Report of a Workshop

on

THE SOUTHERN MOUNTAINEER
IN CINCINNATI

April 29, 1954

Sponsored by
THE MAYOR'S FRIENDLY RELATIONS COMMITTEE
and
THE SOCIAL SERVICE ASSOCIATION OF GREATER CINCINNATI

This Report was prepared by the MFRC staff
and Dr. Roscoe Giffin.

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INTRODUCTION

This exploration really began in 1953 when social workers and educators told the Mayor's Friendly Relations Committee they needed more information and insights to deal with and help the newcomers from Kentucky's hills. Conferences with Dr. Roscoe Giffin of Berea College and with the Social Service Association revealed the means and wish for a workshop. Decision to hold it was based on these assumptions:

(1) Substantial migration from the hills will go on, due to the area's poverty and high birthrate; (2) these migrants' adjustment to city life, as workers, parents and citizens, is important to Cincinnati; (3) too many now make a poor adjustment, to their own hurt and that of social agencies, city services, schools, churches, industry, and community relations generally; (4) the gap and conflict between living-ways of hills and city can be studied like any intergroup problem; (5) pooling local experience and sociological data can reduce our ignorance and stereotypes, in fruitful consultation.

This is the summary of the first exploration, by over 200 social workers, educators, personnel men, officials, church and civic leaders. Part I is the opening presentation by Dr. Giffin. Part II gives the workshop participants' own observations, topically organized by Janet Smith of MFRC. Part III, Dr. Giffin's comments on Part II, was written afterward; for participants it's a stimulating postscript. Part IV is a limited sampling of workshopers' evaluation of help they received.

Without SSA's creative teamwork and financial aid, this workshop and report could not have been achieved. To Ben Groves and Dan Ransohoff go special credit, but many others were indispensable helpers. Both sponsors are grateful to school, industry, and government people who enriched the cross-section of experience. Finally, we are immeasurably indebted to Dr. Giffin for leading us so skillfully that everyone gave and received.

City Hall, Cincinnati
July, 1954

---Marshall Bragdon
Executive Director, MFRC
What I am going to talk about this morning are the culturally determined patterns of behavior which the Southern Mountaineers bring with them when they come to live north of the Ohio River. The emphasis will be upon the observed patterns of behavior which seem to me of importance in an urban situation rather than upon a generalized picture of them in the mountain region.

People on the Move: At the close of the Labor Day weekend both of 1951 and 1952 it happened to be the experience of myself and family to be traveling south from Michigan to Berea via Cincinnati. On each occasion we reached this city about dusk, crossed the river, stopped outside of Newport for food, and then started southward. Here began two of the most unpleasant traveling experiences of my life for we faced a solid stream of car lights nearly to Lexington. It is probable that these were largely people who had migrated into Ohio from Kentucky and had taken this holiday opportunity to return to their old homes for a visit.

Let's consider for a moment some data regarding population migration into Ohio. Since 1870 Pennsylvania has been the chief source of the migrants into Ohio. By 1910 Kentucky and West Virginia had moved into second and third place, respectively. As of 1950 there were living in Ohio some 309,000 people born in Pennsylvania. From Kentucky had come some 275,000 and from West Virginia another 103,000. (1) It is probable that the great majority of these people settled in the cities of Ohio since new opportunities in farming were limited long ago by the closing of the frontier.

Next we must consider briefly the migration out of the mountain areas, especially from Kentucky. Migration from this state is not a new phenomenon in American history, but its magnitude has increased markedly in recent decades. Thus, in 1950 there were living in the
U.S. about 3.5 million persons who had been born in Kentucky, but only 2.4 million were living in the state. Thus 1.1 million were living in other states. (2) This is an out-migration of nearly one person in every three born in the state.

Some indication of the scale of migration out of some of the mountain counties is the fact that from 1940 to 1950 the 12 counties known as the "coal counties" had a net gain of only 500 persons while exporting out of the state some 103,500. (3) With the drop in coal production, the rate of leaving has probably increased.

Such data as the foregoing testify clearly for the conclusion that the native environment of these people is not such as to offer them at present an opportunity for earning an adequate living. When there is a demand for labor elsewhere, great numbers of them leave, as was particularly true during and after World War II. Unless economic stagnation develops in the industrial areas this migration will continue.

**Assets or Liabilities?** What is the significance to you of such migration? What do these people represent to you? Are they a threat? Or can they help meet certain of your needs? If we assume that the national economy will continue to expand so that the demand for goods and services grows more rapidly than population, such a shift of people will mean a net gain for the entire nation. It involves moving some of these people from an economy which enables them to produce only a small amount of goods and services into one in which their output on the whole will increase greatly. Does not the entire economy benefit when the per capita income of a group of people is raised from $500 to $1000? When the output of a worker rises from perhaps $2000 to $4000? This is among the economic benefits of such migration, for the per capita income throughout eastern Kentucky is only about $600. (4) The gross production per farm was valued at only $585 in 1949 in 35 of the mountain counties. (5)

The continuing attraction of this population into a situation of higher productivity depends largely upon
the quality of adjustment which they can make in the new urban settings. The South as a whole is a vast un-tapped reservoir of industrial labor, but its people prefer to stay at home if at all possible. Bringing them into the national economy depends upon what can be done to improve the quality of adjustment for them as they move out of the South.

We are here today because of this migration. You work with some of these people, and with some of them you apparently have trouble. The basis of human relations work with all people is that you have first to accept them as they are before they are willing to modify their behavior. To accept means obviously to know and to understand, so it is important to know as much as possible about these Southern Mountaineers. What are they like? What patterns of behavior do they bring with them that are important to their urban adjustment? It is to these questions that I now turn, but first a few words of humble caution.

There are about 8,000,000 people living in the Southern Appalachian region. The problem before me is to say some things of significance which are true of all those who choose to move northward. That is obviously im-possible, for no one can know everything about even one person, let alone very much about thousands. So some of the ideas I will express won't be agreed to by you; some of my ideas the mountain people would perhaps not accept. So I must do the best I can to present a pic-ture done often with the sweeping strokes of broad gen-eralities, yet as accurately portrayed as possible with-in the limits of my own living experience, my research, and my study of the works of other investigators and writers. It is unfortunate that we do not have a body of anthropological studies rivaling in quality those done on many tribes in the far-away corners of the earth, such as those of the South Pacific. But such is not the case, and I must depend for my depictions upon impressions I have gained from numerous novelists, from lengthy discussions with Southern Mountaineers, from my own research and that of others, and from five years of daily contact with the many mountain people who are our students at Berea College.
The Down-Homers: We'll return now to the stream of cars I met moving northward at the close of two Labor Day week ends. What do they mean? The swarms of cars returning, say, to Chicago, after a holiday mean something different, I believe, from those coming north to Cincinnati. A friend of mine in Lexington says that when the cars are moving south--back to the mountains--they move somewhat more rapidly than when they are going northward a couple of days later. And he claims it's not due entirely to the crowded roads, but rather to an emotional state.

In the jargon of the sociologist, this behavior falls within the meaning of the concept of "familism." The family has been the dominant focus in the lives of these mountain people, and they are yet emotionally tied to it.

It appears to me that southern mountain families are failing in one of the tasks which middle-class urban families seem to do rather well. That is, to prepare children to leave home, so that they are not emotionally starved when they find themselves gone from the family nest. We have somewhat of a problem at Berea College, particularly among the high school students who come to us from the mountain counties. This is the problem of keeping some of them on campus very long, for they often get homesick quickly and leave occasionally without notice. You probably encounter that problem here. Only a few days ago I stopped at a little house where lived an elderly woman. Visiting her were a man and his wife and several children who had been taken from school in order that they might spend the day visiting with a grandparent. I suspect that the man was out of work since he came from a coal mining area where employment is down sharply. I suspect also that the return home was a search for a little bit of that kind of income that one gets when in a situation where he knows he fits and belongs. Such a living situation represents integration. You know your way around.

The frequency with which Ohio-dwelling Kentuckians return home for a visit carries the same implication as above, namely, that life in the city has not yielded
all the satisfactions needed and expected. And so they return homeward for a few days to reduce a bit the emotional deficit. A study made recently of Southern Mountaineers in work situations in Indianapolis indicates that these people reported far less satisfaction with their work and living situation than any other group of migrant people involved in the study. (7)

Another indication of the extent to which Southerners are attached to their home area comes from a recent study of rural farm people of the Piedmont region of North Carolina. Of some 4000 who desired industrial employment, less than 10 per cent were willing to leave to take jobs elsewhere either in North or South Carolina. (8)

Thus as a first summary we can say that a large majority of the Southern Mountaineers will bring with them strong family ties which will cause them to seek to establish social relations among their own kin in the city, to strive to maintain family integration against the competing attractions of city life, and to be drawn toward “home” at frequent and seemingly arbitrary intervals.

