain shoes. They never had shoes and apparently no one in the family had either.

Never in all their lives had Hetty or Hank had a pair of shoes. In the summer it was fun to run around barefoot, but when winter came, and the snow lay on the mountains like a chilly white blanket, their little feet were blue with cold and they longed for a pair of shoes (Credle, 1934, p. 5).

The family supports their efforts to earn the money for shoes even though their father does not think shoes are a necessity of life. Hetty and Hank grew turnips to sell in town to pay for their shoes; however, on the long trip down the mountain they share their turnips with everyone they pass and arrive in town with only one large turnip. They enter this turnip in the fair and win first prize. With the prize money, they once again show a generous family-oriented nature and purchase presents for each family member. Of course they also buy the shiniest pair of shoes in the store.

Hetty and Hank show some ambition to improve their lifestyle above that of their family, yet do not present a negative reaction to its basic framework—they just want a pair of shoes. They work hard to earn the money for the shoes and make a special effort to go down the mountain to purchase them. However, they did not lose sight of their basic code of honor which requires helping family and neighbors first, even if it puts their own needs in a secondary position. The family group includes a grandmother who is treated as an honored member of the household and whose advice the children

respect. The house is clean and members of the family seem proud of their home and the work they do. Except for the children wanting shoes, the family seems content with the current situation. The characters all appear clean and smiling.

The overall impression of the book is positive from the character's point of view, but it may be stereotypical for the reader. The picture presented may be fairly accurate as far as the simple lifestyle of mountain families of past generations is concerned, but by today's standards this family would be very unusual. One must question if shoes were ever as rare as suggested by this story. Primary sources describing life on mountain farms mention the purchase and home production of shoes. It seems highly unlikely that whole families would be shoeless in the winter snows. Since a lack of shoes is one of the most prevalent stereotypes associated with mountain people, this story could be damaging. Of all the titles in the sample, this work offers the most stereotypical characterization. The parents reject change even to the point of ignoring the need for shoes. The women wear long dresses and three different female characters smoke a pipe. The characters seem almost unaware of the outside world. The adults lean on objects and smile, smoke pipes, and generally seem very content with life as it is.

Eleven items were checked on the Katz and Braly list: industrious, kind, generous, ambitious, ostentatious, individualistic, courteous, happy-go-lucky, persistent, progressive, and loyal to family ties. Hetty and Hank show some traits that are unusual for this sample. They are somewhat ostentatious since they want shiny,

squeaky, creaky shoes which will attract everyone's attention. They are somewhat progressive and ambitious since they want to improve their lifestyle over that of their parents. However, they will not put their goals over the needs of others and thus show a good amount of neighborly spirit. Two items were selected from the Ergood list: independence and strong family ties.

The First Impression list reveals: farming as the family occupation; barefoot characters wearing long dresses or work clothes; quaint speech patterns; and log homes.

Ellis Credle was born in North Carolina in 1902.

The Knee-Baby

The Knee-Baby was written by Mary Jarrell and published by Farrar, Straus and Giroux in 1973. This is the very contemporary story of a young boy, Alan, who longs for attention. It is not that he is ignored, but he wants to be held like his baby sister. There is very little in the story to place it in Appalachia. Alan's grandmother lives "way down South in the little woods" which implies that his background could at least be Southern. The setting is in a modern building with very contemporary furnishings. Alan could be a young child living anywhere in the country. The setting does not indicate a rural location, but Alan does enjoy watching birds and animals who come to the feeders in his yard. The book is a good example of Appalachians living outside log cabins and farm settings. Jarrell offers an alternative view of life in Appalachia, which is in sharp contrast with the majority of books in this sample.

Only two items were checked on the Katz and Braly list: sensitive and loyal to family ties. Alan is sensitive to the activities of people around him and does express his love for his grandmother, mother, and sister. Two items were checked on the Ergood list: strong family ties and harmony with nature. Harmony with nature as expressed here, watching birds at feeders, is fairly common in many children's books.

The First Impression list includes little information to place the story in Appalachia. No information on the occupation of the adult characters was given. Alan lives in a contemporary home. He does wear overalls, but with his knit shirt the impression is not work overalls as much as it is play clothes. His mother wears slacks which was very unusual for this sample. Speech patterns were standard except for the phrase "smell-sweet" (perfume) which may not indicate Appalachian accent as much as baby talk.

Holidays in No-End Hollow

Holidays in No-End Hollow was written by May Justus and published by Garrard Publishing in 1970. This book is a collection of holiday stories set in the Tennessee mountains. Each is similar in characterization, setting, and socio-economic background.

"Peter Pocket's Thanksgiving Pie" is the story of a young boy's contribution to a school Thanksgiving dinner. Peter has a hard time finding something to bring to the dinner because his family barely has enough to eat itself. He lives with his grandmother in a small log

cabin. They have no visible means of support apart from gardening and gathering items from the woods. Hunger is a real issue.

Granny Messer turned her face away so that Peter couldn't see her tears. It was hard to know that there was so little to eat in the house. For herself, she didn't mind so much, but she was sorry for Peter Pocket (Justus, 1970, p. 12).

Peter was to take a pumpkin pie to the school dinner, but his grandmother was ill and could not make one. Using his imagination, Peter found a way to make a fine contribution to the dinner without adding to his grandmother's worries. By making a jack-o-lantern out of the pumpkin, Peter shows a sharp mind and sense of independence. He does not feel sorry for himself but gets busy and turns a bad situation around. The reader feels compassion for his lack of food but does not feel sorry for Peter as a person. He has courage and strength and calls for admiration not pity. He does this by presenting a positive attitude and willingness to work for solutions to his problems. The illustrations show him as a smiling bright child.

