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THE MORGAN/SCOTT PROJECT: A CASE STUDY OF INSIDER/OUTSIDER DYNAMICS IN RURAL COMMUNITY DEVELOPMENT

A Dissertation

Presented for the

Doctor of Philosophy

Degree

The University of Tennessee, Knoxville

Frederick Folger MacDonald

June 1988

ACKNOWLEDGMENTS

In the course of dissertation research, a number of scholars have assisted me generously. In particular I am indebted to Dr. Elfin Moses, Dr. Benita Howell, Dr. David Harrison and Dr. Jerry Cates, who served as my director and committee respectively. They have given much support as well as considerable time and effort in critiquing pages of rich, though at times less than organized data. I am indebted to Dr. Patricia Martin who has also helped in this endeavor. Special recognition must be given to the staff and volunteers of the Morgan/Scott Project, past and present, who were accepting of an outsider who took people's time by asking many questions. Without the support of the dissertation support group at Western Michigan University and the financial assistance of the University of Tennessee College of Social Work, this dissertation would still be on the drawing board. Finally, recognition must be given to my wife Linda who has devoted countless hours to this project. Her continual encouragement and word processing skills have made this all possible.

ABSTRACT

This study explores the differences in insider and outsider attitudes about various aspects of project operation in a community development project located in Central Appalachia. Although project participants have many similar reasons for working for the project they have important different reasons as well. These differences are related to their roles as either insiders or outsiders. The term "insiders" refers to those persons born and raised in Morgan and Scott counties, where the project is located. Their primary affiliations, family, friends, and social and economic supports remain within the two county area. "Outsiders" are those persons born and raised outside of the area, whose primary affiliations remain elsewhere.

Insiders and outsiders develop differing expectations of project involvement. Their realization or their failure to realize such expectations influence their attitudes about the project generally, the director, other project participants, program implementation and project-related activities. These differing attitudes may have considerable impact on project direction and the interpersonal relationships of project

participants. Differences can exacerbate project and community conflict.

It is posited that community projects may exist that are insider or outsider dominant in operation. That is, those projects in which insider attitudes about the project prevail operate differently from projects dominated by outsider attitudes. Outsider dominant projects are tolerated by insiders only when outsider activities do not threaten the norms and values shared by insiders or the existing political and economic power structure. When projects present a threat, such projects may continue to exist but become insider-dominant in operation, requiring shifts in philosophy, policies, programs and personnel. This reaction was obvious in the study of insider and outsider influences at the Morgan/Scott Project.

Models of Appalachia and models of change are discussed within the framework of insider- and outsider-related concepts. Insider project participants (IPPs) and outsider project participants (OPPs) conceptualize the problems of Morgan and Scott counties in similar ways, but approach them differently. IPPs resist change strategies that attempt fundamentally to change major institutions, community practices or policies that redistribute power in resource acquisition and decision-making. Those projects under OPP influence which attempt to do so are ultimately converted to insider-dominant organizations or cease to exist. Community

workers must continually be aware of the tolerance limits of area residents regarding changes in local norms and values and the tolerance limits of the political and economic power structure regarding changes in institutions, policies and community practices that attempt to redistribute power and wealth. They must orient themselves to the region through study and observation, taking the time necessary to plan effective change strategies with local input and sanction. Community workers must be prepared and willing to engage in a variety of activities that organizational demands warrant, broadly defining their role in project activities. Many of their ideas will not be new to the inhabitants of a region that has been "rediscovered" by outsiders several times in the last hundred years.

TABLE OF CONTENTS

CHAPTER	PAGE
I. INTRODUCTION	1
Description of the Region	1
Description of the Morgan/Scott Project	4
Purpose of the Study	9
Research Questions	10
II. LITERATURE REVIEW	11
Community Development	11
Research and Community Development	13
Models of Change	17
Models of Appalachia	22
III. RESEARCH METHODOLOGY	31
Introduction	31
Field Studies	32
Data Gathering Methods	34
Data Analysis	38
IV. FINDINGS	40
Insiders and Quasi-Insiders	42
Outsiders	43
Project Participants as Insiders and Outsiders	45
Reasons for Project Involvement	50
Expectations of Project Activities and Actual Activities	58
Realization of Expectations	67
Development of Attitudes About the Project	77
The Impact of Differing Attitudes on Project Operation	92
Summary	124
V. IMPLICATIONS AND CONCLUSIONS	127
Models of Appalachia	127
Models of Change	132
Implications for Community Development	142
Implications for Research	145
Limitations of the Study	146

PAGE

LIST OF REFERENCES 148

APPENDIXES 155

APPENDIX A. APPALACHIAN FACTS 156

APPENDIX B. PER CAPITA INCOME AND LABOR DATA 158

APPENDIX C. FUNDING SOURCES FOR MSP 160

APPENDIX D. INTERVIEW GUIDES 164

VITA 178

LIST OF FIGURES

FIGURE		PAGE
1.	The Development of Differences in Attitudes of Insiders and Outsiders About the Project . . .	69
2.	Attitudes and Recommendations of Insiders and Outsiders	90

CHAPTER I

INTRODUCTION

Description of the Region

The term "Central Appalachia" is given by developers to that mountainous area extending diagonally across almost the entire width of the middle portion of the Appalachian region. It includes all of Appalachian Kentucky, the northeastern counties of Appalachian Tennessee, seven counties in the southwestern tip of Virginia and the nine southern counties of West Virginia (See Appendix A).

It is a region of poverty amidst considerable wealth. Within its borders lie resources of tremendous value, but large absentee corporate interests, rather than the region's people, are the primary beneficiaries of these resources. In 1981 over one-third of the families lived below the poverty level and well over half the adult population had less than a high school education; problems of poor health care and unemployment persist (Fisher, 1981).

Tennessee's Morgan and Scott counties stretch northwest of Knoxville to the Kentucky line. They exemplify the social, political and economic conditions of Central Appalachia (See Appendix A). In 1970, two years prior to the establishment of the Morgan/Scott Project, the community project studied, each county had a population of

approximately 14,000 residents. The median family income in Morgan county was $5,363 compared to a national median of $9,590. Twenty-seven percent of these families earned so little they fell below the government's official poverty level. The situation was even worse in Scott county, which ranked among the 100 poorest counties in the United States. The median family income was only $4,172 in 1970, and nearly half the county's families lived in poverty (See Appendix B).

In the early 1970's, services, even essential ones, were still minimal. By 1973 there were only five doctors practicing in Scott county and none at all in Morgan county. Byers and Quinn (1978) in their report on area ministry in the United States stated that the median educational attainment was between eight and nine years for the citizens of both counties. Those who received the most education tended to move away when they came of age, because there were few jobs in the local economy.

Such conditions prompted the initiation in 1972 of an area ministry by the United Church of Christ, the United Methodist Church and subsequently the Southern Baptist Church, the United Presbyterian Church, the Lutheran Church, the Catholic Church and the Episcopal Church to address the social and economic problems of Morgan and Scott counties. The Morgan/Scott Project for Cooperative Christian Concerns was perceived initially as an action group designed to assist grassroots community projects to ameliorate the perceived

problems in the areas of health, education and economic development.

Since the project's inception, Morgan and Scott counties have experienced considerable improvement in health services and some improvement in education, but problems of job scarcity and resultant poverty remain. In fact unemployment has increased between 1982 and 1985, from 829 to 1215, up 46.6 percent in Scott county and from 576 to 914, up 58.7 percent in Morgan county. Each county has experienced population growth since 1970. In 1984, Scott county had a population of approximately 20,000 with a per capita income of $5,708. Morgan county's population of approximately 17,000 registered a per capita income of $6,093. In comparison the per capita income of the state was $9,515 with a national per capita income of $11,675 (See Appendix B).

The best paying jobs have traditionally been in surface coal mining and more recently oil drilling, but now little of this kind of employment exists within the two counties. Timber offers seasonal employment, but typically the pay is low. Mass exodus of the area's youth to find work and long term employment continues to be a problem. The few industries which remain are small and seldom employ more than fifty to seventy-five people, offering low pay and little job security.

Description of the Morgan/Scott Project

The Morgan/Scott Project (MSP) for Cooperative Christian Concerns in East Tennessee centers on a board of directors of fifteen to twenty clergy and laity representing their respective congregations. This board is the organization's administrative body. Its purpose is to make policy, do planning, initiate task forces to implement the programs adopted, and carry out other business activities. Formally, the board is the controlling body of MSP, giving tangible expression to the project's philosophy of grassroots participation and leadership.

Informally however, power is actually shared with two other groups (Byers and Quinn 1978). A Resource Advisory Committee made up of officials from the denominations that fund MSP is responsible for securing regional and national support for MSP, assisting in goal formulation and serving as a communication channel between MSP and the judicatories (regional church organizations). This committee does not exercise any direct formal control over the board, but is in a position to influence specific board decisions if it desires.

The MSP board also shares power with the project's professional and volunteer staff. MSP employs a full time executive director, a secretary, and a number of "interns," people who volunteer to work for the project for up to a

year. Staff members are primarily involved in organizing, applying for grants, writing letters, and persuading individuals and groups to help in program implementation. In other words, they are expected to respond to the needs of the project in a varied and flexible manner.

Because of lagging attendance at MSP board meetings, an executive board made up of at least four board members has functioned since 1974. The executive board has the power to make emergency decisions between board meetings. The actions of the executive board are subject to review by the full board when it convenes, usually quarterly.

In the beginning, MSP did not take action in its own name. Its work was actually carried out by several task forces. The board, then called the advisory council, established a task force when a particular need arose. The task forces were technically independent throughout the project's history and sometimes incorporated into separate organizations. Board members and staff people then provided leadership for the citizens who made up the rank and file of the task groups.

Several task forces have "spun-off" from the project. They have incorporated into separate organizations or been absorbed by existing organizations since the inception of MSP. The Plateau Home School, for example, originated in an MSP sponsored task force but now has its own governing board, is financially autonomous and has no remaining formal

connection to MSP. This program provides an alternative remedial school experience for children who are having academic difficulty in the Morgan County school system. The primary goal of the program is to mainstream the students as quickly as possible.

Two task forces have been absorbed by existing agencies. The Morgan County Health Department is now responsible for operating the health clinic in Deerlodge which an MSP task force initiated. The housing construction task force for low income families also has become autonomous. It is now called Appalachian Habitat for Humanity and is affiliated with the Georgia based, international housing development organization, Habitat for Humanity.

Over the years the task force concept has waned. The several explanations offered include the loss of key leaders to "spin-off" organizations, a general lack of interest from remaining community participants, and changes in policy due to changes in project directors.

MSP now operates nine programs. Although the task force concept is no longer an integral component of the project, some programs still operate through loosely knit task forces that meet sporadically. The remaining programs are as follows:

1. Thrift Stores: Three thrift stores operate within the two counties. These stores are supported with clothing donations from churches and individuals.

Items sell at a price averaging forty cents. Clothing is given away without charge to families with special needs.

2. Project Mission Fund: Money from the thrift stores or financial donations are placed in this fund. Funds are used for emergency needs, such as paying fuel bills, electric bills and hook-ups, transportation costs to hospitals, acquisition of adequate heating stoves, the purchase of eye glasses and many other services.

3. To Love Is To Serve: The focus of this program is to upgrade existing housing in the area. Volunteer groups, primarily from churches, come to the area for approximately one week to make repairs. The work done might include building chimneys, roofing, hanging sheet rock, installing septic systems, building porches and making other small repairs.

4. The Good Earth: Promoting home gardening is the thrust of this program. Seeds and fertilizer are provided to low-income persons requesting them. The project maintains a tractor and a power tiller for cultivations and other gardening uses.

5. Christmas Stores: This program operates during December and receives support through financial and material donations from churches and individuals. Because of these stores, many families are able to

have a Christmas who otherwise would not. All the items in the stores, clothing and toys, are new, and each family chooses one toy and two articles of clothing for each family member. Referrals are made through the Department of Human Services, area churches and other concerned people.

6. Burn Out: House fires increase during the winter months. This program collects all types of household items enabling families to recover from fire loss as quickly as possible. Families are given assistance in renting a home. A food pantry is also a component of this program.

7. Winter Fuel: Additional fuel sources, primarily coal or wood, are provided by this program. The mission fund provides financial help, but volunteers cut and transport wood to families. The program maintains a power saw and provides a vehicle for transportation.

8. Libraries: MSP's four community libraries offer more than 20,000 volumes to area residents.

9. Adult Literacy: This modest attempt to respond to a prevalent problem offers individual tutoring to adults interested in improving their reading skills. Weekly home visits are arranged with child care provided in the home as needed.

These programs are the vehicles through which MSP pursues its most important objective: giving people practical experience in helping themselves. MSP is a citizens' organization acting under the guidance of the project director and the resource advisory committee, attempting to ameliorate undesirable situations through a liberal investment of hope, patience, hard work and foresight.

Purpose of the Study

The purpose of this study is to examine the Morgan/Scott Project as an example of a relatively long-lived rural community development organization. (It has existed for more than a decade.) Such an examination can contribute to the expansion of our knowledge of community development theory and practice. Attention paid to project participant attitudes about the project and larger community as well as the impact of such attitudes on project operation yields greater understanding. The study examines the relationship between these attitudes and perceptions and the kind of community development considered by project participants to be appropriate for the region. The term "project participant" refers to all persons involved in the operation of MSP including paid and volunteer staff, and board and executive board members.

Research Questions

This study examines the Morgan/Scott Project in relation to the following research questions:

1. What concepts related to community development are inferred from the data gathered?
2. What change models appear most appropriate for the Morgan/Scott Project, with appropriate meaning able to be successfully utilized by project participants?
3. Are the models of Appalachia expressed implicitly or explicitly by project participants and, if so, how is that done?
4. What is the relationship between those change models deemed viable for the Morgan/Scott Project and the models of Appalachia expressed implicitly or explicitly by project participants?

The scope of these research questions is elucidated by discussion of community development and discussion of the need for community development research. Conceptual frameworks relating to change models in community development and models of Appalachian society follow. Subsequent to this examination the research methodology is discussed in detail.

CHAPTER II

LITERATURE REVIEW

Community Development

Any research effort that examines a community development project is immediately faced with conceptual ambiguity. "Community development" as a concept differs according to one's academic discipline and area of professional involvement (Dunham, 1972). For the purposes of this study community is defined and best described by the following elements: "(a) people (b) within a geographically bounded area (c) involved in social interaction and (d) with one or more psychological ties with each other and with the place they live" (Christenson and Robinson, 1980, p. 8).

Development implies more than growth and economic prosperity. It also implies improvement and change. Development as improvement often means social transformation in the direction of a more egalitarian distribution of social goods such as health services, housing, participation in political decision making, and other dimensions of living. As change, the concept means some degree of social transformation either of a society, a state, or community as a planned or directive process. Christenson and Robinson perceive development as a concept "based on a societal vision that is never shared by all" (1980, p. 7). This lack of

consensus among groups affected by social change inevitably leads to cost for some of those groups. The idea of development as an intervention perspective is based on the assumption that in applying systematic and appropriate knowledge to the problems confronting a social system, purposefully directed change can occur.

The literature abounds with definitions of community development. The Journal of the Community Development Society and the International Community Development Journal together combine over twenty definitions. The United Nations' (1963, p. 4) definition of community development is as follows:

> The process by which the efforts of the people themselves are united with those governmental agencies to improve the economic, social, and cultural conditions of communities, to integrate these communities into the life of the nation, and to enable them to contribute fully to national progress. This complex of processes is therefore made up of two essential elements: the participation by the people themselves to improve their level of living, with as much reliance as possible on their own initiative, and the provision of technical and other services in ways which encourage initiative, self-help and mutual help and make these more effective. It is expressed in programs designed to achieve a wide variety of specific improvements.

This definition emphasizes government involvement, national progress and self-help and excludes any consideration of conflict or dissension.

Warren (1977, p. 20) defines community development as:

> a process of helping community people analyze their problems, to exercise as large a measure of autonomy as is possible and feasible, and to promote a greater identification of the individual citizen and the individual organization with the community as a whole.

The emphasis here is on the promotion of autonomy and community attachment as crucial elements of community development.

Sanders (1958, p. 31) views community development as a "process, a method, a program and a movement." His typology provides an historical and philosophical background for Christenson and Robinson's (1980, p. 12) synthesis of what they call the "key aspects" in the many diverse definitions found in the literature. For them community development is defined as:

> (a) a group of people (b) in a community (c) reaching a decision (d) to initiate a social action process, i.e. planned intervention (e) to change (f) their economic, social, cultural, or environmental situation.

Research and Community Development

Just as there is diversity in definitions of community development there is also diversity in theory and research approaches. There appears to be a consensus among researchers that community development theory is far from complete, and that existing research has "contributed minimally to

knowledge development in theory building or direct practice" (Thomas, 1978, p. 30). Lees (1975) has identified two important aspects of knowledge development research that speak to the purpose of this study. The first he calls the "theory building model" (1975, p. 160). Within this model the purpose of community development research should be to test, systematize and expand a body of theoretical knowledge that can help a community worker in his/her daily practice. The second "experiential model" is concerned with the description and analysis of what community workers actually do. There is a need to know something about the assumptions of community work practitioners, including how they see their working objectives and how they express such objectives in interaction with individuals and groups.

Maas (1966, p. 5) has provided a helpful account of the foci of research in social services that are particularly relevant to this study. He suggests a need for research on the following:

> (a) those persons or groups toward whom the field directs its services including research on the characteristics, motivations, skills and experiences of those who have joined community groups, (b) the social organization of agencies set up to give services including analysis of the role of trusts and charities who have funded community work initiatives, (c) the social policies that orient the services and (d) the kinds of methods used, focusing on the community worker's transactions with local groups and the nature of his/her relationships with local people.

This kind of knowledge is sometimes called "practice theory." Such theory comprises specific "how to" propositions about the methods, tactics, and strategies of changing people, systems, and conditions.

A growing body of practice theory in community work has developed primarily from the analysis of case studies and workers' records and accounts of their interventions, but practice theory and guidelines developed from these research finding are rare. Thomas (1977, pp. 36-37) explains the slow emergence of knowledge development in community work in Britain by identifying seven reasons. These factors are equally relevant to the present situation in the United States.

> (1) Community work is still not a central method of intervention in either social work practice or training and thus attracts little attention from researchers.
>
> (2) Community work teachers are not, on the whole, part of a research-oriented environment.
>
> (3) Community work teachers in universities appear to have little time for research.
>
> (4) Much of the teaching and research talent in community work has been siphoned off into evaluation research.
>
> (5) Evaluative research in community action programs has demonstrated a number of dysfunctions and may have inhibited interest in research among community work teachers and practitioners.
>
> (6) Potential researchers may have been deterred by the messy methodological and ethical problems associated with doing research in community work.

(7) Insufficient commitment on the part of practitioners and teachers in community work to theory building has failed to generate sufficient theoretical structures and propositions. Consequently, there has been little research activity.

Pruger and Specht (1969, p. 124) attribute the atheoretical nature of community work practice, training and writing to an "ideological" dislike of theory and knowledge, because these allegedly create an elitist perspective of a community. Understandable skepticism arises when researchers consider the likelihood of developing "a theory" that would encompass the vast array of discrete data about communities, community problems and methods of intervention.

In summary, existing research has done little to test, systematize and expand a body of theoretical knowledge. Neither has it been adequately concerned with the description and analysis of what community workers do. This study is aimed at this apparent gap described by Lees by providing a systematic analysis of this community development project. The study focuses also on what community workers actually do in their daily activities and how they express their working objectives in interaction with individuals and groups. As part of this effort the study examines the existing change models that have become important conceptual tools in community development and determines their utility for understanding the Morgan/Scott Project.

Models of Change

Many writers have developed typologies of change in an effort to facilitate an understanding of community development as an intervention perspective. Some of the most prominent are discussed here since they provide conceptualizations of phenomena that are studied in this research. The Morgan/Scott Project will be studied to determine to what extent, if any, these change issues and processes are relevant.

Rothman's Typology

Rothman (1979) has formulated a three model approach to community work practice that includes locality development, social planning and social action. According to the author, locality development presupposes that community change can be pursued most effectively by involving a wide spectrum of local people in goal determination and action. The themes emphasized in locality development are "democratic procedures, voluntary cooperation, self-help, development of indigenous leadership, and education" (Rothman, 1979, p. 5). The degree to which these themes occur and the actual processes involved in their implementation will be investigated.

The emphasis of social planning is on technical problem solving of social issues such as delinquency, housing, or health. This model is based on an assumption of rational,

controlled change. Actual community participation may vary dramatically depending on how problems arise and what organizational variables are present. This approach assumes that planned change in a complex industrial environment requires experts. Such experts are responsible for guiding the change process through the application of technical skills. Among such skills is the ability to manipulate large bureaucratic systems. The ultimate goal of social planners, especially in the field of social work, is to provide goods and services to people who need them. Rothman stresses that enhancing the community's capacity for constructive problem solving or promoting social change is not a fundamental part of this process.