Lots of Young ’uns: A cultural pattern associated with familism, and one with which you are familiar, is that of large families. The research work I have done in one area indicates something of this well-established tendency. In 1950 in this little population the birth rate ranged about 38/1000 while the national average was around 24/1000. Of the 121 households we studied, 35 contained seven and more persons. These 35 houses accounted for almost 50 per cent of the total population studied. (9) Among all the mountain counties of Kentucky in 1950 the net reproduction rate exceeded 800 as compared to the figure of 600 for urban areas of the state, a difference of over one-third. (10) A study of Kentuckians in Hamilton County, Ohio, in the mid-thirties showed that southern-born people who married after coming north had larger families than northern-born persons. (11) Such a characteristic has obvious practical consequences for the housing of these people and the level of living which can be achieved on a given amount of cash.
Who's Boss? Another marked pattern associated with familism is that of the distinct definitions as to the proper roles of men, women and children. A recent research study done in one mountain county of Kentucky shows that men never engage in any of the roles usually thought of as women's work around the house. Women were seldom found doing the usual men's role although they sometimes shared in the tasks of the farmstead. The helping roles for children were also found to be quite definitely defined. I believe that the implications of this for urban living are clearly significant. These people have come to believe that the place of the woman is in the home, and their employment patterns in the mountains spell this out in the low ratio of women to men working for wages, or in "public work" as it is colloquially known. This will carry over to the city in a strong resistance by the entire family, and probably most intensely by the husband, to the wife's accepting outside employment. Another potential intra-family conflict which the urban conditions will dictate is that after a day's industrial work men will lack the specific chores that were their tasks in the rural setting. Gone too will be many of the tasks usually done by the children such as bringing in wood, coal and water. The nearness of the street and neighborhood friends will be a pull tending to disrupt the parental control implicit within the simple chores.

Rather well-marked patterns of interpersonal relations again associated with familism and centering around male dominance must also be considered. The long-established tradition of the male-dominated family continues to be expected and, in the main, accepted. Both research studies and novels reveal a frequently harsh and authoritarian relation between father and son. Out of this may come respect, awe and fear but seldom love. As a consequence the mother becomes the emotional center of the boy's affections, continuing apparently into adulthood. The life histories of mountain young people as I get them at Berea point to far less hostility among girls toward the mother than in the son-father relationship despite the mother's obvious supervisory and order-giving role about the house. However, the father-daughter attachment is often strong and apparent.
A shift in residence to the city by a family with children will alter these patterns. With the father's work away from home he will have less contact with the children, particularly the boys, with a consequent reduction in his authority over them. The mother will increasingly take over his role of order-giving and discipline with a probable decrease in the emotional attachment of the children for her. Although the activity basis of the father's authority will have largely gone with the move to the city, the traditional behavior of the father is apt to continue in his relation to the children. In this event the children will likely define his acts as arbitrary and unjustified and their response will tend to be rebellious. Persistence by the father may convert respect into hatred.

Just Settin': A characteristic pattern which seems to stand out in marked contrast to urban ways of living as we know them is the relative absence of competitive rivalry. The play activities of children seem rarely to be organized around competitively sought goals, and the work activities of adults, particularly in the rural farm areas, do not incline individuals to rivalrous behavior. In the urban setting such persons may well lack the strong success motivations and ruthless competitive striving so frequently found in our cities.

The use of leisure time in the mountain areas appears to me quite different from that of city life and is a pattern which I suspect will stand out with sharp clarity among those who migrate northward. The simplest use of leisure known to humans is probably "just settin'", and this is the primary use of free time in the mountains. Only a few days ago I visited a rural area and came to a school just at recess time. The children were sitting on benches or on the ground under the trees in a nearby pine grove. Can you imagine a group of urban children out for recess "just settin'"? On the school yard the children seldom have any training in sports or the group cooperation that goes with games such as basketball and baseball. This carries over into adult life and shows up as adult loafing. But as one who is without the skill of "just settin'" or loafing, I pay
somewhat envious tribute to these mountain people who take their leisure in a relaxed fashion.

The Three R's: Reliance upon the school system to transmit the important knowledge and behavior patterns is deeply imbedded in most sections of the United States. But it is probable that a great majority of those who migrate to Cincinnati from the Southern Appalachians do not have this strong tradition of respect for the value of formal education via the school system. In the mountain counties of Kentucky less than 15 per cent of the children complete high school. In one consolidated school area which I studied I found that 50 per cent of the people over the age of 45 had completed less than five years of schooling. Of the age group 18-44, only 1/3 had stayed in high school beyond the eighth grade. In the age group 7-17, 63 per cent were retarded behind the grade which might be considered normal for their own age. In 1950 many of the mountain counties had between a third and half of their 7-13-year-olds out of school. Is it any wonder that it is difficult to keep children of these migrants in school? Is there any reason for surprise when some of you teachers find rather large and old boys and girls in the lower grades? But all of this is not to affirm that these people and their children are without normal abilities. It is but to emphasize that they are simply the carriers of a cultural tradition which considers a little readin' and writin' the goal of formal education.

The emphatic attention which urban dwellers generally pay to matters of health and medical care you will probably find not shared by the mountain migrants. They come from a region in which the supply of medical facilities is only about half as much per unit of population as in the more urban areas. Selective Service rejection rates during the war years ranged between 1/3 and 1/2 of all those called up by draft boards in the states of the Southern Appalachian region. All of these states ranked well above the national rejection rate.

Religion Permeates the Mountains: "To an outsider coming in, it is a source of wonder how universally religion is recognized in the mountains. Practically every-
one acknowledges its claims, whether he does anything about them or not. Almost no one opposes or deprecates religion." (17) Their patterns of belief are likely to be of two varieties, depending upon their class status. Those whose class status is low and who have been the victims of the social and economic disorganization recently so virulent in the southern mountains, are likely to have an attachment for those religious organizations known as "Holiness." These groups have shown rapid growth in recent years throughout the South. (18) Their emphasis is on beliefs and practices which differentiate them from their more successful neighbors. (19) Poverty becomes evidence of virtue and assurance of eternal salvation. They are the elect because anyone who is rich obviously didn't get there on the basis of virtue.

Those migrants whose class status is above that of the preceding adherents are likely to be rather orthodox Baptists of strong fundamentalist tradition. There is enough talk about religion, but little of it has to do with application to daily living. The social gospel is notably absent.

Where'd the Money Go? Another pattern which appears to have class determinants is that of thrift and saving money. On the basis of my own research experience and general observation, I am of the opinion that those in the lower class have little familiarity with the habits that make for thrift and saving of money. Upon migrating north and perhaps coming into possession of sizeable amounts of cash, their expenditure patterns are likely to reflect the "easy come easy go" philosophy found so often among lower class groups. Immediate consumption rather than future needs is dominant. This is supported by the frequent evidence that when mountain people return home from the city, it is not because they have accumulated the money to buy a small farm or business, but because they are broke. From what I can observe, this pattern is rather characteristic of the people now moving into the northern cities.

Yet there is another pattern in the mountains which reflects a different set of class motivations and values.
It is probably a product of Puritanism and accents thrift rather than consumption. It is my observation that the upper class mountain people seem to live less well than their means would permit. There are sizeable deposits in the banks of the area; yet one seldom sees much evidence of conspicuous consumption. Most of you will probably rarely come in contact with migrants bearing this value system since they are hardly likely to be here in any large number, nor will they often show up as a "problem case."

Free to Differ, But---: Continuing this listing of the characteristics of the species "Southern Mountaineer," we must not overlook the behavioral patterns centered around individualism. They expect to have their own decisions accepted and grant to others the right to their own decisions and the right to differ. "...Mountain people are inclined to be nonconformists. Many...have...ability to go their own way...being quite sure that their own way is just as good as anyone else's."(20) A practical application of these observations might be that personnel policies need to provide maximum recognition for the individual if their work is to yield mutual satisfactions.

I believe that this individualism shows up also as a tolerance which partially explains the fact that they possess less of the deep-seated racial and religious prejudices characteristic of many Americans, both North and South. I am of the opinion that in the right atmosphere they will lose their prejudices rather quickly. Such prejudice as they have is more like a coat than a suit of underwear into which one has been sewed. At Berea we have found that their socially inherited prejudices yield quite readily to the medication of the integrated living of diverse racial, ethnic, and religious groups.

Mind Your Own Business: It is important to call attention, however, to the fact that associated with their individualism and tolerance is a readiness to give vigorous defense to what they consider to be their rights. At times this pride of individuality and self-determination seems to take the form of "carrying a chip on the
shoulder." At one time real and imagined injuries by another were encouraged and recognized in the institutionalized pattern of the feud. As a result of growth of civil authority that is largely gone today, But resort to weapons to settle grudges and insults is not gone, as the reading of almost any mountain newspaper on almost any day will reveal. Just how this sensitivity will be manifested in the urban environment I cannot say, but I suspect you have found it complicated your relations with them.

