INFORMATION TO USERS

The most advanced technology has been used to photograph and reproduce this manuscript from the microfilm master. UMI films the text directly from the original or copy submitted. Thus, some thesis and dissertation copies are in typewriter face, while others may be from any type of computer printer.

The quality of this reproduction is dependent upon the quality of the copy submitted. Broken or indistinct print, colored or poor quality illustrations and photographs, print bleedthrough, substandard margins, and improper alignment can adversely affect reproduction.

In the unlikely event that the author did not send UMI a complete manuscript and there are missing pages, these will be noted. Also, if unauthorized copyright material had to be removed, a note will indicate the deletion.

Oversize materials (e.g., maps, drawings, charts) are reproduced by sectioning the original, beginning at the upper left-hand corner and continuing from left to right in equal sections with small overlaps. Each original is also photographed in one exposure and is included in reduced form at the back of the book. These are also available as one exposure on a standard 35mm slide or as a 17" x 23" black and white photographic print for an additional charge.

Photographs included in the original manuscript have been reproduced xerographically in this copy. Higher quality 6" x 9" black and white photographic prints are available for any photographs or illustrations appearing in this copy for an additional charge. Contact UMI directly to order.

UMI
University Microfilms International
A Bell & Howell Information Company
300 North Zeeb Road, Ann Arbor, MI 48106-1346 USA
313/761-4700    800/521-0600
The impact of organizational culture upon the communication of human services: A religious experience

Wilson, Elizabeth Ann, Ph.D.
The Ohio State University, 1989

Copyright ©1989 by Wilson, Elizabeth Ann. All rights reserved.
THE IMPACT OF ORGANIZATIONAL CULTURE
UPON THE COMMUNICATION OF HUMAN SERVICES:
A RELIGIOUS EXPERIENCE

DISSERTATION

Presented in Partial Fulfillment of the Requirements for
the Degree Doctor of Philosophy in the Graduate
School of the Ohio State University

By

Elizabeth Ann Wilson, A.A., B.A., M.A.

* * * * *

The Ohio State University
1989

Dissertation Committee:
Donald Cegala
Joseph Pilotta
Victor Wall

Approved by
Adviser
Department of Communication
Copyright by
Elizabeth Ann Wilson
1989
In memory of my father,

Allen S. Wilson
ACKNOWLEDGMENTS

I wish to thank the governing board of the mission for allowing me to conduct this research. In addition, I want to express my appreciation to mission staff whose honesty and openness made my work much easier. Special thanks go to my adviser, Joseph Pilotta, as well as to Don Cegala and Vic Wall. On a personal note, I am indebted to my four-legged friends, Tripper T. and Lady Lou, who kept me company day-after-day deep into the night as long as life was in them and to Alice Jane who came forth to take over this task. Last but definitely not least, I want to thank my mother. Without her help, this study would not have been possible.
VITA

December 21, 1945....................Born-Bellefontaine, Ohio

1965..................................A.A., Stephens College, Columbia, Missouri

1967..................................B.A., Denison University Granville, Ohio

1968-1970.........................Teacher, Highland High School, Thornton, Colorado

1972..................................M.A., Colorado State University, Ft. Collins, Colorado

1972-1973.........................Teacher, West Jefferson Public Schools, West Jefferson, Ohio

1973-1976.........................Graduate Admissions Officer, Graduate School, Colorado State University, Ft. Collins, Colorado

1977..................................Instructor, Clark Technical Institute, Springfield, Ohio

1978-1981.........................Executive Director, Disaster Research Center, Ohio State University

1981-1985.........................Graduate Research/Teaching Associate, Ohio State University

1986-1987.........................Instructor, Denison University, Granville, Ohio

Major Field: Culture and Communication
# TABLE OF CONTENTS

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Section</th>
<th>Page</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>DEDICATION</td>
<td>ii</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>ACKNOWLEDGMENTS</td>
<td>iii</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>VITA</td>
<td>iv</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td><strong>I. INTRODUCTION</strong></td>
<td>1</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Subject of Study</td>
<td>1</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Research Focus</td>
<td>2</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Research Agenda</td>
<td>3</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Approach Taken</td>
<td>4</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Significance of Study</td>
<td>5</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Summary</td>
<td>8</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td><strong>II. THE STUDY OF CULTURE IN ORGANIZATIONS</strong></td>
<td>10</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Introduction</td>
<td>10</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>The Two Perspectives</td>
<td>10</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Corporate Culture</td>
<td>11</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Organizational Culture</td>
<td>18</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Approaches to and Research into Organizational Culture</td>
<td>22</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Methodology Used for this Study</td>
<td>32</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Reasons for Methodological Choice</td>
<td>36</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Relation of this Study to Organizational Culture Research</td>
<td>39</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Summary</td>
<td>41</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td><strong>III. DESCRIPTION OF STUDY</strong></td>
<td>43</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Introduction</td>
<td>43</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Study Genesis and Entree into the Organization</td>
<td>45</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

v
Study Sample ........................................ 47
Formal Interviews .................................. 50
Informal Interviews ............................... 66
Observations .......................... .......................... 70
Publications ........................................ 76
Tenure of Study ..................................... 82
Researcher Bias ...................................... 83
Summary .................................................. 85

IV. THE NATURE OF THE SITUATION ....................... 87
Introduction ........................................... 87
Profile of the Community and Its People .......... 87
Settlement Schools in Appalachia ..................... 97
The Mission Organization ................................ 98
The Development of Sites A and B .................... 100
Present Activities at Site A ........................... 106
Other Activities Conducted at Site B ............... 111
Summary .................................................. 118

V. PRESENTATION AND ANALYSIS OF FINDINGS ............ 119
Introduction ........................................... 119
Domain of Relevance: Regional Identity ............. 120
Domain of Relevance: Not Causing Offense or Embarrassment ............. 132
Domain of Relevance: Acceptance ..................... 145
Domain of Relevance: Helping ........................ 159
Domain of Relevance: Transience ..................... 172
Summary .................................................. 185

VI. CONSIDERATIONS AND IMPLICATIONS ............... 196
Introduction ........................................... 196
Analysis of Cultural Constraints ..................... 197
Cultural Constraints and the Outsider's Interests .... 199
CHAPTER I
INTRODUCTION

Subject of Study

As the title of this study suggests, the subject of this analysis is a religious organization. More specifically, it is a mission which serves several counties in a coal-mining area of Appalachia.

This mission is the arm of and, thus, supported by one of the largest Protestant denominations in the United States. It is not just an evangelical enterprise but also a provisioner of various services. Included among these services are routine and emergency medical treatment; programs of economic development such as timber reforestation; child care for disturbed youth and a resident student program; education in terms of early childhood development and adult literacy; outreach through a bookmobile, food pantry and clothing; and assistance to subsistence farming by means of a feeder pig program.

Since some of these programs do not fall within the realm of those activities that are typically associated with social services, the term human services has been used to refer to these programs as a whole. It is one
which reflects the intent underlying these actions in the sense that these programs have been undertaken for the purpose of improving the quality of life of the target population.

Research Focus

The aim of this research is to examine the impact of this mission's culture upon the communication of these services. Culture, in this study, refers to meaning, i.e., those shared understandings which a group of people use in making sense of their experience and in determining their actions. This notion of culture draws upon the work of Geertz (1973).

Interest in the culture of this mission organization is limited to those understandings which are brought to bear upon the communication, i.e., the delivery, of human services. Thus, this research does not look at the entire culture of this organization but only at those aspects which affect the communication of human services. To be more precise, this study focuses upon those understandings which inform staff of their own and the other's identity so that they view themselves in relation to the other in a particular way. This type of inquiry is being called a study in positionality.
To clarify further, this investigation is concerned with the way in which staff relate to their client population on an interpersonal level, i.e., between medical practitioner and patient, social worker and client, and so on. Thus, this study examines this organization's communication to its public on the face-to-face level, the term communication referring to what staff say and do and what they do not as well as how they say what they say. To be more specific, this research attempts to discern how staff's understanding of their position in this setting shapes their communication to their service population. Thus, interest in the delivery of human services is restricted to staff's input or role in the process, i.e., how staff's actions affect the nature of the interpersonal relationships which evolve between themselves and their clients.

Research Agenda

Overall, then, this research attempts to answer the following questions.

1) How do staff view themselves in relation to the other, i.e., the client population?

2) How do these understandings structure the staff-client relationship so that human services are communicated in certain ways as opposed to others?
3) What impact do these understandings have upon the communication of human services?

Approach Taken

This analysis is interpretive in nature. This is due to the fact that this research is dealing with meaning and the way in which meaning bears upon action, i.e., the communication of staff persons.

It is a line of inquiry which falls into that area of study typically referred to as organizational culture research, a subject which will be discussed in Chapter II. For now, it will simply be noted that organizational culture research attempts to disclose the way(s) in which people make sense of reality. As Pacanowsky and O'Donnell-Trujillo (1982, p. 123) explain, such research attempts to reveal "that body of knowledge that is drawn upon as a resource for explaining and making sense of new experiences".

In order to unveil these understandings, the researcher needs to attend to those situations which are occasions for sense-making within the organization and also find out how organizational members make sense of their experience (Pacanowsky and O'Donnell-Trujillo, 1982). Thus, data for this study have been gathered from both observation of and interviews/conversations with
staff persons. Putnam (1983) and others have suggested that stories, myths, ritual practices and language use can provide valuable insights into organizational members' construction of social reality.

Yet, this, in itself, does not provide adequate direction for such research. Culture is an extremely complex phenomenon. The researcher needs some way in which he/she can get a handle on those understandings of interest. In other words, some scheme or framework is needed in order to organize these understandings in a coherent way that also reflects the manner in which study subjects make sense of their experience. This was found in Schutz's (1964) discussion of a system of relevances, an explanation which he offered for culture as a whole. However, it is one which can be applied to the study of an aspect of a culture.

Significance of Study

The use of Schutz's system of relevances for this study adds to the methodological choices available for research into organizational culture. It is one which is responsive to the integral nature of culture, i.e., that culture is a system of meaning. To elaborate, research conducted in accordance with this approach is not simply limited to the identification of understandings but also
is able to show the interplay among these understandings. By utilizing this methodology, then, the character of a culture is further elucidated for it is not just understanding but the interrelatedness of understandings which imbues an organizational culture with its particular distinctiveness.

In conjunction with this, this study offers a focus for organizational culture research. The study of positionality provides a vantage point from which organizational culture can be examined. It is one which is particularly appropriate for students of communication since what one says and does is based upon his/her appraisal of how he/she sees him/her self in relation to the other, i.e., his/her perception of him/her self and the other. As such, it helps the researcher hone in on those aspects of culture that would most directly bear upon the actor's face-to-face communication. In addition, it provides the researcher the kind of multi-perspective taking flexibility which is needed in order to gain a comprehensive view of a situation, e.g., seeing things from both labor and management's perspective. Thus, the conclusions reached can reflect the positionality, i.e., the understandings, of the different parties involved not just the perceptions of one group or one side.
Last but not necessarily least, this study presents another possibility for research into organizational culture. To elaborate, research into this mission's culture moves beyond an inquiry into its impact upon in-house communication and its consequent effect upon intra-organizational relationships. More specifically, it examines the way in which this culture shapes this mission's relationship with the larger public, thereby affecting the response which the target population has to the services it is offering. As such, it points to other consequences engendered by organizational culture, i.e., the range of influence that it has, and, in doing so, reveals other opportunities for research into this phenomenon.

It is in terms of the matter being investigated, i.e., the impact of organizational culture upon staff members' communication to their public, that this research calls attention to the role that human service providers play in the delivery process. This, in turn, should be of interest to those involved in human services' and international development work. Within the inter-cultural context, whether that be in the United States or elsewhere, there has been a tendency to blame the recipient group, i.e., the designated adopters or users, for the problems program provisioners have encountered
in trying to achieve their objectives. For example, target groups have been characterized as suspicious, slow to change and so on. The approach taken in this study examines the situation from another point-of-view. It looks at the way in which deliverers of these programs affect the outcomes observed. As such, this research emphasizes the interactive nature of these exchanges, i.e., that all parties involved contribute to the end result, and, in this way, points to the importance of examining the actions taken by staff before deciding why things happened as they did.

**Summary**

The purpose of this chapter has been to "frame" this investigation in order to provide an orientation to this study. In line with this intent, the research subject, focus and agenda have been explained. In addition, the approach taken in this study has been outlined, and the perceived value of this analysis discussed.

The remainder of this text is organized in the following way. Chapter II looks at the perspectives taken toward the study of culture in organizations as well as some of the research which has been done. Chapter III explains the research undertaken. Chapter IV offers some background information about the mission and community.
Chapter V discusses the organizational culture of this mission and its impact upon the communication of human services. Chapter VI concludes this discussion by pointing to some considerations and implications of this research.
CHAPTER II
THE STUDY OF CULTURE IN ORGANIZATIONS

Introduction
In an effort to clarify the nature of this study, this chapter will examine the approaches to and research into culture within the organizational setting. In the course of this discussion, the methodology chosen for this research and the reasons for its selection will be explained. The relation of this research to other studies of organizational culture will also be pointed out.

The Two Perspectives
Within the organizational context, culture has been examined in two distinctly different ways. One school of thought treats culture as a variable, i.e., it is something an organization has (see Deal and Kennedy, 1982; Peters and Waterman, 1982; Wilkins, 1983). Another group of theorists propose that organizations be viewed as cultures, i.e., an organization is a culture (see Deetz, 1982; Pacanowsky and O'Donnell-Trujillo, 1982; Smircich, 1983a; Sypher, Applegate and Sypher, 1985).
In this instance, culture becomes a "root metaphor" for organization (Smircich, 1983a, p. 347).

**Corporate Culture**

Corporate culture is the term often used to refer to that work which defines culture as a critical variable (Smircich, 1983a). This concept of culture is the product of a particular understanding, one which is based upon a view of organization as a machine or organism (Morgan, 1980; Smircich, 1983a). This becomes more apparent upon closer inspection.

When an organization is perceived as a machine, it takes on certain characteristics as opposed to others. For example, an organization is considered to be rationally constructed for the purpose of accomplishing some task, i.e., producing some kind of goods (Morgan, 1980). In addition, it is thought that an organization is made up of different components which must work together in order to achieve this goal. Thus, each part is related to all the other parts of the organization. Culture, then, is seen as being one part of this grand machine which can, in turn, affect other elements within the organization and, therefore, the overall performance of that entity. It becomes a subject of interest because it can contribute to the effective operation of
an organization and enhance organizational efficiency, one of the prime aims underlying studies conducted in this vein (Morgan, 1980). Consequently, culture is perceived as being a means through which a particular end can be realized.

While the machine metaphor tends to depict an organization as a closed system, the organism metaphor portrays the organization as an open system made up of interconnected parts. As such, it is assumed that the organization is engaged in a perpetual give-and-take with its environment. The continued existence of the organization does not simply depend upon the effective operation of its various elements but also on its relationship with the environment. This environment imposes certain demands which must be met if the institution is to survive. An organization's ability to adapt to changes in its environment becomes critical to its ongoing life. (Morgan, 1980; Smircich, 1983a)

Thus, studies of culture focus upon the ways in which it can be used to assist the organization in adapting to its environment. Similar to the approach taken when organizations are viewed as machines, such research attempts to identify patterns of contingent relationships (Smircich, 1983a). However, the purpose is somewhat different: "symbolic actions are viewed as means oriented
to the wider end of system survival" (Morgan, Frost and Pondy, 1983, p. 19).

In both instances, it is assumed that culture performs certain functions. Inquiry into stories, rituals, rites or myths is undertaken for the purpose of determining the way in which they affect an organization's operations. For example, it has been argued that such symbolic forms can be used to foster organizational commitment (Martin and Powers, 1983), to facilitate socialization (Kreps, 1983), to inculcate certain beliefs and behaviors (Wilkins, 1983), and to institute a particular philosophy (Deal and Kennedy, 1982).

This research attempts to identify what culture does, i.e., to establish causal relationships (Smircich, 1983a). On the basis of such knowledge, culture can be adapted in ways that enable certain outcomes to be realized. Culture, then, is something which can be molded or manipulated. Therefore, it can be cultivated, i.e., purposely directed (Deal and Kennedy, 1982).

By placing culture within a systems' framework, a certain conceptualization of culture emerges. It is this concept of culture which has worked its way into the popular business or trade literature (e.g., Deal and Kennedy, 1982; Peters and Waterman, 1984; Business Week, 1980). Deal and Kennedy (1982) claim that successful
companies have "strong" cultures, i.e., cultures which are consistent with the aims of the organization. This idea is reiterated in Business Week (1980) which cites culture as a reason for certain corporations' decline in productivity and profit.

Proponents of this point-of-view define culture as "shared key values and beliefs" (Smircich, 1983a, p. 345). A "strong" culture is one in which organizational goals are clearly articulated and publicized so that employees act in accordance with them. It is a "system of informal rules that spells out how people are to behave most of the time" (Deal and Kennedy, 1982, p. 15). Hence, a "strong" culture enhances productivity by reducing ambiguity within the organization. It imposes "structure", "standards" and a "value system", i.e., expectations are firmly established (Deal and Kennedy, 1982, p. 16).

Given this perception of culture, it follows that culture can be changed by such tactics as promoting other role models and/or reworking the criteria upon which salaries and incentives are based (Business Week, 1980). Thus, culture is depicted as a tool which management can use to achieve its goals, i.e., it can be intentionally shaped to serve certain objectives. As such, it is depicted as a type of control which management can exercise over an organization's activities.
It is not surprising that this approach to the study of culture has been criticized for its managerial bias, the suggestion being that such research gives management an advantage in furthering its self-interests (Putnam, 1983; Pacanowsky and O'Donnell-Trujillo, 1982). Yet, there is reason to question whether or not the corporate culture approach, which is popularized in the business literature, does, in fact, aid management in attaining its goals.

The managerial bias implicit within corporate culture studies has been attributed to the fact that this research is based upon a "unitary view of organizations; that is, organizations are treated as cooperative systems in pursuit of common interests and goals" (Putnam, 1983, p. 36; underlining in text). Given the intent of this research, to maximize efficiency or to insure organizational survival, this view has come to represent management's perspective, its problems and concerns (Putnam, 1983).

As such, this work ignores the likelihood that an organization has several sub-cultures which may offer different and perhaps conflicting explanations for the events which unfold in the work setting due to other needs and interests (Smircich, 1983a). Thus, managers may fail to see that the culture they identify may be
one sub-culture within the organization and may inaccurately project what meaning(s) staff will assign to a message, e.g., changing the reward system. Attempts to institute change, then, may backfire.

Furthermore, the conceptualization of culture as a tool which management can use to achieve its goals treats that group as though it stands outside culture. Management is informed that it can control culture, i.e., change culture to further its interests.

Although some scholars have taken issue with the idea that culture can be intentionally managed (see Smircich, 1983a), such thinking has another important ramification. Managers are not sensitized to the fact that culture shapes their perceptions and understandings and, therefore, directs the actions they take and the solutions they find to their problems. Consequently, managers are not cognizant of the full range of choice which is available to them nor the limitations which have been imposed upon their actions.

In Smircich's (1983a, p. 346) view, "The notion of 'corporate culture' runs the risk of being as disappointing a managerial tool as the more technical and quantitative tools that were faddish in the 1970s". The corporate culture approach makes claims that it cannot possibly deliver given the manner in which culture is
conceptualized. Culture is reduced to a managerial perspective. Such a narrow view of culture does not provide a solid ground upon which expectations can be based.

It leads to other assumptions which are likely to be erroneous. One of these is the idea that change can be instituted from the top-down, i.e., a one-way flow of communication. Such communication is one-sided, thus preventing managers the opportunity of correcting any misconceptions on their part.

Although the corporate culture approach has been hyped as the panacea for the organizational ills which management struggles to overcome, its usefulness is diminished by the fact that it distorts the process of cultural change as a result of being based upon a restricted view of culture. Therefore, managers who attempt to institute change in accordance with the directives offered in this literature may very well find that the outcomes they experience are not the ones they anticipated.
Organizational Culture

As the foregoing discussion has illustrated, the use of the machine or organism as metaphors for organization becomes a source of information about it. In other words, metaphor allows one domain of experience to be understood in terms of another (Lakoff and Johnson, 1980). Through metaphor certain aspects of a phenomenon are highlighted; it is viewed from a particular perspective. Knowledge of the one leads to expectations about the other and, more importantly, becomes the basis upon which explanations are advanced. By relying upon the machine and organism metaphors for an understanding of organizations, corporate culture research is directed by a rationale commonly referred to as systems theory.

This rationale is called into question by another group of scholars: those who advocate an organizational culture perspective. They argue that a systems' explanation and, in particular, the idea that culture is but a part of the greater organization (the whole) fail to capture the relationship between culture and organization. An organization does not have a culture, i.e., culture is not an aspect or characteristic of an organization; rather, an organization is a culture (Smircich, 1983a).
This metaphorical shift signals a marked departure from the corporate culture approach since the "organization is culture" equation is reached through a different logic and is thus reflective of another theoretical point-of-view. In particular, the reified status accorded to the organization within corporate culture studies is rejected. An organization is not a concrete entity which one can point to in the physical world. It is not an object which functions independently of human social action but is, in fact, the consequence of such processes (Putnam, 1983; Smircich, 1983a).

This view of organization, then, stems from a broader assumption concerning the nature of social reality. The reality of the social world is not pregiven in the sense that it has an existence apart from social action but is, instead, a product of such activity (Berger and Luckman, 1967). In other words, the social world is constituted through communication, i.e., through interactions with others and the intersubjective meanings evolving from them (Putnam, 1983; Smircich, 1983a). As such, an organization is a social construction, one that is created, sustained and changed through communication.
Distinguishing between process and structure is artificial to the extent that each impacts upon and is continually shaping the other. Structure, e.g., the different departments or various positions within an organization, emerges from process, i.e., social interaction, and can be thought of as those "sets of complex, semiautonomous relationships that originate from human interactions" (Putnam, 1983, p. 35). Structure can be viewed as patterns of interaction that are consistently performed over time. These patterns, in turn, guide or direct behavior in future encounters by informing the individual as to what mode of action is appropriate or expected in a certain set of circumstances. Due to their reciprocal effect on one another, "process and structure fuse into ongoing activities" (Putnam, 1983, p. 36).

It, therefore, follows that the study of organization becomes the study of organizational life. The division between the two collapses. Pacanowsky and O'Donnell-Trujillo (1982, p. 122) make this point when they state that an organization is "the interlocked actions of a collectivity". As such, interest is directed toward "how that organizational life is accomplished communicatively" (Pacanowsky and O'Donnell-Trujillo, 1982, p. 122)
It is in terms of that question that organizational culture research moves into a study of meaning. In other words, people act, i.e., say and do what they do, on the basis of what they know, their understanding of what is appropriate, expected, etc.

Culture refers to these common understandings. To elaborate, the term culture does not simply denote "a system of kins, or a collection of artifacts or... a corpus of myths" but, rather, refers to those understandings or that knowledge which a group of people use to make sense of reality (Pacanowsky and O'Donnell-Trujillo, 1982, p. 123). In an effort to clarify their conceptualization of culture, Pacanowsky and O'Donnell-Trujillo draw upon Geertz's (1973, p.5) analogy in which culture is compared to a spider web: "man is an animal suspended in webs of significance he himself has spun... culture [is] those webs...."

The task confronting the interpretive researcher is to unravel these "webs of significance" in order to unveil the meanings which undergird organizational life, i.e., how organizational life is constituted (Pacanowsky and O'Donnell-Trujillo, 1982). Such study is not undertaken for the purpose of appraising organizational cultures according to some standard, e.g., assessing "strong" and "weak" cultures as Deal and Kennedy (1982) suggest,
but, instead, attempts to reveal just what this culture makes possible. Like the spider web which is confined to a limited amount of space within the universe, culture imposes constraints. Yet, as the spider depends upon the web to trap its prey so that it can survive, culture is that understanding which allows social beings to cope in an otherwise chaotic world. It is "that which gives substance and meaning to what would otherwise be insensate behavior" (Pacanowsky and O'Donnell-Trujillo, 1982, p. 123). Culture, then, can be viewed as "the fabric of meaning in terms of which human beings interpret their experience and guide their action...." (Geertz, 1973, p. 145).

Approaches to and Research into Organizational Culture

Despite this shared focus, a variety of methodologies have been used in the study of organizational culture, thus indicating researchers' reliance upon different interpretive theories (Sypher, Applegate and Sypher, 1985). These include hermeneutics, symbolic interactionism, ethnomethodology and phenomenology (Putnam, 1982). Such theoretical diversity has led to the pursuit of different research programs when studying organizational culture (Sypher, Applegate and Sypher, 1985).
All of this will become more apparent in the discussion which follows. It will begin with an examination of rules.

Harris and Cronen (1979) take a rules approach toward the study of organizational culture. They regard an organizational culture as a "master contract" which has evolved through interaction over a period of time (Harris and Cronen, 1979, p. 13). This contract includes the organization's self-image, i.e., self-definition, as well as constitutive and regulative rules which "organize" beliefs and actions in reference to that image (Harris and Cronen, 1979, p. 13). Constitutive rules relate meanings to the organizational image by "showing how certain actions, beliefs, or concepts 'count' in light of the constructs that define the collectivity" (Harris and Cronen, 1979, p. 16). Regulative rules guide behavior, thereby enabling activity to be coordinated and desired goals to be achieved. By examining staff's knowledge of these rules, "the competence with which members can co-orient themselves to the master contract and can coordinate their activities within the constitutive and regulative rules established by the organization" can be evaluated (Harris and Cronen, 1979, p. 12). In this way,
present or possible problems within the organization can be identified.