Peter's pumpkin is eagerly accepted by his classmates and following the dinner they take the extra food to Granny Messer. The story ends with the community joining together to help a family with a temporary problem. Granny returns to health and life goes on without change or any indication that one is needed or wanted.

"Little Lihu's Christmas Gift" tells the story of how one young mountain boy learns to read a difficult Bible passage for a Christmas

program. Lihu Linders decides to read from the family Bible and to make his part in the program a special Christmas gift for his family. His parents and grandfather were unable to read and thus were very proud of Lihu's accomplishment. They followed his progress in school and encouraged him all through the story.

The family Bible belonged to his great-great grandfather, a preacher who "took to book-learning." This is consistent with an observation made by Cratis Williams who found that many illiterate mountain families owned Bibles and classic works which belonged to distant ancestors. His contention was that these ancestors were often educated people, educated before they migrated to the remote mountain communities. Since there were no schools on the frontier, later generations were often illiterate.

Members of the Linders family may be illiterate, but they are also very interested in their children's education. The entire family comes to school for the Christmas program with eager faces and proud smiles. This is not a family who shuns education but one which has not always had the opportunity to get one. Every family member is excited about Lihu's success in school. "Praise the Lord above!" his mother shouted when he received an A on his grade card. The lack of formal education does not seem to have hurt the adult family members, but they want their children to have an education nevertheless. The reader does not feel sorry for the family despite its lack of education or simple pleasures. Instead, the family demands respect for its dedication to goals and support of one another.

"A New Year Housewarming" tells about a party given for a newly married couple. Everyone, even the young children, are planning what presents they will take. The gifts are homemade and some may have even been used. They are practical items like quilts, tables, pillows, shuck boot mat, feather bed, preserves, jam, jelly, ham, and cookies. Everyone in the community is eager to attend the festive event. The characters are proud of what they gave and received. Members of the community are all busy with a variety of chores which at this time often center around the housewarming gifts. Men, women, and children work together on many chores.

"A Big Day at Kettle Creek School" is the story of a centennial celebration of a mountain school. The main characters, the Allison family, are all excited about the event. The two main characters, Glory and Matt, are students at the school and have parts in the program. Their grandfather went to the school himself and proudly accompanied them on the fiddle for their part in the program. Glory and Matt whistled and sang about mountain birds. Likewise many of the children chose presentation themes which dealt with their natural or family heritage. The school was decorated with plants from the region—honeysuckle, laurel, fern, and pine. Everything from speeches to decorations came from the surrounding mountains. No mention was made of the outside world. Their life was complete within their community. Justus presents each character in a happy contented manner. Life is good in this small mountain community.

The book was treated as one unit for analysis since there was such unity of setting and characterization. Seven items were checked on the Katz and Braly list: industrious, kind, generous, courteous, pleasure-loving, sensitive, and loyal to family ties. Every character seemed to have a chore or job to do. Sharing and helping family and neighbors is a dominant theme. The characters are pleasure-loving in that they took joy from many simple activities and turned them into a time of fun. They find joy in their lives and do not complain or struggle to leave and seek greater happiness elsewhere. They are sensitive to the feelings of others and try to avoid hurt feelings or shame. Loyalty to family ties is expressed for extended family members and neighbors. Two items were checked on the Ergood list: strong family ties and honor. The First Impression list includes farming as the family occupation, cabins as the main building style, overalls and work clothes as the style of dress, and quaint mountain speech patterns. For example, "certain-sure," "whereabouts," and "mighty much obliged" are typical words and phrases used occasionally by characters. These phrases did not hinder comprehension of the story.

The overall impression of all three stories was positive. The characters were happy even if they were facing possible hunger. This may not be too realistic, but it does show that despite hardship, mountain people live with dignity and honor. Characters show an appreciation for hard work, artistic skill, education, and loyalty. Despite the fact that some characters are illiterate, the overall impression is not one of ignorance. There is no mention that they are

even aware that there may be other ways to live outside the mountains. Therefore, the stories are not condescending or patronizing. No comparison is made with other areas yet Justus does show real problems of some mountain communities-- hunger and illiteracy. By showing problems without patronizing comparisons, Justus was able to give a reasonably complete picture of a community without passing judgment on its worth.

Up the Big Mountain

Up the Big Mountain written by Dorothy Koch and illustrated by Lucy and John Hawkinson, was published in 1964 by Holiday House. This is a simple story of a family hike. A young girl and her brother hike ahead of their parents to discover all the special sights and sounds of the mountains. It is a contemporary story and does not mention anything of cultural heritage. It is not apparent whether this family lives near the mountains or are merely visiting. It is clear that the children love being in the mountains and respect and honor the beauty found there. This is not a story about a mountain family but about the mountains themselves.

Only one item, alert, was checked on the Katz and Braly list. The characters are very alert to their surroundings and comment on many things encountered on the trail. Harmony with nature was checked on the Ergood list since the children show respect for every plant and animal seen on the trip to the top of the mountain. The First Impression list was not complete since no indication is made about the family's means of support or home. All characters wear

contemporary sport or play clothes and use standard speech patterns.