Words Are Different: A student of American literature who lived with mountain people this past winter told me that one of her greatest difficulties was to understand their version of the English language. The language which comes with them up here is not that of the city nor wholly of the mountains. It has acquired some of the words of the town mixed up with a carryover of phrases and words from an England of several centuries ago plus numerous native adaptations. It is distinctive and seems to be one of the ways in which its users are so readily labeled "hillbilly." In her penetrating, delightfully written study of mountain children, Claudia Lewis found that the spoken word and singing were the artistic media in which these children reached their greatest heights of achievement. (21) So he who has the time to pause and listen with appreciation may find a rich expressiveness of sharply poetic clarity in the casual speech of mountain people.

Beyond the Data: And now in closing, let us ask the question as to what concepts, words and phrases might sum up the character structure or basic personality structure which emerges from a society with the foregoing cultural patterns. What are the characteristics of the statistically average Southern Mountaineer? This is a question requiring far more research for an accurate answer than stands behind my earlier remarks, but I think a tentative statement can be made which would be correct in essentials. The traits I have described this morning are not, of course, anything like all that might be noted. And so, going into this following attempt at character structure description are more data than I have presented.
The characteristics which I consider to be most significant in delineating the Southern Mountaineers are as follows: Behavior in general is directed by the traditions of the culture, but marked individualism is an aspect of this tradition. At home in the mountains the stranger is received usually with a cordial hospitality which may be concealed beneath a certain shyness and reticence of manner. Placidity of manner and behavior yields readily to any word or action which infringes on the prevailing definition of the rights of a free, independent, self-reliant individual. When so provoked, the response is apt to be militant if not violent. Persons of authority tend to be defined as threatening rather than helping symbols though accredited authority is usually paid its due.

The skills necessary to the voluntary cooperation required in an organized group have not been developed by their culture experience. New social and work roles may be accepted and acquired readily as a supplement to a known capacity for extremely hard work. But there is an inclination to take things easy, to adjust to life's demands rather than to strive for mastery over the environment with innovation and organization. Due to the strong ties to home and family, the individual in an emotional sense never leaves home. Higher status is thought of in terms of such material results as a new car and flashy clothes rather than as changed social contacts or new responsible activities. Activity is apparently not motivated generally by any strong sense of fear of failure since the significance of life is in eternal salvation rather than present rewards.

Because they are encouraged both by their religious heritage and the bent of their entire culture to take life pretty much as it comes, you who work with them in this urban environment undoubtedly encounter serious difficulties as you seek to implant the motivations and behavior which go with formal education, dependable work habits, maintenance and improvement of housing conditions, more realistic usage of cash income, and sharing in the community responsibilities which accompany urban living. Although it is beyond the limits both of my assigned function and my knowledge to give you direc-
tions for the solution of these difficulties, I hope that these comments have offered you at least a few hints for understanding and guidance.

Footnotes

2. Ibid.
10. "A Study of Rural Characteristics of Kentucky Counties"; Department of Rural Sociology, University of Kentucky. (Study in process, 1954)
13. "A Study of Rural Characteristics of Kentucky Counties"; Department of Rural Sociology, University of Kentucky. (Study in process, 1954)


PART II - DISCUSSION SESSIONS

Following the opening session, the workshop participants were divided into four discussion groups, composed of as broad a representation of workshop attendance as could be devised. Each of these sessions directed discussion along the same line. Members were asked to relate their experiences in working with the southern mountaineers and give their ideas about them. Notes were taken by shorthand recorders in each section.

From these notes, lists of the ideas and problems expressed in all four sections have been made in several topical categories, with some of the more illustrative examples given. The listings report ideas and opinions, and not necessarily facts. The discussants were mainly
people whose work has brought them into contact with the difficulties of adjustment and the problems of the individuals. The examples which they gave were likely to be outstanding or unusual ones. Consequently some items on the lists are in direct contrast or opposition to others, depending upon the experience and preconceptions and viewpoint of the person who made them.

EMPLOYMENT:

1. Give up job to go home for visit; won't stay on job.
2. Record of stability and absenteeism not good.
3. Low labor turnover with these workers reported by one company.
4. Don't know how to apply for jobs; ask if you are "hiring any hands."
5. Lack job training.
6. Not receptive to extensive training; "just plodders."
7. Quick to learn.
8. Ambitious and cooperative.
10. Can learn to operate complex equipment.
11. Excellent as machine operators. Do well on mechanical work, but some fail to become skilled.
12. Better at routine jobs, as on assembly line.
13. Lack physical stamina, can't keep up pace.
14. Can do heavy and hot work and put up with severe working conditions.
15. Lack drive.
16. Skillful at working with hands.
17. Will take advantage of proper guidance and leadership from people who understand them.
18. Willing to make use of opportunities.
19. Resent misrepresentation of opportunities available.
20. Able to assume responsibility and take initiative.
21. Show ingenuity.
22. Mother customarily does not go out to work.
23. Women do seek employment, but do not make adequate plans for child care.
24. Women go to work to get away from home environment.
25. A larger percentage of mothers working where family is living in suburbs and trying to raise living standards.
26. Women workers do not adjust as readily as the men.
27. Have no money to tide over emergencies.
28. Workers mostly unskilled at first; must accept job with low pay; result is economic problem for family.
29. Can learn to save; make good use of credit unions.
30. Will not tolerate Negro workers.

Some sample cases:

"They come to the personnel office in blue jeans, muddy shoes and ask if you are 'hiring any hands.' They work for a day or two and you see them no more. They seem to do everything wrong because of lack of training, poor physical stamina; they are not used to strong competitive rivalry like we are--can't take the pace."

"We began employing Kentucky mountain people years ago before technical advances... People worked well and are still employed... These men qualified for the work because they were big and strong and put up with severe working conditions. Now the industry is mechanized, but these men have been able to learn to operate the complex mechanical and chemical equipment, often better than the more educated persons who supervise the machinery... This group is...regarded as leaders by the newer group of mountain people coming to Cincinnati. Failures of locally born persons are as many as those of people from Kentucky and Tennessee..." Company tries to hire family groups; fill openings with relatives.

"Absentee records are not too good. Drinking habits influence getting and keeping jobs. The southern mountaineer has great skill in working with his hands."

"Company's work force almost completely mountaineer and of a very high type. Hard workers, ambitious, quick to learn, cooperative, helpful to one another and to management; utilize employee benefits; marvelous machine operators; high native intelligence, though lacking in formal education. Almost no turn-over... Hiring now done by personal reference from employees... Credit union heavily used."

"Have had mountain people working for many years. Attempt to approach personnel problems from all facets,
particularly from the individual. Given any type of opportunity, they are extremely willing; extraordinarily ingenious... Don't feel that the southern mountaineer is any different. They want acceptance and recognition. Only one problem other than the spring plowing... The immature females will be most maladjusted..."

**EDUCATION:**

1. Have little regard for education for themselves or for children; parents do not care whether children attend school.
2. Truancy the greatest problem with school children—they are kept out of school to visit; or they will leave school of their own accord.
3. Children have difficulty adjusting to large schools, changing classes and having different teachers.
4. Older children take longer to get over feeling of insecurity and timidity.
5. Children not mentally retarded, but lack of former schooling limits them and they often have to be put back because of this lack.
6. Children have ability to learn, but not the cultural pattern and are sometimes considered failures according to city standards.
7. Children easier to educate than adults.
8. Children take pride in learning new things and new ways of doing.
9. Children have high sense of honor.
10. Teachers must try to make children feel more secure and wanted.
11. Adults cannot be reached with regular programs for adult education; cannot be influenced to take night classes.
12. Adults often regard school authorities as a threat.
13. Adults often learn through their children; but mothers more difficult to educate.
14. Some parents show great pride in children's school records and want them to attend.
15. Parents often ashamed of their own lack of schooling. Many cannot read or write. Some do not like to admit it. Many apply to library for home reading help.
Parents often object to having children in school with Negro children.

Some Sample Cases:

"Their feeling of lack of status in the big city schools causes very definite educational, social and emotional problems. PTAs not accepting these families either."

"It is difficult to get these people to do any learning. It has to be made enjoyable. It is difficult to get adults to go to school to learn only to read and write. Must have another reason for classes... If children are interested, they bring ideas home and parents may become interested..."

"...At least one hundred children in a year who come from Kentucky but do not stay. The greatest problem... is adjusting to the school, which is very large--1300 children. They cannot adjust to that many children or to moving from class to class. The teachers have to teach them their way around the building..."

"These children must feel wanted... and then they adjust well... One child stayed only for the classes where she liked the teachers and then left. After referral to the counselor, she stayed in school only to please him..."