Social action entails the organization of a disadvantaged segment of the population in order to make demands on the larger community for increased resources or equal treatment in accordance with social justice or democratic ideals. The aim of its practitioners is to bring about basic changes in major institutions, community practices or policies. The redistribution of power, resources or decision-making in the community or changes in policies of formal organizations are the goals of social action strategies. Some examples of groups using the social action approach include racial and ethnic minorities, neighborhood action groups, labor unions, the National Welfare Rights Organization, and environmental protection groups.

Rothman's three strategies of community intervention are unlikely to exist in pure form, and he cautions change agents not to design intervention programs in tightly distinctive ways. The blending of such initiatives in a skillful manner is as important as the recognition of their differing characteristics (Rothman, 1979).

Other writers have developed typologies of change that are considered relevant to community development (Chin and Benne, 1976; Crowfoot and Chesler, 1974; Christenson and Robinson, 1980). All of these typologies contain concepts and strategies that relate to Rothman's view of planned social change. Crowfoot and Chesler have also formulated as part of their typology a counter-culture model that is divergent from the professional technical school of thought pervasive in Rothman's and Chin and Benne's works.

Counter-Culture Perspective

The counter-culture perspective views contemporary society and all relevant sub-units as overly technocratic and overly bureaucratic. These institutional characteristics also define the conforming individual. The focus of this perspective is on the negative effects of social institutions and organizations on the individual. The effects of planned change are not seen as qualitatively different from the negative effects of social institutions and organizations. Rather, planned change is perceived as another inherently

non-human or anti-human characteristic of social institutions and organizations.

Within this context social institutions no longer meet basic individual needs such as needs for affection, freedom and wholeness. Public and private agencies are anti-humanistic, racist, and sexist, operating in ways that destroy people, land and natural resources.

> Wedded to an achieving ethic of Protestant sacrifice, Americans glorify technical excellence and bureaucratic order. The results include a stifling of organizational innovation and fluidity, and social control of spontaneous individual creativity, emotional expression and personal relationships. This diagnosis is applied to bureaucratized churches as well as to secular institutions; even the sacred has become profane in its nonredemptive treatment of persons (Crowfoot and Chesler, 1974, p. 287).

Change therefore must begin with the self and result in new personal values expressed through new, alternative lifestyles. Lifestyles that demonstrate acceptance of others and full participation in a community of others are requisite. Such qualitative changes in self and others must be reinforced and extended through fundamentally different organizational systems based on humanistic values including racial and sexual equality, consensual decision-making and interpersonal cooperation.

Acknowledging the importance of values in the formulation of goals, objectives, policies, and in the action taken in particular situations is essential to any study of

community development. How the values, perceptions and attitudes of program participants have determined the directions taken by the Morgan/Scott Project since 1972 is an important aspect of this study.

Conflict and Change

While most community development work may be viewed as planned social change, it often involves or leads to conflict. Christenson and Robinson (1980) include the conflict approach in their typology, addressing this phenomenon more thoroughly than the other writers mentioned. They present an operational framework of social conflict including its dimensions, contexts and results.

In brief, community conflict involves two or more parties with perceived incompatible goals that relate to specific value attachments. The behavior of one party threatens the goals and territory of the other party and the two parties compete with varying levels of interest and power. The relative power of the opposing parties is the key issue. The alternatives for resolution vary. Few resolutions satisfy all persons associated with both sides of a conflict because of "strong value attachments" (Christenson and Robinson, 1980, p. 75).

The value orientation of supporters of a conflict strategy is considerably different from the orientation of those who espouse normative neutrality. Normative principles

are often an integral component of conflict strategies and neutrality is nearly impossible to achieve. Such strategies, planned and unplanned, trigger both emotional and rational responses. The desired change appears to be as good or better than the status quo. Conflict is seen as good for the community or for a particular group.

Every conflict is unique with

> community structure, leadership skills, attitudes of community residents, the degree of discontent, the possibility for solution, requests for assistance, the presence of a mediator and the problem itself among the important factors that influence the conflict process" (Christenson and Robinson, 1980, p. 82).

This study investigates the degree to which actual or potential conflict has played a role in the development of the Morgan/Scott Project.

This research has been positioned in broad terms within the context of gaps in practice-related research. An important focus of concern in the study, namely change conceptualizations, has been discussed. Models of Appalachia, the second area of concern, are explored in the following section.

Models of Appalachia

It is assumed that the perceptions and attitudes of project participants toward the people who comprise a given community will influence the kind of project activities they

consider appropriate. The two models of Appalachia which are examined reflect perceptions and attitudes about the region that may be expressed explicitly or implicitly by project participants. Each model has some degree of relevance to any researcher attempting to understand the people of Appalachia and the role they play within the larger context of American culture. These two models of Appalachia are termed the culture of poverty model and the colonialism model.

Culture of Poverty Model

Jack Weller's (1965) discussion of mountain culture, based on his own observations, has been generally accepted until recently by the public and scientific community. Weller finds the "mountain sub-culture" different from a middle class culture in the primary traits of fatalism, individualism, traditionalism, action seeking and person-orientedness. He perceives that "the trait of fatalism has so stultified the people within this folk culture that passive resignation becomes the approved norm" (Batteau, 1979-80, p. 10).

In Weller's estimation the Appalachian people have carried their attitude of dependence to extreme, indeed even degenerated into self-centeredness. Traditionalism implies a "regressive" outlook that resists planning and change. Fatalism has led to passive resignation and a tolerance for

impoverished conditions. Action-seeking attitudes demonstrate resistance to routine, which leads to "irresponsible spending, heavy liquor consumption and gambling" (Batteau, 1979-80, p. 11). Person-orientedness as an Appalachian trait manifests itself as a preoccupation with being liked, accepted or noticed rather than a striving toward an external goal.

Weller and those influenced by him claim that an Appalachian sub-culture exists. The traits found in this sub-culture are considered different from those held by middle-class Americans. These "defective" differences account for the social, political and economic problems that plague the area.

Weller's primary assumptions regarding the values and traits of the Appalachian folk culture naturally lead to further elaboration in the Looff model of the culture of poverty in Appalachia. Looff (1971) has commented on the "pathological" nature of the Appalachian family with its inappropriate family relationships contributing to maladaptation, fixation, regression, aggression, and resignation.

Those scholars who point to these "pathological" traits in the family and the region's religion utilize them to explain the presence of poverty in Appalachia. Edward Banfield (1974) identifies person-orientedness and action-seeking behavior as responsible for keeping people poor. As

much as "outside" professionals attempt to alleviate problems, such attempts inevitably fail because of the very nature of the Appalachian people.

The culture of poverty model emphasizes the concept of fundamental change at the individual rather than the social, economic or political levels. In order for Appalachia to be receptive to social, economic and political reform, its people must be fundamentally changed by ideas inculcated by ministers, public health nurses, social workers, recreation leaders, psychiatrists, public administrators and other professional elite that share the values of middle-class Americans. Through a united effort the negative individual traits of the Appalachian folk culture that perpetuate a culture of poverty can be eliminated or at least repressed.

Such blanket stereotyping of the people of Appalachia has recently received wide criticism. Weller and his colleagues fail to define adequately who make up this sub-culture. Serious questions arise as to the uniqueness of this sub-culture and the accurateness of its portrayal. The explanation of the forces that have given rise to and perpetuated this sub-culture and the strategies for change suggested by the model's proponents have also been subjected to serious challenge. From the standpoint of anthropologists, the culture of poverty explanation is metodologically flawed by its narrow focus on values and the

attribution of causal force to values, while ignoring their infrastructural and structural determinants.

Regional Development Approach

A popular conceptualization related to the culture of poverty model that offers a solution to the problems of Appalachia also ignores intrastructural and structural determinants. The regional development approach is the central theme of the Appalachian Regional Commission (ARC) (Rothblatt, 1971) and its associated programs. Simply stated, this approach stresses the provision of economic and social overhead capital, training people for skills necessary for industrial and service jobs, facilitating migration, and promoting the establishment or relocation of privately owned industries through a growth center strategy. This strategy involves the use of a modernizing elite, largely from universities in the Appalachian region and their related applied research institutes. This approach has a political base in the multi-county Local Development Districts created under the ARC program. The idea behind the Development Districts is to provide a mechanism by which consensus can be reached among regional representatives and national representatives regarding the allocation of development funds.

The regional development solution is considered by its proponents to be a scientific, value-free, and non-controver-

sial approach. The allocation of resources is made with no consideration of the existing structure of resource control or of the consequences of such control on development projects. Regional or national planners raise no question about the problems of private ownership of the region's natural resources or the problems inherent in corporate-controlled and owned industry.

Colonialism Model

A leading critic, Helen Lewis, has developed an alternative conceptualization to the sub-culture of poverty model suggesting that regional development is simplistic. Because culture is more than just description her concept refers to a set of normative patterns which arise through a group's interaction with its environment. Discussing culture in isolation from social, economic, and political influences lead observers to the generalization that the Appalachian people are apathetic and passive, and carry the destructive traits of their culture. However, the cultural traits of mountain people cannot be understood apart from "the external variables that shape them and the processes that perpetuate them" (Fisher, 1978, p. 140).

Lewis (1971), Caudill (1962), Fisher (1978) and others have conceptualized Appalachian culture within a framework of colonialism. Within this framework, Appalachia is viewed as a sub-society structurally alienated and lacking resources

due to processes of colonialism and exploitation. Those who control the resources preserve their advantage by discrimination. The sub-cultural traits of the Appalachian people are adjustive techniques of the powerless.

The colonialism model views the family and religion differently from Weller's interpretation. Family and religion rather than being essentially "pathological" or "dysfunctional" are adaptive responses or resistance to a history of colonial exploitation that began in the late 19th century.

Colonialism as an explanatory theory of Appalachian under-development has been applied to the coal mining regions of central Appalachia, where Morgan and Scott counties are located. Lewis believes that the history of the region provides sufficient evidence to support the view that Blauner's (1969, pp. 393-408) four major steps to colonization have occurred in Appalachia. These four steps are as follows:

(1) a forced involuntary entry

(2) a rapid modification of the culture and social organization of the colonized

(3) control by the dominant group

(4) a condition of racism (prejudice), social domination by which the colonized are defined as inferior or different and which rationalizes the exploitation, control, and oppression of the subordinate group.

The colonial analogy changes the traditional focus of the Appalachian sub-culture model in that its primary concern is not the inherent defects of the mountain people but the manner in which the rest of American society is affecting Appalachia. The implications of such a point of view are significant. Rather than blaming the victim and attempting to change the values of a defective sub-culture, a more universalistic approach to problem solving must be employed.

Rapid change in the Appalachian economic and political structure must occur to get at the roots of the problem. The traditional approach to socio-economic problems has been to treat the symptom not the cause. Such an approach has allowed well-meaning, middle-class liberals and humanitarians to believe that the characteristics of people themselves are the fundamental causes of poverty, poor health care, and poor education. As a result the approach has been to promote remedial treatment to a specifically defined category of persons who are afflicted with a "disease" rather than trying to prevent a situation that is a result of the social arrangements of the community and is not unique to a special group.

William Ryan (1971, p. 8) terms the former approach "exceptionalistic" and the latter "universalistic". The exceptionalist viewpoint is reflected in solutions that are private, voluntary, special, local, and exclusive, while the

universalist viewpoint is reflected in solutions that are public, legislated, general, national, and inclusive.

A focus of this study is to determine if and how the concepts in these models are reflected explicitly and implicitly by the Morgan/Scott Project participants in their attitudes, perceptions and actions. The researcher views these two models as only potentially useful in describing participant perceptions. It is anticipated that data will emerge explicating some of the concepts in these models as well as new concepts not necessarily related to these models, that may serve to develop a more substantial understanding of Appalachian society in Morgan and Scott counties.

CHAPTER III

RESEARCH METHODOLOGY

Introduction

Social work researchers have been engaged in debate for a number of years about the kind of knowledge development that can be most helpful for social work practice. Much of this debate has focused on discussion of the most appropriate research paradigm for social work. The limitations of logical positivism and the hypothetico-deductive method for social science research are asserted by some scholars who call for an increase in qualitative methodology and interactive rather than disengaged research activities (Heineman, 1981; Imre, 1982, 1984; Ruckdeshel and Farris, 1981).

Counter arguments in this debate focus on these critics' misunderstandings of both the state of social work research and the arguments of the philosophers of science (Fischer, 1984; Gordon, 1984; Hudson, 1982). Quantitative versus qualitative methodology is a central issue, the former being associated with logical positivism and the latter with a more inductive theory-building approach to knowledge for practice. These divisions are unnecessary, but each school of thought is often guilty of attempting to present either/or arguments for the exclusive use of their preferred methodology. Both

approaches to knowledge-building are of value to the profession of social work. Neither should be considered superior or exclusive to the other.

This study falls under the rubric of qualitative research utilizing a blend of research methods. Conceptual frameworks are identified and their relevance is examined in an exploratory formulative approach, using broad research questions as the basis for inquiry. This does not preclude concepts emerging inductively from the data. Qualitative analysis is guided not by hypotheses but by questions, issues, and a search for patterns (Patton, 1987).

Field Studies

A field study is not a single method but a blend or combination of methods and techniques that is employed in studying certain types of subject matter. This characteristic blend of techniques involves

> genuinely social interaction in the field with the subjects of the study, direct observation of relevant events, formal and much informal interviewing, systematic counting, collection of documents and artifacts, and overall openendedness in the direction the study takes (McCall and Simmons, 1969, p. 1).

Field studies have been criticized, at times justly, for lacking standardized techniques. Researchers have raised serious questions about the reliability, validity, and generality of results from field studies. The non-

quantitative nature of the data causes difficulties in presenting both evidence and proof for propositions (Hinkle and Hinkle, 1954).

Advocates of field studies have argued that this approach is less likely than other methods to be biased, unreliable or invalid because it provides numerous internal checks of a more direct nature and is more responsive to the data than are the "imposed" systems of other methods. This approach allows "real study of social processes and complex interdependencies in social systems" (Strauss, Schatzman, Bucher, Ehrlich and Sabshin, 1964, pp. 19-21). While this approach has limitations, it is quite useful for exploratory-formulative studies that emphasize rich description. For this reason a field study approach is utilized in this investigation.

The end product of a field study is an analytic description of a complex social phenomenon. An analytic description

> (1) employs the concepts, propositions, and empirical generalizations of a body of scientific theory as the basic guides in analysis and reporting, (2) employs thorough and systematic collection, classification, and reporting of facts and (3) generates new empirical generalizations (and perhaps concepts and propositions as well) based on these data (McCall and Simmons, p. 4).

An analytic description is primarily an empirical application and modification of existing theory rather than

an efficient or powerful test of such a theory. Field studies may be used to test theory by comparing such analytic descriptions of complex cases when these are available in sufficient number and variety. Anthropologists, for example, test theories by comparing analytic descriptions of societies, and community sociologists by comparing community studies (Eggan, 1954; Reis, 1954, 1959; Bendix, 1963).

Complex social organizations are conceived by social scientists as being latent organizations, largely unintended and unrecognized by the members themselves and therefore not describable or apparent to most persons. Because many of the features of an organization are not recognized by its members, they cannot report them even when questioned by a skilled interviewer. Consequently, in order to obtain an analytic description, the researcher must observe the organization directly.

Data Gathering Methods

Direct Observation

Direct observation was used by the researcher in this study of the Morgan/Scott Project. As a participant observer the researcher served as a volunteer three days per week for approximately one year. The project director utilized the researcher as he would any volunteer, although he was aware, as was the board of directors, of the researcher's intention to study the Morgan/Scott Project. The

researcher kept a daily log of his observations from which categories were generated. A filing system was employed with index cards containing category headings and reference notes, including log page numbers, indicating where additional information could be obtained. The analysis of interviews and documents was done in the same manner. Interviews were taped as a matter of record, and each interview was transcribed. From these transcriptions categories were generated. Twenty informants were interviewed for this study, including past and present volunteers and salaried personnel.

Use of Interviews

Direct observation is not sufficient to enable the researcher to obtain a thorough description of the MSP. Therefore information derived from interviews supplements observational data. The research data will thus enable comparison of researcher observation with actual responses of the participants. If systematic bias occurs, the observer is more likely to become aware of it and revise interpretations of events accordingly. Similarly such interview data can lead the observer to aspects of the phenomena not directly observed. It then becomes possible to modify research activities so as to be able to observe these neglected aspects.

Reliance on interviewing can also avert possible reactive effects contributed by the observer. It is

important to note that researchers must be aware of their biases including personal slants, impressions or assumptions that color the selection of data to report. Introspection by the researcher and cross checking of data from other reports are important means of identifying such biases. They then must be tagged, continually scrutinized, and addressed or dealt with in the final study.

Interviewing members or participants about their motives, intentions and interpretations of the events in question was also a part of the data gathering process. Again this provided a check on the validity of inferences made by the researcher. Such interviewing does not cast those interviewed in the role of observers. Instead they report only their own behavior and thoughts. In checking inferences concerning the motives of a certain category of participant, the researcher interviewed a suitably drawn sample from the category involved.

Participation as Project Volunteer

As another check on the feelings and thoughts of the members of the organization under study, the researcher took an active part in the activities of the organization. By serving as a project volunteer the researcher received socialization similar to that of other organization members, thus permitting the development of similar perspectives and encountering similar experiences. In this way the researcher

gained a sense of the subjective side of events which could be less readily inferred if observed without taking part. Although the researcher can thus acquire directly a sense of the subjective states of the participants, this sense remains his/her own and cannot be attributed to others. Frequent interviewing is therefore necessary for acquiring information about subjective states.

Interviewing

The interviewing method employed was a loosely structured and open-ended approach. An interview framework assured consistency of questioning regarding pertinent subject matter (See Appendix D). Each interview was process recorded by the researcher and analyzed in the same manner as the data in the daily log. Interviews were audio-taped and kept as a matter of record for the researcher's reference.

Use of Records and Documents

Other important sources of data for this study were the various records and documents pertaining to the organization and operation of the Morgan/Scott Project. Budgetary records, minutes of meetings, newsletters, by-laws, and correspondence which record important information that the researcher was unable to observe directly contributed to the whole study. Typically the views conveyed by such documents are partisan or merely official views, but these are often significant data in themselves. The chief difficulty with

the utilization of documents is that they are usually incomplete, unsystematic, and tantalizing but tangential (Webb, Campbell, Schwartz and Sechrest, 1966, pp. 53-111). Unlike those people interviewed, documents cannot be probed and cajoled in an attempt to overcome these deficiencies, and the control that is possible in interviews is not apparent in document analysis.

Data Analysis

The method of analysis employed in this study borrows from the theory-generating proponents of grounded theory (Glaser, 1969; Turner, 1981; Martin and Turner, 1986). This method is a systematic approach to data analysis that can be described in eight steps:

(1) Observing and collecting data

(2) Creating "working labels" or categories for the phenomenon observed

(3) Accumulating examples of each category created by the researcher

(4) Developing definitions of the concepts within the categories

(5) Specifying the relationships among concepts

(6) Searching out or exploring comparisons

(7) Delimiting the theory

(8) Writing the theory

Glaser states that this method is a

> continuous growth process . . . each stage after a time transforms itself into the next . . . previous stages remain in operation throughout the analysis and provide continuous development to the following stage until the analysis is terminated (Glaser, p. 222).

This study is primarily a descriptive analysis, but it goes beyond description in its attempt to generate concepts from the data that begin to explain regularities and variations in social behavior (Spradley, 1980). It is not purported that the final product in this study is pure grounded theory as defined by Glaser and Strauss, but the ideas put forth and formulated to explain the working of the Morgan/Scott Project emerge from the data and the direct experiences of the researcher. As in David Harrison's (1987) work on reflective practice in social work, this study utilizes the creation and defining of categories, the provision of illustrations for each category and beginning explanations for the phenomena observed. Every effort has been made to control for observer bias, but there is no absolute guarantee that all biased assumptions are excluded from the findings.

CHAPTER IV

FINDINGS

During the process of data analysis the concepts of insider and outsider emerge as important concepts for defining, describing, and explaining the differences in people's attitudes about the project.

Howard S. Becker (1963) has formulated various notions about insiders and outsiders that appear pertinent to this study. Becker suggests that all social groups make rules and, depending on the situation, attempt to enforce those rules implicitly or explicitly, through informal or formal enforcement systems. Social rules define situations and the kinds of behavior considered appropriate to them. Some behaviors or actions will be thought of as "right" and others as "wrong." People who break rules are often perceived by those that follow them as deviant. They cannot be trusted by the group. The term applied to a deviant person(s) is outsider(s). According to Becker it is possible that the "outsider" may not recognize those who have judged him/her deviant as either competent or legitimately entitled to do so (1963, p.3).