The general impression given by this book is very positive. It shows "generic" children enjoying the beauty of the mountains. These children could have an Appalachian, middle class, poverty, or urban background since their clothes and mannner of speech are not distinctive in any way. It has another positive aspect in that many children from Appalachia today do not have ties with a pioneer heritage and merely see the mountains as a place to visit and enjoy nature. This book gives readers a look at children who live in the mountain regions yet whose culture is not controlled by mountain heritage.

Dorothy Koch was born in Ahoskie, North Carolina in 1924.

Hoagie's Rifle-Gun

Hoagie's Rifle-Gun by Miska Miles was published in 1970 by Little, Brown. It was illustrated by John Schoenherr. This is the story of an eleven-year-old boy's struggle to find food for his family. The garden is empty except for some potatoes, his father is out of work, and an old bobcat just ate the largest rabbit he has seen in weeks.

The reader is not told why the father is out of work, but Hoagie mentions that rabbits are hard to find since so many people are now having to hunt. Laziness is not an issue. Hoagie's father looks for work every morning and finally finds one day's work. The family will now have store food for at least one day.

Man and animal alike face a future roaming the slag pile trying to survive. Hoagie is very angry and bitter that on top of everything else, an old bobcat has just eaten his family's supper. In anger, he aims his rifle at the familiar old bobcat. But he can not shoot the animal who, like himself, is just trying to survive.

The illustrations are very strong and powerful. They are harsh studies in black and white supporting the theme that this is a black and white world for Hoagie. There is little time in Hoagie's world for idle thought or pretty daydreams. His life is a fight for survival. There are few gray areas such as extra food or money. Schoenherr gives each character, including the bobcat, a stern thoughtful expression. These are intelligent characters. They are not lacking in motivation, character, or willingness to work. Their emotions are etched on their faces allowing the reader to see the intensity of their feelings. Without reading a word, the reader can sense the struggle of each character.

Seven items were checked on the Katz and Braly list: superstitious, industrious, individualistic, passionate, persistent, sportsmanlike, and loyal to family ties. Hoagie's mother expresses some belief in superstitions when she tries to keep a spider web on the wall for good luck. Hoagie and his brother act in a passionate manner in regard to the bobcat.

"Look," Hoagie said. "The bobcat got that big rabbit. I know he did. Nothing else would make so much mess. I hate that cat. I hate him."
I'll shoot him, Hoagie thought. He got my rabbit.
I hate him. He lifted his gun.

Ira threw himself on the ground and whimpered against the dirt.

Hoagie looked along the barrel of his rifle. He sighted exactly between the cat's eyes. He hardly heard Ira's sobbing (Miles, 1970, pp. 26-39).

Three items were checked on the Ergood list: independence, strong family ties, and harmony with nature. The characters, especially Hoagie, appear strong and independent even in the face of hunger. Hoagie solves the family problems in his own way. He even goes against his father's advice and shoots at a bobcat for food. The family is obviously having a hard time, but must depend on the abilities of individual members to solve current problems.

The First Impression list includes a cabin-type home; no mention of a family occupation; simple clothes including patched pants, overalls, bare feet; and standard speech patterns.

This is a very serious story. Hoagie has even lost weight because of his lack of food. He daydreams about spareribs and cornbread. Not only does he have to deal with adult problems, but he is also partly responsible for their solution. He must hunt for food while his father hunts for work. This may be a child's story, but the subject matter is serious and is presented in an intense manner. Overall, the story offers a thoughtful look at a very real problem for many people in and out of Appalachia. Miles offers rich characterizations which add life to the mountain people portrayed. She explores one family's efforts to overcome its problems using rich detail from the mountain culture. These details of hunting and

family life are what set the story firmly in Appalachia. It may be a story of poverty and near starvation, but it is also a story of pride, determination, and family unity. The reader may feel compassion for the family but not scorn. Circumstances made them hungry not lack of motivation or intelligence. This is a story, both in words and illustrations, of strength not weakness.

Journey to Jericho

Journey to Jericho was written by Scott O'Dell and published by Houghton Mifflin in 1969. The book was illustrated by Leonard Weisgard. This is the story of David Moore and his family who decide to leave the dangerous coal mines of West Virginia and to relocate in Jericho, California. Following a mining accident, David's mother insists his father find safer work. Like so many other Appalachians, David's father relied on family members already working in a new area to find him work. The family is hard working, supportive of one another, and prosperous by the standards of their community. David's father has steady work and his mother is a school teacher. Poverty is not an issue.

O'Dell makes a point of telling the reader that coal miners are not lazy or dirty. He offers characterizations which portray miners as hard working family men who simply have dirty jobs.

For no one who worked in the mine was lazy. David's uncle was not lazy. Nor was there a lazy bone in the body of his Grandfather Ben. All of them got up with the sun and went into the mine and the sun went down they came out. They went into mine with clean faces and clean clothes and they

came out looking just as if they had fallen into a coal bin, which in a way of speaking they had (O'Dell, 1969, p. 4).

O'Dell gives the reader a view of life in Appalachia that is not that different from any other region. Some people, like David's mother, are school teachers and some, like his father, have dangerous industrial jobs. David's family is not rich but neither is it poor, hungry, or wearing patched clothes. They are working people. They are moving to better their lives, not merely to survive. The story centers around universal family matters—a move, Grandmother's cooking, and a boy's dream to work with his father. The family occupation may be unique to mountain regions, but O'Dell avoids making the story uniquely Appalachia on every level.