(School Psychologist) "... One of the things I need to do is to help teachers understand the reaction of the child. I have had four years of experience in the mountains, working in two settlements there and also in a public school... I am particularly interested in the fact that these children are not retarded... I had a group of children who were having a difficult time, but by spring had made enough progress to enter the next class. I have found children with a three-year vocabulary, although they are about six years old. Analyzing this, one finds that it is lack of opportunity and informed association that limits the child..."

"... The children become a little bit ashamed of the parents; but there is no concerted effort yet to reach these parents or older people..."
"...Many older people, shyly and begging for secrecy, ask for home reading programs at the library to improve themselves..."

"Our only problems of truancy have been with this group. It seems to center in boys about third and fourth grade. One youngster left at recess twice to go hunt tadpoles."

... As to older children being put back in school, "there is no solution for this. These children meet no standards--cannot do the work because they have not had proper schooling. If held back, they are out of place. It is impractical to have smaller classes for these children."

"It is almost universally true that they prefer the country to city life. They prefer the hills. This may be one thing that creates a problem--living in an environment which they do not like..."

"Intelligence tests used are sometimes not reasonable. I have found we have most success working with them individually. They do have a high sense of honor....Encourage the adults to come to PTA meetings. I cannot feel that these people are any more a group than any of the rest of us..."

"Education does not have importance to these people as it does to us. Kentucky rates 47th among the states in educational facilities and standards."

"As to lack of participation in PTA, we expect mother to come forward and make plans for the child, although she has not done this in the past. They are afraid they will not be accepted in these city groups..."

Housing and Home Life:

1. They live in overcrowded quarters--10 or 12 people in 2 rooms.
2. Move into the worst slum areas; pay high rent for practically no modern facilities.
3. Refuse to move to suburbs and try to find better housing; tend to settle where there are others from their home community.
4. Are satisfied with poor living conditions; don't want modern facilities—won't use bath tub.
5. Don't want to change their standards.
6. Are being fleeced in rents—$27 a month for bare attic rooms. As many as 8 children in 2 rooms at rent of $18 a week without toilet facilities.
7. When they qualify for public housing, relatives move in and overcrowd.
8. Have difficulty in adjusting because they cannot find housing for large families and cannot meet excessive rents.
9. Often move into housing conditions here worse than those they left behind.
10. Quick to recognize need for more adequate quarters, when it is pointed out.
11. After they have been here a while, move out toward suburbs and buy property.
12. Work hard to improve living conditions.
13. Very clean and tidy no matter where they live.
14. Large families tend to be dirty—but it is basically lack of housing and facilities rather than willful dirtiness or indifference. Have desire to be clean if they can be.
15. Not interested in getting household necessities.
16. Have complete lack of regard for property values, either as owners or renters.
17. Are destructive of property—not vandalism, but lack of interest. Lack pride of possession.
18. Disregard for property may be due to custom of moving out of "wornout" house back home and building new one.
19. Learn quickly to keep better household—learn much from children.
20. Come without furniture or other resources, but try hard.
21. Economic problems of getting rent and clothing so great, there is little time for other interests.
22. There is usually strong family relationship and family loyalty. Willing to help each other and sacrifice for each other.
23. Strong family ties sometimes make them resistant to opportunities in community.
24. Like to go "back home"; do not feel at home in urban setting.
25. Some conflict in family as children learn new ways. Children tend to enter into city life—dating, dancing, movies, etc.

26. "Chore system" tends to break down, as children seek more freedom from home responsibilities.

27. If family appreciates better things of life, will give children every possible opportunity.

28. Mother key figure in family; invariably protects children. "Fathers come across."

29. Parents have no control over children's behavior. Children pretty much on their own; in city, this creates problems.

30. Standards of behavior enforced by father or clan head.

31. Children become ashamed of parents.

32. Little emotional disturbance found among children.

33. Group can and does learn what are acceptable standards of behavior in an urban community; become respectable citizens.

34. Family faces serious budget problems—overevaluate and overspend money.

"There are different types of mountain people. Some don't want modern facilities—if they have a bathtub, don't use it. Others, no matter where they live—in modern public housing or in the slums on Front Street, their apartment is going to look clean and tidy..."

"One of the greatest problems is housing... We are fleecing them in rent... Families shift around trying to find cheaper rent..."

"These families can't understand that for the same amount of money they are paying for rent, they could move into the suburbs and perhaps buy a house, and they will not consider moving... They will not go away from their own people..."

"A terrible problem in housing... Five children are the least any one family has, and no landlord will rent to a family with five children or more... The women are very good housekeepers, and the families are good, clean people."
"Many of them have moved into the suburban areas, trying to improve the standard of living and housing. They still pay exorbitant rents... They are hard working people..."

"Aunt Susie usually gives her relatives a place to stay (in public housing)... We advise them to at least get a home for their immediate family... They usually recognize the need for this... Not particularly interested in getting necessary things in their homes... Sometimes their entertaining becomes too loud, but they are willing to subdue it, when it is suggested that they do so."

"They present two problems: (1) Overcrowding. Ten or twelve live in two or three rooms. There is no other place for them to go. Public housing is unable to take care of families of more than eight people. Their income is so small they cannot rent suitable quarters... (2) Destruction of property. There seems to be a lack of interest in the property... The trouble is not vandalism. There seems to be a lack of parental control. They let the children run wild. They do damage with the knowledge and consent of their parents..."

"We have known about any number of illegitimate children who have moved into already overcrowded homes with the mother. Recall a family with 13 children of its own; sister has four illegitimate children, each one with a different father who has departed. They all live together, help each other and seem to be a rather closely knit family group..."

"It must be trying to be somebody who is just coming to Cincinnati. The adjustment must be terrific.... We were trying to learn how to do a quick job of dishwashing. The girls were very proud of themselves. One girl expressed herself: 'Well, I want to tell you what my mother said. She won't let me wash dishes this way because it is just a lot of nonsense. But you know what I do? My mother likes to go to the movies. Every time she goes it's my job to wash the dishes. I say, you just go on, and wait until she is gone and then wash dishes our way.'"
HEALTH:

1. Lack physical stamina.
2. Large percentage of draft rejections for physical or psychiatric reasons.
3. Have no concept of what we consider adequate medical standards.
4. Difficult to get medical care for them, because of home problems.
5. Big and strong, able to do hard work.
6. Look upon doctor as "authority" figure; don't want to carry out his orders.
7. Religion often enters to replace medication and medical routine.
8. Nutritional problems—accustomed to limited diet, beans and bread. Won't learn to use foods necessary to good nutrition.
9. Poor diet attributed to variety of factors—concept that food comes from soil and not from store.
10. Try to live up to what they think are community food standards—use white flour instead of ground cornmeal used back home. Buy pop, potato chips, ice cream suckers instead of staples.

"When examining some 17-year-old boys...for selective service...never had seen such physical wrecks. They came here in bus loads. Between 80 and 90% of them were rejected by the draft board for physical or psychiatric reasons. They have no conception of what we consider adequate medical standards. It might be possible to give them some concept by working with individuals. In time they will respond and learn what adequate medical care is and will want it..."

"Difficulty in getting medical care for the children. A school doctor will examine, make referral to district physician, but an adult must accompany a child under 16 years of age. This is not always practical. If they are referred to clinic, they must return again and again, but very often do not follow through because of lack of money for transportation. We tell these people we have the service for them, but we never produce the service!"
"If you talk about diet, it is beans and bread. Do not know other things. One boy ran away from the school (Glenview) because they had beets for the noon meal. We have a rule that they have to eat one spoonful of everything. He wouldn't even do that..."

REligion:

1. Will not attend larger, established or "more formal looking" churches.
2. Many attend Holiness or Pentecostal churches.
3. Know Bible well and can quote it extensively.
4. Greatly interested in "salvation."
5. Religion not important to them; no interest in it.
6. Most of their churches are "store fronts."
7. Religion very much an individual affair with them.
8. They need to be made to feel welcome in the churches.
9. Have great religious ties; families attend church as a group.
10. Religion colors their attitude toward most of their existence: the hereafter is so important that here-and-now can take care of itself.
11. Do not find the religious affiliation they need here and do not affiliate with the unfamiliar.
12. Approach of organized churches fails to meet their needs—the emphasis on clubs, social activities, etc., is of no interest to them.
13. Will sometimes resort to religion when medical care is needed.

"A Holiness Church has been established near Peaslee School. Families go to church every night, rather than attend any educational programs at the school. They are able to quote the Bible extensively, and are greatly interested in salvation..."

"A number of these people attend churches which have both white and Negro members. They fit in rather readily. These are small churches; some of the larger churches could learn something from them about brotherhood and the acceptance of all people."