Social rules may be formal or informal, enacted into law by the state or formulated with the sanction of age and tradition. Informal rules are enforced by informal sanctions. These sanctions may be subtle and difficult to

identify or blatantly obvious. Much of this study is concerned with the informal rules that exist in the social, political and economic structure of Morgan and Scott counties. The study explores the implicit and explicit ways that insiders, particularly middle and upper middle income area residents, maintain existing rules. The impact of the differing attitudes of insiders and outsiders on the operation of the project, its purpose and programs, is a major focus of this study.

The following pages articulate a definition of insiders and outsiders in the two-county area. The study divides project participants into two general groups: insider project participants (IPPs) and outsider project participants (OPPs). It is posited that these two groups have both similar and different reasons for project involvement. These reasons are described in detail. It is also asserted that reasons for project involvement influence IPP and OPP expectations of project related activities and experiences. Project participant attitudes about the project are influenced either by the realization of these expectations or the failure of these expectations to materialize. The attitudes developed in turn have an impact on various aspects of project operation, influencing project participant relationships, project goals and objectives and program implementation.

Insiders and Quasi-Insiders

Project participants may be broadly classified into two groups, insiders and outsiders. Being an insider is defined by one's personal and family history, where one is born and where one's family presently resides. It also has to do with how the community identifies a person. Insiders are persons who were born in the area and who have spent most of their lives in Morgan and Scott counties. Insiders may work outside the two counties but reside with their nuclear families in the area. Affiliation with their community is strong and permanent. Insiders also have extended families residing in the area. Their family name is familiar to other area residents, and the community is generally aware that the family name has been represented in the area over generations. Insiders may vary in social, political and economic status. It is possible to define three general categories of insiders. These categories relate to personal and family history and socio-economic position as perceived by project participants.

Some insiders are identified by IPPs as the present members of traditionally impoverished family systems. They own little or no land or housing and experience only sporadic employment. Other insiders are described by some IPPs as part of traditionally politically powerful and affluent family systems that still own large tracts of land and

mineral rights, housing, businesses, and hold political offices at various levels of local government. A third category of insider has a family history of relative poverty, but is the first or second generation of now middle income residents. These persons either work outside of the area or have had the good fortune or political connections to obtain a job in county or state government, or with one of the outside corporations which own large parcels of land in the two county region.

A general category of area residents who are neither true insiders or outsiders according to these definitions, may be termed quasi-insiders. These persons were born in the area, but left at an early age largely because of impoverished conditions. They have spent the major part of their lives in urban areas primarily in northern states that provided them with long term gainful employment. Upon retiring, they return to the area, usually with their spouse (often an outsider) and become semi-permanent residents. They still travel to these northern urban areas seasonally, on holidays, or on special occasions involving family events. Their nuclear family resides outside the area, and their primary affiliations are not in Morgan and Scott counties.

Outsiders

"Outsiders" is a term given frequently by IPPs to those persons, usually of middle and upper middle income, who were

born and raised outside of the area and whose family names have no historical consequence to people in the area. Being an outsider is defined by birthplace, location of primary community and family affiliations, and one's purpose for being in the area. Outsiders are thought of by insiders as temporary residents and indeed this may be the case. Outsiders described by IPPs have no intention of residing in the area. They may own land, mineral rights or housing that require periodic trips to the area to oversee investments. Others from this group represent corporations that own large tracts of land and resources in the area. These corporations usually have working arrangements with insiders who engage in activities on behalf of outsider persons or corporations. Such arrangements require periodic outsider visitation to the area.

A second category of outsider is identified as middle income persons who were born and raised elsewhere and have come to the area specifically to serve people in some capacity. That is, they have come to engage in activities they consider service, earning little or no pay, which they believe will benefit primarily the landless, homeless, jobless and impoverished population. Many of these outsiders are church affiliated. They may be ministers or lay persons of mainline protestant denominations, i.e., United Methodist, Presbyterian Church (USA), or United Church of Christ, et al., or members of the Roman Catholic Church. They work for

church organizations or community projects that are funded primarily from sources outside the area. Some of these outsiders stay only for a few days or weeks. Others remain in the area for months or even years, but there is always the sense of temporary residence among them, that home is somewhere else.

A third category of outsider is associated with the quasi-insider. Also of middle income, they are the spouses of the quasi-insiders. They have come to the area to establish residence as financially secure retirees. As with all outsiders their primary affiliations remain with persons in families, groups, and communities outside of Morgan and Scott counties.

Project Participants as Insiders and Outsiders

Project participants may be divided into groups of insiders and outsiders and subdivided into various categories. All categories of insiders and outsiders are not represented by present project participants, but historically several kinds have played an important role in project development. This notion of insider and outsider project participants affects status in the project: a person's origin, the length of time spent with the project, whether a person is paid or volunteers, and in what capacity a person serves the project, as board member, volunteer staff, or

salaried staff. It also reflects reasons for project involvement as well as a person's relationship with the larger community and the degree of influence one has in community affairs.

Description of Insider Project Participants (IPPs)

The majority of present project participants are insiders. Most are middle income residents who were impoverished during their childhood, but through providence and hard work have become members of the middle class. Poor individuals and families are not an important source for project volunteers. Rather, they serve as beneficiaries of the goods and services of the various programs. During the development of the project there were attempts to incorporate people from this impoverished group into the board of directors and volunteer staff. Historically, some traditionally powerful insiders served on the board and executive board, but their participation has waned over the last several years.

The board and executive board are composed primarily of insider men, while the insider volunteer staff are primarily women. A division exists between insider volunteer staff and insider board members based on gender and those activities considered gender specific. Board members seldom participate in the activities of insider volunteer staff nor do most insider volunteer staff expect or desire to serve on the

board. This informal, "laissez-faire" policy is mutually accepted. Some male board members are retired or have jobs that afford considerable flexibility, allowing for participation as volunteer staff, but it is not a question of availability. Rather, it appears an accepted norm within the organization that men do certain things and women do certain other things.

Insiders currently assume the two full time salaried staff positions. These positions are also gender specific. The project director position is considered to be for a male and project secretary position is for a female.

Description of Outsider Project Participants

A number of outsiders are presently involved with the project. All are of middle income and most have come to the area to serve the local people in some capacity. During the summer months, for example, small groups of outsiders come to the area to work in the project's "To Love is To Serve" program. They are frequently church groups from such places as Michigan, Ohio, Illinois and New York. They remain in the area for as little as one day or as long as two weeks. Approximately six to nine groups work for the project annually. All groups are from outside Morgan and Scott counties and most are from other, primarily northern states. Their stays are temporary and for a specific purpose: to

renovate homes in the two counties, working as temporary volunteer staff.

Another group of OPPs consists of individuals and couples who come to the project, usually through a formal church-operated voluntary mission program, intending to take up residence for six months to a year and work as volunteer staff. They are either retired and financially self-sufficient or young single adults just out of college and financially dependent on significant others. These volunteers are expected to serve in any capacity that is required for program implementation. They are non-voting members of the board of directors and attend board and executive board meetings with consistency, demonstrating strong interest in overall project operation.

In the past some outsiders came to the project with their families specifically to work as salaried staff, to assume the position of project director. They were a Presbyterian minister and his family, and a professional businessman and his family. These directors had no specific time period in mind when they assumed the position, although the community in general understood that they would eventually leave the area.

Presently there are also two outsider staff volunteers who are members of holy orders within the Roman Catholic Church. They receive stipends (salaries) from the Catholic Church as well as housing. These volunteers engage in other

church activities that are not affiliated with the project. They were sent by the Catholic Church to the area to serve and support the small local congregation and work with the area's poor population. These two outsiders are board members as well as staff volunteers. Their time frame for remaining in Morgan and Scott counties is open-ended, contingent on church requirements. If they are transferred to another location by their superiors in the church hierarchy, then they must go. Generally, if their existing placement is without conflict or controversy, they have considerable influence in determining the length of time they wish to stay.

Outsiders also make up the advisory committee that meets with the director quarterly. These persons are predominantly male, either protestant clergy or businessmen residing in the surrounding urban areas in Tennessee. Meetings are held quarterly and are usually outside of Morgan and Scott counties. As with all committee and board positions, their tenure is open ended.

The preceding comparison of the varieties of insiders and outsiders should help to clarify, define and illustrate the two terms, and lay the foundation for the subsequent descriptive analysis. Further clarification and elaboration of this concept and related sub-concepts is articulated throughout this study. The research will demonstrate that OPPs and IPPs differ, sometimes dramatically, in their

perceptions and attitudes relating to many aspects of project operation. The following sections will explore fully the reasons for these differences as well as those areas of insider/outsider congruence in order to facilitate a clearer understanding of how insider/outsider dynamics have an impact on the operation of the Morgan/Scott Project.

Reasons for Project Involvement

The terminology, "reasons for participation in the project" is defined in this study as the motives, causes or justifications that project participants express for becoming active in project operation. It is postulated that these reasons are influenced by the life needs of the project participants: those requirements that each individual deems necessary for life, which are formed and shaped by their unique life experiences, values and beliefs about themselves and others. Needs may be categorized as psychological, spiritual and material. Depending on individual needs, reasons for project involvement will differ among project participants.

Reasons for Insider Project Involvement

Reasons for project involvement for insiders relate to scarcity of local activities; availability of goods and services; family relationships; church affiliation; local

socio-economic status; family history; vested interests; and scarcity of employment.

Scarcity of local activities. Some insiders, particularly the insider volunteer staff, become involved in the project because it provides an outlet for the isolated and sometimes monotonous existence of remaining at home in a rural environment. For example, volunteer C lives in a home that is relatively isolated. Her husband is employed by a multi-national corporation and is absorbed in his work. Her daughter will soon be entering college. Most of C's nuclear family have left the area. She dislikes staying at home alone, so volunteering affords her the opportunity for interaction with others and a change in daily routine.

Mrs. K and her husband are active in the Deerlodge community. They are retired and their children have moved away. Mrs. K is a key figure in the community center operation. An MSP thrift store is next to the center. One MSP library is actually housed in the center because of lack of space in the store. The K's spend much of their free time as retirees participating in the volunteer activities this small community offers, that is, church, volunteer fire department, MSP thrift store, and Deerlodge Community Center.

Benefits of goods and services. Other insiders become active in the project because of the benefits of goods and services received through involvement. It is standard

procedure that volunteer staff, particularly those responsible for thrift store operation, have first choice of goods received from outside churches and individuals. Some project participants have poor relatives living in the area and distribute goods to them as needed.

Most present IPPs have experienced the physical suffering and psychological humiliation of poverty during their childhood. Although they may now be categorized as middle class, the memory of poverty is strong. They remain empathetic toward the large number of people in the area who have been unable to experience the benefits of a middle class lifestyle. They become volunteers to help the poor as best they know how.

Closely related to this third reason is a personal sense of satisfaction that volunteering gives to some IPPs. They feel a sense of obligation to the poor, having an understanding that poverty is a circumstance and not necessarily an indication of character or moral weakness. Insiders say they simply "feel good" about their involvement.

Family relationships. Kinship is an important reason for project participation. Some volunteer staff and board members are related to salaried staff. The director's wife as well as his cousin and her daughter work as volunteers. The secretary's sister and brother-in-law are active in several programs including operation of the thrift store in

Deerlodge and her uncle is the chairman of the board. These project participants become involved out of a sense of loyalty to family members. It is a way of frequently interacting with family members in a rural environment where face to face communication is highly valued but difficult due to geographical distance.

Reasons given by board members. Key board members share some of the reasons articulated above, and also have reasons characteristic of this group. Rather than benefiting from thrift store goods, they may use the project tractor, tiller or bush hog to plow their gardens and clear their land. For example, every spring Mr. K plows his large garden and assists other gardeners in the area when requested to do so.

Historically the board was considered a prestigious organization, and some board members served for the recognition it gave them in their community or church. Others served on the board to monitor the project's activities, particularly those of the project director. It was in their best interests to guard against those plans or endeavors that could threaten the existing political and economic structure of the region.

On one occasion it was suggested the project support a food co-op in one of the local communities. In this way produce, dairy products and other basic foods could be

purchased and sold at cost. This would have eliminated the retailers and their sometimes considerably inflated profits. Not only the poor, but anyone could have theoretically become a member by offering to donate time and labor to the co-op.

This idea was quickly squelched by those board members who either owned retail food stores in the region or had relatives or friends in the retail food business. As the project became less of a potential threat to the existing political and economic power structure, its representatives gradually left the board.

The reasons for insider involvement may be summarized as follows:

Volunteer Staff:

1. To engage in activities that provide relief from isolation, monotony, and a way of spending free time
2. To procure goods and services project provides
3. To express empathy for impoverished persons
4. To experience feelings of satisfaction
5. To demonstrate loyalty to family members

Board Members:

Categories 1-5 and:

6. To monitor project activities and advocate for the vested interests of self and others

Salaried Staff:

Categories 1-6 and:

7. To receive financial payment for services rendered.

These categories are not mutually exclusive, nor are they exhaustive, but reflect the primary reasons as indicated by the data. Insider project participants may be motivated for several or all of these reasons.

Reasons for Outsider Project Involvement

Outsiders also express reasons for becoming project participants. These reasons are defined by the use of specific talents and skills, ideas about the region and its people, importance of self-development, group appreciation, and need for employment. Their motives, causes, or justification in some respects resemble those expressed by insiders, but there are important differences.

They have no actual kinship ties to families residing in the area and are motivated through family loyalty to other project participants. Nor are outsider project participants generally interested in project goods and services or monitoring project activities and advocating for the interests of self and others. They do share the motives of empathy for the poor and the feelings of satisfaction one receives through service.

It is important to understand that most outsider volunteers have a stereotyped impression of Appalachia and

its people. They generally envision the region as a land of exceptional natural beauty inhabited by people who speak a strange, fascinating dialect, are poor and backward, noble and proud, who mistrust strangers, and are in need of outside help, whether they realize it or not. Many have learned of Appalachia through romantic literature, movies and television programs that present a certain Appalachian image: a caricature of hillbillies, corrupt sheriffs, wild and drunken moonshiners and noble savages of Scotch-Irish descent. Outsiders' perceptions of project operation, insider project participants and the people served by project programs are influenced by pre-conceived notions of Appalachia and its people.

Outsiders want to make a difference. That is, they want to change the socio-economic conditions of the area, whether it be through providing needed services to an individual or family or developing needed programs for the impoverished inhabitants of Morgan and Scott counties.

Outsider volunteers who stay with the project long enough to either dispel or reinforce some of their underlying assumptions about Appalachia inevitably develop strong attitudes about many aspects of project operation.

Use of specific talents and skills. Most outsiders come to the project because they believe they have valuable and needed talents and skills to offer. For example they are

good organizers or planners and idea people like the two previous directors who created new programs and found new funding sources. Some, like Mr. and Mrs. S who operated their own business for years, have business management skills including accounting and budgeting. Still others are teachers, carpenters or mechanics. These outsiders have come to the project for what they believe to be a time limited, task specific purpose: that is, to offer their special abilities to the project for little or no compensation.

Gaining self-understanding. Other outsiders become volunteers to "find themselves," to discover who they are and what they want out of life. Their primary purpose is self understanding. They view the experience as an opportunity for personal growth. Some are disillusioned with urban living and search for a more personally fulfilling lifestyle. Like former volunteer Mr. J, some are recent college graduates seeking work and life experience before deciding on a specific career direction. Mrs. P, for example, after dropping out of college, came to the region to test her ability to do without material wealth.

The categories for outsider involvement include the following:

Volunteer Staff:

1. To express empathy for impoverished persons
2. To experience feeling of personal satisfaction

3. To offer personal talents and skills

4. To achieve self-understanding and personal growth

5. To impact upon and change the socio-economic conditions of people in the area

Project Directors:

Categories 1-5 and:

6. To receive financial payment for services rendered

As with the reasons for insider project participation, there is no underlying assumption that these outsider reasons are mutually exclusive or exhaustive. The reasons discussed reflect the dominant motives or causes, or justification for outsider involvement found in the data.

Expectations of Project Activities and Actual Activities

Insider Expectations

Insider expectations of project participants and activities, and what insiders anticipate doing as project participants are influenced in large part by their reasons for project involvement. For example, Ms. P came to the project when she read an ad in a church newsletter. Her primary reasons for coming to Morgan county were to attempt an alternative lifestyle more closely reflecting her belief in simple living and to help the poor. Some of her expectation of project participant activities and her experiences are expressed in this statement:

> Working as a volunteer forces you to live a simpler life. There's also a lot more flexibility in volunteer work.
>
> When I came here I expected to work closely with families, helping them budget and do home repairs. Hands on kinds of things. I've tried to work more on my own and stay away from the administrative part of it.

Many volunteer staff activities fulfill insider expectations related to categories 1-5. A good example is the thrift store operation. Volunteer staff assemble several times a month to sort the used clothing and other articles that are delivered by donors or collected by staff using project vehicles. The donations are brought to the community center in Burrville, where the project offices are located. When a large amount arrives, the secretary notifies her sister, who operates the thrift store in Deerlodge, the director's cousin, who operates the thrift store in Burrville, and the director's wife. They in turn notify other volunteers, and approximately seven volunteer staff women assemble in the gymnasium of the Burrville community center. They begin sorting clothes and other items and determine what will be sent to each of the three thrift stores: Burrville, Deerlodge and Lancing.

During the sorting and boxing process, volunteers exchange information regarding local news and family matters. This process provides continual opportunities for social intercourse. For those who wish there is ample time to

select particular items for themselves, members of their families and friends. They receive recognition from one another for their efforts of sorting and selecting and seem to derive great satisfaction from knowing the items will be utilized by persons in need. Some have fulfilled family obligations to the director, secretary other related project participants through this event (in a sense clothes sorting is a kind of special happening), and have demonstrated through action their empathy for the poor.

For the IPPs who serve on the male dominated board, the quarterly board meetings and the monthly executive board meetings also fulfill insider expectations of project participant activities. Board members spend many hours exchanging local news and information. They are generally less interested in the material goods and services the project provides volunteer staff, but most experience considerable satisfaction from project participation, feeling that they are in some way improving the quality of life of some of the area's poorest families.

Although monitoring of project activities operates hypothetically at all times, advocacy for vested interests of self and others is a subtle process that only becomes obvious in times of potential crisis, i.e., the proposed opening of a food co-op, a proposal for a legal assistance program for the poor, or the prospect of inviting racially mixed work groups to the area.

This reason is seldom directly expressed by board members as a primary motive for project participation, nor is this motive necessarily within the realm of personal awareness. Rather, the developmental history of the project as observed in board minutes and interviews indicates the validity of identifying monitoring and advocating on behalf of the interest of self and others as motives for board membership. The difficulty in recognizing the operation of this motive in operational terms relates to the insidiousness of the motive. And too, as the project presently functions, few if any current activities or proposed programs could potentially threaten the vested interests of board members, their families or friends. Insider project participants interviewed are basically content with their participation in the project.

Outsider Expectations

Outsider expectations of their activities as project participants are influenced by their reasons for becoming project volunteers. Those OPPs who believe they have considerable talent and skills to offer the project expect to be utilized in a manner they consider congruent with their abilities. For example, if an outsider perceives his/her skills to be of an administrative nature, i.e., program development, grant writing, public relations, budget management, etc., the related expectation is that he/she will

be utilized primarily in an administrative capacity, rather then engaged in service activities that require manual labor.

Mr. and Mrs. S, a retired couple from a midwestern state, came to the project through a church mission program. They anticipated being involved in administrative duties including correspondence, recordkeeping, bookkeeping and as consultants to the director. This couple had owned and operated small business enterprises for many years and believed their expertise in the area of business management could benefit the project. The S's held strong opinions about how an organization should be run to assure maximum program effectiveness and maintain financial solvency. Mr. S states:

> Both my wife and I have been involved with our own business of various kinds for over thirty years. So we felt we were qualified to work as business managers, which is what we were doing in Panama for four years. So, we came down here thinking that we could use that expertise in this mission (project).

Mr. S was also interested in bringing economic development into the area. He worked with a local landowner, helping him explore the possibility of using ponds for catfish farming. Having been in the catfish farming business, Mr. S was aware of the increasing demand for this food commodity. Mrs. S was interested in developing a literacy program for adults in an effort to reduce the high rate of illiteracy in the area. These activities would

afford the S's an opportunity to "do something that we knew was useful," and to "allow us to get a feel for the people, to really know the people that we're working with."

The sentiments expressed by this couple exemplify a general outsider consensus: the expectation that their unique skills and abilities will be utilized, that they will be valued by the project staff, particularly the director, that they will interact with the people the project serves, and that their presence will make a difference, even change the socio-economic conditions of some people in the area. However, outsiders' expectations of the project participant experience are not always realized.