For example, Harris and Cronen (1979, p. 24) surveyed an academic department and found that faculty believed the department had reached an "ideal state" in terms of balancing theoretical inquiry with service-oriented projects but were unaware of the fact that their colleagues felt the same way. Due to this misconception, participation in service-based activities was undertaken quietly since staff believed such action would be deemed inappropriate by their peers. This, in turn, spawned feelings of "fragmentation" among staff since the pursuit of personal interests seemed to conflict with the perceived goals of the department (Harris and Cronen, 1979, p. 27).

Similar to Harris and Cronen, Tompkins and Cheney (1983) are also interested in the rules which guide behavior, i.e., what Harris and Cronen call regulative rules. However, their approach is different. They favor the use of account analysis as a methodology.

Borrowing from the work of Harre and Secord (1973), accounts are defined as "the actor's statement about why he or she performed certain acts and what social meaning he or she gave to the actions of himself or herself and others" (Tompkins and Cheney, 1983, p. 129). Through
a person's account of his/her behavior, then, those premises used in making decisions about one's actions are either explicitly expressed or indirectly suggested. These decisional premises are rules in the sense that each is a "proposition that guides behavior" (Tompkins and Cheney, 1983, p. 131; italics in original).

Tompkins and Cheney (1983) point out that accounts can reveal other kinds of information, e.g., the source of the decisional premise as well as the target of one's identification. They can also be used to compare the researcher's understanding of an episode to the actor's. In this way, the researcher can determine if he/she should modify his/her interpretation of the event which has transpired.

Account analysis was used by Tompkins and Cheney (1983) in their study of a communication department. This research looked at the accounts that teaching associates (TAs) gave in regard to changing the structure and content of an introductory course which they taught. Tompkins and Cheney (1983, p. 136) found that decisions to modify the course were based upon "the educational welfare of students" and "[s]tudent interest in the course", i.e., these were the rules which TAs used in making decisions to alter the way in which they taught the course.
Smircich (1983b) moves away from these rules-oriented approaches and looks for a more overarching explanation for the events which occur in the workplace. She focuses upon the ethos of an organization. Used here, the term ethos refers to those meanings which distinguish an organization from others, i.e., those meanings which imbue it with a "distinctive character" (Smircich, 1983b, p. 56). Smircich further explains ethos as being the product of certain historical conditions, particular events, and the qualities and preferences of influential individuals.

Ethos pervades all aspects of organizational life. It is expressed in the beliefs or ideology followed, the rites and rituals performed, and the language and non-verbal communication used. Data, then, are gathered through both observation of and "conversations/interviews" with staff (Smircich, 1983b, p. 57) Upon analyzing the data obtained from these methods, certain themes can be discerned which, taken together, reveal an organization's ethos.

This approach was used by Smircich (1983b) in her study of an insurance company. Through observation, Smircich noted that staff seemed to make a conscious effort to avoid any type of confrontation with one another. When employees were asked to describe
interaction among staff members, they replied with such comments as "we maintain a smooth surface of agreement" and "people say what they know everyone else wants to hear" (Smircich, 1983b, p. 57). On the basis of these and other findings, Smircich reached a conclusion about this organization's ethos: this company was characterized by the high priority it assigned to maintaining an outward display of harmony.

Bormann (1983) has also opted for a thematic approach to the study of organizational culture but uses a different methodology, one that is popularly called fantasy theme analysis. From the outset, it is important to note that the word fantasy is not used to refer to something which is imaginary but rather is defined as the means through which a group of people make sense of experience and create social reality. To specify further, a fantasy theme is "a dramatizing message in which characters enact an incident or series of incidents in a setting somewhere other than the here-and-now of the people involved in the communication episode" (Bormann, 1983, p. 107). Fantasy themes are interpretations of persons or events which allow individuals to structure seemingly chaotic past experiences in a way that makes sense to them or to clarify an otherwise uncertain future so that they have an idea as to what they should expect.
Research undertaken in this vein seeks to explain how individuals come to share a common ground, i.e., how "private symbolic worlds" converge, so that an inter-subjective understanding becomes possible (Bormann, 1983, p. 102).

Since 1968, Bormann (1983, p. 121) and his associates have been studying "simulated zero-history organizations" at the University of Minnesota. Bormann, Pratt and Putnam (1978) examined one such organization which experienced a role reversal when women fell into leadership positions and thus gained control of the "corporation". Bormann et al (1978) found that group members came to terms with this unexpected turn-of-events through sharing a series of fantasies. For example, in the final fantasy which chained throughout the group, members talked about the problems which homosexuals confront and, in particular, expressed compassion for their situation, given the way in which they are treated by society. The theme that rose out of this interchange was "that sex was essentially gender and that gender was unimportant in leadership" (Bormann et al, 1978, p. 129). These and other data led Borman et al (1978, p. 120) to conclude that fantasy sharing "played a significant role in the symbolic interpretation and resolution of the conflicts" which occurred in this group.
Similar to Bormann, Pacanowsky and O'Donnell-Trujillo's (1983) methodology for research into organizational culture incorporates a dramatistic perspective. However, their emphasis is different. Whereas Bormann focuses upon the play's message, i.e., the fantasy theme, Pacanowsky and O'Donnell-Trujillo center their inquiry around the performance, i.e., the interactions among the various characters.

To elaborate more fully, Pacanowsky and O'Donnell-Trujillo (1983, p. 129) see performances as being both "play-acting" and accomplishment. Performance as play-acting calls attention to the contextual nature of interaction, i.e., that organizational members have a number of roles in their repertoire so that their performance can vary according to the contingencies of the situation. The metaphor of accomplishment stems from the observation that people express their understanding of social reality through the actions they take. Performances are, therefore, an accomplishment in the sense that "they are the very things which bring to completion a sense of reality" (Pacanowsky and O'Donnell-Trujillo, 1983, p. 131). As such, the study of performances offer researchers a way in which they can examine how organizational members construct their culture through communication.
In his study of a used car dealership, Trujillo (1983, p. 80) looked at the way the owner and general manager, Lou Polito, brought a sense of reality "to completion". Through the personal ritual of opening all the mail everyday and performances of politics in which Lou demanded that staff justify their actions, Lou expressed his understanding of "the real work of managing", i.e., that the manager demonstrates to his employees that he is in charge, that he monitors the activities of his subordinates, and that he holds them accountable for their behavior (Trujillo, 1983, p. 81; italics in original).

In line with the critical school of thought, Deetz (1982) questions the assumptive ground which underlies the approaches to research discussed, thus far. More specifically, he takes issue with the idea that actor's meanings are primary, e.g., account analysis, as well as the implicit belief that meaning originates in the individual, e.g., the study of performances.

Deetz (1982) makes the point that individual meaning is assigned in relation to a particular perception of reality, one which is, to a large degree, conceptual. "All seeing is seeing as" in that "every perception comes from an orientation and is meaningful in the first sense
in and through that orientation" (Deetz, 1982, pp. 133-134; italics in original). This conceptual part of perception is acquired through the socialization process, i.e., the greater society as well as the specific organization. Since this "conceptual apparatus" directs perception so that one sees things in a particular way, social beings apprehend a preinterpreted world (Deetz, 1982, p. 135). Personal meaning is formed on the basis of these interpretations. Therefore, research should focus on this "background understanding" or, to state this another way, this "system of meaning" in contrast to "actor's meanings" (Deetz, 1982, pp. 134-135).

Koch and Deetz (1981) suggest that metaphor analysis is one way in which this conceptual scheme, i.e., this deeper structure of meaning, can be unveiled. Drawing upon the work of Lakoff and Johnson (1980), they point out that the world is largely perceived through metaphors. They are "an endemic part of our language" (Koch and Deetz, 1981, p. 5). As such, metaphors are "a fundamental structure for experience" (Koch and Deetz, 1981, p. 5). Thus, metaphor analysis provides insights into the way(s) in which organizational culture is constituted and, in particular, reveals the "unnecessary and undesired constraints" which understanding places upon staff's actions (Koch and Deetz, 1981, p. 4).
Koch and Deetz (1981) used metaphor analysis when studying a university news service. After examining "taped conversation" and "intra-organizational memos", they concluded that the metaphor of organization as "coach" structured the way in which staff conceptualized the preparation of news stories (Koch and Deetz, 1981, p. 11). In other words, this organization promoted the university through the stories it produced in contrast to being "an objective, passive reporter of the news", the stance which news' organizations often claim they take as they go about the business of reporting news (Koch and Deetz, 1981, p. 12).

Methodology Used for This Study

While Koch and Deetz recognize that metaphor is not the only cognitive mechanism which allows a phenomenon to be "seen as" something, Jehenson (1973) brings this point to light in his study of professional staff at a psychiatric hospital. Instead of examining metaphors, Jehenson's critical approach to organizational culture focuses on typifications. As such, his methodology relies heavily on the work of Schutz.

Like metaphor, typifications are constructs through which persons, objects, events, etc. are perceived. However, typification functions in a different way.
Whereas metaphor allows one domain of experience to be understood in terms of another (Lakoff and Johnson, 1980), typification calls attention to certain aspects of a phenomenon while disregarding other elements of it (Schutz, 1964). In other words, when an object, event or whatever is typified, the only features identified are those that pertain to the type (Schutz, 1964).

A system of typifications is part of the "socio-cultural heritage" of a group which is handed down to each succeeding generation (Schutz, 1964, p. 233) so that what social beings see, i.e., the "is" of experience, and, thus, what people know is formulated on the basis of these types. This system of typifications, then, comprises what Deetz (1982, p. 134) calls "background understanding" and constitutes that body of knowledge which is referred to as common sense. As Schutz (1962, p. 7) explains, "The individual's commonsense knowledge of the world is a system of constructs of its typicality". Natanson (1966, p. 150) has elaborated on this point:

The typical is a deeply rooted feature of the very organization of experience into knowledge. From the very outset of the epistemological process, the world is constituted in typified form.
Typifications are formed in relation to the purpose or problem at-hand. For example, if I were trying to explain what makes my pet a dog, I would note that she barks, chews bones, hunts ground hogs, is covered with fur, etc. In other words, she would be typified in terms of my understanding of what a dog is, knowledge which I have acquired through the process of my socialization. However, this same dog could be typified in another way. If I were to apprehend her in terms of being ill, i.e., another problem, I would typify her in terms of my understanding of sick dogs, i.e., she doesn't want to go outside, she won't eat, doesn't wag her tail, etc. Thus, the way in which I typify my dog depends upon the matter of relevance, e.g., whether my dog is a dog or whether my dog is sick. (Schutz, 1964)

As the previous examples illustrate, more than one typification can be formed in relation to the same problem, e.g., what is a sick dog. When this occurs, i.e., when several typifications pertain to the same problem or purpose, it is said that they pertain to the same domain of relevance. (Schutz, 1964)

Stated simply, domains of relevances can be regarded as things that matter. They are that which is deemed salient, seen as significant, given "the interests originating in a particular situation" (Schutz, 1964, p. 236).
Taken together, domains of relevances and their concomitant typifications constitute a system of relevances. This system is organized in terms of these domains of relevances. It is not a closed system but rather undergoes some modification over time. (Schutz, 1964)

This system of relevances is expressed in "the ways of life of the in-group" (Schutz, 1964, p. 236). It is embodied in the "folkways" of the group which are "socially accepted as the good ways and the right ways for coming to terms with things and fellow-men" (Schutz, 1964, p. 230). These folkways operate at the level of assumptions, i.e., they are taken-for-granted since they have allowed the group to act in the world with a degree of certainty, thereby lending a measure of predictability to an otherwise chaotic environment. In other words, these folkways have "stood the test so far" in that they have made sense of reality in a manner which the group has not had cause to question (Schutz, 1964, p. 231). As such, these folkways, i.e., system of relevances, provides a "standard" which enables the group to "define its situation" (Schutz, 1964, p. 231). They function as both a "scheme of interpretation" and a "scheme of orientation" to the world (Schutz, 1964, p. 237). One both understands the other, i.e., makes sense of the
other, and directs his/her actions toward the other, i.e., becomes understandable to the other, on the basis of this system of relevances. Among group members, then, this shared system of relevances constitutes "a universe of discourse among them" (Schutz, 1964, p. 237). In other words, this common system of relevances makes communication possible.

Reasons for Methodological Choice

One of the primary tasks of this research is to unveil what this mission culture is, i.e., what understandings comprise this organizational culture. However, the extent to which a culture can be revealed is dependent upon a methodology's ability to recognize the various forms through which meaning is expressed. In other words, the findings obtained, i.e., the culture disclosed, are a consequence of the kind of information sought. Thus, the concepts which direct inquiry, the phenomena attended to, determine the degree to which a methodology is capable of uncovering an organizational culture.

While Smircich's conceptualization of ethos is too vague to lend much direction to such investigation, other methodologies, discussed herein, inform the researcher to focus upon a limited range of phenomena, e.g., accounts
or fantasy themes. As such, the researcher only has access to those aspects of organizational culture which are expressed through these forms. For example, the study of performances excludes some forms of communication from consideration, e.g., memos and newsletters. This, in turn, can result in a loss of data and, thus, restrict the view of culture the researcher obtains. As such, conclusions may be reached which are not really reflective of the culture being studied.

Recognizing this, I wanted to cast the widest net in terms of the phenomena to which I might attend and, yet, use an approach that would offer some guidance for research. Thus, I was looking for an approach in which concepts were specified but were also open to the point that a range of phenomena could be examined. Schutz's system of relevances and typifications met this criterion.

This decision was further supported by the realization that if culture is to be conceptualized as meaning, then the methodology used to reveal a culture should be formulated on the basis of a theory of meaning, i.e., an explanation of the way in which meaning is structured. To simply disclose a meaning without relating it to the understandings which, taken together, comprise the whole, i.e., that system of meaning which pertains to the matter
under consideration limits the explanatory value of the findings presented. In other words, connections need to be made either between or among data in order to appreciate their significance. This is to say that relationships either between or among data need to be identified, e.g., how one finding is subsumed under another or how one finding affects another. Schutz's explanation of a system of relevances provides a framework within which the interrelatedness of understanding can be seen.

In addition, Schutz's theoretical point-of-view is consistent with the position I take as well as that advanced by Geertz. In fact, the work of Geertz and Schutz complement each other. Whereas Geertz explains culture as meaning, Schutz offers a way in which that meaning can be explored.

Smircich (1983a, p. 350) calls this meaning-centered approach to the study of organizational culture a "symbolic perspective" and explains it in the following way.

The focus of this form of organizational analysis is on how individuals interpret and understand their experience and how these interpretations and understandings relate to action. (Smircich, 1983a, p. 351)

In other words, this line of inquiry attempts to link understanding to action, that action being communication in this study. As such, this approach is particularly
appropriate for this study given the aims of this research.

Relation of This Study to Organizational Culture Research

Overall, the methodologies, i.e., the logics, used by communication scholars have led to research which either explores how culture is constituted through communication or examines how culture effects, i.e., brings about, communication. In the first instance, research attempts to discern how communication serves as the medium through which culture is constructed, i.e., how communication functions in the creation of culture. In contrast to this, the second line of inquiry looks at culture for the purpose of determining its impact upon communication, i.e., how it leads to the production of certain messages and/or the avoidance of others. The two approaches, then, are markedly different in terms of focus.

Research conducted in accordance with the first approach, i.e., how communication produces culture, looks at the types of communication through which culture is constructed. The work done by Bormann, Pacanowsky and O'Donnell-Trujillo falls into this category. Bormann studies fantasy themes; whereas, Pacanowsky and O'Donnell-Trujillo are interested in performances.
Research undertaken in line with the second approach, i.e., how culture produces communication, attempts to connect the understandings which are unveiled through investigation to the communication which occurs in the organization. Thus, the focus is on the way in which culture shapes organizational life, e.g., the activities performed, through the communication of staff members. Included in this group are Harris and Cronen's study of rules, Koch and Deetz's metaphor analysis, Tompkins and Cheney's use of account analysis, and Smircich's examination of ethos.

While certain types of communication may be identified in the course of this kind of analysis, they are not necessarily the ones discussed by Bormann or by Pacanowsky and O'Donnell-Trujillo. Furthermore, they are not noted for the purpose of showing how intersubjective understanding, i.e., culture, is constructed through communication but, rather, to point to the way(s) in which culture brings about certain communications in contrast to others.

Given the objective of this study, the research reported herein falls into the second camp, i.e., how culture informs communication. Similar to the approach taken by Koch and Deetz (1981), this research looks at the way in which culture shapes staff's communication
to their public. However, this research probes further by examining the significance of this communication in terms of structuring the staff-client relationship, thus pointing to the range of influence which organizational culture has. As such, it raises other possibilities for communication research into organizational culture.

Summary

In this chapter, two perspectives taken toward the study of culture within the organizational setting were explained. In the process of this discussion, the assumptions which each makes concerning culture's relationship to organization were pointed out. This was followed by an analysis of the approaches to and research into organizational culture. Special attention was given to the methodology used for this study, i.e., the major tenets of this approach were explained along with the reasons for this choice. The relation of this research to other studies of organizational culture was also noted.

Through this discussion, the way in which this research pertains, i.e., "fits" in relation, to the work that has been done on culture within organizations was shown. In addition, the assumptions used to direct this research were exposed. It is in terms of the discussion about the perspective taken as well as the methodology
chosen that this chapter offers an explanation for the way in which this study has been designed. Thus, the points made in regard to these matters should be kept in mind when reading the chapter which follows, a description of the research conducted.
CHAPTER III
DESCRIPTION OF STUDY

Introduction

Before moving into a discussion of the way in which this research was conducted, it will be recalled that certain questions were posed in Chapter I given the aim of this research, i.e., to examine the impact of organizational culture upon the communication of human services. In light of the discussion presented in Chapter II, i.e., the explanation of Schutz's (1964) system of relevances, these questions are now being reworded in order to be consistent with the language of the methodology being used for this study. These revised questions are listed below.

1) What domains of relevances and typifications shape staff's understanding of themselves in relation to the other, i.e., the client population?

2) How do these domains of relevances and typifications structure the staff-client relationship so that human services are communicated in certain ways as opposed to others?
3) What impact do these domains of relevances and typifications have upon the communication of human services?

As noted earlier, this is a study in positionality, i.e., how one views him/her self in relation to the other. It is in terms of these understandings, i.e., these perceptions of the self in relation to the other, that persons take on certain roles and perform them in certain ways in contrast to others. In other words, the role taken and the way it is played, i.e., what people say and do, is based upon their understanding of their relationship to the other, i.e., how they typify themselves and the other.

Thus, the task of this research is to determine what domains of relevances shape this understanding so that staff typify themselves and the other, i.e., the public they serve, in particular ways. By obtaining these data, the way in which staff structure their relationships with clients by means of the actions they take, i.e., the typifications upon which their actions are taken, and, thus, the impact of this organizational culture upon the communication of human services can be discerned.
How I attempted to accomplish this is the subject of this chapter. More specifically, this chapter describes the research undertaken by discussing the study sample, the interviews that were conducted, the observations which were made and the publications which were examined. Other matters of interest, i.e., the tenure of the study along with the issue of researcher bias and verification methods, are also noted. Before looking at these facets of the research, though, a little background information regarding the genesis of this study and entree into the organization will be provided.

**Study Genesis and Entree into the Organization**

Some time ago, I was looking at some materials a local minister gave me concerning the mission work being done by his/her church. I had asked for this information as I had become interested in the role which private organizations play in development, i.e., designing and delivering human services. While browsing through this information, I ran across an article about the mission. I was impressed by the extensive nature of the activities in which it was involved and thought this might be a suitable topic for my dissertation.

I contacted the organization and made arrangements to visit. Once there, I met with several people in the
organization in order to obtain more information about the work being done. Near the conclusion of my stay, I contacted the organizational head and told him/her I wanted to study this organization for my dissertation research. At that time, I submitted a brief description of my research interests which was, then, given to the governing board, the group which would decide whether or not to approve my study. After a four-month period in which additional materials were submitted to this board for review, the study was approved.

This approval, in turn, provided me access to everyone in the organization. No one that I asked to interview refused to comply with my request although there were some people who seemed to be rather suspicious of my intentions and others who conveyed the impression they'd rather not be bothered. Even so, staff, overall, were quite receptive to being interviewed and very graciously gave of their time so that all of my questions were answered. I was told that this was due, in part, to the fact that they found my study interesting and thought that it might be helpful to them.
Study Sample

Given the objective of this research, data were collected from mission personnel, i.e., salaried employees and volunteers, and community residents who did not work for the mission in either a paid or unpaid capacity. The characteristics of each group as well as the way in which each sample was drawn will be discussed in greater detail.

In an effort to gain a comprehensive view of this organization's operations, interviews were conducted with key persons employed by the mission. This included division directors, program planners/coordinators and the heads of the various programs as well as staff who are directly involved in service delivery. Since one of the major services provided by the mission is the employment of local people, an effort was made to assess the quality/nature of that service by interviewing local people who work at the mission.

This sample was selected on the basis of referrals made by respondents and by means of the staff directory which lists the various positions within the organization. Both "professional" staff and persons who provided support services, e.g., secretaries and waitresses, were interviewed.
Virtually all skills-oriented and labor-intensive work is done by local people, e.g., nurse's aids, cooks and housekeepers. In contradistinction to this, almost all administrative and "credentialed" positions are filled by non-community persons, i.e., individuals who are from other areas of the country.

Thus, the sample consisted of individuals who had been raised in the area as well as those who came from other parts of the United States. Those who were not natives of the region had lived in the area for various lengths of time. Some had been at the mission only a few months; whereas, others had been living and working at the mission for over twenty years.

In order to compare the perception which staff had of their client population to my own and also more fully appreciate the nature of the situation here, community persons who were not affiliated with the organization were also included in the sample. Although cultural norms do not permit a stranger to go into the "hollers" alone, other strategies were used to gain access to the local people. They included accompanying the bookmobile women on their runs throughout the hollers. Other contacts were made through the various programs, observing what was going on and striking up a conversation with a participant. Finally, opportunities to talk to local
people became available if one just "hung out" at the mission, i.e., at the restaurant, the post office, the used clothing store or on one of the benches in front of the clinic.

This sample of local residents, then, cannot be considered representative of the community at-large since encounters were limited to those individuals who were in some way using the services provided by the mission, e.g., shopping at the store or going to the clinic. Within this group of service consumers or clients, this sample is selective in the sense that some people were more willing to talk to a stranger than others. The selectivity factor is also enhanced by the fact that I, as an individual, was drawn to some people in contrast to others due to cultural norms, non-verbal cues, etc.

In sum, forty staff persons were interviewed for this study. The total number of local people with whom I had contact throughout the course of this study cannot be given since conversations were only recorded if they had some substantive relevance to this research.
Formal Interviews

I interviewed staff persons each time I visited the mission. During the first stage of this research, I was trying to get an overview of the situation.

An interview guide was developed in which questions were phrased in very general terms and adhered to an open-ended format. (See Appendix A for list of core questions.) Probes for additional information and requests to clarify or elaborate upon a particular point were made when necessary and thus were contextually specific.

Frequently, comments made by other interviewees were brought up in order to see if the respondent concurred or disagreed with a belief/opinion that others had stated. However, these comments were not raised until the respondent had finished saying everything he/she wanted to say about the subject so as to not skew responses. This tactic was used throughout the interviewing process.

This semi-structured approach offered respondents an opportunity to take the interview in the direction they wanted, e.g., to elaborate on certain points in great detail or to answer questions from the perspective of their professional interests such as a medical point-of-view. By allowing them this latitude in terms of responses, I could more readily discern what they deemed
to be important, i.e., what characteristics, problems, etc., were salient to them.

These interviews took the form of a discussion in which I presented myself as a person who wanted to learn from the respondent, i.e., I asked him/her to "inform" me about the mission and the people it served. Thus, the respondent was accorded a certain amount of expertise about this situation by virtue of his/her experience working and living in this particular setting. This, in turn, set up a relationship between the respondent and me which, I believe, served my interests, i.e., to find out what the respondent thought. Specifically, this tactic minimized any perceived threat associated with me, raised the other's sense of esteem since I considered his/her opinions and observations important, and awarded the other a degree of control over the situation which encouraged that person to let down his/her guard a little.

Staff were asked questions about the culture, characteristics, conditions and problems of local people. The answers they gave to these questions allowed me to identify the way in which staff distinguish this group of people, i.e., what factors they consider to be significant. I was particularly interested in their perception of the limitations imposed upon community
persons' actions, i.e., the degree to which they could take charge of their life's situation, and, thus, in what ways and to what degree local people were seen as being dependent upon others. Staff's understanding of local people also indicated what constraints they felt they must operate under, i.e., what actions were deemed inappropriate or tabu given community norms.

Staff were, then, asked how they thought local people viewed the mission and its personnel. Their assessment of local persons' attitudes/opinions indicated the kind of relationship which respondents thought existed between mission/staff and community residents, i.e., the client population. As such, their appraisal pointed to those factors which they felt had impacted positively or negatively upon the mission/staff-community relationship.

A final question was asked concerning the consequences that would result if the mission were to terminate its activities in this area, i.e., shut the operation down. Respondents' answers revealed how important they felt this mission was to the community. As such, their replies also indicated the degree of importance they attached to their work. In addition, their answers further elucidated their perception of local people in terms
of their dependency upon the services being rendered by the organization.

In all, twenty staff members were interviewed. Of this group, five were local persons; the rest had lived in this area anywhere from six months to twenty-plus years. This sub-sample was comprised of division directors, program planners/coordinators, program supervisors, and persons who performed outreach functions. Interviews ranged from forty-five minutes to an hour and a half.

