LOCAL CHURCH CONGREGATIONS AND THEIR PROVISION OF COLLECTIVE GOODS IN THE APPALACHIAN REGION

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ABSTRACT

LOCAL CHURCH CONGREGATIONS AND THEIR PROVISION OF COLLECTIVE GOODS IN THE APPALACHIAN REGION

bу

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This paper applies the theory of "public" or "collective goods" to local church congregations of the Appalachian Region. It elaborates upon a theoretical model of collective action proposed by Carter (1979, 1981). Previous explanations of the local church in Appalachia have tended to emphasize the "personalistic" as opposed to the public nature of these voluntary associations. This paper demonstrates that many of the goods and services which were previously interpreted as personalistic or selective are in fact collective or only quasi-selective in nature. The various types of goods and services are analyzed in an Appalachian context through the development of a typological matrix which classifies congregational goods according to (1) who produces them (professional or nonprofessional actors), (2) who receives the goods (collective or quasi-selective goods), and (3) the function or purpose of the goods (expressive or instrumental).

INTRODUCTION

This paper applies the theory of "public or collective goods" (Tiebout, 1956; Olson, 1971; Ostrom, 1974; Oakerson, 1979) to local church congregations of the Appalachian Region. It elaborates upon a theoretical model of collective action within local congregations proposed by Carter (1979, 1981). By demonstrating the collective nature of these voluntary associations some of the traditional stereotypes applied to the Appalachian religion such as: "extreme individualism," "traditionalism," "closed," and "inward" must be seriously questioned.

Understanding Appalachian Congregations: Personalistic or Collectivistic

The processes of collective action within local church congregations (Carter, 1979, 1981) result in the provision of collective goods. Previous explanations of the action which occurs within Appalachian congregations (Campbell, 1921; Brewer, 1962; Ford, 1962; Caudill, 1963; Weller, 1965, 1970, 1978; Fetterman, 1970; Erikson, 1976; Lewis et al., 1978) have tended to emphasize certain "personalistic" and "closed" characteristics as opposed to the "public" nature of these voluntary associations (see discussion by Walls and Billings, 1977). While the local church does serve specific individualistic needs, it should not be interpreted as an organization which meets and serves only personalistic psychological/emotional needs.

It is the purpose of this inquiry to demonstrate that many of the goods and services which were previously interpreted as "personalistic," "closed," and "selective" are in fact collective in nature. In order

to demonstrate the various public goods made available by local church congregations, a typological matrix has been designed to analyze the types of collective action which occur within Appalachian congregations. By first looking at why local churches organize, then reviewing the types of goods made available by local congregations, a better understanding can be had of the role and function of these voluntary associations which exist in diverse forms (Kerr, 1978; Photiadis, 1978; Maurer, 1975, 1978) throughout Appalachia.

Purposes of Organization

The specific purposes of organization differ from one human association to another. Yet, as Mancur Olson explains, "one purpose that is none-the-less characteristic of most organizations . . . is the furtherance of the interests of their members" (Olson, 1971: 5). This perhaps would seem obvious, although some organizations may serve only the interest of their leadership. These organizations that do nothing to further the interests of their membership perish or severely damage the organization's essential goals and objectives (Olson, 1971: 6).

The local church as a voluntary association is no different in that it is expected to further the interests of its membership. Leon Festinger writes, "the attraction of group membership is not so much in sheer belonging, but rather in attaining something by means of this membership" (Festinger, 1953: 93). Festinger's point can be well taken in that as individuals seek to further their interests, a degree of commonality is present among the membership. Here the local congregation is displaying a characteristic shared with other organizations. Union members seek a common interest in

higher wages, farmers a common interest in higher prices, and citizens a common interest in good government. It is by no accident that the church, like these diverse groups, seeks to further the common interests of its members.

If personal goals and objectives can be pursued by unorganized individual action, then organization is not necessary; however, if a sufficient number of individuals possess a common interest, then the unorganized action of individuals will either fail to advance the common interest or perform it most inadequately.

Organizations can therefore perform a function when there are common or group interests, and though organizations often also serve purely personal, individual interests, their characteristic and primary function is to advance the common interests of groups or individuals (Olson, 1971: 7).

This assumption that organizations exist to further the common interests of individuals in a group is implicit in most of the current literature concerning organizations (Baker, 1973). Even loosely organized groups such as "ad hoc" or "informal groups" share the characteristic that a common interest is being attained. Raymond Cattell stated it succinctly when he said, "every group has its interest" (Cattell, 1948).