Actual Project Participant Activities

Actual activities are those actions that project participants carry out during the day to day routine operation of the project. They include (a) sorting and boxing donated clothing and other household items, (b) transporting items by truck or van to the three thrift stores, (c) keeping the burn-out room well stocked with goods (towels, blankets, mattresses, appliances, kitchen utensils, furniture and other home furnishings), (d) picking up the mail and mailing correspondence at the project's two post office boxes, in Deerlodge and in Sunbright, (e) stocking the food pantry with donated or purchased food items (primarily canned goods), (f) cutting and delivering wood, (g) respond-

ing to calls for transportation and financial help, (h) picking up donated items (often driving considerable distances), (i) stocking and managing the thrift stores, and (j) remaining within reach by telephone to perform any other needed work.

The project director engages in many direct service activities particularly when no volunteer staff are available or willing to perform work assignments. The director also assumes responsibility for slide presentations of the project and its programs to outside groups and congregations (primarily Methodist and Presbyterian congregations outside of Morgan and Scott counties). The director also records the financial donations and project expenditures for the bookkeeper. As present insider director C explains "I make sure that the project serves all the people. Check the mail. Answer the telephone and take calls for emergency assistance. I do what needs to be done."

The secretary (insider) assumes responsibility for correspondence with outside financial and material contributors. Mrs. A writes thank you letters, types board minutes and responds to telephone and letter inquiries about the project, services and programs.

The activities described constitute the general year round work activities of project participants. Other activities that project participants engage in may be termed "seasonal." Seasonal activities are associated with the

three seasonal programs: The Good Earth Program, the Christmas Program, and the To Love is To Serve Program. A seasonal program is one that operates only during a specific time of the year and for a specific duration.

The Good Earth Program begins in late April and lasts for approximately two weeks. During this time project participants distribute donated vegetable seeds to those people who ask for them at the project office or thrift stores. In April the local newspaper announces the availability of seeds. Before planting, people who request the service may have their gardens plowed or tilled free of charge using the project owned tractor by either the director or the one insider male volunteer who works for the project on this occasion.

The Christmas Program is a major project event that operates for the fifteen days prior to December 25. During this time Christmas stores are set up in four locations, the thrift stores in Burrville and Lancing and the community centers in Deerlodge and Burrville. The volunteer staff are transported by the director to Knoxville where gifts are purchased from a wholesale dealer. The gifts are provided for the children of needy families in the area referred to the project by the Department of Human Services and the Morgan and Scott county schools. Each identified family receives a letter announcing the opening of the program, the

procedure, and the time a family representative may come to pick up gifts for the children.

Volunteer staff assist in all aspects of the Christmas program, purchasing gifts, picking up donated gifts from the post office or churches outside the area, transporting gifts to the four locations and assisting in gift distribution. On this occasion volunteer staff members frequently assist the secretary in writing "thank you" letters to outside congregations and individuals.

The Christmas Program is considered by all staff to be a festive occasion, requiring considerable staff time and energy. The trip to Knoxville is a special event and includes a lunch paid for by the project. These fifteen days are perhaps the busiest period in the year for the volunteer staff.

The To Love is To Serve Program begins in June and ends in late July or early August. During this two month period more outsider volunteer staff work for the project than at any other time of the year. These outsiders include adults and adolescents who come as groups to work for a few days to a week reconstructing substandard housing in the area. The groups are expected to provide their own tools and pay for the cost of half the materials purchased. The To Love Is To Serve Program is labor intensive requiring considerable effort. Adult volunteer staff must supervise construction site activities and instruct visiting group members in

general home repair skills, i.e., working with hammers and nails, electric tools, mortar and bricks, tin roofing, painting and other activities. Repairs requiring special expertise such as plumbing and electrical wiring are performed by the project director or more experienced volunteer staff.

Realization of Expectations

The realization of participants' expectations of project activities may be defined as the ability of project participants to convert their expectations into reality through activities and experiences. The realization of project participant expectations is influenced by the degree to which actual project activities and experiences are congruent with project participant's reasons (motives or causes or justification and the related expectations these reasons elicit) for becoming involved. In turn the degree to which such expectations are realized will strongly influence project participant attitudes about the project. "Attitude" for purposes of this study is defined as what project participants think and feel about the project and how they behave in project operation. Project operation is defined as the way the project, its programs and the people involved with it work or function.

Figure 1 addresses this concept and provides a visual guide for illustrating the differences in Insiders and

Outsiders. Insiders and Outsiders have different life experiences, values and beliefs about self and others. These experiences, values and beliefs influence their ways of thinking and behaving which in turn influence their differing reasons for project involvement. These reasons will influence expectations of project activities and experiences.

Actual project activities and experiences will, in turn, influence the realization or lack of realization of project participant expectations. The degree to which expectations are realized will influence or shape project participant attitudes about the project. Finally, such attitudes will inevitably effect many aspects of project operation.

This is a simplistic scheme in that it appears one directional and somewhat fatalistic. In reality the development of attitudes is far more complex and multi-directional than portrayed here, but this schema serves in a simple way to understand the phenomena described.

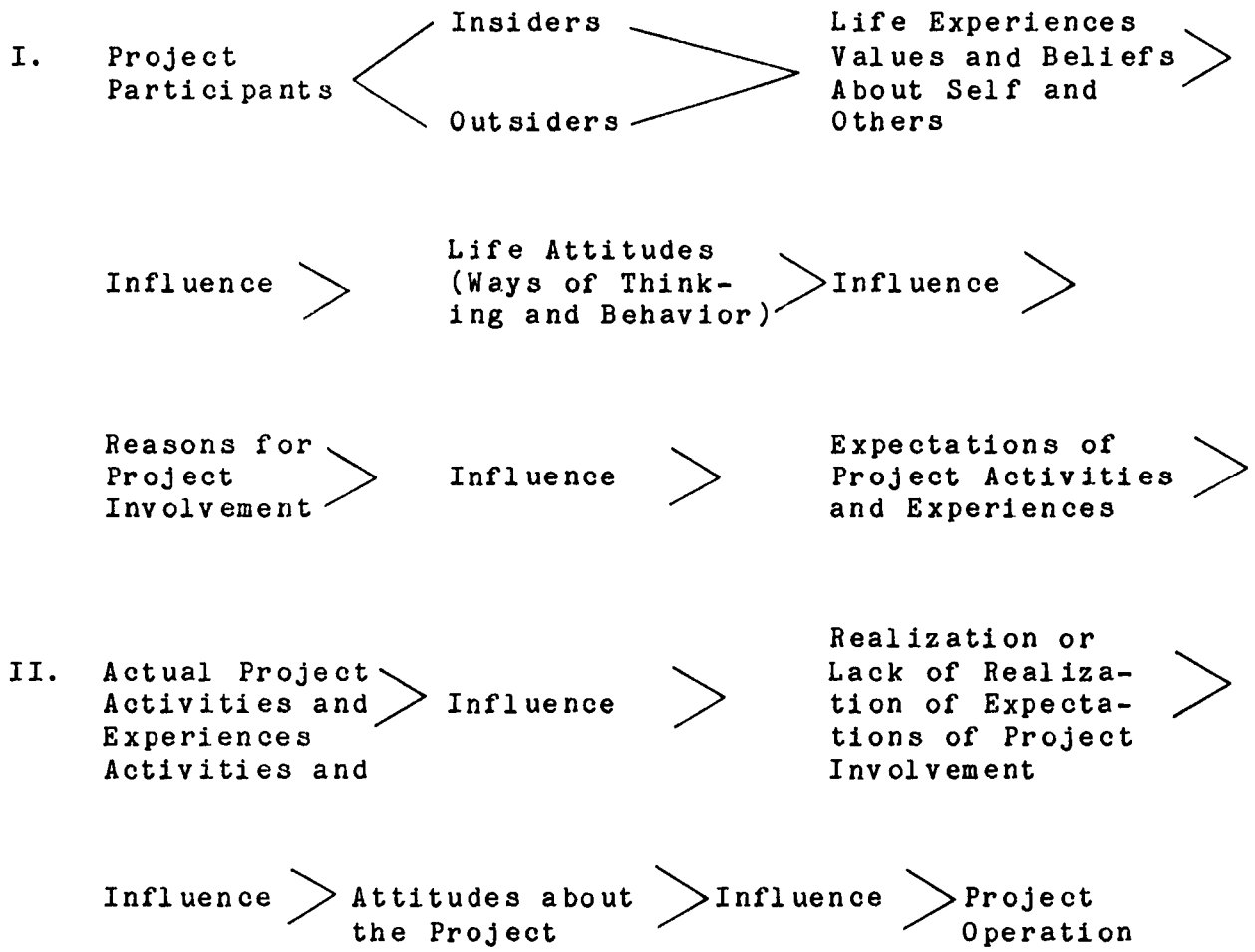

Figure 1. The Development of Differences in Attitudes of Insiders and Outsiders About the Project

Realization of IPP Expectations

IPPs, as articulated previously, have some fundamentally different reasons for becoming involved with the project. This section describes to what degree these reasons and related expectations are realized by present IPPs.

The description of actual project participant activities indicates that IPPs are generally able to realize their expectations of project involvement. Project programs afford the opportunity for volunteer staff to engage in activities that provide an outlet for their free time and relief from the isolation of the rural environment. Activities and meetings provide occasions for social intercourse with friends and relatives and sharing of local news about people and events in the area. Those who wish may procure goods and services from the project for themselves, relatives and friends with project sanction. Most are empathetic towards the poor, having a history of impoverishment in their own families. As Mrs. C states, "Someone that has been there knows."

All insiders experience feelings of satisfaction through project involvement, and many IPPs, particularly the volunteer staff, are related either to the project director or secretary. They work for the project to express support for their kin (relatives) in salaried positions.

At the same time project involvement allows continual monitoring of staff activities and program operation. Project participants may provide instant feedback if it is

perceived that some activity or program initiative is unacceptable on the grounds that it would threaten their vested interests or the interests of friends or relatives. In this manner most conflict with the larger community is avoided or quickly mitigated.

IPPs know the rules and norms of the larger community. They know which project activities and programs would be readily accepted and which would foster opposition. Some IPPs have been with the project throughout its fifteen year history. They have witnessed or been part of project related incidents that have created local conflict and sometimes life threatening situations.

To the insider salaried staff, the wages received are essential to their economic survival. Jobs are scarce and sporadic. The opportunity to both work and remain in the area is a relative rarity, for the general rule requires persons to leave in order to find gainful employment. The director, Mr. C, is in his early thirties, and for the first time in his life has maintained a job for a period of time longer than a year. This employment opportunity has literally "lifted him out" of impoverishment into a middle class lifestyle. This position would be difficult to abandon in a region of limited economic opportunities.

The secretary has been with the project almost from its inception. Her salary has supplemented the family income, providing the necessary funding for her children to obtain,

among other things, an advanced education. Although her husband must leave the area for employment, returning only weekends, Mrs. A has been able to remain because of the continuing existence of the project.

Realization of OPP Expectations

OPPs articulate some reasons for project involvement that appear congruent to those of IPPs: to express empathy for impoverished persons, to experience a sense of personal satisfaction and in the case of outsider salaried staff, to receive financial payment for services rendered. But the reasons that take precedence are the desire to offer personal talents and skills to the project and to somehow impact upon and change the socio-economic conditions of some people in the area. For the outsider, a sense of personal satisfaction in project involvement is contingent on the opportunity to realize the expectations related to these two motives.

Outsider volunteers who work in the To Love is To Serve Program appear to realize their expectations of project related activities and experiences. They expect to work hard for the poor for a brief period of time, involved in specific activities that require considerable physical effort. Their efforts are generally appreciated by the individuals and families in the area who receive the program's assistance, as evidenced by their interactions with volunteer staff.

The To Love is To Serve Program offers outside volunteers the opportunity to feel that they have somehow "made a difference" in the lives of some of the poor, enhancing their quality of life by providing more adequate housing. After working extremely hard for a few days or a week, they return to urban areas outside of Morgan and Scott counties, and frequently outside of Tennessee with memories of the experience they may draw on for years to come. These outsider volunteers feel satisfaction in the knowledge that they have not only witnessed the impact of extreme poverty on people, but have done something about it. Their expectations of project involvement are realized. Often groups ask to return the following summer, but are denied the opportunity to serve because of the long waiting list of groups wishing to be part of the program.

Although the program is seasonal, and therefore the money budgeted for only part of the year, it is the most costly to the project in terms of time, energy and financial resources. Some IPPs have argued that it is too costly and drains the project budget, leaving considerably less funding available for other programs.

While this is true, most board members and the director believe that these groups are the vehicles by which new funding sources can be procured. Many of these groups represent financially affluent outside church congregations. It is the hope of the project director that these groups will

take their experiences back to their churches and advocate funding the entire project as part of church mission.

A church mission project is usually identified annually by a congregation to receive allocated funds as part of a church budget. On occasion, the Morgan/Scott Project has received funding assistance in this manner. Such funding usually lasts for one year and as new mission projects are identified annually by most mainline denominations, old ones are often forgotten.

Impact of long-term OPP involvement on expectations. Outside volunteer staff who stay with the project for six months or longer usually have a different set of experiences that influence their attitudes about project operation. Some do not realize their expectations. Longer term outsider involvement can be conceptualized as a dynamic process with a predictable pattern that often leads to outsider disappointment.

Longer term outsider volunteer staff come to the project expecting to receive frequent directives and guidance from someone familiar with project operation, the director or some experienced staff member. The director, however, anticipates that the volunteers will require minimal guidance and expects they will readily see what needs to be done and do it. If there is little to do, then it will only be a matter of time until something comes up.

As a result of the laissez-faire, unstructured environment, outsider volunteers are frequently in a quandary, not knowing what to do or how to spend their time. One frequent scenario occurs. OPPs begin to ask questions about the project and soon learn a chronic funding problem exists. Suddenly there is something to do: generate ideas and suggestions around fundraising and use of existing funds. Volunteers may offer suggestions to the director and other staff members about "streamlining" services, providing services more efficiently with less use of staff time and energy, at lower cost.

OPP's interests in change. OPPs will want to change the program and may suggest that some programs either be eliminated or separated from the project while new programs be considered. Some outsider staff begin to construct a vision of "project salvation" with fervor and zeal. These suggestions and ideas are considered with apparent patience by the director, the secretary, board members, and other IPPs. Other OPPs may support the vision, but decision makers do not readily accept or quickly incorporate the ideas into the project operation. In the words of one project participant who has been with the project for many years:

> It's funny how you see people coming here and reinventing the wheel. Maybe the project needs to change, but remember we've got to live here. It's not a question of just being here six months or so.

We can't come in here and stir things up and go back to Knoxville.

When OPPs experience the hesitancy of the director, board and other staff to implement their recommended change ideas, they feel uneasy, and begin to sense that they and their ideas are not really needed or welcome. Feelings of anger, frustration, and resentment about the project, its programs and other project participants occur in daily conversation with others whom they assume share a similar sentiment. Such feelings were frequently a part of the research interview.

Throughout the history of the project sub-groups of OPPs have formed who feel justified in condemning the project as inadequate at tackling the socio-economic problems of the area. These outsider volunteers either leave the project before their time commitment is completed and become involved with another area project, remain with the project completing their time commitment, or leave the project and the area prematurely.

It is important to mention that between three organizations, The Morgan/Scott Project, the Plateau Home School and Applachian Habitat for Humanity, there is frequently a flow of personnel. These organizations do not compete with one another in terms of service provision, but because of the scarcity of available volunteers and staff, moving from one organization to another or attempting to

maintain commitments to two or more organizations can create a sense of competition between organizations. For example, outsider volunteers or staff who become dissatisfied with MSP may leave and become involved with AHH or PHS thinking that these projects, run by outsiders, will be more congruent with their expectations. Acknowledging these two other projects is important in understanding the context in which MSP operates.

A detailed discussion of the impact of unrealized outsider/insider expectations on project operation, past and present, will follow. However, attention will first focus on insider/outsider project participant attitudes about aspects of project operation and offer some tentative explanations of existing project conditions, applying insider/outsider concepts as defined and illustrated in this study.

Development of Attitudes About the Project

Implications are that realization or lack of realization of expectations influence project participant attitudes about the project. The process by which such attitudes develop and the specific aspects of project operation that become the focal point of perceptions about project participation will now be elucidated.

Importance of Manner of Service Delivery

In this region interpersonal relationships and face-to-face interactions are highly valued. Those formal social service delivery systems that are perceived by local people as impersonal, uncaring and unfamiliar are avoided by many who could potentially benefit from the services offered. A person who needs help from another expects the assistance to be a quiet, private arrangement. It is understood that requesting help is a difficult thing and done only when there is no recourse. To have to speak with a stranger and fill out forms that are difficult to read and understand is enough to discourage many needy people.

Impact of Director on Attitudes Toward Project

Particularly attractive to the people who receive assistance from MSP is the highly personal manner in which services are rendered. Relationship is a key factor in the giving process. The present director is the key person to whom people come for help. The name Morgan/Scott Project itself is not recognized as the place to go for help, but everyone knows who C, the director, is. If he is an insider, as is the present director, many people are familiar with him and his family. Assistance is perceived as coming from a person, an individual whom people know on a first name basis. As a result, recipients feel more at ease when requesting and receiving services. There is no paper work involved, just a

talk. No lag time occurs between request and receipt. Assistance is given on the same day it is needed. If one asks recipients where they received assistance, a person's name is mentioned, usually the director's, seldom the organization's name.

The director, therefore, represents the project to the people, not only to those who utilize its services, but to many in the large community who are aware of the director's whereabouts and activities. Local attitudes about the director will influence attitudes about the project. The two, director and project, are inextricably linked.

IPP and OPP Attitudes Toward Project and Director

Both IPPs and OPPs tend to adopt a similar perception when evaluating the project. Whatever happens regarding project operation, ultimately the director is held responsible. OPPs with unrealized expectations generally perceive many aspects of the project negatively. To them the project is wasteful. For example, many cannot understand why it is important that all donations of material goods be collected with project vehicles and staff. They perceive this as costly in terms of staff time, energy and motor vehicle operation. They are particularly critical of the director spending his time picking up "old clothes."

Most IPPs see this personalized collection as acceptable and necessary. In their view, if the director is involved

personally, there is a greater likelihood that a clothing donor will consider a financial contribution to the project. Since nearly thirty percent of the total budget is based on individual contributions, collecting clothing and other used items from individuals is considered a fundraising activity.

Director involvement with collecting donated items raises another outsider concern. Many are critical of the project director's use of time. They envision his role as primarily administrative, i.e., writing grant proposals, planning program budgets, corresponding and engaging in various formal fundraising activities. To them it is not appropriate that the project director deliver wood personally, plow gardens or repair homes. In their view, these kinds of assignments should be given to volunteers or project money should be used to hire local people to perform such services. The project director is perceived by this group as unable to delegate job assignments. As OPP Mr. S states:

> A person making $20,000 a year shouldn't be doing that kind of thing. The work is inefficient as far as volunteers are concerned. C is too young, too inexperienced and too uneducated to be director of the project. Assistant director, terrific. He can handle that with no problem. When it comes to administration and efficiency, C hasn't got the education necessary for the job.

These OPPs frequently point to other service projects in the two county area directed by outsiders as model projects that should be emulated by the Morgan/Scott Project director

and staff. According to Mr. S and others, these directors possess all of the talents, skills and abilities that the insider MSP director lacks.

IPPs strongly disagree with this attitude that outsiders make the best directors. They believe the project should be directed by a local person who understands the "way things are" in the area. The present director is praised for his willingness to directly help others. Mr. P, an IPP, believes that C is the right man for the job:

> He's honest, forthright and speaks the language of the people. People respond to C. He talks to people as equals. You only have to see him in action in his office when someone comes in. Nobody has to ask for anything, except the person goes away happy and cheerful because they got exactly what they wanted. C knows how to do it. He's what the project always needed.

Attitudes Toward Project Programs

Some outsider volunteer staff view the programs that are supported and operated by the project as inadequate. Their criticism addresses those programs that are not self-supporting which "drain the project budget and do nothing to encourage self-sufficiency." A local project that is particularly attractive to these people is Appalachian Habitat for Humanity. A "spin-off" from MSP, Habitat has a young, college-educated outsider director. Its purpose is to offer low-income housing opportunities for qualified families in the area. Each family applying for a home must have

property and be financially able to make mortgage payments based on a sliding scale according to income. This kind of project appeals to people who are opposed to direct relief or what is termed by MSP project participants as "handouts." Morgan/Scott Project programs are perceived by some OPPs as direct relief or "welfare," because they have no potential for generating new revenue or payback for services provided. Again it is perceived as the director's responsibility to devise new revenue generating programs that will ameliorate the project's financial problems.

IPPs view the existing programs as beneficial and adequate. They are not concerned with generating funds from services provision and see little need for programs that would do so. They recognize the problem of funding as a chronic problem that will continue to exist because of the very nature of the project. As IPP Mrs. A puts it:

> Funding has always been a problem from the beginning. You have times when you wonder, well now is the time. It's finally here. But then some money comes in from somebody, and you're back in business.