While the findings obtained, thus far, provided insights into staff's perceptions of local people, the database needed to be broadened in terms of the types of information gathered. I wanted to know more about mission staff, especially those persons who came from areas outside this region since they held key positions with respect to the delivery of human services. In particular, it was important to find out what it is like to live and work at the mission, i.e., how respondents perceived their situation in this setting, since what they did was determined on the basis of what they knew, i.e., deemed as being both an appropriate and possible course of action.

Another interview schedule was constructed with this purpose in mind. (See Appendix B.) However, it included questions that pertained to some of the matters
raised in Schedule A in order to check the pervasiveness of the views expressed by the first group of respondents.

Questions were more focused when compared to those asked on Schedule A, e.g., asking about the demands and deprivations staff had experienced as well as the rewards they had found. Some were directed toward issues which I had learned about during my previous visits, e.g., the high rate of turnover among staff.

In all instances, questions were designed according to an open-ended format. Probes were made and follow-up questions were asked within the context of the interviews.

Overall, these interviews were more structured than the previous ones in two senses. As indicated above, the questions were more specific, thereby imposing some limitations on the findings obtained. In addition, the exchange between researcher and subject conformed more closely to the question-response pattern associated with the term "interview".

Early in the interview, staff were asked to describe the kind of life they led in this setting. This overview of their situation was examined in greater detail by asking respondents about the difficulties they had encountered while living and working at the mission. To specify further, they were asked about the demands and deprivations which this situation imposed upon them,
the kinds of frustrations they experience, and the mistakes they have made. As a complement to this, respondents were asked how they benefited from this experience. In particular, interviewees were asked what rewards they had found in this setting. Their replies to these questions offered insights into staff in the sense of disclosing what was significant to them about these aspects of their mission experience.

Respondents were also asked what qualities/characteristics seemed to typify staff as a whole. By determining what staff held in common with one another, respondents revealed what factor(s) distinguished staff as a group. This, in turn, pointed to certain beliefs, attitudes or behaviors which interviewees deemed important, i.e., they were salient to them.

Respondents were, then, asked to elaborate on their views by explaining what qualities/characteristics a person should have to "fit in" with staff. By identifying the beliefs and behaviors which were desirable or an asset to staff relationships, respondents' answers could potentially provide two types of information: the values and norms which they believed the group deemed as being appropriate and the attitudes and actions which they felt would help staff cope with aspects of group
life. As such, their responses shed light upon the nature of staff's intra-group relationships.

While staff's answers to the foregoing questions revealed their perception of the expectations and demands imposed upon them by virtue of their group membership, I was particularly interested in finding out how they viewed their position in this setting given their group affiliation. This, in turn, would offer insights into the way in which they defined their relationship to local people.

Since the mission was purported to be an evangelistic enterprise, I wanted to know if respondents felt the fulfillment of this objective was their primary role in this setting. A "feeler" was put out at the beginning of the interview when respondents were asked what drew them to the mission. Near the conclusion of the interview, this subject was directly approached when they were asked if they first thought of themselves as being a missionary or in terms of their professional role, e.g., a teacher. As further elaboration on this point, respondents were also asked if they felt the needs of the local population were the primary reasons why people come to the mission or if these individuals come to the mission in order to fill some need(s) in themselves.
These responses were compared to their assessment of local people's expectations of staff in order to see if any connections could be drawn between the attitudes and behaviors which respondents thought community persons anticipated from them and the way in which staff conducted themselves in this setting, i.e., the roles they chose to play as well as the way in which they performed them. Interviewees' view of local residents was probed by asking them if local people had any image of them simply because they were associated with the mission. Their replies indicated if there were any myths which staff felt they must conform to or try to change. Respondents' answers to these questions, then, offered insights into the kind of relationship which they felt staff had with local people.

Respondents' perception of community persons was further tapped when interviewees were asked what qualities/characteristics a person should have in order to "fit in" with local people. Their answers revealed not only their knowledge of local people in terms of the attitudes and behaviors which they, i.e., staff, deemed appropriate but also pointed to those actions and beliefs which they felt could disrupt the harmony of the staff-community relationship, e.g., injure feelings, foster conflict, produce anger, etc. This, in turn, pointed
to some of the demands imposed upon staff in terms of the way in which they comported themselves in this setting.

All of the responses obtained thus far, i.e., staff's perception of their situation, were compared to the answers they gave in regard to the expectations which they brought to this experience. The discrepancies found between the two indicated where adjustments needed to be made in their lives in order to adapt to this situation. Respondents' views on this subject were also sought. To be more specific, they were asked what had been the hardest thing for them to get used to. As such, their answers pointed to which aspects of mission life they considered to be most difficult.

In an effort to determine if respondents viewed the conditions of mission life as posing a challenge to them, they were asked if they were prepared for this experience. Their replies indicated how much of an adjustment they felt they needed to make in order to be acculturated to mission life. Since many of these persons were married with families, respondents were asked who had the most difficulty making the adjustment to this new situation and why. Their answers to this question pointed to the kinds of problems which had been encountered in the process of acclimating to this situation.
In order to find out the ways in which they responded to these problems, interviewees were also asked what had helped them and their family to adjust to this situation. As such, their responses revealed the way(s) in which they had adapted to this environment.

The inability of staff to come to terms with the ways of life within this organization was probed indirectly by asking interviewees if they had any ideas regarding turnover among staff. Their answers indicated those aspects of the mission experience which they felt staff found most problematic. This was followed by another question in which respondents were asked if the mission could do anything about the rate of turnover. Their replies indicated if they thought this situation could be changed, i.e., if the mission could do something about it or if the turnover was due to factors outside the mission's control.

Finally, respondents were asked to appraise their mission experience by identifying what criteria they would use when deciding if a person would be satisfied with and suited for work at this mission. As such, the criteria selected, i.e., the beliefs, attitudes and actions mentioned, pointed to those aspects of their personal experience which were salient to them. Thus, these answers indicated what area(s) of mission life
were most critical to them, i.e., they mattered the most in terms of being integrated into this setting. As a further elaboration on this subject, interviewees were asked what overall impressions they had of this experience, i.e., what was most memorable as well as what feelings they had about it. Their responses revealed the most important part of their experience, i.e., what counted the most overall. As such, they showed the degree to which they viewed their experience in positive terms, i.e., the rewards outweighed the problems encountered. This, in turn, indicated what, if any, needs had been fulfilled through this experience as well as the interests which had been served.

This interview guide was administered to fifteen staff persons. None of the persons interviewed were indigenous to the area. The length of time respondents had spent in the area varied from a few months to ten-plus years.

Staff persons who were community residents were interviewed during this phase of the study. However, Schedule B had to be adapted to that group since it was not designed with that population in mind. Hence, Interview Schedule C was constructed. (See Appendix C.)

Many of the questions included on this guide were the same as those asked on Schedule B. To specify
further, these respondents were asked about the difficulties, frustrations, and rewards they had found on the job; local people's expectations regarding staff; the qualities/characteristics a person should have to fit in with local people; the qualities/characteristics a person should have to fit in with staff; and the way in which staff could be typified as a whole. Other questions which appeared on both guides included whether or not they thought non-local staff persons came to the mission for themselves or in response to something that needs to be done, the criteria to be used for determining if a person would be satisfied with and suited for work at the mission, reasons for the turnover among staff as well as whether or not the mission could do anything about it, and their overall assessment of their experience working at the mission.

The remaining questions had to be phrased differently from those found on Schedule B in order to find out these respondents' views of non-local staff persons. For example, instead of asking these respondents what drew them to the mission, they were asked why they thought people who were not from this area came to work at the mission. Similarly, respondents were asked if they thought these non-local staff persons seemed to find working and living at the mission any different from
what they expected. To examine the matter further, these interviewees were asked about the kinds of expectations non-local staff persons have about the community as well as the effect which these beliefs or attitudes have upon the staff-community relationship. They were also asked if they thought staff were prepared for their life here. A probe followed regarding whether or not they thought staff had difficulty adjusting to mission life. Respondents were, then, asked what kinds of things they thought a non-local person should be aware of when he/she comes to work at the mission.

By comparing local and non-local staff persons' replies to these questions, it could be determined if they shared the same perceptions. Anything which was found to be common to both groups, i.e., was observed across-the-board, pointed to the culture of this organization, i.e., what understandings were mutually held. Any group differences in the responses, i.e., local people having another point-of-view on some matter when compared to non-local staff, indicated the presence of different perspectives, i.e., viewing the matter under consideration in terms of different domains of relevances.

This interview guide was administered to five persons. While the sample size is small, I was able to add to these data through unstructured interviews, i.e.,
visiting, with local people. Overall, I found visiting to be a much more effective mode of information acquisition when it came to finding out what perceptions local people had.

Furthermore, the percentage of local people who are involved in the delivery of human services is less than the percentage of community residents included in this sample. Thus, the sample is skewed in the opposite direction of what might be thought if one were to assess it in terms of being representative of that population who delivers human services. Even so, I wanted to include several local persons in my sample in order to compare the similarity of responses and, thus, the pervasiveness of the views expressed by non-local employees.

This sample, i.e., N=20, was primarily comprised of persons who perform outreach functions, e.g., teachers, counselors, and home visitors. However, project supervisors and persons who work in a support capacity, e.g., clerical and maintenance, were also involved.

Generally, interviews ran about an hour although there were several occasions in which they went on much longer, i.e., over two hours. In these instances, the formality of an "interview" had melted away, and the respondent and I had moved into a conversation which was more personal in nature, e.g., the problems he/she was
having, the experiences he/she had undergone living in this situation, and so on.

I believe my decision not to tape these interviews contributed to an atmosphere that made respondents feel comfortable about disclosing these more intimate aspects of their lives to me. While I realize there are those who claim that interviewees forget their remarks are being taped as they become more involved in the interview, I do not subscribe to this point-of-view.

A tape recorder is a communication, one that the respondent cannot easily ignore. In the initial stages of the interview, the investigator must find an electrical outlet unless batteries are being used. Frequently, the respondent's assistance is solicited in locating an outlet. Once plugged in, the recorder must be placed in a conspicuous position so that the interviewee's comments will be picked up. Then, in the process of the interview, the respondent is again reminded of the recorder's presence when the tape runs out and must be turned over or changed.

Early on, I tried taping my interviews and felt that the use of a recorder was creating a wall between the respondent and me, i.e., was affecting the respondent's disclosiveness. When the recorder was on, interviewees hesitated more, chose their words carefully, and tended
to answer only what was asked of them. If I turned the recorder off and put it in my purse, the nature of the interview changed. Respondents seemed more relaxed and focused attention on me.

While I undoubtedly lost some data as a result of my inability to write down everything the respondents said, I don't feel this compromised my research. Given my objective, i.e., to uncover the culture of this organization, I was not interested in obtaining singular or unique insights but, rather, in identifying those understandings which organizational members held in common, i.e., were mutually held understandings. I, therefore, rationalized that those points which were missed in any one interview would be picked up over time, i.e., these beliefs, attitudes, etc. would surface again and again in the course of my conversations with respondents.

This interest in shared meanings also helped to protect the anonymity of my sources. Although some of the statements made by respondents are quoted herein, the ideas expressed are not idiosyncratic but are, instead, representative of the comments I heard. To quote a respondent's views, then, offers no particular clues regarding the source since other interviewees said similar things.
Even though respondents signed a consent form (Appendix D), I took several steps to ensure the anonymity of my sources. Most obvious among these was to avoid linking any person's name to any quotation used in this discussion. I also deleted any reference to the position which the person held within the organization. As a final precaution, quotations were not written in the dialect spoken but were transposed into the form typically seen in texts. I feel confident that these methods of masking, along with the size of the sample and the longitudinal nature of the study, would confound any attempt to associate a particular person with any quotation included in this discussion.

Informal Interviews

The data obtained through these interviews were supplemented by information gathered through less formal encounters, i.e., visiting. Conversations were held with staff persons as well as local residents who were not employed by the mission.

Each time I returned to the mission, I tried to visit with staff members I had met during previous trips. This was done for several reasons.

Going to see former respondents increased my visibility at the mission, thus making me a more familiar
face in this setting. Staff became accustomed to seeing me around and could find out something about me through their co-workers, i.e., those persons with whom they had seen me talking. It was hoped that this would reduce some of the ambiguity and possible threat associated with me, thereby facilitating my entree into this situation.

Access into the organization was aided by the fact that I would frequently meet an individual I didn't know during these visits, e.g., someone would come into the office where we were talking, we would run into another staff member as we walked from one building to another, etc. These chance meetings helped to pave my way in terms of setting up an interview with these persons, i.e., they knew who I was and a little about what I was doing.

The conversations, themselves, filled me in on the events which had transpired since my last visit, e.g., people who had come or left, and also gave me some indication regarding the kinds of feelings which staff had about these developments. This information, then, pointed to some areas I should explore or be attentive to during future discussions with staff.

These informal encounters also offered me an opportunity to follow-up on some subject we had talked about previously, whether it be something of a personal nature,
a matter that pertained to another individual, or an aspect of one of the programs. During these visits, I might also ask staff to clarify or elaborate upon a statement they had made on an earlier occasion and/or seek information on a subject which we had not discussed before. Often, I would ask questions in order to test the representativeness of a view which other respondents had expressed.

In addition, I would use these meetings to test some of my tentative findings, i.e., see how they reacted to some of my conclusions. This, in turn, helped me to check the validity of my conclusions as well as the rationale supporting them.

Through visiting, I was also able to examine some of the views which staff expressed about local people. When chatting with local people, I paid attention to the stories they told, the subjects which were of interest to them, the concerns they voiced, and the aspirations they expressed. In this way, I gained a sense of whom they were, i.e., what mattered to them. I, then, compared my understanding to the perception which staff had of these individuals. Any lack of concurrence between the two views was investigated through further interviewing and observation.
Within this community, visiting is a very popular pastime. Although local people might be suspicious of and, thus, unreceptive to a stranger wandering through their holler for the expressed purpose of visiting with the people, chatting with a stranger on mission grounds or in the company of an individual the local person knows, i.e., a staff person, does not seem to foster these feelings. In this specific setting, i.e., the mission, visitors are common. Efforts to converse with a stranger seem to be taken as a gesture of friendliness. Furthermore, it is not unusual for a local person to initiate a conversation with a visitor to the mission.

Opportunities to talk to local persons not employed by the mission were restricted to the visiting format since the mission stipulated that approval for this study was only granted if I refrained from interviewing local people. In discussing this matter with the organizational head, I learned that the term "interviewing" was used to refer to those structured encounters in which a series of questions were asked of one person whose responses were, then, recorded in his/her presence. The mission's governing board, the group who evaluated and acted upon my study proposal, felt that local people would view this type of activity as an attempt to "study" them and that such action would reflect negatively upon
the organization. Interviews of this nature, then, were tabu.

However, I came to understand through my conversations with the organizational head and other staff persons that visiting was not. In fact, it was encouraged probably because a person who is not responsive to overtures to visit may be regarded as one who is "puttin' on airs" in the eyes of local people, i.e., as one who is acting as though he/she is better than they are. This, in turn, is not the kind of impression the mission wants its visitors to convey.

In terms of duration, the length of these visits varied. Some were quite short, lasting no more than a few minutes; others, on the other hand, ran on for a couple of hours.

Observations

In addition to gathering data through the one-on-one encounter, I gathered information through observation. While I took note of such things as the physical features of the area and the resources which the mission had available to it, I particularly focused upon interaction.

The subjects of my attention varied. I observed the interaction between staff and clients, between staff and visitors, among members of the mission's staff, and among
local people who were not employed by the mission.

Whenever possible, I observed staff-client interaction, e.g., a staff member visiting a local residence, a counselor talking to a dorm resident, or a clerk serving a customer at the clothing store. During these encounters, I tried to pay attention to several factors: the language used, the nonverbals displayed, what was said and done as well as what was not. In this way, I tried to determine if common features could be found in these conversations, i.e., if I could identify anything which seemed to characterize these interactions. I also attempted to discern if any differences could be found between the interaction of local staff persons and community residents and that which occurred between non-local mission employees and community people.

The communication of mission staff to those people who visit and/or volunteer their services to the mission was also observed. To be more specific, I attended the orientation program for work campers and also a three-day outreach program in which church members living in other areas of the country learned about the mission's activities in this area.

These activities were monitored with certain purposes in mind. In general, I was interested in learning what kinds of information these visitors/volunteers were
given. In particular, I wanted to find out what type of cultural sensitivity training staff provided these people. This, in turn, indicated what elements of the local culture staff felt it was important for these persons to know. As such, the information which staff gave visitors revealed those features of the local culture which were salient to staff and also pointed to any differences they found between the local culture and the visitor's, i.e., the culture of the greater American society.

I also made an effort to be attentive to interaction among staff members. My observations were not limited to the work situation, i.e., the professional encounter, but also included the exchanges which occurred among staff during their free time, e.g., socializing at the restaurant, visiting with one another during breaks, participating in meetings of the church's women's group.

My observations focused on the same factors I attended to when watching staff-client interaction. I paid attention to the substance of these conversations, i.e., what was discussed as well as what was not. This included taking note of the etiquette used, e.g., the forms of address and the patterns of deferring to the other, as well as the kinds of pleasantries exchanged.
In addition, I looked at the nonverbal behaviors displayed as well as communicator style, e.g., making suggestions or taking a dictatorial stance.

These observations of staff interaction were made for several reasons. I tried to identify any aspects of staff interaction which characterized it across situations as well as any differences which distinguished interaction occurring within one setting, e.g., in the office, from that found in other circumstances. In addition, I was interested in determining if there was anything distinctive about interaction between local and non-local staff persons, between local staff members, and between non-local mission employees. Any consistent differences noted in the interaction of these groups helped to define each one by pointing to certain features that were either observed or not seen. Through such observation, I could also assess whether or not there were any differences between staff persons interacting with members of their own group, i.e., the "we" group, and with members of the "they" group, i.e., locals interacting with non-locals. By watching all three groups, I could better evaluate if these differences were a consequence of one's group membership, i.e., the way in which non-locals, for example, interact with one another, or stemmed from other factors. Lastly, I tried to note
any elements of staff interaction which seemed to be held in common by all three groups, i.e., ways in which staff interaction could be characterized. While this did not necessarily distinguish staff interaction from other kinds of exchanges within this setting, it did provide a basis for making comparisons with other phenomena, e.g., staff-client encounters, in order to identify any similarities or differences between them.

In addition to visiting with local people not employed by the mission, I also observed their interaction whenever I could to so unobtrusively. While my opportunities for gathering these kinds of data were limited to the public sphere, I was able to observe this interaction in several settings, e.g., at the restaurant, in the waiting room of the clinic, and in the parking lot.

I tried to take into account the same factors I had attended to when watching interaction among staff and that among staff and clients. To review briefly, I was interested in the topics discussed as well as the way in which local people expressed themselves, i.e., the language and nonverbals used.

I compared the interaction I had seen among community residents to that observed among local staff persons in order to identify any differences or similarities between the two. The discrepancies pointed to the ways
in which local people's interaction could be distinguished, i.e., characterized, in the two situations; whereas, those features which were observed in both of these instances indicated which factors were possible descriptors of local people's interaction as a group.

These observations, in conjunction with visiting, helped me develop my perception of local people, one which was, then, compared to the views expressed by both local and non-local staff persons. Any lack of concurrence found among these points-of-view indicated areas I needed to explore in greater detail in my research.

Observing these different groups was part of my daily life at the mission. When I had some free time, I would sit down in a comfortable spot, look and listen. On some occasions, these observations would be pre-planned, e.g., attending a meeting or an orientation program.

As the foregoing discussion has indicated, I observed a number of situations during my stay at the mission. However, the range of phenomena seen was limited to events which either occurred on mission grounds or which transpired in the process of delivering a service to a person living in the community. In addition, my relationships with staff and community persons never moved into the social sphere in the sense
of going to someone's home for dinner or being included in any of the social activities which took place, e.g., potluck dinners. When the official workday was over, I was left to fend on my own.

On the one hand, this was a disadvantage since these social functions are an important part of mission life for those persons who are not indigenous to the area. On the other, being excluded from these activities served my interests since I felt it was important that I not be perceived as being allied with one particular group in this setting.

I did try to do my part when it came to doing some of the daily tasks of mission life, e.g., washing dishes with other staff members when I ate in the dorm with them. Overall, though, I maintained my outside status in relation to both the mission and community.

Publications

Another source of data for this study were materials which staff prepared for the public. I examined several of these publications. Included in my survey were the newsletter, the work camp packet given to volunteers, the visitor information packet and handouts which were given to community persons.
The mission's newsletter is a quarterly publication which is written for the church membership living in other areas of the country. Many articles explain the various ministries, i.e., programs, with which the mission is involved. They typically point out the uses which have been made of donations as well as the work which is being done and the accomplishments achieved. There are also articles about the social functions which have occurred, such as an Easter egg hunt or a special potluck dinner. In addition to these stories which update readers on the activities of the mission, there are other articles which specifically deal with staff. Some are biographical sketches of particular persons who work for the mission. Most frequently, though, "staff news" informs the reader about the arrivals and departures of staff persons. Another feature found in each issue is a section in which the needs of the mission are listed. These needs do not only refer to material goods, i.e., a lawn mower, but also to the staff vacancies which the mission wants to fill. Basically, then, the newsletter is a report and plea to the larger church membership.

While any conclusions reached through an analysis of the newsletter needed to be appraised in relation to this context, i.e., the audience to whom it was directed, this publication contained information that was of
interest to this study. The newsletter offered insights into the objectives and, hence, the purposes which staff saw the mission accomplishing. This was disclosive not simply in terms of staff's perception of the mission, i.e., their understanding of what it was doing, but also in regard to their perception of mission, i.e., what mission is. In addition, these articles conveyed an image of local people, i.e., an understanding of whom these people are, as well as the mission's, i.e., staff's, relationship to them. Finally, the newsletter was a chronicle of mission activities. As such, it provided insights into the conditions at the mission over time. In all, I examined those issues of the newsletter which had been published over the last five years.

In addition to the newsletter, the mission publishes other materials which are geared toward the public that lives outside this community. One of these is an information packet which is distributed to those persons who are visiting the mission. Generally, these individuals are interested in learning more about the mission and have decided to come and "see" for themselves. These people are primarily church members who reside in other areas of the country.
Besides offering information about such basic concerns as housing and eating facilities, the packet contains an explanation of the various ministries, i.e., programs. A brief history of the mission, i.e., the story of its founding, is also included. A fact sheet about the mission completes the packet although brochures which provide a general description of the mission are frequently enclosed. Taken together, then, these materials provided an overview of this mission organization in terms of its past and present state.

The information included in this packet was of interest since it reflected a view of the mission's history and activities, i.e., just what staff deem as being significant about the past and present. In addition, these materials offered insights into staff's perception of the mission in this situation, i.e., what it is doing, and, in particular, the role which they see the organization and, thus, themselves playing in this setting.

A more extensive information packet has been designed for those persons who visit the mission through the work camp program. It has been constructed for the purpose of preparing these volunteers for their mission experience. The packet is mailed to work camp leaders several months prior to their arrival so that they have
time to cover the material with program participants, i.e., persons from their church who are attending the work camp.

The work camp packet tries to sensitize these volunteers to the kinds of expectations and motivations they are bringing to this experience and also attempts to inform them about the mission and the community it serves. It is comprised of four sections or study guides.

One of these sections was of particular relevance to this study. It focused upon Appalachia and its people. This guide consisted of selected readings, suggestions for panel discussions and a worship service which was to be held after members had completed the readings and activities contained in this section.

Through an analysis of these materials, those features of Appalachia and its people which staff consider to be significant were identified. This, in turn, offered insights into staff's understanding of these subjects, i.e., their perception of local people and their situation.

Moreover, the materials contained in the packet as a whole were of interest in the sense that they reminded or informed volunteers of the goals and objectives that should underlie their behavior as church members. As
such, these readings pointed to those beliefs and aspirations which staff sanction and, thus, what behaviors they deem as being appropriate.

In addition to the brochures, packets, etc. that are written for the public living outside its service area, staff also prepare handouts for community residents. While handouts are not a popular mode of communication, a few programs regularly use this form of communication, e.g., the pre-school education program. In many instances, the purpose of these handouts is to inform community persons about something, e.g., notification of up-coming events. In other cases, these materials perform an instructional function, e.g., teaching your child to be independent, and are often prepared for the purpose of following up on some activity, e.g., practicing daily hygiene. Since the content of these handouts varies from program to program and any one program may produce a number of handouts which differ in terms of subject matter, it is not feasible to discuss their composition in any detail.

Overall, these handouts added to an understanding of mission activities; however, those materials which were instructional in nature provided some specific insights into this organizational culture. An examination of the content of these handouts revealed those factors,
e.g., behaviors and attitudes, that staff consider to be important, i.e., the sanctioned ways of doing and thinking. Analysis of these handouts also disclosed staff's perceptions of community residents. In particular, the assumptions which were made about local people were exposed, i.e., what staff thought these persons did and didn't know or do. This, in turn, indicated the needs which staff had found in this community and, thus, the perception which they had of their client population.

Tenure of Study

Data used in this study, i.e., from interviews, observations and publications, were gathered over a two-and-a-half year period. Site visits were only conducted from April through November since weather conditions in winter make road travel in this area of Appalachia hazardous and even impossible at times.

Generally, visits were of a week's duration. Food and lodging were provided by the mission for a minimal charge although the rates I paid were no different from that which any other guest would be charged. Typically, I stayed at one of the two major mission centers. At one location, meals were taken at the restaurant on mission grounds; at the other, meal time was more of
a family affair since I ate with other staff persons who were given board as part of their compensation.

In all, approximately five weeks were spent in the field. In every instance, contact was made with the mission prior to my arrival for the purpose of making reservations and setting up interviews.

