ED 093 552

RC. 008 012

AUTHOR .

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A Study of Cultural Values Influencing Educational

Programming in West Virginia.

PUB DATE %

HOTE

119p.; Ph.D. Dissertation, Walden University

BDRS PRICE DESCRIPTORS

HF-\$0.75 HC-\$5.40 PLUS POSTAGE

*Affective Behavior: *Cultural Factors: Extension
Agents: *Extension Education: Program Effectiveness:
*Rural Education: Rural Extension: Sensitivity
Training: *Social Values: Sociocultural Patterns:
State Surveys

IDENTIFIERS

*Appalachia: West Virginia

ABSTRACT

Recognizing the persistence of the cultural underlay permeating West Virginia life styles today, the research covered. three areas: (1) cultural values identified with Appalachian culture endorsed by West Virginia Extension Agents and reflected in their work, (2) cultural values that reflect a distinctive appalachian subgulture, and (3) to what extent the endorgement of these values is associated with effectiveness in extension work. The reflection and endorsement of nine selected Appalachian cultural values (families, love of home place, neighborliness, individualism, personalism, modesty, sense of humor, religion, and traditionalism) in educational programming of extension agents in West Virginia (an Appalachian State); North Dakota (a rural State); and New Jersey (an urban State) were discussed. Data were obtained from the total field agent population in the three States. Comparison of means, frequencies, and percentages of response to the instrument were utilized for analysis of differences between States and groups within States. The study concluded that: (1) West Virginia agents were sensitive to and endorsed Appalachian cultural values, especially the individualism cluster: (2) differences in the endorsement of cultural values among the three States agents indicated the continued existence of an Appalachian subculture; and (3) a substantial relationship was found among age, tenure, and effectiveness of West Virginia agents -- the older and more experienced agents were more sensitive. (KM)

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ABSTRACT

A STUDY OF CULTURAL VALUES INFLUENCING EDUCATIONAL PROGRAMMING IN WEST VIRGINIA

Ву

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B. S., Berea College, 1951

M. Ed., University of Maryland, 1955

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Dissertation Submitted in Partial Fulfillment of The Requirements for the Degree of ' Doctor of Philosophy

> Walden University 1974

A STUDY OF CULTURAL VALUES INFLUENCING EDUCATIONAL PROGRAMMING IN WEST VIRGINIA

In recognition of the apparent persistence of the cultural underlay permeating in varying degrees the life style of West Virginians today, the research problem was three-fold. (1) Which of the cultural values identified with Appalachian culture are endorsed by West Virginia Extension Agents and reflected in their work?

(2) Which of these cultural values seem to reflect a distinctive Appalachian subculture? (3) To what extent is endorsement of these values associated with effectiveness in extension work?

Procedure

The study was conceptualized in a context in which culture was broadly conceived as a way of life and the distinctive value structure guiding Appalachian behavior, reflecting the ontological and cosmological framework underlying the Appalachian way of life.

The reflection and endorsement of nine selected Appalachian cultural values in educational programming of extension agents in West Virginia, an Appalachian state; North Dakota, a rural, non-Appalachian state;

and New Jersey, an urban, non-Appalachian state were assessed.

Data were obtained from total field agent population of the three study states. Therefore, comparison of means, frequencies, and percentages of response to the instrument were utilized for analysis of differences between states and groups within states.

Findings

1. West Virginia agents were found to be sensitive to and endorse Appalachian cultural values with greatest sensitivity being related to the Individualism cluster of cultural values.

Sensitivity to cultural values was considerably influenced by age and tenure of agents.

2. Differences in the endorsement of Appalachian cultural values among West Virginia, North Dakota, and New Jersey agents indicated the continued existence of an Appalachian subculture in varying degrees.

Significant differences were found in the degree of cultural variability within West Virginia characterizing the heterogeneity of the Appalachian region.

3. A substantial relationship was found among age, tenure, and effectiveness of West Virginia agents.

Older, more experienced, more effective agents were found to be more sensitive to Appalachian cultural values in

extension educational programming.

ability of the development of a training program to sensitize young extension agents to the cultural values of the region on a functional programming level. Training designed to fit educational programs into the cultural context of clientele, training in the identification and understanding of the heterogeneous character of the Appalachian subculture, and development of respect and appreciation for Appalachian cultural values would serve as basic components of such a program.

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ACKNOWLEDGEMENTS

The product of social research is always the result of the cooperative effort of many individuals. For this 1 am indebted to all who have shared in this project. Special thanks go to Walden University and its faculty for the forward looking program which provided opportunity for pursuing advanced study.

Special appreciation is due my advisor, Dr. Robert W. Miller, who provided professional counsel and patient understanding in guiding the research project and to the staff of the Office of Research and Development at West Virginia University for their support.

Further appreciation goes to Dean Ronald L. Stump for granting study leave and overall backing in the project; to the administrative staff of the West Virginia University Appalachian Center for their cooperation and assistance and to my colleagues who shared in the study; to Director John Gerwig and the field staff of the New Jersey Cooperative Extension Service; to Director Johnsrud and the field staff of the North Dakota Extension Service; to the National Association of Extension Home Economists for their advanced study fellowship; and to my very efficient typist, Mrs. Leona Woods, for her expertise in

typing my manuscript. Finally, special gratitude to my family who patiently sacrificed to let "Mom do her thing."

TABLE OF CONTENTS

ACKNOWLEDGEMENTS	ii
LIST OF TABLES	v
CHAPTER	
I. INTRODUCTION	1
Culture of the Region Statement of Problem Hypotheses Conceptual Framework	
.II. REVIEW OF LITERATURE	15
The Appalachian Region Appalachian Culture Appalachian Value Pattern Implications for Programming	
III. METHODOLOGY	49
The Sample The Instrument Data Collection Data Processing and Analysis	
IV. FINDINGS	59
V. IMPLICATIONS	83
Implications for Training . Implications for Further Research	
BIBLIOGRAPHY	87
APPENDIX	93
Questionnaire Agent Ranking Guide Enclosure Letter to North Dakota	
iv iv	

LIST OF TABLES

able		Page
1.	Profile of Agents in West Virginia, North Dakota, and New Jersey By Age, Sex, Field of Study, Tenure, Position, and Highest Degree	61
2.	Endorsement of Appalachian Cultural Values Among West Virginia Agents As Measured By Situational State- ments By Age, Sex, and Field of Study	· 63
3.	Endorsement of Appalachian Cultural Values Among West Virginia Agents As Measured By Attitudinal Scale By Age, Sex, and Field of Study	. \66
4./	Endorsement of Appalachian Cultural Values By West Virginia Agents As Measured By Attitudinal Scale	. 68
/5.	Endorsement of Appalachian Cultural Values Among West Virginia, North Dakota, and New Jersey Agents As Measured By Situational State- ments	70
6.	Endorsement of Appalachian Cultural Values Among West Virginia, North Dakota, and New Jersey As Measured By Age, Sex, and Field of Study	. 71
7.	Endorsement of Appalachian Cultural Values Among Morgantown Area and Beckley Area Agents As Measured by Situational Statements and Attitudinal Scale	• 74
8.		. 78
9.	Relationship Between Age and Tenure of West Virginia Agents	. 79

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Table		Page
10.	Endorsement of Appalachian Cultural Values Among West Virginia Agents By Effectiveness and Age Group As Measured By the Situational State- ments and Attitudinal Scale	80
	vi	
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CHAPTER I

INTRODUCTION

Under the captions "The Legacy of Neglect" and "The Realities of Deprivation," the 1964 President's Report of the Appalachian Regional Commission details the many areas in which the Appalachian region lags behind American society. It summarizes its findings as follows:

This then, is Appalachia: a nonurban land with a population over 50 percent rural but less than 10 percent farm; deeply onemployed; all too frequently deprived of the facilities and services of a modern society; dependent on local jurisdictions with an inadequate tax base and too often reliant upon the marginal comforts of a welfare economy.

and then ends with:

... rural Appalachia lags behind rural America; urban Appalachia lags behind urban America; and metropolitan Appalachia lags behind metropolitan America.

Thus it is that Appalachia has become symbolic of poverty to Americans; characterized as a land of poor people amidst rich natural resources. To some observers,

Appalachian Regional Commission, A Report by the President's Appalachian Regional Commission 1964. Appalachia (Washington, D. C.: Government Printing Office, 1964), p. 16.

²<u>Ibid.</u>, p. XVIII.

Appalachia is a prime example of colonialism within our own shores, characterized by long time exploitation of natural and human resources by absentee owners. The yoke of this type of colonialism has resulted in the paradox of the nation's poorest and most deprived populace dwelling amid the nation's richest region in terms of natural resources.

Appalachia has thus been the perennial target of governmental programs designed to help the poor. Efforts have repeatedly encountered limited success, and from all evidence today, the inequities outlined by the Commission's report continue to persist.

Developmental programs need to be based on what people desire with ample provision for their cooperation and participation in decision making. To attain cooperation and participation, the culture must be taken into account. The impetus for this research rises out of the proposition that a major reason why these grograms and

5Ibid.

John Fetterman, "A Bold Idea for a New Appalachia," in Appalachia in the Sixties, ed. by David S. Walls and John B. Stephenson (Lexington: University of Kentucky, 1972), pp. 232-233.

An example of limited success by government was the Homestead Project launched by the Roosevelt administration in the depths of the depression at Arthurdale and Valley Bend, West Virginia. The project, destined to failure, was designed to give assistance to destitute coal miners by transplanting them onto homesteads designed to develop self sufficiency.

others like them have not met with success is because they were imposed upon the people and not developed in the context of their culture and its values. Only when understood in the cultural context and at the level of the people will programs possess the potential for long term corrective action.

As John Friedman, writing on the Perspectives on the Problem of Appalachia, observed in the April, 1968, issue of <u>Appalachia</u>, the official Journal of the Appalachian Regional Commission:

Programs such as these will not be easy to conceive and carry out. They will require a much better understanding of the spatial structure of the Region and of the social and cultural patterns of the communities within it. Programs focused on people rather than objects need to be subtle, diversified, nonbureaucratic, and responsive to their values; they must be conducted by very expert hands. Yet for all the problems they present, they are critical components of a development strategy for a poor region in a rich country.

In a democratic society, programs of corrective action must be based on support of people if they are to be effective. Of the agencies with a record of long time effort in educational programming in the region, the Cooperative Extension Service has been one of the most effective governmental agencies, over a period of time, in

John Friedman, "Poor Regions and Poor Nations," Appalachia, Vol. 1, Number 8 (April, 1968), 17.

working with people in Appalachia. The program has been based on personal interaction with clientele and knowledge translated into practical usage. These characteristics have been deemed necessary for acceptance of education by rural Appalachian people. Secondly, for the most part, indigenous agents, whose effectiveness may well be attributed to their reflection of the cultural values of their clientele, have been developed to carry out the Extension program.

It is the position of this research that the effectiveness of performance of extension agents is related to the attitudes and behavior patterns of the agents and will vary from situation to situation. Furthermore, the attitudes and behavior patterns of indigenous agents are more apt to reflect the value structure of their clientele.

In this research the proposition will be tested that effectiveness of extension agents working in West Virginia is associated with their sensitivity to cultur-

⁷Gertrude Humphreys, Adventures in Good Living (Parsons: McClain Printing, 1972), pp. 303-305; Guy Stewart, A Touch of Charisma (Washington, D. C.: (Library of Congress Catalog Card Number: 71-96038, 1969); Thomas Ford, "The Passing of Previncialism," in The Southern Appalachian Region: A Survey (Lexington: University of Kentucky, 1962).

^{80.} Norman Simpkins, "A Cultural Approach to the Disadvantaged," Marshall University, 1969, p. 9. (Mimeographed.)

ally conditioned attitudes and behavior patterns.

The Culture of the Region

Cultural Origin

Over the years a substantial body of literature has been compiled on the Appalachian subculture, the existence of which has been argued. This research takes the position that the Appalachian subculture continues to persist in varying degrees in the region and failure to recognize this has resulted in ineffective social and educational programming. It has been suggested there are four basic reasons contributing to the Appalachian subculture: (1) the people, who settled the area were rural farm oriented; (2) they have always been isolated—physically, socially and culturally from the rest of the country, and whenever any group is isolated it tends to change less rapidly than other segments of society; (3) the people have always existed on a subsistence economy; and (4) the culture of the region is basically Celtic.

It has been-pointed out that the Celtic (Scotch-Irish) background is perhaps the most significant factor to be considered in viewing the culture of Appalachian people. Although settlers of Anglo-Saxon, Germanic and French descent came into the area, the Celtic culture

^{90.} Norman Simpkins, Mountain Heritage Series, No. 7. Culture (Morgantown: West Virginia University, 1973), pp. 1-7.

tended to absorb them. These Scotch-Irish people came to America from northern Ireland in the early 18th Century. Most came seeking freedom-freedom from religious and economic restraints, and freedom to do much as they pleased. They were unfriendly to the institutions of the day. The patterns of settlement show they were seeking space and solitude. Although considerable numbers were literate, as evidenced by their signing of public documents and possession of books, they abandoned formal education when they took to the woods. This was a choice of profound significance for the mountaineer. They chose freedom and solitude above the accouterments of civilization.