Once the realization has been made that those who belong to an organization or group possess a common interest, it is necessary to recognize that members also have purely individual interests somewhat apart from other individuals in the organization or group. In some cases an overlap will occur, although the basic motivational factors for belonging must stem from one of these two sources. For example, the members of a labor union naturally seek the common interest of better benefits and higher

wages, but in addition, each member has a particular interest as to what he or she will do with these benefits and to what end his or her salary will be used.

The local congregation is no different. A commonality of interests exists along certain doctrinal lines which the membership shares by way of collective voluntarism. Each member shares in the common expression of these common interests. They attend worship together; they study the liturgy together; they sing together; they fellowship together; all share in a set of common interests. Moreover, each member also has a personal interest in the organization. It might be by way of fulfilling a need for goal attainment such as teaching, singing, or a particular form of fellowship. Nonetheless, a set of common interests is shared by the membership as well as a set of personal interests held by the particular individual.

The Local Church Congregation: A Provider of Collective Goods

The local congregation provides a broad array of collective goods and services. Olson (1971:15) sets forth the prerequisites of a collective good as follows:

A common, collective, or public good is any good such that, if any person x_1 in a group $x_1, \ldots x_i, \ldots x_i$ consumes it, it cannot feasibly be withheld from the others in that group. In other words, those who do not purchase or pay for any of the public or collective good cannot be excluded or kept from sharing in the consumption of the good, as they can where noncollective goods are concerned.

Collective Goods. The goods and services provided by a church congregation are, in fact, collective due to their public availability.

They are available for both the membership and the surrounding community. ² If at any time the goods and services are excluded from a group in the congregation, they by definition have become selective or non-collective.

These goods and services are further exemplified as being collective due to the lack of an explicit contractual relationship. In other words, one may receive the goods and services without the expectation of having to enter into a quid pro quo exchange relationship (Ekeh, 1974). The good will be provided whether the individual contributes in a nominal manner or chooses not to contribute at all. Moreover, the same collective good exists for the individual whose contribution is one of a substantial amount.

The goods and services of the local congregation are not always restricted to the immediate grounds of the church. One such common example is the church's role in hospital visitation. Here the church provides a collective good without any manner of contract relationship and one that is absolutely open to the public at large. However, most of the goods do have one requirement and that is attendance at church.

In order that the church's goods and services be conceptualized as collective, the typical worship service can serve as a case in point. The service in itself is a collective good, composed of subsequent parts that are in themselves collective goods. One of the foremost characteristics is the formal openness of the worship service. Anyone may attend and take part in the worship service without the exclusion principle being applied.

The various elements of worship, such as the singing, the sermon,

the educational service, and the fellowship are all collective goods due to their public availability. The congregational singing for instance could not occur if it were an individual enterprise. Needless to say, some enjoy the act of congregational singing more than others; however this does not make it any less a collective affair. The special music provided by the choir again may be liked or disliked by the individual, but in either instance the good is available without restriction. Moreover, this good is available without a quid pro quo exchange relationship.

The sermon stands as the prominent collective good to be received by the congregation during worship among the Protestants of Appalachia. It is usually provided by the minister, or in his or her absence, a church officer or official. In the case of the Baptist Church, where congregational polity is practiced, the minister is called to a pastorate by way of majority vote. This collective decision on the part of the congregation is a result of the organization's ever present need to further the common interest by electing a leader.

Some may argue that when there are professional clergy providing goods or services, one cannot consider such goods or services as collective due to the minister's salary. However, the minister is not employed by one select recipient, but by a collectivity, the church. Although the minister receives a salary, this does not make the goods and services which he or she dispenses any less collective. In an analytical sense, the minister is the tool of the collectivity, the means by which collective goods are dispensed and delivered to the recipients. As long as the exclusion principle is avoided, any good or service provided by the minister is clearly collective.

The sermon provides a major communication link between the minister and the congregation, that is, a "delivery channel" for collective goods and services. By providing such a link, the sermon serves many interests and each interest is then a benefit which is shared collectively among the members of the congregation. Some people find in the sermon needed direction in life, "God's direction for my life." Others receive Biblical education or other forms of enlightenment. Still others perceive of the sermon as a healing message for their physical and spiritual lives. In each of these instances the sermon has become a collective good with a specific benefit to the person receiving the message. Even though serving diverse interests, this means of communication does not occur only for the constituents who voted in favor of calling the minister. The sermon is a collective good available for the congregation at large.