The longitudinal nature of this study was an important element in this research design. Due to the time element involved in this study, the domains of relevances and typifications, identified herein, were not simply determined on the basis of their pervasiveness, i.e., the degree to which these understandings were held in common by respondents, but also in terms of their continued observation, i.e., the fact that these understandings continued to be expressed throughout the course of the research.

Researcher Bias

Throughout this study, I tried to monitor my own involvement in this research. This emphasis upon self-reflection stemmed from the recognition that I as an individual, i.e., my personality, sex, experience, background, etc., have affected the research.
There is little doubt in my mind that my presence, i.e., who I am, led to the production of certain communications on the part of the other. For example, I noticed that on several occasions local women shared their career aspirations with me even though I didn't ask them any questions about this subject. It seems fairly obvious to me that this kind of disclosure stemmed from their knowledge of me, i.e., that I am working on a PhD and, thus, am trying to achieve something in terms of career in my life. They, therefore, reciprocated by volunteering information of a similar nature about themselves in an effort to relate to me, i.e., to find a common ground between us. While this is true of any encounter to a greater or lesser degree, I have made an effort to note those situations in which I think that I, as an individual, am evoking certain kinds of comments from the other and, thus, shaping the kind of data I am obtaining.

In conjunction with being sensitive to the ways in which my presence influenced respondents, I also attempted to be aware of the effect(s) which respondents had upon me, i.e., my reactions to the people I met. In other words, I tried to make my own biases or, in Burke's (1966, p. 46) words, "terministic screens" evident in an effort to be cognizant of the limitations which I was
imposing upon my interpretation of the data.

At the end of my interview notes, I concluded with a section entitled "observations" in which I expressed my assessment of the encounter, the reasons I had for making the judgments I did, and my personal response to the individual. In this way, I hoped to identify those ideas and personal judgments which might skew my appraisal of the significance of what had been said as well as to substantiate the conclusion(s) I had reached.

As a further check on my work, findings obtained through data analysis were fed back to staff. This was done through the visiting format and also within the interview situation. If respondents could understand my interpretation, i.e., it made sense to them in terms of what they knew, I considered the conclusions I had reached to be verified.

Summary

However, the conclusions presented herein as a result of this research should be assessed in relation to the nature of the study undertaken. The aim of this chapter has been to provide this information so that such an evaluation can be made. Particular attention has been given to a discussion of the types of data collected and the kinds of insights they offer. In addition, the
strategies taken in this research, e.g., gaining entree, and the composition of the study sample were explained. Finally, the limitations imposed upon this study, e.g., researcher bias, as well as the steps that were taken to reach accurate conclusions, e.g., verification procedures and the tenure of the study, were pointed out.
CHAPTER IV
THE NATURE OF THE SITUATION

Introduction

Before presenting the findings obtained through this research, some background information about the mission and the community will be provided in order to contextualize that discussion. To elaborate, this chapter will provide an overview of the community and its people. Particular attention will be given to the socioeconomic characteristics of this group. Following that, the history and present activities of this mission organization will be explained. In this way, a general orientation to this situation can be gained.

Profile of the Community and Its People

When driving to the mission, one cannot help but notice that this is a part of the world which has been blessed with great physical beauty. While the primeval forests which once blanketed the land have long since been lost to logging (see Caudill, 1963), the mountains are covered with vegetation. The greenness of the growth endows the landscape with a lushness which gives the
impression of great abundance. While these mountains are not as high as those found in the West, they are similar to the Rockies in the sense that the valleys are narrow. The valleys are called "hollers", a variation upon the word hollow.

The terrain, itself, does not look like it would be suitable for wide-scale agricultural production. While the bottom land may be fertile, there is comparatively little of it. Although some of the hillsides might be used for crop production, Caudill (1963) notes that the quality of the soil is much poorer.

Despite these limitations, though, one will see small parcels of land here and there in which crops have been planted. Due to the cost of machinery and probably the size of the operation, it's not unusual to see the land being cultivated by a horse- or mule-driven plow.

Given all the land which seems to be available, it is surprising to find that people live on such small lots. Typically, there will be a garden and, in many instances, a few chickens hunting and pecking in the dirt.

Often, there will be several homes squeezed together on one small plot of land. One may be the type of dwelling that is associated with the poverty of Appalachia. Many times, there will be one or more mobile homes parked on the lot. In addition, there may be a permanently
constructed house setting on the site, the quality being equivalent to middle and upper class American homes. Frequently, these homes belong to persons who went north to work and then came back to the mountains often to retire.

The discrepancy in housing even on the same small parcel of land points to one of the characteristics of Appalachia. It is a place of great contrasts. This point is driven home by the occasional in-ground swimming pool that will be seen on a property whose dwellings range from the most modest form of shelter to homes exuding affluence. Regardless of the kind of housing observed, one will often find a satellite dish in the yard, thus pointing to the attempt of local people to bridge the isolation they have been subjected to over the years by the obstacles imposed by the topography of the land.

People living together on these plots of land are kin, i.e., they are related to one another in some way. The original dwelling standing on the land is frequently the home of a grandparent or great uncle/aunt who has been given the right to live on the land. Often, the land will return to the owner upon his/her demise. This user's right is generally the consequence of having served the owner in some way, e.g., being a good employee.
In light of this situation, i.e., the impermanency of the homesite, it can be understood why there are so many mobile homes used as residences. Persons are skeptical about building a house given that they, most likely, will be forced to abandon it at some future date.

Noting these conditions, the question arises as to who owns this land. The answer provides insights into why Appalachia is in the condition that it is.

Most of the land in this area is the property of large corporations or the National Forest Service. While the forest service has been purchasing land at an alarming rate throughout all of Appalachia (see Plaut, 1983), much of it was lost years ago to the smooth talking, congenial agents of the coal companies. Caudill (1963, p. 72) describes these persons as "men of great guile and charm. They were courteous, pleasant and wonderful storytellers." The task assigned to these agents was to acquire these lands at the cheapest possible price while allowing the coal companies "every desirable exploitive privilege" (Caudill, 1963, p. 72).

This was done through the broad form deed which gave companies title to all coal, oil, gas and any other mineral wealth which could be extracted from the earth. However, this deed provided these companies more than
this. It allowed them to excavate for the minerals, to build roads and structures on the land and to use the surface for any purpose "convenient or necessary" to the company and its successors in title. (Caudill, 1963, p. 74)

As such, this deed gave the company the right to use "timber growing on the land" for "mining props", "to divert and pollute the water and to cover the surface with toxic mining refuse" (Caudill, 1963, p. 74). As a final provision, a clause was included which "absolved the mining company from all liability to the landowner for such damages as might be caused 'directly or indirectly' by mining operations on his land" (Caudill, 1963, p. 74).

All of this was obtained from between fifty cents to five dollars an acre. By placing an X on the spot, these illiterate, trusting mountaineers opened the door to forces which would affect the lives of generations to come. (Caudill, 1963)

The coal companies which originally purchased this land were controlled by shipping and railroad magnates (Lewis, 1974). Later, they fell under the control of steel and automobile manufacturers (Lewis, 1974). In the 1960s, they were absorbed by fuel and energy, utility, corporations (Lewis, 1974). These are the groups which hold the land today.
The impact which the coal industry has had upon this part of Appalachia can hardly be escaped. The mountains have been gouged and scraped, topped-off and blown-up in the quest to mine out the rich seams of coal that lie hidden in the earth. The leaves on the trees are covered with a soft, fine dust shed by the coal trucks as they race down the road to the delivery depot. The streams are a murky, gray-silt color and sometimes even smell like chemicals. The tailings from the mines have been dumped here and there; seemingly, wherever it has been convenient.

But the most impressive reminder of the cost of coal are the men who have mined it. It is not unusual to see a man without an arm or a leg, the loss being a consequence of a mining accident. Yet, perhaps, more dramatic is to see the men with black lung disease as they strain for each breath of air.

While strip mining has become more popular in recent years since coal companies lease the land to independent contractors who mine without conforming to government regulation, men who go underground typically work in tunnels 36 - 40 inches high. As such, they spend their shift mining coal on their knees.

In addition to the grueling nature of the work, miners don't have a steady job. Their ability to earn
a living is dependent upon demand, the degree often being a consequence of the political climate. Due to the miner's dependency upon the larger society for his economic well-being, some have come to regard Appalachia as an internal colony; whereas, others see it as an internal periphery (Walls, 1978).

In either case, it is clear that the miner has not fared well given the forces which wield control over his life. With the mechanization which has occurred in recent years, thus reducing the need for labor, as well as the shift to other forms of energy, employment in the mines has continued to decrease. One respondent told me that "22,000 miners had been laid off in the coal fields in the last three years". Nor does it look like the situation will improve for the miner in the future given the administration's new acid rain legislation.

The miner's plight is heightened by the absence of other employment opportunities. In this area, the mission is the only other employer of any size. While the mines almost exclusively hire males, most of the local persons hired by the mission are women. Many of these women are the sole means of financial support for their families.

The lack of economic alternatives is due in great part to the nature of the coal industry (Lewis, 1974).
It is not in the interests of coal mining companies/corporations to encourage or facilitate economic development. Lewis (1974, p. 229) points out that

Since mining is immobile, fixed in space, limited in its one product, and work is arduous and dangerous, it must develop means of attracting or controlling labor. It is to the advantage of coal mining to operate in isolation without competing companies.

Furthermore, the industry, itself, does not generate other forms of economic activity.

In other industries surplus is used for capital investments and this creates new corporations, associations, and other businesses and develops a middle-stratum of technicians and specialists. This does not happen with coal mining. (Lewis, 1974, p. 229)

All of this goes to show that the coal mining industry has both directly and indirectly contributed to high unemployment in the area, a reasonable estimate being around 50%.

Given the absence of work opportunities, many people have been driven out of the area to seek employment elsewhere. Some have returned home after failing to find work or having a job dry-up shortly after they were employed. Still, others have succeeded in starting a new life in a different place, leaving their elders to grow old alone in the hollers. Of this group, many long to return to the mountains but know they have no options available if they do so.
It is estimated that about one-third of the families living in the mission's service area are on welfare. Of the families living in the valley served by the mission, the annual income is believed to be around $5,000 a year. In some of the outlying counties, this figure is thought to be somewhat higher, approximately $7,000 per year.

Many of the people living in this area have traditionally coped with the hardships of life by taking recourse in religion. It is typically one that relies upon a "literal interpretation of the Scriptures and Puritan morality" (Gerrard, 1974, p. 92). As such, these persons hold beliefs that are consistent with that wing of the church which is known as Protestant fundamentalism. Many belong to the sect referred to as "Holiness" churches (Gerrard, 1974, p. 93). These groups take a fatalistic view of things and set their sights on the world hereafter. They hold services and revival meetings in which attendees are touched by the Holy Spirit, i.e., converted and sanctified by the Lord. These meetings/services are "unstructured and spontaneous", thus allowing anyone to participate as he/she is moved (Gerrard, 1974, p. 100). These churches are generally run by an individual who has been "called" to preach by the Lord. These persons rarely have had any formal religious education and run their church autonomously, i.e., without any
input from a larger organization. (Gerrard, 1974)

While some have found solace in religion, others have responded to the stress, boredom, and seeming futility of life by turning to drink. As such, alcoholism does pose a problem. It has contributed to acts of violence which, like much of the United States, is not uncommon in this region.

In addition to the health problems brought about through drinking and heavy smoking, there is a high incidence of diabetes in this area. This is attributed to intermarriage and poor dietary habits. Epilepsy and mental retardation are two other conditions which are more frequently found in this area when compared to the population at-large. Also, neural-tube defects, the inability to sweat, retinitis pigmentosa which can lead to blindness, and hemophilia occur more often in this population than in the society overall.

Women in this region are having fewer children than in the past. However, teen pregnancy is double the national average. There seems to be no stigma attached to a child born out of wedlock. Often, this child will be raised by a grandparent, a task usually welcomed for the company the child provides in one's later years.

Many pregnancies are high-risk due to the mother's youth, diet, and smoking habit. Infant death is 50%
higher than that which is found in the U.S. as a whole. Children, by and large, are greatly valued by the family. They tend to be indulged so much so that some have claimed that too much permissiveness is shown. It is estimated that about 25% of the population is under the age of fourteen.

Education has historically been viewed with skepticism. It has not been a priority and has suffered considerably from the loss of tax dollars it should have received from the coal industry over the years. The congressional district within which the mission is located continues to be one of the lowest of all in terms of educational achievement. In one county served by the mission, 60% of the population had not continued their education beyond the eighth grade.

However, within the last several years, there does seem to have been greater interest shown in education. More students are graduating from high school each year.

**Settlement Schools in Appalachia**

The first missionaries who came into the area which staff now serve were part of the settlement school era (see Moses, 1978). At one time, there were over a hundred mission schools operating in Appalachia but most
failed to survive the Great Depression of the 1930s (Munn, 1978).

While these mission workers' primary objective was to win souls to their faith, they also came to bring "civilization", i.e., to provide those services of which the larger society was already taking advantage. One of these was the establishment of a school. It was usually the first project undertaken in the course of these groups' activities.

Although these early missionaries were often "better intended than informed", they, as a group, worked very hard and endured great sacrifices to bring around the world which they thought there should be (Munn, 1978, p. 9). As Munn (1978, p. 9) points out, these missionaries "were almost painfully idealistic and had no interest in either money or power".

The Mission Organization

The missionary enterprise which is the subject of this discussion is actually the product of two such evangelical efforts, both of which were undertaken in the 1920s. To clarify further, the mission of today was founded by two different Protestant denominations. The work being done by each group was incorporated into one
missionary project when the two churches merged some years ago.

The dual beginning of this missionary activity is reflected in the present structure and activities of the organization. Neither missionary enterprise has been subsumed by the other, i.e., become a subsidiary of the other. Each maintains an independent program of human services with the consequence that there are two main centers of activity.

Together, they serve several counties in Appalachia. They are located about forty-five miles from another, an hour-and-a-half drive over paved road.

The services which each center provides has been developed in relation to its particular history, i.e., the way in which past personnel responded to the conditions they faced. As a result, there are differences in the services which each offers: the programs which are provided as well as the way in which the same need is served, i.e., a program is designed and delivered.

Each, then, has maintained its distinctiveness while working in conjunction with the other. This is evidenced by the fact that each has retained the name it had prior to unification although this information is masked herein by simply referring to them as Site A and Site B.
The Development of Sites A and B

Historical accounts written by present and past staff persons note the conditions of life, i.e., needs, in these areas which led to this missionary work. In this literature, Site A is depicted as a place in which havoc was being wrought through moonshining and feuding. It is described as a wild, dangerous place in which differences were solved with a shotgun. This was a land that was not bound by the laws of the larger society but, rather, "abided by its own kind of law" which was one "made weak from fear and violence". Thus the evangelical call, the need to bring Christ into this community, stemmed from a moral need, i.e., the lack of a Christian ethic to instruct these persons in their daily lives.

Site B is portrayed in a different manner. Stories recounting the founding of this missionary activity emphasize the isolation of this area. Due to the mountainous terrain, there were no bridges or roads connecting persons in this region to the world outside their environs. Accounts of the first church persons that came to this community call attention to the difficulty they had in reaching their destination, e.g., a ten-hour wagon trip from a nearby town only fourteen miles away. It is the inaccessibility of this area that was deemed as being responsible for this mission's
presence in this area. People lacked the resources that would allow them to live a life comparable to that found in mainstream society. To elaborate, there was no school, medical assistance or Christian education available.

While these histories do not mention that those persons living at Site A believed they were suffering from a lack of religion, these accounts do note that several people at Site B felt a need for a church in their lives, e.g., a Sunday school for children. These texts give the names of specific individuals who prayed that someone would "come over and help us". These missionaries, then, reportedly came into this area at the invitation of community residents. This is in contrast to the establishment of Site A which seemingly was initiated in response to the frustration which the legal institution of the larger society felt as a result of dealing with those who adhered to the code of the mountains.

Despite this difference, it is suggested that, from the outset, both communities were receptive to these first missionaries. Support for this contention is found in the fact that, early on, persons residing in both of these areas donated land for buildings. In fact, one person living at Site A gave all his property to the mission in exchange for its promise to take care of his children after he was dead.
In conjunction with holding church services and starting a school, efforts were undertaken to build resident student housing, i.e., a place where local children could room and board. Such housing was deemed important in terms of facilitating school attendance since many young people lived some distance from the mission and travel to-and-from school was an arduous task.

Following World War II, the need for this housing waned and eventually was phased out at Site A. State and local governments took a more active role in educating its population by building and staffing schools throughout the area. In the early 1970s, a county-owned elementary school was constructed on mission grounds. As such, it complemented the high school that was, then, being run by the mission. However, in the mid-1970s, the high school located on mission grounds closed its doors, and young people now attend the county high school. By taking this action, the mission at Site A placed the responsibility of educating the youth of this area squarely upon the county's shoulders.

In contrast to this, the school founded at Site B was built on a different relationship between church and state. For most of its history, this school has been a joint enterprise financed by both government and church. This cooperative venture has been justified on the basis
that this combination of resources has resulted in a higher quality of education than what either could possibly offer on their own.

However, two years ago, this arrangement collapsed. The reason(s) for this turn-of-events is not entirely clear although it is publicly stated that it is the consequence of the state department of education's requirement that the county school system formally lease this school facility from the mission. Supposedly, the establishment of a lessor-lessee relationship had the effect of eliminating the mission's voice in the activities of the school, a situation which it found unacceptable.

After an involved series of discussions in which attempts were made to reach a mutually satisfying decision, the mission decided it had no other recourse than to turn this institution into a private church-related school. The consequences resulting from this choice have yet to be seen.

In addition to establishing a school after their arrival, the early missionaries at Site B also undertook the task of providing trained medical personnel to persons living in the area. At first, they were only able to offer the skills and knowledge of a nurse who traveled throughout the region on horseback with medical supplies stored in her saddlebags. Within a few years, the mission
acquired the services of a physician. Along with his expertise, he brought funds which had been donated by the larger church for building a hospital. By the end of the 1920s, it was completed.

Over the years, the demand for medical services grew until the original facility was no longer adequate. By 1960, a new 20+ bed hospital had been constructed and another physician was added to the staff, so that there was a total of two doctors on board.

The years during the 1960s through the early 1980s were a period of expansion in terms of the services offered. By the mid 1980s, the medical center housed a physicians' clinic, i.e., two general practitioners and a surgeon; a dental clinic employing two dentists and a technician; two emergency rooms; X-ray equipment; a laboratory; a surgery; a pre-natal clinic; and the home health care program. Plans were in the works to provide a pediatric clinic as well as an emergency ambulance service. Both were later approved and implemented.

However, during the same time period, i.e., when the medical center was at its zenith in terms of the services it offered, the hospital began to notice a drop in the number of in-patient admissions. By the mid 1980s, the number of these admissions had declined so dramatically that the entire medical program was in danger of falling
so deeply in the red that it could not be salvaged. This crisis led to the termination of in-patient care as well as cutbacks in staff, i.e., both white- and blue-collar workers. The mission cited additional federal restrictions regarding the admission of Medicare and Medicaid patients as the cause for this decline. Whether or not this is the sole reason for the change observed, the years from 1986 and forward have witnessed a reduction in many services.

Overall, the medical program has labored under a shortage of key credentialed personnel during the last couple of years. The mission has experienced on-going difficulty in obtaining and retaining qualified medical personnel, e.g., a dentist and a physician specializing in family practice. The consequences which this may have over the long-term in terms of the services offered are not clear despite the mission's declaration of its commitment to the provision of medical services to this region.

Regardless of the fate which befalls the school and medical center at Site B, the activities undertaken by the first missionaries to Site A and Site B have affected the way in which each ministry has developed. This is more readily seen when the programs currently being conducted at each site are examined.
Present Activities at Site A

The emphasis given to education and the concern shown for the future of young people in the early work done at Site A can be seen in the programs with which the mission is currently involved. Each will be explained in the discussion which follows.

One of the programs operated at Site A is a foster care ministry for troubled youth. Persons involved in this program are not local residents but do, instead, come from all over the state. The teenagers who are taken in foster care either have been living in an undesirable family situation, e.g., are abused, or lack the kind of relationship with family and/or community that is indicative of their having a positive future. The aim of this program is to develop those competencies in these youth which will enable them to lead a productive life in society.

The community development program also has the objective of facilitating persons in fulfilling their individual potential. However, their activities are community oriented, i.e., designed for local people; whereas, the foster care is not.

Many of the services offered are educational in nature. To elaborate, Site A offers a pre-school education program, provides free tutoring in reading and math for
local youth, prepares adults to take the general education degree (GED) exam, and teaches local adults to read through the Lauback method of literacy education.

The opportunity to pursue an interest in reading is encouraged through a 10,000+ volume library which community development maintains. It is estimated that over 1,200 people take advantage of this service every year.

Adults' access to library materials is enhanced by the bookmobile which serves about eighty homes in the outlying areas. Most of these persons live in out-of-the-way places and would, otherwise, find it difficult to take advantage of this resource due to poor roads, a lack of transportation, or weak health.

In the summer, community development offers a recreation program for youth living in the area. Given the facilities available, i.e., a gymnasium, swimming pool and park, young people can participate in a number of activities.

Community development manages the Craft Store which is located on mission grounds. It displays a variety of wares which have been made by local people, e.g., quilts, corn-husk dolls, and baskets. Through this enterprise, more than twenty-five local craftspersons are able to financially benefit from their talent and expertise.
Community development also operates a community center, which was formerly the high school, and oversees the activities of three used clothing stores, two being located in outlying areas. It is estimated that over 500 families patronize these clothing stores.

Community development is responsible for the provision of clothing and household items to families in dire straights. It maintains an emergency food pantry for persons who need assistance of this sort, too.

In addition to foster care and community development work, Site A operates a farm program. Since many of the persons living in this area are forced to survive on a sporadic and/or meager income, one of the purposes of this program is to assist and encourage subsistence food production. This is done in several ways.

Every year, thousands of vegetables and bedding plants are raised in the greenhouse located on mission grounds. These can be purchased by community persons at a very low price. Free seeds are also distributed throughout the area. Frequently, this is done by the bookmobile person as she travels around the countryside making her rounds.

Local livestock production is also given a boost through the farm program. Each spring about 300-400 feeder pigs of the 1,000 raised annually by the farm
are sold to residents for nominal fee. A sack of feed accompanies each purchase. These animals can then be butchered in the fall to provide the family meat throughout the winter.

The apple orchard is another project that has been undertaken in an effort to develop ways in which agriculture can be used to generate income for people living in this area. It has over 700 trees which were planted in the early 1980s. An additional 400 trees were made available to and consequently purchased by community persons. Farm staff assist local people with the on-going care of their trees, e.g., spraying and pruning. While these individually-owned trees will add to the family food supply, any surplus can be sold, thus providing another source of revenue. The farm program plans to facilitate such sales through a marketing cooperative. It is expected that the orchard will provide jobs to several local people once it moves into full production, i.e., the trees begin to bear fruit.

In addition to these community-oriented projects, the farm program makes a significant contribution to Site A's operations. To be more specific, it helps to defray the costs involved in running this mission through the garden farm persons raise and the meat which they produce for staff. The farm also provides income to this
organization through the sale of its products, i.e., grain, livestock, and Christmas trees.

While foster care, community development and agriculture are the three major ministries that have been undertaken at Site A, an explanation of the activities being conducted at this location would be incomplete if the work camp were not discussed. It is a program which enables people living in other areas of the country to contribute to the work of the mission by volunteering their services. The work camp is basically a summer program, i.e., running from May through August, although groups are taken throughout the year.

Work camps are held at both Site A and Site B. However, they function independently of one another. At each site, a staff person is responsible for the planning, coordination and supervision of the projects undertaken at that location. As might be expected, there are some differences in their operations even though the nature of the programs are substantively the same. It is estimated that about 900 youth and adults attend work camps at Site A every year as compared to almost 800 at Site B.

The work camp is a way in which many of the jobs that need to be done at the mission can be completed, e.g., filling holes in the driveways or building facilities such as a duplex for off-duty houseparents. The
great majority of this work is done on mission grounds although there are occasions in which work is done in the community, e.g., re-roofing a house, repairing a porch, or fixing steps.

Other Activities Conducted at Site B

While the medical center, school and work camp program have been discussed, several other Site B activities haven't been mentioned or have only been referred to in passing. Attention will now focus on these programs in order to provide a comprehensive view of the work being done at this location.

As noted earlier in this chapter, one of the first projects undertaken by the early missionaries at Sites A and B was to establish a resident student program in order to facilitate mountain youth's access to education. This program is still functioning at Site B.

Approximately, forty local youth of high school age room and board at the mission throughout the year. However, not all are living here because their homes are in isolated areas. A few choose to stay at the mission because they want to attend a smaller high school. Still, others have come to board because they are having a problem at home, i.e., are a behavioral and/or discipline problem, or are victims of neglect and/or abuse. However,
youth are not placed into this program by the courts, i.e., they are not wards of the state, but, rather, are here because their families believe this is the best situation for them.

Many of these dorm students participate in a campus work program in order to waive some of the fee charged for boarding. They work after school and during the summer. Students may work at a number of places on-campus depending upon staff needs, e.g., at the clinic, school or in the residence halls.

Site B also has a pre-school program. It is much larger than the one operated at Site A. Over 225 children living in thirteen communities are enrolled. In addition, the pre-school program at Site B is somewhat different from the program at Site A since it includes a weekly home visitation. This program is structured so that a child receives individualized instruction at home, yet, also has an opportunity to socialize with his/her peers through a get together which is held each week in one of the local churches.

While the pre-school program works with some of the youngest members of society, the senior citizens' program is designed to serve the needs of that segment of the population which is age 55 and older. It serves more than 150 people living in three counties.
Home visitation is an important aspect of this program. Since many of these seniors reside in isolated areas, these visits help to break up the monotony of everyday life. However, these visits are not mere social calls. By stopping by to share the time of day, community workers can better see how these seniors are getting along, e.g., whether or not they are feeling poorly or if they have coal or wood for heat.