The Scotch-Irish moved into the "out-back" country of the states forming the frontier in the 1700's and gradually filtered into West Virginia and the Appalachian region. They formed a buffer zone between the Colonies and the Indians. 10

It so happened, however, the land these people settled was a rich land--rich in timber, coal, gas, oil, iron ore and other minerals, Hence, the country became a target for exploitive activities of early industrial

^{100.} Norman Simpkins, Mountain Heritage Series, No. 7, Culture (Morgantown: West Virginia University, 1973), pp. 1-7; Loyal Jones, "The Impact of Appalachian Culture on Aspiration" (paper read at an Institute on Expanding Opportunities for Educationally Disadvantaged Students in Graduate School of Social Work, Washington, D. C., June 15-24, 1967).

development. A type of Colonialism prevailed that exploited and deprived people. As the wealth of the land was drained by outside interests, the people were left with limited resources, in addition to being isolated. These factors encouraged the development of a society isolated from mainstream America. The people continue in their old ways, quite content, not knowing the difference. 11

Cultural Change

Photiadias contended that due to the physical make-up, isolation and homogeneity of the mountain culture, the Appalachian region has tended to function as a semi-autonomous social system. The system has retained or modified, independently of the larger American society, a particular set of beliefs and value orientation. The value system is a product primarily of: (1) the value orientation and the beliefs of the early settlers, and (2) the interaction of the people with the environment in relative isolation. He contended that even though the Appalachian culture, a relative simple one, is surrounded by a more complex American culture, the isolation and restriction of interaction leads to the emphasis of some

Night Comes to the Cumberlands (Boston: Little, Brown and Company, 1962); Roy Clarkson, Tumult on the Mountain (Parsons: McClain Printing Company, 1964).

values and the de-emphasis of others. 12 Due to the relative isolation of areas of Appalachia, there has been a differential rate of change between mainstream society and Appalachia. Appalachian people, in many parts of the region, remain much as they were a century-and-a-half ago. Thus, values and traits once held by most Americans live on in varying degrees in Appalachia. 13

Through the years societal changes have taken place influencing the isolation of the region. Among the most important changes occurring in the last few decades have been the rapid improvements in means of mass communication and transportation, employment opportunities in urban centers, and changes in formal education. He because of the cultural deprivation that existed, West Virginia was a place "to be from." The region has been characterized by heavy out-migration. The limited number of in-migrants have tended to be absorbed by the culture.

The heavy out-migration over the last fifty years has formed a major bridge with American society. This, together with radio and television, has impressed the values



¹² John H. Photidias, West Virginians in Their Own State and in Cleveland, Ohio, Research Report 3 (Morgantown: West Virginia University, 1969), p. 30.

¹³Thomas Ford, "The Passing of Provincialism," in The Southern Appalachian Region: A Survey (Lexington: University of Kentucky, 1962).

¹⁴Photidias, West Virginians in Their Own State and in Cleveland, Ohio, p. 33.

of mainstream society upon the residents of the back hollows and rural Appalachian people have become more aware of the standard of living of middle class America. This has raised desires and expectations on the part of the people. Education has been viewed as an instrument for achieving the values of mainstream society. Although Appalachians have been exposed to the same standards of success as low income people throughout the country, the opportunities for achieving success have been less.

As cultural change has taken place, a shifting of values more compatible with mainstream America has occurred. At the same time Appalachian people moved to urban areas in pursuit of success, they found the cultural transition so great they recreated their own communities to soften the adjustment to the urban society. 15

While some values have been more readily displaced by the values of mainstream society, others have been more persistent and resistant to change. The Appalachian in many ways can be considered a marginal man—one foot in Appalachia, the other in mainstream America—and is to be found in varying degrees of transition. 16

^{15&}lt;u>Tbid.</u>, pp. 19-21.

¹⁶H. Lewis, "Fatalism on the Coal Industry?" Mountain Life and Work, December, 1970, pp. 5-15; Berton H. Kaplan, Blue Ridga, An Appalachian Community in Transition, West Virginia University Bulletin, Series 71, No. 7-2 (Morgantown: West Virginia University, 1971), p. 135.

Statement of Problem

In recognition of the apparent persistence of the cultural underlay permeating in varying degrees the life style of West Virginians today, the purpose of the research is to determine: (1) which of the cultural values identified with Appalachian culture are endorsed by West.

Virginia extension agents and reflected in their work;
(2) which of these selected cultural values seem to reflect a distinctive Appalachian subculture; and (3) the extent to which endorsement of these values is associated with effectiveness in extension work.

The findings of the research should provide: (1) insight on the extent to which educational programmers in West Virginia take into consideration cultural values in working with clientele groups; and (2) insight on the relationship between the degree of effectiveness of professional extension agents and the extent to which the value system is given consideration.

The research findings will have specific use in training programs for extension agents working in the Appalachian state. This information will have implications for training for a broad range of educational programmers, community and volunteer leaders and other agency personnel involved in educational programming for people of West Virginia. For the indigenous leader, it will help

and for non-West Virginians it will help in developing the cultural sensitivity necessary for effective programming. Further, these findings should have implications for performance evaluation of extension agents.

It is felt that the successful implementation of quality programs can be measurably increased through a better understanding of the nature of the relationship between an educational programmer's recognition of the value system of the people and his or her effectiveness. This understanding will enable educators to more understandingly function in the culture, recognizing the importance of their values. At the same time it will enable educators to achieve the overall objective of helping people gain fuller participation in society and more adequately share in its benefits.

Hypotheses

- 1. Appalachian cultural values are reflected in the educational programming of extension agents in West Virginia.
- 2. The reflection of Appalachian cultural values in the educational programming of extension agents is distinctive to West Virginia as compared to non-Appalachian states.
 - 3. Effective educational programmers in West

Virginia give greater attention to Appalachian cultural values than less effective educational programmers.

For purposes of testing these hypotheses, the cultural values comprising the Appalachian value pattern were: traditionalism, familism, religion, individualism, personalism, neighborliness, love of home place, sense of humor, and modesty in being one's self. The hypothesized uniferences were also tested against the variables of age, sex, native or non-native origin, and experience or training.

Conceptual Framework

Culture, broadly defined, is a way of life. The Appalachian subculture thus embraces those apparent distinctive patterns of living found in the region which may give it an identity and set it apart from mainstream American society. Culture, theoretically conceptualized; is knowledge which exists on a number of interrelated levels. 17 On the most abstract level, culture is the ontology (ideas about the meaning of being) and the cosmology (ideas about the meaning of the universe) of a

Pavid Rothstein, "Culture Creation and Social Reconstruction: The Socio-Cultural Dynamics of Intergroup Contact," American Sociological Review, Vol. XXXVII, Number 6 (December, 1972), pp. 671-678.

and describes the nature of man and the natural of the universe. Ontological and cosmological conceptualizations determine, through questions they all the manifest in the values and norms of a society.

The second level of culture is comprised of values and norms. Values represent the goals of social action and norms represent the rules for attaining those goals. These values and norms are specific to a given culture deprived from the ontological and cosmological conceptualizations. These values give meaning to life in the context of the ontological frame of reference.

On the third level, both the ontological and the normative levels of culture are manifested by the artifacts of the culture. These artifacts are the tangible products of expressed activity.

The focus of attention of this research is on a pattern of selected values that have been suggested as being characteristic of the Appalachian subculture. Students of the culture generally agree that this is the pattern of values most clearly reflected in the culture. 18 Most of the values are not unique to Appalachia but the

¹⁸ For an indepth discussion, see Review of Literature, Chapter II.

cultural distinctiveness is reflected in the pattern of the values. Under the umbrella of traditionalism, three distinct clusters are observable: (1) familism, neighbor-liness and love of home place; (2) individualism, personalism, modesty and being one's self, and sense of humor; and (3) religion.

The following diagram shows how the Appalachian value pattern, with which this research is concerned and included in hypothesis number 2, fits into this conceptual framework.

Level I Ontological and Cosmological Level (Overall meaning to life and Creation)

Level II Values (and Norms)

Appalachian Value Pattern

Traditionalism

Familism

Individualism

Religion "

Neighborliness Love of Home Place Personalism
Modesty and Being
One's Self
Sense of Humor

CHAPTER II

REVIEW OF LITERATURE

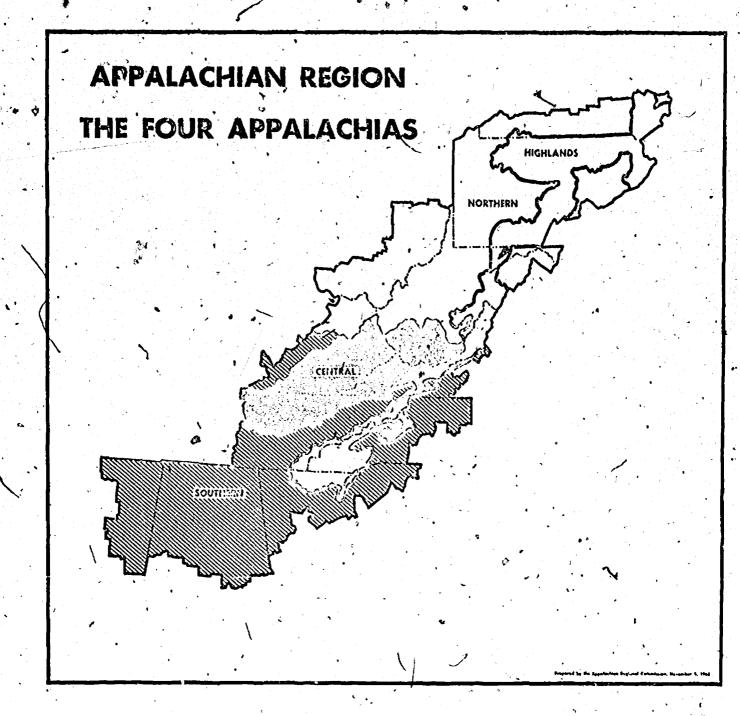
The Appalachian Region

Appalachia is a region set apart both geographically and statistically. Its common tie is its mountainous terrain boldly upthrust between the prosperous eastern seaboard and the industrial Midwest. The Appalachian Regional Commission defines the area as a highland region which sweeps diagonally across thirteen states from Northern Mississippi to Southern New York and divides it into four sub-regions: southern, central, northern, and highlands. Other writers have defined the region in similar ways. 2

Projections of future development of Appalachia while indicating an urbanizing trend show a strong rural persistence. "The growing service economy . . . will mean

Appalachian Regional Commission, The Urban-Rural Growth Strategy in Appalachia. Washington, D. C.: Appalachian Regional Commission, September, 1970. See map, Appalachian Regional Commission.

John C. Campbell, The Southern Highlander and His Homeland (Lexington: University of Kentucky Press, 1921), p. 10; Thomas Ford, "The Passing of Provincialism," in The Southern Appalachian Region: A Survey (Lexington: University of Kentucky, 1962), front cover.





A slight acceleration in the rural to urban shift in W. Va. But W. Va. will still be far more rural than the nation as a whole in 1980." Projecting to the year 2000, Pickard predicts the central zone of the Appalachian region, including all of West Virginia, will continue to be rural; however, the area will be of special interest to planners and officials seeking to solve congestion problems on the eastern seaboard. One of the dangers facing the region is that of replicating the problems in the diffused areas that they will be created to alleviate.

This study is limited to West Virginia, the only state completely in the Appalachian region. Findings, while not generalizable to the totality of the region, are not without regional implications.

Appalachian Culture

Appalachia has been characterized as a region of contrasts. It is comprised of variations in life style, moving from the deep core of relatively great isolation at the center to the fringe areas that have greater access

William H. Miernyk, "West Virginia in 1980; More People and More Jobs," West Virginia University Magazine, Fall, 1973, p. 5.

Jerome Pickard, "Population in Appalachia and the United States: Year 2000," Appalachia, Vol. V, No. 7 (July-August, 19 2), pp. 8-39.

to the large society. Within this spectrum one finds rural and urban families, poverty and affluence, subsistence and commercial farming, coal miners and coal mine owners, alienation and hope, isolation and communication. Br. Earl D. C. Brewer described the region as . . . an interplay between stability and change; isolation and contrast; the primitive and progressive. Where else can one find such contrasts as Elizabethan folklore and atomic reactors; planting by the moon and scientific agriculture; medieval demonology and modern medicine; beliefs that God sends floods to wipe out the sinful as in Noah's time and TVA; the primitive Protestant emphasis on individualism and the overloaded welfare roles?"

At the same time, Photiadis pointed out that due to the physical makeup, isolation and homogeneity of the mountain culture, the Appalachian Region has functioned as a semiautonomous social system. The system retained or modified a particular set of beliefs upon which its

N. M. Hansen, <u>Rural Poverty and the Urban Crises</u>, Bloomington: Indiana University Press, 1971. See also Ford, "The Passing of Provincialism," p. 12.