Six items were checked on the Katz and Braly list: industrious, ambitious, individualistic, courteous, tradition-loving, and loyal to family ties. Three items were checked on the Ergood list: independence, strong family ties, and traditionalism. David shows a great deal of independence as he goes about his daily activities. He makes his own decisions, some of which are not supported by his parents. Many members of David's family work in the mines and have for several generations. He plans to continue the tradition.

The First Impression list includes: the family occupation as mining and teaching; non-cabin housing; simple work and play clothes, no overalls; and standard speech patterns.

The overall impression of the story is very positive. The family members are portrayed in full detail without negative stereotypes often associated with coal mining families. They were not hungry or dirty.

Education is important to the family, which includes at least one professional person.

O'Dell was born in California in 1903.

When I Was Young in the Mountains

When I was Young in the Moutains was written by Cynthia Rylant and published by E.P. Dutton in 1982. The illustrations were done by Diane Goode. This is the story of a young girl growing up in a mountain mining community. She and her brother lived with their grandparents a generation ago. Rich illustrations portray the family and its environment as solid, neat, orderly, and pleasant. The grandfather is a miner and seems to provide a good income for his family. Work and chores are important to all family members. There are purchased items in the house beyond bare necessities. Though not luxurious, the house gives the impression of warmth and comfort. However, there is no mention of toys or candy. Each character wears a gentle contented smile and seems at peace with life. In fact, their expressions rarely change.

Rylant's story is almost like a daydream of her childhood. The reader goes from page to page as in a dream. The illustrations are warm and beautiful—muted and softened by time. There is little to disturb the reader on the dangers of coal mines or the bite of hard times. These are pleasant memories recalled with love and without judgement.

Three items were checked on the Katz and Braly list: industrious, tradition-loving, and loyal to family ties. Three items

were checked on the Ergood list: strong family ties, harmony with nature, and traditionalism. The First Impression list includes: mining as the family's main occupation; bare feet and overalls or frocks for the children, and simple work clothes for adults; a non-log house; and standard speech patterns.

The overall impression of the book is very positive. The family is shown doing a wide variety of activities and seems to find quiet pleasure in each one. They work, read, go to church, and do silly things for fun. A loving relationship is shown between children and adults. The main character obviously remembers this time with joy.

When I was young in the mountains, I never wanted to go to the ocean, and I never wanted to go to the desert. I never wanted to go anywhere else in the world, for I was in the mountains. And that was always enough (Rylant, 1982, p. 25).

Tobe

Tobe was written by Stella Gentry Sharpe and published by The University of North Carolina Press in 1939. The book is illustrated with black and white photographs by Charles Farrell. Tobe is a black boy who tells about day to day living with his family. He describes chores, special days, play times, friends, and extended family. In 121 pages, Sharpe shows a wide range of activities giving a very full picture of life on a North Carolina farm. The family is close and supportive. Everyone has chores and work is shown as both a necessary and enjoyable part of life.

Tobe has a large family—seven brothers and sisters. Photographs show his family in clean clothes without patches or tears. In one picture, his father is shown wearing a suit and tie while reading with his mother. His sisters wear neat dresses while doing chores. Friendly smiles grace almost every face. Regular work, plenty of food, educational activities, church, and recreation are shown as a regular part of family life for Tobe.

Four items were checked on the Katz and Braly list: industrious, kind, ambitious, and loyal to family ties. The book was divided into mini chapters, each of which was on a different activity. About half described work activities, making the family appear very industrious. Since they were involved in so many productive activities, ambitious was also checked. Their activities included raising cotton, tobacco, wheat, vegetables, livestock, and sugar cane. Two items were checked on the Ergood list: strong family ties and harmony with nature.

The First Impression list includes: farming as the main family occupation; clothing styles from dress suit to overalls and bare feet; standard speech patterns; and a non-log home.

The overall impresssion was very positive. The family was involved in many activities and seemed to enjoy each one. The adults guided and instructed their children. Substandard speech was not used, avoiding any possible stereotypes common to quaint dialects. The family is not wealthy but enjoys a full lifestyle and goes about its daily life with pride and dignity. Work activities are balanced with recreational or fun times. Both serious and humorous

attitudes are shown. It is clearly the life of a farming family, but that life does not appear to be limited in any way.

A Penny's Worth of Character

A Penny's Worth of Character was written by Jesse Stuart and illustrated by Robert Henneberger. It was published by McGraw-Hill in 1954. This is the story of Shan, a young farm boy who finds himself in the position of having to choose between honesty and personal gain. Shan has a bundle of sacks to trade at the general store. He needs one more bag to have enough to buy candy and soda. He finds one more, but it has a hole in the bottom. The story develops around his decision to place the bad bag in the middle of the good ones to trick the clerk. On the way home, he cannot enjoy his treats knowing he has cheated to get them. His mother discovers his deed and makes him return to the store and pay for the bag. Shan does not want to do this and he seems very ashamed. But in the end, he feels good for doing the right thing and is glad he followed his mother's wishes.

The story is not all about cheating and honor. There are also many passages describing Shan's involvement with nature. He observes the animals and plants in his environment with keen awareness. He is at home with his surroundings and comfortable with his place there.

Five items were checked on the Katz and Braly list: industrious, honest, ponderous, happy-go-lucky, and loyal to family ties. Shan's mother is shown doing chores all through the story.