To IPPs, the goal of the project is to operate modest programs that will assist people in need in times of crisis. Self-sufficiency is not identified as a realistic goal in a land of chronic unemployment, unequal distribution of wealth, and a corrupt political system. They acknowledge that MSP

will continue to serve poor people who have little or no chance of making it on their own.

Attitudes Toward Board Leadership

Throughout the development of the Morgan/Scott Project, board participation in project operation has been a concern of some project participants. It has been a continual challenge for outsider project directors to entice the board to become a viable component of the decision-making process. The overall pattern of the board has been to delegate primary decision-making powers to the directors and to participate little in actual project activities, that is, program development and evaluation, service delivery, fundraising and volunteer recruitment.

From 1972 until 1982, the board was primarily composed of middle or upper middle class white male Protestants representing the mainline congregations in the area, namely, United Methodist, United Presbyterian, and United Church of Christ. The members of the board who exerted considerable political influence in the two county area were helpful in legitimizing the project in the eyes of those who controlled the political and economic power structure.

Many of the initial programs launched by the project, such as the satellite health center and the alternative educational program for Appalachian children benefited people in Morgan and Scott counties, regardless of their socio-

economic status. At the same time, and for as long as the political and economic power structure of the two counties had representation on the board of directors, it was possible for the representatives to monitor new programmatic ideas which could potentially threaten the vested interests of this group of businessmen, landowners and politicians.

The present composition of the board does not appear to include any direct representative of the insider political and economic power structure, but board members are aware of what is acceptable to this group in terms of new programs. Thus, the board has always been cautious in approving new programs and ideas, pointing to the chronic funding problems as justification for denial. When the director has overridden board decisions, dire consequences have sometimes resulted.

For example, in the late 1970s, an outsider director accepted racially-mixed work groups in the To Love is To Serve Program, causing a general furor among the board and the larger community. On several occasions he was directed by the board to limit recruiting to white churches and organizations only. According to outsider director B, general consensus among the board members was that bringing minorities, particularly blacks, into the area was counter-productive and could create serious conflict between the project and area residents.

The director refused to restrict people from serving as volunteers on the basis of race or religion in spite of warnings from the board. There was trouble. On several occasions men in passing automobiles fired upon his house. Demonstrators vandalized and burned the project vans, and cut telephone lines at his home. Continual verbal and written threats appeared from some area residents, all anonymous. When he asked board members to name people who could be involved in these incidents, they refused, implying they knew but that they would be in danger if they disclosed such information.

The director's children experienced harassment from other children on the school bus and the school premises. One of his sons was stabbed with a pencil which had to be removed surgically at the local hospital emergency room. His children endured insults and even beatings at the hands of their peers. The situation became such a major issue in the two-county area that the negative publicity threatened the continued support of the project. As a result, no racially-mixed groups are knowingly accepted as work groups for MSP.

Outsider volunteer staff seldom appreciate the "laid back" attitude of the board under the present insider director. Not having historical knowledge of project conflict with the larger community, they describe the board as a group of "robots" that do anything the director wishes. They blame the director for the failure of the board to

function according to their expectations, and for the board's reluctance to take a more active part in program development and evaluation.

IPPs acknowledge the problem of board apathy, but point to the scarcity of people willing to serve as board members. Many area residents simply do not wish to serve on a board concerned with providing services to the poor of the area. Many refuse to acknowledge that some poor families do live an impoverished existence through no fault of their own. Many people in the area believe that people are poor because they do not have the gumption to "pull themselves up by their bootstraps" and out of poverty. The pool of potential board members or volunteer staff is small because local support for the project is minimal.

The present chair of the board believes that board members fail to completely understand the project's programs and the impact they have on the lives of the poor in the area. He acknowledges that there should be more interaction between the board and volunteer staff, and that volunteer staff should have more input into board deliberation.

The present director, an insider, also wants more board participation. One statement reveals his attitude well:

> I feel the people on the board that we have now will more or less do whatever I say, and it shouldn't be that way. Whatever the board of directors want done, that should be done. Unless we put more money into our programs and straighten things out, we're goin' just status quo. There's

> more money goin' into individual salaries and office expenses than there is goin' out to individual families and that's not what the project was set up for.

A consensus exists that both IPPs and OPPs believe the board should be more active. The kinds of activities suggested differ, but the major difference in attitudes of insiders and outsiders is that outsiders generally blame board apathy on the director rather than looking at other factors that may contribute to the problem, particularly the historical context of the project and local attitudes about the project's existence and purpose.

Attitudes Toward Fundraising

IPPs and OPPs appear congruent, at least superficially, in their attitudes about funding. Both agree that funding is a major problem, but solutions and recommendations differ.

Most OPPs believe that the primary job of the director should be to engage in activities directly related to fundraising. He should be able to write grant proposals and "sell the project" to the local mainline congregations. An outsider volunteer explains as follows:

> The director should cater more to people in the local Methodist church with nothing but time and money on their hands. The director should mingle with them and join them in their fun.

These outsiders believe the local mainline congregations are untapped sources of considerable financial assistance for

the project. They also believe that there should be frequent fundraising activities soliciting funds from outside congregations. To them, a director must be articulate and speak the language of the mainline outsider churches, not a "mountain dialect." He must be aggressive in his fundraising attempts, because professional people will feel more confident in the director's abilities and hence about the use of their financial contributions.

Most insiders on the other hand recognize the historically chronic nature of the funding problem. They believe the director should engage in those fundraising activities he feels most comfortable with, such as the quarterly appeals in the newsletters sent outside the area, presenting slide shows to outside congregations, church, presbytery and conference level meetings.

Historically, local congregations have seldom offered financial support to the project. IPPs do not envision local churches as a dormant financial support system, needing the right person to activate their interest and money. Local mainline congregations are steadily decreasing in number and size in the area. Their members are primarily elderly, and few of the congregations have full time pastors. To expect that such churches will be able to support MSP as their mission project is considered by IPPs as unrealistic.

Although insiders admit that grant proposal writing is important, most feel that outsider volunteers should assume a

large part of the responsibility for this fundraising endeavor. Most insiders do not have confidence in the procurement of funds through grant writing. Grants are perceived as a short-term funding source potentially full of red tape and unreasonable accountability requirements.

In reality, most of the project's programs simply do not meet the requirements of many foundation grants. First, many foundations do not fund church affiliated projects. Those church related grants available require that the purpose of the funded programs be "empowering disenfranchised socio-economic groups of people" enabling them to have a voice in the existing political and economic power structure in the region. A project whose board, volunteers, and staff in some respects represent and reinforce the existing structure, is not an attractive candidate for funding.

Growth in the form of program expansion or new programs is not a priority to IPPs. While they endorse the importance of assuring the two insider salaried staff persons of their paycheck and benefits, they consider fluctuation of program funding a normal occurrence.

The following schema, Figure 2, although not exhaustive, will serve to illustrate insider/outsider differences in attitudes about project operations.

Attitudes Toward and Perceptions of Present Director

Outsider PP	Insider PP
1) Naive	1) Strong leader
2) Uneducated	2) Committed to project
3) Self-serving	3) Knows and cares about the people
4) Not people oriented	4) Hard and willing worker
5) Wasteful of funds	5) Self sacrificing
6) Thinks small	6) Self-directed
Recommendations	Recommendations
7) Find a new director	7) Keep present director

Attitudes Toward and Perceptions of Programs

Outsider PP	Insider PP
1) Fail to generate revenue and are thus insignificant	1) Should not generate revenue
2) Some cost too much	2) Cost is relatively unimportant
3) Poorly and inconsistently run	3) Well run by committed volunteers
4) Too small	4) Just about the right size
Recommendations	Recommendations
5) Eliminate some programs	5) Retain status quo
6) Evaluate all programs	
7) Start new programs	
8) Find new director	

Attitudes Toward and Perceptions of MSP Board

Outsider PP	Insider PP
1) Passive	1) Passive
2) Don't know what's happening with the project budget	2) Don't know how the project serves the poor
3) Uninterested in the project	3) Interested in the project
4) The director's responsibility	4) Not director's responsibility

Figure 2. Attitudes and Recommendations of Insiders and Outsiders

Recommendations	Recommendations
5) Should play major part in decision making	5) Should become more active in supporting director
6) Recruit more members	6) Recruit more members
7) Should evaluate programs	7) Should spend more time understanding and visiting programs
8) Should eliminate some programs	8) Should help keep existing programs running smoothly
9) Should start new programs	9) Should undertake fundraising activities
10) Should find new director	10) Should keep present director

Attitudes Toward and Perceptions of Fundraising

Outsider PP	Insider PP
1) Problematic, needs immediate amelioration	1) Problematic but chronic
2) The director's primary responsibility	2) One of many director responsibilities
Recommendations	Recommendations
3) Need large amounts of money for program expansion, new programs and more staff	3) Need enough to pay salaried staff and modestly run existing programs. Could use one or more new volunteers
4) Engage in major grant writing activities for fundraising	4) Continue to use newsletter and slide presentation as major fundraising activities
5) Use "high powered" aggressive approach with outsider churches	5) Use director and low key approach with outside churches
6) Strive for local church support	6) Do not attempt to initiate local church support
7) Find new director who can write grant proposals	7) Keep present director; look to outsider help for grant writing

Figure 2 (continued)

The insider and outsider attitudes about project operation explored suggest that such attitudes are inextricably linked to project participant reasons for project involvement and the realized or unrealized expectations generated by their involvement. If expectations are congruent with actual experiences, project operation will be perceived as good or positive, and the director as capable and effective. If expectations are not congruent with actual experience, project participants will perceive project operation negatively and the director as incapable and ineffective. IPPs generally perceive project operation and the director as positive and OPPs perceive the project and the director as negative. These attitudinal differences are influenced by fundamental differences in life experiences, values and beliefs, reasons for project involvement, expectations of project activities and experiences, and the realization or lack of realization of such expectations when people become project participants.

The Impact of Differing Attitudes on Project Operation

The impact of differences in IPP/OPP attitudes on project operation may be defined as the force of divergent and conflicting attitudes about the project and the subsequent influence on project participants, program implementation and service delivery. If attitudes are

congruent among project participants, project operation will be relatively conflict free. This is not to say that the project will necessarily be perceived as adequate by persons uninvolved with its operation. It is conceivable that complete congruence of attitudes may ultimately lead to project atrophy, a wasting away of the organization through lack of use.

Incongruence of attitudes on the other hand may exacerbate organizational conflict and render a project powerless. A balance of congruent and incongruent attitudes about project operation may serve to nurture an organization in which participants address conflict openly and achieve an atmosphere conducive to organizational accommodation. How an organization achieves balance is related to the way project participants express attitudes, understand divergent attitudes, and respect differing opinions. It is desirable that all communication, all evaluation be accomplished without becoming invested in zero-sum or win-lose outcomes.

Differing Attitudes Toward Local Norms

Insider norms may be defined as those standards or patterns of conduct expressed through interpersonal relationships that are accepted by local people as proper or correct. Outsiders may have difficulty identifying and adapting to such standards.

Giving only solicited advice. For example, OPPs unable to accept the insider norm of giving opinions and advice only when solicited will find their input generally discounted by IPPs. If outsider advice is solicited but given in a manner that conveys the expectation that the advice will be followed, the outsider will frequently be disappointed. If it is given in a manner that implies outsider expertise and insider incompetence or inadequacy, insiders will categorically reject it.

If the opinions and advice of outsiders are not accepted by IPPs, particularly the director, some outsiders' perceptions of project operation will be colored by the rejection. Outsider attitudes about the project may become negative because they sense that neither they nor their input is wanted. IPPs in turn will often sense outsider disenchantment and the communication between insider and outsider will become stiffly polite. Open discourse about differences in opinions about project operation is purposely avoided. This formality was noted and entered in researcher observation notes.

The nature of the giving process in service delivery. Another insider norm that OPPs may find difficult to comprehend involves the nature of the giving process in service delivery. Some insiders find asking for help difficult. When help is requested the client expects that

the process will be private, not open for public scrutiny. Clients also expect that when possible an insider receiving something from another should give something in return. Whatever is given in return should be accepted graciously. If OPPs do not understand and accept this norm they may inadvertently insult the people receiving program services by declining to accept an offering.

An example of this giving process may be observed in the To Love is To Serve Program. The residents of dwellings under repair by volunteer staff are encouraged to participate in the reconstruction process in any way they feel appropriate. In this way work groups and residents work side by side in a cooperative, inclusive effort. The volunteers ask the owners of the house for advice and assistance as they make repairs.

All of the homes are substandard and frequently lack basic utilities such as hot water, adequate plumbing and wiring, proper insulation and an adequate and safe heating system. It is doubtful that the owners of such a dwelling could financially reimburse the project for the services rendered. Many are fortunate if they simply have enough food. However, reimbursement is provided by residents in ways other than monetary compensation. Work groups are often invited to stay for dinner after a day's work on a house. Because of this desire on the part of residents to somehow repay the people who are assisting in the renovation

process, it is not unusual for them to deprive themselves of their already limited supply of food.

The need to return services. This need to return a kindness given creates a dilemma for group participants. It is important and consistent with the philosophy of the project that service receivers be allowed to maintain their dignity and self-worth by contributing whatever they can as a payment for service. To refuse such payment would be perceived as an insult by the owner of the home. To accept material repayment in the form of food or money almost assures that the service recipient will be deprived in some way, for most can ill afford to provide such compensation.

There is no easy resolution to such a dilemma. One alternative is to encourage as much as possible those kinds of compensations that do not have the potential for depriving the service receiver of needed material goods. For example, one resident was known throughout the area as a fine singer of mountain gospel music. She repaid the services given her by spontaneously singing gospel songs that she had composed for the work group. Another way of repaying has already been mentioned: residents working alongside project group members. An example of repayment may also be observed in a family that had a freezer capable of making ice cubes. They provided ice water to group workers.

It is paramount to project operation when providing services for people in the area that project staff allow them to maintain their dignity and self-esteem. Without this consideration, it is likely that service recipients would perceive the assistance negatively. Through the informal communication network that operates among local residents, the other residents in need could sanction the project and refuse service. Perhaps worse, those area residents who utilized services would do so only during times of extreme desperation.

OPPs who do not recognize this important aspect of the giving process may unwittingly contribute to under-utilization of program services by area residents. If the IPPs perceive that OPPs do not accept or understand insider norms in the giving process, the IPPs will not encourage the OPPs to work directly with the people the project serves. Outsiders are seldom told directly that they are jeopardizing program utilization because of the insider norm of not offering opinions unless asked. Outsiders on the other hand seldom ask insiders for feedback regarding their job performance. Because of the lack of communication and exchange, the OPP may interpret insiders' lack of enthusiasm and positive reinforcement as a personal rejection. This further justifies their criticism of the project and exacerbates the formation of negative outsider attitudes due to unrealized expectations of project involvement.

Differing Attitudes Toward Financial Support

The impact on the operation of the Morgan Scott Project of differences in insider/outsider attitudes about the project involves to some extent the perpetual problem of procuring project funding. The project is almost completely dependent on outsider church support. Individuals, congregations, and church governing bodies at the state and regional level all contribute to the support of the project (See Appendix C). The primary church denominations which support the project are the United Methodist Church, the Presbyterian Church (USA) and the United Church of Christ.

The funding is often slow to arrive and consequently there are times when the project account is low or without funds. Project administrators expect individual and congregational donations to be sporadic and unpredictable, but when funds from conference and regional levels become unpredictable, the impact becomes potentially disastrous for project operation. When this happens the checks for the salaried staff are delayed. This sporadic arrival of funding can have a debilitating effect upon the overall operation of the project. The only recourse is to wait anxiously and hope that the next check will arrive soon.

On one occasion a total of two hundred dollars was in the MSP account. Individual and congregational donations had slowed considerably and the Holston Methodist Conference had not sent their committed contribution to the project for

several months, apparently due to an administrative snag. As a result, the project literally came to a standstill until funds arrived. After several phone conversations with administrators of the Holston Conference, it became apparent that the delay was caused by end-of-fiscal-year uncertainty. The new budget was in the planning stages. Eventually the money that was "pledged" to the project was sent, but it was over three months late in coming. Individuals and families in need of emergency financial assistance were turned away. Salaried staff received their pay more than one month late. This is an example of the the kinds of problems common to projects dependent on outside church funding.

The late funding from the Holston Methodist Conference left the "Mission Fund" depleted. While the problem of financial insecurity and funding inconsistency is a matter of course with this project, it remains a source of disagreement over solutions among IPPs and OPPs. Because of financial uncertainty, the difficulty of determining how much money may be available at any given time creates problems when the board needs to develop new programs based on a projected budget for the next fiscal year.

Considerable effort has been made to seek church related grants and several proposals have been written and submitted. The number of available grants for church related projects is few compared to the numbers in the late 1960's and 1970's. Competition is keen among would-be recipients. Because of

increased demand, many of the church related foundations have developed stringent requirements governing grant proposals. Unless the director has experience in grant proposal writing, the likelihood that the proposal will be accepted for consideration becomes remote.

Another factor contributing to difficulty in receiving church related foundation grants is related to outsider perceptions of the Morgan/Scott Project. Outside foundations perceive the project as a "service" project, not a "development" project. Many foundations restrict such projects and eliminate them from consideration. Most church-related foundations are urban based and because of this their understanding of rural problems and rural community organization is limited. Their requirements of mobilizing the poor may be appropriate for urban self-help projects, but difficult for self-help projects in rural settings.

An example is the response from a Presbyterian-supported foundation based in New York City. They rejected a grant proposal because they determined that MSP was not a "grass-roots" organization run by poor and oppressed people. They conceptualized the project as basically a social services organization run by a local middle-class group whose priority was not necessarily the needs of the poor, implying that the poor had little or no say in project operation. For this reason the project could not be considered a candidate for

this particular grant despite the impoverished roots of the director and other IPPs.

Another problem with grant proposal writing as a fundraising activity for MSP is that writing skills are requisite. It is paradoxical that on the one hand many foundations are concerned with the poor and oppressed yet require well-written and well-thought-out proposals consistent with their particular writing guidelines. The question arises, who is to write such proposals on behalf of the poor, oppressed and less educated?

The present director experiences a dilemma regarding grant proposal writing. On the one hand he finds it difficult to write a grant proposal because of limited writing skills and experience. On the other hand he is reluctant to request outside help to assist in such grant writing because he believes such a request implies he could not do the job himself. Proposal writing assistance is sometimes given by outsiders with at least an implied injunction that a director should have the basic skills of writing. This dilemma has resulted in the elimination of grant proposal writing as a major fundraising activity of the project. As a result the fundamental problem of dependence on sporadic and inconsistent funding sources outside the area continues.

Differing Attitudes Toward the Director

The present director of the project was born and raised approximately ten miles from the current MSP office located in Burrville. He graduated from high school in Scott county, and since his graduation has worked in various jobs in an effort to maintain steady employment. He, like many others in Morgan and Scott counties, has experienced the chronic problem of unemployment or underemployment due to scarcity of jobs in the area. His family has always been poor or marginally poor.

Because of his background he is especially able to identify with the needs of the poor in the two county area. He demonstrates particular strengths in establishing empathic interpersonal relationships with the people the project serves. It is not unusual for him to be directly and personally involved in service delivery.

Some OPPs have stated their opposition to this direct involvement in service delivery. They believe he should be spending his time in the office, focusing particularly on the problem of fundraising. Appropriate activities from their perspective would include maintaining correspondence with contributors, writing letters to church organizations and individuals soliciting their financial support, drafting grant proposals, planning the project budget, and meeting with individuals and groups, locally and outside the area, promoting the project in every way possible. They observe

that the present director is more involved with direct service delivery than with what they envision as appropriate administrative duties. They interpret such behavior as incompetent or at the very least unnecessary and ineffective.

The director is sensitive about his lack of formal education and to the criticisms of outsiders. He is receptive to feedback from project participants only if it is presented in such a way that does not negate or disregard his skills and abilities. He appears more receptive if he initiates the process by asking for opinions or advice regarding a particular situation or problem. If advice is freely given with no implicit expectation that it will be carried out or given in a way that conveys egalitarian acceptance and understanding, the director appears receptive. If, on the other hand, feedback is given when unsolicited, implying that the problem or issue is the result of inadequate leadership, the information will be processed as a personal insult and rejected, regardless of the potential value to the project.

On one occasion an outsider, when asked by the director, suggested ways in which the board could participate in program evaluation. Although this was approved by the executive board, the process never began, at least it did not begin while this project participant was with the project. But on another occasion, this same PP, when asked by the director for his opinion, suggested that operation and

maintenance of the existing project vehicles was too costly. Selling the vehicles and purchasing a small gas-saving truck was mentioned as a possible solution. The suggestion was accepted and in a few weeks the vehicles were sold. A small economy-size truck was purchased. Ironically, some OPPs criticized the purchase of the smaller vehicle because it was relatively new and required a monthly payment. This is just one example of an almost continual "double bind" the present insider director experiences.