James E. Montgomery and Grace S. McCabe, "Housing Aspirations of Southern Appalachian Families," Home Economics Research Journal, Vol. II, No. 1 (September, 1973),

Harry Ernst and Charles H. Drake, "The Lost Appalachians," Appalachia in the Sixties, edited by David S. Walls and John B. Stephenson (Lexington: University of Kentucky Press, 1972), p. 5; see also John Campbell, The Southern Highlander and His Homeland, p. XIV.

ideology and value orientations were based. This belief system and its ideology were strongly influenced by two things: (1) the beliefs and value orientations of the early settlers, 8 and (2) the type of interaction patterns fostered by the physical make-up of the region. 9

How much the cultural background and homogeneity of the early settlers, the physical make-up of the region and its isolation from the surrounding culture have contributed to making Appalachia different in beliefs and values from the outside, including rural people elsewhere, is difficult to ascertain. 10

Campbell noted that there are "difficulties in the way of writing of a people, who, while forming a definite geographical and social group, were by no means socially homogeneous." Even so, most people living within Appalachia have come out of the sub-culture and so share it as a background.

BFor a popular description of the early Southern Appalachian Society see Harry M. Caudill, Night Comes to the Cumberlands (Boston: Little, Brown and Co., 1963).

John D. Photiadis, "Rural Southern Appalachia and Mass Society," Change in Rural Appalachia, edited by John D. Photiadis and Harry K. Schwarzweller (Philadelphia: University of Pennsylvania Press, 1970), p. 5.

¹⁰ John D. Photiadis/ West Virginians in Their Own State and in Cleveland, Ohio, Research Report 3 (Morgantown: West Virginia University, Center for Appalachian Studies and Development, 1969), p. 30.

land, p. XIV. The Southern Highlander and His Home-

No culture is simply a collection of traits, but each has its distinctive attributes and emphasis. The distinctive themes of Appalachian culture in earlier days were not difficult to identify, since they attracted the attention of practically all who wrote about the region. In examining the web of mountain life, one finds themes of individualism, traditionalism, fatalism and religion intertwined and generally, though not always, supporting. Most so-called "mountain traits" are to be found in one form or another throughout the nation, particularly in rural areas. 12 Photiadis contended that these same values have occupied a higher rank in the hierarchy of the value orientation of the rural Appalachian as compared to the orientation of those in urban centers and those outside the region. 13

To a considerable extent the popular but erroneous impression of a homogeneous mountain culture stems from the fact that most contemporary studies have been of isolated communities, often selected because they reflected a way of life rapidly disappearing from the remainder of the region. Not only has this bias created a false impression of homogeneity, but it has also tended to obscure the

¹² Ford, "The Passing of Provincialism," pp. 11-12.

¹³ Photiadis, West Virginians in Their Own State and in Cleveland, Ohio, p. 32.

tremendous cultural changes that have been taking place for many years. 1^{l_4}

The Southern Appalachian people, although they may lag in their social and economic development, are living in the twentieth Century. To be sure, they retain the imprint of their rural cultural background, but for the most part their way of life, their beliefs, their fears and their aspirations are not radically different from those of most Americans. 15

Sociologists and anthropologists have long recognized that all parts of the culture do not change at an equal rate. As a general rule, the technological aspects are the first to change, followed more slowly by adaptations of social organization to new techniques. Most resistant to change are the sentiments, beliefs and values of the people. So, we may well surmise that the value systems of Appalachian people may still be rooted in the frontier, even though the base of the economy has shifted from agriculture to industry and commerce, and the people themselves have increasingly concentrated in cities and towns. 16

Many of the value systems which could be considered



¹⁴ Ford, "The Passing of Provincialism," p. 10.

¹⁵ Ibid., p. 34.

^{16&}lt;sub>Ibid.</sub>, p. 9.

characteristic of the early Appalachian society could undoubtedly, in one form or another, be found in other segments of American society. Factors considered to be responsible for differentiating Appalachia from other cultures, or, more generally differentiating between any cultures are the following: (1) variations within a particular type of value system; (2) a combination of certain particular value systems; or (3) the particular ranking of value systems in order of importance. These three factors are considered to be the most crucial in differentiating the Appalachian value system from that of main stream society. 17

Even though in the eyes of some scholars it might appear that the value system of an Appalachian culture does not differ from mainstream American culture, the particular pattern of values held by Appalachian people may tend to set the culture apart.

Values may be viewed as basic components of our personality that are developed to a large extent during the early years of our life, and change little during the rest of our life. Values are criteria within an ontological framework which help us decide what is good or bad, right or wrong, important or unimportant and desirable or undesirable. They are basic determinants of behavior and



¹⁷ Photiadis, West Virginians in Their Own State and in Cleveland, Ohio, pp. 29-30.

determine more stable and wider areas of behavior than , attitudes or opinions. Knowledge of the value orientation of a given people provides an understanding of their needs and motivations. Hence, values constitute the basis for the nature and integration of the social system of Appalachia. 18

Lewis observed that Appalachian people, referred to as mountain people, have the ability to assimilate the larger culture if they wish. Her observations depict these people as bicultural, being exposed to values of the greater society as well as to their own heritage. She maintained that they choose values they wish to incorporate into their lives, being ready to accept alternate sets if they should prove more appropriate. 19 Ford in discussing fatalism, also made reference to this ability of Appalachian people to accept whichever set of values that gives most meaning to their immediate situation. 20

Many, perhaps most of the significant social changes that have come about in the mountains have been brought about through migrants bringing back new ideas,

¹⁸ John D. Photiadis and B. B. Maurer, Community Size and Social Attributes in West Virginia, Research Report 5 (Morgantown: West Virginia University, Appalachian Center, 1972), pp. 7-8.

¹⁹H. Lewis, "Fatalism or the Coal Industry," Mountain Life and Work, December, 1970, pp. 5-15.

²⁰ Ford, "The Passing of Provincialism," p. 16.

new patterns, new values, or having their kinship come to their new homes where they learn about outside folkways and norms. "... My collegues and I are convinced that the Appalachian kinship system has in many ways contributed significantly to the adjustment of migrants and to their personal stability. This is an often overlooked and unappreciated function of the Appalachian family."²¹

Studies and observations thus provide ample evidence the factors which contributed to development and maintenance of the Appalachian subculture have to a great extent all but disappeared under the leveling impact of mainstream society over the past fifty years. At the same time, the subculture has demonstrated a remarkable persistence, apparently continuing as a cultural underlay. permeating with varying degrees of intensity, life throughout the region. Hence, apparently contradictory conclusions may be drawn from studies of Appalachia. While on the one hand it is still possible to conduct studies of isolated communities (Brown, Weller, Kaplan, et al.) fully. reflecting the Appalachian subculture of the past, it is equally possible for other natives of the region to move with the greatest ease and freedom in mainstream society without the slightest taint of their cultural heritage



Appalachia in the Sixties, edited by David S. Walls and John B. Stephenson (Lexington: University of Kentucky Press, 1972), pp. 155-156.

showing or professing any personal identity with it. Many residents, thus, are found who no longer identify with or consider themselves Appalachian, yet many of them may still carry much of the Appalachian value pattern. In this they exhibit the long standing (Celtic) cultural characteristic of lacking cultural identity.

It is precisely this heterogeneity of the state of cultural change that lies at the heart of the problem for educational programmers. To be sensitive to the extent to which the cultural heritage is operative among those where least evident or expected, and to be able to function effectively among those where fully in evidence is the challenge confronting those who would be involved in the development of the region.

Appalachians retain those cultural values and life patterns of substance in the past and of meaning today and not become lost as part of the price of greater participation in mainstream society. The depersonalization accompanying increasing urbanization of society is of ever growing concern. In the face of this, the importance of retaining the person orientation, family and kin relationships and basic religious beliefs which give meaning to life is of increasing significance today. Herein, the Appalachian subculture may have much to contribute to the urbanized culture of mainstream America.

Appalachian Value Pattern

Writers²² on Appalachian culture generally concur on the predominant pattern of values characterizing the way of life of Appalachian people. Among these are traditionalism, familism, neighborliness, love of home place, individualism, personalism, modesty and being one's self, sense of humor and religion.

As indicated in the conceptual framework the pattern of values with which we are concerned may be systematically considered in the following manner: under the umbrella of traditionalism, three distinct clusters of values emerge. These will be discussed individually.

Traditionalism

As recent as 1970, Brown, Schwarzweller, and Mangalam found in their studies of Beech Creek, Kentucky, that "... traditionalism, in short, served as the standard



Jack E. Weller, Yesterday's People (Lexington: The University Press of Kentucky, 1971); O. Norman Simpkins, Mountain Heritage, Series 7, Culture (Morgantown: West Virginia University, 1973); Loyal Jones, "The Impact of Appalachian Culture on Aspiration": Revision of a paper read at an institute on Expanding Opportunities for Educationally Disadvantaged Students in Graduate Schools of Social Work (Washington, D. C., June 15-24, 1967); Loyal Jones, "Appalachian Values," Appalachians Speak Uo, Compiled by Irmgard Best (Berea, Kentucky, 1972); James S. Brown, Harry K. Schwarzweller, and J. J. Mangalam, Mountain Families in Transition (Philadelphia: The Pennsylvania State University Press, 1971); Berton H. Kaplan, Blue Ridge, An Appalachian Community in Transition, West Virginia University, 1971); Ford, "The Passing of Provincialism."

of standards, the legitimating principle integrating the various elements of culture and social structure and thereby tending to protect the integrity of this system, maintaining stability, and warding off the system-disturbing influences of modernization."²³ They indicated traditionalism lay back of every aspect of the Beech Creek culture, sanctioning and accounting for the behavior, attitudes, and valued ideas of the people. Most of the beliefs and practices were handed down relatively intact from one generation to another, and because they were the beliefs and practices of fathers and forefathers, they were deemed right; they were prescriptions to be followed.

At the same time, Ford observed that traditionalism is a cultural trait that seems strangely out of place in a national society that so highly prizes progress, achievement and success. However prevalent and strong this value was a generation ago, there is evidence that it has substantially weakened in recent decades. 24

As long ago as 1899 the people were characterized as "contemporary ancestors," 25 and a few years later

²⁵William G. Frost, "Our Contemporary Ancestors in The Southern Mountains," Atlantic Monthly, LXXXIII (March, 1899), pp. 311-19.



Harry K. Schwarzweller, James S. Brown, and J. J. Mangalam, Mountain Families in Transition (University Park and London: The Pennsylvania State University Press, 1971), p. 67.

²⁴ Ford, "The Passing of Provincialism," pp. 15-16.

Kephart described the mountaineer as being bound to the past in an amazing way: "their adherence to old ways is stubborn, sullen and perverse to a degree that others cannot comprehend." 26

As recent as 1970, Weller characterized them as "yesterday's people." He observed that while much of American culture has faced so many changes within the last hundred years as to leave many people virtually rootless, mountain life, as it has continued more or less in its static way, has preserved the old traditions and ideas. 27,

While writers have generally agreed that traditionalism is a dominant value of Appalachian culture, they have not always recognized its interdependence with the religious faith which is perhaps the most important factor which gives meaning to life (ontology) of Appalachian people.

Familism

Brown and Schwarzweller²⁸ indicated that the Appalachian family tended to emphasize family traditions. Patterns of behavior, attitudes, the manner of dealing with



²⁶Horace Kephart, Our Southern Highlands (New York: Outing Publishing Company, 1913), p. 23.

²⁷ Weller, Yesterday's People, p. 33.

²⁸ James Brown and Harry K. Schwarzweller, "The Appalachian Family," Change in Rural Appalachia, eds. John D. Photiadis and Harry K. Schwarzweller (Philadelphia: University of Pennsylvania Press, 1970), pp. 85-97.

everyday problems and crises as well as interfamily friendship ties, tend to remain very similar generation after generation, within a given family.

The Appalachian family is less child centered than the average American family; mountain parents are not as permissive, Brown observed, or as non-directive and there is more reliance on physical punishment. The extended family provides additional outlets for fulfillment of children's emotional needs and affection. Children are brought up by parents but kinsfolk share affectional roles Life in Appalachia, especially during frontier with them. times, made it necessary for kin group members to look to each other for many things and to count on each other in times of crises. As a result, the mountaineer holds a deep respect and abiding loyalty to kinsfolk; "this alone may be the key distinguishing feature of the Appalachian family."29

Dr. Robert Coles, eminent Harvard psychiatrist, was quoted in a newspaper account of a tour through Kentucky as observing: "Since families mean a lot, in old age they continue to mean a lot. The elderly are usually spared that final sense of abandonment and uselessness so commonly the fate of the middle-class suburban aged." 30

^{29&}lt;sub>Ibid., p. 94</sub>.

³⁰ Article, Lexington Leader, July, 1967.

Weller noted that the only big planned social event in the life of the mountaineer is the family reunion, sometimes attended by several hundred persons.

The reunion is usually characterized by sumptuous food, singing, preaching and, or addresses by political figures. 31

Brown concluded in his work with migrant families that the family not only performs the function of telling potential migrants at home about job opportunities and motivating them to move to the city, but educates and socializes them after they arrive so they know how to behave in the greater society. 32

The extended family provides the individual with a haven of safety in time of economic crises and a social psychological cushion in time of personal stress. Recent evidence suggests that traditional patterns of family behavior are being disturbed and that stability of the rural Appalachian family is being threatened by the forces of change. There is little doubt that "the Appalachian family and the familistic orientations of mountaineers will play increasingly important roles in facilitating or hindering the processes of future regional development." 33

³¹ Weller, Yesterday's People, p. 49.