In like manner, both educational services and fellowship exist for the collectivity and not for a select few. Their very essence is a collective affair that would not be possible without the joint action of the congregation. Whether the educational service be Sunday School or a teaching message from the pulpit, it is available without restriction or exclusions. The fellowship, formal or informal, exists for the collective whole.

At various times, the local church provides collective goods which are periodic in occurrence. However, their periodic availability does not make the goods any less collective. The common examples which occur on a periodic basis are the vacation bible school, the fellowship dinner, and the evangelistic crusade. In each of these, the good is available without the need of a quid pro quo relationship. These examples are especially

enjoyed by individuals who do not belong to a specific church, as in the rural areas of Southern Appalachia. It is not uncommon for a relatively small church to enjoy a full house every night of an evangelistic crusade. Here the good is significantly collective due to its absolute openness. Moreover, both vacation bible schools and fellowship dinners display this same manner of behavior in the Appalachians.

Quasi-Selective Goods. The local church, while providing an array of collective goods, also provides to a limited degree partially selective or noncollective goods. Even in these quasi-selective goods, a collective quality can be found. Two such common examples are the marriage service, and the funeral service. In each of these, the service to be rendered is select in that select recipients receive the direct benefits.

However, even though there is a select recipient, in most cases both members and non-members may be recipients, 4 and both members and non-members are in a secondary way recipients as, e.g., guests at weddings or mourners at funerals.

One might still argue for the selectivity of funerals or weddings for, unlike true/completely collective goods, an exchange usually accompanies delivery of these goods or services. In principal, the exchange, which is usually in the form of a fee for service, restricts the availability of the good. However, because such fees are in most instances only nominal, they do very little restricting. Thus, the church's "selective" goods are, in very significant ways, available to the community at large. This quality greatly limits the exclusion principle, again evidencing collective benefits.

Interestingly, within the context of the rural church, the fee is rarely discussed between the contracting parties. The fee is nonetheless expected. However, it is not uncommon for the minister to be paid by someone other than the selective recipient. This may occur when the selective good is open to public attendance such as in the open funeral or wedding service. At the close of the service the observers respectfully thank the minister and occasionally give a monetary donation in recognition of their appreciation of the service. Although the service is quasi-selective it is also collective.

In rural areas where even the nominal fee may not be afforded, the church is still able to provide its selective goods on a collective basis.

Many a rural pastor, knowing the prospective recipient of the selective good does not have cash to pay for the service, will go ahead with the provision of the good. However, such action is not dependent solely on the pastor's sense of charity, for many of them engage in an unwritten, but clearly understood form of social reciprocity (Eken, 1974). Upon the conclusion of the service, the pastor knows that an equal service will be provided to him. Fresh meats, fresh produce, canned goods, or hand-made articles have been received by many a rural minister. If the recipient cannot pay even in this manner, payment may be rendered through his or her labor on the church or its grounds, or directly for the minister. Such practices commonly occur in the Southern Appalachian Region (Carter, 1979).

The Array of Collective and Quasi-Selective Goods: A Matrix 6

The array of collective and quasi-selective goods may be profitably

classified on three criteria: (1) Who produces the good? (2) Who receives the good? and (3) What is the purpose of the good?

The local church's goods and services are either produced by professional ministerial staff or lay people within the congregation. Only on rare occasions do each of these provide a good or service without the other assisting, but for analytical purposes each may be treated separately, as in the following discussion.

The degree of reliance on the professional staff varies according to many factors, including congregation size, local customs and theological (or canonical) interpretations of the role of the clergy. For the Appalachian churches being considered here, the clergy role may be snaped by few formal rules but at the same time guided by broad customary expectations concerning community participation, leadership, religious counseling and the like. Conversely, churchmembers are expected to participate on a sort of self-help basis in a broad range of congregational functions. While the specific actor(s) in the production of collective goods may vary somewhat from church to church there are typical patterns in the division of labor which allow the categorization of "professional" and "nonprofessional" producer.