Illustrations show her home as neat and orderly. Lines used to define this area are bold, firm, and strong. It is a stable environment. The yard and fields are well-tended. Shan is happy as he walks to the store and wonders what the animals are thinking. He is not merely running down the Valley Road, but also observing the world around him and learning from the experience. Four items were checked on the Ergood list: strong family ties, harmony with nature, honor, and born trader. The First Impression list includes: farming as providing at least a major portion of the family income; neat work clothes, overalls, and bare feet; log homes; and standard speech patterns.

The overall impression of the book is very positive. The family is firmly placed in a country environment without apology. There is no hint of poverty or deprivation of any kind. Food is abundant and there is even extra money from time to time for treats and special purchases. The family is shown in many working activities. They seem to take a degree of pleasure from these chores. Honor is a central theme of the book and works here to present the family in a very positive light.

The Biggest Bear

The Biggest Bear was written and illustrated by Lynd Ward. It was published by Houghton in 1952. This is the story of young Johnny Orchard and his quest for a bear skin. Every family in the valley has a bear skin hanging on the barn and Johnny is humiliated that his family does not have one, too. On his own, he sets out one

morning in search of the biggest bear in the valley. What he finds is a tiny cub. Rather than shooting the bear as he had intended he takes it home. By the time the bear is full-grown, he is causing real problems in the community. Johnny faces some tough decisions when it is time to get rid of the bear.

Nine items on the Katz and Braly list were checked: industrious, kind, individualistic, straightforward, sensitive, persistent, sportsmanlike, tradition-loving, and loyal to family ties. Five items were checked on the Ergood list: independence, strong family ties, harmony with nature, honor, and traditionalism. The First Impression list includes farming as the family occupation; a non-log home; work pants and boots as the form of dress; and standard speech patterns.

Winner of the 1953 Caldecott Award, this book is very positive in many ways. It portrays the rugged life of a hard working family living in the shadow of the mountains. They work well with their neighbors and strive to do the right thing, even if it is hard for them personally. Verbal and visual pictures offer intelligent characters who seem at ease with their environment. This is also a story of responsibility. Johnny holds himself responsible for bringing honor to his family by way of finding a bear. In the end, he also took responsibility for getting rid of it. Other members of his family show a sense of responsibility for other jobs. Each character quietly completes his task. Johnny, like his elders, accepts his responsibilities with dignity and pride.

Effect of Sample as a Whole

The summary statement on each individual title, given in the previous section of this paper, was positive. Individually, the books in this sample were positive in character development and portrayal of residents of Appalachia. In all but a very few cases, items checked from the Katz and Braly and Ergood lists were positive characteristics. Therefore, from an individual title basis, this sample offers characters who display positive personality traits, which, when taken by themselves, should not hinder the development of good self-concepts or positive images of Appalachians.

The most common characteristics found in the sample were industrious and loyal to family ties. Each of these appeared in 13 titles for an 82% frequency rate. Two titles, not included in the 13, involved leisure times when work activities would not normally be mentioned. Only one book, Hush Up!, implied that work was not a regular part of life. Therefore, this sample strongly suggests that Appalachians are industrious, hard working people. The fact that many characters have low incomes would have little to do with their willingness to work, according to this sample. Characters in We Be Warm Till Springtime Comes, Down Down the Mountain, Holidays in No-End Hollow, and Hoagie's Rifle Gun have no money for fuel, shoes, or food. Poverty was a real condition for characters in these stories. But it was not the self-inflicted poverty described by the

culture of poverty theory. Each character in these stories physically worked to solve problems. They hunted for food, planted crops to sell, or looked for work. They were not lazy or incapable. In each case, the author implied that circumstances beyond their control placed characters in these conditions.

In many cases, work activities formed the focal point for the entire story. In Daniel's Duck and Holidays in No-Name Hollow, work activities involved crafts. Articles made by family members were a source of income, pride, and joy. Work activities were a source of community as well as personal pride. Success was never connected with financial gain. Income, in terms of dollars, was not mentioned. For example, Daniel saw success in terms of artistic worth, not in how much money he would receive when he sold his duck. Illustrations in Yaller Eye and A Penny's Worth of Character showed characters working in almost every scene. In general, text and illustrations worked together to present an image of hard working characters. The popular stereotype of lazy hillbilly, leaning against the porch appeared only in Hush Up!.

Family ties were important elements in 13 of the 16 stories in the sample. Even when characters showed a strong sense of independence and individuality they still were very loyal to family ties. Characters often exhibited a sense of responsibility to care for the family or to protect its honor. Young characters like Jimmy Jack Blackburn, Peter Pocket, and Hoagie were actually major supporters of their family. They had great responsibilities, which became the main focus of their stories. Family honor was a main issue in Daniel's

Duck, The Biggest Bear, Journey to Jericho, and A Penny's Worth of Character . In these stories, young characters tried to live up to honored family traditions. Interaction with friends or other members of the community was rare in the sample. Serious conflict among family members was not found.

Harmony with nature was a theme in 10 stories or 66% of the time. Characters were not in conflict with nature in the remaining six stories but were concerned with other matters to the exclusion of most, if not all, interaction with nature. In some stories like Beanie, A Pocketful of Cricket, Up the Big Mountain, and The Biggest Bear , interaction with natural elements—mountains, insects, and animals was a central theme of the story. Some characters like Tobe, Jay, and Shan spent long periods of time observing their natural surroundings and oftentimes interacted with elements they found there. Up the Big Mountain dealt almost entirely with the beauty of the mountains. Joe and his family made many stops on their hike to observe the beauty of their natural surroundings. They had hiked this mountain before and indicated that each time it offered a good experience.