³² Brown, "Family Behind the Migrant," p. 154.

p. 83. Brown and Schwarzweller, "The Appalachian Family,"

Neighborliness

Closely related to the value of familism and the extended family is the mountaineer's basic quality of neighborliness and hospitality. Jones saw this basic value as somewhat augmenting the strong independence of mountain people. Frontier conditions made it necessary for people to help each other to build houses, raise barms, share work and provide shelter and food for travelers. No greater compliment could be paid a mountain family than referring to them as being "clever." This did not refer to cunningness or intelligence, but it indicated they were hospitable and generous with food and lodging. 34

Love of Home Place

Mountain people never really forget their place of native origin and many return as often as possible. The home place is symbolic of the family and reinforces the fierce family loyalty felt by the mountaineer. There seems to be a sentimental tie with the people and experiences associated with the home place. Simpkins noted that the strong attachment to the land and love of the



Jones, "Appalachian Values," p. 113; O. Norman Simpkins, Mountain Heritage Series 7, Culture (Morgantown: West Virginia University, 1972), pp. 6-7; Wylene P. Dial, Mountain Heritage Series 6, Language (Morgantown: West Virginia University, 1972), p. 3.

hills marks every holiday with large numbers of cars, bearing out-of-state license plates, returning to visit home and kin. The tie seems to continue long after they have left the area. Further evidence to support this strong attachment is the large numbers of people brought back from urban areas and nearby states for burial. 35

Individualism

Individualism accompanied by self reliance are perhaps the most obvious characteristics of mountain people as observed by Campbell. He saw in the Southern Appalachian, an American, a rural dweller of the agricultural class, and a mountaineer who is still more or less of a pioneer. His dominant trait is independence raised to the fourth power.

Heredity and environment have conspired to make him an extreme individualist. While railroads and high-ways joined the life of the urban Appalachian to that of the rest of the country over a century of time, the rural Appalachian remained isolated and the existence of the pioneer persisted. His independence became intensified. Circumstances forced him to depend upon his own action until he came to consider independent action not only as



³⁵ Ibid., p. 12 and p. 4.

³⁶ Campbell, The Southern Highlander and His Homeland, pp. 90-91.

a prerogative but a duty. He was the law, not only in the management of affairs within the home, but in the relation of the home to the world without.

campbell further noted that time was of little importance to the mountaineer; tomorrow would do as well as today. Discipline was exceedingly hard for him to endure and he was very apt to be homesick when long away from the mountains. Outsiders found it irritating to have plans interrupted for no reason other than that the mountaineer who had promised to help him "just naturally; got out of the notion."

As Turner observed nearly a century ago in his writings of the traits manifested on the frontier, "We are not easily aware of the deep influence of this individualistic way of thinking about our present condition. It persists in the midst of a society that has passed away from the conditions that occasioned it." 38

In his analysis of individualism, Kephart put it this way: "Here then is a key to much that is puzzling in highland character. In the beginning, isolation was forced upon the mountaineers; they accepted it as inevitable and lore it with stocial fortitude until in time



^{37 &}lt;u>Ibid.</u>, pp. 93-121.

Turner, "The Significance of the Frontier in American History" in Report of the Historical Association, 1893, pp. 199-227.

they came to love solitude for its own sake and to find compensation in it for lack of society."39

A half century later, Weller noted that since hollows where families lived were separated from other hollows and communication was limited, each household tended to live a separate life. Through the years this has caused the mountaineer to come to admire the man who was most independent, both economically and socially. The independent and self reliant spirit remains a valuable asset of any people. 40

Brown, in his-Beech Creek studies, concluded that individualism was an obvious characteristic of the personality and "... appeared to have been derived from the basic tenents of puritanism coupled with a firm belief in the ultimate rightness of democracy. It provided the Beech Creeker with an unsettling, but driving strength." 41

Personalism

Weller has insightfully pointed out that personalism is a style of life in the mountains and that the Appalachian person's primary goal is to have a meaningful relationship with other members in his family and peer



³⁹ Kephart, Our Southern Highlands, p. 306.

⁴⁰ Weller, Yesterday's People, p. 30.

⁴¹ Schwarzweller, Brown, and Mangalam, Mountain Families in Transition, p. 214.

group. He is more aware of person-to-person relationships than of a time schedule which must be kept. Each contact is a person to person encounter that takes time. 42

Jones observed: "Mountain people tend to accept persons as they are. They may not always like other individuals, but they are able to tolerate them. They tend to judge others on a personal basis rather than on how they look, their credentials or accomplishments." 43 A high value is placed on the relationships that exist with other people.

Appalachian people ". . . see other people as whole individuals," observed Simpkins in his writing on personalism. Unlike the urban oriented individual who tends to see other people as objects in specific roles, the Appalachian sees the whole person without much role definition. 44

Modesty

Most mountain people are modest about their abilities. It is difficult to determine whether this modesty
is genuine or is a social mannerism. The mountaineer
believes he is as good as anyone else but no better. Jones



⁴²Weller, Yesterday's People, pp. 53-57.

⁴³ Jones, "Appalachian Values," pp. 114-115.

⁴⁴ Simpkins, Mountain Heritage Series 7, Culture, p. 9.

This belief in equality coupled with his tendency to be satisfied with whatever fate deals him, has almost completely removed any competetiveness from his makeup. He further contended that mountaineers have a pretty realistic view of themselves—they never believed that man could be perfect. Weller further observed that the Appalachian will go to great lengths to avoid situations where a difference of opinion exists.

Sense of Humor

Humor has sustained mountain people in hard times. Jones saw the mountain man's humor being tied to his concept of man and the human condition. The mountaineer sees humor in man's pretensions to power and perfection and in his inevitable failures. Simpkins brought out that a practical joking kind of humor still exists in the region, particularly in the rural areas. 46

The humor of Appalachian people is often reflected in their song, story, and speech, for it is here that they have mastered the simils and metaphor. Dial stated that "... speakers of Southern Mountain dialect are past

⁴⁵ Jones, "Appalachian Values," pp. 116-117; Jones, "The Impact of Appalachian Culture on Aspiration"; Weller, Yesterday's People, p. 47.

⁴⁶ Jones, "Appalachian Values," p. 12; Simpkins, Mountain Heritage Series 7, Culture, p. 118.

masters of the art of coining vivid descriptions. Their everyday conversation is liberally sprinkled with such gems as: 'That man is so contrary, if you throwed him in a river he'd float upstream!' or 'She walks so slow they have to set stakes to see if she's a-movin'!'"

Religion

Religious values so thoroughly permeate the culture of the Appalachian region that it is impossible to treat meaningfully any aspect of life without taking them into consideration. Because these religious values underlie so many attitudes and beliefs, they exert complex and frequently subtle influences on behavior which are not always apparent to outside observers or even to the people themselves. 48

Writers are generally agreed that the culture of the people is intertwined with their religious faith. Hill, in discussing southern Protestanism wrote, "...formal theological propositions are always filtered through cultural experience ... the religious factor is not official creeds but what people perceive the church's truth-claims to be, in line with the complex of assumptions and pictures with which cultural participation has



⁴⁷ Dial, Mountain Heritage Series 6, Language, p. 7.

⁴⁸ Ford, "The Passing of Provincialism," pp. 21-22.

equipped them."⁴⁹ Hudson saw the religious belief system of the rural South being enmeshed with the larger culture. Salvation was seen as pivotal for the fundamentalist Christian belief-system and it enabled the individual to "... make some kind of sense out of the world in which he finds himself."⁵⁰ Nelson has concluded that the "consequences of the enmeshing of the religious and the more general culture in the South should be assessed."⁵¹

In a study of religion in West Virginia, Photiadis observed that "If one were to consider one significant part of Appalachian culture which appears to be more typically Appalachian than other parts, undoubtedly it would be Appalachian religion." He also pointed out that "... small size, homogeneity and isolation are attributes which form the building of a community social system characterized by high cohesiveness and, in turn, favors preservation of old institutional forms, including those associated to religion and resistent to change. In other



⁴⁹ Samuel S. Hill, "The South's Two Cultures," in Samuel S. Hill, Jr., et al., Religion and the Solid South (Nashville, Tennessee: Abingdon Press, 1972), p. 32.

⁵⁰Charles Hudson, "The Structure of the Fundamentalist Christian Belief System" in Samuel S. Hill, et al., Religion and the Solid South (Nashville, Tennessee Abingdon Press, 1972), pp. 135-36.

⁵¹ Hart M. Nelson, Thomas W. Madron, and Karen Steward, "Image of God and Religious Ideology and Involvement: A Partial Test of Hill's Southern Culture-Religion Thesis, Review of Religious Research, Vol. XV, No. 1 (Fall, 1973), p. 43.

words, there was, and to an extent still is, a tendency in the small community to retain the religion of the early settlers."⁵² Brown and Sc warzweller found in their Beech Creek studies that while puritanism of the people was not exactly the same as that of early settlers, it was nevertheless a form of puritanism, and that it was woven into one of the fundamental value complexes in the culture. A belief prevailed that every man should be economically independent and that poverty was due to individual failings. Thus, the "belief system not only legitimized but sanctioned the individual's drive toward economic success, his concern for the future and repression of immediate desires, his hard work and his conviction that he had within himself the power to 'become'."⁵³

oped in the mountains in response to the same circumstances that were responsible for the other-wordly emphasis of mountain religion. Both philosophies share the premise that life is governed by external forces over which humans have little or no control. This belief seemed necessary to withstand the harshness of mountain life. 54 Simpkins



⁵² John Photiadis and B. B. Maurer, Religion in an Appalachian State, Research Publication No. 6 (Morgantown: West Virginia University, 1974); p. 1.

⁵³ Schwarzweller, Brown, and Mangalam, Mountain Families in Transition, pp. 61-63.

⁵⁴ Ford, "The Passing of Provincialism," p. 16.

referring to this same characteristic put it in a muchmore positive light by calling it "situational realism."

Maurer 55 observed "the heart of our mountain heritage lies in our religious faith . . . it was religion that gave meaning to the mountain way of life."

Jones contended that

One has to understand the religion of the mountaineer before he can begin to understand mountaineers. In the beginning we were Presbyterians, Episcopalians, and other formally organized denominations, but these churches required and educated clergy and centralized organization, impractical requirements in the wilderness, and so locally autonomous sects grew up. These individualistic churches stressed the fundamentals of the faith and depended on local resources

and leadership.

Many social reformers . . . view the local sect churches as a hindrance to social progress. What they fail to see is that it was the church which helped sustain us and made life worth living in grim situations. Religion shaped our lives, but at the same time we shaped our religion. Culture and religion are intertwined. The life on the frontier did not allow for an optimistic social gospel. One was lucky if he endured. Hard work did not bring a sure reward. Therefore the religion became fatalistic and stressed rewards in another life. The important thing was to get religion--get saved--which meant accepting Jesus as one's personal savior. was and is a realistic religion which fitted a realistic people. It is based on belief in the Original Sin, that man is fallible, that he will fail, does fail. We mountaineers readily see that the human tragedy is this, that man sees so clearly what he should do and what he should not do and yet he fails so consistently. . . . There is strong belief in the Golden Rule. These beliefs, and variations on them, have sustained



⁵⁵B. B. Maurer, Mountain Heritage Series, No. 4, Religion (Morgantown: West Virginia University, 1972), pp. 7-10.

us, have given our lives meaning and have helped us to rationalize our lack of material success. Every group of people must have meaning in their lives, must believe in themselves. Religion helps to make this belief possible. There are few Appalachian atheists. . . . Many of the values and beliefs have religious origins."56

Kaplan, in his description of the religious life in Blue Ridge, most insightfully showed the direct relationship of the religious faith to the behavior of the residents. "Much of their religious service is concerned with open talk about low social and economic status, but they believe that the mansion of heaven will compensate them for their low positions. Indeed, many believe that suffering makes them holier in this life." 57

Implications for Programming

Goodenough stated that a community whose members have strong emotional bonds with one, another through joint participation in traditional activities is likely to be conservative regarding any changes they feel threaten existing ties. Proposals for community development that threaten activities or objects having this kind of meaning for people are sure to be met with resistance. Concerted action in resistance may result in development of com-



⁵⁶ Jones, "Appalachian Values," pp. 110-111.

⁵⁷Berton H. Kaplan, Blue Ridge, An Appalachian Community in Transition, Office of Research and Development (Morgantown: West Virginia University, 1971), p. 121.

munity spirit and promote even more resistance to the proposed change. 58

Likewise, Mead⁶⁰ observed, "There is no possible prescription except this insistence upon taking into account the culture and the situation and the individual involved."

What implications do the beliefs and values of the Appalachian people, as herein presented, hold for those who are actively working to promote social and economic change in the region? The late Howard Odum observed more than a quarter of a century ago with reference to the entire South: "To attempt . . . to reconstruct its



⁵⁸Ward H. Goodenough, Cooperation in Change (New York; Russell Sage Foundation, 1963), p. 91. See also Max Glenn, Appalachia in Transition (St. Louis: Bethany, 1970).

⁵⁹Goodenough, Cooperation in Change, pp. 98-99.

⁶⁰ Margaret Mead, Cultural Patterns and Technical Change, ed. Margaret Mead, Λ Mentor Book (The New American Library, 1955), p. 289.

⁶¹ Howard Odum, Southern Region of the United States (Chapel Hill, North Carolina, 1936), p. 499.

agriculture and economy without coming to grips with its folk culture and attitudes would be quite futile."