"They will go to the 'store front' churches, but are afraid of big churches. If you call once, they will..."
receive you. To make friends of them, you have to call many times to convince them that they are welcome."

"Most of them evidently have no religion at all. They have no interest in that field."

"I have found the contrary to be true. There is a great tie to religion."

"When you inquire about their religion be sure of what you say. I have found that 'having no religion' means they haven't been saved."

"This has been our experience too. We found that 90% had no religious affiliation. The question, What church do you belong to? doesn't mean very much. I often wonder how many southern mountaineers go home to attend church down there. We are aware that the Council of Churches has been concerned about establishing churches of the usual denominations...The folks who run the storefront churches are not from the community."

"In regard to religion, we find that children who have been coming to the Center for a long time do come to the church program on Sunday afternoon. They also go to their storefront churches."

"Appreciation of the life to come is not averse to being interested in the present life. The two things can work together... I wonder if we are taking into consideration the factors which cause family breakdown in any congested area. The mountain people function the same way that families in their particular communities function. Doesn't this have to be considered on an individual basis? Some generalities are unfair. You get different reactions from those who have moved out."

**LEISURE TIME:**

1. Strong family ties and long-established traditions stand in way of participation in community life.
2. As they become more accustomed to community and have basic needs satisfied, they are apt to participate more.
3. Some facilities are too commercialized to appeal to group.
4. Attend church during leisure time.
5. Children will play with both colored and white children, but parents will not tolerate Negroes.
6. Children enter into city life more readily than adults.
7. Children are used to doing as they please; this creates problems in urban living.
8. Have entertainment in the home.
9. Hard to get adults, especially, interested in community center activities.
10. Children miss activities of the country.
11. Difficult to plan group experience for young people; don't participate in programs—especially in summer—because of home chores.
12. Not accustomed to sports and other group activity of either a cooperative or competitive nature.

"These children have been accustomed to be much on their own. Their mothers and fathers are gone when they come home from school. They are used to going about as they please, but now they are on their own in a new environment, and they get into trouble..."

"The 'chore system' is being broken... We find it is difficult to plan group experience for the girls. We have had to eliminate our summer program—they did not come because they had to stay at home and do certain work. This is an important factor in their lack of adjustment."

POLICE AND AUTHORITY:

1. Are resistant to anyone who represents to them an authoritative figure, even when such a person is trying to help.
2. Come with different culture pattern from ours; this sometimes in conflict with what is law.
3. Do not like to be told what to do.
4. Often regard doctor, caseworker as authoritative figures.
5. Police have to deal with the greatest problem characters in this group as in any group.

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6. Newcomers look for leadership to those southern mountaineers who have been settled here for some time.

7. Main police problems are truancy, stealing, drinking, sex delinquency.

8. Do not realize that some sex practices which are not illegal in home state constitute a felony here.

9. Group can and does learn to accept laws here and abide by them.

10. Often refuse suggestions for improvement from workers whom they regard as "authoritative."

11. Will respond to suggestions for improvement of home conditions.

12. Accept leadership of employers well.

13. Expect public assistance; resist self-support.

14. Refuse to assume responsibility of caring for property.

15. Children defy authority to show individualism.

16. In their own environment, children show greater respect for their teachers than do children of urban centers.

17. Have high ethical values of their own.

"While an urban community might look upon illegitimacy in an unfavorable manner, their standards and culture are different; consequently they do not look upon the problem in the same light..."

"Many of these people are suspicious of us when we project our standards upon them."

"What we term maladjusted in one group of society might be acceptable in another... Do not have contact with law enforcement until they come here... About 15 years ago, 25% of the serious demands made upon the police arose from sub-cultural group... but after they have been here long enough and know what are acceptable standards of behavior in an urban community, they become respectable members and do not create much disturbance..."

"Main problems are truancy, stealing, drinking, sex delinquency. They do not understand laws here, such as it being a felony to have sexual relations with a member of their own family or with a girl who consents..."
"They regard those who wish to help them as a threat rather than a help..."

"Southern children are hard to get underneath... They throw stones because it is their means of showing that they are individuals. It is one way of getting even with authority... The mother invariably protects the children. Fathers come across..."

"How can we handle cases where we run into problems of lack of respect for authority?..." "Disrespect is basically American. Try to make authority itself something helpful rather than oppressive..."

PROBLEMS FACED BY SOUTHERN MOUNTAINEER IN URBAN SETTING:

1. Both adults and children feel strongly rejected by urban population. This creates resentment. Acutely aware of prejudice against them.
2. Find it hard to adjust to pace and competition in city life.
3. Face serious economic problems: come without resources; have to take jobs at low pay; have to pay high rents for poor quarters.
4. Face many unusual complications in urban life, such as meeting requirements for public housing; relief; medical care.
5. Come to city "expecting to find Utopia, but not willing to turn a hand to achieve it."
6. Find living conditions in city often worse than those they left behind.
7. Find laws different from what they have been accustomed to.
8. Authority represents a threat rather than a help.
9. Difficulty in meeting educational standards.

ATTITUDES:

1. Strong sense of individualism and independence.
2. Resentful of criticism.
3. Cooperative if they do not feel they are being forced to change.
4. Strong family cohesion.
5. Schooling generally not important.
6. Strong prejudice against Negroes; refuse to work with them.
7. Often assume prejudices of white people in community in effort to acquire status, but where they are brought into interracial groups, they accept others willingly.
8. Children will play with colored children and make friends of them.
9. Anxious to please those whom they like.
10. Intense loyalty to own group. Will make sacrifices for one another.
11. Exhibit extremes of behavior: either teetotal or constant drinking.
12. Feel that this life is not important; hereafter is...
13. Have feeling of temporariness; keep roots "back home."
14. Do not want to be helped.
15. Lack drive and ambition.
16. Gullible; easy prey for loan sharks.
17. Religion all-important.
18. No interest in religion.
19. Have no regard for property.
20. Have a need to feel wanted.
21. Cincinnatians fail to appreciate their strengths.
22. We fail to think of what they have to offer.
23. No different from others. Want acceptance and recognition.

"Must be regarded as individuals. Can and do become good citizens. We need to guard against generalizations."

"When these children... go into a better part of the city to live, they are completely rejected because of their difference in standards and cultural pattern. The resentment that is built up causes problems... PTAs do not accept these families either."

"We are a joining culture; everybody is a member of some group. We associate with contemporary group. Maybe mountain folks come here for economic reasons only."

"It is the individual which makes the difference and not the environment entirely. Some families feel they have made progress by just moving to Cincinnati. We
cannot expect too much from them too fast and think they have to come up to our standards..."

"We tend to think of them as weaklings, needing help, and we do not talk very much about their inherent strengths and their capacity to solve their own problems... There might be less resistance if they were being offered the kind of help they need. Many times in giving help, the way in which we administer it creates hostile results... We need to get some individual personal feeling toward these people—are we really interested in helping them? Do we use 'pressure of work' too often as an excuse?"

"Are they really welcome in this community? Do we recognize their inherent worth and want them to come? People born in Cincinnati who have lived here a great many years on a different economic level, are quite smug and do not particularly welcome them..."

"Most of the discussion here centered about how we are trying to help them adjust. The mountain people feel a certain attitude among Cincinnati people... What have we done to appreciate the strengths of these people?"

"We must understand them and not lose patience. They are strangers in a strange land. They have a lot to offer and have a great deal of common sense."

"The prejudice toward mountain people is no different from that toward any minority group. We must teach tolerance for all minority groups."

Psychologist noted "surface hostility toward the Negro, tendency to project own feelings." Quick adjustment noted, followed by arm-in-arm friendship. First visit of Negro caseworker to southern mountaineer family "received with surprise... easily accepted thereafter, with cooperation and friendliness..." Experience confirmed by Negro home visitor.

"Show an amazing amount of coordination and willingness and cooperativeness if they are handled properly and individually."
"They have the same basic human needs we have... We have need to reach out our hand to help them instead of reaching down to help them up. Their strengths are intense loyalty, high native intelligence, native ability, strong family groups, strong religious values and ties; so they do have many things to contribute to their new community. We need to guard against generalization from our limited experience."

PART III - A COMMENTARY ON THE DISCUSSION SESSIONS
By Dr. Roscoe Giffin

Since no one of us who attended the workshop was able to share in all the discussion sessions, we are in considerable debt to the recorders who caught so many of the interesting comments, and to the reporters who began the process of organizing and summarizing at the noon luncheon meeting. Complete collation of the materials from the four discussion groups has made available the integrated summary in Part II. I shall undertake in this section to comment upon the discussion materials in such a way as to clarify and interpret their meaning and significance by several additional classifications and some new information.