Outsiders express their opinions and give their advice to the director. If it is followed, some OPPs manage to consistently find something wrong in the way the director implements the recommendations.

On another occasion the director expressed a desire to continue his education and take some courses in social work or business administration. Although that opportunity did not materialize, the director and the secretary completed a two-month course in computer programming and software operations at a technical college in a nearby urban area. The director believed that if he were able to operate the recently purchased computer he could take advantage of its record keeping capabilities, and the secretary could use it as a word processor.

Though the director and the secretary expressed anxiety and apprehension initially about the course, they were both able to complete it successfully. It became a significant

achievement which reinforced their sense of competence and ability.

When some OPPs learned that a computer had been purchased they saw it as another example of the director's impulsive immature behavior. They could not envision that a computer would enhance project operation. They were concerned that if outside funding sources were to learn of the presence of the computer, they would question the purpose, feeling that the money should have been used in direct service delivery. Many were also skeptical of the computer course and had doubts that the director or secretary could actually complete it.

These situations illustrate a paradox. On the one hand, the director can be criticized for lack of education and learned administrative abilities. On the other hand, when a director purchases equipment and enrolls in continuing education courses to improve administrative activities, he can also be faulted for purchasing "unnecessary" equipment and enrolling and taking courses, motivated by self-interest rather than project need.

Most IPPs, on the other hand, considered enrollment in education courses and the purchase of new equipment as indicators of the project's success and the staff's desire to learn and enhance project operation. When an insider thrift store manager was asked if in her opinion the project was prospering and doing well, the response was in the affirma-

tive, pointing to the new computer as the indicator that the project was continuing to obtain substantial financial support.

Such differing attitudes about the activities and behaviors of the director serve to create an atmosphere of tension and anxiety among project participants with little likelihood of direct confrontation and dialogue to resolve disagreements. Operating daily in such a tension-filled work environment can be emotionally and physically exhausting. It is not uncommon for somatic difficulties to emerge among project participants causing considerable physical stress. It is also not uncommon for project participants to disappear for days at a time, appear late for work or call in sick. If this kind of behavior occurs frequently, the already limited volunteer pool is further depleted, resulting in shortages of volunteer staff in some project programs. This shortage further stresses the director and other volunteer staff, exacerbating an already stressful atmosphere.

Differing Attitudes Toward Service Recipients

OPPs have considerable indirect influence in the determination of who will receive service. Throughout the programs, sensitivity to outsider criteria for service eligibility is attributable to project reliance on outside funding sources. The influence of outsider definitions of

poverty may be observed in the process by which candidate families are selected for the To Love is To Serve Program.

The only formal criterion for eligibility is that the resident of the home must own it. This is a precautionary measure resulting from past experience. Some homes renovated in the past were owned by outside landowners. Upon completion of the repairs, the residing families were evicted and the rent increased. On occasion a rented home will be renovated if the landlord will agree to sign a commitment to allow the present renters to remain in the home for at least a year after repairs have been completed.

Outsider perceptions of poverty. The criteria implemented by the MSP staff are shaped by perceptions and notions about poverty in Appalachia attributed to outsiders. On one occasion a home was considered inappropriate for renovation because the owners had cable television and a color television set. Although the home was badly in need of adequate plumbing and wiring as well as proper siding to replace the existing tar paper, project staff felt that it would be a mistake to include this home as a candidate for renovation, based on the assumption that OPPs would perceive the color television and cable as frivolous luxuries not to be enjoyed by "truly needy" families.

This standard illustrates the importance placed on outsider perceptions of the project. If groups representing

funding sources for the project perceive the project services are being misused, IPPs know that there is always the risk that financial support will be withdrawn.

In this way the project is constrained in service delivery by outsider definitions of what poverty in Appalachia entails, definitions that may have little to do with the reality of need, but are vitally necessary to consider in order to secure continued outside funding commitment.

A project with narrow criteria for service eligibility may become rigid in service delivery, including only those people who fit into an outsider's stereotype of a poor Appalachian. This stereotype portrays the poor as having only the bare necessities of life, like food, shelter, and clothing, but virtually no items that could be considered "luxuries" by middle or upper middle class standards; such as telephone, newer television set, cable television, new kitchen appliances, newer automobile, stereo or cassette deck, video cassette recorder or any of a host of "luxury items."

Insider perceptions of poverty. The project is also influenced by insider perceptions of poverty. Among IPPs the prevailing sentiment seems to favor serving people who are genuinely in need. If people are truly poor, they should be served. Questions arise regarding the behavioral standards

used as criteria to select those who the project will serve. People who do not properly care for the items they accept are targets of disapproval.

For example, there are some recipients who wear clothes received from the thrift stores until they are dirty, discard them, and return to the store for more clothes. People who drive newer cars, have good jobs, and can afford to buy new things yet still make use of the programs serving primarily the poor are viewed as "not right" and a reflection on them as people. They are seen as taking advantage of the situation. One insider expresses frustration this way:

> It just makes you mad, that's all. Some people come and get food and then snicker all the way to the car. Like they really put something over on us.

But there is also a prevailing ethic or standard that people should not be refused services, regardless of their apparent lack of need. Everyone who walks in should be treated the same. This sentiment creates a dilemma. On the one hand, people are not denied services regardless of their level of need, yet on the other hand the project, having limited resources, may deny some who are "truly needy" because of depleted goods and services. According to some project participants it is frequently the case that the most needy are the last to ask for help or are unable to find transportation to the service locations.

The Impact of Differing Attitudes on the Volunteers

Divergent or differing attitudes about the project may lead to tension and anxiety among project participants. Due to prevailing local norms, disagreement is seldom openly expressed, and therefore issues often remain unresolved between IPPs and OPPs.

If outsider volunteer staff expectations of project involvement remain unrealized and the issues around such expectations remain unresolved, the likelihood that outsider volunteers will leave the project is high. These volunteers may leave the area completely and return to their home congregations with angry tales of insider incompetence, particularly the insider director's, and of project dysfunction.

Not only does this kind of premature termination decimate an already small number of volunteers, but it also deprives the project of at least one outside funding source: the dissatisfied volunteer's church. Mr. and Mrs. S, upon returning to their church in Ohio, proclaimed the project a "bad investment for church mission." Depending on the level of influence of outsider volunteers in church government, the project may lose a congregation, several congregations or an entire region as a funding source.

If dissatisfied outsider volunteers choose to remain for the duration of their commitment, their presence can be a source of continual stress for other project participants.

Researcher notes record that the volunteer staff, even when satisfied with their role as project participants, may decrease or limit their availability for project activities because of the discomfort experienced in the presence of dissatisfied staff.

Dissatisfied OPPs may remain with the project for the duration of their commitment, but informally disengage from project operation. They may operate somewhat autonomously in the area, performing tasks and engaging in activities of their own choice, without project input. This behavior has the potential for alienating local support of the project should such outsider project participants engage in activities that do not conform to local norms or prove otherwise unacceptable to local standards. Although such outsiders may perceive themselves as acting on their own, their presence is inextricably linked to the project by people in the area. What they do is perceived as project endorsed. If what they do creates a negative reaction from local residents, the project in turn will be perceived negatively.

On one occasion a newspaper reporter from Washington, D.C., came to the project and worked for a week as a volunteer. During this time she kept copious notes of responses that project participants, particularly the outsider director, made regarding the living conditions of the poor in the area. When she returned to Washington, her

story was printed in one of the city's papers. Unfortunately, this paper was read by a few Morgan and Scott county residents. They perceived the article as insulting and slanderous toward the local people. Soon they, and others with similar sentiment, confronted the local board and director with the article and demanded an explanation. The result of this occurrence was the loss of considerable local support in the form of insider involvement and sanction.

Dissatisfied OPPs may leave the project formally but stay in the area to work for another project more congruent with their expectations of volunteer service. These projects are usually directed by outsiders, and outsider attitudes about project operation prevail over insider attitudes. The majority of the volunteer staff are outsiders, and there is considerable consensus around project related matters.

When two or more projects exist in the same area, some directed and operated primarily by outsiders, and some directed and operated predominantly by insiders, rivalry sometimes occurs. Such rivalry at its best can promote friendly competition, encourage cooperation and lead to program innovation and creative solution to the area's socio-economic problems. At its worst, it can lead to derision, promote project turf battles, stifle inter-project cooperation and ultimately deprive area residents of needed services. For example, when an IPP learned that one of the homes selected for renovation and repairs had been

constructed by an outsider project, the family was deprived of services. The justification was expressed in this way:

> They built it. If they did such a lousy job in the first place, let them fix it. We can't go around fixing their mistakes.

A dissatisfied OPP who remains in the area to work for another project may inadvertently promote derision and division between area projects allegedly working for the common good. Whether dissatisfied OPPs remain with the project or leave it, there exists considerable potential for a negative impact on project operation.

It has been postulated that IPP attitudes about project operation are a predominant influence on MSP operation largely because of the insider director and the status given to a predominantly insider volunteer staff. Some OPPs will experience unrealized expectations of project involvement. The unrealized expectations of outsiders will influence their attitudes about the project. Such attitudes will frequently differ from insider attitudes. The impact of these differing attitudes of insiders and outsiders on various aspects of project operation has been explored. To this point the focus of this exploration has been primarily on OPP dissatisfaction. Throughout the project's history, IPPs have also become dissatisfied with the project due to unrealized

expectations of project involvement. The impact of insider dissatisfaction will now be considered.

The Impact of Kinship on Project Operation

Observers will note that many IPPs are related to each other. Utilizing kinship systems can have a debilitating impact on project operation. If, for example, a relative refuses to follow project policies regarding service delivery and it becomes necessary to confront that person, the confrontation my lead to considerable family conflict. The result of this conflict may be the resignation of one or more family members and a splitting of family ties. Dissatisfied family members are capable of purposefully and effectively spreading negative rumors about the project to area residents.

On one recent occasion, it became necessary for the insider director to close a thrift store which was run by a family member because of inappropriate management of funds and inventories. This situation resulted in the family member leaving the project to operate her own thrift store business. Not only did the misappropriation of thrift store funds create a local scandal which tainted the image of the project to people in the area, but the angry and disenchanted family member spread negative gossip and rumors about the project participants to those who would listen in the larger community. It is conjectured by some IPPs that the negative

reception of the project by most residents in the Burrville community may have been influenced by this incident.

It is possible for dissatisfied IPPs to influence an entire community or segment of a community in its attitudes about the project. Consequently a relative who is an IPP may have considerable power and autonomy within the project. At times, though they may make arbitrary inappropriate decisions about service delivery, the director may have difficulty confronting them because of possible familial repercussions.

Insider dissatisfaction with project involvement can therefore threaten insider volunteer recruitment and negatively influence insiders' views of the project, inhibiting local support. But since there is minimal dependence on local funding sources, the project does not risk loss of revenue as in the case of dissatisfied OPPs.

The Impact of Director Attitudes on Project Operation

The project director appears to be the focal point of project participant attitudes about the project and project participant attitudes about the project will influence project operation. Satisfaction or dissatisfaction with project involvement will inevitably be directed toward the director who represents and symbolizes the project to other project participants and the large community.

It is possible for a local resident to increase his or her socio-economic status by becoming a salaried staff member of the project. The annual salary of the project director is substantially above the average annual earnings of most area residents. Change in socio-economic status or upward mobility can influence project policies, goals and objectives.

For example, if people are hired locally from an impoverished or marginally impoverished life situation, it is unlikely they will jeopardize their newly procured higher socio-economic status by making policy decisions or formulating goals and objectives which could threaten continued employment. Their position could be in doubt if key board members became dissatisfied with the project's direction under the local director's leadership.

It would therefore be important for a local director from a low socio-economic background to please and appease the board who hired him or her. In such a situation innovation and radical programmatic shifts which could stir controversy would seem unlikely. Controversial change strategies could involve considerable risk for an insider director including the loss of gainful employment in a two county area plagued by chronic unemployment and economic hardship.

The Impact of Job Scarcity on Project Operation

It is important that an insider director concerned with job security appear competent to the people who do the hiring for the project. Criticism could be threatening to this individual if the source of criticism was perceived by board members as credible, that is, criticism from a person or persons of the same socio-economic position as board members. The director will understandably perceive his position as tenuous at best, based on past life experiences that portrayed economic security as an elusive and temporary thing. Because of reasons associated with job security, this person may find it difficult to confront the board, either individual members or as a group, regarding project related issues.

If an insider director comes from an impoverished or marginally impoverished background, job security will take precedence over change strategies for project programs. The problem of board member apathy and lack of participation will not be directly addressed with the board. The director, constrained because of budgetary problems and the lack of project participants to depend on for guidance and assistance in decision making will have little recourse but to maintain the status quo, or possibly cut back on services.

C is the third, and only insider, director of the project. His attributes and deficits as perceived by insider and outsider project participants have been thoroughly

discussed. During his tenure as director the annual budget has decreased substantially. Presently, the budget is approximately $59,000 annually. The project has steadily declined in size, and many of the programs have become emergency services. There appears to be no potential in current project operation for a conflictual program to emerge. Although the services provided to the poor in the area are vital, there exist no plans to attempt change strategies that could precipitate fundamental shifts in the political and economic power structure. The philosophy of the project is captured in this IPP's statement:

> Poverty in Morgan and Scott counties is caused by dirty politics: misuse of county funds. Look at our roads and our schools and unemployment in these two counties. MSP doesn't need to get involved. We're a Christian organization. We can't change poverty, but we can help make a difference in peoples' lives.

That "difference" appears to involve providing services to individuals and families to enhance their quality of life, at least temporarily, but not to address the roots of poverty: the corrupt and self-serving political and economic systems identified by project participants as operating in the area. The risks to personal security and the discontinuance of project operation are a stark reality that foretells that change, if it comes, may come slowly and only with the sanction of the political and economic power structure.

The Impact of Outsider Directors on Project Operation

Outsider directors tend to create an environment where outsider attitudes about project operation prevail. IPPs become peripheral members of the project, engaging in activities that are considered necessary, but not the crux of project operation.

Outsider directors are perceived by most IPPs as having grandiose ideas about "changing things that can't be changed." They are viewed as impatient and pushy, but good at finding money for the project. An IPP describes outsider director A thus:

> able to sell people (insiders and outsiders) the idea of the project. He had a personality that could do that and he knew where the money was.

Whereas, outsider director B was:

> pretty good at generating money through newsletters, but he was somebody you could talk to for a few minutes and get made at. I've seen people come into the office, maybe just to talk or somethin' and leave mad at him. He projected himself as the only one that knew anything. Expert in everything.

Outsider directors in the history of the project have indeed "thought big." Annual budgets were for some years three times the present budget under an insider director. Programs were created to purposely attract outsider interest, bringing large numbers of outsiders into the area to volunteer their time and expertise.

If an outsider director is an ordained minister in one of the mainline denominations that support the project, as was director A, this will legitimize the project in the eyes of outside churches and church related organizations. This legitimation will secure support, both monetarily and in the form of outsider involvement as project participants. But it was under the leadership of outsider directors that the project experienced events that escalated the mild disfavor of many local residents into vehement opposition.

Under the first outsider director, an ordained Presbyterian minister and graduate level social worker, a paralegal program was supported which brought outsider law students from urban law schools into the area to advocate for the rural poor, fighting corruption in local government. Program effort resulted in the removal of a county judge from office. As a result, outsider director A and his family were personally threatened by anonymous supporters of the allegedly corrupt judge. The husband of a paralegal who worked in this program was fired from his job with the county road department. There is conjecture on the part of some project participants that the accidental death of director A's son when his automobile was apparently "run off the road" may have been related to the controversial programs the project supported.

The impact of outsider director B's decision to invite racially mixed work groups to the area and the consequences

for the project, him and his family have been discussed in detail. Both outsider directors became controversial figures in the area as a result of their project-related decisions and the significance such decisions posed for people supportive of or opposed to systemic changes in the existing political and economic power structure. As director A states:

> It finally got to be where the community got to know what was going on and it looked like we were going to have a war between those who supported me and those who opposed me.

To avoid possible serious confrontations, director A invited an outsider mediator to evaluate the project and make recommendations. Director A continued to work part time for approximately one year and then left the project. Racially mixed work groups have not been utilized since his departure.

Director B evaluates the impact on residents and on his credibility of his decision to disregard the board's directive to cease inviting racially mixed work groups into the area as follows:

> A local minister (on the board) moved that all staff leave the board meeting. Then this S.O.B. convinced the other board members that I had done terrible things to the project. He accused me of having guns in my house and shooting at people and called me a Communist and unfit to be the director.

Sixty witnesses were called according to director B. They were all friends of the minister and other board members

who opposed him and testified to the truth of the accusations. Outside the board meetings, car loads of people and people on foot, all poor and friends of the director, attempted to attend the board meeting. When the board denied them entrance to the meeting they attempted to break in. Director B states that he stopped them by holding a prayer meeting and then dispersing them to their homes.

At the next board meeting, an IPP accused him of fraternizing with prostitutes and counseling unmarried couples. He was also accused of advocating for a retarded couple that were being "kept" by another couple in a small travel trailer "with no heat other than a baseboard heater." His advocacy resulted in the removal of custody in the case. During this meeting B resigned as director, although the minutes state he was fired. His parting words were, "Before I came here, you ignored the poor. Please don't ignore them after I've left."

These examples illustrate the impact that outsider directors can have on project operation. Their decisions are determined by their expectations of what the project should be doing. Their attitudes about the project are greatly influenced by the realization or lack of realization of such expectations. Both outsider directors left the project feeling angry, rejected, depressed and somewhat bitter. Only years later are they able in retrospect to speak in support of the project's continuance. Both remain skeptical of total

insider control over project operation although they concede this was the original intent of the project.

Prevailing Attitudes about Project Operation

Prevailing attitudes about project operation may be defined as those beliefs and perceptions that appear to be more usual than others, to exist or occur generally as the dominant impressions about the project and manifested in overall project operation. Struggles between IPPs and OPPs for project dominance have occurred throughout MSP's developmental history.

The project as it presently operates with an insider director, secretary, board, and predominantly insider volunteer staff, may be termed an insider prevalent project, a project where insider ways of thinking and behaving assume dominance in determining program implementation and service delivery. Other projects in the area such as Appalachian Habitat for Humanity and The Plateau Home School may be termed outsider dominant.

The pivotal figure who determines the dominance of insider or outsider attitudes is the director. If a director is an insider, born and raised in the two-county area, a project will reflect the prevailing IPP's attitudes in project operation. Insiders and outsiders may both be involved with the same project. Such is the case with MSP, but the director's classification, the number of insider and

outsider volunteer staff, and the status they are given by the director appear to influence which attitudes prevail throughout the activities of the organization.

Summary

This study postulates that project participants can be divided into two broad groups, insiders and outsiders. Each of these groups may be subsequently arranged into categories. Project participants will have some similar reasons for project involvement, but reasons will also differ between insiders and outsiders. These differences may be explained by differing life experiences, values and beliefs about self and others that influence life attitudes or ways of thinking and behaving.

Depending on one's reasons for involvement, specific expectations of project activities and experiences will be formulated. Such expectations may or may not be congruent with actual project activities and experiences. The realization or lack of realization of expectations will, in turn, influence insiders' and outsiders' attitudes about the project. The attitudes that develop among project participants will influence project operation.

Projects may be most influenced by the prevailing attitudes of the director and other project participants. The prevailing attitudes of insiders will dominate project operation if the director and the majority of other project

participants are in this category. The opposite may be said of projects that have outsider directors and predominantly OPPs. Depending on the nature of the prevailing attitudes of project participants, the project will operate differently, particularly in the areas of project philosophy, decision making, administration, program development and implementation. Through its operation these differences will ultimately have an impact on the larger community, influencing community sanction or rejection of the project.

MSP is presently an example of a project influenced by the prevailing attitudes of IPPs. The developmental history reveals that under the leadership of outsider directors the project fell into local by many because of program efforts to change the nature of the political and economic institutions in the two county area and the refusal of outsider directors to conform to the informal rules or norms of the region.

As a result of this disfavor, insider attitudes became prevalent to assure project survival. An insider director was appointed by the board and insider volunteers were recruited locally from the family and relationship systems of insider project participants. The project became smaller and informal in policies and procedures. It emphasized the provision of basic services, namely food, shelter and clothing, in a highly personal manner, to those residents in need. The funding received was still largely from those

sources within outside churches and church organizations procured by former outsider directors.

Today, outsiders who come to the project with life attitudes incongruent with those of IPPs often become disillusioned with their experience and hence perceive the project and the project director negatively. This negativism results in defensive posturing by project participants which creates an atmosphere of anxiety and stress. Considerable relief attends when dissatisfied OPPs leave. As a result of outsider dissatisfaction the director and the board members are even more ambivalent about recruiting outsiders, and the project becomes smaller, serving fewer and fewer people as funds slowly but steadily diminish. Salaries for the full time staff now constitute over one-half the annual budget.