Characters showed a great deal of independence and individualism. These descriptors were checked 9 times for an occurrence rate of 56%. All characters lived with at least one adult family member and were respectful at all times. However, they did often show a defined sense of independence. Characters stayed within the boundaries of the families' defined moral code, but shaped it to meet their own sense of right and wrong. Randy would not

destroy Yaller Eye despite the fact that his father thought this was the best course of action. Randy did not go against direct orders from his father, but he did take a course of action different from his father's recommendation. Jay kept his cricket despite the fact that his mother and teacher both thought school was not the place for a pet. However, Jay was honest about his actions and open to compromise suggested by his elders. Daniel carved his duck to meet his own sense of artistic style despite the fact that his more experienced brother made different suggestions. Beanie struck out on his own, without asking permission from anyone, to have a special day of adventure. In most cases, such examples of independence were thoughtful displays of true concerns not merely examples of a willful child.

Some issues were more serious than a pet or free time. Jimmy Jack was faced with the problem of keeping his family warm in the middle of a severe cold snap when the house was without fuel. He solved the problem with little help from his mother, the only adult in the story. Hoagie tried to shoot the bobcat even though his father told him not to take this action. Hoagie was responsible for supper. Acting like the man of the family, he did what he felt was right at the time. He did not act like a child trying to please a parent, but more like an individual making independent judgments.

Persistence was found in six stories for an occurrence rate of 38%. This trait was shown in several ways including the strong will to survive a killing freeze, the determination to keep a pet, and the drive to relocate a troublesome bear. These characters showed a

willingness to set goals and the strength to see them through to completion.

Items occurring five times at a percentage rate of 31% included: kind, ambitious, and sensitive. Traits occurring four times at a rate of 25% included: courteous and tradition-loving. Items observed twice at a rate of 13% included: alert, imaginative, superstitious, honest, straightforward, ponderous, happy-go-lucky, and sportsmanlike. Descriptors observed one time at a rate of 6% included: faithful, ostentatious, passionate, pleasure-loving, practical, progressive, and artistic.

The First Impression compilation revealed that farming was the family occupation in 10 books for an occurrence rate of 63%. Only two other occupations were mentioned, mining and teaching, and four books did not mention any source of family income. Some families supplemented their income with secondary jobs such as craft production. For manner of dress, overalls was the dominant choice occurring 11 times at a rate of 69%. Barefoot children, and in some cases adults, occurred nine times at a rate of 56%. Log cabins dominated the style of housing occurring nine times at a rate of 56%. Standard speech patterns occurred 10 times at a rate of 63%. Only six books, 38%, used quaint speech patterns. In most cases, such quaint speech patterns involved only isolated words and phrases.

Most of the descriptors on the Katz and Braly list were not observed even once in this research. A complete list of observed descriptors in ranking order is located in Appendix C and a listing by title is found in Appendix D.

In one sense, content analysis of this sample revealed the presence of many positive descriptors for Appalachian characters. Taken individually, these books and their characters offered many traits to admire. However, when taken as a sample, the content analysis revealed several dominant characteristics, which were strong enough to give a stereotypical image of Appalachian characters. In every book where the setting was identified, a rural location was evident. Farming was the occupation of 63% of the families. Only one parent in the entire sample was a member of a profession. Most families belonged to the lower economic groups. No character showed evidence of belonging to the upper economic levels of society. Manner of dress was limited in most stories to simple work clothes and more times than not this style included overalls and bare feet.

Descriptors may have been admirable in many ways, but they were stereotypical nonetheless. Characters in this sample were distinctive and consistent enough to offer a stereotypical Appalachian with limited economic, social, and educational characteristics.

CHAPTER IV

SUMMARY, FINDINGS, CONCLUSIONS, AND RECOMMENDATIONS

Summary

Children learn much from the literature they read. In some cases, literature offers the only contact with certain groups of people children will ever have. Information given, even in fictional works, is often viewed as accurate. If it is written, it is an absolute for some children. With this in mind, it becomes very important that even fictional works give accurate pictures of the regions they portray. However, a writer is perhaps just as likely to use stereotypes, when describing a region or character, as is any other person. Stereotypes, especially negative ones, can be damaging to residents of the region. Stereotypes can damage self-concepts and encourage non-members to treat group members differently. Thus, it is very important that teachers and educators select books that do not use negative stereotypes. It is important for educators to respect all cultures and to offer materials that will encourage such respect in their students. To offer balanced and unbiased materials should be a goal for all educators sensitive to the cultural values of their students.

The purpose of this study was to examine, through content analysis, a selection of books set in Appalachia to determine the presence or absence of characterizations consistent enough to portray a distinctive, or stereotypical regional character. Since many educators use selection tools to develop reading lists, such tools were used to develop this reading sample.

This study was delimited to fictional works set in the Appalachian Highlands. Each book was written on a primary level. Only works recommended by one of the selection tools were included and authors were limited to one book each. The selection tools were: Reading for Young People: Kentucky, Tennessee, West Virginia; Reading for Young People: The Southeast; and An Appalachian Studies Teacher's Manual.

The methodology of the study included reading each book once for general impression and rereading for purpose of content analysis. A content analysis form was completed following the second reading. The content analysis form represented the work of Daniel Katz and Kenneth Braly who developed a classic analysis form in 1932 for their study of stereotypical attitudes of 100 college students. This content analysis form was combined with a list of descriptors developed by Appalachian scholar Bruce Ergood, who arrived at his list following analysis of 20 books written on Appalachia. Also, a final list of descriptors was developed by this writer concerning occupation, manner of dress, style of home, and manner of speech of main characters.