But again a word of caution. Neither my workshop address nor the discussant findings should be considered as adequate treatment, in a scientific sense, of this important topic. All parts are bound to be impressionistic and sketchy in view of the data available to us. The experiences which the discussants presented are not the result of the sort of investigative process which would enable us to judge with any degree of statistical accuracy the extent to which they are representative of the Southern Mountaineers as a group. However, as I have studied them in relation to the information which provided the basis for my earlier address, I am of the opinion that many of the ideas expressed by the discussants represent hypotheses which have a high probability of being verifiable.
I have sought in this part to cast my comments into the following mold of ideas: First a few comparisons with studies about other migrant groups: What was thought of them? How were they received? What problems did they encounter? Second, the threads of agreement and similarity of behavioral patterns among the various areas of the discussions. Third, the conflicting reports presented by the discussants and myself. Fourth, what phases of their culture and group membership are a strength for their urban adjustment? Fifth, what phases are a handicap or source of weakness for this adjustment? Lastly, a view of the discussion records as a study in prejudice and discrimination against a minority group.

SOME COMPARISONS WITH OTHER MIGRANT GROUPS

As I read the reports of the several discussion groups, I am impressed that many of these statements have been made about numerous other immigrants on many other occasions. It seems to be the lot of the migrant into a new land to be forever wrong. His way of life will always differ, though in varying degree, from that of the dominant group of his adopted home. And since mankind in general has not yet become emancipated from the fetters of ethnocentrism, the different will nearly always be defined as "the wrong" by the majority.

* The following references are suggestive of the rich literature concerned with the adjustment of migrant groups in the U.S. A continuing theme through many of these accounts is that, although the early settlers were not wholly from the British Isles, the culture to which the migrants had to adjust came to be defined basically as Anglo-Saxon. The case of the Southern Mountaineers is unique in that we have here as nearly pure an Anglo-Saxon population as is to be found who are encountering the same sort of difficulties that practically all other migrants faced.

Demonstrated Learning Capacity: If one has the opportunity to become acquainted in some detail with anthropology—the study of man—one gradually becomes intensely aware of a characteristic of man which is readily observable but sometimes undervalued. Everywhere through time and location—differences, man is different yet in this very difference is the evidence for that greatest of all man's attributes: the capacity to learn and change. The varieties of culture which the species *homo sapiens* has produced are the consequence solely of learning, not of biological variation.

Likewise, it may be of some encouragement to those concerned with the difficulties the Southern Mountaineer encounters in Cincinnati, to note the repeated testimony, through the discussion records, of their learning capacity. This is, of course, no special trait of theirs which is possessed above other people. It is but a universal trait of mankind that he should show capacity, more or less, to adapt through learning to the demands of a new environmental setting. Thus it is that persons at the workshop representing employers, education, housing, and police paid tribute to the learning capacity of these migrants. This is not to be interpreted

(Continued from preceding page)

2. Alain Locke and Bernhard J. Stern: *When Peoples Meet, A Study in Race and Culture Contacts*. Hinds, Hayden & Eldredge, Inc., Philadelphia, 1946. (The following sections, each of which includes several relevant articles, are recommended: Sec. 9: Dilemmas of Dominance; Sec. 15: Minority Issues in American Democracy.)


4. W. I. Thomas and Florian Znaniecki: *The Polish Peasant in Europe and America*. Badger, Boston, 1918. (The definitive study from a social science standpoint.)
to mean that immediately upon coming here these folks do the impossible and cast aside all their previously learned designs for living and absorb the new. It is apparent that many of them learn slowly, that in many cases they strive to maintain the old ways in a setting to which they are not adapted. The discussions leave me with the impression that women, particularly those with children, take on new ways less rapidly than either their husbands or children. Probably this is a result of their being somewhat protected from the opportunities and demands of the new environment as compared to the other members of their families. It is possible that people subjected continually to a rapidly changing life situation may make a habit out of learning the new. Mountain men who have left the farms to work in the mines, logging woods, construction, factories, etc., and children who have been in good schools, may well have caught the habit of learning. However, the married women who have remained in the home, perhaps in a rather poor and isolated area, will show less readiness for adapting to the new experiences of the city.

Lack of Urban Motivations: We know that the capacity to learn is a sort of plasticity native to the human organism. But we also know that this is not enough to account for most of the learning which does take place. Thus we note that another linkage among the various areas into which the discussions were organized is evidence that the motivation to learn new ways is often lacking in some of the migrants. Employer representatives told of the experience with migrants who were "just plodders," were lacking in the drive of achievement. Educators spoke of the reluctance of parents to participate in adult education programs, or said that the learning experience had to be made particularly enjoyable and attractive. Housing representatives pointed to the unwillingness to try to find better living quarters, to apparent satisfaction with their existing facilities. Social workers indicated that the problems of operating the home were often more than enough to offset getting needed medical care—the understood benefits were not great enough to offset the difficulties and costs. Similarly some indicated that the various leisure time activities which involve leaving home at night
were not valued sufficiently to balance the losses in breaking with the ties of family and tradition.

The explanation of the lack of motivation to take on the new ways and opportunities probably requires an understanding of the total configuration of culture with its themes and values which the migrants bring with them. I have endeavored in my workshop address to call attention to some aspects of this totality. In general it is apparent that the culture of every human group is more or less satisfying to its members. By counter token it is hardly to be expected that a mature bearer of one culture-system will suddenly discard the ways in which he has been reared and develop an enormous appetite for the ways of another people. Let any of you who read these pages inquire whether or not you are really dissatisfied with any of the major components of your way of life. And thus if a person has become adjusted to living on a relatively small amount of income, to little formal education, to accepting life as it comes, to the close-knit bonds of a mountain family, we can hardly expect him to quickly respond to the rather different goals and values of urban life.

These comments also suggest that those who move to Cincinnati may be roughly divisible into two broad categories: those who are pulled and those who are pushed. Those who move voluntarily in response to the belief that the city offers an opportunity to achieve values and goals which have become important to them will probably show a much more rapid rate of learning and adjustment. Those who have come because their native environment has become economically disorganized and offers them little opportunity to achieve even the relatively simple goals of mountain culture which, if attained, would satisfy them, will probably adjust slowly and learn reluctantly.

Inadequate Preparation for Urban Living: I have already pointed up the evidence from the discussions as to their learning capacity but also the restraint on learning due to lack of acceptance of the patterns and values of urban life. To this must now be added the obvious evidence that as a whole the Southern Mountaineer comes
north ill-prepared for urban living. The discussion record shows that in such basic and seemingly simple matters as applying for jobs, the language and dress are not in keeping with urban standards. Because of poor schooling, children often give the appearance of being retarded for reasons of biology. The urban accent on elegant housing and the maintenance of rental property finds no responsive chord in the experience background of most of the mountain people. If you were to travel through the mountain country, I believe you would conclude with me that housing differentiation is not an important goal, and that comfortable living is not accented. Houses are built usually by the occupants within limits imposed by their own skills and resources of cash and materials. A house is a shelter and not a palace.

Continuing along this theme of their lack of preparation for urban living, the discussants noted that in many cases the migrants were lacking in the physical stamina and health which has become so much a part of the urban standard of living, though obviously in frequent default. Underlying this condition are many developments, such as the shift from wholesome cornmeal and wheat flour ground at the grist mill to white-flour biscuits and store-bought bread which has come as the market economy has penetrated into the mountains. These people appear to fall ready prey to the temptations of soda pop, chewing gum, and candy. The result is a distressing amount of dental decay among mountain children who live near to the ubiquitous mountain store. But these are matters on which mountain people obviously have no monopoly. What was your dental bill last year? The evidence as to the health of these people seems to be a bit of a shock probably because one of our stereotypes is that rural life is more healthful than urban. Perhaps this was true at one time, but rural people have fallen victim to all the threats to health of modern living while not at the same time developing appropriate access to the medical facilities to counter these particular ills.

The religious patterns of the mountains certainly do not prepare our mountain people for the formality and organization of a city church. And so we find church workers
pointing to the difficulty of attracting the older persons in particular into church programs. The emphasis of urban middle-class, Protestant churches on group activities, social concerns, and a community and world outreach is almost wholly unknown in the mountain church where religion is a matter of personal salvation and church attendance is a major source of socializing and recreation.

Similar contrasts appear as we note the comments from the discussion regarding leisure-time activities. The games and competitive sports of urban life are hardly a substitute for the mountain boy whose play space is the road or woods and whose activity-focus on a spring day may be hunting tadpoles. The community center, pleasant as it may be, does not supply the psychic satisfactions that accompany the singing, stories, and "just settin'" within the intimate bonds of such a primary grouping as the family.

Dominance of Family Ties: A noticeable further thread of agreement running through the discussion reports is the unfavorable effect on their job dependability and regular school attendance of close ties with family and home in relation to the dissatisfactions with urban living.

Limited Acceptance of Authority: I had reported previously that the authoritarian patterns which appear to me associated with the dominance of the father in the rural farm situation, were prone to create a respect for authority though not affection. The evidenced acceptance of the directions and orders of constituted authority on the job, in school, and in contact with police are consistent with this conclusion.