The Morgan/Scott Project was begun by outsiders, supported by outsiders and influenced by outsider notions of community development and change. Although it still exists, it has become a questionable legacy to insiders who still remember the community conflict exacerbated by its activities on behalf of the poor and powerless.

CHAPTER V

IMPLICATIONS AND CONCLUSIONS

Models of Appalachia

Findings about insider-outsider dynamics are relevant to the two models of Appalachia. Jack Weller advocates for a culture of poverty model which supports the notion that the problems in the region are attributable to the unique traits of a "defective" culture. Planners, economic developers and government administrators more frequently attribute the problems to underdevelopment, including isolation, lack of transportation, lack of skilled labor, imbalance between population and available resources, and lack of adequate capital and programs to stimulate growth. The colonialism model examines the process through which dominant outside industrial interests establish control, exploit the region, and maintain a dominant hold on its people, politics and economy. But what are the perceptions of project participants as to the social and economic problems in Morgan and Scott counties?

Project Participants' Perceptions of Regional Problems

Present IPPs do not subscribe to the assumptions inherent in the culture of poverty model that imply the problems in the region are due to the unique character traits of its people. They concede that there are people

locked into a cycle of poverty that seems to perpetuate a sense of hopelessness and despair. But they point to unemployment, underemployment, and underdevelopment of the area as symptomatic of a corrupt political system. This system includes all local governmental institutions: county court systems, the department of public works, county schools, law enforcement, and additionally, state government.

Insider project participant Mr. R points to the high taxes the State of Tennessee imposes on property. According to him, the state owns half the land in Morgan county and pays no property tax. He, like most IPPs, believes the state has "struck a deal" with a large multi-national corporation in the two county area. The corporation owns large tracts of land planted with millions of pine trees for paper manufacture. According to IPPs the corporation, taking advantage of a tax incentive (loophole), pays little or no property tax, because they open their acreage to hunters during deer season.

The result of these circumstances has produced property taxes that are the highest in the state. Mr. R and his wife feel that the entire educational system is inadequate due to poor administration from politically appointed school personnel "from the bottom up." Their own children were transported to schools outside of the immediate area. As Mr. R puts it, "In a poor county like this, you have to consolidate the schools to provide the best services in one

location." Like other IPPs, they feel powerless when confronted with the widespread political corruption, but having lived with it so long they've come to endure it.

Most project participants, insiders and outsiders, do not envision the role of the project as one of working for fundamental change--that is, redistributing power or resources--in the major institutions, community practices or policies in the two county area. They envision the project as a "band aid" that has the ability to help when people need "a lift up, not a hand out."

David Walls (1977) believes that the colonialism model of Appalachia has been helpful in that it has focused attention on the acquisition of raw materials of the region by outside corporate interests and on the exploitation of the local work force and the community at large by absentee owners. But he suggests that the model be superseded by a model of peripheral regions within an advanced capitalist society. Private ownership and the corruption that has accompanied it is the problem, not "colonial" independence. He advocates public ownership of regional industry, specifically the coal industry in Appalachia. He defines the problem as that of capitalist relations of production in an advanced capitalist society and suggests that some form of socialism be impelemented that admittedly would have national implications for private industry in general.

Present outsider volunteer staff inevitably see the problem from a mixed perspective closely related to the culture of poverty and underdevelopment explanations. It appears that the predominant solutions present outsider volunteer staff propose are education for the young people so they can leave the area and find jobs or injections of more federal money into the area for development purposes. Mr. J, like other OPPs, believes the primary problem is a lack of jobs and underdevelopment in the area. He feels the government should set up training programs and put money into the area. As to the impoverished people,

> Well, they're trapped in a situation. One of these families has three kids. There's no initiative to get them off in the morning and get them lunch and say here you are, now go to school. So what happens is they end up just like their parents. They're trapped in a situation their parents are trapped in. And that's going to continue right down the line. Maybe once in a while one will escape or get out on his own.

OPP Mr. S describes the people the project serves as follows:

> conditioned to be unemployed, living off of food stamps, welfare. And that's their way of life. This was at first hard for me to accept as a businessman, but I think if you bring your Christian thinking into the picture, those people are not at fault. There isn't the opportunity here to raise themselves up by their bootstraps. So you can like them or love them.

He ascribes much of the poverty to the closing down of the coal companies and the loss of coal-related jobs.

But some OPPs see at least part of the problem in the nature of the people. As Ms. N states, "Some people choose to remain poor. They lack motivation and opportunities to be stimulated to get out of their situation." Ms. N believes that one of the answers is education for the young. She concedes, however, that the result of such stimulation would be an exodus of the young from the area. She does feel that some of the area's youth who work well with their hands could remain there making baskets and doing woodwork. That is why she remains, "to teach kids that there is a big world out there they can be part of." OPP Ms. S seems to reflect similar sentiments:

> I think another big reason for poverty is that people are so attached to the area that they don't want to move. There's lots of jobs in Nashville but these people don't really want to move from their roots.

The Focus of Differences in Perceptions and Attitudes

Although there may be differences in perceptions among present project participants (whether insiders or outsiders) regarding reasons for the region's impoverishment, such differences do not appear to play a key role in attitudes about project operation. The differences in IPP and OPP attitudes about the project are related more to their differing expectations of project involvement arising from their reasons for becoming project participants. These reasons do not include making significant structural changes

in the existing political and economic system. The present differences in attitudes have more to do with how a project should be run. They differ on the most effective way to administer the project, implement programs and deliver services.

Dissatisfied OPPs, however, will frequently describe the insider director in terms reflected in the culture of poverty perspective. The insider director, as focal point for the project, is often perceived as backward, fatalistic, stubborn, uneducated, etc. Some OPPs frequently refer to these characteristics as causal factors to explain the perceived deficiencies of the project.

Former outsider directors and some former OPPs shared many notions with present IPPs about the causes of impoverishment in Morgan and Scott counties. They pointed to the politically corrupt system of local government as a primary factor. Unlike most IPPs who choose to ignore, be part of, or endure this corruption, OPPs on occasion attempted to expose and change some of the allegedly corrupt leadership in the existing political institutions. The following section describes the consequences of a number of MSP change strategies.

Models of Change

MSP appears to have manifested many aspects of the existing change models throughout its developmental history.

It is difficult to state which model or models worked best. This difficulty results from the variability and subjectivity in each person's definition of what is indeed best. In the early years of the project, Rothman's models of locality development and social planning appear to have been at least implicitly present in a blend that resulted in the development of programs that had the potential of benefiting most area residents regardless of their socio-economic position.

The health centers and the outsider interns and nurses who came to manage them were used by the general population. Before the project's inception all residents had, to some degree, experienced the impact of the dearth of health care in the two county area. The same may be said of the school for Appalachian children. Although there was some initial resistance from the school systems to support the program, it was eventually accepted because of its potential use by all local families. Those programs which had potential to benefit the total community or a segment of the population without threatening the existing political and economic power structure appear to have experienced the greatest local support. Hence, thrift stores, garden programs, and housing development, as long as they respected local norms and the existing formal and informal political and economic system, ran minimal risk of active rejection from any segments of the local population.

The Project Under the First Director

Under the first director (outsider) the project emphasized democratic procedures, voluntary cooperation, self help, and to some extent the development of indigenous leadership. It may be argued that the local leadership which initially emerged represented the interests of landowners, businessmen and politicians. This phenomenon may reflect the nature of community development in the region. Locality development within this rural setting may draw those local leaders who have the time to invest in such a project, who have a particular interest in procuring services for themselves or protecting their own interests, who have hope that acceptable change can indeed occur, and who have access to the key figures in the political and economic power structure that must explicitly or implicitly sanction project objectives. Locality development in such a region is unlikely to draw its leadership from the poor or marginally poor population whose members do not possess the abilities requisite to participation.

The director during the early years of the project also assumed the role of expert, guiding the board members and volunteers through change strategies that facilitated the procurement of goods and services. Project participants continually relied on the director to assume primary leadership in project operation. Such leaders must assume

the consequent responsibility for the repercussions that may result from unpopular decisions and program failure.

The early years of the project reflect an ambivalence in the director, a desire to rely on indigenous leadership, but also an impatience with the slow pace and hesitancy that characterized the decision making of this group. Such impatience was reinforced by the many outsiders who came to the project and whose attitudes influenced project operation. Many were interested in a lasting structural change in the political and economic system that would permanently enhance the lives of the rural poor by giving them a position of power and influence in the area.

According to local informants, sometime during the last few years of director A's eight year leadership, the project shifted and began to address more openly the needs of the disadvantaged segment of the population. The paralegal program supported by the project with outsider staff became concerned with basic changes in major institutions and community practices that perpetuated the unequal distribution of political power and economic resources. This shift to social action, due in part to the prevailing attitudes of OPPs in project operation, led to conflict in the larger community, the director's resignation and his exit from the area.

Did social action work? In this case, a judge was forced to resign, but the loss of an allegedly corrupt judge

did little to change existing regional distribution of wealth and power. The school systems in the two-county area felt some pressure to provide quality education to poor as well as middle-income children, but it would be difficult to argue that former project pressure has had a sustained effect on educational policy.

Christenson and Robinson's conceptualization of conflict and change has particular relevance here. The conflict in this community involved two groups, insiders and outsiders, with perceived incompatible goals. Superficially, these groups appeared somewhat homogeneous. Both included predominantly middle and upper middle income people. But outsiders, regardless of their own socio-economic position, became advocates for the area's poor. Their attitudes became threatening to many insiders, and thus to the subsequent formulation of project goals and objectives. As a result, outsider notions of change were rejected and their input was no longer a viable component of project operation. The relative power of insiders appears to have prevailed, with these insiders being local people of middle and upper middle income invested in the maintenance of the existing political and economic system in the two county area.

The Project Under the Second Director

The second director (outsider) assumed the position by default: no one else was interested. There remained on the

board, now small, people who were still convinced that an outsider should direct the project. This support of an outsider director seems to relate to the fact that funding sources for the project always remained outside the area. Director B was a service-oriented leader and attempted a combination of means of locality development, involving a wide spectrum of local people in decision making and social planning. His actual programs were not inherently threatening to the existing power structure, but he attempted to empower the poor by appointing representatives of the disadvantaged population to the board. This rankled some board members from the outset. His short-lived leadership (two and one-half years) was ended when he attempted to impose his outsider norms on project operation. His behavior of sharing with the outsider world some of the vivid and graphic situations experienced by the poor and his refusal to accommodate to the board's racist attitudes created a conflictual situation that resulted in the purging of outsiders from the project.

Once again outsider attitudes prevailed in project operation only when the goals and objectives derived from such attitudes did not seriously conflict with the existing power structure and the value attachments of politically significant insiders. This phenomenon indicates that although projects may exist in the area that reflect either insider prevalent or outsider prevalent attitudes in project

operation, outsider attitudes prevail only by the implicit or explicit sanction of powerful insiders.

The Project Under the Third Director

The project's board, clearly traumatized by the attempted imposition of outsider attitudes on project operation, appointed an insider director. One may wonder why the project survived at all. A simple explanation would not do justice to the complexities of the situation. There appears to have been some pressure from the outsider advisory committee to continue. The present insider director had been with the project throughout the crisis period with the second director and was out of work. The secretary needed continued employment, and one or two key board members still believed the project should continue to exist, to offer needed "stop-gap" services to the poor. The comment by one board member reveals this sentiment:

> The project is a stop-gap operation that takes over where welfare ends or fails for whatever reason to meet the needs of the poor. It will never be able to meet all the needs out there and will always struggle for survival. It's a rescue squad operation. Its mission is to do all it can do and survive.

Director C has led the project since 1983 and implicitly reflects a philosophy of locality development, but the spectrum of local people represented is far from wide, is predominantly middle class, and ambivalent about community

change. Insider director C, being the focal point of the project, experiences problems in project operation, many of which are related to the incongruence of insider and outsider attitudes about the project. However, insider attitudes clearly prevail. Local norms, values and the existing power structure remain unthreatened by the project, its participants or programs.

Conclusions Drawn by the Three Directors

All three directors have suggestions and conclusions based on their experiences that reveal their personal attitudes about community development in Central Appalachia. It is appropriate to share some of their thoughts.

Director A feels that at least for him ten years is about the limit that one can work as a director in an organization such as the MSP. He can't explain it, but there seems to be some kind of "evolutionary cycle" that takes about ten years. Director A states that he would have spent more time "working on that informal network of enablers that I tried to do in the first place and somehow got away from in dealing with other issues and problems in the area." He would have taken more time to understand the needs of the area and moved more purposefully and incrementally in developing a plan of action rather than "hopping on any issue that seemed interesting or lucrative at the time."

As to the basic skills needed, former director A advises,

> Keep your mouth shut and your ears open. Most people are gung ho, they come in and try to do something quick and easy using federal money and then leave. You've got to plan on ten years. If you don't then I'm not sure it's worth it.
>
> You've got to have a clearly visual and well-perceived role in the community. As a pastor of a church this is an advantage. As you learn things you must check them out. Everything that I thought I was learning I was sharing with people. So it wasn't my idea. It was a commonly shared awareness of things. My perceptions became the perceptions of a lot of people. Together we began making decisions based on those shared perceptions.

Former director A does not believe one can go into an Appalachian community and change the leadership in order to change the situation. One must use the existing leadership to work for change. He speaks of two community networks that co-exist but never overlap: the network of the local elite and the network of the poor. The primary purpose of MSP was to bring these two mutually exclusive networks together in order to involve the entire community in addressing issues pertinent to both. He feels that insider director C's appointment as director indicates that this has finally happened.

Former outsider director B believes what is needed is a person who has concern especially for the poor. As he puts it, the MSP needs,

> a person who wants to help the people at the bottom. Those that cannot help themselves. A person who is not afraid to do hands-on kinds of things. To advocate for needed services. A conviction strong enough to be willing to sacrifice and experience pain. To be uncompromising with your convictions. You can't back down. You've got to be able to push people and demand that they lead.

And in reference to the board:

> The board was never in a position of leading the direction of the project. They used their power only to control or stifle undesired or unwanted ideas.

In hindsight, director B acknowledges that he should have been more patient and forgiving than he was with IPPs. "I should have gone slower. I'm too abrupt, too blunt, too straightforward, but I don't know how to be any other way."

Insider director C believes that to be a good director you must have an open mind and not be influenced by family "as to whether or not to serve someone in need." In his words:

> You must rely on God and turn to God for help. A lot of what you do is more or less common sense. If you can manage your own money you can manage the project's money. You've got to be able to look into a person's eyes to see if they need more help than they're asking. Have the ability to pry. You've got to be able to work with people and share in the work load. You've got to be patient and forgiving of mistakes. I don't like confrontations. Life is too short. Let it slide.

These comments, sincere and heartfelt, reflect some of the fundamental differences in insider and outsider project

participant attitudes about the project and project operation. But these directors, past and present, share a common dream of community, a community unconcerned with self-interest, working together for the benefit of its members, a community where socio-economic stratification ceases to exist and people create fundamentally different organizational systems based on humanitarian values, consensual decision making and interpersonal cooperation. The obstacles to the dream becoming reality in Central Appalachia has been the crux of this study.

Implications for Community Development

This study has attempted to formulate new concepts and investigate the manifestation of existing models of change and models of Appalachia in project operation. It may be inferred from this study that outsider community developers or community organizers who come to the area to engage in planning and organizing activities often have expectations that are incongruent with the realities of insider norms and the dominant political and economic institutions of the region. The results can be catastrophic for the outsider and often a bitter and disappointing experience for insiders whose hopes and dreams for the area are built on the belief that change comes slowly and at times imperceptibly in a region of impoverishment and political corruption.

Community workers must continually walk a tight rope. Leaning too far in one direction may lead to organizational atrophy and a lack of viable programs which attempt in some way to change the status quo. Leaning too far in the other direction may lead to organizational and community conflict that could render the organization impotent or bring about its demise.

This study indicates the most successful community work involves long term commitments, a thorough knowledge of the values and beliefs of local inhabitants, and an understanding of the potential incongruence of insider and outsider attitudes about what a community project should do and how it should do it. Would-be change agents must be sensitive to the change tolerance of the area's political and economic power structure and to shared local norms of the community, and they must understand the potential consequences of instituting change interventions that go beyond tolerance limits.

These requisites combined with interpersonal skills, patience, respect and admiration for the people of Morgan and Scott counties regardless of their socio-economic status are necessary for those who wish to engage in community work in the area. Community workers cannot narrowly define their role within the organization. Rather, they must be willing and able to perform a variety of activities as organizational demands warrant. It is important for them to

understand and accept the intrusive nature of their work. Many of their ideas will not be new to the inhabitants of a region that has been "rediscovered" by outsiders several times in the last hundred years. A savior or martyr complex in a community worker may momentarily strengthen personal resolve, but it often leads to a kind of self-righteousness that exacerbates interpersonal alienation and rejection by the community.

The insight this study has provided into the perceptions, attitudes, and behaviors of community workers and volunteers in relation to the people of Morgan and Scott counties has afforded the opportunity to describe and explain the complex dynamics involved in the formulation of project goals and objectives. How these goals and objectives meet the personal, social and economic needs of project participants and the larger community has been a major focus of this investigation. Understanding the perceptions, attitudes and behaviors of insiders and outsiders, as individuals and as groups of people has provided important information relating to the kind of community development most viable for this area. Out of this exploration assumptions have emerged that can be investigated in subsequent studies of community development and community work in rural Appalachia and rural America.

Implications for Research

This study has perhaps created more questions than it has answered, but this is the nature of exploration. Further research could involve the investigation and testing of the assumptions inherent in an insider/outsider conceptualization of community development in rural Appalachia and rural settings in general. Such questions as the following offer opportunities for further study:

1. Are there change strategies implemented in other rural projects that have succeeded in fundamentally changing major institutions, community practices or policies?
2. If so, what were the circumstances which allowed change to take place?
3. Can these circumstances be intentionally created and replicated?
4. Does an insider/outsider conceptualization have relevance for other rural community projects both church and non-church related?
5. If so, what are the strategies which could be utilized for constructive conflict resolution of divergent attitudes and perceptions?
6. Are there rural projects that have been created and operated by insiders without outsider participation and assistance?

7. If so, what is the nature of such projects and how have they survived over time?
8. Is it possible to identify a project(s) that is considered by insiders and outsiders to be a "success"?
9. If so, what are the characteristics or ingredients of a project that fosters congruent perceptions of "success"?

These and other questions should be investigated through further case study research of rural community development and organization. Only through commitment of time and energy and the support of institutions and people dedicated to a belief in inquiry, is it possible to begin to unravel the complexities of human systems.

Limitations of the Study

Besides posing more questions than it answers this descriptive analysis is also limited in other ways. Not all project participants past or present were interviewed. An attempt was made to interview representative people, both insiders and outsiders, who are or have been involved with the project. Their opinions and perceptions may not present an accurate sample of all project participants. An aspect that has not been fully addressed is the attitudes and perceptions of important service recipients, the poor of Morgan and Scott counties. How they perceive the project in

its present form and their perceptions of its past are not included in this investigation, but are vital to a more complete understanding of this case study.

The researcher has interpreted the data from the perspective of an outsider. Objectivity was always a goal, but it may be inevitable that bias in one form or another will taint one's perception of reality. It is not assumed that the researcher's interpretation is the only plausible one nor that one year is enough time to understand the complex phenomena investigated.

This case study is only one example of community development in Appalachia. Broad generalization of the findings is inappropriate and would not do justice to the diversity of people and projects in the area. Only through the implementation and comparison of other case studies can the findings of this study be substantiated as relevant or rejected as irrelevant to community development in the region.