Along with this, these community workers arrange transportation for those seniors who have no way to get to the grocery, clinic, courthouse, or wherever. When no one is available, they transport these persons themselves.

The home health care program is another outreach function which staff at Site B perform. The home health care nurse visits those people who would have difficulty coming to the medical clinic for follow-up or periodic checks. Many of her clients are shut-ins and elderly. However, she also provides care to a number of retarded persons who live at home with their families.

The bookmobile is also a form of outreach which aims to enhance the quality of life of those who reside in isolated parts of this area. While reference was made to this program in the earlier explanation of Site A's activities, the bookmobile was first implemented at
Site B and later adopted by Site A. The bookmobile has been traveling throughout the hollers surrounding Site B for over thirty years. It presently serves over 125 families living in parts of four counties.

In addition to providing people books that otherwise would not be available to them, bookmobile staff take time to visit with patrons. These visits offer staff an opportunity to observe the conditions of life for these people, i.e., if these persons need food, clothing, medical attention or home repairs. When needs are discovered, the bookmobile woman takes the appropriate steps to rectify the problem.

Similar to Site A, a craft store is operated at Site B. More than sixty local craftspersons sell their wares to this store. It is estimated that a person can make about $100 a week through craft production. Over $100,000 is pumped into the local economy each year through the craft store's purchase of these goods.

Used clothing and household items are sold through two community stores. One is located on mission grounds at Site B; the other is in an outlying area.

These stores are operated in much the same way as those at Site A. All items are priced so that they are affordable for most families. However, adjustments are made in these prices according to a family's ability to
pay. In addition, many families are given a credit which can be applied toward the purchase of clothing or other goods. In one year, the mission at Site B distributed $35,000 worth of credit to approximately 500 families.

In situations in which homes are destroyed through fire or some other disaster, clothing and other household items are given to the victims at no charge. In addition, a food pantry is maintained year round for these and other emergencies.

A restaurant has also been established at Site B. It serves both staff and the public, i.e., both community residents and persons from other areas of the country who are visiting the mission. It is situated on mission grounds between the medical clinic and community store.

The laundromat is nearby. It is the only public laundromat within a twenty-five mile radius. Most of the clientele are local people and work campers.

In addition to the school, medical complex and the various resource development enterprises, e.g., craft and clothing stores, which are located at Site B, the headquarters of this organization has been placed here. It houses the visitors' information center as well as the general administrative offices of the organization.

The Christian education program works out of this building. It is the evangelical arm of the organization.
As such, it is involved in a number of activities.

Among these is the operation of two community centers which have been established in outlying areas. Each is run by a lay missionary couple. While these centers offer such programs as aerobics and house such services as a clothing store, the programming emphasis is placed upon teaching the "Word". As such, Bible classes and Sunday School programs are offered. In conjunction with this, various fellowship groups have been organized for persons of all ages. These meetings often have a religious element incorporated into the program.

The purpose of these centers is to create interest in establishing a church of the mission's denomination in the area. Those participating in the programs at one of these centers have asked that a church be started in their community. It is hoped that this congregation will be chartered in the near future, thus raising the number of churches founded through the evangelical efforts of this mission organization to twenty-five.

Overall, the organization has not won as many converts to its faith as it would have liked. The approach which this denomination takes toward the Bible is much different from and actually contrary to the way in which many local people regard this text. Unlike the Holiness churches, scripture is not taken as "is". Instead,
significance is assigned to Biblical text after taking historical, sociocultural and linguistic factors into consideration.

In addition, the denomination of which the mission is a part takes a much more liberal view with respect to social issues. To elaborate, this denomination advocates pro-choice with regard to abortion, ordains women as pastors/ministers, and has appointed women and minorities to the highest levels within the church leadership. The difference between the positions taken by the church and those held by many local people can be better appreciated when it is realized that some local men will not allow their wives to practice birth-control because they feel such actions go against the will of God.

The church has tried to bridge these differences by hiring pastors/lay persons who fall within the more conservative wing of the denomination. This strategy has obviously met with some success given that interest has been shown in organizing churches of this faith in several communities.

However, this denomination can't quite compensate for the emotional expressiveness as well as the fluidity in form and substance found in the Holiness churches. Gerrard (1974) points out that the unstructured nature and spontaneous element involved in these services have
great appeal to many living in this region so much so that anything offering less than this seems limp, a half-hearted attempt by people who don't know what church is.

Summary

Approximately, 150 persons are employed by the mission. However, this figure drops to around 120 when the persons involved in ministering through the local churches are excluded from consideration.

The mission has been working out of Sites A and B for over sixty years. During that time, it has become involved in a number of activities. The diversity found in the services offered is in great part due to the fact that each site or center has developed autonomously, i.e., responded to the conditions it has faced in its own way.

This chapter has attempted to provide an overview of these activities in order to provide a better understanding of this organization, i.e., what work the mission does. In conjunction with this, a brief profile of the community and the people who inhabit it has been sketched. All of this has been done in an effort to ground the study in the sense of providing a context within which the findings of this research can be read.
CHAPTER V
PRESENTATION AND ANALYSIS OF FINDINGS

Introduction

Given this background information, let us now turn to the subject of this inquiry, the culture of this organization. More specifically, attention is focused upon those understandings, i.e., domains of relevances and typifications, which effect the way in which staff relate to the local community, thereby shaping the communication of human services. Thus, no attempt has been made to unveil the culture as a whole; rather, analysis is restricted to those domains of relevances and typifications which bear upon the delivery of these services by effecting the way in which staff relate to their client population.

These domains of relevances are understandings which staff hold in common despite any differences in the history and activities of the two centers. In other words, they are "things that matter" to staff across-the-board, e.g., regardless of the position they hold, the center at which they work, or the programming with which they
are involved. Each interviewee mentioned at least three of the domains of relevances to be discussed herein.

Similarly, the remarks quoted in this chapter do not represent an individual point-of-view, but do, instead, reflect mutually held understandings, i.e., they are illustrative of the kinds of comments staff made during conversations/interviews. The inclusion of such statements in this text, then, does not compromise the anonymity of respondents as these quotations cannot, in themselves, be traced to any particular person due to their substantive nature.

Keeping these points in mind, we are now ready to move into a discussion of findings. It is organized around five domains of relevances. They are the domains of regional identity, not causing offense or embarrassment, acceptance, helping and transience. We will begin by examining the domain of regional identity, the pre-ordinate domain in terms of structuring relationships.

Domain of Relevance: Regional Identity

Little time need be spent in this setting to realize the importance assigned to one's place of origin, i.e., where one is from. To be more precise, a distinction is drawn between those who are indigenous to the area and those who are not. People are typified as being
"insiders" or "outsiders". Insiders are those individuals who have grown up in this locality although individuals who are from a different part of Appalachia may also be placed in this category. Outsiders, then, are those people who come from other areas of the country, i.e., they have not been raised in Appalachia and, more specifically, are not from this area.

The insider/outsider distinction is accentuated in several ways, one being the jobs performed by each group within the mission organization. Insiders tend to serve a support function, i.e., they work as cooks, clerks, and nurse's aids. Outsiders generally, but not always, fill the "credentialed" roles, e.g., teachers, doctors, and social workers, as well as the supervisory and administrative positions.

This geographically-based division is also represented physically in this setting. Almost all mission staff who are outsiders live on the mission compound.

While some staff members say they would like to change this situation, they rarely take those actions to do so. Housing is one of the benefits that staff, i.e., outsiders, receive as compensation for the modest salary they are given. To live off-campus would impose a strain on their already limited income which, in some instances, is no more than two hundred dollars a month. If the
mission were to encourage staff to live in the community, administrators would most likely be obliged to raise salaries, thus increasing the organization's overhead. In addition, much of the land in the area is either owned by large corporations or the National Forest Service, neither of which have any interest in residential development. As a result, building sites are virtually impossible to find. Rentals are equally scarce to obtain since most landlords have family members who need a place to live. Due to the limited amount of land privately owned and the natural increase in population, available housing is a rare commodity for which local people vie. Thus, for mission staff to live off mission grounds would add to the severity of this situation. As one respondent noted, it would have the effect of robbing a local family of a home.

The effect which outsiders living together on mission grounds has upon the delivery of human services was viewed differently by staff. One person observed, it "is not really different from what the families do. They all live together with their own group. Staff is like another clan."

However, others felt that the physical separation between insiders and outsiders has isolated outsiders from the people they are trying to serve. One respondent
pointed out that it is important to be "in" the community in order to identify the needs of the people so that one knows what he/she should try to accomplish in his/her work.

Other persons interviewed, though, were not quite willing to believe that such knowledge can be obtained by living in closer proximity to the local people. These people pointed out that it cannot be assumed that one will be part of the community, i.e., gain access to these kinds of insights, simply by living in it.

As one respondent explained, "outsiders will always be outside". This idea was reiterated by many whose length of tenure at the mission varied from a few months to many years. Thus, such feelings cannot be attributed to being in "new" surroundings for they were not found to diminish over time.

This sense of being outside and, thus, standing apart from the local community suggests that the type of isolation which some have observed here cannot be resolved through physical positioning. As such, it indicates that some other factor is responsible for this sentiment.

Insights into just what that might be can be found in the language used by insiders and outsiders. While dialect, i.e., pronunciation, tags one as being an
insider/outsider, language differentiates the two on a more fundamental level. This can be obscured by the fact that the language used by the two parties holds much in common with each other, e.g., using many of the same words, since each has evolved from an earlier form of English expression. However, such similarities can be deceptive. Although the words may appear to be the same, the meaning which the insider/outsider attaches to a symbol does not necessarily concur with the taken-for-granted meaning that the other and his/her respective group ascribe to it. As a result, one's intended meaning may be radically different from the significance which the other assigns to the message.

Respondents frequently cited an incident which clearly illustrates this point. One day, a mission person who was driving down the road saw a local person walking along the highway. Since he/she knew this individual, the staff person, an outsider, stopped to ask her if she would like a ride. She replied, "I don't care to". The outsider interpreted this response as being a rejection of his/her invitation and, consequently, drove off leaving the local person bewildered and confused since "I don't care to" means "I don't mind if I do", "It doesn't bother me to do it", or "I would be glad to".
Situations like this one remind both the insider and outsider that the outsider is foreign to this setting: he/she has violated the expectations of the other and, thus, not behaved in a manner considered appropriate by the indigenous population. This is reflected in local people's attitude toward such behavior as expressed in comments like "They don't know better" or They don't have any sense".

While such misunderstandings, once recognized, may make a person feel foolish for not knowing any better, they may result in a negative evaluation of the other if they go undetected. One teacher recounted a personal experience in which this occurred. Shortly after he/she had begun teaching at the school, he/she found it necessary to reprimand a student for some kind of misbehavior. After he/she finished chastizing the pupil, the young person responded to the discipline received by saying "well". The teacher thought the student was being impudent or flippant and treated this remark as a challenge to his/her authority to which he/she reacted accordingly. Later, he/she discovered that "well" meant "OK" or "all right".

The recognition that different meanings can be assigned to the same symbol has implications for one's
Communication. When one realizes that the taken-for-granted understandings which he/she uses to make sense of experience may not be held in common with the other, a certain measure of caution enters into his/her relationships. One must tread carefully in his/her interpersonal relationships with the other as he/she cannot assume that he/she can accurately project the consequences of his/her actions as evidenced in the responses of the other. This point is implied in the advice offered by some staff members who warn that one must "go slowly" in his/her relationships with the insider.

The exercise of such restraint, though, reduces one's spontaneity and, thus, imposes a certain distance on relationships. One is not as disclosive in terms of revealing his/her feelings, i.e., what s/he thinks, due to the uncertainty involved. For this reason, "safe" subjects are chosen for topics of conversation, e.g., the weather, attending an upcoming folk music festival, etc. Excluding the exchange of such pleasantries, communication is restricted to the area of one's expertise, i.e., the service which he/she performs. Thus, communication is often reduced to the dissemination of technical information, e.g., how to apply for food stamps, how to improve a child's motor skills through play activities at home, etc.
While reliance on this type of communication protects the individual from saying the wrong thing, i.e., saying or doing something that might put one's self or the other in an unfavorable light, it cannot prevent value judgments from impacting upon the relationship. For instance, a local person reported he/she was "hurt" by the fact that staff, i.e., outsiders, didn't express any concern about the way he/she was coping with the death of a relative. Thus, the failure to make personal inquiries was taken by this respondent as a sign that mission people "don't care" about the sorrow he/she was feeling over the loss of a loved one. As a result, he/she just "clammed up" when he/she was around them.

The meaning which this insider has attributed to these outsiders' behavior points to the fact that the two are operating according to different relevances. To clarify, those relevances, i.e., those understandings of appropriate behavior, which these outsiders have relied upon to guide their actions are not the ones which this insider is using to interpret their behavior.

To explain further, the outsider is trying to cope with the ambiguity of the situation he/she is confronting. He/she is striving to "fit in", to find a place for him/her self in this unfamiliar setting. Most likely, he/she wants to do a good job and to be an asset to this mission
community as well as the religious denomination he/she represents.

According to the outsiders interviewed, he/she must be able to get along with local people in order to accomplish these goals. Given the emphasis placed upon this behavior as shown by the frequency with which it was mentioned by respondents, it is not surprising that the outsider chooses that course of action which he/she believes will not cause friction nor, otherwise, prove to be disruptive to the mission-community relationship.

It is for this reason as well as the need to impress a sense of order, i.e., predictability, upon his/her relationship with the insider that the outsider dons the cloak of professionalism. In other words, he/she turns to what he/she knows, what he/she deems as being appropriate behavior according to his/her system of relevances. Reliance on this strategy, i.e., to display a professional demeanor, would seem to be an approach which the other could not take issue with: it is an acceptable mode of behavior given the role which he/she plays.

Yet, it is apparent that the insider, under discussion here, anticipates something more or something different from the outsider. The feeling that mission people "don't care" indicates that the insider expects the other to express an interest in him/her self as an individual.
As such, the insider's reaction reveals the way in which he/she views interpersonal communication. The insider sees interaction in terms of relating to or with the other in contrast to viewing it as a transaction in which task-oriented information is exchanged. To state this another way, he/she looks for some sort of personal affiliation with the other in his/her encounters.

The importance which local people assign to visiting supports this conclusion. The time devoted to seemingly purposeless visiting is evidence that getting something done effectively and efficiently is not really the prime objective; rather, it is to take the time to relate to, to find and share that which is held in common with, the other.

This can only occur through the disclosure of one's self and the recognition of the other's identity. However, the ethic of professionalism dictates that one wear a mask of anonymity. A professional does not allow his/her personal feelings, e.g., likes/dislikes, problems or concerns, to flow into the workplace for fear that it will affect the quality of his/her performance or spawn suspicions in the other that these feelings and attitudes are having this effect. A professional does not reveal his/her self nor look to the realm of his/her own life experiences to deal with the subject at-hand.
but rather dispenses that information or performs those techniques which reflect the current wisdom of the field. (Batteau with Obermiller, 1983)

The idea of professionalism is prefaced on the assumption that the service administered is not personal in the sense that it is unique to the individual who offers it but is, instead, based on the belief that anyone with comparable qualifications and background could do the job equally well, i.e., provide the same service. Similarly, the professional does not seek out the other in terms of uncovering those qualities or characteristics which endow that individual with a singular identity but rather apprehends the other as a member of a class, e.g., as a client or patient. To elaborate, the professional recognizes the other in terms of those types which pertain to his/her area of expertise. Thus, the professional's interest in the other is limited to "the problem" and what he/she considers to be relevant to the solution. Such standardization, or homogenization, impersonalizes the relationship and, thereby, alienates the insider from the outsider. (Batteau with Obermiller, 1983)

The adoption of a professional mode of behavior, then, has the effect of affirming the distinction drawn between insider and outsider. The significance which the insider, mentioned herein, assigns to the outsider's
actions points to the difference between the two groups. This difference stems from the fact that the insider and outsider do not view the social world through the same system of relevances.

Schutz (1964) points out that a system of relevances is the product of a historical process, a shared past. Thus, it reflects a particular history, i.e., it is a response to certain experiences which a group of people have encountered. To a significant extent, the insider and outsider do not share a common biography and act on the basis of a different history.

As a result, they often see things differently. In other words, the insider's interpretation of an event, behavior, etc. may not concur with the outsider's since each assigns meaning on the basis of the system of relevances prevailing in his/her group, understandings which have emerged in response to what has been.

To the degree that these understandings are not held in common, the insider and outsider inhabit different realities and, therefore, speak to one another from different experiential worlds. This observation was made by one outsider who noted that

There is a gambit [a part] of my life which locals couldn't understand and a gambit of their life that I wouldn't fit into. There will always be a certain degree of distance between us even if we are friends.
Domain of Relevance: Not Causing Offense or Embarrassment

It is the recognition of these different domains of experience, i.e., that past which informs present behavior, and the consequent awareness of one's potential for doing or saying something that might be taken in a way not intended that raises the outsider's interest in not causing offense or embarrassment. As such, the outsider's concern melds with the relevance structure of the insider's for he/she, too, makes a deliberate effort not to offend or embarrass the other.

Used here, the word, embarrass, does not refer to the self-consciousness which results from being kidded or teased but, rather, pertains to the uncomfortableness that one experiences when he/she thinks that the other is evaluating him/her by a standard he/she fails to meet. This embarrassment often leads to feelings of shame.

The importance accorded to not causing offense or embarrassment can be better appreciated when viewed in relation to pride, a domain of relevance within the local community. The significance which local residents assign to pride, i.e., not violating one's sense of self-esteem as well as displaying respect for the other's, can be readily observed in the course of everyday social activities. Preserving one's pride, i.e., keeping one's self-respect, surfaces in the casual conversations that
one has during the course of a day and is often conveyed through a story format.

For example, while waiting to interview one of the staff members, I struck up a conversation with a local person who was a total stranger to me. In the course of our visit, I told him/her I would love to go walk in the woods around here, i.e., this area where I was, but was afraid I would get lost. He/she responded by telling me a story about his/her aunt.

One day, this aunt and another relative went hunting for ginseng in the woods. Due to a misunderstanding, the relative accidentally left the aunt on the mountain. This elderly woman found herself stuck in the woods with no extra clothing for warmth, no food, nor any shelter besides that offered by the branches of the trees. As night fell, she saw the lights of the respondent's home in the distance and began to make her way down the mountain, negotiating the rocks and brush in the dark. When she was about half-way there, she realized her dress was dirty. She subsequently turned around and walked back to where she had been. She chose to sit under a tree all night alone rather than go to the respondent's house with a dirty dress. The next morning, her absence was discovered and a search party was formed. She was found late that afternoon, tired and hungry, but otherwise fine.
Stories like this one show how important pride is to community people. As the heroine in this story illustrates, pride is not sacrificed even in the face of hardship.

However, pride is a fragile commodity. It is susceptible to various kinds of assaults. Once wounded, it can take a long time to heal. As one insider explained, "People here have a hard time dealing with hurt feelings. Grudges are held for years. People are very prideful."

In an effort to avoid inflicting an injury of this nature, i.e., to offend or shame the other, an emphasis has been placed upon respect within the culture of this organization. In other words, respect is seen as a way of protecting the other's integrity. It involves more than a display of courtesy, e.g., using certain forms of address. It requires that one not violate the privacy of the insider, i.e., not say or do anything that would expose the insider's vulnerabilities. In the words of one respondent, "Privacy is very important to the people."

In order to safeguard this privacy, i.e., those things that might offend or embarrass the insider, staff believe that certain questions should not be asked. For example, staff stress that one should not ask a local man what he does for a living. Since unemployment is estimated to be around 50%, the odds are high that the person
is out of work. An inquiry of this nature, then, can be
damaging to the questioned's sense of pride if he is, in­
deed, unemployed for an admission of this fact may make
him feel that he is not measuring up to the other's stan­
dards of worth. The situation is further intensified by
the possibility that the insider may be engaged in an il­
legal activity, i.e., bootlegging, moonshining or growing
marijuana. As such, a question of this type may trigger
defensive behavior and lead to accusations that the
interrogator is trying to pry into his personal affairs,
i.e., meddling into something which is none of his/her
business.

Concern with conveying this impression has led staff
to pay particular attention to the way in which a ques­
tion is phrased. As one respondent explained, you "don't
want to appear as though [you are] trying to get privi­
leged information or [are] being intrusive." Thus, "it
is important how you ask a question". For instance, it
was pointed out that one does not ask women with children
questions about the father for it cannot be assumed that
the parents are living together or were ever married. If
information on this matter is needed, it is sought in­
directly through a question like "And who else lives in
your household?".
Respect for the other's personal situation, i.e., those things which may be a source of embarrassment, may be demonstrated by an absence of face-to-face communication. For example, one respondent recounted an experience she had with a teenager who was living in the dorm. Every day, this young woman wore the same shift-type dress and a pair of thongs. She never took a shower or bath despite the fact that personal hygiene was one of the "rules" of the house. After about two weeks of this, the respondent went to the girl's room to see what was there and found that all she had was what she was wearing. Having discovered this, the respondent went to the community store and got what clothing the girl could use. She then drove to town and purchased additional items the girl needed. When she got home, she put the clothes in the girl's dresser drawers/closet and placed the toiletries she had bought on the bureau. The next day, the young woman came downstairs with a smile on her face. She had bathed and was wearing one of the outfits that the respondent had purchased. The respondent never told the girl that she was the one responsible for the new wardrobe. In fact, neither the girl's dirtiness nor the change in her appearance was ever discussed by the two individuals. By remaining silent on this subject, the young woman's privacy was preserved, i.e., her personal
condition was not brought into the public sphere.

In addition to respecting the privacy of the individual, staff feel it is important not to say or do anything that the other would view as a criticism of him/her self. Within this setting, the term criticism always refers to those appraisals which point to the shortcomings or weaknesses in the subject being scrutinized. To criticize someone, then, is to find fault with him or her.

Criticism, therefore, conveys the message that the criticized has not done "right" in some way. As such, it damages the pride of the criticized for it undercuts his/her integrity, his/her self-esteem. Thus, appraisals of this nature can hurt and/or anger the criticized with the consequence that he/she is embarrassed or offended.

Not only criticisms of the self but also of one's kin can impact in this way. This is due to the fact that the insider's sense of self is inextricably bound to the family of which he/she is a part (Brown and Schwarzweller, 1974).

Within the community, a person is not seen as a singular, solitary entity but, rather, is viewed as part of a family, a member of a group. One is known, i.e., becomes identifiable, through his/her family. For example, Jenny Doe is a Doe. The fact that she is a Doe is informative, tells the other something, the nature of
which depends upon the significance which the Does have
in the mind of the one who apprehends her. To the degree
that one's family identity is the sole basis for forming
an opinion of him/her, who he/she "is" is a consequence
of how the other regards his/her family. Thus, the way
in which one's family is viewed is a matter of concern
to the members of that group, i.e., it can affect how they
are seen.

The perception of one's family is based upon an
appraisal of its members. There is, then, a reciprocal
relationship between the "family" and its members: each
affects and is affected by the other.

As such, the estimation of any one family member can
affect the way in which the family is viewed. Due to
this fact, all members of a family are affected by the
regard with which any other family member is held. It
reflects upon them and, thus, can impact upon their pride.

If someone, then, feels that a comment made about a
family member is, in some way, a criticism of that indi-
vidual, it is taken personally. It is an affront, an
assault upon who he/she is, thereby causing offense or
shame.

Within this region, these familial relationships
have been strengthened by the fact that one's kin has
been one's primary source of support (Brown and Schwarzwellner, 1974). The bond of interdependency which has developed over time, i.e., both helping and being helped, has resulted in strong ties between relatives. To quote one respondent, "Families are very close".

One's family does not simply consist of a nuclear group composed of mother, father, sisters and brothers but, rather, includes anyone who is kin, i.e., it is an extended family. To illustrate this by means of the example used earlier, Jenny, the daughter of John Doe and Jane Jones Doe, has a family which is comprised of her nuclear group, the Doe family, the Jones family, John's maternal kin group, and so on.

Since there has been intermarriage due to the lack of mobility imposed by the mountainous terrain and, thus, the isolation of these family groups, these kin relationships are complicated, e.g., double cousins. As a result, it is often difficult to discern who is linked to whom.

Given the intricacy of these relationships and the consequences which a perceived criticism can have, e.g., holding grudges, local people have historically placed an emphasis upon being sensitive to the possible ramifications which one's actions might have. This does not mean that they have always succeeded in maintaining harmonious relationships with one another as evidenced in
past feuding. Yet, even these incidents have reinforced the importance of not wounding the other's pride and, as such, the awareness of doing or saying something that might hurt or anger the other.

It is in light of this situation that the insider has developed a certain reticence in his/her interactions with the other. To be more specific, he/she withholds those opinions of others that could have a negative connotation, i.e., be interpreted as a criticism of that person. In addition, he/she is hesitant to express his/her views in case they do not concur with the other's for they may be taken as a criticism, i.e., convey a message that he/she thinks the other is wrong.

Being cognizant of community persons' views, staff, i.e., both insiders and outsiders alike, believe that they need to give community people an opportunity to "feel out the territory" when working together, e.g., reaching a joint, mission-community, decision on some matter. As one person explained, people want to "get a sense of where the group is" before expressing their opinion as they "don't want to say something which is contrary to others".

Staff share this concern. They explain that they "must be careful not to step on people's toes". For this reason, they "hint around an idea" in contrast to directly stating their views. This type of interaction requires
one to pay attention to nuances and pick up on innuendos. As a result, decision-making can become a long, involved process. One respondent reflected, "A group decision that should take twenty minutes will take an hour-and-a-half".