The Appalachian churches have tended to maintain a unity of purpose at least in part because the congregations have great flexibility in dealing with their professional staffs and do not retain those clergy who widely deviate from their congregation's patterns. As Woodrum (1978) has noted, the farther up the organizational hierarchy a clergyperson finds professional involvement, the greater variance he or she may have from attitudes and practices of the local congregation. By maintaining only loose, if

any, links with national or other large-scale organizational structures the Appalachian churches keep their clergy "close" and enhance the unity of local purpose. Thus, they avoid the pitfalls of many Christian clergy who become over-committed to "social gospel" activism even while their congregations reject them (Hadden, 1969).

At the same time, the Appalachian churches expect leadership from their pastors. This leadership will of necessity concern itself first with the needs and desires of the churches, but it may also expand into areas of local community concern.

It is important to note that, contrary to the usual interpretations, the goods produced (either by professionals or nonprofessionals) and shared in the churches are not simply inward-oriented expressive goods. Church activities are also instrumental in building and shaping the community. Again, while the first concern will be with the local congregation itself, there is clearly the potential to expand into broader areas of activity. Thus, it is important to evaluate the goods according to whether they are essentially expressive or instrumental.

The matrix in Figure 1 has been designed to examine the local church's goods and services according to producer, recipient, and purpose. Producers will be categorized as "professional" or "nonprofessional." In like manner, the recipients will be identified as "collective" or "quasi-selective." Finally, the purpose of goods will be identified as either "instrumental" in the provision of yet other goods and services or "expressive," that is, serving the function of self expression as an end in itself.

The matrix in itself is not an exhaustive classification system, nor are the categories mutually exclusive. It does, however, provide three criteria

so as to cross classify and clarify the goods and services provided by the local church. By sub-dividing the matrix into the following four cross-classifications, both the collective and the quasi-selective goods may be reviewed. They are as follows:

the instrumental cross classified with the professional (Figure 2), the instrumental cross classified with the nonprofessional (Figure 3). the expressive cross classified with the professional (Figure 4), and the expressive cross classified with the nonprofessional (Figure 5).

Instrumental-Professional. The instrumental-professional good, by definition, will be led by an ordained minister or church official. It will also be "instrumental" in the provision of other goods as well as furthering the organization's collective interests.

This classification, as shown in Figure 2, is unique due to the minister's provision of specialized goods and services. The sermon and the performance of the sacraments stand as examples since both occur and are enjoyed upon a collective basis. Visitation and individual counseling, however, are quasi-selective because a specific recipient receives the good. Yet, these services can be freely obtained without any manner of restriction. In this respect, visitation and counseling are available upon a collective basis.

Instrumental-Nonprofessional. The instrumental-nonprofessional category was well summed up in the words of James Luther Adams when he wrote "volunteers in voluntary associations do not look for monetary rewards; the financial support comes from voluntary contributions" (Adams, 1976:61). It is the inherent need of every voluntary association, like the church, to depend upon volunteers for the provision of the collective goods. Not only must the provision process be worthy

as self expression, but it must also help to sustain the church as a viable organization.

The classification, as depicted in Figure 3, displays the various goods and services which are instrumental in purpose, yet led by the lay person of the local church. Their assistance in worship through oral testimonies and prayers exemplifies these collective goods.

One of the more interesting nonprofessional collective goods is that of the fellowship dinner. More often than not these dinners relate to a special interest or event within the church. There is a story about a fellowship dinner which illustrates its instrumental function. An unsuspecting family, being new to a particular urban church, made plans to attend an evening fellowship dinner. Now, it just so happened that the church was in dire need of additional parking but lacked enough money to buy the additional land. However, a lot adjacent to the church had just been cleared and was up for sale. Upon arrival this family noticed that there was no mention of cost or of a love offering, thus they believed the dinner to be merely a time of fellowship. But as soon as the dessert had been served, the chairman of the finance committee stood up and said, "Well, you all know why we're here." The family of new members soon realized that before anyone left the dinner a pledge was to be made on the cost of the vacant lot adjacent to the church. Such is the common "loss of innocence" of churchgoers in discovering the earthly wiles of the organization of collective action which they thought was just their local church. While no compulsion or exclusion is involved, there are means for eliciting contributions to collective action. The dinner was definitely a collective event as well as an instrumental act in the

provision of additional parking for the church.

The local church also engages in the provision of instrumental-nonprofessional goods which are quasi-selective. Evangelistic visitation of individuals may be carried out by any church member, and such activity helps to insure the continuity of the congregation through the recruitment of new members.