Findings

Tabulation of descriptors presented a positive picture of Appalachians. Most descriptors were of a positive nature. The overall impression given by individual titles was basically positive as well. The most common descriptors were: industrious, strong family ties, ties to nature, independence, quaint speech patterns, and persistence. Over half of the books had illustrations showing characters in overalls and living in log cabins. This may no longer be an accurate portrayal, but it was not shown as a negative trait in that the characters and their homes were not dirty or unkempt in most cases. Most characters were shown as industrious, hard working members of their community. Some adult characters, especially mothers, were shown working in almost every scene of the book. Work was a primary concern and activity in many books.

Characters were never shown as immoral, drunk, or dirty. Most were of the lower or working classes, but this characteristic was not shown as a negative indicator. The characters seemed comfortable with their lifestyle and did not try to leave the mountains for a better living. The lifestyle may not have been negative in portrayal, but it was out of balance. Only one character's parent had a professional job, and she was a teacher in a very small rural school. Portrayals of the middle and upper classes were not found. The settings were almost all rural and in most cases even rustic. Few people live in log cabins today, but nine of the sixteen books in the sample placed the characters in these homes. Overalls

are a standard visual stereotype for the backwoods hillbilly. Few children wear them today on an everyday basis, yet 11 books in the sample showed main characters in overalls and nine of these characters were barefooted.

In summary, this sample offered books that did not present negative stereotypes from the characters' frame of reference. The characters seemed happy with their environment. They are not shown as lazy or culturally deprived individuals. However, the overall picture was not an accurate or complete image of the current Appalachian lifestyles. The characterizations were too consistent and too limited to the lower end of the socio-economic scale.

Conclusions

The sample offered much to be proud of about days gone by. Perhaps it is in the realm of history of Appalachia that this sample could be the most useful. It showed children of a simpler time acting in a responsible manner, working with their families, and living close to nature. This sample would support a good self-image about one's heritage. However, it is also a collection of books that, when taken as a group, offers a limited view of Appalachians. Character descriptors are consistent enough to present a distinctive regional stereotype. This stereotypical character lives on a farm, wears overalls, probably uses some quaint speech patterns, works hard but has a limited income, has a marked sense of independence, and lives in a simple, often log, home lacking in modern details.

Recommendations

Stereotype often implies strong negative images; however, the word itself does not mean negative as much as it does oversimplification of a concept. Verna Mae Slone describes the stereotypical image of mountain people as ". . . gun-totin', 'baccerspitting, whiskey-drinking, barefooted, foolish hillbilly" (Slone, 1979, xii-xiii). These negative descriptors, or anything remotely like them, are absent from this sample. But the consistency of the image presented is strong enough to be called a stereotype—a limited vision of an entire region and its people. The dominant descriptors may be positive, but the overall image is far too limiting. The characterizations are consistent enough to give readers from other regions of the country the impression that most Appalachian children live on farms, wear overalls, and have few purchased goods.

Several solutions have promise to facilitate a better understanding of Appalachia. Educators should make a special effort to balance fictional works on the region with good non-fiction materials, offering a more complete picture of the region. Writers and publishers should seek new titles for publication that look at other segments of the Appalachian population. And finally, additional research should compare the images presented in fiction

with statistical pictures resulting from sociological studies of Appalachia.

Few would say that dominant descriptors found in this sample are not true for at least a segment of Appalachians; however, this is but a portion of the entire population. To limit Appalachian characters to quaint farmers is a stereotypical response.

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APPENDICES

APPENDIX A

READING SAMPLE

Aylesworth, Jim	<u>Hush Up!</u> (1980)
Bell, Thelma	<u>Yaller-Eye</u> (1951)
Bulla, Clyde	<u>Daniel's Duck</u> (1979)
Carroll, Ruth	<u>Beanie</u> (1953)
Caudill, Rebecca	<u>A Pocketful of Cricket</u> (1964)
Chaffin, Lillie	<u>We Be Warm Till Springtime Comes</u> (1980)
Credle, Ellis	<u>Down Down the Mountain</u> (1934)
Jarrell, Mary	<u>The Knee-Baby</u> (1973)
Justus, May	<u>Holidays in No-End Hollow</u> (1970)
Koch, Dorothy	<u>Up the Big Mountain</u> (1964)
Miles, Miska	<u>Hoagie's Rifle-Gun</u> (1970)
O'Dell, Scott	<u>Journey to Jericho</u> (1969)
Rylant, Cynthia	<u>When I Was Young in the Mountains</u> (1982)
Sharpe, Stella	<u>Tobe</u> . (1939)
Stuart, Jesse	<u>A Penny's Worth of Character</u> (1954)
Ward, Lynd	<u>The Biggest Bear</u> (1952)

Complete listing given in Bibliography.