There is, however, indication that the directives of persons in authority are not always accepted so readily as the cases in the previous paragraph. Some of the school people reported that the adults often regard school officials as threats; medical doctors were placed in a similar category; and from some of the social workers came stories that their suggestions were often defined as threats of authority. What is the possible
explanation of the acceptance of the authority of certain persons but rejection in the case of others?

I would offer the guess that the difference hinges on whether or not the mountain people involved have yet come to identify themselves as being members of the various social systems. That is, a worker is part of the plant organization and recognizes as authority the various bosses; the student in school follows a similar pattern; the police are recognized as part of a government of which they are citizens. But from the mountain areas we have ample evidence that parents have not given their children over to the school system with the same near-abandonment of urban parents. They yet expect to remove the child from school whenever the pressures of household or farm require. The urban pattern of regularity is thus a point of conflict and those whose duty it is to enforce it are not accepted authority.

There is also evidence that opinions, directives, or orders from persons not accepted as superiors bring a quick rebellion in the mountain environment. Lack of familiarity both with the medical and the social work profession probably accounts for the rejection of their authority, although one, the medical, is highly authoritarian whereas social work seems largely non-authoritarian. In this pattern the lack of the participative involvement which goes with the work situation or the home is probably a further source of the evidenced rejection of authority.

CONFLICTING REPORTS

Differential Acceptance of Negroes by Children and Adults: The testimony we have from the discussions indicates that children from the mountains associate with Negro children and those of other races in an agreeable manner. But the adults show conflicting patterns of acceptance. The one statement that we have regarding race relations among employees points to conflict and prejudice as do reports regarding education, neighborhood life and leisure. Yet we have several other indications such as those of interracial churches and contacts with social workers which indicate acceptance of other races.
But in view of the fact that there are certainly numerous instances in Cincinnati of integrated employment without notable friction, I would lean to the view that the character of these relations depends basically not upon the attitudes of the migrants but upon the procedures and values established for the situation by the employer. Perhaps a major strategy is to create situations in which neither racial group appears to the other in fact or belief as a threat.

Anyone familiar with the Southern Mountain people, or a careful reader of Part II, cannot help being impressed that there is among them considerable variation and that some make a more adequate urban adjustment than do others. We thus found several interesting reports of employer representatives who spoke highly of the dependability and skill of the mountain people. Some parents were interested and proud of their children's school work. Observers of housing and family life reported on the considerable effort some make to improve their living conditions, of their neatness and tidiness, of their efforts to give children the best possible opportunities, of the families who have adapted rather rapidly to urban standards. Again we are out of data, but I would offer two lines of possible explanation. One is that most of the persons who were lauded so highly were probably from an older group which settled in Cincinnati perhaps before 1930. I am of the impression that much of the migration prior to that time was by individuals who were attracted to the opportunities and values of urban life. It seems that the attraction of ready employment and high wages in recent years or the disappearance of economic opportunity at home has brought to the city many whose motivations and values prevented a satisfactory adjustment. Another possible explanation of those making the more satisfactory adjustment is that they have a childhood background in one of the thrifty and attractive homes one will find in almost every mountain valley. From such families have come remarkable people, but such households are quite the exception. In my own study of 121 households we found only two which had produced any college graduates, and these were upper class homes. The six children of one family had all gone to college.
Now I want to look at the discussion reports and the other evidence at hand in terms of those aspects of the culture and group membership of Southern Mountaineers which represent assets or positive strengths in the struggle for urban adjustment. So much of our emphasis has had a pathological quality to it that it will be refreshing to see what can be done to accentuate the positive.

I am of the opinion that their largest asset is the undeniable fact that the mountaineers are "Old American" stock. The scales of group membership by which people are judged in America are tipped in favor of those whose racial membership is Caucasian, whose ethnic background is that of the British Isles or Northwestern Europe, and whose religion is Protestant Christian. Unfortunate, unjust as this may be in the view of persons such as myself, these are facts which are. Disliking them does not eliminate them. For the mountaineers this does not mean that the "Welcome Wagons" will be waiting on the north bank of the Ohio River. But it does mean that they do not come weighted down by the handicaps of so many of the migrant groups of American history. The doors to the elevators in our socio-economic status system will gradually open in full for these people. (1)

Persons familiar with the Cincinnati settlement patterns of the mountaineers tell me that they tend to cluster in neighborhoods. The literature of urban adjustment indicates clearly that by adopting this system of voluntary ecological segregation, mountain groups are given a certain protection against the multitude of disorganizing experiences which newcomers to urban life must face. It creates for them a continuing primary group membership which supplies some of that psychological income of recognition, affection, and security.

1. As a footnote to the mood of contemporary U.S.A., it is reasonable to guess that the mountaineers will never be suspected of any disloyalty, given the antiquity of their ancestry, their names, and lack of formal education.
This is a very valuable antidote for the disease of loneliness which attacks so many of those who come to the city singly. The presence in the city of friends and relatives provides the later migrants with a base of operation, a source of housing, some assurance of economic security. They are not alone on this frontier, for the advance scouts and settlers have already moved in.

Earlier I offered the opinion that the mountaineers are not motivated by strong fears of failure, perhaps because their definitions of success are not far beyond their reach. This, combined with the settlement patterns, should mean that their personality disorganization will be relatively low.

Men who have been reared on the near-subsistence farms of the mountains or who have worked in the mines and logging woods, will probably develop a familiarity with tools and a sort of mechanical ingenuity. Perhaps this is the background of the favorable reports we received on the work of the men in factories and with machinery. But whatever the source, it is obviously an asset in such a machine tool producing and using center as Cincinnati.

If one is basically fearful of people different from oneself, a city will certainly be a nightmare. And thus it would seem to me that the individualism and tolerance which I find in mountain people is an important strength in their adjustment to urban multi-group society.

A large portion of these migrants will bring with them an ethical code which is rooted in the Bible of Christianity. Although there will probably be more residents of the U.S. out of church on any given Sunday than will be in, many of the basic norms of conduct which we share are a result of the Christian tradition. This is perhaps the asset which accounts for the apparent rapid acceptance by the migrants of the codes of conduct of city life as reported to us by a member of the police force.

Could the deep-rooted significance of religion in mountain life be used as an instrument through which they
can learn from an accepted leader, ways of conduct, norms and values that will aid in urban adjustment? This would require that their preachers would have to be more conscious of the requirements of urban life than most of them probably are. But I know of several young men from the mountains now getting pre-ministerial training at Berea College who might be able agents of this process.

POTENTIALS FOR URBAN ADJUSTMENT: THEIR LIABILITIES

The cluster of culture-traits which might be linked together under the general title of "lack of preparation" seems to me the primary liability the mountaineers bring with them. It will be recalled that in this group of characteristics are deficiencies in formal education, health, job training, etc. The consequence of these liabilities is to reap all the assorted troubles of low status and below-average income. Original deficits may well grow at a high rate of compound interest under such circumstances.

The close ties of the family and neighborhood group are, on one hand, of definite value as indicated previously, but may, on the other, be a serious handicap. If the family members venture away from the household and into the urban world only for the necessities of employment and marketing, their training in the ways of city living will be slow. This has, of course, at least two sides: it is a protection against some of the disorganizing shocks of a strange way of life, but it is a barrier against becoming acquainted with the resources of the new environment. The strong ties with kith and kin also add a detrimental element leading to instability of residence. It is the tree whose fruit is that slightly derisive label, "down-homer." As a further by-product we find it means that home does not come with them in the move northward; it forever remains for many of the mountaineers back in the hills. No transplanting takes place, only uprooting for many.

One of the liabilities charged to some of the migrants by various observers is that they have become highly dependent upon social welfare facilities and are devoid
of the attributes of self-reliance and independence, so frequently affirmed as among their most important assets. Such dependency has a two-way consequence; the dependent person is unable to help himself, and because of this is probably repulsive to those who might be helpful. The sources of such dependency will differ among persons, but I suggest two possibilities in general. One common source appears to be that a person may become quite highly disorganized when the social system of which he has been a part collapses or, perhaps, rejects him. The history of the impact of Euro-American civilization on folk societies is replete with the case histories of individuals who have literally lost their reason for living when their society has collapsed. This may well be occurring in some sectors of Appalachia where the social and economic system has been radically altered. A second possible source of abnormal dependency is that it results when a person migrates to the city but lacks both the skills of urban living as well as the appropriate motivations. Such persons lack the basic skills for establishing themselves, even if they wanted to.

The manner of speaking of the mountaineers is also a source of difficulty for them because it identifies them rather readily as a member of a minority group. In this connection I use the term "minority group" to mean a category of people aware of prejudices against them.