Expressive-Professional. The expressive-professional, as shown in Figure 4, represents the goods and services which are highly symbolic and only performed by the ordained minister. The sacraments (or ordinances) of Baptism and the Lord's Supper stand as the two most prominent examples within the local church. They represent a symbolic act which exists primarily as an end in itself. However, some have viewed these goods as instrumental. In any event, these goods are provided collectively due to their public availability. (Although in Baptism the recipient is selective, the event itself is a public affair, and even theologically, the collectivity of "the church" is seen as the primary actor.)

This category is also represented by several quasi-selective goods such as the funeral service, the wedding service, and visitation. In each of these, the service provided is through the authority of the ordained minister. These events are mainly expressive in purpose and usually available to the public, thus displaying collectivity.

Expressive-Nonprofessional. The expressive-nonprofessional collective good represents the heart of voluntarism within the local church. These goods and services are displayed in Figure 5 and exemplified by their ability to be produced by the congregation due to their inherent putative worth. The Sunday morning worship, the numerous fellowship

gatherings, and the specialized worship programs all develop because of the collective interests of the congregation.

One of the more vivid examples found throughout the Appalachians is the "hymn sing" (Jones, 1977). This is a gathering of members from all the churches of a particular "association" on a designated night each month to sing. It is hosted by a different church in the "association" each month. The event itself is quite a festive activity due to the overwhelming expression through song. In many instances the participants are not just from one denomination or association, but are people who simply enjoy the collective expression of music (Damron, 1979, interview).

This classification also embodies the visitation of the sick and the bereaved. It is not uncommon to have a visitation committee of women's groups whose primary responsibility is the visitation of individuals or families in times of crises. In this regard the service is quasi-selective.

The baby shower, the wedding shower, and the rural "pounding" are additional examples of quasi-selective nonprofessional goods. Even though these services are intended for one select recipient, they are provided by collective action, and they are enjoyed collectively for essentially expressive ends.

The "pounding" is a rather unique example which sometimes occurs in the rural church of the Appalachian Region. The event in itself is a time of bringing gifts, donated by weight—thus the name of pounding—to a minister or church member who is starting out in a new home. The gifts usually range from canned goods to various household items. Usually the members of the congregation plan it as a surprise and make sure that

it is quite a festive affair for all. In this sense, the pounding does not solely exist for the selective recipient and has an important expressive function.

CONCLUSIONS AND IMPLICATIONS

has been a theoretical inquiry into the nature of This paper collective action found within local church congregations of the Appalachian Region. The local church in Appalachia has long been described as "socially passive," "overly personalistic," and supportive of an "extreme individualism" found within the subculture (Campbell, 1921; Brewer, 1962; Caudill, 1963; Weller, 1965, 1970, 1978; Fetterman, 1970; Erikson, 1976). This prevailing view of the church has resulted in many stereotypes (e.g., suspicious of outsiders, ignorant, antiintellectual, and poverty stricken) that have not been complimentary to the Appalachian church nor to the Appalachian people in general. conclusion reached by the proponents of this perspective is that the Appalachian subculture does not permit voluntary group action unless it is to serve the trait of "extreme individualism" (Weller, 1965, 1970, 1978). If group action is to take place, it must then be initiated from the outside, more general, culture. Collective action in the local church has therefore previously been explained as a means of meeting the extreme individualism of the subculture.

An alternative perspective has been proposed here by specifically examining the voluntary collective action that takes place in local church congregations. The local church in Appalachia, no doubt, does meet and serve individualistic needs. The function of religion as a

comforting agent is not to be denied. The local church, however, serves not only individualistic needs, but it also offers an array of collective goods and services. These collective goods are not produced by "extreme individualism" nor are they dependent upon the outside culture (Carter, 1979).

The processes of collective action that have been discussed in this paper are located almost completely within the local congregation or parish. However, there seems to be little reason to think that, with the proper type of understanding in the local group and perhaps with the correct linguistic approach in framing appeals for action (see Carter, 1981), collective action centered on the local parish could not as well be employed in the provision of extra-parish benefits in the form of public goods. Because of the charges against Appalachian religion which have been reviewed and rejected in this paper, the Appalachian church has not been seen as a base for social change in the region. Such an orientation is a remnant of the widely discredited "culture of poverty" approaches which have frequently been applied to Appalachian society, and it should be discarded and overcome.