In order not to inadvertently injure someone's feelings, staff believe it is best "not to say anything about anybody". In other words, they should not express, i.e., verbally state, their views if they could be taken as a criticism. This prescribed silence, i.e., the understanding that staff should not express their opinions about certain situations or behaviors, affects the communication of human services. It prohibits them from discussing certain matters with community persons and, thus, limits the courses of action that are available to them.

Staff's actions are furthered shaped by their understanding of other community norms since a violation of the sanctioned ways of behavior could offend or embarrass the insider. Staff consider the rules of propriety governing male-female interaction to be one of the most important.

They explained that within the community there is a code of behavior governing the relationship between a married person, especially women, and a member of the opposite sex who is not kin. Within the public domain,
e.g., waiting room of the clinic, it is generally considered acceptable for a married person to share the time of day with someone of the opposite sex to whom one bears no familial tie. However, interpersonal contact outside the public arena is tabu.

This tabu has been strengthened within the organization through the stories which staff share. By far, the most dramatic among these concerns a minister who was serving in one of the local churches established by this denomination. One day a woman came to him seeking help in getting away from her husband who was physically abusing her. The pastor responded to her pleas and was driving her somewhere, presumably to a safe place, when the husband caught up with them. The husband, then, shot and killed the minister.

The significant part of this story in terms of this analysis is that no mention is ever made as to what happened to the husband and his wife. Instead, the story is concluded by pointing out that the minister should not have taken the married woman in his car alone. In other words, he had violated a community norm, i.e., a man and a woman married to someone else do not ride in the same car alone unless they are kin. This has the effect of placing the responsibility of the minister's demise on the deceased, i.e., it was the minister's fault. Hence,
to transgress community norms and, thus, to offend or embarrass the insider places the actor in a culpable position.

Given the consequences, ranging from condemnation to death, the importance of not offending or embarrassing the other is an issue of relevance not simply because of the effect that it may have upon the violated but is rooted in a perceived need to preserve one's self, whether that be in terms of one's ego or one's very life. Due to the damage that can be inflicted not just with respect to one's relationship with the other but also in regard to one's personal well-being, a violation of these community mores does pose a threat which calls for some sort of protection on the part of staff. This protection comes in the form of "don't do's" which emerge in the course of staff's everyday conversations with one another.

While these warnings serve as guidelines for one's interaction with the insider, they can also lead to a perception of "can't do" on the part of staff. For example, every so often, staff discuss the possibility of establishing a safe house for battered women. In the course of these conversations, various persons will point out the need for such a facility as well as the church's responsibility for responding to it. Then, invariably,
someone will mention the incident concerning the minister just described. A lull in the conversation follows, and the subject is changed, i.e., the idea of a safe house is abandoned.

As such, this incident demonstrates that the importance placed upon the insider's reaction to one's action does, in fact, impose a measure of control over staff's actions. Due to this domain of relevance, i.e., this concern with not causing offense or embarrassment, staff do not see themselves as being empowered to do whatever they deem fit, i.e., respond to all the needs they see, within the community.

This, in turn, shows that the effect of this domain of relevance upon the communication of human services is two-fold. On the one hand, the emphasis placed upon community norms, values, etc. help staff to contextualize their actions, i.e., behave in a culturally appropriate way, which enhances the possibility of their positive valuation by the insider. However, sensitivity to these mores along with an awareness of the consequences incurred through a violation of them can lead to non-communication, i.e., the decision not to say and do certain things. As a result, certain needs are not addressed and others are satisfied to the extent that they can be approached in an indirect way.
Domain of Relevance: Acceptance

While the domain of not causing offense or embarrassment stresses the importance of acting in accordance with the sanctioned ways of behavior within this particular community, staff feel that the difference between insider and outsider cannot be reconciled simply by outsiders comporting themselves in a manner which conforms to the accepted mode of behavior. The difference between insider and outsider entails more than the fact that the two groups do not act on the basis of the same system of relevances. Specifically, the outsider's system of relevances is socially approved at the expense of the insider's.

Since Appalachia is not an autonomous entity but, rather, couched within the larger American state, it cannot isolate itself from the system of relevances communicated by the greater American society. Contact with the outside world as a result of improved transportation systems as well as increased access to mass media continually remind the insider that his/her understanding of the way to act in the world, i.e., that system of relevances undergirding his/her behavior, is unacceptable. Such criticism is not easily escaped since the Appalachian's dependence on the goods offered by the larger society, be it employment or entertainment, has grown
due to the exploitation of his/ her resources by outside interests.

The control which the greater society exercises over these goods, i.e., the monopoly held by the outside, has given it the power to sanction its interests, i.e., its relevances, as the socially approved way of knowing for the entire society. As such, the system of relevances of the larger society becomes the standard for appraising right and wrong; good and bad. In this way, the credibility of the insider's system of relevances is undermined which, in turn, leads to the questioning of its validity.

No aspect of the insider's life is left unscathed; even his/her language is discredited. For example, within this setting, the phrase "very well" does not signify the meaning which American society, in general, assigns to it. Instead, "very well" means "not too bad" or "not too good" or "I'm making it". To say to someone that "You did very well", then, conveys the message that he/she did mediocre. In order to express the idea of doing very well in the sense that most Americans use this phrase, a local person would say "You did real good". However, this statement does not conform to many, if not most, Americans understanding of appropriate usage, i.e., it is grammatically incorrect.
The impact which this has upon the greater society's perception of the insider is brought to light when the system of relevances prevailing in that group is examined. Given the high value placed on education particularly since it serves as a vehicle of social mobility by offering access to certain professions and/or the opportunity for advancement, any evidence indicating one's exposure to this institution is used as a means for identifying whom one is. Yet, what is taken as evidence of one's educational background is determined in accordance with the way in which society conceptualizes this domain of relevance, i.e., what constitutes education. Within the larger society, an educated person is, among other things, one whose language adheres to the standards taught through the sanctioned institutions of learning, i.e., one who expresses him/her self in the socially approved manner. As a result, comments like "You did real good" signify that the speaker is unlearned, i.e., he/she lacks education. Thus, the failure of the insider to comport him/her self in the mode which members of the larger society consider to be appropriate leads to the typification that he/she is ignorant or, to state this in terms of the everyday vernacular, he/she is stupid, i.e., a dumb hillbilly.
Both insiders and outsiders know that much of the outside world views the Appalachian in this way. One need not go beyond the living room to be reminded that this is the case. The highly successful "Newhart" show is a weekly testament to the ignorant hillbilly as depicted through the characters of Larry, Darryl and Darryl. The perceived necessity of maintaining this image becomes apparent when it is realized that both Darryls are contractually bound to silence except in the printed media (TV Guide, 1987). Although the reason for this stipulation in their contracts has not been publicly stated, it seems fairly obvious that neither are allowed to utter a word on television or radio for fear that such a disclosure would undermine the stereotype they project. It may seem surprising that little, if any, outrage has been voiced in regard to this portrayal of mountain people given the sensitivity which has been shown toward other racial and ethnic groups in recent years. As such, this response points to the degree to which the society at-large accepts this typification, i.e., it concurs with their understanding of whom an Appalachian is.

This interpretation of mountain people has become a pervasive theme within this setting as seen in the comments made by those interviewed. In conversations
with both insiders and outsiders, the stereotype of the dull, ignorant hillbilly would be mentioned for the purpose of pointing out that such an image was erroneous. Yet, despite their efforts to the contrary, the prevalence of such statements indicates that this typification has impacted upon both staff and community in that both groups are cognizant, i.e., consciously aware, of it. In this way, the meaning which the larger society attaches to Appalachian people has led to a distinction being drawn between the two groups, one that is based upon the assignment of superiority or inferiority. This judgment is conceptualized in comparative terms, i.e., in the sense of the outsider being better than the insider.

Evidence that this valuative measure has been applied to both insider and outsider is found in the advice which respondents had to offer anyone working in this region. In the words of one respondent, "you shouldn't think you are better than they [insiders] are or put yourself on a pedestal". Another person observed, "When working with locals, be humble. None of this greater than you are kind of business."

"Being better" than someone else is explained as "putting on airs". In other words, to project an attitude of superiority is seen by the insider as being
"superficial", i.e., fake, in the sense that this kind of self-assessment is neither true nor right. Thus, any display of "being better" is linked to appraisals of sincerity, a point which one interviewee's comments clarify.

People are quick to pick up on your sincerity. They're quick to realize if you are putting on a front or trying to make yourself seem better than others. Don't try to seem to be better than you are.

Failure to follow this advice results in one being shut-out, i.e., the insider will have nothing to do with him/her. As one respondent explained, "If someone comes down here with the notion that they are better than these people, they're going to be shunned".

Thus, seeming to be better than the insider isolates the outsider from the community. It creates a barrier between insider and outsider, one which impedes staff in accomplishing the work they are to do. It is in terms of this effect that the outsider's acceptance of the insider becomes so important, a point noted by staff regardless of their insider/outsider status. To quote one respondent,

You need to have a genuine love of people as well as an acceptance and tolerance of a different way of life. You can't come down here with the attitude "I'm going to change the world. I'm going to make it the world I left".
To try to implement such changes, i.e., to make this community the world that was left behind, implies that the status quo, i.e., the present way of doing or thinking, is not quite as good or right as the outsider's, i.e., that the outsider's ways are better. Actions of this nature have the effect of informing the insider that he/she falls short of some desired standard—that he/she is insufficient in some sense and, thus, doesn't quite measure up to the other. Moreover, the agent of that change, the person who suggests that the insider change, is, by virtue of his/her action, also conveying the message that he/she knows what is right, what is better for the other.

Acceptance, on the other hand, expresses something quite different for it is the act of taking the other as he/she is. This point was made by one respondent who noted, "you have to accept them [community people] as they are". As such, this taking "as is" attests to the individual's worth. It tells the accepted that who he/she knows him/her self to be and what he/she believes and does is good, desirable, likable, etc. Acceptance, then, affirms the other's integrity, his/her sense of self-esteem.

Thus, the domains of acceptance and not causing offense or embarassment are linked to one another. By
not trying to make this community the world left behind, one is less likely to do those things which can offend or embarrass the insider. Similarly, to not offend or embarrass the insider conveys acceptance in the sense that one acts within, has regard for, the strictures imposed. In other words, the insider's way of life and the understandings which give meaning to them are accorded legitimacy by virtue of the other's actions.

Acceptance helps to spawn trust between the mission and community for such actions mitigate against the insider's fear that this organization is here to change him/her. As one insider observed, "Local people are suspicious of any kind of organized group. They feel they want to change them."

This threat to change and, thus, the underlying typification of the insider's inferior status loom so large that they affect the way in which acceptance is expressed. To elaborate, the one-up position accorded to the outsider, i.e., that he/she is better, leads to communication which is directed toward balancing out the discrepancy in the significance accorded to the two groups by emphasizing the insider's worth, i.e., the goodness or rightness of the insider and his/her way of life.
Such communication often takes the form of praise. For instance, the insider may be applauded for a job well done, e.g., his/her resourcefulness in improvising when he/she had inadequate or substandard materials to work with. Many times, these compliments are followed by an admission of the speaker’s inadequacy in this regard, e.g., he/she is not as clever as the other.

By putting him/her self down in this way, the difference between the two is reversed in the sense that the insider is credited as "being better" in terms of the characteristic mentioned. This, in turn, implies that the insider knows "best" about some things. As such, he/she has something to say, i.e., he/she has something to offer the other.

If remarks such as these are regarded as being sincere, they can encourage the insider to participate more fully in the relationship with the outsider, to talk as well as listen. They, therefore, contribute to the communication of human services in the sense of offering the provider, i.e., the outsider, a greater opportunity to learn who this insider is, what he/she thinks and feels, and, thus, enhances the possibility that the outsider will act toward this person in a way that is relevant to him/her.
On other occasions, the difference between insider and outsider may be leveled by pointing to the commonalities between them, i.e., the ways in which they are the same. For example, the outsider may express his/her regard for Appalachian music, i.e., how much he/she enjoys it, or talk about the beauty and peace found in the mountains, i.e., recognize the appeal which living in the mountains has. Statements of this nature show the insider that the outsider appreciates those things which he/she values, that he/she shares the insider's point-of-view.

Comments such as these, if taken to be reflective of the outsider's true feelings, provide a reason for communication. In other words, they indicate to the insider that there is a basis for communication, i.e., the outsider shares a perspective which would allow him/her to understand or grasp what the insider has to say. This can facilitate the communication of human services as the recognition of these mutually held understandings afford the outsider access to the insider in the sense that he/she can see a point to talking to the outsider about his/her problems and/or concerns.

Although the emphasis upon acceptance can lead to greater participation, i.e., communication, on the part of the insider, the understanding that one should accept
the insider as he/she is can have quite the contrary effect upon the accepter, e.g., the outsider. This occurs when acceptance takes the form of resignation. To elaborate, the taking "as is" becomes an act of acquiescence, i.e., it is a submission to the way things are. The consequences which this has will be illustrated by means of an example.

One of the goals of the mission is to develop income-generating activities that would provide local people a good wage on a steady basis. Staff undertook one such project which seemed to offer such a possibility. Local people produced a quality product, one which staff were confident the public would buy. While the product was sold through outlets locally, staff realized that demand would have to increase if local residents were to earn a decent income from this activity. Thus, a more aggressive marketing effort was undertaken. Orders started coming in with some wholesalers expressing interest in purchasing this product on a regular basis. However, output did not increase even though staff stressed to local people they could take as much work as they could produce. Orders stacked up since there was not enough stock on-hand to fill them. Buyers had to wait weeks, sometimes months, before receiving the goods they had requested.
Staff responded to this situation by resigning themselves to it, i.e., regarding it to be the way things were. This is reflected in such comments as "I guess they [these local people] don't have a vision of what life could be like".

In an effort to obtain more specific information regarding the reasons for these persons' behavior, staff were asked why they thought these local people were not producing. They confessed they didn't know. When pressed further, they offered some explanations but, then, discounted them by adding a disclaimer that they just didn't know. In other words, staff had made no determination as to whether or not their expectations were greater than these local people's ability to meet them, if these producers were not meeting demand for fear that their goods would not be purchased at some future date due to overstock, or if some other factor was involved.

Staff's lack of knowledge concerning the causes for community persons' response to increased demand for their product simply points out that their acceptance of this situation did not generate a need to inquire into these individuals' reasons for their behavior. In other words, resignation provided no motivation for uncovering the causes for these producers' actions.
As such, this example shows that acceptance as resignation reduces staff to powerlessness in terms of effecting the course of future events with respect to the direction desired. By resigning themselves to the situation, i.e., accepting it to be the way things are, staff relinquish any influence they might have over this situation. They take on a passive role which relegates them to a position of impotence in terms of achieving the goals to which they aspire. As a result, avenues are not explored in order to assess whether or not the service they are offering, i.e., a good wage on a steady basis, is being communicated in a way which pertains to these producers' situation.

In addition, the taking "as is" and consequent absence of communication forces staff to interpret experience, i.e., assign meaning to the outcomes observed, without consulting the other(s) involved which, in this instance, are the persons who produced this product. As such, explanations of, i.e., making sense of, the events which have transpired are based upon a limited understanding. In other words, conclusions are not reached through a consideration of the others' situation as these persons, these producers, see it and, thus, the significance which they assign to the message staff are communicating. Instead, staff must rely solely on their
own knowledge, i.e., what makes sense to them given the way they see things.

Since the action taken, i.e., service offered, seems to be both possible and desirable from staff's point-of-view, these persons conclude that local people are not responding the way expected due to their ignorance. This is seen in the statement quoted earlier in which a respondent attributed producers' behavior to the fact that "they don't have a vision of what life could be like". In other words, these persons simply don't understand the opportunity they are being given since, from the respondent's perspective, anyone would take advantage of earning more income once he/she realized how it would improve his/her conditions of life. In order to make sense of these community persons' behavior, then, the respondent has drawn a distinction between him/her self and these individuals: he/she knows; whereas, these producers don't. Furthermore, the fact that he/she has this vision of what life could be like places him/her in a one-up position: he/she knows what is best for these local people. In this way, then, the typifications of superiority and inferiority are reproduced despite the fact that the emphasis upon acceptance has emerged in an effort to establish equivalence between staff, i.e., outsiders, and community people.
This, in turn, points to the contrary effects which the domain of acceptance can have upon the communication of human services. On the one hand, acceptance can bridge differences by equalizing the disparity imposed through the larger society's typifications of inferiority and superiority. However, the belief that one should take the other as he/she is can perpetuate these distinctions by eliminating a reason for dialogue, thereby leaving one to interpret the other's behavior in terms of the relevances which guide the significator's actions.

**Domain of Relevance: Helping**

Even though staff stress the importance of not projecting an attitude of superiority, i.e., not seeming to be better than the insider, it is not easy for outsiders to disassociate themselves from this image given the context within which their contact with local people occurs. Due to the reason for their presence in this area, i.e., to serve those in need and, thus, be a living testament to God's love for all, they take on a certain role as opposed to others. This role stems from their institutional affiliation, i.e., the organization's avowed purpose. It is explained in the mission's newsletter: "Finally to be in mission here, as well as in any other place, means we come to fill the role of a servant...."
We are called to be like Christ and follow Him in filling the role of a servant. Yet, the performance of this very role can lead to disparity between mission staff and the people they feel they are called to serve.

The Christian idea of service is prefaced on the belief that one puts the other above one's self, i.e., it is a humbling of the self. However, the act of serving, i.e., being a servant, places one above others in the sense of "being better". This idea is expressed in the frequently quoted statement, "It is more blessed to give than to receive". (Acts 20: 25)

While this makes service a desirable act to pursue for those of the Christian persuasion, the ability to serve is dictated by certain conditions. It requires that the served has a need and that the servant has those resources available which can fill this need. To state this another way, the servant cannot perform his/her function unless he/she has something to offer which the other doesn't possess. As such, this servant-served dynamic sets up a particular relationship, one that is based upon mutual dependency although the servant's need to have someone to serve is often overlooked.

This can be explained by examining the phenomenon of serving in greater detail. When the servant is in the position to withhold that which the served needs, it can
be said that he/she offers "help". This, in turn, changes the character of the relationship. While the servant may choose between serving or not, the served will continue to suffer from the need until it is filled. If the servant exercises control over that which can satisfy the served's need, i.e., he/she controls those resources, the served's dependency on the servant becomes more conspicuous. At the same time, the servant appears to have greater autonomy since he/she has been given the power of choice as to whether or not he/she will provide that which the served needs. This autonomy grows when there are many to be served as the servant can select whose need will be met. In this way, the nature of the servant-served relationship is altered in the sense that the servant is "better off" than the served. In other words, the served is in a worse condition not only due to the fact that he/she lacks something which the servant has but also because the servant is not bound to serving him/her. As such, the exchange between servant and served becomes one which is marked by inequality.

It is in terms of this understanding that local people express indignation over any suggestion that mission people are here to "help" them. As one insider explained, "This idea that they [mission staff] have of
'coming to help people' sets up a hierarchy which places locals in a subordinate position.

By and large, staff know that many community members resent the mission's presence due to this image of helping. To quote a respondent, "there is a lot of feeling against the mission. They [the local people] don't like this idea of 'helping them out'." Another individual expressed this idea in more dramatic terms when he/she pointed out that the resentment is really "thick" on the part of local residents.

Even though individuals may join the mission with the expectation that they are going to help the people in this area, they soon discover that local people are not responsive to "being helped". One staff person confessed, "I thought these people wanted my help and could use my help. I thought I would help these people. My assumptions were wrong."

This discrepancy between expectation and actual experience has caused staff to re-examine the whole notion of "helping". As a result, there has been an attempt to reframe the way in which staff relate to local people. This approach was summarized by one respondent. "It's important that people who work at...[the mission]...not think that they are coming down to minister to the people."
They should come down here to work with people." This represents a significant shift in emphasis. Instead of doing something "for" the other, i.e., to help the other, staff should perceive themselves as doing something "with" the other, i.e., being a helper.

This idea of working "with" the local people, then, moves toward a restructuring of the mission-community relationship in the sense that it places the parties involved on more equal footing. A helper is one of many working toward the realization of some commonly held goal. He/she does not possess all the resources for achieving the desired outcome but, rather, is able to offer something which will contribute toward this end. The metaphor of mission person as "helper", then, suggests that community persons also have something to give, i.e., they are no longer viewed as passive recipients. Thus, communication is no longer seen as a one-way flow of information, from staff to community, but as a process of cooperatively working toward some future state.

This solution to the discord found within the community has been popularized by staff. Reference was often made to this idea of "working with" the local people in interviews with staff members.
Even though this depiction of "staff person as helper" is a recurring theme in mission workers' conversations, the implementation of this point-of-view has not been readily achieved, i.e., it is not a domain of relevance. This is primarily due to the fact that staff are trapped by a role which, given their understanding, they are obligated to fill, i.e., being a servant.

Exactly who a servant is, i.e., what he/she does, is defined through his/her relationships. In other words, mission staff learn their role through interactions with others, with both local people and staff persons.

The degree to which the idea of "helping" is used by both staff and community residents to explain the behavior they observe is evidence that this conceptualization of the staff-community relationship is an integral part of the interpretive schema of both groups. To state this another way, staff's and community persons' reliance on the servant-served distinction in order to make sense of the self and the other indicates that helping is a domain of relevance within this mission's culture as well as within the local community's culture.

It is in terms of the domain of helping that staff/community persons develop expectations about the other which, in turn, shapes the way in which their relationship unfolds. These expectations include the behavior which
one anticipates from the other as well as the actions which one believes he/she is to perform. In addition, each person holds expectations about the other's expectations, i.e., what he/she thinks the other believes one should or will do. All these expectations are communicated to the other through actions, i.e., what one says and does. As such, they elicit certain responses from the other. Thus, each informs the other as to what behavior he/she is to display. In this way, the servant-served relationship continues to be reproduced. To summarize, this common understanding, this shared domain of relevance called helping, leads to expectations which have the effect of perpetuating the very relationship which staff are trying to change.

This is readily seen in the expectations placed on staff in regard to being good. Since goodness is conceptualized in terms of the servant-served dichotomy which underlies the mission-community relationship, it is a comparative measure. To state this another way, goodness is not assessed on the basis of being as good as another but, rather, as being better than others. In other words, the "better than" status accorded to staff by virtue of their role typification, i.e., being a servant, leads to similar expectations regarding their goodness.
This is clearly understood by staff as evidenced in the comments which they made concerning the demands imposed upon them in their work at the mission. As one employee explained, "There is a certain expectation among the locals that you are supposed to be good all the time. They are quickest to point out if you're not. Mission people are human and fail. We're not perfect." To be good, then, requires that one be perfect, a point reiterated by another respondent. "Local people expect mission people to do something right—to be righteous. They expect a mission person not to make mistakes." It can be seen that "being perfect" translates into "being right", i.e., not making any mistakes. Therefore, "being good" is defined as doing the right thing all the time.

Knowledge of right and wrong, i.e., what one should or shouldn't do, is formed in relation to the system of relevances prevailing in one's group. For staff, these determinations are based upon the tenets of Christianity. Thus, one is right or good to the degree that he/she models his/her thoughts and actions after the life and teachings of Jesus Christ, i.e., he/she becomes a servant of the Lord.

Using Jesus Christ as an exemplar, a servant is seen as one who gives his/her self to others. This giving is not simply a sharing of the self with others but, rather,
a surrendering, i.e., a giving up, of the self to others. It is an act of self-sacrifice.

Staff are quite aware of this interpretation of serving. As one mission worker noted, "Because we come as missionaries, we are supposed to be self-sacrificing". To rephrase this idea in terms of the foregoing discussion, self-sacrifice is the right thing to do. For staff, then, self-sacrifice becomes the standard by which goodness is measured.

Through these expectations, both staff's and community's, mission workers' roles are defined. It is on the basis of this understanding that staff assume they are to do whatever work needs to be done at the mission regardless of their official job description. In other words, staff are to sacrifice themselves by virtue of their role as servant. As one respondent noted, "Mission people feel they have to do these things since they're in mission".

Thus, community help is not solicited since it is taken-for-granted that it is staff's job to meet the needs of the mission. By failing to ask the community to volunteer its services through such projects as putting up playground equipment or reading to the elderly, the mission send a message to local residents. In the words of an insider, "local people feel...that it is thought that
locals couldn't do it....Locals are not asked to do these things. Locals feel they can do these things." This act of omission, i.e., the exclusion of community residents from participation in mission activities, leads local people to believe that staff consider them to be incompetent. It is in terms of this understanding that community people feel as though staff have relegated them to a subordinate position, i.e., staff have typified them as those who need to be helped.

By performing the role of the servant, then, staff do not give community residents an opportunity to become a partner in mission. This simply reinforces the resentment which many community residents feel toward the mission and, thereby, further alienates the mission from the community.

However, the lack of community involvement in mission activities has an equally significant effect on staff. Since the mission is understaffed, employees find that they are generally called upon to do extra work. As one person said, "Someone is always asking me to do something". While these tasks may vary according to the season of the year, staff's workload is overall so demanding that many suffer from burn-out. In the words of one respondent, people "get volunteered to death down here".
Even though some staff members realize that these extra duties are using them up, it is difficult to refuse one's colleagues when they ask for assistance. Staff can empathize with the plight of their co-worker who needs help since they, most likely, will be in the same situation at one time or another. As such, they recognize that the help they give is good insurance for the future, i.e., it establishes an obligation which will encourage others to reciprocate when one needs it. Yet, perhaps more importantly, to withhold one's help when a fellow worker requests it leads to a negative self-evaluation. One feels he/she is not doing the right thing. This was explained by one employee. "If they [staff] say no when asked to do something, they feel guilty. They feel bad that they...are not doing what others would like."