Miller, 62 writing on conducting programs in Appalachia, observed that "... since the concerns and values of low-income people may vary from those of people in the mainstream of society, programs will need to be skillfully designed in ways which appeal to such concerns if their participation is to be sustained once it is obtained," and "... program planners need to understand and take full account of the attitudes, concerns and environmental circumstances of the low-income groups for which programs are intended."

The Appalachian value pattern is an overriding influence in the "way of life" in many parts of the Appalachian region. This value pattern influences in many respects the individual and collective activities of the people in Appalachia—even in the cities and urban communities. In view of the lack of research findings on the extent of the adjustment in value patterns of upwardly mobile Appalachians in urbanized society over extended periods of time, a serious gap exists in our understanding of the process of cultural assimilation. To understand



Robert W. Miller, Beryl Johnson, Wil Smith, and Frederick Zeller, Approaches to University Extension Work with the Rural Disadvantaged, Office of Research and Development (Morgantown: West Virginia University, 1962), p. 134.

the influence of the Appalachian value pattern is al important requisite to understanding the region. All studies and programs, therefore, for Appalachia should begin on this premise. ". . Success in dealing with the Appalachian culture, on a long time premise, will come with adoption of programs which adapt to the culture."

Forest⁶⁴ suggested "... analyzing programming situations according to the prevalent societal volues because our values give meaning, perspective, and importance to the needs, new technical ideas, or actions we experience."

It is important that agents of change learn the culture of his clients in order to be able to design intelligent programs for change and forsee the new problems that such changes will bring. His ability to learn the culture is enhanced if he has some idea what faces him. It is important to be aware of the kinds of cultural differences that exist and of the pitfalls to understanding and communication that they create. 65



Appalachia" (paper presented to the Commission on Religion in Appalachia, Knoxville, Tennessee, October 17-19, 1966), p. 4.

⁶⁴ Laverne B. Forest, "Using Values to Identify Program Needs," Journal of Extension, Vol. XI, No. 3 (Fall, 1973), p. 25.

⁶⁵ Goodenough, Cooperation in Change, p. 453.

Many of a people's customary beliefs provide the axiomatic underpinnings for the values explicit in their social order. Personal value orientations, on the other hand, tend to remain unverbalized. It is no simple matter to tailor one's program to local values, since values shift from one setting to another. 67

Understanding the social values of a people is the key to understanding their culture. People evaluate programs in keeping with their scale of values. If something represents what they deem important, the weight of tradition and group sentiment will be behind it. If, on the other hand, a program has little connection with what is considered important, it is in for a difficult time. One approach is to interpret the program so that it will tie in directly with the primary social values of the area. 68

Goodenough maintained that in whatever guise it may appear, it is safe to say that the missionary approach to development, in which an agent's objectives is to change others lives according to his values, can succeed only when the clients have decided that these are the values they wish to live by. "Development planning aimed at



^{66&}lt;sub>Ibid., p. 99.</sub>

^{67&}lt;u>Ibid.</u>, p. 102.

⁶⁸ Irwin T. Sanders, <u>Making Good Communities Better</u> (Lexington: University of Kentucky Press, 1950), p. 27.

transmitting the agent's values to his clients is almost certain to fail." If the object is to help people improve their material and psychological well-being, then there is need to try to bring about changes in their social order and the values by which they live only insofar as they function to prevent improvement in one's clients' own sense of well-being. Whenever one group seeks to impose rules of conduct on other groups that are incompatible with the latter's values, systematic evasion results. 69

Mead⁷⁰ observed "When the particular values of a given culture are to be used as a vehicle for change, such a use should be planned and applied by those members of the culture who share the belief or the aspiration which is to be used." If members of the group do the planning, they will be "adapting their own beliefs, quoting their own texts, restructuring their own lives . . " in accordance with their common goals. "If the people themselves, steeped in the traditional wisdom of their culture, transform the new ideas into new impressions of their way of life then the dangers of lack of spontaneity, falseness, manipulation and degradation can be avoided."

Goodenough, Cooperation in Change, pp. 106-108.

70 Mead, Cultural Patterns and Technical Change,
p. 298.

Thus, a perennial question is: "How can change be introduced with such regard for the culture pattern that human values are preserved?" 71

Where prospects for changes in the institutional structure to accommodate changes in individual aspirations and needs appear to be slight, residents of the region accepting new ideas and developing new drives may appear to be in the position of getting all dressed up with no place to go--except to leave the region. Given this situation, one might argue that if increased expectations on the part of Appalachian people can not be accompanied by increased accomplishments, it could contribute to heightened frustrations and alienation. Thus, the introduction of new ideas into such a system could, in fact, be dysfunctional. 72

One of the things the programmer has to keep in mind in bringing about change in the cultural value structure and life patterns of Appalachia is contained in the judgment of Herman Kahn, "The question of how people are to justify their lives on this earth is one of the most crucial issues of the last third of the twentieth century.



^{71 &}lt;u>Ibid.</u>, p. VII.

⁷²Lewis Donohew and Joanne M. Parker, "Impacts of Educational Change Efforts in Appalachia" (Las Cruces, New Mexico, ERIC, March, 1970), p. 10.

No one has yet the Word. "73

"... How we view ourselves and our relationship to others, the environment and the cosmos is what is important ... rural development is about people, their well being and what they can become."



⁷³ Herman Kahn and B. Bruce Briggs, Things to Come, (New York: McMillian Company, 1972), p. 79.

⁷⁴ James H. Copp, "Rural Sociology and Rural Development." Rural Sociology, Volume XXXVII, No. 4 (December, 1972), p. 519.

CHAPTER III

METHODOLOGY

The research hypotheses guiding the collection and analysis of data were: (1) Appalachian cultural values are reflected in the educational programming of extension agents in West Virginia; (2) the reflection of Appalachian cultural values in the educational programming of extension agents is distinctive to West Virginia as compared to non-Appalachian states; and (3) effective educational programmers in West Virginia give greater attention to Appalachian cultural values than less effective educational programmers.

The general methodological approach to the testing of these hypotheses involved the use of two data collecting instruments designed specifically for this study. A Kluckholm (behavioral) type questionnaire based on behavior response to situations was used to assess the reflection of Appalachian cultural values in educational programming of extension agents. The second instrument was a Likert type attitudinal scale of eighteen items designed to measure the agents' endorsement of Appalachian values. Both instruments were administer 1 to extension agents in West Virginia, an Appalachian state; North Dakota, a rural

non-Appalachian state; and New Jersey, an urban non-Appalachian state. Agent effectiveness in West Virginia was assessed using a seventeen item job related ranking guide covering four areas: competency, leadership, relationships and professionalism. Effectiveness for each item was rated on a five point scale by field administrators.

The response to these instruments and a comparison of responses to the instruments between states and groups within the states of West Virginia, North Dakota, and New Jersey, constituted the major approach to data analysis.

The Sample

The samples included the total county field staff of the Cooperative Extension Service from the states of West Virginia, North Dakota, and New Jersey. North Dakota was selected in order to compare value patterns of agents from a non-Appalachian rural state with rural Appalachian West Virginia. At the same time, New Jersey was selected in order to compare value patterns of agents from a non-Appalachian urban state with West Virginia.

Reasons for selecting Cooperative Extension Service educators for the research included: first, the Coopera-



Field staff, as used in this research, consists of county extension agents, predominately agriculture; home demonstration, predominately home economics; and youth agents.

tive Extension Service program has demonstrated ability and potential in effecting social change through its voluntary participation based programs and provides, therefore, a very appropriate sample for testing the hypotheses. Secondly, the Cooperative Extension Service programs are statewide in scope, reaching a cross section of society—men, women, and children, therefore county extension agents located in every county in the state should more adequately reflect the cultural values of the people in their programs. And, thirdly, more than twenty years of field experience as an extension agent in West Virginia on the part of the researcher provides a familiarity with extension programs, agents, and people of the state, and the implications for practical application of the research findings to extension programs.

Because of the manageable size, the entire population of the extension field staff was included in the study. In West Virginia one area was designated for pretesting.

The Instrument

The problem was conceptualized in a context in which culture was broadly conceived as a way of life and the distinctive value structure guiding Appalachian behavior, reflecting the ontological and cosmological framework underlying the Appalachian way of life. The Appa-

lachian value pattern forming the basis of the research was conceived under the broad umbrella of traditionalism. It consisted of three distinctive clusters: (1) familism, neighborliness and love of home place; (2) individualism, personalism, modesty, and sense of humor; and (3) religion.

As previously indicated the research instrument consisted of a two part questionnaire designed to measure the endorsement and reflection of cultural values through the professional attitudes and behavior of extension agents. The first part of the instrument consisted of a Likert-type attitudinal scale of eighteen items designed to measure the degree of endorsement of Appalachian cultural values. Nine of these were interspersed with nine values reflecting middle class American society. 2

The second part of the questionnaire consisted of a series of nineteen behavioral situations common to extension programming embodying the nine Appalachian cultural values under study. The situations were constructed using the behavioral model of Kluckholm and Strodtbeck as a pattern. Each of the nine cultural values was embodied in two separate behavioral situations. The



² See Appendix 94 for Part I of instrument.

See Appendix 96 for Part II of instrument.

Florence Kluckholm and F. Strodtbeck 1961, "Variations in Value Orientations." An anthropological approach used to measure value orientations in five different cultures.

situational statements representing the same value were separated and interspersed with other situations throughout this part of the questionnaire. Respondents were given alternative answers from which to choose a behavioral response to each situation. The correct response was the behavior most supportive of the cultural value. No attempt was made to distinguish experienced from projected behavior. The nincteen behavioral situations were constructed in consultation with specialists in Appalachian culture.

Further development and refinement of the instrument involved a number of different steps: (1) four groupings of extension agents and former extension agents were selected for extended consultations. Participants were chosen on the basis of their established competency, experience, and familiarity with the cultural patterns of West Virginia people. Each behavioral situation was carefully reviewed and evaluated for relevancy with respect to experience and value reflection; (2) comprehension testing was then conducted with a small group of urban extension home economists; and (3) validity testing with a group of eight engineers of predetermined non-Appalachian value orientation. The instrument was revised and refined



Specialists included scholars in the field of study---anthropologist, sociologist, and Appalachian researcher.

following each successive testing. A final pretest was personally administered in an office situation to twenty-four field agents from six counties in the Charleston area. Based upon the results of the pretest, the instrument was reproduced in final form.

To measure agent effectiveness in West Virginia, a five point rating scale was designed around a cluster of seventeen job related activities reflecting competency, leadership, relationships, and professionalism. A United States Department of Agriculture Extension five point scale was used as a model. The instrument was revised and refined in consultation with two field administrators and one state administrator. Subsequently, the instrument was approved by the Dean and Director of Extension and staff administrators as the instrument for annual staff evaluation in 1974 as well as for this research.

Data Collection

Understanding and legitimization of the research was accomplished through individualized consultation with the Dean and Director of the Cooperative Extension Service and field administrators in West Virginia. The Dean sub-



⁶See Appendix 94 for instrument.

 $^{^{7}\}mathrm{See}$ Appendix 103 for Agent Ranking Guide.

⁸Cooperative Extension Service, "Performance Review Criteria for Program and Management Areas." U.S. Dept. of Agriculture, Washington, D.C. (no date).

sequently legitimized the research with the Directors of Extension in North Dakota and New Jersey, who in turn legitimized it with their field staff. Administrative cooperation was excellent in the development and implementation of the study.

West Virginia data were collected through a personally administered questionnaire to 136 field staff members, 86 per cent of the total West Yirginia field staff, at five regularly scheduled area staff meetings over a five day period in November, 1973, with approximately thirty minutes allocated for questionnaire completion.

North Dakota and New Jersey. Questionnaires were mailed directly from the Office of Research and Development, West Virginia University, to 110 North Dakota field staff members. Returns were received from 96 respondents which comprised an 87 per cent return. A letter legitimizing the research was sent to staff members by the Director of Extension in North Dakota three days prior to their receiving the questionnaire. In New Jersey, questionnaires were mailed in bulk to the Director of Extension who forwarded them to 110 staff members accompanied by a legitimizing letter. Returns were received from 78 respondents which

⁹see Appendix 109 for Letter accompanying mail questionnaires to North Dakota.



comprised a 70 per cent return.

Data for agent ranking were collected from field administrators from the Office of the Dean.

Data Processing and Analysis

Responses of the respondents in all samples as well as the results of the ratings were coded and processed by the West Virginia University IBM 306 computer. The Statistical Program for Social Sciences (SPSS) was used to facilitate the summary and analysis of data.

Since all data were obtained from total field agent population of the three study states, West Virginia, North Dakota, and New Jersey, sampling statistics were neither necessary or appropriate. Consequently, comparison of means, frequencies, and percentages of response to the questionnaire were utilized for analysis of differences between states and between groups within states.

The first hypothesis was tested by determining whether West Virginia agents were sensitive to Appalachian cultural values through their responses to a series of behavioral situational statements and an accompanying five point attitudinal scale embodying specific cultural values. Cross tabulations of responses with age, sex, field of study, and tenure were examined. Comparisons were made between the number of respondents of the sub-



above the mean and those responding below the mean. For analysis, two age groups were used: under twenty-five years and over thirty-six years; tenure was broken by agents under five years and over eleven years; field of study was divided into two groups: agriculture and home economics fields and education and social sciences fields. Item analysis was made on situational behavioral statements to determine which cultural values were supported by the data.