Previously in this commentary I noted that a repeated theme among these migrants is that they do not readily recognize as authorities or order-givers several categories of professional persons. Difficulties are bound to arise and impede their adjustment if they react in an uncooperative manner to the directives and suggestions of doctors, welfare representatives, and school people.

As a final liability-trait of importance, I believe that certain aspects of their religious ideology must be counted. Numerous observers suggest that a belief system which places little emphasis on the present life does not offer a basis for overcoming such threats as poverty, ignorance and disease. Such beliefs are widely held among southern mountain people and there is
every reason to believe that many who migrate to the city will come with this handicap.

**VICTIMS OF PREJUDICE?**

A final question which interests me is whether or not the various observations reported in the discussion groups give evidence that the Southern Mountaineers in Cincinnati area are being subjected to discrimination and prejudice because of their particular group membership. And in keeping with the manners of an academician, I must begin by setting forth my definitions.

Discrimination is an activity in which all of us engage continually, for at the nucleus of the concept is the idea of choice. Choice among foods, friends, clothing, cars, movies, books, etc., is universal. We are constantly in search of the criteria by which we can make the best possible choice between competing alternatives. In a civilization which idealizes the rational we seek to judge even our criteria of choice. We want to know if they are objective, scientific, morally and ethically sound, pragmatic. It isn't enough to have a reason. It must be a good reason.

Our workshop was concerned with human relations. Are the numerous problems faced by the mountaineers a result of the choices other Cincinnatians make? And are these choices justifiable on grounds which we hold to be rational?

It seems to me that in this civilization we hold it is rational to decide who shall get certain goods and services, such as food and housing, on the basis of whether or not people possess purchasing power. We also hold it is justifiable to choose those whom we shall employ by the criteria of preparation and skill for the job, and evidences of necessary developmental capacities. We seek even to introduce into the choice of a marriage partner factors thought to be more rational and important perhaps than the emotion known as "love"!

Yet we need only to think about the human relations we see about us to recognize that people are chosen in
many instances for reasons other than such as the foregoing. We all know of the criteria of age which arbitrarily makes unemployable many persons each year even though they are yet quite productive. There are strong currents of opinion among American women that they are denied opportunities of employment, for which they are well qualified, simply because of their sex. The factor of race in the closing of the doors to employment, housing, public facilities, churches, etc., is almost too well known to require elaboration. Many of us take no more pride in choices being made among people on such grounds as the previous than we do if made on the basis of religion, ethnic group membership, or even language. But that opportunities to spend purchasing power, to acquire purchasing power through employment, etc., are frequently determined by such group membership criteria, none can deny. I would thus take the position that unjustified discrimination and prejudice are involved when factors of group membership determine the opportunities available to a person rather than those having to do with his own resources as a person.

The results of this sort of prejudice and discrimination are of several varieties. One is a relatively innocuous but unpleasant—to the receiver—form of name-calling. The mountaineers have apparently acquired their quota of such epithets, as have practically every other group of migrants in our history. A second result is that the observations made of the members of such a group may be the result more of the prejudices with which the observer views them than of the actual facts. In other words another person free of such bias would not report the same facts. This seems to me an important aspect in assessing the various observations brought by myself and the discussants at this workshop and is a major reason why all of our findings must be viewed as tentative. Scientific observation requires that the observer be as free of bias as possible. I may have reflected in my comments a "pro-bias" in some cases, an "anti-bias" in others. The same may well be true of some of the discussants. It is for this reason that a more carefully controlled study is required of the problem before conclusions can be definitive. This is not to infer that what we have said is necessarily false; ra-
ther it is that our statements should be considered as hypotheses supported by personal experiences but requiring scientific study to determine their value.

A third consequence of unjustified discrimination is that such victims are denied access to facilities and opportunities on terms equal to those applied to members of other groups. Often the treatment goes beyond the question of terms and is one of no access at all. Here we are at the heart of the problem of intergroup relations in contemporary life.

We now finally inquire whether or not the difficulties faced by the mountaineers are a result of their group membership. Let the reader review the section of Part II which sums up the problems faced by these people and determine for himself this answer. Personally I would conclude that their problems are largely a consequence of the various handicaps they bring with them to Cincinnati, and which, in interaction with the urban environment, result in the maladjustments as noted. They are undoubtedly faced with prejudice because of their group membership. But it strikes me that it is manifested mainly in the form of name-calling and in the feeling on the part of the mountaineers that they are rejected. But I have yet to see any evidence which would indicate that they are denied employment opportunities for which they are qualified because of their being from the hills. On the contrary we had reports to the effect that the men were preferred by some employers and were selected mainly on the recommendations of already-employed friends or relatives. Are these people denied entrance to various private or public facilities if they have the required funds or interest? Families from the mountains face apparent difficulties in obtaining housing. But is this due to their group membership or to the size of their families and newness to the city?

Prior to giving my attention directly to this question of their being victims of prejudice I had tentatively given a "yes" answer. But on closer examination, I have come to the above conclusion. This conclusion seems to be consistent with what I had earlier ranked as the pri-
mary asset of these people for urban adjustment, namely, their being Old American stock.

In conclusion I want to express in writing my gratitude and appreciation to the Social Service Association of Greater Cincinnati and the Mayor's Friendly Relations Committee for inviting me to participate in the workshop. It has been a significant personal experience.

PART IV - "THE WORKSHOP HAS HELPED ME THUS..."

Six weeks after the workshop, participants were sent an evaluation card headed as above, to fill in. Some 18% answered promptly. "I understand them better now" was the prevailing response, variously indicating how new insights helped the respondent to do this job better. Excerpts from the valuations follow.

School Counseling Director: "Better able to help new counselors to understand problems of group with whom we do a great deal of work."

Caseworker: "...in accepting characteristics of, and establishing relationships with these people."

Alcoholism Clinic Head: "Understand some specific individual and family cases."

Industrialist (MFRC Trustee): "Have a better understanding of the problem and the group."

Housing Inspector: "...we are primarily concerned with structure...You helped us understand the people."

Counselor: "Broadened my understanding of the group...helped me in working with students and parents."

Caseworker: "Workshop offered practical, factual help...it applied theory to practice."

Counselor: "Gave me more understanding of what the youngsters told me about their parents. I was also
able to do a better job of interpreting Cincinnati to them, knowing more about their background."

Industrial Personnel Director: "Received insight into thinking and background of mountain employees that I never had before. It is helpful in interviewing and in understanding their problems."

Hospital Caseworker: "Sympathize more easily with the many patients I see from Kentucky. See more fully the significance of their cultural heritage."

Caseworker: "Terrific help in understanding them."

Principal: "Helped in a new approach" (by Giffin's citing lack of competition motive and finality of the father's orders); "mothers' meetings of little value."

Caseworker: "By knowing them better I hope to help them understand me and my culture. I find them easier to work with, now I see their good points."

Counselor (Negro): "Because I better understand attitudes and interests of mountain pupils, they feel closer to me and I feel closer to them."

Health Worker: "Lessened preconceived notions."

Home Economics Supervisor: "Clearer insight into needs; desire to work more satisfactorily with them."

Caseworker: "Gave me the positive side; my previous observations of them had been only on the negative."

Assistant Principal: "Fuller understanding of the 'why' of behavior; appreciate other agencies' problems."

Board Member: Hails "the wonderful news that on a problem like this, professional, lay, industrial and labor representatives work together."
POSTSCRIPT & SPRINGBOARD

Well, there it is. What do you think of it? Where do we go from here? To begin, it is obvious that planning next steps will be most strengthened by the ideas of you who read this report, whether you attended the workshop or not, whether you're a Cincinnati or no. We do request your evaluation and suggestions, by phone or mail to the Mayor's Friendly Relations Committee, at 105 City Hall, Cincinnati (GA 5700).

Some suggestions have come already from workshoppers. Such as: Make report available to anyone... More intensive treatment of material covered, maybe in small study groups... Another workshop next year... Get another specialist... Some scientific fact-finding... Explore specifics that can be carried out by concerned institutions... Get press and radio to give this knowledge to the public... and so on.

After the workshop we contacted the Council of Southern Mountain Workers, a sort of Appalachian SSA whose members toil to meet the needs of hill folk—in obvious parallel to Cincinnati's interest. A continuing consultation may benefit both parties. Dr. Giffin will also be on tap for counsel. He may be available for a few speaking engagements with interested groups.

To train staffs and to inform key citizens, this report is now at your service. Such use of it, besides sharing our initial capital of information and insights, will spot the vital unanswered questions and the areas where more study will be most profitable.

It is likely that an informal steering committee will evolve in the fall of 1954 to weigh suggestions and decide, What next? Its effectiveness will depend on the quantity and quality of reactions to the report.

May we hear from you?

Additional copies: 20¢ each; quantity rate, 6 for $1.00.