These feelings are nurtured by the awareness that one's behavior is being appraised by others. This was elaborated upon by one staff person. "There's a feeling of being judged. You feel that whatever you do is going to be judged by both the local community and staff. People are looked at and evaluated."

This situation is stressful for staff since they are placed in an untenable situation. Being accorded a superior status by reason of their role as servant, i.e., being better than others, subjects them to evaluation by
a standard which is impossible to meet, i.e., being perfect. Despite the fact that perfection is an unattainable objective, this expectation imposes pressure on staff for they feel that their behavior should emulate this ideal.

Additional stress is produced by the discrepancy which staff find in local people's expectations and their response to staff's actions, e.g., charges of paternalistic treatment. Although community residents expect mission workers to do right all the time, they are angered by the "helping" behavior which staff display. To quote the views of one staff person, "They expect staff to take responsibility, to take leadership roles". Staff, then, see themselves as being caught between "the devil and the deep blue sea". If they do what they think they are supposed to do, they raise the ire of the local people. However, if they don't do these things, they believe they are falling short of staff-community expectations by not doing the right thing and, thereby, are subject to disapproval.

This, in turn, breeds feelings of vulnerability. They are bound to a role which exposes them to criticism, i.e., it makes them culpable. Yet, to take a different approach would violate the very reason for their presence. In other words, that understanding which provides
a rationale for their presence in this area, that being to serve others, also is the source of their information as to how they are to perform their role. Thus, they are locked into a pattern of behavior which perpetuates the servant-served distinction, an outcome which is in direct opposition to the relationship they want to develop.

It is not surprising, then, that many staff members feel frustrated. They see that they are not achieving the goals to which they aspire, e.g., community enablement, and, yet, feel as though their hands are tied when it comes to rectifying the situation. As one individual pointed out, "People don't feel they are accomplishing anything". This sense of frustration is intensified through the community feedback they receive. To be more specific, the message which mission workers want to send to the community is not the one that is conveyed. As a result, mission people feel that they are misunderstood since their intentions are not the ones which local residents identify.

In general, staff, i.e., outsiders, have responded to this situation by drawing into one another, forming their own little community by having potlucks, attending their own church on mission grounds, visiting back and forth with one another, etc. This course of action has been rationalized on the basis of the insider/outsider
distinction. In other words, the reasons which staff cite as an explanation for their behavior are based upon the domain of regional identity, i.e., they don't fit into the local community, the lack of housing in the community, etc.

By reacting in this manner, though, staff isolate themselves from the community and further alienate themselves from the local people. As one respondent noted, "Local people think we are aloof". Thus, those actions which are taken in relation to the domain of helping reinforce the domain of regional identity. The importance assigned to being an insider or outsider, i.e., one of the reasons why this distinction "matters" to mission staff, is, in part, due to the understandings which have been formed through the domain of helping, i.e., community people do not accept mission workers.

**Domain of Relevance: Transience**

This, in turn, points to the double-standard which governs the outsider's life in this setting. While the culture of this organization emphasizes the importance of staff accepting the insider as he/she is, it also informs the outsider that he/she is not regarded in the same way: this blanket acceptance is not automatically
reciprocated. Through the domain of helping, the outsider learns that his/her acceptance is conditional, pending whether or not he/she does right. Thus, he/she is subject to disapproval and may even be resented as a result of the role which he/she feels obliged to perform.

By having to satisfy the criterion of doing right, i.e., meeting certain expectations, the outsider is placed in the position of being scrutinized. He/she is "looked at and evaluated" by both staff and community. This is in contrast to the way in which staff are told the insider should be treated for it is stressed that staff should not judge, be critical of, the insider in order not to offend or embarrass him/her.

Furthermore, the criterion of doing right which is used to measure the outsider's professional behavior is also applied to his/her private life. In other words, the outsider is not simply expected to do right on-the-job but in all aspects of his/her personal life, i.e., as parent, spouse, church member, etc.

Perhaps, this is why, the privacy accorded to the insider is not extended to the outsider. While there may be other factors involved, such as the intimacy of the situation due to outsiders living together on mission grounds, the fact is the outsider lives in a house without
walls. "Everyone [all outsiders] knows everyone's [other outsiders] business" as one outsider put it, or as another said, "There are no secrets here". Thus, the regard which the outsider is supposed to hold for the insider's privacy, i.e., the distance which the outsider is expected to maintain concerning the insider's personal affairs, is opposite from the deference shown to him/her. Staff explain that outsiders "have to be able to live with that". Thus, they advise that one not be "thin-skinned" but, rather, "a good sport".

Given the difference between their treatment of the insider and that which they receive, their isolation and consequent alienation from the local community and larger society, the burn-out experienced from too much work and too few hands, the stress imposed by trying to satisfy expectations which can't be met, and the frustration and disappointment experienced by failing to accomplish those things which seem to be possible, it is not surprising that the turnover among those staff persons who are outsiders is quite high.

For example, of the twenty-six outsiders interviewed in this study who had neither volunteered nor had originally contracted to work at the mission for a short period of time, more than 50% have left the mission, i.e., N=14. Four of those remaining have been at the mission
a relatively short period of time, less than two years. Three other persons are married to local persons so that it cannot be ascertained if they would still be living and working in this situation under other conditions, i.e., if they were not committed to a personal relationship.

Of the full-time, permanent positions which outsiders hold within the organization, turnover has not been found to be associated with certain jobs that they as a group fill. For instance, during the course of this research, several division directors and various program planners/coordinators resigned or "were called" to serve elsewhere, as staff say. However, during this same time period, teachers; caregivers, e.g., doctors; counselors, e.g., houseparents; and program supervisors also left.

This turnover is not limited to a particular season, e.g., the spring, but, rather, goes on throughout the year. Thus, the organization is perpetually undergoing some sort of change in staff or, as one respondent said, is in a state of "constant upheaval".

Those staff persons who are insiders point to a "lack of consistency" in the policies formulated and followed by the organization as a result of this turnover. In particular, they claim that the position taken
in regard to leadership development, i.e., how it is defined and approached, depends upon who is in power. In order to support this charge, certain respondents recounted instances in which a new administrator would come into a unit and replace those local people who held supervisory positions with outsiders.

Regardless of the truth of these tales, i.e., whether or not they occurred as well as whether or not the events related are an accurate depiction of the way in which they transpired, the fact is insiders believe them to be so, i.e., this is how they see it. Hence, they "know" that any supervisory position which they may hold can, with a change in administration, be taken from them.

As such, this turnover among outsiders bears upon the mission's ability to develop local leadership. In other words, it conveys a message concerning the permanency of any leadership role that the insider may be offered.

However, outsiders don't seem to connect the turnover among their ranks with the insider's response to opportunities to move into leadership positions. While respondents noted the difficulty in getting insiders to take leadership roles within the organization, they attributed the problem to the culture of these persons. Typically, they made the point that local people don't
want to tell others what to do, i.e., to appear as though they are criticizing someone else. On other occasions, it was noted that local people don't want to stand out from others. They don't want to call attention to themselves as being different from, i.e., seeming to be better than, the rest of their group.

If it is accepted that local people do, indeed, feel as these respondents explain, the fact that they believe they may have to forfeit these positions with a change in personnel certainly compounds their reluctance to take them. To accept these supervisory roles is a risky venture. They take them with the understanding that they will have no security which comes from doing a job well, but, rather, accept them with the knowledge that their tenure in this position is subject to the point-of-view of those who wield power over them. In other words, they have no assurance that the effort they expend in doing a good job will be rewarded, but, rather, have every indication, given the high rate of turnover, that such positions are tenuous, i.e., for the time being.

This, in turn, gives the insider no incentive to "step out" from the group. It is difficult to justify why one should learn a new job if there is every reason to believe he/she could be stripped of it at any time. It is even harder to imagine why one would take on the
responsibilities involved, particularly those of a supervisory nature, when the position is seen as a temporary one. Why should one subject him/her self to such demands and particularly the stress that would be imposed by trying to perform a supervisory function in a way that would neither offend nor embarrass his/her neighbors and friends?

Furthermore, to make such a move, only to later be "put back", i.e., reassigned to one's previous position, would be a humiliating experience and, thus, injurious to one's pride. Such an action is tantamount to saying that the individual is incompetent, i.e., he/she is considered incapable of doing the job. In addition, it increases one's vulnerability to community criticism. For those so inclined, it provides a basis for derision or ridicule in the sense that a demotion can be used as evidence of the fact that the individual, being scrutinized, is not as good, e.g., as bright or as conscientious, as he/she thought he/she was. These persons can become an object lesson, an example of what happens to someone who thinks he/she is better than others. Given these potential consequences, then, there is little to encourage the insider to invest his/her time and energy in positions of leadership.
While the issue of investment escapes the outsider's attention when it comes to leadership development, staff as a group do feel that this factor can affect the nature of the outsider's relationship with the insider. As one person pointed out, "People come in to do a good deed for two years and then leave. Why get to know them?"

The reason for questioning this involvement, i.e., the relevance of this question, can be better appreciated when the effects of these departures are examined from the perspective of the insider. Insights into this matter were provided by one respondent. "There are a lot of changes in personnel here. You get to know somebody and then they leave. It's hard on personal relationships."

It is hard because one has come to know the other—his/her problems and concerns, aspirations and fears, and so on. Through the sharing of everyday experiences, e.g., one's joys and tribulations, each has become a part of the other's life. They're connected, bonded so-to-speak, so that upon separation there is a sense of loss, a lack of completeness, since that person, that part of one's life, is gone. It is painful. It hurts because one misses the companionship, support, humor, etc. that the other gave him/her. Moreover, this loss requires that one adjust, fill the void that has been left in some way.
This takes effort and time as well as patience and fortitude. While human beings are very resilient creatures, it can be seen that those who are repeatedly put in the position of rebounding might eventually ask why they should expose themselves to such situations. In other words, why should he/she become involved with, i.e., befriend, an outsider since the odds are high that he/she will leave?

The transitory nature of such relationships seems contrary to the whole notion of friendship since it is a relationship which entails a commitment to the other. To elaborate, friendship implies more than a liking for and affiliation with the other. It involves loyalty to the other, a standing by or with the other through thick and thin. This is seen in the fact that times of crisis or difficulty are commonly referred to as "tests" of one's friendship so much so that one who rises to the occasion will frequently be commended by being told he/she is a "true" friend.

While this kind of commitment may be shown in the short term, the high rate of turnover which occurs among those staff persons who are outsiders indicates that one should not depend upon these individuals for support over the long haul. In other words, this turnover gives one reason to believe that friendships with outsiders are
only for the time being, i.e., just for now. Thus, it does, in effect, inform local people that they cannot rely on the outsider being there for them if and when it is needed. As one insider explained, "Because mission people don't stay, local people feel they can't count on them."

This transience, then, poses an obstacle to the formation of those relationships which are vital to the effective delivery of human services. To clarify, needs often are solely revealed through disclosures, ones that aren't offered unless an individual has established a certain rapport with the other so that he/she feels he/she can trust that person with his/her confidences. However, the unreliability associated with outsiders given the turnover observed among their ranks does not provide insiders the assurance they need in order to develop this kind of relationship with outsiders. In the words of one respondent, insiders "feel they can't build friendships, trust or depend on a mission person if they need something. Mission people are always leaving."

This transience, then, has an inhibiting effect upon the insider when it comes to forming relationships with outsiders. This, in turn, blocks the outsider's access to information, i.e., the insider is not disposed to disclose certain things but rather is inclined to keep
his/her distance. Thus, the turnover observed in the past infringes upon the ability of outsiders presently on-staff to do their job since one must generally be aware of needs in order to satisfy them. As a result, it affects the degree to which the mission is able to meet the needs of the community.

Staff, i.e., both insiders and outsiders alike, are aware of the impediment which this transience poses to human service delivery. They have responded to the problem it presents by placing the solution in the hands of those individuals who are outsiders. Specifically, staff feel that outsiders must show the insider that they are reliable, that they can be counted on. As one outsider explained, outsiders

have to earn the confidence or respect of local people before they are allowed into the hollers to go to reunions and other social gatherings...also, before [they] are asked to share a problem. It takes a while to build up relationships so that people are confident.

This transience, then, puts the outsider in the position of having to prove him/her self to the insider. In other words, he/she must show the insider that he/she is worthy of the insider's trust.

As such, responsibility for the success or failure achieved in removing the obstacle transience presents falls on the shoulders of those current staff members
who are outsiders. In other words, if the outsider fails to win the confidence of the insider, i.e., fails to meet the criteria the insider has established for trusting another, the outsider is liable. He/she is the one to be blamed.

In this way, then, the turnover which occurs among outsiders increases the burden that is placed upon members of this group who are living at the mission. It is one more demand that the outsider feels he/she must meet, thus adding to the stress imposed upon him/her by further elucidating what he/she must accomplish in order to "do right". As such, the turnover which has occurred in the past contributes to those conditions which foster such turnover in the future.

Moreover, the understandings which are formed in relation to the domain of transience add to the significance assigned to the insider/outsider typifications. To recapitulate, outsiders are those persons who must prove themselves since they have a history of leaving the area and, thereby, abandoning those insiders who have come to count on them. Insiders, on the other hand, are reluctant to develop personal relationships with outsiders that move beyond the bounds of amiability as a result of the turnover they have seen in the past. They are inclined to keep their distance or as one
insider stated "will only let you get so close" since this transience has made them aware of their potential vulnerability, i.e., that they may come to rely on the outsider only to discover that he/she is gone when and if his/her support or assistance is needed.

By further distinguishing outsider from insider, the understandings which emerge in relation to transience strengthen the domain of regional identity. The perceptions which the insider and outsider develop in terms of the domain of transience, i.e., his/her view of him/her self, the other, and thus of his/her position in relation to the other, help to validate the importance of regional identity, i.e., why regional identity matters.

This, in turn, shows that there is an interrelationship, an interaction so to speak, among domains of relevances. Each informs and is informed by the others, thereby forging an interdependency among these various domains. For this reason, each should be viewed in relation to the others for each elaborates upon, clarifies, supports, and, therefore, maintains the others.
Summary

Taken together, these domains of relevances comprise a system, "a fabric of meaning" as Geertz (1973, p. 145) would say. This system of relevances shapes one's understanding so that he/she views him/her self in relation to the other in a particular way.

This understanding is founded upon a perception of difference, one that is attributed to regional identity. As a result, people are typified as insiders or outsiders, i.e., it is the fundamental distinction drawn in this setting.

By typifying persons in this way, the basic positions are established. This does not simply refer to the fact that one's insider/outsider status informs a person of his/her primary group and, thus, of those individuals who are included in "we" and known as "they". The insider/outsider distinction moves beyond this by defining each group's place in this setting, i.e., their relationship to it. As such, it tells organizational members who each group is, i.e., how they are to see themselves and the other in relation to this situation. To elaborate, the insider is a part of this setting; whereas, the outsider is one who stands apart from it. The outsider, then, is a foreigner in this land, an alien in this area.
The world into which the outsider has stepped is not the same as the one from which he/she is from. The outsider quickly learns that those things he/she takes for granted cannot be assumed here. The proper modes of comportment, the significance assigned to the language used, etc. do not always concur with his/her understanding. As such, he/she doesn't quite know what to expect nor what he/she should or shouldn't do and say. Thus, he/she feels vulnerable for he/she recognizes that he/she could accidentally do something "wrong".

This leads to concern over not causing offense or embarrassment, a matter that is equally important to insiders. It is in terms of offending or embarrassing the insider that the outsider comes to regard certain actions as "don't do's". Through an awareness of the consequences which can be incurred through a violation of these dictates, these prohibitions can take on the force of "can't do's". In this way, the outsider, like the insider, comes to believe there are certain constraints imposed upon his/her actions by the community. These constraints, in turn, exercise a measure of control over staff's actions. In particular, staff do not feel they are in a position to respond to some of the needs they see, e.g., a safe house for battered women. Thus, staff, both insider and outsider alike, do not consider themselves to
be free agents in this setting who are capable of responding to every kind of need they see but, rather, view themselves as persons who must operate within certain confines.

However, to simply show regard for the insider by conforming to his/her sanctioned ways of behavior is not, in itself, enough. The outsider is a member of the larger society, that group which has deemed the insider inferior. Given whom the outsider is, i.e., his/her group identity, the insider may typify the outsider as one who thinks he/she is better. In order to dispel any notion that he/she holds this opinion of him/herself, staff believe that the outsider must affirm the insider's worth. Staff believe this can be accomplished by the outsider's acceptance of the insider, i.e., by taking the insider as he/she "is".

This taking as "is", though, is the same as saying that the outsider's behavior is acceptable as "is", i.e., the outsider has no reason for questioning it. This acceptance, therefore, places the outsider in a position of powerlessness when the insider doesn't seem to act in a way that would seem to be beneficial to his/her interests.

In addition, the outsider is left to interpret behavior in terms of his/her understanding, i.e., how
he/she sees things. When the insider acts in a way that makes no sense to the outsider in terms of what he/she knows, he/she attributes the actions of the insider to some insufficiency on his/her part, i.e., he/she is misguided, ignorant, resistant to change, etc. In other words, the insider is viewed as one who just doesn't know, a conclusion which by its substantive nature indicates that the outsider thinks he/she does. By taking the insider as he/she "is", then, the outsider reproduces those very understandings that the emphasis upon acceptance is supposedly repudiating, i.e., that the outsider knows best and in that way is better than the insider. As such, the importance assigned to acceptance leads to understandings which perpetuate the difference between insider and outsider from the outsider's point-of-view.

The equivalence sought through the outsider's acceptance is further obstructed by the role which he/she feels deigned to fulfill given the reason for his/her presence in this area. The outsider is in this locality for the purpose of serving the local people, i.e., he/she has come as a servant of the Lord. By taking the role of servant, he/she hopes to affirm Christ's love for all and win souls to Jesus Christ.
Through the performance of this role, the servant-served distinction is established. It is one that reduces the insider to a level of subordination since he/she is designated as the one to be helped. As such, the insider feels demeaned in the sense that he/she is being treated as though he/she is inferior to the outsider.

While it may appear as though the servant is "better-off" than the served, the superior position accorded to the outsider subjects him/her to impossible demands. By becoming an exemplar of Christ, taking on Christ's role, the servant is expected by both insiders and outsiders alike to exemplify His other attributes. In particular, he/she is expected to be perfect. For the outsider, an understanding of perfection is based upon the life and teachings of Jesus Christ, i.e., He is the embodiment of perfection. Thus, one is perfect to the extent that he/she emulates His actions, what He said and did. In this way, the outsider comes to regard him/her self as one who should sacrifice him/her self by doing everything that needs to be done at the mission.

However, meeting all these needs is exhausting. Burn-out frequently follows. It, in turn, contributes to the transience observed among those staff persons who are outsiders.
The turnover found among this group further distinguishes insiders from outsiders: outsiders are those persons who don't stay. As such, they are regarded as persons who can't be counted on. In other words, the insider feels there is no basis for placing his/her faith in outsiders due to the temporary nature of their presence in this area. To assume otherwise would place him/her in a vulnerable position for the outsider's support or assistance might not be there when and if it is needed. Given this possible outcome, then, the insider is inclined to keep his/her distance.

The outsider realizes that insiders are reluctant to form personal relationships with outsiders due to the turnover which occurs among his/her group. Given the unreliability displayed by past outsiders, i.e., the departures of previous outsiders, staff feel that outsiders must earn the confidence of insiders, i.e., show the insider that he/she is dependable. This transience, then, places the outsider in the position of having to prove him/her self to the insider: he/she must demonstrate to the insider's satisfaction that he/she is worthy of the insider's trust.

In sum, then, the understandings which emerge in relation to these domains of relevances have the effect of separating outsider from insider. This is due to the
fact that this organizational culture emphasizes the differences between people. This culture evolves around polarities, opposites in the sense that what the insider is, the outsider is not.

While an awareness of differences can sensitize the outsider to those ways in which he/she can communicate human services in a culturally appropriate way, i.e., that he/she does not embarrass or offend the insider, the attention accorded to these differences does not foster the expression of personableness on the outsider's part. Instead, the salience accorded to these differences encourages the outsider to opt for a mode of self-presentation which is "faceless", to hide behind a professional guise. Although the distance imposed through this approach may be shortened somewhat by the outsider's expression(s) of appreciation for those things which the insider does and values, i.e., those displays of acceptance, this, in itself, is not enough. The understandings which the outsider has of him/her self and the insider, i.e., the differences drawn between the two, do not provide him/her with the kind of direction he/she needs so that he/she avoids the impression of "getting personal" and yet conveys a sense of "being personal", imparting a sense of whom he/she is.
This, in turn, poses an obstacle to the formation of personal relationships. The outsider's lack of personableness is not offset and, thus, not ameliorated by the insider's actions since the temporary nature of the outsider's presence in this setting does not offer the insider any incentive to take those steps which would lay the ground upon which a relationship of this nature could be built. To the degree that personal relationships that are sustained over time are crucial to gaining access to the insider's needs, i.e., his/her disclosure of needs, the fact that this culture does not provide the outsider with those understandings that will lead him/her to connect with the insider on a personal level impedes the communication of human services.

By posing a barrier to the development of personal relationships, this lack of personableness reduces the outsider's opportunity to view things from the serviced group's vantage point, i.e., in terms of those persons' concerns and interests. Without this input, the outsider is forced to interpret events, behaviors, etc. solely on the basis of what he/she knows, how he/she sees things. In other words, the outsider is left to assign significance to certain phenomena without having the benefit of the insider's perspective on the matter. As such, he/she may reach conclusions and, thereby, act on
the basis of understandings which do not concur with community sentiment and, thus, are not responsive to the people he/she is attempting to serve.

The emphasis placed upon acceptance can further impede the outsider's chances of acquiring those insights that would enable him/her to select those courses-of-action that would be congruent with his/her own and the serviced group's interests. The belief that the outsider should accept the insider as he/she "is" provides no reason, no motivation, for examining the insider's actions when, for example, he/she fails to use a service the mission is offering. To state this another way, accepting the insider as he/she "is" does not generate a need to inquire into the causes of his/her behavior.

Acceptance, therefore, stymies those initiatives that could be taken to determine if a particular service is one the community can't use or if some other factor(s) is involved. Thus, this acceptance prevents these staff persons from assessing whether or not the service is being communicated in a way that is relevant to the target group's situation. As such, it keeps staff from adapting a service, communicating it in a way, that might enhance the serviced population's receptivity to it.

When the community does not take advantage of a service or certain services over time, i.e., when this
behavior is observed over and over again, the outsider's acceptance of the insider leads him/her to conclude that there is nothing he/she can do about some of the things he/she sees. In other words, the outsider comes to regard some of the conditions of the community as lying beyond his/her ability to effect.

To the degree that outsiders monopolize the planning and policy-making positions within the organization, these judgments can significantly affect what services are offered, i.e., what messages are communicated. As such, the belief that one should accept the insider as he/she is can be limiting to the communication of human services due to these persons' vision of those things which they think it is possible for them to accomplish. In other words, the courses-of-action which are taken are chosen on the basis of one's understanding, i.e., what he/she regards as being appropriate, feasible, etc.

Given the understandings formed in relation to these domains of relevances, outsiders' contact with insiders is generally confined to the mission setting. Thus, the interaction which occurs between community residents and outsiders, i.e., human service providers, is almost entirely structured by the roles prescribed by the professional setting.
Within the organizational environment, there is a lack of reciprocity in the roles performed due to the failure to involve community residents as a full partner in mission, i.e., as a result of the turnover observed among outsiders along with outsiders' belief that they must do everything at the mission. Thus, the typifications of superiority and inferiority have been imposed upon the insider-outsider relationship through the roles of servant-served, i.e., provider-client and supervisor-supervised.

By limiting opportunities in which residents can give as well as take, i.e., to help as well as to be helped or to lead as well as follow, they are reduced to a subordinate status: they are told they need to be helped. To the degree that this message violates the community's self-understanding, it alienates residents from the mission with the consequence that some may choose not to avail themselves of the services offered.

As such, the division impressed upon the insider-outsider relationship through the dichotomies drawn and, thus, the differences emphasized by this organizational culture poses an obstacle to the communication of human services, one which can impede this organization in achieving its professed goals.
CHAPTER VI

CONSIDERATIONS AND IMPLICATIONS

Introduction

While the culture of this organization may pose an impediment to the communication of human services, those understandings and, more specifically, those constraints which undermine staff's efforts to deliver these services to their public need to be placed in a broader context.

In particular, this chapter looks at the ways in which the constraints placed on the outsider's actions serve the needs and interests of the outsider, insider, and the mission organization as a whole. This, in turn, provides a more comprehensive view of this culture in the sense of pointing to the other functions which these constraints perform. As such, this discussion offers insights into the ease with which this culture can be changed.

In conjunction with this analysis, this chapter will also examine the potential significance of this research. In particular, we will look at the ways in which this research contributes to the study of organizational culture as well as the possibilities this work offers for
future inquiry. Along with this, the relevance of this research for the study of communication is discussed. Lastly, the perceived significance which study has for mission staff will be pointed out. It is in reference to this final issue that the intent of this research will be disclosed.

Keeping this agenda in mind, we are now ready to examine these matters in greater detail. We will begin with a discussion of the nature of constraints.

**Analysis of Cultural Constraints**

Geertz (1973, p. 44) points out that culture acts as a "control" in the sense that it governs behavior. In other words, culture imposes certain constraints, ones that make human social action possible.

These constraints can have different effects, e.g., positive or negative, depending upon the way in which they relate to the subject of interest, e.g., their impact upon human services delivery. Thus, a constraint may work against, i.e., prevent or impede, the achievement of one outcome and, yet, contribute to the realization of another. In addition, the same constraint can have more than one effect upon the same phenomenon.