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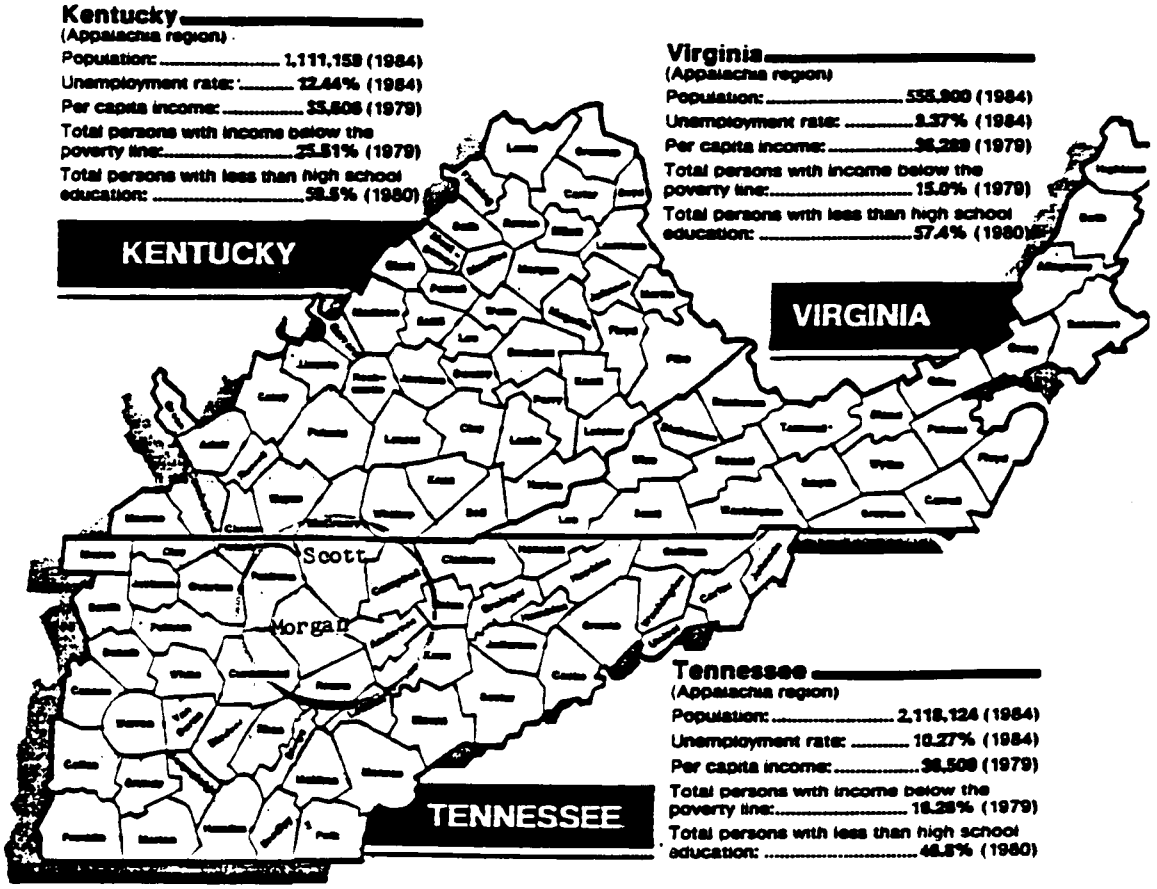
APPENDIXES

APPENDIX A

APPALACHIAN FACTS

Appalachia facts



Kentucky
(Appalachia region)
Population: 1,111,158 (1984)
Unemployment rate: 12.44% (1984)
Per capita income: $5,606 (1979)
Total persons with income below the poverty line: 25.51% (1979)
Total persons with less than high school education: 58.5% (1980)

Virginia
(Appalachia region)
Population: 555,900 (1984)
Unemployment rate: 9.37% (1984)
Per capita income: $6,289 (1979)
Total persons with income below the poverty line: 15.0% (1979)
Total persons with less than high school education: 57.4% (1980)

Tennessee
(Appalachia region)
Population: 2,116,124 (1984)
Unemployment rate: 10.27% (1984)
Per capita income: $6,509 (1979)
Total persons with income below the poverty line: 18.28% (1979)
Total persons with less than high school education: 46.8% (1980)

APPENDIX B

PER CAPITA INCOME AND LABOR DATA

Per Capita Income Estimates

MORGAN

	1979	1980	1981	1982	1983	% Change 1979-1983
County	4765	5058	5503	5906	6093	27.9
State	7080	7689	8525	9013	9515	34.4
Nation	8668	9481	10582	11107	11675	34.7

Per Capita Income Estimates

SCOTT

	1979	1980	1981	1982	1983	% Change 1979-1983
County	4592	5086	5543	5715	5708	24.3
State	7080	7689	8525	9013	9515	34.4
Nation	8668	9481	10582	11107	11675	34.7

Source: Bureau of Economic Analysis, U.S. Department of Commerce/East Tennessee Development District

Annual Labor Force Data

1981 to 1984

MORGAN

Item	1981	1982	1983	1984	'81 -'84 % Change
Total Labor Force	5258	5624	5845	5674	7.9
Number Employed	4682	4742	4784	4760	1.7
Number Unemployed	576	882	1061	914	58.7
Unemployment Rate	11.0	15.7	18.2	16.1	
Tennessee Rate	12.6	11.9	11.5	8.9	
National Rate	7.6	9.7	9.6	7.7	

Annual Labor Force Data

1981 to 1984

SCOTT

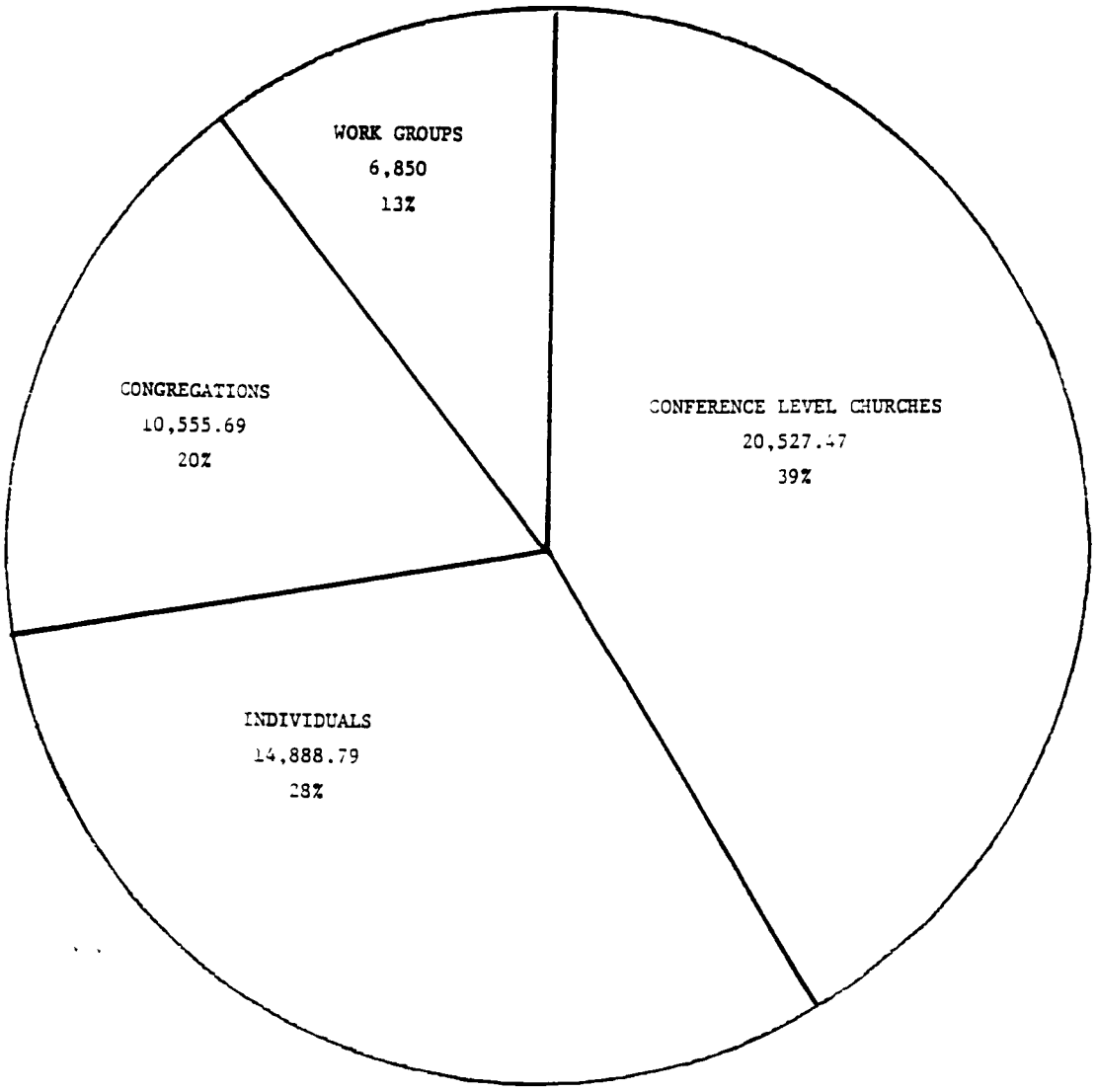
Item	1981	1982	1983	1984	'81 -'84 % Change
Total Labor Force	6120	6763	6138	6766	10.6
Number Employed	5291	5498	4703	5551	4.9
Number Unemployed	829	1265	1435	1215	46.6
Unemployment Rate	13.5	18.7	23.4	18.0	
Tennessee Rate	12.6	11.9	11.5	8.9	
National Rate	7.6	9.7	9.6	7.7	

Source: Tennessee Department of Employment Security/East Tennessee Development District

APPENDIX C

FUNDING SOURCES FOR MSP

FUNDING SOURCES FOR MSP 1985



FUNDING SOURCES FOR MSP 1985

CONFERENCES		
Christian Church--Disciples of Christ Board of Global Ministries Presbytery of East Tennessee Presbytery of Middle Tennessee Southeast Conference Nat'l. Assoc. of Congregational Churches Oak Ridge District Holston Conference	$20,527.47	39.0%
INDIVIDUALS	$14,888.79	28.0%
WORK GROUPS	$ 6,850.00	13.0%
CONGREGATIONS		
Methodist Churches	$ 1,246.70	2.4%
Presbyterian Churches	$ 5,252.00	10 0%
Church of Christ (Congregational)	$ 2,556.99	5.0%
Lutheran Church	$ 150.00	.3%
Episcopal Church	$ 900.00	1.7%
Christian Church (Disciples of Christ)	$ 250.00	.5%
Community Church	$ 200.00	.4%

COMPARISON OF INCOME FOR MSP 1984-1985

	1-1-84 11-15-84 1984	1-1-85 11-15-85 1985
Central Presbyterian Church		250.00
Christian Church (Disciples of Christ)	799.92	525.00
Christ Church Rugby		500.00
Church in the Garden--Women's Guild	100.00	100.00
Clear Creek Baptist Church	25.00	
Congregational Church of Christ	650.00	300.00
Congregational Church & Society	75.59	273.99
East Minster Presbyterian Church	500.00	3,000.00
Fairfield Community Church	50.00	200.00
First Christian Church	125.00	250.00
First Congregational Church	250.00	450.00
First Farragut UMW	138.00	
First Farragut UMC	245.75	37.41
First Presbyterian Church		150.00
First UMC Fellowship Class	600.00	450.00
First UMC Church, Oneida	500.00	
First UMC	50.00	154.00
Garden Crest United Presbyterian	250.00	1,520.00
Grace Evangelical Lutheran Church	300.00	150.00
Hill Presbyterian Church	702.00	332.00
Holston Conference	10,693.76	8,695.99
Kern Memorial Church UMC	400.00	250.00
National Association Congregational Churches	1,100.00	800.00
NIKE	10,416.85	
Oak Ridge District Fund UMC	2,580.00	1,250.00
Oliver Springs UMC	50.00	
Oliver Springs UMW		155.29
Southeast Conference UCC	1,350.00	1,910.00
St. Andrew`s Episcopal Church	500.00	400.00
St. Anne's Catholic Church	100.00	
St. John's UCC	572.00	1,533.00
St. John's UMC	128.86	
Synod of the South	3,352.25	2,939.80
First UMC of Oak Ridge		200.00
Individuals	10,019.13	14,888.79
Work Groups	4,882.00	6,850.00
Board of Global Ministries	3,645.11	1,790.00
Presbytery of East Tennessee		2,391.68
Presbytery of Knoxville	125.00	
Presbytery of Middle Tennessee	750.00	225.00
Presbytery of Union	3,762.48	
	$59,802.70	$52,921.95

APPENDIX D

INTERVIEW GUIDES

These interview guides were not actually used or read from in the interview process. They only served as a loose guide for the interviewer. Project participants were free to express themselves and encouraged to address any topics or issues they considered important.

An Interview Guide To Be Used For MSP's Present Director

1. What is your educational background?
2. What was your work experience before you became director?
3. How did you learn that MSP was seeking a director?
4. What motivated you to seek the position?
5. The term community development has been used to describe MSP. How would you define that term is relation to MSP?
6. What did MSP identify as the most immediate needs of the people of Morgan and Scott counties?
7. Did your ideas about need agree with the MSP board?
8. Did your ideas about need agree with the Resource Advisory Committee?
9. What did you want to accomplish?
10. How would you describe the people that MSP serves?
11. How would you describe the people that make up the board of MSP?
12. How would you describe the volunteers? (local and non-local)
13. How would you describe the people that make up the Advisory Board?
14. What is it you actually do as director? (daily routine)
15. How is the project funded?
16. What changes have you attempted to bring about as director?
17. How did you go about it?
18. What worked?
19. What didn't?
20. Why?

21. Conflict seems to be a part of most organizations. What conflict have you experienced as director?

    a. With the MSP board?
    b. With the Resource Advisory Committee?
    c. With volunteers?
    d. With paid staff?
    e. With the larger community?

22. Looking at your experience so far with the project, would you have done anything differently? (press for specificity)

23. What skills and abilities do you see as necessary for anyone wishing to do this kind of community work?

24. What personal values do you consider necessary?

25. Poverty seems to be an ongoing reality in Morgan and Scott counties. What are the factors that contribute to this poverty in your opinion?

26. Given the complexity of these factors, what would have to be done to change things? (assuming complexity is implied)

27. Where does the church fit in all of this for you?

28. What are the benefits of church affiliation?

29. Are there any disadvantages? If so, what are they?

An Interview Guide To Be Used For MSP's Second Director

1. What is your educational background?
2. What was your work experience before you became director?
3. How did you learn that MSP was seeking a director?
4. What motivated you to seek the position?
5. The term community development has been used to describe MSP. How would you define that term in relation to MSP?
6. What did MSP identify as the most immediate needs of the people of Morgan and Scott counties?
7. How congruent were your personal perceptions of needs with those of the MSP board?
8. With the Advisory Board?
9. What were your original intentions for the project?
10. How would you describe the people that MSP served?
11. How would you describe the people that made up the board of MSP?
12. How would you describe the people that made up the Advisory Board?
13. How would you describe the volunteers? (local and non-local)
14. What was it you actually did as director? (daily routine)
15. How was MSP funded?
16. What changes came about as a result of MSP's efforts?
17. What strategies were used to bring about these changes?
18. Were there strategies that didn't work?
19. Why?

20. Conflict seems to be inevitable in most organizations. What conflict did you experience as director?

    a. With the MSP Board?
    b. With the Resource Advisory Board?
    c. with volunteers?
    d. With paid staff?
    e. With the larger community?

21. When did you decide to leave MSP?

22. What were the precipitating events or circumstances that led to your decision?

23. Looking at your experience with MSP in retrospect would you have done anything different? (press for specificity)

24. What skills and abilities do you see as being necessary for anyone wishing to do this kind of community work?

25. What personal values do you consider necessary?

26. Poverty seems to be an ongoing reality in Morgan and Scott counties. What are the factors that contribute to this poverty in your opinion?

27. Given the complexity of these factors, what strategies or interventions do you feel should be implemented to change things? (assuming complexity is implied)

28. Where does the church fit in all of this for you?

29. What were the benefits of MSP's church affiliation?

30. Were there any disadvantages? If so, what were they?

An Interview Guide To Be Used For MSP's First Director

1. What is your educational background?
2. What was your work experience before you became director?
3. How did MSP begin?
4. In your newsletters you use the word community development. How would you define that term in relation to MSP?
5. What did MSP identify as the most immediate needs of the people of Morgan and Scott counties?
6. How congruent were your personal perceptions of needs with those of the MSP council?
7. With the Resource Advisory Council?
8. What were your original intentions for the project?
9. How would you describe the people that MSP served?
10. How would you describe the people that made up the MSP Council?
11. How would you describe the people that made up the Advisory Council?
12. How would you describe the volunteers? (local and non-local)
13. What was it you actually did as director? (daily routine)
14. How was MSP funded?
15. What changes came about as a result of MSP's efforts?
16. What strategies were used to bring about these changes?
17. Were there strategies that didn't work?
18. Why?

19. Conflict seems to be inevitable in most organizations. What conflict did you experience as director?

    a. With the MSP Council?
    b. With the Resource Advisory Council?
    c. With volunteers?
    d. With paid staff?
    e. With the larger community?

20. When did you decide to leave MSP?

21. What were the precipitating events or circumstances that led to that decision?

22. In your years with MSP would you have done anything different in retrospect? (press for specificity)

23. What skills and abilities do you see as being necessary for anyone wishing to do this kind of community work?

24. What personal values do you consider necessary?

25. Poverty seems to be an ongoing reality in Morgan and Scott counties. What are the factors that contribute to this poverty in your opinion?

26. Given the complexity of these factors, what strategies or interventions do you feel should be implemented to change things?

27. Where does the church fit in all of this for you?

28. What were the benefits of MSP's church affiliation?

29. Were there any disadvantages? If so, what were they?

Interview Guide For Secretary

1. How did you learn of MSP?
2. What made you decide to accept the job as secretary?
3. How long have you been with the project?
4. What were your expectations of what you would be doing as secretary?
5. What is it you actually do as secretary?
6. How would you describe the people that MSP serves?
7. How would you describe the people that make up the MSP board?
8. How would you describe the people that make up the Advisory Board?
9. How would you describe the people who volunteer?
10. You've been with the project almost since the beginning. What changes have taken place during this time?
11. How do you view these changes?
12. Sometimes changes can create conflict. What conflicts have you experienced as secretary?
13. What kinds of skills and abilities are necessary to be an effective secretary with MSP?
14. What personal values do you think are necessary?
15. What kinds of things would you like to see happen at MSP?
16. What kinds of changes would have to take place for this to come about?
17. There seems to be a lot of poor families in Morgan and Scott counties. Why do you think this is so?
18. What would have to happen to turn this around?
19. How could the project play a role in this effort?
20. Where does the church fit in all of this for you?

21. What are the benefits of MSP's church affiliation?

22. Do you see any disadvantages? If so, what are they?

Interview Guide For Board Members

1. How did you first learn of MSP?
2. How did you become a board member?
3. What made you decide to become a board member?
4. How long have you been with the project?
5. What were your expectations of what you would be doing as a board member?
6. Were those expectations accurate?
7. What is it you actually do as a board member?
8. How long do you anticipate serving as a board member?
9. Do you serve on the board or are you a volunteer for any other organizations?
10. How would you describe the people that MSP serves?
11. How would you describe the people who volunteer?
12. How would you describe the people that make up the Advisory Board?
13. How would you describe the people that make up the MSP Board?
14. What kinds of changes have taken place since you've been with the project?
15. How do you view these changes?
16. Sometimes change can create conflict. What conflict have you experienced as a board member?
17. What kind of skills and abilities do you think are necessary to be an effective board member?
18. What personal values do you think are necessary?
19. What kinds of things would you like to see happen at MSP?
20. What kinds of changes would have to take place for this to come about?

21. There seem to be a lot of poor families in Morgan and Scott counties. Why do you think this is so?

22. What would have to happen to turn the situation around?

23. How could the project play a role in this effort?

24. Where does the church fit in all of this for you?

25. What are the benefits of MSP's church affiliation?

26. Do you see any disadvantages? If so, what are they?

Interview Guide For Volunteers

1. How did you first learn of MSP?
2. What made you decide to become a volunteer?
3. How long have you been with the project?
4. What were your expectations of what you would be doing as a volunteer?
5. Were those expectations accurate?
6. What is it you actually do as a volunteer?
7. How long do you anticipate serving as a volunteer?
8. Do you serve as a volunteer for any other organizations?
9. How would you describe the people that MSP serves?
10. How would you describe the people that make up the MSP board?
11. How would you describe the people that make up the Advisory Board?
12. How would you describe the people who volunteer?
13. What kinds of changes have taken place since you've been with the project?
14. How do you view these changes?
15. Sometimes changes can create conflict. What conflict have you experienced as a volunteer?
16. What kinds of skills and abilities do you think are necessary to be an effective volunteer?
17. What personal values do you think are necessary?
18. What kinds of things would you like to see happen at MSP?
19. What kinds of changes would have to take place for this to come about?
20. There seems to be a lot of poor families in Morgan and Scott counties. Why do you think this is so?

21. What would have to happen to turn this around?

22. How could the project play a role in this effort?

23. Where does the church fit in all of this for you?

24. What are the benefits of MSP's church affiliation?

25. Do you see any disadvantages? If so, what are they?

VITA

Frederick Folger MacDonald was born June 26, 1945, in Medina, New York. He attended Royalton Hartland Central School in Middleport, New York, graduating in 1963. He studied Voice at the Mannes College of Music and graduated in 1969 with a Bachelor of Science Degree in Music. After living in Germany for four and one-half years, he returned to the United States and attended the University of Tennessee School of Social Work, Nashville Branch, graduating in 1977 with a Master of Science Degree in Social Work. After seven years of direct practice in Chattanooga, Tennessee, with the Chattanooga Psychiatric Clinic and Family and Children's Services of Greater Chattanooga, he returned in 1983 to the University of Tennessee College of Social Work in Knoxville, Tennessee, to enter the doctoral program. Mr. MacDonald presently resides in Kalamazoo, Michigan, and teaches in the Western Michigan University School of Social Work.