The second hypothesis was tested by comparison of responses of agents from West Virginia with agent responses from North Dakota and New Jersey. Total accumulated scores on the five point attitudinal scale and total correct answers to situational behavioral questions were used for comparison. Cross tabulations were run on the total correct answers against age, sex, field of study, and tenure. Item analysis was made on individual situational behavioral questions to determine which cultural values were supported by North Dakota, which were supported by New Jersey, and the variable influence on each. Two geographically extreme areas of West Virginia was compared in the same manner to determine the varying degrees of cultural value influence within the state.

To test the third hypothesis, findings on agent ratings were divided into three groups: effective, average, and less effective. Cross tabulations were



of the less effective group against the total accumulated scores on the five point attitudinal scale and total correct responses to behavioral situational questions, as well as against individual items on the behavioral situational instrument. Cross tabulations of agent effectiveness were run against age, sex, field of study, and tenure.

CHAPTER IV

FINDINGS

For ease of analysis the total West Virginia group was dichotomized into sub groupings. Age distribution was broken into a young group, under 25 years, and an older group, over 36 years. Field of study was divided into a group made up of agriculture and home economics trained agents and a second group trained in less traditional fields of education and social sciences. Tenure distribution was divided into a low group, agents with five or less years' experience, and a high group, agents with eleven or more years' experience.

With respect to the cultural data, the total West Virginia group was divided on the basis of correct answers to situational questions into a high and a low group. The high group designated those with eleven or more (mean 10.6) correct answers and the low group designated those with ten or less correct answers.

The summary of the attitudinal scale was divided on the basis of distribution of total accumulated scores to Appalachian values interspersed in the scale into a high and a low group. The high group designated those

with thirty-four or more points (mean 34.3) and the low group designated those with thirty-three or less points.

Table 1 provides a broad picture of the samples used in the research. The data indicate a much higher percentage of agents in the 25 years and under group in Wost Virginia (22.8%) and in North Dakota (18.8%) than in New Jersey (1.3%). Highly correlated with age is tenure where New Jersey indicates less agents (28.2%) with under five years' experience compared to West Virginia (45.6%) and North Dakota (49.0%).

All states have a greater percentage of male agents; however, North Dakota (70.8%) and New Jersey (60.3%) show a much larger group than West Virginia (55.9%). Correspondingly, North Dakota (62.5%) and New Jersey (38.5%) show more agriculture trained agents than West Virginia (28.7%), while West Virginia (29.4%) shows larger groups trained in education than North Dakota (5.2%) and New Jersey (25.6%). West Virginia agents have a significantly larger group holding masters degrees (58.8%) compared to North Dakota (18.8%) and New Jersey (48.7%).

Of the 136 agents constituting the West Virginia sample, 89.0% are native to West Virginia, 8.1% are native to the Appatachian area, and only 2.9% are non-Appalachian natives.

TABLE 1

PROFILE OF AGENTS IN WEST VIRGINIA, NORTH DAKOTA, AND NEW JERSEY BY AGE, SEX, FIELD OF STUDY, TENURE, POSITION, AND HIGHEST DEGREE

	\ \ \ \ \ \ \ \ \ \ \ \ \ \ \ \ \ \ \		
	West Virginia	N. Dakota	N. Jersey
	(N=136)	(N=96)	(N=78)
Age 25 years and under 26 - 35 years 36 years and over	22.8%	18.8%	1.3%
	26.5	36.5	23.1
	50.0	43.8	73.1
Sex Male Female	55.9 44.1	70.8 28.1	60.3 38.5
Field of Study Agriculture Home Economics Education Social Sciences	28.7	62.5	38.5
	25.0	27.1	25.6
	29.4	5.2	25.6
	13.2	2.1	9.0
Tenure Under 1 year 2 - 5 years 6 - 10 years 11 - 20 years 21 and over	11.8	12.5	0.0
	33.8	36.5	28.2
	11.8	10.4	10.3
	19.9	24.0	38.5
	10.3	10.3	19.2
Highest Degree Bachelor Master	40.4 58.8	81.3 18.8	50.0 48.7
Position County Agent Home Demonstration Agent 4-H Agent	36.0	63.5	62.8
	24.3	27.1	24.4
	30.9	2.1	9.0

Table 2 indicates the degree of sensitivity of West Virginia agents to Appalachian cultural values embodied in the nineteen professional behavioral statements. Of the group, over half (53.6%) of the agents responded correctly to eleven or more of the behavioral statements, accounting for 58% of all correct answers. Less than half of the agents (46.4%) responded with fewer than eleven correct answers, accounting for the remaining 42% of correct responses. The data indicate that West Virginia agents generally tend to be sensitive to and take into account Appalachian cultural values in educational This is especially so in the Individualism programming. value cluster where Personalism (89%), 1 Sense of Humor (71%) and Modesty (60%) came through strong. Traditionalism (66%) and Familism (61%) also received substantial response.

The influence of age which is highly correlated with tenure and thus reflects experience in extension programs is, as one would expect, generally related to sensitivity to cultural values. The data indicate that the older (36 years and over), more experienced agents in West Virginia are more sensitive to the cultural values embodied in the professional behavioral statements than the younger (25 years or less), less experienced agents.



Per cent of the correct response to situational statements were utilized.

63

TABLE 2

ENDORSEMENT OF APPALACHIAN CULTURAL VALUES AMONG WEST VIRGINIA AGENTS AS MEASURED BY SITUATIONAL STATEMENTS BY AGE, SEX, AND FIELD OF STUDY

-	w. Va.	Age	Sex	Field of Study	f Study
-		0	E N	Agriculture Home Economics	Education Social Sciences
	(N=136)	(N=31) (N=68)	(N=76) (N=60)	(N=73)	(N=58)
H Co Co	53.6%	48.4% 60.3%	55.3% 51.7%	53.4%	58.6%
₩OJ.	%4-94	51.6% 39.7%	74.7% 48.3%	%9*9†	% 7. L7
Total	100.0%	100.0% 100.0%	300.0% 300.0%	%0°C0I	%O.COI

Thus the relatively substantial proportion of West Virginia agents (22.8%) under 25 years of age and limited experience tend to depress or have a levelling-out effect upon the demonstrated sensitivity of West Virginia agents as a whole to Appalachian cultural values. This would tend to support the contention that training of young agents, even native to West Virginia, would be important to rationally sensitize them to the cultural values of Appalachia.

The data indicate very little difference in sensitivity to the cultural values on the part of male (55.3% correct answers) and female (51.7% correct answers) agents as a whole. However, significant differences do emerge on sensitivity to specific cultural values. Male agents exhibit greater sensitivity to the values: Sense of Humor (62.2% vs. 39.7%), Modesty (64.5% vs. 53.3%), Individualism (59.2% vs. 39%), and Neighborliness (59.2% vs. 45.8%); while female agents demonstrate greater sensitivity to the value, Love of Home Place (50.0% vs. 33.8%). Sensitivity to the value of Religion was divided with males strong on one question and females on the other.

With respect to field of study, agents were grouped by educational background into two groups: the traditional fields of study, agriculture and home economics compared to the less traditional fields of study



of education and social sciences. On the whole the two groups showed little difference in their sensitivity to cultural values by the percentage of correct answers: some slight advantage in favor of education and social science training (58.6% vs. 53.4%). However interesting differences in degree of sensitivity appeared in relation to specific cultural values. Agents with more traditional training in the fields of agriculture and home economics showed greater sensitivity to the cultural values Familism (57.1% vs. 51.8%), Love of Home Place (92.5% vs. 28.6%) and Religion (47.1% vs. 29.3%). On the other hand, agents whose fields of study were in education and the social sciences displayed greater sensitivity to the cultural values Traditionalism (46.6% vs. 27.1%), Neighborliness (58.7% vs. 47.1%) and Modesty (41.4% vs. 31.9%).

Table 3 indicates the degree of endorsement of West Virginia agents to the nine cultural values included in the attitudinal scale. Of the total group, 58.9% of the agents indicated significant endorsement and scored more than thirty-four out of a possible forty-five points on the five point attitudinal scale accounting for 57.0% of the total accumulated scores. 41.1% of the agents scored less than 34 points, accounting for 43.0% of the accumulated score. The data indicate that West Virginia agents generally endorse Appalachian cultural values in educational programming. Significant high endorsement

TABLE 3

	W. Va.	Age		Sex		Field of Study	Study
		⇒ı	0	M.	[z ₁	Agriculture Fone Economics	Education Social Sciences
	(N=136)	(15=N)	(N=67)	(N=76)	(N=60)		(N=58)
High	58.9%	58.1%	41.9%	52.6%	%2.99	65.8%	51.7%
MO.	%T•T7	%6.09	39.1%	%+-2+	33.3%	34.2%	48.3%
Totel Lear	%0.001	100.0%	100.0%	%0.001 %0.001	100.0%	100.0%	100.0%

was found in the Individualism value cluster where responses in the two top categories, very important and somewhat important, scores on Personalism (95.5%), Sense of Humor (95.6%), and Independence (90.4%), along with Neighborliness (96.3%) ranked high. Modesty (56.6%), Familism (52.9%), and Religion (51.4%) also received substantial scores. (See Table 4, page 68.)

While West Virginia agents endorsed the Appalachian values, data indicate they also endorsed six of the nine mainstream American values interspersed with the nine Appalachian values making up the attitudinal scale with a mean score falling in the two top categories, very important and somewhat important. This would indicate that agents working in Appalachia seem to be acculturated to a bicultural environment.

The data indicate that older agents (58.1%) reflect greater endorsement of the Appalachian cultural values interspersed in the attitudinal scale than younger, less experienced agents (41.9%). Female agents (66.7%) appear to be more sensitive to the cultural values than male agents (52.6%). It would also seem that agents trained in agriculture and home economics (65.8%) were more sensitive than those agents trained in education and social sciences (51.7%).

In summary, the data from both the attitudinal scale and the professional behavioral situational state-



TABLE 4

in t	
Unimporte	000000000 000000000
Not Importent	2001111 6001111 7,7,7,000,11
Moderately Important	7,82,02,00,00,00,00,00,00,00,00,00,00,00,00
Somewhat Important	81484448 81484448 826188088
Very Important	00000000000000000000000000000000000000
Mean* Score	auuunuuuu ooninaaanua
	Tracitionalism Individualism Personalism Sense of Humor Modesty Familism Neighborliness Love of Home Place

*The mean score was based on a 1 (very important) to 5 (unimportant) scale.

ments indicate West Virginia extension agents tend to be sensitive to Appalachian cultural values and take them into consideration in educational programming, thereby supporting the first hypothesis.

Greatest sensitivity appears to be related to the Individualism cluster of cultural values: Personalism, Modesty, Sense of Humor, and Individualism. Sensitivity is also demonstrated for the Familism cluster: Familism, Neighborliness and Love of Home Place as well as Traditionalism and Religion but to a lesser degree.

The data also indicate the degree of sensitivity to Appalachian cultural values is considerably influenced by age and tenure of agents with the older, more experienced agents generally indicating greater sensitivity to the cultural values. Sensitivity was also somewhat influenced by sex of the agent as well as field of study in relationship to specific cultural values.

The data further indicate that West Virginia agents, while strongly endorsing Appalachian cultural values, also endorse mainstream American values thus giving support to the theory that Appalachian people function in a bicultural environment.

Dividing the North Dakota and New Jersey data on the same criteria as the West Virginia group previously described, Table 5 (see following page) compares the sensitivity of agents in West Virginia, North Dakota, and



TABLE 5

ENDORSEMENT OF APPALACHIAN CULTURAL VALUES AMONG WEST VIRGINIA, NORTH DAKOTA, AND NEW JERSEY AGENTS AS MEASURED BY SITUATIONAL STATEMENTS

Mean Correct Responses 10.6	W. Va. (N=136)	N. Dakota (N=96)	N. Jersey (N=78)
ll or more correct responses	53.8%	/ 39.5%	32.1%
10 or less correct responses	46.4	60.5	65.5

New Jersey to Appalachian cultural values as measured by their response to the behavioral situation instrument. The data indicate West Virginia agents (53.8%), display considerably greater sensitivity to Appalachian cultural values than agents from rural North Dakota (39.5%), or urban New Jersey (32.1%) in the number who responded correctly to eleven or more of the behavioral situational statements. Thus data would appear to give rather substantial support to the second hypothesis indicating the continuing existence in West Virginia of a distinctive Appalachian cultural value pattern.