In order to identify what consequences these constraints have, then, it is necessary to determine how
they both impede and serve the members of a cultural group. In other words, the impediments imposed through these constraints should be viewed in relation to what they accomplish.

To the degree that the actions taken by members of a cultural group as a result of these constraints are detrimental to their interests and the impediments they impose are mutually disadvantageous, an assessment of these constraints' effect upon cultural members can be easily made. However, when these constraints serve organizational members, on the one hand, and hinder them, on the other, an overall appraisal of these constraints, e.g., an estimation of their effectiveness, becomes more difficult.

In order to make such an evaluation, one is forced to rely upon some tenet such as the greater good or the most fundamental needs of organizational members. These, then, are relative judgments in the sense that they are made on the basis of those things that the evaluator deems as being most important. The conclusions reached are, therefore, ones that are debatable in the sense that the standard used, i.e., the criterion against which the appraisal is being made, is one which others may take issue with, i.e., it is not the primary one to be considered.
It is in light of this fact, then, that no overall judgment will be made about these constraints, i.e., their goodness/badness or rightness/wrongness, and, thus, of this culture in general. This is not the aim of this analysis. Instead, its purpose is to view these constraints within a larger context. By identifying the consequences which these constraints have, some measure can be made of their intransigence, i.e., the degree to which they are amenable to change given the needs and interests which they serve.

Cultural Constraints and the Outsider's Interests

While the lack of personableness shown by the outsider may inhibit the development of those relationships through which the insider's needs are revealed, the failure to form such relationships can also perform a protective function when examined from the outsider's point-of-view. Getting close to the insider can be a painful experience for the outsider since the insider acts on the basis of a different system of relevances. As such, the insider may make choices which the outsider regards as a grave mistake, e.g., a thirteen-year-old girl quitting school to get married and start a family. When the outsider has come to care for the insider, it is difficult to watch the insider take a course-of-action
which from the outsider's perspective will limit the insider's life chances. As such, the distance imposed upon the insider-outsider relationship through the constraints placed upon the outsider help to shield the outsider from this kind of experience. By not getting personally involved, the outsider is not personally affected by the choices the insider makes.

Similarly, the constraints placed upon the outsider's actions given the emphasis assigned to acceptance can also work in ways which serve the outsider. By accepting the insider as he/she "is", the outsider continues to interpret things in terms of what he/she knows, how he/she sees things. When the insider acts in a way which seems contrary to that which would be in his/her interests, the outsider, given what he/she knows, attributes the insider's behavior to the conditions of his/her situation, to his/her beliefs and attitudes, etc. Thus, the outsider concludes that the insiders' actions are simply the consequence of the way local people are.

As such, the beliefs that the outcomes observed, e.g., a lack of community response to a service, are due to the qualities/characteristics of the local people can serve as a coping mechanism for outsiders. It is a way of dealing with the disappointments they encounter, i.e.,
when the insider's actions do not measure up to the outsider's expectations.

In addition, the identification of the insider as the source of the "problem" also relieves the outsider of any responsibility for the way things are even though this may not be his/her conscious intention. In other words, any failure which occurs, e.g., local people not using a service being offered, is not seen as being the outsider's fault. He/she is not to be blamed. This, in turn, protects the outsider's ego, i.e., his/her self-esteem is not hurt by thinking that he/she is the one who has done wrong.

The outsider's ego is further shielded from injury by his/her awareness of the constraints which are placed upon the insider's actions due to the transience found among outsiders. More specifically, the failure to form personal relationships with insiders can be attributed to the reluctance which the insider has about developing close ties with outsiders given the turnover which has occurred in the past. As such, the absence of such relationships is not seen as a reflection on the outsider as an individual, a belief which could hurt the outsider's ego. In other words, it is not regarded as a consequence of something the outsider should or shouldn't have done nor is it perceived as being the result of whom the
outsider is, e.g., whether or not he/she is likable, interesting, etc. Instead, the fact that outsiders don't develop personal relationships with insiders is considered a consequence of the insider's prior experience, i.e., this history of outsiders leaving, along with the outsider's group identity in this setting, i.e., his/her membership in the group that typically leaves the area.

It is in terms of this group identity, i.e., the outsider is one of those persons who is here as a missionary of the Lord, that the outsider sees him/her self as one who is to serve others. In other words, he/she should exemplify the ways of the Master given whom he/she is. While the actions taken in regard to this understanding, i.e., that as a servant he/she must do everything that needs to be done, do exhaust the outsider's resources and may alienate the insider from the mission, the outsider's belief that he/she is here to serve the Lord through serving others imbues his/her life with meaning. It gives him/her a purpose--a reason to be and a need to do. Furthermore, he/she is doing what he/she believes he/she should be doing given his/her religious point-of-view, i.e., that one serves the Lord through helping others. As such, the work which he/she is doing here affords him/her the experience of living
his/her religion, i.e., of actualizing his/her beliefs, and, therefore, in that way, must be satisfying.

**Cultural Constraints and Organizational Interests**

Despite the fact that the constraints imposed upon the outsider's actions can hinder this organization's effectiveness as a provisioner of human services, the limitations placed upon the outsider's actions do benefit this organization's interests when viewed in relation to other possible consequences. In particular, these constraints keep the outsider from going too far afield in this setting which, in turn, protects the mission's relationship with the community.

While the outsider's concern over not causing offense or embarrassment leads him/her to believe that he/she is not in a position to respond to some of the needs he/she sees in the community, those understandings which he/she forms in relation to this domain of relevance also inhibit him/her from moving into those realms which the insider could consider a violation of acceptable behavior. Thus, the constraints imposed upon the outsider's actions, given what he/she knows, are important to maintaining the overall harmony of the mission-community relationship.

This can be better appreciated when it is remembered that outsiders are strangers to this area. They are not
familiar with the mores of this community, i.e., the standards of behavior which one is expected to follow. Furthermore, they receive no formal orientation to this setting, i.e., none is offered. They are, therefore, thrust into this situation with no more preparation than that which they have been able to acquire on their own.

Thus, the awareness raised and consequent constraints which are placed upon the outsider's behavior act as a preventative in the sense that they help the outsider avoid those situations in which he/she might offend or embarrass the insider. As such, they limit the harm which the outsider could potentially inflict upon the mission-community relationship as a result of his/her ignorance.

It is in regard to this relationship that the constraints imposed upon the outsider's actions, given his/her beliefs that he/she should accept local people as they "are", also work in a way that is advantageous to the mission's interests. The idea that the insider must be taken as he/she "is" quells any notion that the outsider might have about changing local people and, overall, making this place like the world he/she has left. In other words, the emphasis placed upon acceptance informs the outsider that efforts to institute changes of this nature are not appropriate here.
This, in turn, is beneficial to the mission's interests since any attempt to change the insider could present a problem to the organization. Local people might interpret such change-oriented actions as evidence that the outsider does not regard whom they are or how they are living as being "good" or "right". Thus, they could consider such efforts by the outsider as being denigrating to them, i.e., that the outsider views them, their way of life, or whatever as being in some respect inferior to his/hers'. As such, these attempts could breed resentment, hurt feelings and/or raise the ire of community persons—all of which could be detrimental to mission-community relations.

As such, the constraints imposed upon the outsider's actions by taking the insider as he/she "is" performs an important function when viewed from the organization's perspective. The outsider is not an activist or protagonist for change but rather a servant, a person who provides various services to the public. Hence, his/her actions are confined to certain spheres.

In this way, this culture protects the mission's position in this setting. To elaborate, the culture of this organization shapes outsiders' actions so that they do what should be done to justify the mission's presence in this area, i.e., to serve those in need, without being
disruptive to the everyday lives of local inhabitants, thereby, helping to maintain a smooth relationship with the community.

**Cultural Constraints and the Insider's Interests**

While the constraints imposed upon the outsider's behavior serve the organization's interests by not jeopardizing the nature of its relationship with the community, these same constraints work in ways that satisfy the insider's interests. Due to staff's concern with community sentiment regarding the mission's presence, i.e., the implicit recognition that the mission's ability to function smoothly in this setting is dependent to some degree upon maintaining the community's good will, the community exercises a measure of control over the outsider, one that most insiders probably don't realize.

This control takes the form of constraints. Given the understandings which the outsider develops through these domains of relevances, e.g., not to offend or embarrass and to accept the insider as he/she "is", the outsider keeps his/her distance from the insider.

As such, these constraints keep him/her from intruding into community people's lives. The outsider is not going to tell local people what to do or how to do certain things for he/she has learned through this
organizational culture that such behavior is inappropriate. He/she believes that actions of this sort can cause trouble between the mission and community by creating friction, the kind which could lead to a confrontation between the two.

These constraints, then, allow local people to go about doing what they have been doing in the way that they have been doing it until now. The presence of these outsiders and this organization does not force them to deal with whether or not they're living the "right" way or the "best" way. Their taken-for-granted assumptions about the way they live are not questioned. They don't have to scrutinize those understandings which they regard as being common sense and, thus, don't have to rationalize and find some validation for the "rightness" or "goodness" of their behavior. Life can go on pretty much as it has. As such, the world as they know it continues to be a stable one, thus lending security to their existence.

By and large, the constraints which are placed upon the outsider's behavior allow the insider to ignore the mission if he/she chooses. He/she can go about his/her daily business without ever having contact with this organization or the outsiders who work there. He/she doesn't have to deal with these "foreigners" for these
constraints keep these persons to themselves. They live a world apart, thereby keeping his/her's safe.

Relevance of This Study to Researchers of Organizational Culture

One of the first thoughts that comes to mind when considering the relevance of this research to students of organizational culture is the methodology which was used in this study. The approach taken, i.e., the use of Schutz's explanation of a system of relevances as a methodology for this research, was an attempt to be conceptually consistent with the position taken by interpretive research and also provide a way in which the researcher could organize findings in a systematic and coherent manner. It was hoped that this methodology would provide me the structure needed to gain a handle on the phenomenon I was studying and, yet, be responsive to the complexity of the culture confronted.

If interpretive research claims that culture is meaning, then the researcher needs to have a way of coming to grips with that meaning, a methodology that will allow him/her to unravel that meaning. This research attempted to determine if Schutz's explanation of a system of relevances could be used for this purpose. To the degree that the work reported herein convinces
students of organizational culture of the utility and applicability of this approach, it offers them another way of examining this phenomenon, and, thus, adds to the methodological choices available to them when conducting such inquiry.

However, it is not only the approach taken but also the nature of the findings, themselves, that can contribute to research into organizational culture. To elaborate, this study has shown that organizational culture does not evolve independently of the environment but rather is, in some measure, the consequence of the conditions of the situation, e.g., the culture of the group whom these staff persons are trying to serve. Furthermore, these findings point to the fact that organizational culture cannot escape the wider culture of which it is a part even when some aspect of that culture has been rejected, e.g., the belief that insiders are dumb hillbillies. Finally, this study has shown that organizational culture is not separate from the past but is, instead, a product, a consequence, of it. This past is one which includes the previous history of the organization in this setting as well as the tradition of which it is a part, its institutional ties.

As such, these findings point to some of the factors which shape organizational culture. In doing this, they
give researchers some ideas as to what they might look for when examining these cultures, e.g., the way(s) in which the culture of the larger society impacts upon the organizational culture being scrutinized. In this way, then, these findings offer researchers some direction when studying organizational culture and, therefore, bear some significance beyond the insights they provide into this particular organization.

This is not to say that the substantive content of these findings, themselves, have no implications for future research. Even though the findings were gathered in one situation, i.e., are limited to the study of one organization, they provide a basis for comparison.

In particular, researchers could examine whether or not there are any consistencies in the findings presented in this study and those obtained from research into other mission organizations which are doing work similar to that being done by this group. Such study would have to take into account whether or not this missionary effort was an American-based enterprise or an activity undertaken by persons grounded in another culture and, thus, whether or not the staff were Americans or members of another national group. In addition, this research would need to take the religion of the group into consideration, e.g., whether or not it was Christian and, if so,
the type of denomination it is, be it liberal or conserva-
tive. Finally, any comparison would have to be sensitive
to the impact which the culture of the designated recipient group would have upon the findings.

Any common features found, especially if there were differences in any of the variables mentioned, would suggest ways in which the culture of mission organizations can be characterized. If these conclusions were to be supported through further research, i.e., if the same observations were to be made again and again in study after study, scholars, planners and policy-makers could begin to determine just what it seems possible for these organizations to accomplish given their culture. In other words, they could begin to assess what constraints are imposed upon persons in mission organizations by virtue of their membership in them and, in this way, make some projection as to what can be expected from them.

More specifically, researchers/scholars could examine the ways in which and, thus, the degree to which these organizations can be provisioners of human services in light of the culture of mission organizations, an issue of particular interest given the Bush administration's reliance upon "a thousand points of light" to take on more of the responsibilities which have been government's.
While a lack of resources might seem the most likely reason why these organizations cannot fill the void left by government's shrinking role, cultural knowledge of these mission organizations could reveal other constraints which prohibit them from providing certain services, e.g., safe houses for battered women. If government support for human services dwindles due to an increasing budget deficit, such information will be most helpful in identifying those persons and those problems that are falling between the cracks in the human services' system as well as pinpointing those organizations which do not feel empowered to respond to these needs.

In a somewhat similar vein, though perhaps more in line with the nature of these organizations' work since the majority of these missionary activities are undertaken in Third World countries, some understanding could be gained into the role which mission organizations can play as agents of development. To be more specific, a knowledge of the constraints placed upon staff as a result of their organizational membership could provide insights into those things which these persons can accomplish as developers as well as those they cannot. In this way, some appraisal could be made of the impact which these organizations can have upon development which, in turn, would contribute to a broader knowledge regarding
the effect(s) which they can have upon these societies.

Relevance of This Research to Students of Communication

This study was undertaken in an attempt to determine how organizational culture bears upon the communication of human services by focusing upon those understandings which shape staff's communication to their client population on the face-to-face level, i.e., in the human service delivery situation. More specifically, this research strove to uncover those understandings which inform staff of their own and the other's identity and, thus, of the way in which they are to relate to that other in this setting. This has been called a study in positionality, i.e., how one sees him/her self in relation to the other.

Through this line of inquiry, an explanation is offered for the communication observed, i.e., why staff communicate what and how they do. Given the level of analysis, i.e., an examination of meaning, this approach is one which can provide a process view of communication in the sense that it can show the way in which understandings are perpetuated, thereby leading to the reproduction of the same messages.

If these are the kinds of insights which the investigator seeks through his/her research, the study of
positionality offers a way in which such inquiry can be conducted. To elaborate, the study of positionality is a way in which the researcher can get a handle on the relationship between understanding and communication. It provides direction for such research by establishing a focus for inquiry, i.e., the way in which subjects see themselves in relation to the other. It, therefore, is a way of framing such research, one which can be used in the study of other situations, e.g., family communication.

By taking this approach, this research raises the salience which should be accorded to communication when viewing human service delivery. To elaborate, communication is not simply important to human service delivery because it is the vehicle through which problem-relevant information is conveyed, e.g., the procedure to follow when applying for food stamps or the method to use when sounding out a new word. Communication is a matter of relevance to human service delivery because it is the medium through which access to the public is obtained. Given what is and is not said and done as well as how one says and does what he/she does, the public may not be inclined to take advantage of the services offered. As such, communication affects an organization's ability to deliver these services.
It is in terms of this issue of access that this research has also shown the effects which perceptions of difference have upon communication. Overall, the differences stressed by this organizational culture inhibit communication between insider and outsider especially since they sensitize the outsider to the possibility that he/she may say something which may be taken in a way not desired or intended and, thus, may jeopardize his/her own and the mission's position in this setting. Communication is further thwarted by the fact that these differences loom so large that outsiders see no ground for it. By failing to see that which they hold in common with the other, they have no basis, no reason, for communicating with insiders beyond the provider-client or supervisor-supervised context.

As such, the findings of this research do not support any notions that perceptions of difference provide an impetus for communication, i.e., a cause for communicating. Instead, the observations made in this situation indicate that any discussion of differences is impeded by the very recognition of them.

This, in turn, has consequences for the study of intercultural communication. While the approach taken in such research has tended to focus on the differences in the communication of cultural groups, e.g., Gudykunst's
studies of uncertainty reduction strategies, this research points to the importance which the perception of difference has for intercultural communication. In other words, this study calls attention to the fact that the perception of difference and the significance assigned to that difference has consequences for the possibility of communicating interculturally. As such, it suggests that in addition to looking at the differences in the communication of diverse cultural groups, we should also look at the significance assigned to difference, itself, in terms of what it offers for communication.

The differences identified in this study and the consequent constraints that they were found to impose upon communication hold possibilities for future research. In particular, research could investigate if the differences observed in this study have the same effects, i.e., place the same constraints, upon communication in other situations. Any consistencies found would provide some representativeness to these findings, the degree to which being dependent upon the range of situations in which the consistency was observed. Any variety found would point to the possible responses which are available to persons given a particular understanding, the utility of which being dependent upon the comparability of the situations observed and the one in which action was to be taken.
Relevance of This Research to Mission Staff

Given the nature of the findings discussed in Chapter V, it might be concluded that the mission should only employ indigenous personnel, i.e., that outsiders should not be used in service here. However, this is not the point which this analysis has attempted to convey.

It cannot be assumed that local people would choose to take on and/or effectively perform the leadership roles within this organization. Given their culture's emphasis upon not seeming to be better than others and not saying anything which might offend or embarrass the other, the responsibilities involved in jobs of this sort might be ones they are not willing to meet. In other words, the costs that could be engendered through the performance of such roles in terms of jeopardizing their relationship with community persons might be seen as being greater than the benefits they could derive.

This, in turn, points to the culturally biased assumptions inherent within today's typical organization. To elaborate, organizations are structured in a hierarchical manner, i.e., in terms of subordinates whose actions are overseen by supervisors whose activities are monitored by superiors. As such, persons who adhere to the values of this local culture find themselves at odds with these organizations given the nature of interstaff
relationships. As a result, it can be seen why such persons might choose to decline the opportunity to take a position at a higher rung on the organizational ladder or fail to perform those aspects of a job which they feel might threaten their relationship with community persons.

This seems to suggest that the whole idea of leadership is a notion which is not congruent with the culture of these people. As such, there is reason to question how attempts to develop leadership can succeed in a situation like this one. To clarify, how can leadership be developed in a community whose people believe that one should not stand out from the rest of the group? Ideas of this sort seem contrary to the whole notion of leadership.

Yet, even if circumstances were such that local people were responsive to taking on the positions of leadership which are required for the effective functioning of this organization, it would be erroneous to assume that more community people would utilize these services. While the insider has an advantage over the outsider in terms of being familiar with the community, the very fact that he/she is in the community may dissuade local residents from taking advantage of the services he/she offers.

Being "in" the community also means that one is tied into relationships within that setting. As such,
certain people may decide not to utilize these services given whom the insider is. To specify further, some potential clients may not want to disclose their needs to an insider for fear that he/she will talk about their personal business to other community residents. Others may not feel comfortable with the insider because he/she is a member of a kin group with whom their family has had "bad blood". Finally, there may be those who think that the insider would not treat them equitably because he/she feels obligated to do for others first as a result of familial ties.

There is no question that familial obligations exercise influence over the insider's actions. Loyalty to and assistance of one's family members is expected in this setting. Failure to meet these expectations can cause hard feelings and become a source of intergroup conflict within a family.

As such, the needs and interests of one's kin could readily affect which community persons were hired by the mission if this organization were a locally operated one. To illustrate, a job which opened up at the mission might well be filled by a relative of the individual who had the authority to hire a replacement even if there were someone in the community more qualified for the position.
The mission has had a problem with nepotism in the past. It has fostered resentment toward the mission, especially among those persons who were not considered for jobs due to their lack of family connections.

Given this past experience, it is possible that the mission could become a "family" concern in terms of the persons in its employ if members of the same kin group held positions of control within the organization. In these circumstances, the organization could become one that served the needs and interests of its own familial members to the exclusion of other community residents.

In light of these considerations, it would be erroneous to assume that local people's access to these services would be greater if the mission were exclusively an "insider" operation. Hence, no recommendation of this sort is being made. As such, the value which this analysis has for staff does not lie in an "answer" that it offers for the problems uncovered through this research.

Furthermore, the relevance which this study has for staff persons is not found in the understandings disclosed nor in the identification of obstacles to the delivery of human services per se. The understandings reported herein, i.e., staff's perception of themselves and the other, are things that they know. They are not "new" insights so to speak. Neither is the identification of
those factors which can impede the delivery of human services, e.g., helping and turnover. Such observations are widely perceived.

From staff's point-of-view, the significance of this analysis lies in the explanation given for why things happen as they do, i.e., why the impediments to human service delivery are produced and continue to be perpetuated despite their attempts to the contrary. In other words, the potential worth of this research is found in the links drawn between understanding and action—the connections which have been established between the two.

By calling attention to the relationship between understanding and action, i.e., how understanding effects action, staff persons are given an opportunity to reflect upon the ways in which their understandings shape their actions. In particular, they can examine the constraints imposed upon their actions given these understandings and can consider other alternatives available to them.

As such, the value of this research for mission staff is not that it tells these persons what direction to take but that it offers them a basis for taking a direction. In other words, this study provides a grounds for making choices and, in doing so, invites staff to play a conscious role in affecting the course of future events.
APPENDICES
INTERVIEW SCHEDULE

A

1) As a result of your experience living and working here, do you think there is an Appalachian culture? If so, how would you describe it?

2) What is important for me, a stranger, to know about these people?
   Probe: What are these people like? How would you characterize them?

3) What factors have affected and/or continue to affect the way of life of these people?

4) What kinds of problems/concerns do these people have?
   Follow-up: How do they deal with them?

5) How do local people view the mission?
   Follow-up: Why do they see things this way?

6) How do local people view staff? What do they think of staff?
   Follow-up: Why do they feel this way?

7) If the church decided to terminate its activities in this area and close the mission, how would it affect local residents?
APPENDIX B
INTERVIEW SCHEDULE

B

1) What drew you to the mission?

2) Is it in any way different from what you expected?
   Probe: Any particular surprises?

3) How would you describe your life here?

4) Were you prepared for life here?

5) What kinds of demands and deprivations should a person be aware of?

6) What's the hardest thing for you to get used to?

7) What are some of the frustrations you must live with?

8) Can you think of any incident you would like to undo?
   Probe: Something you did out of ignorance?

9) What are some of the rewards you have found here?
   Follow-up: What are some of the pluses/advantages in working at the mission?

10) What kinds of expectations do local people have regarding staff?
    Follow-up: Is there any image local people have of you because you are associated with the mission?
11) What kinds of qualities/characteristics should a person have in order to fit in with local people?

12) Can you identify any characteristics that typify mission staff across the board?

13) What kinds of qualities/characteristics should a person have to fit in with staff?

14) Who's had the hardest adjustment to make in your family?
   Probe: Why?
   (This question only used for married couples.)

15) What has helped you/spouse/children make this adjustment?
   Probe: What kinds of opportunities for socializing?

16) Do you think people come here more for themselves—something they need to do—or in response to something which needs to be done?

17) What would be your criteria for determining if a person would be satisfied with and suited for work at the mission?

18) Do you have any ideas regarding turnover among staff?
   Probe: living conditions, demands of work, the local people, the staff?

19) Is there anything the mission can do about it?

20) When you think of yourself, do you see yourself first as being a missionary or in terms of your job? (Example being, a teacher)
21) Finally, when you look back on this experience, what sticks out in your mind?

Follow-up: What feelings do you have?
APPENDIX C
INTERVIEW SCHEDULE

C

1) Why do you think people not from the area come to work at the mission?

2) Do they seem to find it any different from what they expected?

3) What kinds of expectations do staff who are not local have about the community?
   Follow-up: Do these beliefs or attitudes have any effect upon staff-community relationships?

4) Do you think they are prepared for life here?
   Probe: Do you think staff who are from other areas of the country have difficulty adjusting to the mission, i.e., living and working here?

5) What kinds of things do you think a non-local person should be aware of when he/she comes to work at the mission?

6) What's the hardest thing you've had to get use to?

7) What are some of the frustrations you must live with on the job?

8) What are some of the rewards you have found in your job?
9) What kinds of expectations do local people have regarding staff?
   Follow-up: Is there any image local people have of you because you are associated with the mission? Of non-local staff because they are associated with the mission?

10) What kinds of qualities/characteristics should a person have in order to fit in with local people?

11) Can you identify any characteristics that typify mission staff across the board?

12) What kinds of qualities/characteristics should a person have to fit in with staff?

13) Do you think people come here more for themselves—something they need to do—or in response to something which needs to be done?

14) What would be your criteria for determining if a person would be satisfied with and suited for work at the mission?

15) Do you have any ideas regarding turnover among staff?
   Probe: living conditions, demands of work, the local people, the staff?

16) Is there anything the mission can do about it?

17) Finally, when you look back on this experience, what sticks out in your mind?
   Follow-up: What feelings do you have?
CONSENT FOR PARTICIPATION IN RESEARCH
The Ohio State University
Department of Communication

I consent to participate in the research study entitled "The Impact of Organizational Culture upon the Communication of Human Services". The nature of this study, the procedure to be followed, and the expected duration of my participation have been explained to me. In addition, any questions I have raised about the study have been answered to my satisfaction.

I understand that I am free to withdraw consent and discontinue my participation in the study at any time without prejudice to me.

Finally, I acknowledge that I have read and fully understand the consent form. I sign it freely and voluntarily. A copy has been given to me.

Date:__________________ Signed:__________________

Signed: ______________________
(Principal Investigator)

Signed: ______________________
(Participant)
LIST OF REFERENCES


234