A substantive implication of this analysis is that the alleged conservatism or extreme individualism of Appalachian religion may reflect a misunderstanding of local congregational activities, and, thus, that a sympathetic approach to the Appalachian faithful through the workings of their congregations might win important supporters for the tasks of improving the quality of life in Appalachia. In fact, the local congregation may even provide the necessary organizational base for constructive collective action in many spheres.

NOTES

- 1. The phrase "the church" in this section refers to the local church congregation. "The congregation" refers to the parishioners as distinct from the minister. "The church" includes both congregation and minister.
- 2. "The surrounding community" is meant to encompass the public at large. However, in the applied case this must be qualified by denominational policy and the specific good or service under consideration. An example where the surrounding community would be excluded might be "closed communion" or the "foot washing" ceremonies in Southern Appalachia.
- 3. "Formal openness" is the stated position of nearly all churches. However, public attendance is influenced by ethnic patterns and socio-economic status, as illustrated by the phrase, "that's a rich man's church."
- 4. This is applicable in most Protestant evangelical churches. However, it may not always apply to some of the more rural sects such as the Appalachian based Primitive Baptist Churches.
- 5. One of the present authors--who has been a pastor in West Virginia for over three years--has yet to discuss a fee with the receiving party. For further reference, see Shackelford and Weinburg, 1977:49.
- 6. The operationalization of this section is indebted to Ronald Oakerson (Department of Political Science, Marshall University) and his continued interest in the application of the "theory of public goods" to local congregations of the Appalachian Region.

- 7. The sacraments can be interpreted as furthering the common interests of the congregation; however each remains primarily a mode of self expression that occurs collectively.
- 8. The "association" is the formal denominational organization that these rural churches belong to. It is usually defined by geographic boundaries and is affiliated with a state and national convention.

 The "association" has no power over churches which practice congregational polity, however. It exists for united missions, publications, various state-wide activities such as camps, and for educational support of denominational schools.

Figure 1

A Matrix for the Classification of Goods Within the Church

		Professional	Nonprofessional
Instrumental	Collective		
	Quasi Selective		
	Collective		
Expressive	Quasi Selective		

Figure 2
Instrumental-Professional

	Professional		
Collective	The Worship Service Sermon Oral Reading Prayer	Sacraments Baptism The Lord's Supper	
Instrumental	Associational Meetings State Conventions National Conventions		
Quasi Selective	Counseling Service Parental Spiritual Marital	<u>Visitation</u> Evangelistic	

Figure 3
Instrumental-Nonprofessional

	Nonprofessional		
	The Worship Service	Sunday School	Youth
	Testimonies Prayers	Fellowship	Activities (promotional)
Collective	Singing	Age Group-	Hay Rides
	Specialized Worship Programs	Activities Dinners Picnics	Picnics Holiday- Parties
	Vacation Bible School Evangelistic Gatherings	Song Fests Devotionals	Camping Etc.
Instrumental	Holiday Plays <u>Volur</u> Choir Musicals	ntary Care of Bui	ldings and Ground

Quasi Selective <u>Visitation</u>

Evangelistic

Figure 4
Expressive-Professional

	Professional		
	The Worship Service Lent	<u>en Services</u>	
	Sermon Oral Reading <u>Visi</u>	<u>tation</u>	
Collective		spital me	
	<u>Sacraments</u> Nu	rsing Home	
	Baptism The Lord's Supper		
pressive			
pressive	The Funeral Service	The Wedding Service	
pressive	The Funeral Service Visitation of the bereaved family	The Wedding Service Rehearsal	
Quasi Selective	Visitation of the bereaved		
	Visitation of the bereaved		

Figure 5
Expressive-Nonprofessional

	Nonprofessional		
Collective	The Worship Service Testimonies Prayers Congregational Singing Special Music Group Prayer Responsive Readings Specialized Worship Christmas Thanksgiving Easter	Specialized Worship continued Laymans Sunday Youth Sunday Fellowship Holiday Parties Age Group Activitie Camping Bible Study Rural Hymn Sing	Dinners Christmas Thanksgivin Progressive Spring Sunday Scho Picnic s Vacation Bibl School
		sitation of Sick	

Quasi Selective Baby Showers

Wedding Showers

Home Hospital Nursing Home

Bereaved Families

Visitation Taking Food

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