Additional supportive evidence is found in Table 6 where the influence of age and tenure in extension work is indicated. (See following page.) The data appear to indicate a relationship between sensitivity to Appalachian



TAPLE 6

ENDORSEMENT OF APPALACHIAN VALUES AMONG WEST VIRGINIA, NORTH DAKOTA, AND NEW JEASEY AS MEASURED BY SITUATIONAL STATEMENTS BY AGE, SEX, AND FIELD OF STUDY

	ersey 78}	Low		100.0% 70.0% 63.5		87.00	20.0	59.3
,	N. Jersey (N=78)	High		%0.0% 20.0%	111.7	16.7	, O CK	L-07
	K0 रह (6)	Low		4.4.6.2 % 1.6.2 % 1.6.2		29.3	ño k	7.17
	N. Dakota (N=96)	High		4 4 4 8 8 9 9 9 9 9 9 9 9 9 9 9 9 9 9 9	C Q K	50.5	4 OT	28.6
	.36)	Low		54.1 54.1 39.7	6.77	18.3	<i>y y</i> 7	47.74
	(N=136)	High	,	60.00 60.00 60.00		いに		58.6
				25 and under 26 - 35 36 and over	X & X & X & X & X & X & X & X & X & X &	9 6 6 6 6 6 6 6 6 6	Field of Study	1

cultural values and age and years of experience in extension programming for West Virginia agents but not for North Dakota or New Jersey agents. Older, more experienced West Virginia agents over 36 years of age display a markedly greater sensitivity (60.3%), to Appalachian cultural values, than do younger less experienced agents (48.4%), under 26 years of age, while there is little or no difference on the part of North Dakota and New Jersey agents. This would seem to indicate where Appalachian cultural values exist, West Virginia extension agents, through programming experience, grow in sensitivity to them and give them greater consideration in educational programming. Conversely, where they do not exist, neither program experience or age will contribute to heightened sensitivity.

Cultural values which tend to be more distinctly Appalachian as indicated by a comparison of the sensitivity of West Virginia and North Dakota agents are: from the Individualism cluster, Personalism 77.9% (W. Va.) vs. 47.9% (North Dakota) and Modesty 59.6% (W. Va.) vs. 50.0% (North Dakota); from the Familism cluster, Neighbor-liness 52.2% (W. Va.) vs. 37.5% (North Dakota) and Love, of Home Place 80.9% vs. 74.0% (North Dakota), as well as Religion 36.0% (W. Va.) vs. 17.7% (North Dakota).

Cultural values which tend to be more distinctly Appalachian as indicated by a comparison of the sensi-

tivity of West Virginia and New Jersey agents are: from the Individualism cluster, in addition to Personalism 77.9% (W. Va.) vs. 46.2% (New Jersey), and Modesty 59.6% (W. Va.) vs. 26.9% (New Jersey) as was the case with North Dakota agents, Sense of Humor 71.3% (W. Va.) vs. 56.4% (New Jersey) shows up. From the Familism cluster, in addition to Neighborliness 52.2% (W. Va.) vs. 46.1% (New Jersey) as was the case with North Dakota, Familism 61.0% (W. Va.) vs. 30.8% (New Jersey) emerges and replaces Love of Home Place which show very little difference. Traditionalism 66.2% (W. Va.) vs. 28.2% (New Jersey) shows up strongly instead of Religion which shows little difference.

Values showing distinct differences between North Dakota and New Jersey include: Sense of Humor 72.9% (North Dakota) vs. 56.4% (New Jersey), Traditionalism 60.4% (North Dakota) vs. 28.2% (New Jersey), and Familism 65.6% (North Dakota) vs. 30.8% (New Jersey). These differences may be accounted for in reflecting variations in rural and urban society.

On a comparative basis, the data indicate the cultural values Personalism and Modesty from the Individualism cluster, and Neighborliness from the Familism cluster emerge as those most apt to be distinctly Appalachian, while Sense of Humor, Familism, Love of Home Place, Traditionalism, and Religion are partially dis-

tinctive of the region from states that are predominately rural or urban in nature.

As indicated previously the heterogeneous nature of West Virginia and the Appalachian region with its cultural variability makes clear cut empirical identification of a distinctive Appalachian culture in total extremely difficult. The extent to which the cultural underlay permeates daily activities varies widely throughout the region. A prime example of the cultural variability is shown in Table 7 where the response pattern of agents in the Beckley Area of West Virginia are compared to those of the Morgantown Area.

TABLE 7

ENDORSEMENT OF APPALACHIAN CULTURAL VALUES AMONG MORGANTOWN AREA AND BECKLEY AREA AGENTS AS MEASURED BY SITUATIONAL STATEMENTS AND ATTITUDINAL SCALE

	Beckley Arc	a Mor	gantówn Area (N=24)
	High Lo	ow High	h Low
Situational . statements	57.1% 42.	.9% 37.1	5% 62.5%
Attitudinal scale	66.7 33.	3 66.	7 33.3

The Beckley Area is composed of eight counties (Fayette, Greenbrier, McDowell, Mercer, Monroe, Raleigh, Summers,

and Wyoming) in the southern part of the state which lie in the central region of Appalachia. The Morgantown Area is composed of eleven counties (Brooke, Doddridge, Hancock, Harrison, Marion, Marshall, Monongalia, Ohio, Preston, Taylor, and Wetzel) in the northernmost part of the state which lie in the northern region of Appalachia. Population in these counties is concentrated in the highly industralized Monongalia and Ohio river valleys tributary to Pittsburgh.

The response pattern of West Virginia agents in the Beckley area, 57.1%, more closely approximate that of the total West Virginia response, 53.8%, while the response pattern of West Virginia agents in the Morgantown area, 37.5%, more closely approximates the response pattern of agents in North Dakota, 39.5%, and New Jersey, 32.1%. It is precisely this degree of intrastate cultural variability that leads to misunderstanding of the nature of Appalachia and increases the difficulty of educational programming.

The attitudinal scale showed little difference in the endorsement of Appalachian cultural values between West Virginia, North Dakota, and New Jersey. It would appear that on the theoretical lovel, as measured by the attitudinal scale, the values of Personalism, Sense of Humor, Neighborliness, Modesty, and Familism are universally endorsed. Greater sensitivity was shown by

West Virginia agents than North Dakota and New Jersey agents to Traditionalism and Love of Home Place. Greater sensitivity was also noted by West Virginia and North Dakota agents to Individualism and Religion as opposed to New Jersey.

While West Virginia agents were consistent in their endorsement of App lachian values in response to both the attitudinal scale and the behavioral statements, less consistency was noted in North Dakota and New Jersey. This would indicate that responses on the attitudinal scale reflect the socially accepted expectations while the situational statements more nearly reflect the behavior of the agents where it has been a part of the agents! experience.

In summary, comparison of the data measuring the sensitivity of extension agents in West Virginia, North Dakota, and New Jersey to the cultural values embodied in the professional behavioral situation instrument tend to support the second hypothesis.

The cultural values of the Individualism cluster, Personalism and Modesty, and Neighborliness from the Familism cluster appear to be the most distinctively Appalachian, while Sense of Humor from the Individualism cluster, Pamilism and Love of Home Place from the Familism cluster, together with Traditionalism and Religion, show up to be somewhat less distinctively Appalachian.

The data also indicate the degree of cultural variability as measured by responses to the situational statements within West Virginia tends to be as great as between West Virginia and the non-Appalachian states of North Dakota and New Jersey.

Response to cultural values as measured by the attitudinal scale indicates little difference between West Virginia, North Dakota, and New Jersey agents.

The level of professional performance of West Virginia extension agents are measured by the total score received on the Agent Ranking Guide as judged by the respective Area Division Leaders. Agents receiving an accumulated score of 70 or above were classified as the more effective group (45.4%) while agents scoring 56 or below (23.8%) were classified as the less effective group. The remaining portion (30.8%) of agents scored in the middle or median group.

Only when the data was divided into age groups, closely correlated with tenure, do we find a significant relationship between effectiveness and endorsement of cultural values among West Virginia agents. Table 8 (see next page) indicates the extent of relationship between age of agents and effectiveness of performance. Younger agents (under 25 years of age) were ranked evenly 50% in the less effective group and 50% in the more effective group. As age increases, the proportion of agents ranked



TABLE 8
PERFORMANCE EFFECTIVENESS OF WEST VIRGINIA AGENTS
BY AGE

		Effectiveness	
	Less N=31	•	More N=59
nge Under 25 years (N=18)	50.0%		50.0%
26 - 35 (N=26)	42.3		57.7
36 - 45 (N=23)	30.5		69.5
46 and over (N±23)	18.4		82.6

in the more effective group tends to increase and the proportion in the less effective group tends to decrease. Older agents (46 years and over) have the highest proportion, 82.6%, ranked in the more effective performance group and the smallest proportion, 18.4%, ranked in the less effective performance group.

When the added factor of professional experience as indicated by tenure or years of service, Table 9, is taken into consideration, an important pattern begins to emerge. The data indicate the existence of substantial interrelationships between age, tenure, and effectiveness of professional performance. From all indications older,



TABLE 9

LONSHIP BETWEEN AGE AND TENURE OF WEST VIRGINIA AGENTS

		•	Years in Extension	nsion	
	Under 1 (3.=1.6)	(N=46)	(91=N)	11 - 20 (N=27)	21 and over (N=13)
· 6					
	37.9%	62.1%	%0.0	%0.0	%0.0
II N IO I N IO I	10.47	62.9	17-1	5.7	0.0
(100mm) (100	0.0	12.0	20.0	0.49	0.4
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more experienced agents tend to be the most effective educational programmers.

Looking at just the older and younger age groups a relationship between effectiveness, and cultural values, begins to emerge. Substance to this finding is provided in Table 10 where the older, more experienced, more effective agents are compared to the younger, less experienced, less effective agents in terms of sensitivity to the cultural values embodied in the professional behavior situations and accumulated score on the Appalachian values on the attitudinal scale.

TABLE 10

ENDORSEMENT OF APPALACHIAN CULTURAL VALUES AMONG WEST VIRGINIA AGENTS BY EFFECTIVENESS AND AGE GROUP AS MEASURED BY THE SITUATIONAL STATEMENTS AND ATTITUDINAL SCALE

	Under 2		tiveness Over 45 (N=3	
•	High	Low	High	Low
Correct responses to situational statements	48.4%	51.6%	64.7%	35.3%
Accumulated score on attitudinal scale (Appala-chian values)	58 . 1.	41.9	70.5	29,5

A total of 64.7% of the older, more experienced, more ef-



fective agents responded correctly to eleven or more of the professional behavioral statements, compared to 48.4% of the younger, less experienced, less effective agents. Likewise, 70.5% of the older, more effective agents scored 34 or above on the attitudinal scale measuring endorsement of Appalachian cultural values compared to 58.1% for the younger, less effective agents. The data thus appear to give support to hypothesis three that more effective agents tend to show greater sensitivity and give more consideration to Appalachian cultural values in educational programming.

Appalachian cultural values which tend to receive greater consideration on the part of older, more effective agents in extension programming than by younger, less effective agents are: (1) From the individualism cluster, Sense of Humor 79.4% vs. 48.3%, Modesty 67.6% vs. 51.6%, Personalism 82.4% vs. 74.2%, and Individualism 42.4% vs. 29.0%; (2) From the Familism cluster, Familism 62.5% vs. 51.7%, Love of Home Place 93.5% vs. 82.8%, and Neighbor-liness 85.3% vs. 80.6%; and (3) Religion 47.1% vs. 33.3%.

In summary, the data appear to indicate a substantial degree of relationship between agents age, tenure, and effectiveness of performance in West Virginia. Older, more experienced agents tend to be more effective in professional performance than younger agents with less experience. Older, more experienced, more effective



agents tend to be more sensitive and give greater consideration to Appalachian cultural values in extension educational programming. Appalachian cultural values receiving more consideration from older, more experienced, more effective extension agents were: from the Individualism cluster, Personalism, Individualism, Modesty, and Sense of Humor; from the Familism cluster, Familism, Neighborliness, and Love of Home Place; and Religion.

CHAPTER V

IMPLICATIONS

Implications for Training

In view of the findings of the research indicating the continuing existence of an Appalachian subculture in varying degrees throughout West Virginia and the association among age, tenure, and effectiveness of extension agents' performance and sensitivity to Appalachian cultural values, several implications for training of educational programmers become apparent. It is to be understood, however, that alternate interpretations of the data could lead to implications other than those presented here.

From the position of this researcher, it appears as though the process of education for native Appalachians tends to change their value pattern in the direction of mainstream society, desensitizing them on the rational level to their native subculture. Over a period of years, experience in educational programming in Appalachia tends to restore a sensitivity to the cultural values on a functional programming level. By appropriate training it is believed the process of resensitizing to Appalachian

cultural values and their influence in educational programming could appreciably enhance the effectiveness of agent performance in a shorter period of time.

- l. An understanding and recognition of the cultural values of clientele of educational programmers is to be seen as one aspect of the rotal educational process. Sensitivity to the value patterns held by local people is foundational to acceptance and to the development of relationships necessary to provide a bridge for education. Training designed to fit educational programs into the cultural context of the recipients is seen as necessary for effective educational programming.
- 2. Training in the identification and understanding of the subculture—its heterogeneous character and variation throughout the state and the transitional nature of a subculture and varying degrees in the extent of adjustment under the pressure of a dominant mainstream culture with consequent bicultural adjustments and patterns of living on the part of native residents.
- 3. Development of: (a) a healthy respect and appreciation of Appalachian cultural values, eliminating any tendency toward a condescending or patronizing attitude; (b) understanding of the adjustments that Appalachian residents are undergoing and why they resist giving up their old ways; (c) insight into what Appalachian culture may have to contribute to mainstream society.

Training of this type has implications beyond the cooperative extension service, embracing the employees of private and public agencies involved in educational and developmental activities in West Virginia, as well as in-migrants who choose to live and work in this rural state. Further, the introduction of cultural training of this nature in the undergraduate curriculum of higher education institutions preparing educators and other professional personnel to work in the state would seem desirable.