APPENDIX B

Book Title: _____

Author: _____

Character Name: _____

Total Number of Characters Analyzed in Book: _____

X = Trait Shown in Illustration O = Trait Exhibited in Text

KATZ and BRALY STEREOTYPE CHECK LIST

intelligent
brilliant
scientifically-minded
witty
sophisticated
alert
shrewd
sly
meditative
imaginative
stupid
ignorant
superstitious
naïve
industrious
lazy
honest
deceitful
unreliable
evasive
faithful
treacherous
cowardly
cruel
kind
generous
grasping
mercenary
materialistic
vengeful
quarrelsome
gluttonous
pugnacious
aggressive
conceited
boastful
ambitious
ostentatious (showy)
individualistic
talkative
loud
rude

suave
courteous
conventional
argumentative
straightforward
slovenly
suspicious
reserved
quiet
stolid
ponderous
stubborn
impulsive
quick-tempered
suggestible
passionate
sensual
pleasure-loving
jovial
happy-go-lucky
humorless
sensitive
methodical
neat
persistent
imitative
frivolous
gregarious
practical
progressive
conservative
musical
artistic
sportsmanlike
tradition-loving
efficient
very religious
extremely nationalistic
physically dirty
loyal to family ties
arrogant
radical

Bruce Ergood Descriptors

independence
religious fundamentalism
strong family ties
harmony with nature
fatalism
traditionalism
honor
fearlessness
allegiance
suspicion of government
born trader

First Impression

Occupation _____

Dress _____

Manner of Speech _____

House Style _____

APPENDIX C

BRUCE ERGOOD DESCRIPTORS IN RANKING ORDER OBSERVED

Strong family ties	13	82%
Harmony with nature	10	66%
Independence	9	56%
Honor	5	31%
Traditionalism	4	25%
Born Trader	2	13%

FIRST IMPRESSION LIST

Occupation

Farming	10	63%
Mining	2	13%
Teaching	1	6%
Unknown	3	18%

Dress

Overalls	11	69%
Work Clothes	5	31%
Bare feet	9	56%

Speech

Standard	10	63%
Quaint	6	38%

House style

Cabin	9	56%
Non-cabin	6	38%
Unknown	1	6%

APPENDIX D

WORKING READING SAMPLE DESCRIPTOR LISTING

<u>Title</u>	<u>Katz and Braly</u>	<u>Ergood</u>	<u>First Impression</u>
<u>Hush Up!</u>	lazy, quarrelsome		farming, overalls quaint speech
<u>Yaller Eye</u>	superstitious, industrious, faithful, kind, individualistic, courteous, loyal to family	independence strong family ties, harmony with nature, honor	farming, overalls, cabin, quaint speech
<u>Daniel's Duck</u>	industrious, ambitious, individualistic, sensitive, artistic, tradition-loving, loyal to family	independence, strong family ties, honor, traditionalism, born trader	farming/crafts, overalls, cabin, standard speech
<u>Beanie</u>	imaginative, indus- trious, generous, individualistic, neat, persistent, loyal to family	independence, strong family ties, harmony with nature	farming, overalls, cabin, quaint speech
<u>A Pocketful of Cricket</u>	alert, imaginative, honest, industrious, individualistic, straightforward, ponderous, sensitive, neat, persistent, practical	independence, harmony with nature	farming, overalls, non-cabin, standard speech

<u>Title</u>	<u>Katz and Braly</u>	<u>Ergood</u>	<u>First Impression</u>
<u>Journey to Jericho</u>	industrious, ambitious, individualistic, courteous, tradition-loving, loyal to	independence, strong family ties, traditionalism	non-cabin home, work clothes, mining and teaching, stand. speech
<u>When I Was Young in the Mountains</u>	industrious, tradition-loving, loyal to family	strong family ties, harmony with nature, traditionalism	mining, overalls, non-log home, standard speech
<u>Tobe</u>	industrious, kind, ambitious, loyal to family	strong family ties, harmony with nature	farming, dress clothes to overalls, non-log home
<u>A Penny's Worth of Character</u>	industrious, honest, ponderous, happy-go-lucky, loyal to family	strong family ties, harmony with nature, honor, born	farming, log home, stand speech overalls
<u>The Biggest Bear</u>	industrious, kind, individualistic, straightforward, sensitive, persistent, sportsmanlike, traditionalism, loyal to family ties	independence, strong family, harmony with nature, honor, traditionalism	farming, non-log home, work clothes, standard speech

<u>Title</u>	<u>Katz and Braly</u>	<u>Ergood</u>	<u>First Impression</u>
<u>We Be Warm Till Springtime</u>			
<u>Comes</u>	industrious, ambitious, individual- istic, persistent Loyal to family	independence, strong family ties	occupation unknown, over- alls, cabin, quaint speech
<u>Down Down the Mtn.</u>	industrious, kind, generous, ambitious, ostentatious, individualistic, courteous, happy- go-lucky, persistent progressive, loyal to family	independence, strong family ties	farming, work clothes, cabin, quaint speech
<u>The Knee Baby</u>	sensitive, loyal to family	strong family ties, harmony with nature	overalls, con- temporary home, stand. speech
<u>Holidays in No-End Hollow</u>	industrious, kind, generous, court- eous, pleasure- loving, sensitive, loyal to family	strong family ties, honor	overalls, cabins, quaint speech
<u>Up the Big Mountain</u>	alert	harmony with nature	play clothes, standard speech
<u>Hoagie's Rifle-Gun</u>	superstitious, industrious, indivi- dualistic, passionate, persistent, sportsman- like, loyal to family	independence, strong family ties, harmony with nature	cabin, overalls, standard speech

VITA

Lynn Griggs Alexander, a native of Dayton, Ohio, taught in public schools for 11 years. Three of those years included service as an elementary school librarian. She completed her undergraduate degree at Ohio Northern University in Ada, Ohio in 1970 with a major in history. She received her Masters degree from Wright State University in 1976 with a major in history. Her major field at the University of Tennessee was Curriculum and Instruction with concentrations in media, library science, and journalism.

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