Consideration of cultural factors in the recruitment and assignment of personnel in the varying cultural situations to be found across the state would appear relevant.

Implications for Further Research

In addition to replication and refinement of this research, findings of this and other research point up the need for additional study to broaden understanding of Appalachian culture as it exists today. Further research is indicated in the following areas:

1. The process of cultural change to enlarge understanding of (a) which Appalachian cultural values are most resistant to change and why, (b) those cultural values least resistant, and (c) the time period and circumstances most conducive to change.

- An understanding of the atreases and atvilla within the individual indergoing the process of cultural change in value patterns. This would provide needed information on variations in personal life antistactions before, during, and after change as well as the nature of life during the period of cultural transition, or in a bi-cultural setting with consequent identify and life meaning problems. It would help answer the recurring question as to what prompts out-migrants to want to return to West Virginia to Live, work, and be buried despite comparatively limited apportunities, income, and loved of living.
 - Mic prospes of cultural adjustment of inmigrants to Wort Virginia, their acceptance and identification with the people, and the extent of adjustment in
 their value patterns and like atyles required to make them
 foot a part of the culture.
- ohuige in value patterns, the seemingly widespread acceptance of wellers, and the relationship of Appalgolium value patterns to personal accuraty and life meaning.

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(to)

A STUDY OF SELECTED CULTURAL VALUES THAT INFLUENCE EDUCATIONAL PROGRAMMING IN WEST VIRGINIA

Botty P. Criskard

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Following is a list of personal characteristics. How important do you think each of these is for successful functioning as an extension agent?

Check one blank for each characteristic listed.

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Instructions

On the following pages are situational statements reflecting extension experiences. Given varying circumstances, extension programmers have been found to respond in varying ways, depending upon the situation. Plages read each statement and check () the answer which best reflects the action you would take.

he sure to check only one blank following each statement. Please feel free to comment.

1. You have been reviewing prospective job applicants for a program aide to work in a community in your county where there is a family with substantial influence. All things being equal, would you consider

it advantageous to employ a member of t	박하면 그렇다는 하는데 열리를 시킨다
"我看了好好的好好,我们们也是我们的人,我们是我们的现在分词的,只是这些人的情况,我们就是这些我们的是这个人的话,只是不是我们的人,只是这个人。"	
있는데 하는 보다는 경기가 있는데 보고 있는데 요즘 전환 전환 전환 전환 전환 전환 전환 전환 경기를 보고 있다. 그는 사람들은 사람들은 사람들은 사람들은 사람들은 사람들은 사람들은 사람들은	
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2. You know an elderly couple, without any close relatives, who have been self supporting over the years. Because of an extended illness and limited income, they are unable to care for themselves and are in need of assistance. What would you probably do? Check only one.

a. ____ Attempt to provide desistance myself

b. ____ Discuss the matter with friends and neighbors of the couple

c. ... Nottly the Department of Welfare

Comment:

3,	You have been trying to develop relationships with low income homemakers
	in a poverty community. During a periodic visit to the community, one of
	the honomakers has insisted you stay for lunch. It's a warm day and files
	ure a problem. You are scheduled for an afternoon meeting and staying
	for lunch will strain your schedule. What will you probably do?
	Stay for lunch Recuse yourself
4,	A date was set several weeks earlier for a community wide meeting and
	you have arranged for a professor from the School of Creative Arts as
	a resource person. This is the first time you've been successful in
.\	obtaining his services. You have learned three days before the meeting
• 71 • 71	that it is in conflict with community wide religious services held an-
	nually at this time. What would you probably do?
	a Reschedule your meeting
	b Contact the church leaders and ask them to meet with you
	Go ahoad with the meeting
	Comment:
· }	
5,	A county extension organization is reorganizing and a nominating com-
	mattee has come up with a competent state of officers However, when
	the chairman contacted the individuals, only one accepted. Would you:
i A -	n Counsol the committee chairman to accept the refusals and
,	choose a new state
. (d.)	b. Counsol the chatman to go hook and bash as the say

b. Counsel the chairman-to-go-back and talk to the nominees personal?

Comment:

6. A large kin group to inving their femily renten and you have been their femily rented to be a speaker on Sunday afternoon. You distike working on understand weaking engagement for which you'll probably be late. How wall you respond?

Connont P

In You have provided transportation to a grate activity for a 4-11 or from a family with dimited income. In appropriation the family has offered from now potatoes from their narden, even though you know they need all they have. What would you probably the

Not account the vegetables.

a. Accept the vogetables only after instatence

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9,	You have been gaked to speak at a Farmers Cooperative annual meeting,
	You do not know what information they have on your background. Do
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	viridontiala oven though they haven't requested tes
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\	b. Work oxportence
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10,	You are working with a lay committee that in responsible for the physical
	drrangemonts for the County Fair. One member to a vateran story teller.
	to whom the group responds yith amused interest. Since you have a limited
	amount of time to apand with the group and there is much to be done, this
, 0	ta disturbing and umroductive an far an you are concorned. In order to
	expedite mackings, would you feel it appropriate to talk with this member
	rrdvala il dioda il d
105	No.
	Comment (\
Ý.	2) Mina ann Mika masi Primerus / masi masi masi masi masi masi masi masi
	A fine old time musician when you know paraonally has been asked to play
ز پنتوشن ا	at a Rotary Limeliann. Ila has approsued rolliciance to the program clinica
	man. The old timer liven in the country off the main highway and the road
	to usually bad. Rould you paraonally area lim to account the invitation
	and outar to taka litm to the limitations.

•99

.Comment:

12.	An '80 year old we an older you know those alone on the home farm and
	culoya abod health for her ago. The family is concerned about her but
	counds agree who will assume the responsibility for looking after her.
	Bluce son are involved in a hountry development project for algority
	poople, they have committed you. Which of the following noturious would
	you favor?

a. Make arrangements to move her into the houning devolopment

Individual clube have arranged upoctal exhibition of their projects and the property and the property and the property and the property that the wall exhibite of the leaders of the property leaders of the sollowing would you consider the most important way to begone acquainted with the county organization?

di managa litaten to the aponkera

b. Talk to local people informally at Look at the exhibits.

Comment 1

14. You have in charge of a banquet for a community group and need nomeons to alvo the invocation. Would you tak one of the community landers or the local minimizer to do got.

n. Local miniately

be Committy lander

Commontia

19,	A group of young hopenikers has expressed interest in consumer education
	Classica In a community where a well catabilished bose descentiation of the
	extetu, mado up of oldor members. What would you probably do?
	at Ank the exterior club to propose the glasses
	b Work directly with the young homemakers to establish the
	olanica /
	Community
Ţē.	You have borroked a truck from a low income alderly couple who have
	boan supportive of helf through the years, to move a stove to the hill
	camp. Upon recurricly the truck, what would you probably do?
	a. Inclut on paying the family for the nee
	b. Reproud opproutation for its uno
	. o Borill the ganoline tank before returning the truck mid any
15.	thanka.
	Commont:
4	
17.	You have been invited to speak at a farge county affair. The master
ŗ	of coremony, whom you know woll, taken grove dulishe in talling paraonal
	primologia anadotos, otton to bahtra cupultuangunti. Brudo po la unala ot
	an Incident you'd proces be forgotten, would you speak to him ahead or
	d ima?
	You No
	Comments.
<u>}</u>	

A young whiteter has some lake an old antablished church with a wall kept cometery where many familian have lote. The largest annual event to a homocoming veryled to which people return from throughout the country. Funds are related at this time for cometery maintenance. The winter has been trying to update the memberahip foles and mederative the church by enequenting memberate to transfer their memberahip to pherehas where they now reade. However, he has mot with nome restate ance. Since you work cloudly with demonstry leaders, he has neight your counted. Would you encourage him:

b. To discontinue his efforts

Commont!

- 19. You have arranged for Adult Education clauses in a rural community at the request of a local school principal. You have spent more time then you planned arranging competent resources for the clauses. Which of the following would you consider the most affective method of setting people to attend. Chark only one.
 - ar hand flyory home with children from nohoot
 - he Raly on the principal plia contacted you
 - ac Radio and navappear annabacaonte

Communet

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Company of the Compan	b. <u>Sædfing</u>				
			の記録がある。 かいこうかん 大きな ないない はんしゅう	であると言葉はない。 は、他にはなる。 は、他にはなる。 は、他にはなる。 は、他にはなる。 は、他には、他には、他にはなる。 は、他には、他には、他には、他には、他には、他には、他には、他には、他には、他に	を構造されています。 これでは、 はからののなっている

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	125ec 232.26.	Follows estro- fisher patterns, ber afjærs mder pressme.	Kaintains esteolismed perterns out obse est re- sponsive to needed danges.	Eco respection ectal fend year cons one conse to needed function	Importion is fittion of the second of the se
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<u>"= kozserzen:</u> 8" : leadersen:p: ko: Ffre-					
	Often weak in Teries at fines undate to exert influence; ins- bility to relate.	Normality develops fairly adequate terrork needs some guidance.	Santfell for the control of the cont	Consistently a good leader; elicing respect of co-sorkers. Maices after recording a sortion of parameters.	Teatersing qualities reflect coefficial for ingress level. Satural leader.
Suggestions for Connection					
9. Leadersaff					
The second with position of th	dence in ornicadentino dell'internationali del	rionaes limited opportunities for leadership development.	rioviass some opportunities for leader training.	Carries out leader training programs.	percions oppositions of the second se
Segges from from Completing Action					

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Entracers and Secretary and Se	Does not get flong well with essociates	Has difficulty, genting along voith associates.	Gers along with Has respect o associates adequately.	Associates seck fis leadership.
Strong Son				
porter to relate to ceneral 200 lic.	Does not get along well with disentele.	Eas some dif- ficulty getting along with citemtele.	Gers along with Eas respect of people and citemrele. Eas above average average skill at skill in buran maintaining good, rejations.	Frequently con- stilled by clientele. Outstand: skills in brand: relations.
Suggestions for Conference Action.				
ió lity ig Belate io Speliors.	Does not accept direction.	Hes difficulty accepting supervision and direction.	Accepts Has respect of directions supervisors.	icadetsing is recognized at celled upon by supervisors.
Seggestions for Corrective.				

ERIC:	Slow Calcale	Exilore tike-	ريم. • Eavorable تesponse and	Leadersonp 18 uspected and	Eighly respector;
		and Emport.	Scriport	Sought of	great demini
PROFESSIONAL SA i.é. Personal Atmibutes. (Projecti a good professional image in a cit frudes, work tabits and appearance))	Does mot meet requirements of the position.	Partielly meets requirements of the position.	Meets require- ments of the position.	Exceeds require remains of the position.	Far exceeds requirements of the position.
Suggestions for Corrective Action.					
Category Contractions The first contraction of the	Standard for good mininger.	Partially meets standard for good manager.	Generally meets standard for efficient manager.	Maintains a high standard. of personal and office amanagement.	Vaintains righest standard of naragement
Osservical office hours. Suggestions for					

Most piemed self improvement pro- s grin. Assumes leadership in pro- testional organi- zations, Reads and uses journals.	Assumes inditative in continually expanding program. Exhibits great dedication to work, people and timinersity.	FALK POOR
Selengs to pro- fessional orga- nizations, reads professional journals and attends conferences.	Shows loyalty and commitment to work and organization	SATIS- FACTORY F
Participates in professional fermance activities to meet requirements.	Sious moderate Lovalty to the organization.	VERY GOOD
Makes 1fmiled effort to up- grade self professionally.	Exhibits limited integration.	REOPWANCE?
Does not make, any effort to updrade self priorent afth self self is.	Feels no Loyalty to the organization.	DUAL OF OVERALL PE
Professional Improvement (Variaties professional corrections circons) void corrections void	LT. Countinent (Loyality and coc- mirroun co the organization)	SCORRECTIVE ACTION CONTECTIVE ACTION CONTECTIVE ACTION FOR WALL PERSONANCE FOR WALL PERSONANCE

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Vanuary 8, 1974



Recently you received a letter from Dr. Johnsrud approving your participation in this study. I hope you will not find completing the enclosed questionnaire too much of a chore.

This study, dealing with selected cultural values that may influence educational programming in West Virginia, is being done in cooperation with the Office of Research and Development at West Virginia University.

The purpose of the study is to determine the extent to which effective educational programming is influenced by cyltural values and the implications of these findings for training programs.

One of the things we need to determine is whether any existing differences in attitude and behavior are due to Appalachian cultural values and, or rural-urban differences. Hence, the selection of North Dakota as a primarily rural, non-Appalachian state for our research.

I wish it were possible for me to administer the questionnaire with you as I did with extension agents in West Virginia, but, of course, this is not possible. Therefore, we would like for you to complete the question-naire, answering each question as if you were faced with the situation described in your present job. Should the situation seem unrealistic in North Dakota, please answer the question hypothetically from your present job orientation. Please do not discuss the questions with co-workers or peers before completing the questionnaire.

Your assistance with this project is deeply appreciated and upon completion we will be pleased to share the results and implications of the research with you. Please return the completed questionnaire in the enclosed envelope at your earliest convenience.

Sincerely yours,

Betty P. Crickard

Eno.